

**‘Idols’ in Exile: Making Sense of Prehistoric  
Human Pottery Figurines from  
Dos Mosquises Island,  
Los Roques Archipelago,  
Venezuela**

**Maria Magdalena Mackowiak de Antczak**

**Volume 1**

**Submitted for the degree of PhD  
Institute of Archaeology  
University College London**

**London 2000**

to my Parents  
to Konrad and Oliver  
to Andrzej

# Abstract

This dissertation examines the ‘social reality’ of the prehistoric figurines recovered on the tiny coral island of Dos Mosquises, located off the Venezuelan coast. There, over three hundred figurine specimens altogether with numerous other items of material culture were recovered by the author during systematic excavations. The site was interpreted as a temporary camp where Queen Conch (*Strombus gigas*), turtle, fish, birds and salt were processed/consumed, between ad. 1300 and 1500. The vast majority of the artefacts, including figurines, were not local products, but related to the Valencia culture from the north-central Venezuela mainland.

In South America and the Caribbean, prehistoric figurines are traditionally approached as objects of ancient art or cult, or as typological devices. I reject both the *a priori* assumptions of figurine meaning/function that neglect the particular socio-historical contexts of their creation/use, and the epiphenomenological approach to these artefacts. Drawing from Social Theory, Material Culture Studies, Contextual Archaeology, Sociology of Knowledge and some traditional procedures of artefact analysis, I generate an ‘integrative’ approach that combines analyses of the form (the object and its image), context (archaeological and social) and content (subject matter and signifying practice). In the analytical framework used in this dissertation, the figurine is regarded not as a mute product of a past culture, but as an ‘actor’ that participated in the negotiation of complex social strategies in late prehistoric north Venezuela.

The fact that the island figurines were produced on the mainland has direct influence on the structure of this research, demanding analysis of all available mainland material and its contexts. In consequence, ‘bricks’ for the construction of the social reality of the Dos Mosquises figurines have been sought on the mainland. I interpret mainland specimens as metaphors of the social control of elder women over their younger female kin, as a strategy used in alliance building. The (re)constructed social context of the Dos Mosquises site suggests that it was largely occupied by adult and adolescent males. The confrontation of the archaeological and social contexts, types and images of mainland and island specimens, resulted in the disclosure of the polyvalent, context-dependent roles of the Valencioid figurines. Some of the island specimens indicate use in ritual activities and as burial furniture. Their social roles were essential to sustaining everyday life at the DM site by suppressing the threats of supernatural powers related to the marine environment and its creatures.

Although specific interpretations are discussed in this study, its primary contribution lies rather in the methods developed to address questions regarding the social reality of prehistoric figurines. The emphasis is put on systematic and controlled ways of working ‘between or around data and theory’, so that diverse sources of data can be put together to explore the meaningful connections that may link them within the overall humanistic approach. It is anticipated that the open-ended nature of this research will indicate paths for further inquiry and stimulate future research on the figurines and other material culture in north-central Venezuela.

# Contents

## Volume 1

<b>ABSTRACT</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>LIST OF APPENDIXES</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>LIST OF PLATES</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>INTRODUCTORY REMARKS</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>PANORAMA OF FIGURINE STUDIES</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>The Old World perspective</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>New World figurine studies</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>THE FIGURINES OF NORTH-CENTRAL VENEZUELA</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>AIMS AND STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY</b>	<b>34</b>
<b><i>CHAPTER ONE: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH</i></b>	<b>36</b>
<b>WHAT IS A FIGURINE?</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>Figurine as an artefact positioned within an archaeological context</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Figurine as a material object positioned within a social context</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>Figurine as a product of objectivation and externalisation</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>Figurine as objectification</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>Figurine as an ‘actor’ within the temporo/spatial dimensions of society</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Figurine has an ‘active’ power</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>Physicality of the figurine</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>Durability of the figurine</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>Figurine’s capacity to be possessed</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>Figurine as a representational material culture</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>Figurine as a ‘first’ or ‘high order’ iconic representation</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>Expressability of the figurine</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>Figurine as a ‘material analogy’, ‘metaphor’ or ‘metonymy’</b>	<b>54</b>

Figurine possesses 'direct' or 'indirect' <i>subject</i>	57
FIGURINE CONCLUSIVE DEFINITION	58
<b>CHAPTER TWO: A STRATEGY FOR FIGURINE INTERPRETATION</b>	<b>60</b>
MAKING SENSE OF FIGURINES; A FEW ADDITIONAL CONCEPTS	60
MULTIPLE MEANINGS OF FIGURINES	61
Culture as a set of meanings	61
The essence of <i>meaning</i>	61
Material culture and linguistic <i>meanings</i>	62
<i>Meaning</i> in action	63
<i>Meaning</i> in archaeology	63
The <i>meaning</i> of a figurine	64
Multiple <i>meanings</i> of figurine	65
<i>Emic</i> and <i>etic</i> meanings	68
ICONIC, SYMBOLIC AND CONTEXTUALITY LEVELS IN FIGURINE ANALYSIS	69
TWO STAGES AND NINE 'STEP-BY-STEP' STRATEGY; A GENERAL MODEL FOR FIGURINE INTERPRETATION	71
Archaeological context, meaning of figurine and construction of social reality	79

## PART ONE. ON THE ISLANDS

<b>CHAPTER THREE: DM SITE FIGURINE MORPHOLOGY: METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS</b>	<b>82</b>
PURPOSES OF CLASSIFICATION	82
DEFINITION OF VARIABILITY AND DECONSTRUCTION	84
Fiches and data base	84
Grammatical analysis	85
THE WORKING CONCEPT OF STYLE: ITS MATERIAL, COMMUNICATIVE AND COGNITIVE ASPECTS	88
STYLE, MICROSTYLE, INDIVIDUAL, SOCIETY AND NATURE OF RELATIONSHIPS	89
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: DOS MOSQUISES FIGURINES: STYLISTIC GROUPS AND CONTEXTS</b>	<b>92</b>
DOS MOSQUISES SITE: NATURAL AND CULTURAL SCENARIO	92
THE FIGURINES ASSEMBLAGE	93
DEFINITION OF VARIABILITY	95
Gestalt and intuitive classes	95
Mineralogical composition and fabric	95
Analytical deconstruction	96
STYLISTIC CLASSIFICATION AND TYPOLOGY SET-UP	97
<i>Standardised</i> stylistic group	98
Style definition	98
General description	98
Grammatical analysis	103
Typological scheme	117
<i>Standardised</i> figurine fragments	121
<i>Heterogeneous</i> stylistic group	123
Style definition	123
General description	124
Classificatory scheme	127
Microstylistic groups	130
<i>Heterogeneous</i> figurine fragments	132
<i>Imitative</i> stylistic group	134
Style definition	135
General description	135
Typological scheme	138
<i>Imitative</i> fragments	141
Microstylistic group	141

<b>STRUCTURE AND EMBELLISHMENT IN STYLE</b>	<b>142</b>
<b>ANIMAL FIGURINES</b>	<b>146</b>
<b>FIGURINE STYLISTIC GROUPS IN CONTEXTS</b>	<b>146</b>
<b>Refuse context</b>	<b>147</b>
<b>The 'ritual' context</b>	<b>149</b>
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: DM FIGURINES: IMAGES AND CONTEXTS</b>	<b>150</b>
<b>IMAGE RECOGNITION</b>	<b>150</b>
<b>IMAGES IN CONTEXTS; THE CONTEXTUAL MEANING OF THE FIGURINES</b>	<b>154</b>
<b>Burial context</b>	<b>154</b>
<b>The 'offertory' deposits</b>	<b>158</b>
<b>THE NON-FIGURINE REPRESENTATIONAL MATERIAL CULTURE</b>	<b>163</b>
<b>Anthropo- and zoomorphic vessels and <i>adornos</i>: morphology and contexts</b>	<b>163</b>
<b>Pottery - miscellaneous</b>	<b>166</b>
<b>The non-pottery representational material culture</b>	<b>166</b>
<b>DECORATED AND PLAIN POTTERY: MORPHOLOGY AND CONTEXTS</b>	<b>166</b>
<b>THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF DOS MOSQUISES FIGURINES</b>	<b>167</b>
<b>CHAPTER SIX: OTHER LOS ROQUES FIGURINES: MORPHOLOGY, IMAGE, CONTEXT</b>	<b>172</b>
<b>KRASKY ISLAND (KR SITE)</b>	<b>172</b>
<b>Natural and cultural setting</b>	<b>172</b>
<b>Figurine morphology and images</b>	<b>173</b>
<b>CAYO SAL (CS/D SITE)</b>	<b>176</b>
<b>Natural and cultural setting</b>	<b>176</b>
<b>Figurine morphology, images and contextualisation</b>	<b>177</b>
<b>DOMUSKY NORTE ISLAND (DMN SITE)</b>	<b>179</b>
<b>Natural and cultural setting</b>	<b>179</b>
<b>Figurine morphology, images and contextualisation</b>	<b>180</b>
<b>DM AND DMN: TWO ISLANDS, TWO CULTURES AND THE ROLE(S) OF THE FIGURINES</b>	<b>182</b>
<b>MAKING SENSE OF LOS ROQUES FIGURINES: PAUSE FOR REPLENISHING THE DATA</b>	<b>184</b>

## **PART TWO. ON THE MAINLAND**

<b>CHAPTER SEVEN: HARVESTING THE DATA</b>	<b>187</b>
<b>THE LAKE VALENCIA BASIN HUMAN FIGURINES</b>	<b>187</b>
<b>Data sources, goals, methodology</b>	<b>188</b>
<b>Wendell C. Bennett</b>	<b>191</b>
<b>La Mata Mound Six</b>	<b>191</b>
<b>Pottery</b>	<b>193</b>
<b>Figurines</b>	<b>194</b>
<b><i>Standing</i> figurines</b>	<b>195</b>
<b><i>Cylindrical Body</i> figurines</b>	<b>197</b>
<b><i>Seated</i> figurines</b>	<b>198</b>
<b>Distribution and context</b>	<b>199</b>
<b>Gaspar and Vicente Marcano</b>	<b>202</b>
<b>Figurines</b>	<b>203</b>
<b>Alfredo Jahn</b>	<b>207</b>
<b>Figurines</b>	<b>208</b>
<b>Distribution and contexts</b>	<b>211</b>
<b>Pottery</b>	<b>216</b>
<b>Rafael Requena</b>	<b>216</b>
<b>Chinese figurines in the Valencia Basin?</b>	<b>217</b>
<b>Figurines</b>	<b>219</b>
<b>Contexts</b>	<b>220</b>
<b>Pottery</b>	<b>221</b>
<b>Cornelius Osgood</b>	<b>222</b>
<b>Figurines</b>	<b>224</b>

Distribution and context	227
Pottery	227
<b>Alfred V. Kidder</b>	228
Figurines	229
Distribution and Context	231
Pottery	232
<b>José M. Cruxent and Irving Rouse</b>	233
Valencioid series and Valencia style	233
<b>Henriqueta Peñalver</b>	234
Fieldwork through the region	235
Figurines	236
<b>VALENCIOID FIGURINES FROM BEYOND THE VALENCIA BASIN</b>	238
<b>Mountains and intermontane valleys</b>	238
<b>The Caribbean coast</b>	240
<b>FIGURINES FROM THE VALENCIA BASIN AND BEYOND</b>	241
<b>CHAPTER EIGHT: SQUEEZING THE JUICE</b>	<b>244</b>
<b>HUMAN FIGURINES: MORPHOLOGY AND TYPE DISTRIBUTION</b>	<b>244</b>
<b>Figurine workmanship</b>	245
<b>Figurine sizes</b>	245
<b>Figurine spatial distribution</b>	246
<b>Frequency of figurine types</b>	246
<b>Spatial occurrence of figurine types</b>	247
<b>Figurine head type occurrence</b>	248
<b>Fragmentation of the figurines</b>	248
<b>Solid/Hollow status of figurine types</b>	249
<b>Figurine types: Chronological considerations</b>	249
<b>ANIMAL FIGURINES: MORPHOLOGY AND TYPE DISTRIBUTION</b>	<b>256</b>
<b>USE-RELATED VARIABLES OF THE FIGURINES</b>	<b>257</b>
<b>Figurines pierced for suspension</b>	257
<b>Rattles</b>	258
<b>HUMAN AND ANIMAL FIGURINES IN THEIR ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT</b>	<b>259</b>
<b>HUMAN FIGURINES AND IMAGE RECOGNITION</b>	<b>262</b>
<b>Female, male and sexless figurines</b>	262
<i>Seated Pregnant Women</i>	264
<i>Mothers with Babies</i>	264
<i>Seated Matrons</i>	265
<i>Adorned Ladies and Female Adolescents</i>	265
<i>Masked Individuals</i>	268
<i>The Canoe People</i>	269
<i>Naturally and Artificially Deformed Individuals</i>	270
<i>Seated Bent-knee Supplicants</i>	271
<b>Human and animal depiction in <i>Cylindrical Bodies</i></b>	272
<b>ANIMAL FIGURINES IMAGE RECOGNITION</b>	<b>273</b>
<b>THE POSITIONING OF HUMAN AND ANIMAL IMAGES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT</b>	<b>273</b>
<b>Burial contexts</b>	275
<b>Burial vs. non-burial contexts</b>	276
<b>Images: chronological considerations</b>	277
<b>Non-figurine imagery: morphology, images, contexts</b>	278
Pipes	278
Pottery phalluses	279
Stools	279
Flutes	279
Whistles and ocarinas	280
Rim, wall and handle <i>adornos</i>	281
Human faces on vessels' necks and spouts	283
Anthropo- and zoomorphic effigy vessels	283
Images on pendants, beads and amulets	284
<b>FIGURINE AND NON-FIGURINE IMAGES FROM BEYOND THE VALENCIA BASIN</b>	<b>286</b>
<b>VALENCIOID FIGURINES: SOCIAL CONTEXTS, HYPOTHETICAL SUBJECTS, AND SOCIAL REALITIES</b>	<b>286</b>
<b>Ethnohistoric sources</b>	287

The <i>Caraca</i> man and woman	288
Figurines and other representational material culture	289
<b>Four hypothetical scenarios</b>	290
Figurines and women's discourse	290
Man's space - man's advertisement	300
The ancestral and maritime connections of La Cabrera	302
Animal-perception and use	304

## **PART THREE. BACK AND FORTH FROM THE ISLANDS**

<b><i>CHAPTER NINE: 'BETWEEN MAINLAND AND ISLANDS': DISCUSSION</i></b>	<b>310</b>
<b>BETWEEN THE ISLANDS AND THE MAINLAND</b>	<b>311</b>
<b>POTSHERDS AND POLITICS: THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE INSULAR ENTERPRISE</b>	<b>316</b>
<b>FIGURINES AND INTERSOCIETAL RELATIONSHIPS</b>	<b>322</b>
<b>(RE)CONSTRUCTION OF THE SOCIAL REALITY OF THE DOS MOSQUISES FIGURINES</b>	<b>325</b>
<b>EPILOGUE: FROM DATA TO THEORY AND BACK AGAIN</b>	<b>330</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>333</b>

### **Volume 2**

<b>APPENDIXES</b>	<b>357</b>
<b>PLATES</b>	<b>380</b>



# List of Tables

<b>TABLE 1.</b> Similarities and differences between figurines and other artefacts.....	58
<b>TABLE 2.</b> Kinds of purposes and classifications in the Los Roques figurine study.....	83
<b>TABLE 3.</b> List of variables included in the Los Roques figurine analysis.....	85
<b>TABLE 4.</b> Parameters of trench excavations at Valencioid sites on Dos Mosquises, Cayo Sal and Krasky islands.....	93
<b>TABLE 5.</b> Distribution of pottery human figurines among trenches at DM site.....	94
<b>TABLE 6.</b> Distribution of <i>Standardised</i> figurines among trenches at the DM site.....	99
<b>TABLE 7.</b> Ware (Surface texture) of DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines.....	99
<b>TABLE 8.</b> Slip frequency in the DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines.....	100
<b>TABLE 9.</b> Frequency of stature (height) categories in DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines (in cm).....	101
<b>TABLE 10.</b> Posture of DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines: Leg position categories for ‘Figurines’.....	102
<b>TABLE 11.</b> Posture of DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines: Leg position categories for ‘Single legs’.....	102
<b>TABLE 12.</b> Posture of DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines: Leg position categories for ‘Figurines’ and ‘Single legs’ totalled.....	102
<b>TABLE 13.</b> Leg position vs. Head-to-body ratio in Seated <i>Standardised</i> DM figurines.....	102
<b>TABLE 14.</b> Leg position vs. Head-to-body ratio in Standing <i>Standardised</i> DM figurines.....	102
<b>TABLE 15.</b> Vertical symmetry in DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines.....	103
<b>TABLE 16.</b> Stability in DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines.....	103
<b>TABLE 17.</b> Head categories of DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines.....	105
<b>TABLE 18.</b> DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines: Crest vs. Crest Decoration categories.....	106
<b>TABLE 19.</b> Face decoration of DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines.....	106
<b>TABLE 20.</b> Eye categories of DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines.....	106
<b>TABLE 21.</b> Eyebrow categories of DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines.....	107
<b>TABLE 22.</b> Mouth categories of DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines.....	108
<b>TABLE 23.</b> Nose categories of DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines.....	109
<b>TABLE 24.</b> Ear categories of DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines.....	110
<b>TABLE 25.</b> DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines trunk decoration.....	111
<b>TABLE 26.</b> Arm categories of DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines.....	112
<b>TABLE 27.</b> Hand categories (Finger presentation) of DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines.....	113
<b>TABLE 28.</b> Breast categories of DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines.....	113
<b>TABLE 29.</b> Navel categories of DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines.....	114
<b>TABLE 30.</b> Buttock categories of DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines.....	114
<b>TABLE 31.</b> Female sex categories of DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines.....	115
<b>TABLE 32.</b> <i>Standardised</i> DM figurines: Seated leg attributes within the ‘Figurines’.....	116
<b>TABLE 33.</b> <i>Standardised</i> DM figurines: Seated legs attributes within the ‘Single legs’.....	116
<b>TABLE 34.</b> <i>Standardised</i> DM figurines: Standing legs attributes within the ‘Figurines’.....	117
<b>TABLE 35.</b> <i>Standardised</i> DM figurines: Standing legs attributes within the ‘Single legs’.....	117
<b>TABLE 36.</b> Paradigmatic typological scheme for DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines without Crest.....	118

TABLE 37. Paradigmatic typological scheme for DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines with Crest.....	118
TABLE 38. Typology frequencies of DM <i>Standardised</i> stylistic group figurines.....	118
TABLE 39. Frequency of DM <i>Standardised No Crest</i> figurines (match the data in Table 40).....	119
TABLE 40. Frequency of DM <i>Standardised with Crest</i> figurines (match the data in Table 39).....	119
TABLE 41. Presence/absence of toes in DM <i>Standardised Seated</i> figurines with open and very open cones.....	119
TABLE 42. DM <i>Standardised</i> figurine bust, head or head fragments.....	122
TABLE 43. DM <i>Standardised</i> figurine headless body or below-waist fragments.....	122
TABLE 44. DM <i>Standardised</i> figurine leg fragments.....	122
TABLE 45. DM <i>Standardised</i> figurine 'Other fragments'.....	123
TABLE 46. Distribution of <i>Heterogeneous</i> figurines and their fragments among the trenches at the DM site.....	124
TABLE 47. Stature of DM <i>Heterogeneous</i> figurines.....	125
TABLE 48. Posture: Leg position categories of DM <i>Heterogeneous</i> 'Figurines'.....	126
TABLE 49. Posture: Leg position categories of DM <i>Heterogeneous</i> 'Single legs'.....	126
TABLE 50. Posture: Leg position categories of DM <i>Heterogeneous</i> 'Figurines' and 'Single legs'.....	126
TABLE 51. DM <i>Heterogeneous</i> stylistic group figurine typology frequencies.....	128
TABLE 52. Microstylistic groups within DM <i>Heterogeneous</i> figurines.....	131
TABLE 53. Microstyles <i>versus Heterogeneous</i> grouping in the DM figurines.....	131
TABLE 54. DM <i>Heterogeneous</i> figurine legless body, bust, head or fragments.....	133
TABLE 55. DM <i>Heterogeneous</i> figurine headless body, trunk, below-waist or fragments.....	134
TABLE 56. DM <i>Heterogeneous</i> figurine legs.....	134
TABLE 57. Unclassified fragments of DM figurines.....	134
TABLE 58. Frequencies of complete and semi-complete figurines <i>versus</i> fragments ('real' and 'estimated') for three stylistic groups of DM figurines.....	134
TABLE 59. Distribution of <i>Imitative</i> figurines at the DM site.....	136
TABLE 60. Weight and Stature of DM <i>Standardised</i> and <i>Heterogeneous</i> figurines.....	137
TABLE 61. Stature of DM <i>Imitative</i> figurines.....	137
TABLE 62. Leg position categories of DM <i>Imitative</i> figurines.....	137
TABLE 63. Leg position versus Head-to-body ratio of DM <i>Imitative Seated</i> figurines.....	138
TABLE 64. Vertical symmetry of DM <i>Imitative</i> figurines.....	138
TABLE 65. Stability of DM <i>Imitative</i> figurines.....	138
TABLE 66. Variables which comprise attributes shared by DM <i>Imitative, Standardised</i> and <i>Heterogeneous</i> figurines.....	138
TABLE 67. Typological frequency of DM <i>Imitative</i> figurines.....	139
TABLE 68. DM <i>Imitative</i> figurine legless body, bust, head or their fragments.....	141
TABLE 69. DM <i>Imitative</i> figurines headless body or below-waist fragments.....	141
TABLE 70. DM <i>Imitative</i> figurine Microstylistic group.....	142
TABLE 71. Structure and embellishment in DM <i>Standardised</i> figurines.....	144
TABLE 72. Shared and divergent elements between one Microstyle member and all Microstyles members.....	145
TABLE 73. Quantitative distribution of pottery animal figurines and fragments among trenches at the DM site.....	146
TABLE 74. Status of sex/breasts depiction in DM figurines stylistic categories.....	150
TABLE 75. Images identified in stylistic categories of DM figurines (in order of popularity according to posture).....	152
TABLE 76. Spatial distribution of image variables of DM figurines, according to stylistic categories.....	155
TABLE 77. Human figurines recovered within the same square metre as the Amerindian skeleton at the DM site, ordered according to distance from the bones.....	157
TABLE 78. Figurines with 'special' depositional characteristics at the DM site.....	161
TABLE 79. Amerindian sites and excavations at the Los Roques Archipelago.....	173
TABLE 80. Quantitative distribution of KR/A site figurines according to stylistic group.....	174
TABLE 81. Radiocarbon dates from Amerindian sites on Venezuelan islands.....	180
TABLE 82. Typology of DMN <i>Heterogeneous</i> figurines.....	181
TABLE 83. Images and sex attributes of DMN <i>Heterogeneous</i> figurines.....	181
TABLE 84. Minimum Numbers of Valencioid Anthropomorphic Figurines (MNAF) from the Valencia Basin analysed in this study.....	189
TABLE 85. Quantitative distribution of anthropomorphic Valencioid figurine and 'amulet' types from the La Mata Mound Six, in order of abundance (based on data contained in TABLE 7, Bennett 1937:114).....	194
TABLE 86. Quantitative distribution of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurine posture at La Mata	

mound (compiled from Bennett 1937).....	197
<b>TABLE 87.</b> Quantitative distribution of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurine head types at La Mata mound .....	200
<b>TABLE 88.</b> Quantitative distribution of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurine leg types at La Mata Mound Six .....	201
<b>TABLE 89.</b> Characteristics of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurines from the collection at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris .....	204
<b>TABLE 90.</b> Figurine head types from the Valencia Basin figurines from the collection at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris .....	204
<b>TABLE 91.</b> Quantitative spatial distribution of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurine and figurine head types from collections at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris.....	205
<b>TABLE 92.</b> Distribution of Valencioid figurine types from the collection of the MFVB.....	209
<b>TABLE 93.</b> Distribution of types of Valencioid figurine heads from the collection of the MFVB).....	210
<b>TABLE 94.</b> Quantitative distribution of types of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurine heads among archaeological sites in the Valencia region .....	210
<b>TABLE 95.</b> Quantitative distribution of fragments of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurine from the MFVB collection.....	211
<b>TABLE 96.</b> Distribution of figurine types at the El Zamuro site according to mounds and depth.....	212
<b>TABLE 97.</b> Quantitative distribution of Valencioid figurine types recovered in burial contexts, the MFVB collection.....	213
<b>TABLE 98.</b> Mortuary furniture from Alfredo Jahn excavations in the Valencia region.....	214
<b>TABLE 99.</b> Artefacts contained in urn burial from Hacienda Mariara, northern shore of LV.....	215
<b>TABLE 100.</b> Frequency of figurine types from Requena's excavations at different localities in the LVB.....	219
<b>TABLE 101.</b> Frequency of figurine head types from Requena's excavations in the LVB.....	220
<b>TABLE 102.</b> Quantitative distribution of figurine types from Tocarón Mound Six, according to natural strata of soil matrix.....	224
<b>TABLE 103.</b> Quantitative distribution of figurine head and leg types between natural strata of soil matrix at Tocarón Mound Six. (compiled from Osgood 1943).....	225
<b>TABLE 104.</b> Frequency of human figurine types at the Los Tamarindos, West and La Ceiba Trenches, La Cabrera Peninsula.....	230
<b>TABLE 105.</b> Quantitative distribution of figurines excavated by Peñalver in Valencia Basin .....	236
<b>TABLE 106.</b> Types and contextual association of figurines excavated by Peñalver in the Valencia region.....	237
<b>TABLE 107.</b> Radiocarbon and TL uncalibrated dates from the archaeological sites at the Valencia Basin, Valley of Caracas and the Central Coast of Venezuela .....	238
<b>TABLE 108.</b> Valencioid figurines and their fragments recovered from the valleys and mountains east and north-east of the LVB.....	240
<b>TABLE 109.</b> Valencioid figurines and fragments recovered on the north-central coast of Venezuela. The dimensions have been calculated from provided photographs and/or illustrations .....	239
<b>TABLE 110.</b> Spatial distribution of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurines in north-central Venezuela ...	241
<b>TABLE 111.</b> Heights of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurines from LVB.....	246
<b>TABLE 112.</b> Spatial distribution of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurines from LVB.....	246
<b>TABLE 113.</b> Quantitative distribution of anthropomorphic figurine from LVB.....	247
<b>TABLE 114.</b> Distribution of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurine types and attributes between mounded sites on the eastern Lake Valencia shore and the Peninsula La Cabrera.....	247
<b>TABLE 115.</b> Quantitative distribution of anthropomorphic figurine heads from LVB.....	248
<b>TABLE 116.</b> Quantitative comparison between the anthropo- and zoomorphic Valencioid figurines.....	248
<b>TABLE 117.</b> Quantitative distribution of Valencioid figurine types according to the Hollow/Solid condition.....	249
<b>TABLE 118.</b> Correlation of natural layers, arbitrary levels and archaeological material from Tocarón Mound Six and La Mata Mound Six (compiled from Bennett 1937 and Osgood 1943).....	250
<b>TABLE 119.</b> Relative chronology of La Mata and Tocarón archaeological deposits based on figurine attributes (compiled from Osgood 1943).....	250
<b>TABLE 120.</b> Relative chronology of La Mata, Tocarón and La Cabrera archaeological deposits with the earliest at the bottom (modified after Osgood and Howard 1943:60-61).....	251
<b>TABLE 121.</b> Relative chronology of three stratigraphically excavated Valencioid sites at La Mata, Tocarón and La Cabrera, and El Zamuro site, according to the presence/absence and popularity of selected attributes of anthropomorphic figurine.....	258
<b>TABLE 122.</b> Valencioid anthropomorphic figurines pierced for suspension, according to type.....	258
<b>TABLE 123.</b> Distribution of Valencioid figurine-rattles in LVB according to figurine type, images	

and sex representation.....	258
<b>TABLE 124.</b> Valencioid anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines associated with funerary contexts..	261
<b>TABLE 125.</b> Presence/absence of sexual organs and breasts in LVB figurines.....	263
<b>TABLE 126.</b> Frequency of breast and vulva depiction according to figurine type.....	264
<b>TABLE 127.</b> Comparative analysis of iconographical richness and use-related variables of Valencioid figurine types from the LVB.....	272
<b>TABLE 128.</b> Spatial distribution of images and use-related variables of the Valencioid anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines from the LVB.....	274
<b>TABLE 129.</b> Valencioid figurine images and use-related variables positioning in funerary contexts.....	275
<b>TABLE 130.</b> Images, use-related variables and physical integrity of figurines in burial and non-burial contexts.....	276
<b>TABLE 131.</b> Figurine types as vehicles for image and use-related variables.....	278
<b>TABLE 132.</b> Location of anthropo- and zoomorphic adornos on Valencioid bowls (compiled from Bennett 1937).....	282
<b>TABLE 133.</b> Images identified on shell, stone and bone Valencioid representational artefacts from the Valencia Basin.....	285
<b>TABLE 134.</b> Animals represented in the Valencioid material culture vs. zooarchaeological remains.....	307
<b>TABLE 135.</b> Quantitative data on Valencioid human figurines from DM and LVB sites.....	311
<b>TABLE 136.</b> Relative frequency of Headdresses in Valencioid human figurines from DM and LVB sites.....	311
<b>TABLE 137.</b> Relative frequency of figurines posture types from DM and LVB sites.....	311
<b>TABLE 138.</b> Frequency of human figurine from different stylistic groups at DM and LVB sites.....	312
<b>TABLE 139.</b> Dimensions of DM and LVB Valencioid human figurines.....	312
<b>TABLE 140.</b> Frequency of Solid/Hollow Valencioid human figurines at DM and LVB sites.....	313
<b>TABLE 141.</b> Frequency of Solid/Hollow Valencioid human figurines according to posture type at DM and LVB sites.....	313
<b>TABLE 142.</b> Relative frequency of posture/sex/breasts variables of Valencioid human figurines from DM and LVB sites.....	313
<b>TABLE 143.</b> Relative frequency of use-related variables of DM and LVB Valencioid human figurines...	314
<b>TABLE 144.</b> Relative frequency of the images of the Valencioid figurines at DM and LVB sites.....	314

# List of Figures

- FIGURE 1.** Scheme of the process of creation and interpretation in the Iconic Representation.
- FIGURE 2.** The granite statue from Nubia, 690-661 BC. The Egyptian Gallery, The British Museum, London.
- FIGURE 3.** Iconic Representation scheme.
- FIGURE 4.** Iconic representation of fish.
- FIGURE 5.** Difference between Iconic and Symbolic Representations 1.
- FIGURE 6.** The examples of the First and High Order Representations within the Representational Material Culture scheme.
- FIGURE 7.** Process of cognition.
- FIGURE 8.** Levels of expression in the Iconic Representation.
- FIGURE 9.** Scheme of Subject-Object relationship in the Iconic Representation.
- FIGURE 10.** Difference between Iconic and Symbolic Representation 2.
- FIGURE 11.** Categories of meaning addressed in figurine interpretation.
- FIGURE 12.** Iconic, symbolic and contextuality levels in figurine analysis.
- FIGURE 13.** Three 'constituents' of a figurine.
- FIGURE 14.** Model for figurine interpretation. Two stages and nine 'step-by-step' strategy.
- FIGURE 15.** Model for figurine interpretation. First stage of the nine 'step-by-step' strategy.
- FIGURE 16.** Model for figurine interpretation. Second stage of the nine 'step-by-step' strategy.
- FIGURE 17.** Interrelation between different categories of meaning within a wide macro-contextual scale (synchronic or diachronic).
- FIGURE 18.** Visual interrelation of the cognition phase, analysis level, strategy stage and meaning categories incorporated in figurine research strategy.
- FIGURE 19.** Names of figurine's body parts used in the grammatical analysis of Los Roques figurines.
- FIGURE 20.** Variables and attributes selected for the DM *Standardised* figurines Typological scheme.
- FIGURE 21.** Variables and attributes selected to the DM *Imitative* figurines Typological scheme.
- FIGURE 22.** Variables and attributes of the DM *Heterogeneous* figurines Classificatory Scheme.
- FIGURE 23.** Los Roques Archipelago, the study region.
- FIGURE 24.** Lake Valencia Basin, the study region.
- FIGURE 25.** Cultural chronology of Valencia Basin region based on selected attributes of figurine and C14 dating (uncalibrated).
- FIGURE 26.** Stylistic unity of *Seated* figurines with *Canoe-shaped Crest*.

# List of Appendixes

- APPENDIX 1.** Valencioid zoo- and anthropo-zoomorphic figurines and fragments from the Valencia Basin.
- APPENDIX 2.** Sources of data and quantity of Valencioid anthropo- and zoomorphic figurines and figurine fragments from the Valencia Basin, in chronological order by author.
- APPENDIX 3.** Data base of Valencioid anthropo- and zoomorphic figurines from north-central Venezuela mainland.
- APPENDIX 4.** Grammatical analysis Chart 1 (DM *Standardised* figurines).
- APPENDIX 5.** Grammatical analysis Chart 2 (DM *Standardised* figurines).
- APPENDIX 6.** Chart for the colour assessment of the DM *Standardised*, *Heterogeneous* and *Imitative* figurines.
- APPENDIX 7.** Relative sizes of the DM *Standardised*, *Heterogeneous* and *Imitative* figurines.

# List of Plates

- PLATE 1.** The study region of north-central Venezuela within the Caribbean.
- PLATE 2.** Main archaeological sites in north-central Venezuela.
- PLATE 3.** Directions of the movements of the bearers of the Dabajuroid, Valencioid and Ocumaroid pottery from the mainland to the islands.
- PLATE 4.** Main Valencia-culture archaeological sites in the Lake Valencia Basin (based on Osgood 1943:10, Figure 1).
- PLATE 5.** The Los Roques Archipelago.
- PLATE 6.** Amerindian sites in Los Roques Archipelago.
- PLATE 7.** Pottery from Krasky Island. The only archaeological material from the Los Roques Archipelago published before the present study began (redrawn from Jam 1956).
- PLATE 8.** Natural landscapes and resources of Los Roques Archipelago.
- PLATE 9.** Aerial view of Dos Mosquises Island.
- PLATE 10.** Northern coast of Dos Mosquises Island.
- PLATE 11.** Plan of Dos Mosquises Island and the location of the DM site within the triangle.
- PLATE 12.** Location of the DM site (see triangle in Plate 11).
- PLATE 13.** Areas of major accumulation of *Strombus gigas* shells at DM site (black marks higher heaps, dotted area corresponds to low, superficial scatters).
- PLATE 14.** Areas of major anthropic alteration of the DM site (situation in 1982).
- PLATE 15.** General plan of excavation at DM site (1982-1996).
- PLATE 16.** Some special features at the DM site. A: and D: hearth bases made out of potsherds, Trench C, DM site; B: hearth base made out of coral stones, Trench A, DM site; C: hearth base made out of *Strombus gigas* shells, Trench C, DM site.
- PLATE 17.** Area of high artefactual density, Trench A, DM site (see cluster X2 on Plate 21)
- PLATE 18.** Differential sieving in Trench A, DM site.
- PLATE 19.** Spatial distribution of *Strombus gigas* shells and shell artefacts, Trench A, DM site.
- PLATE 20.** Spatial distribution of allochthonous landshells and mammal bones, Trench A, DM site.
- PLATE 21.** Hearths and areas of high artefactual density in Trench A, DM site.
- PLATE 22.** Partial view of the area of high artefactual density, Trench A, DM site (cluster X1, see Plate 35).
- PLATE 23.** Anthropomorphic vessel in cluster X1, Trench A, DM site (see Plates 17 and 21).

- PLATE 24.** Anthropomorphic vessel in cluster X1, Trench A, DM site (see Plates 17 and 21).
- PLATE 25.** Hearths, cache-deposit and micro-context B-Mc-1, Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 26.** South-eastern part of the cache-deposit in Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 27.** Spatial distribution of fish and turtle remains in Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 28.** Spatial distribution of whole and broken *Strombus gigas* shells in Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 29.** Partial view of the cache-deposit in Trench B, DM site (towards the north-western corner).
- PLATE 30.** A: the north-western corner of the cache-deposit in Trench B, DM site; B: the south-eastern part of the cache-deposit in Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 31.** Central part of cache-deposit, Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 32.** View from the north-western corner of cache-deposit, Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 33.** A, B, north-western corner of cache-deposit, Trench B, DM site with the micro-context B-Mc-2 in lower right corner, Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 34.** Close-up of the micro-context B-Mc-2, Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 35.** A: Close-up of the micro-context B-Mc-2, Trench B, DM site; B: details of the upper part of the micro-context B-Mc-2, Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 36.** A, B: lower part of the micro-context B-Mc-2, view from the southern part of Trench B, DM site (match Plate 33)
- PLATE 37.** General view of micro-context B-Mc-3 with a figurine placed inside a vessel, Trench B, DM site (note the white arrow).
- PLATE 38.** A, close-up of micro-context B-Mc-3, Trench B, DM site; B, close up of micro-context B-Mc-3, Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 39.** A: close up of *Standing* figurine with *Canoe-shaped Headdress* lying face down, Trench B, DM site (see figurine in Plate 79: 49a,b); B: the *Standing* figurine with *Canoe-shaped Headdress* within the Micro-context B-Mc-3, Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 40.** A: close-up of two man/woman figurines in the micro-context B-Mc-4, Trench B, DM site; B: micro-context B-Mc-4 after the removal of the figurine seen in foreground of Plate 44.
- PLATE 41.** A: micro-context B-Mc-1 in the south-western part of Trench B, DM site (see Plate 25); B, micro-context B-Mc-1 in the south-western part of Trench B, DM site (see Plate 25).
- PLATE 42.** A, association of microvessel and Heterogeneous figurine, central part of cache-deposit, Trench B, DM site; B, association of a figurine in face-down position and two *ollas*, central part of cache deposit, Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 43.** A: a *Seated* figurine covered by a large fragment of *olla* (Micro-context B-Mc-5) (see lower right corner in Plate 31); B: association of an *olla*, a microvessel and a figurine. Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 44.** A: a figurine standing beside a small vessel. Micro-context B-Mc-6, Trench B, DM site; B: a figurine from the same Micro stylistic group as that shown in Plate 54, lying in the north-eastern part of Trench CB, DM site (see Plates 15 and 53).
- PLATE 45.** Depositional contexts of figurines shown in Plates 96a-c, and 97:244a,b. Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 46.** Depositional contexts of figurines shown in Plates 77:245 and 94:65a,b. Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 47.** Depositional contexts of figurines shown in Plates 90:41a-c, 73:54a-c, 157a-c. Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 48.** Depositional contexts of figurines shown in Plates 96:68, 17:63. Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 49.** Well-preserved seated figurine in its context (Pl.74:57). Note the red slip and polished surface. Trench B, DM site.
- PLATE 50.** Depositional contexts of two anthropo- and one zoomorphic figurines (Plates 117:557a,b, 134:1086 & 1087, 135:514a-c), DM site.
- PLATE 51.** Anthropomorphic microvessel and anthropo-zoomorphic vessel in Trench B, DM site. Compare Plate 115: 261a,b.
- PLATE 52.** A: anthropomorphic vessel and other decorated vessels in eastern part of cache-deposit, Trench B, DM site; B: a micro-context B-Mc-6 with one microvessel and a fragment of another anthropomorphic vessel, *Tivela* spp. and *Labyrinthus* spp. pendants (see background of Plate 30).
- PLATE 53.** Depositional contexts of *ollas*, microvessels and *Strombus gigas* shells, Trenches A and B respectively.
- PLATE 54.** Depositional contexts of vessels from Trench C (burial context) and B respectively.
- PLATE 55.** A: association of an *olla*, turtle bone and bone flute in southern part of cache deposit, Trench B, DM site (micro-context B-Mc-7); B: association of marine shells, fish and mammal mandibles, in north-western part of cache-deposit, Trench B, DM site (Micro-context B-Mc-8).
- PLATE 56.** Medium-sized vessel, landshell (*Labyrinthus* spp.) and serpentinite pendants, and a figurine in an upside-down position placed on a large fragment of an *olla* (Micro-context B-Mc-9).



- PLATE 57.** Flat coral stone with some vessels placed on top of it. Note a landshell whistle (*Plekocheilus* spp) to the right from the stone. South-eastern part of cache-deposit in Trench B, DM site (Micro-context B-Mc-10).
- PLATE 58.** Hearths and areas of high artefactual density in Trench C, DM site.
- PLATE 59.** Selected profile section from Trench C, DM site.
- PLATE 60.** Differential sieving in Trench C, DM site.
- PLATE 61.** Partial view of the south-western part of Trench C, DM site.
- PLATE 62.** Partial view of excavation of Trench C, DM site.
- PLATE 63.** Human remains and burial furniture. Trench C, DM site.
- PLATE 64.** General profile section of human burial, Trench C, DM site.
- PLATE 65.** Micro-context C-Mc-6 from Trench C, DM site, showing human bones lying on *Strombus gigas* shells and associated quartz pebble.
- PLATE 66.** General view of the human burial, Trench C, DM site.
- PLATE 67.** A, burial-associated human figurines, Trench C, DM site (micro-context C-Mc-5) (see Pl.63); B, depositional context of figurine shown in Plate 81:161.
- PLATE 68.** Association of *Standardised* (Pl.) and *Heterogeneous* figurines with the *Strombus gigas* outer lip and vessels. Trench C, DM site (micro-context C-Mc-6).
- PLATE 69.** View of south-western part of Trench C, DM site, showing piles of classified *Strombus gigas* artefacts.
- PLATE 70.** View of the southern part of Trench C, DM site, during the classification of *Strombus gigas* shells.
- PLATE 71.** Differential sieving in Trenches D-F, DM site.
- PLATE 72.** Partial view of excavations in Trench E, DM site.
- PLATE 73.** DM *Standardised* Figurines. *Seated Spread Legs: Simple Rounded Head* Miniature 157 (h. 5.5) and *Red Top Rounded Head* Miniatures 15 (h. 6.2 ), 16 (h. 6 ), 54 (h. 4.9 ), 81 (h. 7.1 ).
- PLATE 74.** DM *Standardised* Figurines. *Seated Spread Legs Red Top Rounded Head:* Small 11 (h. 9.4), 46 (h. fragm. 7.1) and Medium 13 (h. 11.1), 14 (h. 10.8), 57 (h. 11.9).
- PLATE 75.** DM *Standardised* Figurines. *Seated Bent-knee Legs: Red Top Rounded Head* Large 64 (h. 16.3), *Red Top Oval Head* Medium 241 (h. 11) and *Red Top Deformed Head* Small 43 (h. 9.2).
- PLATE 76.** DM *Standardised* Figurines. *Seated Spread Legs with Canoe-shaped Crest:* Small 45 (h. 7.7), 91 (h. 9.7), 179 (h. 10), and Medium 7 (h. 12.9).
- PLATE 77.** DM *Standardised* Figurines. *Seated Spread Legs with Canoe-shaped Crest:* Medium 31 (h. 12.9), 39 (h. 13.9), 69 (h. 13.2) and Large 29 (h. 17.2) and 245 (h. 17.2). *Seated Spread Legs with Plain Crest* Medium 48 (h. 10.9).
- PLATE 78.** DM *Standardised* Figurines. *Seated Spread Legs with Plain Crest:* Medium 20 (h. 11), 323 (h. 11.4) and Large 30 (h. 14.3). *Seated Bent-knee Legs: with Canoe-shaped Crest* Medium 168 (h. 14.1) and *with Plain Crest* Medium 47 (h. 12.9).
- PLATE 79.** DM *Standardised* Figurines. *Standing Bent-knee Legs Deformed Head* Very Large 371 (h. 18.3). *Standing Straight Legs with Canoe-shaped Crest* Large 49 (h. 15.9).
- PLATE 80.** DM *Standardised* Figurines. *Standing Straight Legs with Canoe-shaped Crest* Very Large 40 (h. 18.5).
- PLATE 81.** DM *Standardised* Figurines. *Standing Straight Legs with Canoe-shaped Crest:* Large 36 (h. fragm. 11.8), Very Large 3 (h. total approx. 18), 161 (h. 19.5), 242 (h. total aprox. 18). *Standing Straight Legs with Plain Crest* Medium 84 (h. total aprox. 11.5). *Cylindrical Body Flat Bottom Rounded Head* 155 (h. 9.3).
- PLATE 82.** DM *Heterogeneous* Figurines. *Seated Cylindrical Figure:* (Body/Head) Small (h. 8.6) and Medium 8 (h. 11).
- PLATE 83.** DM *Heterogeneous* Figurines. *Standing Cylindrical Figure:* Miniature 94 (h. 6.2), Small 158 (h. 7.7), 315 (h. 9.8), 344 (h. fragm. 7.3) and Medium 21 (h. 11), 35 (h. 10.55), 42 (h. 9.9), 50 (h. 12.5), 167 (h. 11.2).
- PLATE 84.** DM *Heterogeneous* Figurines. *Seated Without Crest Flat Anatomical Figure:* Miniature 53 (h. 6.8), 82 (h. 8.1), 187 (h. 6.8); Small 55 (h. 7.5), 58 (h. fragm. 9), 93 (h. 8.6), 182 (h. 7.7).
- PLATE 85.** DM *Heterogeneous* Figurines. *Seated Bent-knee Legs Without Crest Flat Anatomical Figure* Small 83 (h. 7.1), 149 (h. 8.3). *Seated Spread Legs with Crest Flat Anatomical Figure* Small 33(h. 9.8), 34 (h. 10).
- PLATE 86.** DM *Heterogeneous* Figurines. *Standing Without Crest Flat Anatomical Figure:* Small 56 (h. 9), 178 (h. 8.6), 322 (h. 7.2), 326 (h. 7) and Medium 177 (h. 11).
- PLATE 87.** DM *Heterogeneous* Figurines. *Standing with Crest Flat Anatomical Figure:* Miniature 320 (h. 6.4) and Small 78 (h. 7.7), 79 (h. 8.5), 80 (h. 7.3).
- PLATE 88.** DM *Heterogeneous* Figurines. *Standing with Crest Flat Anatomical Figure:* Small 172 (h. 9.8) and Medium 66 (h. fragm. 9.4), 75 (h. fragm. 10.5), 160 (h. 10.7).

- PLATE 89.** DM *Heterogeneous* Figurines. *Seated Without Crest Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure:* Miniature 63 (h. 6.6), Small 6 (h. 10.3), 26 (h. 9.6), 180 (h. 8.6), 189 (h. 8.5) and Medium 52 (h. 11.2).
- PLATE 90.** DM *Heterogeneous* Figurines. *Standing Without Crest Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure:* Small 22 (h. 7.7), Medium 38 (h. 10.9), 41 (h. fragm. 10.9), 350 (h. 12.3).
- PLATE 91.** DM *Heterogeneous* Figurines. *Standing Without Crest Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure* Medium 25 (h. 11.4), 88 (h. 11.6), 175 (h. 11.6).
- PLATE 92.** DM *Heterogeneous* Figurines. *Standing Without Crest Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure* Medium 188 (h. total aprox. 12.5). *Standing with Crest Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure* Small 159 (h. 9.1), 191 (h. 8.5).
- PLATE 93.** DM *Imitative* Figurines. *Seated Spread Legs Simple Rounded Head:* Medium 5 (h. 13), 60 (h. 11.7), 147 (h. 12.2) and Large 1 (h. total aprox.15.1 ).
- PLATE 94.** DM *Imitative* Figurines. *Seated Spread Legs with Canoe-shaped Crest:* Medium 194 (h. 11.4) and Very Large 65 (h. 19.1).
- PLATE 95.** DM *Imitative* Figurines. *Seated Spread Legs with Inverted Canoe-shaped Crest* Medium 9 (h. 9.9), 10 (h. 10.9).
- PLATE 96.** DM *Imitative* Figurines. *Seated Spread Legs with Inverted Canoe-shaped Crest* Medium 61 (h. 9.7), 68 (h. 13.3).
- PLATE 97.** DM *Imitative* Figurines. *Seated Spread Legs with Plain Crest:* Miniature 184 (h. 6.4) and Medium 32 (h. 10.9). *Seated Spread Legs with Inverted Canoe-shaped Crest* Medium 244 (h. 13.2).
- PLATE 98.** DM *Imitative* Figurines. *Standing Straight Legs Without Crest Oval Head:* Small 44 (h. 8.8) and Medium 90 (h. 13.2).
- PLATE 99.** DM *Imitative* Figurines. *Standing Straight Legs Rounded Head with Top* Very Large 74 (h. 22). *Standing Straight Legs: with Canoe-shaped Crest* Medium 164 (h. fragm. 8.7), *with Plain Crest* Medium 143 (h. fragm. 11.6) and *with Inverted Canoe-shaped Crest* Very Large 2 (h. 20.1), 246 (h. 12.5).
- PLATE 100.** DM *Standardised* Figurines Fragments. Selected examples of bust, head and head fragments (see Table 42 for details).
- PLATE 101.** DM *Standardised* Figurines Fragments. Selected examples of headless body, below-waist and legs (see Tables 43 and 44 for details).
- PLATE 102.** DM *Heterogeneous* Figurines Fragments. *Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure* (see Tables 54 and 55 for details).
- PLATE 103.** DM *Heterogeneous* Figurines Fragments. *Cylindrical Figure* or *Flat Anatomical Figure* (see Tables 54, 55 and 56 for details).
- PLATE 104.** DM *Imitative* Figurine Fragments. Selected fragments of legless body, bust, head (see Table 68 for details).
- PLATE 105.** DM *Imitative* Figurine Fragments. Selected fragments of heads and below-waist (see Tables 68 and 69 for details).
- PLATE 106.** DM atypical figurines.
- PLATE 107.** Animal figurines from DM site. Dimensions: 4 (h. 12.5, w. 21), 18 (h. 3.5, w. fragm. 7.6), 744 (h. 6.2 , w. 10.7), 183 (h. 2.7), 240 (h. 5.1 , w. 8), 73 (h. 6.5, w. 11.2).
- PLATE 108.** Miniature benches from DM site.
- PLATE 109.** Anthropomorphic vessel, DM site (h. 11.8).
- PLATE 110.** Anthropomorphic vessel, DM site (h. 14.2).
- PLATE 111.** Anthropomorphic effigy vessel, DM site (h. 15.5).
- PLATE 112.** Composite anthropomorphic effigy vessels, DM site. Dimensions: 450 (h. 26.4), 262 (h. 7.35).
- PLATE 113.** Vessels with anthropomorphic decorations, DM site. Dimensions: 445 (h. 14.3), 1823 (h. 13.8), 1065 (h. 16).
- PLATE 114.** Vessels with anthropomorphic decorations, DM site. Dimensions: 67 (h. 19.5), 62 (h. 19.5).
- PLATE 115.** Vessel with anthropo- and zoomorphic decorations, DM site (h. 14.6).
- PLATE 116.** Necked jars with anthropomorphic decorations, DM site. Dimensions: 321 (h. 22.3), 736 (h. 14.5), 302 (h. 14.2).
- PLATE 117.** Vessels with anthropomorphic decorations, DM site. Dimensions: 115 (h. 11.3), 557 (h.21).
- PLATE 118.** Vessels with anthropomorphic decorations, DM site; 60 (h. 20.1).
- PLATE 119.** Necked jars with anthropomorphic decorations, DM site. Dimensions: 1072 (h. 11.5), 1094 (h. 14.1), 1095 (h. 17.1), 3053 (h. 36.7).
- PLATE 120.** Bulging neck polished and red slipped jar with coffee-bean-eyes and nose or beak decoration (208a,b, h. 126); ‘various’: some fragments with coffee-bean-eyes decoration, largely from bulging necks of various size categories of vessels, DM site.
- PLATE 121.** Red slip and anthropomorphic vessel surface colour, DM site.

- PLATE 122.** Vessels with the motifs of 'eyes' applied on the necks, DM site. Dimensions: 734 (h. 9.5), 107 (h. 7.2), 250 (h. 12.9), 719 (h. 12.7), 240 (h. 12.5), 199 (h. 13.5), 595 (h. 12.9), 702 (h. 9.9).
- PLATE 123.** Vessels with the motifs of 'eyes' applied on the necks, DM site. Dimensions: 18 (h. 10), 207 (h. 8.4), 167 (h. 9.4).
- PLATE 124.** Decorative motifs that resemble eyes, ears and nose, DM site. Dimensions: 753 (h. 12.2 ), 670 (h. 10.7), 322 (h.13.1).
- PLATE 125.** Microvessels with anthropomorphic motifs, DM site. Dimensions: 679 (h. 5.4), 165 (h. 6.1).
- PLATE 126.** Vessels with anthropomorphic motifs, DM site. Dimensions: 454 (h. 11.9), 1834 (h. 6.8), 3533 (h. 8.2).
- PLATE 127.** Vessel with anthropomorphic motifs on the shoulder, DM site (h. 10.1).
- PLATE 128.** Open bowls on pedestal with anthropomorphic appendixes, DM site. Dimensions: 72 (h. 8), 194 (h. 3.3).
- PLATE 129.** Double-wall vessel with anthropomorphic decoration on spout, DM site (h. 12).
- PLATE 130.** Vessel with anthropomorphic motifs applied at the base of a handle and on spout, DM site (h.11.6).
- PLATE 131.** Composed vessel decorated with anthropomorphic and geometric motifs, DM site. Dimensions: 63 (h. 16.2 ), 303 (h. 14.2).
- PLATE 132.** 158, possible pipe bowl 429a,b, pipe bowl with anthropomorphic motifs, DM site. Dimensions: 429 (h. 8.6), 158 (h. fragm. 4).
- PLATE 133.** 248, small jar with a human face 'collar' at the lower part of the neck; 444a-c, fragment of a spout with anthropomorphic motifs of Barrancoid characteristics, DM site. Dimensions: 248 (h. 9.6), 444 (h. 6.7).
- PLATE 134.** Anthro-zoomorphic vessel, DM site (h. 31.4).
- PLATE 135.** Animal vessels from DM site. Dimensions: 6641 (h. 9.7), 514 (h. 7.2).
- PLATE 136.** Batrachian motifs applied on vessel body, DM site. Dimensions: 150 (h. 8.6), 20 (h. 5.7), 1052 (h. 5.5).
- PLATE 137.** Ornitomorphic appendixes on vessels from the DM site. Dimensions: 320 (h. 11.7), 285 (h. 10.5), 756 (Ø mouth 12.3).
- PLATE 138.** Zoomorphic rim *adornos* from the DM site. Dimensions: 446 (h. 5), 1710 (h. 5.5), 2884 (h. 6.5).
- PLATE 139.** Anthro- and zoomorphic rim decorations from the DM site. 448 (Ø mouth 23).
- PLATE 140.** Shell pendants with anthro- and ornitomorphic motifs from the DM site.
- PLATE 141.** Microvessel in a shape of the squash fruit or bottle gourd, DM site. Dimensions: 825 (h. 8.7), 17995 (h. 3.6), 17996 (h. 1.5), 17994 (h. 1.5).
- PLATE 142.** Fragment of an atypical vessel (censer?) and T-shaped pottery objects (pendants?), DM site. Dimensions: 18001 (h. 10.6), 575-580 (for example A, l. 4.2 , w. 3.6).
- PLATE 143.** Decorated necked vessels from the DM site. Dimensions: 779 (h. 15.5), 1076 (h. 12), 701 (h. 10.8), 863 (h. 15.5), 217 (h. 6.5).
- PLATE 144.** Sample of vessels with handles, DM site. Dimensions: 699 (h. 19.2), 3479 (h. 10.4), 1859 (h. 6.5), 2719 (h. 8.5), 1948 (h. 13), 676 (h. 8.3).
- PLATE 145.** Vessel with handles and pellets applied on the body, DM site. Dimensions: 660 (h. 6.5), 24 (h. 16.7), 712 (h. 9.6), 25 (h. 11.2), 882 (h. 6.5), 17998 (h. 8), 149 (h. 9), 45 (h. 12).
- PLATE 146.** Vessel rim decorations, DM site. Dimensions: 17085 (h. 8.4), 1424 (h. 6), 761 (h. 9.6), 16907 (h. 8.5).
- PLATE 147.** Various vessel decorations, DM site. Dimensions: 1835 (Ø mouth 30), 479 (h. 6.1), 1528 (h. 9.5), 503 (h. 7.2).
- PLATE 148.** Vessels atypical in the DM pottery assemblage. Dimensions: 148 (h. 9.6), 740 (h. 14.5), 35 (h. 11.6), 789 (h. 8.5).
- PLATE 149.** Vessels atypical in the DM pottery assemblage: 1568, pedestal bowl with incised geometric decoration; 743, pedestal bowl with a serpent-like rim decoration; 272, 21, pedestal bowls with painted black line decoration. Dimensions: 1568 (h. 9.2), 272 (h. 10.1), 21 (h. 9), 743 (h. 7.5).
- PLATE 150.** Globular vessels with black lines painted on buff, atypical in the DM pottery assemblage. Dimensions: 658 (h. 24), 17020 (h. 33), 748 (h. 14.6), 783 (h. 15.6).
- PLATE 151.** Potsherds with black and white painted decoration, atypical in the DM pottery assemblage. Dimensions: 2883 (h. 32), 1604 (Ø base 10.7), 1638 (Ø base 9).
- PLATE 152.** Black and white painted potsherds of either Tierroid or Dabajuroid affiliation, atypical in the DM pottery assemblage
- PLATE 153.** Black and white painted potsherds of Dabajuroid affiliation, atypical in the DM pottery assemblage. 17071 (h. 17.5).
- PLATE 154.** 'Special' form vessels from DM site. Dimensions: 59 (h. 13), 1093 (h. 24.5), 78 (h. 8.2).

- PLATE 155.** Cooking *ollas* from the DM site. Note red slip and decorations below the rim of the vessel 202. Dimensions: 202 (Ø mouth 22), 156 (Ø mouth 20.5).
- PLATE 156.** Plain 'bottles' and jars from DM site. Dimensions: 161 (h. 15.2), 157 (h.14.6), 211 (h. 9.4), 210 (h. 13.1).
- PLATE 157.** Plain small and medium-sized globular vessels from the DM site. Dimensions: 1569 (h. 6.5), 154 (h. 4.5).
- PLATE 158.** Plain small and micro-vessels from the DM site. Dimensions: 151 (h. 2.6), 120 (h. 6.1).
- PLATE 159.** Mammal-bone flutes, teeth pendants, worked vertebrae, projectile points and worked bird bones from DM site.
- PLATE 160.** Mammal remains from DM site: crania of *Alouatta seniculus* and two cranial vaults of Felidae (top row), three bones of deer (lower row left), ramus of the mandible of *Didelphis marsupialis* and mandibular fragments of *Felis wiedii* and *Felis pardalis*.
- PLATE 161.** Pendants made of *Labyrinthus* spp. (top row), *Tivela mactroides* (middle row) and Olivellidae, DM site.
- PLATE 162.** Lithic artefacts from DM site (micro-axes, pendants and various).
- PLATE 163.** A, *Plekocheilus* and *Strophocheilus* spp. landshell whistles; B, objects made out of *Strombus gigas* shell; C, shell beads and pendants; C, fish otholits during the lab analyses. DM site.
- PLATE 164.** Aerial view of the Dos Mosquises (in the foreground) and Domusky Norte islands (in the background).
- PLATE 165.** Partial view of excavations at Domusky Norte site (1996 season).
- PLATE 166.** A, location of the DMN site within the Domusky Norte Island; B, maximum depth of the cultural deposit and *Strombus gigas* shell accumulations at DMN site; C, excavation pits at DMN site (units 1-23 - 1988 season, units 24-32 - 1996 season).
- PLATE 167.** Micro-context DMN-X1 from the excavation unit # 12 at DMN site (see Plate 166c).
- PLATE 168.** Micro-context DMN-X2 found in the unit # 25 (see Plate 166c); DMN site.
- PLATE 169.** Micro-context (DMN-X5) with fragments of a griddle and shells recovered in the unit # 27 (see Plate 166c); DMN site.
- PLATE 170.** Micro-context (DMN-X4) with lithic *metate* and two *manos* in foreground and a hearth in distance, DMN site.
- PLATE 171.** DMN *Heterogeneous* Figurines: *Standing Cylindrical Figure* Small 327 (h. 10.2), 337 (h. 8.2), 366 (h. 7.8), 328 (h. 7.9), 329 (h. 8), 376 (h. 8.5); *Standing Flat Anatomical Figure* Small 330 (h. 9), 333 (h. 8.8); *Flat Anatomical Figure* fragment 378 (h. 4).
- PLATE 172.** DMN *Heterogeneous* Figurines: *Standing (?) Cylindrical Figure* Small 331 (h. 8.9); *Standing Flat Anatomical Figure* Small 341 (h. 7.8) and Medium 334 (h. 12.2) and 336 (h. 13.5).
- PLATE 173.** DMN *Heterogeneous* Figurines: headless and legless body fragments, Miniature 355 and 377, the remaining specimens Small.
- PLATE 174.** DMN *Heterogeneous* figurines' various fragments.
- PLATE 175.** DMN painted pottery.
- PLATE 176.** DMN painted pottery.
- PLATE 177.** Plan of KR/A site and excavations at Krasky Island.
- PLATE 178.** KR/A *Standardised* figurine and fragments. *Seated Bent-knee Deformed Head* Medium 231 (h. 11.3); fragments of Large specimens.
- PLATE 179.** KR/A *Heterogeneous* figurines and fragments. *Flat Anatomical Figure* fragments, Miniature 214 (h. fragm. 5.5); Small 204 (h. fragm. 7.5), 215 (h. 8.1), 216 (h. fragm. 6.1), 218 (h. 6.5); Medium 214.
- PLATE 180.** KR/A *Heterogeneous* figurines and fragments. *Standing Cylindrical Figure* Small 228 (h. fragm. 6.5) and 237 (h. fragm. 7.3). *Standing Cylindrical Figure with Crest* Small 222 (h. 8.3). *Flat Anatomical Figure* fragments Miniatures 207 (h. fragm. 4.8) and 205 (h. fragm. 5.1).
- PLATE 181.** KR/A *Imitative* figurines and fragments. *Standing Rounded Head* Large 233 (h. fragm. 15.4). Legless body with *Rounded Head* Medium 232 (h. fragm. 12.5). Head with decorated *Plain Headdress* Large 212 (w. 8.5). *Rounded Head* Large 238 and head with *Atypical Crest* 239.
- PLATE 182.** Decorated pottery from KR/A site 1039 (h. 10.4), 943 (h. 4.4), 1022 (h. 5), 1009 (h. 6), 937 (h. 19).
- PLATE 183.** Aerial view of the western part of Cayo Sal Island with the CS/D site at the end.
- PLATE 184.** Plan of excavations at CS/D site, Cayo Sal Island.
- PLATE 185.** Partial view of the natural salt pans at Cayo Sal Island. The CS/D site in the background.
- PLATE 186.** Partial view of excavations at CS/D site.
- PLATE 187.** Documentation and early classification of CS/D pottery, Cayo Sal Island.
- PLATE 188.** Depositional context of the figurine shown in Plate 191:310 and some vessels at CS/D site.
- PLATE 189.** Partial view of excavations at CS/D site; clusters of pottery vessels.

- PLATE 190.** CS/D *Standardised* figurines. *Seated on bench Bent-knee with a Cap-like Crest* Medium 312 (h. 13.5). *Standing with Canoe-shaped Crest* Large 307 (h. 15.2).
- PLATE 191.** CS/D *Standardised* figurines: *Standing with Cap-like Crest* Large 310 (h. fragm.12.1). Head with *Snake-like Crest* Large 309 (h. fragm. 7.4). CS/D *Imitative* figurines: fragment of Medium figurine 313 (h. fragm. 12); head with decorated *Plain Headdress* Medium to Large specimen 308 (h. fragm. 7.4).
- PLATE 192.** Decorated pottery from CS/D site: items 1742 (h. 9.6), 1794 ( $\emptyset$  base 6.1), 1724a,b (h. 9.6) and 1811 (are identical in shape and decoration motifs for the Dabajuroid Series, particularly in Paraguaná and Coro areas (a.d. 1200-1500). Dimensions of the remaining items: 1918 (h. 8), 1919 (h. 9.6), 1740 ( $\emptyset$  mouth 15.2), 2263 (h. 11), 1928 (h. 14.4), 1942 (h. 10.8), 2132 (h. 10.4), 1716 (h. 6.5), 2533 (h. 17.5).
- PLATE 193.** Cultural chronology of north-central Venezuela (taken from A. Antczak 1999).
- PLATE 194.** Map of the Tocarón and La Mata Mounds (taken from Osgood 1943:16, Fig.2).
- PLATE 195.** Main archaeological sites in the Lake Valencia area (after Kidder 1944; see also Plate 4).
- PLATE 196.** A: Alfredo Jahn during excavations at the Camburito site (von den Steinen 1904); B, C: Rafael Requena's excavations at Los Cerritos site; D: partial view of Requena's exhibition of Valencioid artefacts in Maracay Museum (Requena 1932); Cornelius Osgood's excavations of Tocarón Mound Six (Osgood 1943).
- PLATE 197.** Furniture from a single urn burial from Mariara (MFVB).
- PLATE 198.** 'Micro-urns' from the MFVB collection.
- PLATE 199.** Pottery figurines from the areas NE of the Valencia Basin (see Tables 108 and 109). 748, head of *Standardised with Canoe-shaped Headdress* figurine, El Paraiso, Caracas (Requena 1946-47:29, Fig.1-5); 500 and 749, *Standardised* or *Imitative Standing* figurine and figurine leg, Boca Tacagua (Boca Tacagua style see Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol.2, Pl.35 20, 7): 746, *Oval* head of an *Solid* figurine, Carmen de Uria; 584, leg of *Solid Standing* figurine, Boca Tacagua; 747a and b, leg of *Seated Solid* figurine and fragment of a figurine leg; 583a,b, *Seated Solid Spread Legs Rounded Head* figurine, Boca Tacagua; 582, *Seated Solid Spread Legs Rounded Head* figurine, Puerto Carayaca; 502, *Solid* figurine, Cueva Cruxent, Birongo; 503, bird figurine, Cueva Cruxent, Birongo (502 and 503, Río Chico style, see Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol.2, Pl.38, 3,1).
- PLATE 200.** *Standing Oval Head* figurines from LVB.
- PLATE 201.** *Standing Oval Head* figurines from LVB.
- PLATE 202.** *Standing Oval Head* figurines from LVB.
- PLATE 203.** *Standing Oval Head* figurines from LVB.
- PLATE 204.** *Standing Oval Head* figurines from LVB.
- PLATE 205.** *Standing Canoe-shaped Crest* figurines from LVB.
- PLATE 206.** *Standing Canoe-shaped Crest* figurines from LVB.
- PLATE 207.** *Standing Canoe-shaped Crest* figurines from LVB.
- PLATE 208.** *Standing Rounded Head* figurines from LVB.
- PLATE 209.** Atypical LVB figurines.
- PLATE 210.** *Seated Spread-legs Canoe-shaped Crest* figurines from LVB.
- PLATE 211.** *Seated Spread-legs Plain Crest* figurines from LVB.
- PLATE 212.** 674, 550 and 470: *Seated Spread-legs with Canoe-shaped Crest* figurines; *Seated Spread-legs Triangular Head* figurine from LVB.
- PLATE 213.** *Seated Spread legs Rounded Head* figurines from LVB.
- PLATE 214.** *Cylindrical Body Flat and Rounded Bottom Oval Head* figurines from LVB.
- PLATE 215.** Upper row: *Seated Spread-legs Oval Head* figurines; middle row: *Seated Bent-knee Oval Head* figurines; bottom row: 537, 522 and 613, *Seated Bent-knee Rounded Head* figurines; 435, *Seated Spread-legs Modelled Head* figurine from LVB.
- PLATE 216.** *Cylindrical Body* figurines from LVB. First and second row, *Flat Bottomed Rounded Head* figurines except for *Oval Head* specimen, 481; third row: *Rounded* (623a-c) and *Flat Bottomed Canoe-shaped Head* figurines; *Flat Bottomed Triangular Head* figurine from LVB.
- PLATE 217.** Range of Valencia anthropomorphic figurines *Oval Heads*. A, possible figurine head decoration (feather crown?) (private collection, LVB).
- PLATE 218.** Range of Valencia anthropomorphic figurines *Rounded Heads* (various sources): 553 *Red Top Rounded Head*; 563, 677 and 681 *Rounded Head with Line*; 423, incorrectly reconstructed specimen, note that the part down the line is a modern addition.
- PLATE 219.** Range of Valencia anthropomorphic figurines heads *with Crest* and *Canoe-shaped* (various sources): 541, 565, 733, 622 and 669, *Canoe-shaped Crest*; 508, 675a,b, 567, 672 and 671, *Plain Crest*; 440, 540, 479 and 589, *Canoe-shaped head*; 422, incorrectly reconstructed specimen, note that the part down the line is a modern addition; 654a, b, atypical crest.

- PLATE 220.** Range of Valencia anthropomorphic figurines heads and headless bodies (various sources). 661 and 662a,b, *Triangular Head*; 469, 465 and 587 heads suggestive of 'early period' (see Osgood 1943: 69, Pl.9c); 442, *Rectangular Head*; 588 and 478, atypical heads; 444, *Modelled Head*; 511 and 466 atypical figurines with disproportionately large ear and facial features. 427, 426 and 645, headless bodies; 650a,b headless *Seated Bent-knee* figurine with baby on lap; 561, atypical figurine.
- PLATE 221.** Modern imitations of Valencioid figurines from Patanemo Bay.
- PLATE 222.** Animal representations from the Lake Valencia Basin. 428, feline (Requena 1932:55; Cruxent *et al.* 1970, Fig.100); 697a,b, feline or dog with a cub on its back, El Zamuro (MFVB, NR 15108); 494, unidentified quadruped, La Ceiba Trench, La Cabrera (Kidder 1944, Pl. 7, 32); 504, monkey head, (h. 8.5), Las Matas (Peñalver 1965:19; Cruxent *et al.* 1970:134, Fig.101); 740, a quadruped with anthropo- and ornitomorphic traits (h. 15), LVB (Cruxent *et al.* 1970:100, Fig.99); 430, a turtle (?) (Requena 1932:53); 431, lizards (?) (Requena 1932:53); 509, lizard, Las Matas (Peñalver 1965:19); armadillo (l. 7.8), El Zamuro (MFVB, NR 15191); 741, anthropomorphised toucan (h. 12), LVB (Cruxent *et al.* 1970:134, Fig.102); beaked bird, Tocarón (Osgood 1943:32, Fig.9); 'fantastic animal', LVB (Requena 1932:53).
- PLATE 223.** Range of Valencia zoo-anthropomorphic figurines. 678, 707a,b, 676a,b, 689a-c, 690a,b, 710a,b, 696, 622a,b and 688, El Zamuro and Camburito mounds (MFVB); 538 and 559 unknown localities in LVB (Alcina Franch 1970, Pl.V,6 and Pl. VIII, 11); 483, La Cabrera (Kidder 1944, Pl. VII, 30).
- PLATE 224.** Selection of non-ceramic representational material culture from the LVB. 1, anthropomorphic stone pectoral (h. 8), Los Cerritos (Peñalver n.d. b:26, Fig. 14); 2-5, anthropomorphic shell pendants, Tocarón (Osgood 1943:34, Fig.11: L, G, I, H); 6, bone spatula, MNUFRJ; 7, bird pendant, shell, LVB (Requena 1932:143); 8, bird pendant, greenish sericite, La Cabrera (Kidder 1944, Plate 11, 43); 9, bird pendant, shell, MFVB; 10, bird representation, bone, MNUFRJ; 11, close-up of bat pendant, shell (*Strombus gigas*), Guigüe, MFVB; 12, stylised bat-winged pendant, shell (*Strombus gigas*), private collection Maracay; 13, turtle-shaped shell pendant, La Cabrera (Kidder 1944, Pl.12:39); 14, turtle effigy, greenish stone, MFVB; 15-17, shell pendant and beads with batrachian motifs, Tocarón (Osgood 1943:34, Fig.11, L, N); 18, shell (*Strombus gigas*) pendant, La Cabrera, private collection Maracay.
- PLATE 225.** Range of anthropomorphic and anthropo-zoomorphic vessels: A1,2, B and C1,2 unknown localities in LVB; D, El Zamuro Mound 2 (A-D, MFVB); E, atypical anthropo-zoomorphic *adorno* similar to the DM vessel shown in Plate 134, private collection.
- PLATE 226.** Range of Valencia anthropo- and zoomorphic *adornos*. A-E whole human figures attached to vessel body; F, whole figure vessel lug or handle with 'crying eyes' motif painted on its face; G, H and J, human heads as rim *adornos*; J-M, zoomorphic rim *adornos*.
- PLATE 227.** Range of Valencia vessels with anthropomorphic decorations: A-D, G and H taken from Requena 1932; E, taken from Cruxent and Rouse 1958; F, MNUFRJ.
- PLATE 228.** Representational material culture from Lake Valencia Basin. 1a, b, decorated pipe bowl, La Cabrera Polished Gray (Kidder 1944, Pl.4:12,13); 2, 3a,b, decorated pipes, LVB (3a,b related to La Cabrera style) (Requena 1932:134); 4, plain pipe, Culebra Island (Peñalver 1976:19, V-3); 5, decorated pipe, La Cabrera style, La Victoria (MFVB, NR.14636); 6,7 pottery stools, LVB (Szabadics 1997:174; Requena 1932:107); decorated bone flutes, LVB (Requena 1932:149, 151); body stamps, LVB (Requena 1932:43); 12, 13, whistles and *ocarinas*, LVB (Requena 1932:145, 147).
- PLATE 229.** Some elements from the modern context of interpretation. Images from the Los Roques Archipelago fieldwork 1982-1996.

# Acknowledgements

The magnitude and logistic complexity of this research involved many forms of support from dozens of individuals and institutions on both sides of the Atlantic and a formal acknowledgement section cannot adequately express the quality and variability of the support I received from the colleagues, friends and institutions mentioned below.

Firstly, I would like to thank especially Warwick Bray and José R. Oliver for their invaluable professional advice, constructive insights, assistance and encouragement at every step of this study. Very special thanks go to Peter Drewett for his advice and support in the first stages of this thesis.

I would also acknowledge Erika Wagner and Carlos Schubert (†), for their constant academic and moral support since the very beginnings of this research. Very special thanks go to Michelle Wollenstonecroft for her professional comments, encouragement and enthusiasm. Many thanks to Alison Gibson who kindly read parts of the manuscript.

I am very grateful to my colleagues - archaeologists, anthropologists and art historians - who on different occasions shared their ideas with me: Tania Andrade Lima, Miguel Arroyo and Lourdes Blanco, Lilliam Arvelo, Arie Boomert, José M. Cruxent, Manuela Fischer, Peter O'B. Harris, Corinne Hoffman & Menno Hoogland, Katarzyna & Arek Marciniak, Frank Meddens, Alexandra Morgan, Birgit Faber Morse, Henri Petitjean Roget, Irving Rouse, Christopher Tilley and Michelle Wollenstonecroft. I would also acknowledge Ian Hodder, Joyce Marcus and Isuzu Shimada for bibliographical assistance.

At the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, I would especially like to thank Elisabeth Bacus, Cyprian Broodbank, Dafydd Griffiths, Norah Moloney, Stephen Shennan, Bill Sillair, and Peter Ucko, for their support and advice. I would also like to thank Mr. R. H. T. Ward of the Royal

Free & University College Medical School in London, Michelle de Haan (Birbeck College) for their professional advice. I am also indebted to Judy Medrington, Barbara Brown, Stuart Laidlaw, Michael Halliwell and Ken Walton for their administrative and technical assistance.

I very much appreciate those specialists who collaborated in the analyses of the evidence discussed in this study: Emily de Berrizbeitia, Peggy Mitchell, Petra Bolivar and Guillermo Cuellar, María Carmela Brandt, Vincenzo Constanza and Francesco Camillo.

I owe a debt of gratitude to Guillermo Machado Mendoza and Enrique Beracasa, President and Vice-President of the Fundación Científica Los Roques, for their continual support, and to Roger Laughlin G., the Scientific Director of the same institution, for his enthusiasm and assistance, especially during the early stages of this investigation.

Many thanks go to the members and ex-members of the Fundación Científica Los Roques, particularly those without whose enthusiastic assistance and friendship this research could not have been accomplished: Luis Arturo Ayala, Antonio Bonnini, Peter Botome, José Tomás Carrillo, Carlos & Sonia Castillo, Jesús Díaz Portocarrero, Simón Espinoza, Braulio A. García López, Rafael García Luján, Juan Carlos García Luján, Ricardo Guinand, Gonzalo Iribarren, Alain & Aude Jathiere, Enrique Lander, Félix Lairret, Octavio Lara, Roberto Mateu, Roderick & Giselle Römer, William Römer, Darío Salas, Carlos Sanabria, Otmaro Silva, Alvaro Tovar Larrain (†), Fernando Tovar Larrain, Martín Tovar Zuloaga, Pedro Trebbau, Luis Ignacio Ugüeto, Juan Guillermo Ugüeto, Gonzalo Vázquez, Luis Guillermo Villegas, Pedro Pablo Vitolo, Caleb & Mercedes White and Tom Zaidman.

I would also like to acknowledge the staff of the Fundación Científica Los Roques, especially Belinda Alvarez, Raúl Cardozo, Marilú Fajín, Juan Carlos Fernández, Ricardo Gándara, Loli Ferrete, Julieta Machado de Pacanins, Alicia Ochoa, Pablo Rodríguez and Bladimir Rodríguez. I am very grateful to Maruja Beracasa, Irene Szábadics, Manuel Matos, Kathy Phelps and Jack Oriol for their invaluable logistic support.

Many thanks to students and friends who supported us in the field and in the lab: Giles Branch, Arturo Breidenbach, Gregorio Breidenbach, Jacques Bolet, José Julian China, Guillermo Colmenares, Marcin Draminski, Leonard Fehr, Fabio Garbin, Bernardo Gutt Fehr, Hiram Moreno, Yilka Mulato, Lerman Portes, Juan Carlos Rey G., Carlos E. Rivero, Luis Rivero, Gildardo Rodríguez, Alexis Rojas, Marta Romero, Cesar A. Seijas, Reinaldo Suhr, Andrej Sýkora, Marian Urosa, and Anacielo Vale.

Very special thanks go to José Ana Marval and Germán Reyes (*Moncho*) for their friendship and assistance during the unforgettable years at Dos Mosquises. I owe many thanks to the fishermen for their lasting friendship, guidance at sea and for their affection: Loy Gómez, Luis Marcano, Pablo Segundo Mata (*Pablo Tuerto*), Amanda Marcano (†), Francisco Mata, Luis Mata, Pablo Mata, Toribio Mata, Felipe Salazar (†) (*Niole*), Juan Salazar (*Juancho*), Cruz Salazar and Teobaldo Salazar (*Papa Tobaró* [†]).

Without the support and care of friends in Venezuela, Great Britain, Poland and elsewhere, this work could not have been carried out or completed. Above all I want to offer very special thanks to my friends Hilary Dunsterville de Branch & Douglas Branch, Wanda & Wojtek Draminski and Roman Zaks for their unconditional support and love. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Gabriela Briceño de Araud &



Jean Araud, Rebeca & Moises Azerraf, Pilar, Pedro & Samantha Aso, Raquel & Daniel de Barandiarán, Viola & Leszek Borowski, Ma. Teresa Urbina de Bosque & Carlos Bosque, Cristina & Dix (†) Branch, Giles Branch, Fausto Camerino, Roberto Cipriani, Kazimierz Cybal, Antoinette Da Prato Perelli, Gyula David, Ana & Mietek Detyniecki, Lys & Peter Drewett, Ivonne & Borys (†) Drujan, Manuela Fischer, Daniel Genoud, Peter & Marianne Harris, Krystyna Díaz Marcinkiewicz, Madeleine and Kevin Melling, Bozena & Krysia Dziejawska, Maryla & Robert Enefer, Jennifer & Jack Fernández, Loli Ferrete & Fredi Rojas, Jorge Gutic M., Jane & Andrew Heyn, Alida & Klaus Jaffé, Florangel & George (†) Lambor, Mariela & Armando Michelangeli, Armando & Maritsa Morón, Juliana, Kim & José Oliver, Ashley Null, Oyinkan & Niyi Ade-Ajayi, Mike Osborn, Chuck Parker, Carlos Quintero, Ana María Rada, Gildardo Rodríguez, Elisabeth Panasewicz, Juan M. Posada, Luis R. Rojas, Subhadra Sanyal & Aishwarj Kumar, Lesley A. Sutti, Dorothy & John Tamaro, Jacqueline & Carl von Däniken, Peter & Maruja Vareschi and Marta & Roman Zaks.

I would like to thank the following institutions and organisations in Venezuela and in Britain for academic, economic and/or logistic support for this investigation: Apostadero Aero-Naval in La Orchila, Apostaderos on La Blanquilla and Ave Grande islands, The British Council, The British Embassy in Caracas, British Petroleum-Venezuela, British Federation of Graduate Women (BFWG), The University of London Central Research Fund, Churches Commission on Overseas Students, Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (CONICIT), Corpoven S.A., Federación de Aeroclubes de Venezuela, Fundación Científica Los Roques, Fundación Bigott, Fundación Gran Mariscal de Ayacucho (Fundayacucho), Fundación Phelps, Fundación Polar, Fundación Terra, German Academic Exchange Service, The German Embassy in Caracas, The Gordon Childe Research Fund of the Institute of Archaeology University College London, The University College London Graduate School Research Fund, Instituto de Ciencia y Tecnología del Mar (Intecmar), Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Científicas (IVIC), Instituto Nacional de Hipódromos, Instituto Nacional de Parques (Inparques), Interlending & Document Supply Office University College London, International Lutheran Centre, Maraven S.A., Marina de Guerra de Venezuela, Mavesa S.A., Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Venezuela, Ministerio de Relaciones Interiores de Venezuela, Museo de Arte La Rinconada, Museu Nacional Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, Observatorio Cajigal, Servicio de Guardacostas, Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University, New Haven, Pequiven S.A., Petróleos de Venezuela S.A., Vigilancia Costera, Universidad Central de Venezuela, Universidad Simón Bolívar, and finally the London Goodenough Trust for Postgraduate Students, a perfect place to live and study, that became a real home.

*Dziękuję Rodzinie i przyjaciolom w Polsce za wsparcie duchowe i wiare w sens naszej dlugoletniej pracy i rozlaki.*

This thesis would never have been completed without the overall support and understanding during all stages of its production of Andrzej Antczak, my husband and colleague. The maps, plans of the excavations and most of the photographs of the Los Roques figurines are his work.

My first son, Konrad, has been a marvellous companion in all good and bad moments of the fieldworks on the islands. My second son, Oliver, was born at the beginning of my PhD course. I am

so grateful to him for having the courage to come into the world at this difficult time. Although both had to share me with the figurines throughout their early years they brought me so much strength, joy and happiness.

This work is dedicated to my parents Seweryna and Henryk Mackowiak *w podziękowaniu za miłość i jako symboliczna rekompensa za wieloletnia rozłąkę*, to my sons Konrad and Oliver, for being my bridge between the past and the future, and to Andrzej, for sharing with me the ideals, archaeology and the islands.

# Introductory Remarks

## PANORAMA OF FIGURINE STUDIES

Since Palaeolithic times small three-dimensional anthropomorphic figurines made out of stone, bone, wood, shell, clay or metal have appeared in societies all over the world. They emerged independently, in distinct space-time cultural contexts, and had different significance and functions. It is generally accepted that they were the most common portable evidence of spiritual life of past societies. Nowadays, figurines are still produced and used by several so called pre-industrial societies in different parts of the world (Hartmann 1973; Torres de Arauz 1979; DeBoer 1995; Roe 1996).

In both the Old and New Worlds, archaeologists, art historians, intellectuals and humanists, collectors and amateurs, formulated hypotheses and opinions concerning the origin, meaning, function and aesthetic value of figurines. During the last hundred years, different approaches to the interpretation of prehistoric figurines have been employed, emphasising almost exclusively their morphological aspects.

Even though several avenues to the interpretation of archaeological artefacts have been opened and widened, especially during the last fifteen years, by postprocessualists (Hodder and Preucel 1996; Hodder 1986, 1992, 1999; Tilley 1990, 1991, 1993), contextual approaches to the interpretation of meaning and function of prehistoric figurines are still scarce. Since the main goal of the present study is the 'approximation' of the 'social reality' of the Dos Mosquises Island figurines based on contextual data, I consider it useful to provide a general overview of approaches that were used to study figurines, emphasising the place of contextual approaches.

## The Old World perspective

In traditional interpretative studies of prehistoric figurines in the Old World it is striking that the data regarding their archaeological context and spatial associations is usually unknown or not sufficiently debated. As a result, for a long time archaeologists have studied figurines from an *etic* point of view, without trying to penetrate their contextual meaning and function. Due to the lack of contextual data, and being inspired by the apparent non-utilitarian character “as indication of the non-materialistic side of their [figurines] makers lives” (Ucko 1968: xv), many scholars tended to view figurines as ritual objects. As a result, these items were variously interpreted as ‘gods’ or ‘goddesses’, ‘priests’ or ‘priestesses’, or as fertility cult objects (see for example Evans 1921; Renaud 1929; Murray 1934; Absolon 1949; Hawkes 1961; Dumitrescu 1932-33; Hutchinson 1938; Kalicz 1970; Gimbutas 1974, 1982, 1989, 1991). These attempts to infer the meaning and function of the figurines invoked universal beliefs about human nature, based on psychoanalytical theories. As a consequence, the importance of Jung’s collective unconsciousness and the universality of the Great Mother archetype have been (over)emphasised.

This approach “that includes archaeology, comparative mythology and folklore” has been adequately labelled by Gimbutas (1989: xviii) as ‘archaeo-mythology’. These assumptions of a functional and symbolic continuity of figurines, homogenous through space and time, still cloud interpretations today. Such *etic*, synchronic and supra-regional generalisations has lead to the imposition of “transcultural standards” (Melas 1989) that neglect possible contextual and regional differences of the figurines’ function and meaning (see Nelson 1997:154).

Only a few studies differed from this overwhelming interpretative trend of the ‘Mother Goddess’, offering fresh alternative options. In the first decades of this century Sir Flinders Petrie (1920; 1939) regarded Predynastic Egyptian figurines as ‘dolls’, ‘figures’ or representations of a “thin contemporary human” (Ucko 1968: 167). Petrie’s considerations were not taken into account until the 1960s, when Ucko (1962, 1968), using a broad typological approach, viewed Pre-Dynastic Egyptian figurines as ‘concubines for the dead’, ‘offering bearers’, ‘dolls’ and ‘servants’. His interpretations and his “strident attack on Mother Goddess theories has left an indelible mark” on figurine studies (Hamilton 1996:283). Ucko’s research provided the basic methodological ‘rules’ that have had significant impact in subsequent figurine research (see Bartel 1981:74). In spite of the importance of his work, Ucko has also been criticised for the “application of the same idea to widely differing contexts, use of historical analogies with a massive time-gap and ethnographic examples from other geographical areas” (Hamilton 1996:283).

Rice (1981) gave the Upper Palaeolithic figurines from Eurasia a gender-wide interpretation, as representing womanhood. Palaeolithic figurines were also viewed as sexual or erotic items (Bahn and Vertut 1988). Talalay (1987), inspired by both ethnographic and historical analogies, interpreted the clay figurine legs as identifying tokens that symbolise social and economic bonds that existed among five Middle Neolithic communities in the Northern Peloponnese, in Greece. In this case the figurines turned out to be useful markers of regional ties in a preliterate society.

However, many of these interpretations “suffer from precisely the same shortcomings as those for which [were berated] Mother Goddess theories” (Hamilton 1996: 283). They apply the same idea to different contexts, use historical analogies with a time gap and ethnographic examples from diverse geographical areas.

Apart from the above mentioned interpretative studies, figurines were also a subject of comparative stylistic analyses. For instance, figurines recovered during the excavation of Neolithic sites in eastern Europe and those from south-eastern Asia were compared stylistically, using the attribute analysis, in the search for an inter-regional chronology (Weinberg 1951). Ucko (1968) compared Egyptian and Cretan figurines with those from mainland Greece and south-west Asia in order to establish their cross-cultural similarities and direction of influences. Using figurines from the Neolithic in the eastern Mediterranean basin, Bartel (1981) used factor and discriminant analyses in order to provide insights on methods of cross-cultural analysis to understand potential mechanisms of culture change.

The work of Clement Meighan (1949), who studied the significance of ancient pottery figurines from the New and Old Worlds, stands apart from the interpretative and comparative figurine studies of that time. Although the subject of his study is the figurine as a cross-cultural phenomenon, his discussion is surprisingly critical and despite a distance of 50 years, some of his ideas are still current. He was well aware of the importance of archaeological context in figurine studies. Meighan emphasised that as much as 97% of published works about figurines have no archaeological evidence to support their interpretation.

Only a few examples of the contextual approach to the study of figurines have been published. Broman (1958) interpreted Jarmo’s figurines recovered in rubbish areas as vehicles for wishes and desires (sympathetic magic) as well as initiation figures for teaching purposes, and suggested that their importance lay in the act of making them rather than using them (Ucko 1968:439; Hamilton 1996:283). Morris (1993) provided the contextual application of attribute studies for votive figurines from the peak sanctuary of Atsipadhes Korakias in western Crete. Bailey (1991,1994) investigated both archaeological and social contexts of settlement, and viewed the Chalcolithic figurines from south-eastern Europe as representations of individual identities. Biehl (1994, 1996) investigating the figurines from the late Neolithic to early Chalcolithic period from north-western Bulgaria discussed a ‘new approach’ for figurine investigation. He proposed a combined typological attribute analysis of form, content and context to develop a code system that might clarify the chronological and functional attributes of a figurine.

Besides these approaches, there are also quantities of simple descriptions of figurines and/or their parts included in conventional corpora and in reports of excavations. There are also numerous contributions to the study of Old World figurines by art historians.

## New World figurine studies

In the New World, the Amerindian societies produced a great quantity of anthropomorphic figurines, for at least five millennia. The earliest one, made out of stone, seems to be the recently reported example in the Altomayo occupation, representing a pre-Valdivia and early ceramic phase from Chuculunduy on the coastal Ecuador. Even though the radiocarbon dates are not provided, it is estimated that these figurines date from 4650 to 3500 BC (Damp and Vargas 1995). The stone figurines are followed in chronological sequence by the unbaked clay ones, produced during the Preceramic period in Peru, at sites such as Río Seco 4200-4300 BC, Bandurria 3750 BC, El Paraiso 4000 BC and, Aspero 2500 BC (see Feldman 1991:7, 17). Finally, the first ceramic figurines were reported for the Valdivia phase, dated to about 2900 BC (Lathrap *et al.* 1975; Feldman 1991:18).

Geographically, figurines seem to be more numerous in Mesoamerica and the Andean regions from Ecuador to Bolivia, where the most complex socio-political systems in the New World were developed. Since the last century, archaeologists have been intensively involved in the study of these high Amerindian civilisations, attracted by the splendid pre-Columbian monumental architecture and the different levels of social complexity represented by the societies of the region. As a result, in Mesoamerica, a considerable number of figurines were recovered in systematic excavations (see Grove and Gillespie 1991; Flannery 1976; Marcus 1983, see also 1993 and 1996). Notably fewer contextually recovered figurines have been reported from the Central Andes (Morgan 1995). Unfortunately, in both core areas a great deal of illegal digging yielded an enormous quantity of 'fascinating ritual paraphernalia' (Flannery 1976: 333), among them thousands of figurines of unknown provenance and context, which enlarged the international market of antiquities.

In the South American Lowlands, in areas where there is neither prehistoric monumental architecture nor splendid gold artefacts, figurines were the unique and most attractive trophies for looters and collectors. Until the last few decades, archaeologists overlooked these peripheral areas and in consequence the number of figurines recovered in systematic excavations is very low (e.g. Palmatary 1939; Bennett 1937; Osgood 1943; Kidder 1944; Roosevelt 1988). In contrast, thousands of figurines from South American Lowland archaeological sites filled shelves of private collections and public museums, lacking any contextual data.

The division of the history of ceramic studies into phases proposed by Shepard (1956) and Orton *et al.* (1993) can be adapted so as to facilitate the discussion about changing approaches in figurines studies in Meso- and South America. I retain the Orton *et al.* names of the phases, although I prefer to consider them in terms of broad synchronic approaches or trends rather than chronologically sequential phases. Therefore, three different approaches in figurines studies can be distinguished: Typological, Art Historical and Contextual.

Between the 1930s and 1960s approximately, the Historical Reconstruction Period (Willey and Sabloff 1974) in American archaeology focused on the spatial and chronological distributions of

Amerindian cultures. The ceramic studies were in their typological phase (Orton *et al.* 1993), concerned with classificatory and taxonomic problems. During this period the Typological Approach also dominated figurine studies. This approach emphasises the formal (stylistic) analysis and typology of the figurines, their chronological and spatial distribution (formulation of developmental schemes), and stylistical relationships (discussion of inter-cultural relations).

Especially in Mesoamerica, figurines were extensively used for determining cultural relations and chronological sequences (see for example Vaillant 1934; Drucker 1952; McNeish 1954; Tolstoy 1958; Grosscup 1961; Peterson 1963; García Payón 1966; Krutt 1975; Barbour 1976; see also Ford 1969). In the South American Andes too, the figurines were used to resolve cultural/chronological problems (Reichel-Dolmatoff and Reichel-Dolmatoff 1956; Estrada 1962; Meggers, Evans and Estrada 1965; Bolian 1973). These early typological approaches were much more restricted in comparison with the more recent ones that took into account a much greater number of specimens, and interpreted the figurines using iconographical analyses. Ethnographic and ethnohistoric analogies, as well as contextual data - wherever such was available - were also employed to make inferences about the function and meaning of the figurines (see Goldstein 1974, 1979 and Scott 1994 for Mesoamerica; and Lilien 1956; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1961; Menzel 1964; Morgan 1988, 1989, 1995; and Sánchez 1981 for Andean regions). A comparative study of figurines from two Mesoamerican regions, using detailed attribute analysis, was carried out by Stocker (1983).

In the South American Lowlands the studies of figurines differed from the Mesoamerican and Andean examples. In the typological studies of ceramic assemblages, the figurines were usually relegated to the final parts of the reports and described as 'associated', 'various', 'special' or even as 'minor' artefacts (Bennett 1937; Osgood and Howard 1943; Kidder 1944; Cruxent and Rouse 1958; see also Stocker 1991). Attempts at their interpretation were rarely undertaken.

Since the majority of the figurines in South America had not been recovered in controlled excavations, their interpretative potential has been undervalued by the archaeologists (Morgan 1995:21). While many archaeologists neglected figurines as specific objects of inquiry, there was, nevertheless, an increased level of attention from art historians, museologists and collectors. The Art Historical approach in figurines studies can be seen as the study of whole figurines as culture-objects (Shepard 1956:3), in which their aesthetic value is emphasised and discussed. In many of these approaches the figurines acquired the status of 'interesting objects', 'art works' or 'masterpieces of the past' (Bushnell 1965; Easby Kennedy 1966; Lapiner 1967; Kelemen 1969; Lavallo and Lang 1978; Alcina Franch 1983; Katz 1983; Delgado Pang 1992).

In Mesoamerica, art historical approaches were widely used, since the excavations provided numerous and diverse material that was arbitrarily considered as 'artistic' (Williams 1992:15). This approach was applied both in specific figurine studies and in more general publications that discussed the 'pre-Columbian art' of this region (Covarrubias 1956; Dockstader 1964, 1967; Kubler 1967; von Winning 1968; Pasztory 1973; Xirau 1973; Parsons 1980; Berjounneau *et al.* 1985; see also Berlo 1985; Taube 1988).

The comparative cross-cultural study of figurines by Ann Roosevelt (1998) stands apart from the aforementioned approaches. She integrates the iconographical studies with human ecology, demography and historical processes. Roosevelt seeks for similarities in figurines from vast regions of the New World Tropical Lowlands (Mexican, Honduran, Peruvian, Amazonian and Orinocan) and assumes that similarities in art are a product of human adaptation to similar environmental situations. She concludes that similar figurine complexes appear in societies that are at a similar stage of biocultural evolution. Specifically, she associates the appearance of the 'sexual-reproductive' female figurine iconographic complex with early chiefdoms or incipient states that are in the process of developing staple cereal crop economies, settling in to sedentary settlements, undergoing rapid population expansion and increasing interregional interaction, and developing stratified social systems (*op.cit.*:1988:18).

My definition of the Contextual Approach in figurine studies is more restricted than that of Orton *et al.* (1993:4) for the Contextual Phase in ceramic studies. Under this heading I consider (1) research based on systematic excavations, drawing inferences from the overall spatial associations of figurines in primary contexts, and supported by pertinent ethnohistorical data when this is available; and (2) the study of the figurines from existing collections, derived from systematic excavations supported by adequately gathered information of their spatial associations. By 'adequately gathered archaeological contextual data' I mean all information about the spatial associations of figurines with artefacts, non-artefacts and features, within the matrix of the archaeological unit they were recovered from (see Hodder 1986).

Examples of the contextual approach applied to the study of figurines in Meso- and South America are dramatically less numerous than those of the typological and art historical approaches (see for example Drucker, Heizer and Squier 1959; Flannery 1976; Julien 1988; Marcus 1998; Joyce 1993; Lesure 1997 - for Mesoamerica).

The Amerindian societies produced miniature representations of the human figure not only in stone or pottery but also in wood (e.g. Reichel-Dolmatoff 1961; Torres de Arauz 1979), shell (e.g. McEwan and Silva 1989: 175, Fig. 16), wax with addition of vegetal fibre, bark, feathers and other animal parts, and dyes (Braun 1995:73, Fig. 104), and metal (e.g. Bray 1977, 1985, 1999; Cooke and Bray 1985;; Falchetti 1995). Metal representations of the human body are common in parts of South America from the late 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC onwards, but most of these items consist of figure-pendants and other pieces of jewellery, or of recipients (e.g. the Quimbaya lime flasks from Colombia). True figurines, i.e. free-standing, three-dimensional representations are surprisingly rare. They occur, for example, in the Tumaco-La Tolita culture of Pacific Colombia and Ecuador (ca. 500 BC - AD 500), in the Moche, Frías and Nasca styles of Peru (de Lavallo 1992), and they continue through to the Conquest.

The sample from any one culture is small (which makes detailed classification meaningless or impossible), and most of these artefacts come from looted tombs with no contextual data. There are two exceptions to this generalisation. Neither of them is particularly relevant to the Venezuelan case,



but they serve to broaden the theoretical scope of figurine studies and to introduce new interpretative possibilities.

The Muisca *tunjos* from Colombia (Lleras-Pérez 1999) are numerous enough for typological classification and have both archaeological and ethnohistorical information. They consist of flat, stylised representations of human beings, genre scenes and everyday artefacts, and were made specifically as votive offerings. They occur almost exclusively at sacred sites (lagoons, springs, landscape features, temples, etc.), rather than in tombs or secular contexts.

Inca Peru is another special case. Metal figurines of men, women and camelids are found with pottery and other artefacts at the high altitude child-sacrifice sites in the southern Andes and at various localities all over the Inca empire. These deposits are usually interpreted as the remains of *capac hucha* rituals (McEwan and Silva 1989) designed to reinforce the power and legitimacy of Inca rule and of the Inca state religion. In this case, political and religious ideologies merge into a single ritual. Without the documentary evidence, the significance of the Inca figurines would be lost, and they would simply be dismissed as 'grave goods' or 'ritual offerings.'

These Colombian and Peruvian studies rely heavily on ethnohistorical information, of the kind so conspicuously lacking in north-central Venezuela (especially in the Lake Valencia region), and illustrate once again the difficulty of reconstructing belief-systems on the basis of material culture alone.

During the last two decades a strong revival of interest in figurine studies can be observed both in the New and Old World (e.g. Bartel 1981; Sánchez 1981; Stahl 1986; Talalay 1987; Morgan 1988, 1989, 1995; Stocker 1991; Joyce 1993; Bailey 1991; 1994; 1995; Biehl 1994, 1996; Renfrew 1996; Gopher and Orrelle 1996; CAJ Viewpoint 1996; Lesure 1997; Knapp and Meskell 1997; Marcus 1998), and can be largely associated with the widespread postprocessualist trends in world archaeology. However, only a few studies are based on the contextual approach, and the shift to the contextual trend in the interpretation of function and meaning of the prehistoric figurines has yet to become predominant.

I consider that without adequate contextual data there is always a high element of risk of arbitrariness in the selection of approaches for the analysis and interpretation of figurines. As Flannery and Marcus (1996: 352) stressed, cognitive approaches in archaeology can only be used "when the body of supporting data is sufficiently rich". They furthermore added that "to interpret figurines, archaeological context is crucial, and texts (hieroglyphic and ethnohistoric) are an invaluable guide" (Flannery and Marcus 1996: 291; Marcus 1996). In conclusion, the contextual information should be considered as essential to the interpretation of archaeological figurines.

## THE FIGURINES OF NORTH-CENTRAL VENEZUELA

In the north-central part of Venezuela, between approximately a.d. 900 and 1500, thousands of figurines were produced by the makers of the Valencia style pottery (Marcano 1971[1898-91]; von den Steinen 1904; Requena 1932; Bennett 1937; Vellard 1938; Osgood 1943; Kidder 1944; Cruxent

and Rouse 1958; Rouse and Cruxent 1963; Peñalver 1965; 1967; 1971; 1976; 1981). The majority of these artefacts lack contextual data, and have been approached as objects of ancient art (Requena 1932; Antolinez 1940, 1941; Oramas 1942; Osgood 1943; Arroyo *et al.* 1971; Boulton 1978). The figurines of some archaeological cultures of Venezuela have also been discussed as an aesthetic phenomenon. Their social roles were envisaged but the (re)construction of their social realities was not undertaken (Delgado 1985, 1989). Until the present, only two formal typologies of Valencioid figurines have been published (Bennett 1937; Kidder 1944).

The archaeological study of Valencioid figurines is constrained by many factors. The important limitation is the lack of explicit archaeological methodology for their analysis, since the figurine literature is centred on the art historical approach. The authors, not only art-historians but also archaeologists (see e.g. Osgood 1943), referred to the figurines in arbitrary terms such as ‘pre-Columbian art’, or simply called them art without providing definitions for such categories. However, the lack of contextual data for the majority of the figurines imposes the most stringent of limitations for any in-depth analysis of their function and meaning for the Valencioid societies.

## AIMS AND STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

This research forms part of a long-term Project on Venezuelan Islands Archaeology that has been carried out by Andrzej Antczak and myself, since 1982. Up to the present we have surveyed 72 islands and located 45 prehispanic sites. At nine sites, systematic ‘block’ excavations have been carried out. The Los Roques Archipelago, situated 135 km north of the central Venezuelan coast and comprising 46 islands, was also surveyed. On 18 islands 27 Amerindian archaeological sites were located. The islands are small in size, sandy and arid. No indigenous mammals, rodents or ophidians have been reported. They also lack permanent sources of fresh water, clay deposits and soils suitable for agricultural purposes.

It has been tentatively proposed that the Los Roques islands were visited, and their resources exploited by Amerindian groups that were navigating from their permanent settlements, located somewhere on the Venezuelan mainland between approximately ad. 1000 and the European Contact Period (Antczak and Antczak 1991a, 1991b, 1991, 1993, 1999a). The insular sites have been interpreted as temporary camps of varying occupational density, durability and function (Antczak and Antczak 1991b; A. Antczak 1999a). The data concerning the subsistence economy, settlement pattern and aspects of the social organisation of the insular settlers is discussed in Andrzej Antczak’s Ph.D. dissertation (A. Antczak 1999a).

This dissertation focuses on the study of pottery figurine assemblages recovered on the tiny island of Dos Mosquises (hereafter DM) and on three other islands in Los Roques Archipelago, namely Cayo Sal, Krasky, and Domusky Norte. At these sites a total of 382 anthropomorphic figurines and fragments were recovered. These represent the *Maximum Number of Anthropomorphic Specimens*, or MNAS, a quantification standard analogous to the *Number of Identified Specimens* (NISP) used in zooarchaeology). At least 231 separate figurines are present, whole or incomplete,

within the total sample. Continuing with the zooarchaeological analogy, these constitute the *Minimum Number of Anthropomorphic Figurines*, or MNAF, which resembles the *Minimum Number of Individuals* (MNI) in zooarchaeological quantification.

In this study I am specifically concerned with human figurines excavated at the DM site. I consider that they deserve special attention given their abundance at this site (MNAS = 303; MNAF = 173), their depositional characteristics, and the fact that DM, like all other sites in the Los Roques Archipelago, was interpreted as the seasonal campsite (see also M. Antczak 1995, 1999).

The overriding goal of this study is to uncover and understand the social function(s) of the Dos Mosquises Island figurines in the context of human activity, i. e. the recovery of their *social meanings*. To achieve this I define explicit theoretical and methodological frameworks for figurine analyses. This strategy operates analytically in the archaeological and social contexts of the figurines, on the islands and in the mainland (north-central Venezuela), i.e. between the temporary campsites and permanent settlements.

The search for archaeological and social data of the figurines between the mainland and the islands structures the study into three main parts: Part One *On the Islands*, Part Two *On the Mainland*, and Part Three *Back and Forth from the Islands*.

Chapters One and Two are dedicated to the discussion of theoretical and methodological principles and the construction of a research strategy that emphasises systematic and controlled ways of working 'between or around data and theory'. Following this strategy, in Chapters Three to Five I begin formal, representational and contextual analyses of the Dos Mosquises figurines and (re)construct their social context. Chapter Six concludes Part One: *On the Islands* and is dedicated to the analysis of figurines from other insular sites.

Having exhausted the island data, the focus of the study moves to the mainland Valencia Lake area (Part Two: *On the Mainland*), which is the purported 'homeland' of the Los Roques figurines, in order to uncover and understand the historical context of the insular enterprise, and the beliefs and values of the prehistoric social actors at the island campsites (Chapters Seven and Eight).

In Chapter Nine I develop the discussion 'back and forth from the islands' (Part Three), tying the strings of data collected on the islands and on the mainland, in order to 'situate' the island figurines and their makers in a wide historical scenario of late prehistoric north-central Venezuela. This chapter concludes with the (re)construction of the social reality of the Dos Mosquises Island figurines. The concluding remarks are discussed in the Epilogue.

I anticipate that the open-ended nature of this research will indicate paths for further inquiry and stimulate future research on the figurines of north-central Venezuela.



## *Chapter One*

# Theoretical and Methodological Approach

...the individual artefact is a 'microcosm of the macrocosm'  
(Roe 1989)

Without a contextual approach, the present and past become reduced to an assumed sameness (Hodder 1986:149)

To make an anthropomorphic figurine is to fit humanity into a preferred form and appearance (Bailey 1996:293)

...when we see ancient religion reconstructed from a handful of figurines or the red dado painting on the wall of a shrine, we have a right to be sceptical...(Flannery and Marcus 1996:361)

This chapter discusses the theoretical considerations that underlie my study of figurines. Although theoretical considerations are an important part of this study I do not develop any universal theoretical discourse to be imposed on the past. This study began with data collection and afterwards, searching for means for its interpretation, I built up the theoretical framework. I have been working between the data and the theory tying up the connections and trying to accommodate each to other. As one of the anonymous participants of Preucel's and Hodder's "Dialogue" (Preucel and Hodder 1996:671) put it, the "theories are 'fitted' rather than 'tested'" in the sense that the archaeologist is "working between or around theory and data in order to make it all 'fit' in a coherent way".

## **WHAT IS A FIGURINE?**

I first formulate a series of philosophical key-statements around which the main theoretical and methodological considerations in figurine research are ordered. This theoretical approach is based on Hodder's contextual archaeology (Hodder 1986: 118-146; 1987), specific conceptions of material culture studies (Miller 1985; 1987), the social construction of reality (Berger and Luckman 1966), the philosophy of science view of material representation (Damerow 1996), and the cognitive definition of culture (Schneider 1976; Beaudry *et al.* 1991). The theoretical discussion is largely inspired by the philosophical postulates contained in Douglas Bailey's (1991; 1995) study of the *social reality* of Chalcolithic (about fourth millennium BC) figurines from north-east Bulgaria.

## **Figurine as an artefact positioned within an archaeological context**

A figurine, alike any other artefact, is context-dependant. Questions concerning a figurine's meaning and role in a past society cannot be fully addressed without considering its context deposition. Consequently, I concentrate on the contextual data that permit us, according to the original meaning of the Latin word *contextere*, to weave, to join together, to connect "the totality of the relevant dimensions of variation around any object" (Hodder 1986:122, 143).

I distinguish two figurine contexts. The first, discussed in this section, the context of the provenience refers to the archaeological context. The second, social context, is discussed in the subsequent section. The archaeological context of an artefact does not have an independent phenomenological existence (see Conkey 1997). This existence do have its constituents, such as the three-dimensional location of the object within the soil matrix, its measurable spatial associations to other objects and features and artefacts distributional patterns. The formation of the archaeological record is the result of three distinct moments: (1) the pre-existing social reality and processes of deposition; (2) the physical processes of decay and preservation (postdepositional processes or diagenesis); and (3) the contemporary act of reading (see Criado 1995:196). The archaeological context refers to the 'contemporary act of reading'. It is the present day "interpretation of the significance of an artefact's deposition in terms of its matrix, provenience, and association - that is, where it is and how it got there" (Sharer and Ashmore 1993:126).

Each excavation unit (trench, test pit, etc.) encapsulates sets of data about archaeological and social dimensions of its artefacts that correspond to the respective realms of archaeological and social contexts. The archaeological dimensions of the figurines include their spatial associations, chronology, faunal and environmental patterns, technological trajectories, and presence-absence relationships.

In my understanding the focus of the contextual approach is largely on primary depositional contexts, since secondary contexts (post-depositional, secondary reburials or discards) would yield radically different interpretations. However, I am sceptical about the possibility of inferring symbolic meanings from individual, unique contexts, even if they come from the primary deposits.

What seems attainable is to infer broader symbolic meanings from the repetitive patterns of contextual associations of objects in sites that are functionally and environmentally differentiated, within the same temporo/spatial framework or in diachronic perspective. Patterns of micro-contextual (intrasite) spatial associations of figurines should be compared within a wide macro-contextual (inter-site) scale, that may encompass a whole regional sphere of interaction. This method permits us to outline certain sets of associational patterns of figurines that may be meaningful in the interpretation of the particular micro-contextual associations. However, the micro-contextual data may refer to the possible final functional meaning of the figurine, which eventually would elicit the range of symbolic meanings associated with this function and not with any prior function or role it may also have had.

## Figurine as a material object positioned within a social context

Studies of material culture investigate the basic element of archaeology: the artefact as an object. Although the object is the basic element of any archaeological consideration, archaeological research has, until recently, largely ignored the philosophical consideration of artefacts as objects (Hodder 1982; 1986; Miller 1985; 1987; Gould and Schiffer 1981). Traditionally archaeology and anthropology investigated the material objects as passive epiphenomena, and inquiry has focused on them as inactive and manipulated by processes (Shanks and Tilley 1987).

Processual archaeology has focused particularly on three processes that involve artefacts: production, exchange and consumption. These processes have treated the object as an epiphenomenon. Bailey (1991:55) explained that in these sorts of studies “the relationship of the material to the human entity was upstaged by the hegemony of the particular process favoured in the broader phenomena being studied”.

To examine such artefacts as figurines they must be first considered at the most basic level of the *material object*. The material object is considered here as an active aspect of material culture. Hodder (1982) stressed that archaeologists must acknowledge that the artefact is not merely a passive reflection of social activity, but that it plays an active role in the negotiation of cultural experience and belief. A figurine, therefore, is a human production which enters, lives within and finally leaves a world of human and material relationships. As an active aspect of material culture it is involved in the socio-material negotiations of knowledge systems called *realities* (Bailey 1991:42; see also Searle 1995; Collin 1997). The material object, being a fundamental component of the existence of human societies, is explainable only in terms of its social context - its *social reality*. In consequence, the figurine is viewed as a material object which is positioned and lives within a particular social context. The prehistoric *social context* may be inferred from the archaeological indicators of such social dimensions as group composition (sex, age, skill), wealth, hierarchy, division of labour, and human reproduction.

The social reality approach combines the conception of the artefact as an object, in its material role, with the belief that human perceptions of reality are conditioned by the process of *objectification* and the manipulation of material objects, which are products of these processes (Bailey 1991:43; see Miller 1987:1-68). This approach attempts to connect the sociology of knowledge, where the social construction of reality is studied, with the archaeology of object, where the artefact is defined in terms of its material (physical) nature.

The social reality of the particular social group under study can be (re)constructed through an investigation of archaeological remains (artefacts, features, structures and patterns). The *social reality of a figurine* is its identification in that social context. This identification includes both observable (intrinsic) variables of figurines, such as size, posture, colour and decoration and unobservable structures, such as social negotiations of time and space. Observable variables, which are the raw data for typological studies of figurines, may be identified without any knowledge of their archaeological

and social contexts. However, the identification of archaeological and social contexts is vital to the (re)construction of the social reality of the figurines.

In conclusion, the material object, as a fundamental component of the existence of human societies, is explainable only in terms of its *social reality*. The figurine is thus viewed as a material object which is positioned within and also ‘lives’ within a particular social context.

## **Figurine as a product of objectivation and externalisation**

Berger (1967) and Berger and Luckman (1966) have argued that reality is created, maintained and altered by human actions. The Sociology of knowledge investigates what people ‘know’ as ‘reality’ in their everyday, non- or pre-theoretical lives. The ‘fabric of meaning’ is constituted by the common sense knowledge rather than ideas. This is an essential fabric without which society cannot exist. The role that material culture plays in the creation and maintenance of the daily routines of social activity is of specific relevance for our purposes.

Given an interdependence between material objects and social strategies of action, the figurines can be understood as one component of the material-social partnerships. The relationship between the figurines and society is dynamic and reciprocal.

The reality of figurines is constituted by three crucial dialectical moments of social reality: *externalisation*, *objectivation* and *internalisation* (Bailey [1991:48-49] draws these terms from Berger 1967). *Externalisation* means that figurines were created by specific people. *Objectivation* signifies that the figurines, previously produced, used, discarded and later excavated, still exist today and affect our understanding of the life of past societies. Finally, *internalisation* implies that prehistoric people had, and modern people continue to have, perceptions and interpretations of these figurines. It is important to emphasise that traditional interpretations of figurines function are the product of these three dialectical moments, “depending on the methods of persuasion employed in suggesting various perceptions of figurines, different explanations for function exist” (Bailey 1991:48). Summarising, the figurine is considered as a material object that is a product of *externalisation* and *objectivation*.

## **Figurine as objectification**

The figurines, alike all other artefacts, are objectifications. In other words, they are manifestations of the socio-cultural relationship. Shanks and Tilley (1987:130) define *objectification* as “the serial transformation of matter into cultural form”. The *objectification* may also be viewed as a process in which the relationship between human and object is established and continually developed (Miller 1987:18). Both definitions are based on the tradition of sociology and social and political science (see Miller 1987:3-82). For this reason the social conditions must be included in the figurines analysis, if we are to interpret them.

Given the above considerations I understand the *objectification* as both (1) a social act of expression made by individual(s) as a representative(s) of a given society in a concrete cultural form, and done in a specific socio-historical conditions that can be experienced by others in that society, and

(2) as a process in which the once established relationship between human and object is continually changing. The figurines were created, used, discarded, and excavated. They existed in the past, still exist today and will exist tomorrow. The reality of every day life is possible only because of the process of objectification (Berger and Luckman 1966:50).

### **Figurine as an ‘actor’ within the temporo/spatial dimensions of society**

Society is constituted across time and space and the artefact is an ‘actor’ within the temporal and spatial dimensions of society. From the discussion of the social construction of reality it is necessary to move now to consider, in broader terms, the ways in which society is constituted.

Bailey (1991:58) understands the *constitution of society* “in terms of common systems of realities constructed and applied along varying dimensions of social-material experience”. He observes that although human life is structured by both time and space, the reality of every day life is not limited only to the here and now. This understanding is one of the important consequences of the social realist’s position. For the social theorists the explanation of social practice across time and space is the basic domain of investigation. It is the backbone of Giddens’s ‘structuration’ approach to understanding societies (Giddens 1984:2) and of practical logic of the Bourdieu’s (1977) strategy generating principle (*habitus*).

For the archaeologist, with the obvious conditions and limitations of the discipline’s data, an approach which concentrates on temporal and spatial constituents of society is well suited. Variables of time and space are present and detectable in the prehistoric material record. The social factor may be perceived and interpreted by crossing the material evidence of the archaeological record over the dimensions of time and space.

Two concepts that are fundamental to Giddens’s (1984) theory of “structuration” are *routinization* and *constraint*. The *routines* are “day-to-day social acts, the repetition of which is based in the recursive nature of social life” (Giddens 1984: xxiii). In consequence, the repetition of activity leads to a seriality of action within the time and space continuum. Seriality of action through routine leads to the reproduction of the existing social reality.

*Constraint* is another principle that plays a fundamental part in the interpretation of figurine material. Material constraint derives “from the character of the material world and from the physical qualities of the body” (Giddens 1984:176). Giddens placed the sources of constraint on physical capacities of the human body and the character of the material environment. Bailey (1991), however, replaced the human body with the active artefact and then considered the artefact as possessed of certain capacities and constraints which enable, or prevent it to ‘act’ in various ways.

The *routinization of actions* allows repetition of specific activity and material constraints control these actions, preventing or enabling the already existing systems of reality. Material culture is interpreted as both agent and product of these processes (Bailey 1991: 62). An example of these processes is an individual’s ability to move. Bailey imposes upon the analysis of figurines the same processes which have been applied in the analysis of humans and argues that mobility is not a capacity reserved for human beings. He considers that “the mobility of objects, the control of that mobility and



the object's power to dictate spatial and temporal organisation are crucial parts of the spatial dimension of society" (*ibid.*). In summary, the fundamental constituent of an understanding of the *social reality* of figurines is formed by the physical characteristics and capacities of the material artefact as an actor within the temporal and spatial dimensions of society.

## **Figurine has an 'active' power**

What elements empower material artefacts to act in the constitution of society? Four fundamental characteristics of the material nature of an artefact, bound together, support the artefacts active role in the constitution of social reality. These characteristics are (1) the *physicality* of the artefact, (2) its *durability*, (3) its *possessability*, and (4) its *expressability*.

We can speak of the active power of material culture because an object has a physical presence which exists throughout a particular life-span demands (see Hodder 1982; Moore 1986:170; Pearce 1990; Bailey 1991: 64; and Bourdieu 1977:165). As a consequence of this physical power, an object participates in many human activities such as the processes of production, exchange, consumption and possession. Objects are produced, stored, held, traded, owned, given, received, borrowed, lent, discarded, and destroyed.

However, the material object has no power independent from the human factor, 'cognizing agent', 'self', 'ego' or 'person'. Following Lacan (1973:180-1), Foucault (1979) and Shanks and Tilley (1987:65,71), I emphasise the situation of the human subject within a social field and conceive it (human subject) always as an element within a social context of creation and production of a material object as a sign. There is an "individual purposive activity" within "collective social strategies" (Shanks and Tilley 1987:74) and material culture, although produced by individuals, is always a social production (Tilley 1989:189).

## **Physicality of the figurine**

*Physicality* means the presence and mobility. This feature refers to the physical presence of an object and allows it to act in certain distinct ways when compared to other media of cultural expression (see Miller 1987:107). An artefact possesses a concrete tangibility that "makes the object appear immediate and assimilable" (Bailey 1991: 63). This 'concrete tangibility' is related to size, particularly to what Bailey names the "miniature condition" of objects that are smaller than their life-sized counterparts. Is it the reduced size of the figurine positively related to its capability to be loaded with a 'special' kinds of power? Bailey argues that his "emphasis on miniature condition draws attention to their capacity as physical, possessable, expressable material culture" (Bailey 1991:74). Miniature representations, like other material culture, may be produced, possessed, controlled, transported, manipulated, abandoned or destroyed. However, Bailey (*ibid.*) argues that the miniature representations exhibit these capacities to a larger degree than other objects. He holds that "to handle a miniature is to handle not the figurine, but the subject which it represents", which in the case of his study is the individual, the animal or the house (*ibid.*).

Does Bailey mean that the miniature condition of the figurine determines its capacity to express and possess the subject? If the (reduced in size) figurine possesses a *subject* which may be a real object, for example a house or an ancestor, that is, in reality, much larger than the represented image, so the intensity of the *compression* loads the figurine with a kind of power that may be compared to, or even surpass that, of life-sized figurines and even larger monuments. This, however, does not imply that the scale of the subject 'compressed' in the miniature is directly related to its power.

Physicality also includes an object's mobility. The object may be perceived by many people at different times and in many different places. In consequence, an artefact exists along the realistic dimensions of space and time of the society but also along such dimensions as gender, value, size, colour and chemical composition (Bailey 1991:63).

I consider three aspects of mobility: *proper mobility*, *portability* and *transportability*. Once the object is created it moves from producer to consumer, out of the workshop and into its use context. *Mobility* is a broad term which refers to the object's movement across the time and space, within or beyond the society which produced it. The term *transportability* is applied to the special case of mobility restricted to those movements of the object that are the result of concrete actions undertaken by human agency identifiable in a social context. *Portability* is determined by the intrinsic features of the object that permit its relatively easy mobility. Large and heavy objects are less portable than the small ones, or not portable at all. Portability is a feature that is purposefully imposed by an object's producers thus and object is conceived as either portable or non-portable. Portability is directly related to the transportability. The Los Roques figurines are portable objects and, due to their portability, they can be transported between the islands and the mainland. Portability may or may not have a direct relationship with the power of an object.

## **Durability of the figurine**

The movement of an artefact across time and space is constrained by conditions of its existence, similar to human beings (e.g. life span). The main constraint is imposed by the artefact's durability (objectification in a permanent media) which gives it the capacity to endure (Bailey 1991:65). An artefact's capacity to endure is a necessary condition for archaeological investigation. Durability is directly linked to the material from which the artefact is constructed. The ability of this material to resist the natural biotic and non-biotic and anthropic agents of destruction determines the length of an artefact's life. The durability of object ensures its monumentality, such that monumentality means creating a permanent record (Bailey 1991: 65). In consequence, material artefacts are monumental creations when compared with perishable material culture media. In the archaeological record of the Los Roques Archipelago, not only figurines but also other objects, including those made also of pottery and bone, shell and stone are objectifications in durable media of material culture. All these artefacts outlived not only their creators and users but may also survive their excavators and interpreters.

The physical monumentality of an object, determined by endurable physical-chemical properties of the material of which it is made, cannot be confused with intentional monumentalisation of an

object. The last incorporates a purposeful action because the monument of non-portable dimension is often purposefully made to endure (e.g. a pyramid, an obelisk). Even though perishable objects are not monumental physical creations, we cannot deny the possibility they could act in the constitution of the social reality of the prehistoric societies with the same, or even greater power, than non-perishable objects. Examples of the latter come from South America where wooden figurines are still playing an active role in Chocó Indian society (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1961; Torres de Arauz 1979:95-99). Other examples are the contemporary Ye'cuana baskets called *tidi'uma* (Guss 1990:96), or ritual featherwork of Amazonian Indians (Roe 1995a). Many of these perishable objects are artefacts that still live in their social contexts, where their active power can be still appreciated.

Whether the artefact was intentionally monumentalised by its creators or not cannot be inferred directly from the durability of the raw material from which it was made. The object may be considered as monumentalised when human intentionality, as determinant of this monumentalisation, may be inferred from its archaeological and social contexts.

Once the perishable objects are erased from a given archaeological context, the process of objectivation (or they biography) is 'cut off'. As they no longer exist as material artefacts, these objects will not be excavated, and thus cannot exist today to affect our understanding of the past life. They were only known in prehistory. Since archaeologists rarely recover feather adornments or wooden figurines, modern people will never know whether such perishable objects existed in given archaeological context. In conclusion, in order for us to assess the power of an ancient artefact it must be objectified in a permanent media which give it the capacity to endure.

Figurines, like other material culture, play an important role in the social reproduction of the non-literate societies. Before the acquisition of writing skills "...objects as authentic objectifications of the ancestors were, along with oral tradition [and landscape, my addition], the major means of ensuring the continuity of social reproduction" (Miller 1987:99, quoting Weiner 1985). Certainly this role could be better assumed by durable, non-perishable objects.

## **Figurine's capacity to be possessed**

*Possessability*, or the capacity to be possessed, is the third fundamental characteristic of material nature of an artefact that determines its active power. Bailey (1991:66) assumes that in prehistoric time the practice of possession developed with both: the regular production of durable cultural objects, specifically ceramics, and the beginnings of permanent settlement behaviour. In this period of material and spatial permanence, "practices of technology, economic resource management and social organisation combined to create a social environment dominated equally by the abilities of human subjects *to possess* and material objects *to be possessed*" (Bailey 1991: 65, 66, my italics). Bailey separates the *act of possession* from the object's *possessability*, his interest being an object's ability to be possessed. However, my own interest encompasses both considerations. In this section I am concerned with the prehistoric individual as the subject in the act of possession, and with figurine which is the material object possessed by such individual. The object's ability to be possessed is discussed in the next section.

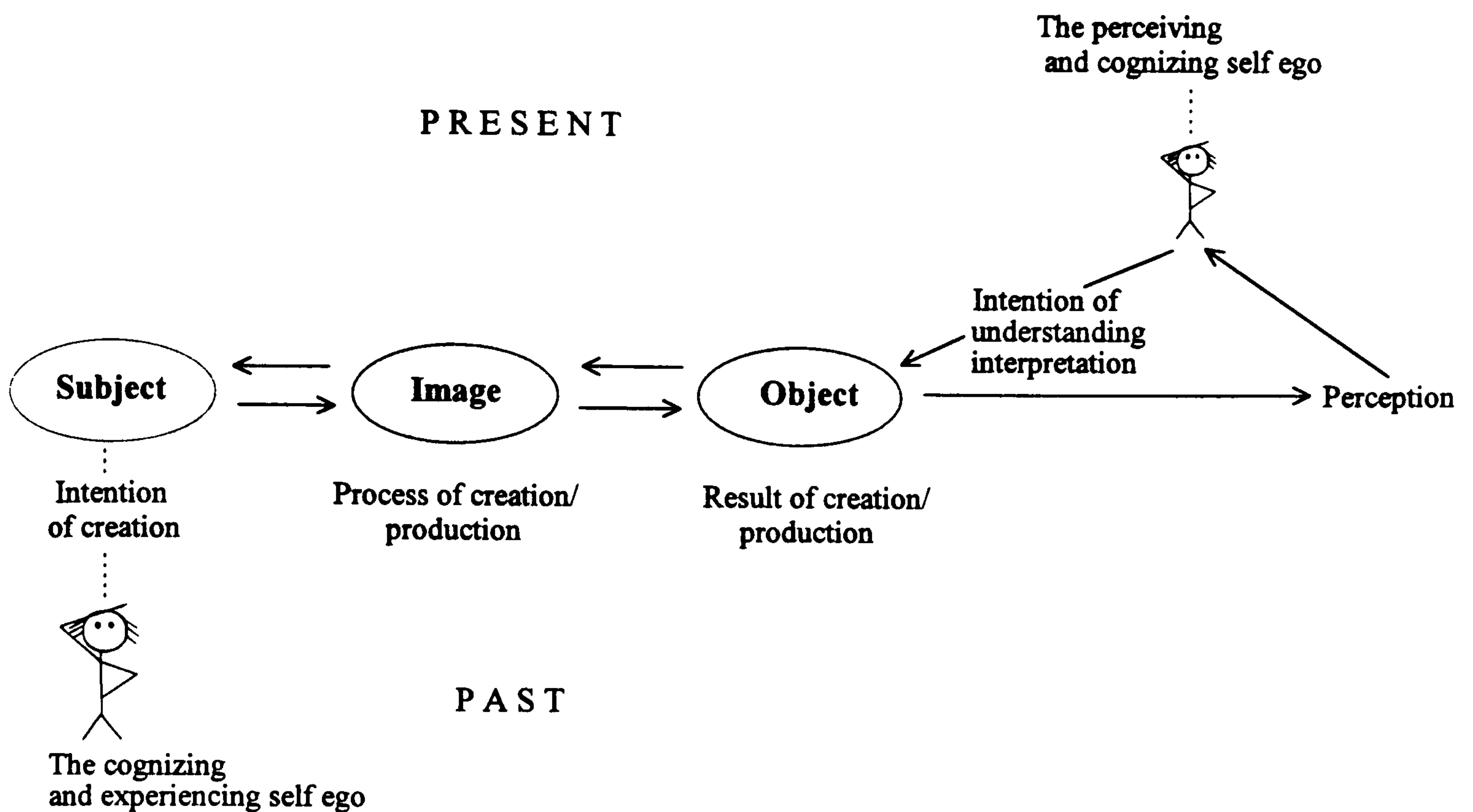
After an object is created, it moves out of the workshop into a new realm, both spatial and temporal. There, in the use context it becomes associated with other objects and a social world of individuals who possess it. In that sense “the focus is not on the thing, the artefact, but on its makers and users as a window into social relations” (Wright 1993:245). The ‘power’ of the object may be related to the social-economical, political or spiritual power of the person(s) who possess it and *vice versa*. Oliver (1998) demonstrated that the powerful *zemíes* were often robbed by the chiefs of the pre-Hispanic Taínos from Puerto Rico, who aimed to benefit from their power. DeBoer (1995) demonstrated how the figurines of the Chachí Indians (Ecuador) accumulated their power as a result of passing hand to hand among powerful shamans.

Bailey (1991), rejects the topic of possessiveness in his study. I however argue that the focus on the makers and users of the object, particularly the attribution of ownership by different social groups or even individuals, when inferred from the archaeological contexts, may be considered as a valuable data for the (re)construction of the social past. My study involves a large number of formally heterogeneous figurines that were transported a long distance beyond the permanent settlements, to be used in places other than their original place of production. The *possessability* is a characteristic that refers to the figurines, as well as to the rest of the insular people’s material culture that was recovered in contextual association with them. Hypothetical rules of possession may be linked to their formal heterogeneity and their consideration could thus shed light on the social aspects of insular Amerindian groups.

## **Figurine as a representational material culture**

Bailey takes the terms *subject* and *object* from Simmel’s (Simmel 1900: 394, in Bailey 1991:67) definition of possession “as an activity which displayed a profound relationship between subject and object”. However, he replaces the human subject from Simmel’s definition with the material subject. In doing this, Bailey not only stresses an ‘active’ capacities of artefacts, but significantly, he emphasises the capacity of representational material culture to act as subject and possessor (Bailey 1991:67).

At this juncture, the concept of the *representational material culture* should be discussed. A figurine possesses one important characteristic that differentiates it strongly from many other material objects: it is a representational material culture. The *representation* may be defined as “an image, likeness or reproduction in some manner of a thing” (The Oxford English Dictionary 1961: 480-481). The word ‘thing’, used here, may be equated with Bailey’s (1991) concept of ‘subject’. This definition is only a temporary closure of the discussion on my understanding of *representation*. The more detailed grounding of this term is discussed in the next section as a means for understanding the basic differences according to the media of representation and according to the “role in the developmental process in which a cognitive structure is built up” (Damerow 1996: 373).



**FIGURE 1.** Scheme of the process of creation and interpretation in the Iconic Representation.

Returning to the discussion of representational material culture, firstly, I would like to examine Bailey's contention that representational material culture is unique in its ability to act as the subject of possession (Bailey 1991: 67). In other words, the representational material culture is a specific type of material culture that, pertaining to the nature of representation, not only reproduces a *subject*, but also has the ability to act as subject of possession. It means that the representational material culture object possesses the *subject* that reproduces, but also is a subject of possession of such *subject*.

Let us explain the terms *subject* and *object* that Bailey assumed implicitly. Although the subject-object relation originated in the subjective-objective antithesis, their meanings in this study are different from their original formulation as for example in The Oxford English Dictionary (1961 vol. VII: 14-16, vol. X: 21-22). In my understanding of these terms, the human creator of a figurine is a cognizing agent to whom are attributed all mental representations or operations involved in this act of creation (Figure 1). She/he is a self or ego. The idea, the concept and the intention for the creation of figurine are born in her/his mind; this product of the mind I call, after Leach (1976:37), a *mentifact*. The word *subject* is considered here as a short form of the double word 'subject-matter'. In other words a *subject* is the thematic content which the human creator is transmitting through the chosen media that is the iconic image in our case, and expressing in an external or concrete form of a material *object*. The material object is something tangible and perceivable. Comparing these terms to those from semiotic analysis (see Hodder 1987:3) the represented *subject* is the *signified* and the *object* is the *signifier*.

To deepen the relation of *object* to *subject* it is pertinent to follow Bailey's (1991) considerations of the Levi-Strauss and Levy-Bruhl discussions on representational material culture, in reference to art. Both authors attempt to understand the relationship between the represented image (*object*) and the subject of representation. Levi-Strauss uses the term "possessivism" with regard to the object. He says

that art is, in part “an illusion not only of communication, but of possessing the object through the medium of the effigy” (Levi-Strauss 1966:64, in Bailey 1991:67).

Following Levi-Strauss Bailey (1991:67-8) argues that possession, in its literal definition as apprehension, constitutes an *analogic relationship* between *subject* (the theme, e.g. individual person) and *object* (e.g. the painting). It follows that “possession through effigy is aligned with a belief that material signs allow humans to apprehend (literally to possess) reality” (Bailey 1991:68). Bailey calls it the *possessive-representative aspect of material culture*. It is the combination of possessing an effigy and the sign which it apprehends and produces. Even though the possessive-representative aspect is a special feature of a figurine, is also applicable to all other representational material culture.

Bailey (1991) gives some examples of *object-subject* relationships. One case is exemplified by two levels of possession examined in Levi-Strauss’ discussion of Renaissance paintings where the owner possesses both the art-work and the *subject* which this art-work depicts. The second example is contained in the Levy-Bruhl’s discussion of the reactions of the ‘primitive peoples’ to figurative art. Levy-Bruhl (1926:46, in Bailey 1991:69) remarks that they “regard artificial likenesses, whether painted, carved, or sculpted, as real, as well as the individual they depict”. Other examples selected from Bailey (1991) is provided by Gombrich (1959) and Levi-Strauss (1966) in which both authors speak about children’s toys. They argue that, while to an adult a toy is a small scale depiction of something that is not (e.g. a plain toy or a doll), for the child it is a real thing (a functioning jet plane or a living person) (Gombrich 1977:84, Levi-Strauss 1966:23). My favourite choice comes from Gombrich’s (1977) discussion of the relationship between representation and its subject. He emphasises the perceiver’s ‘mental set’ to describe the process of viewing and understanding any image. Gombrich presents the case of a modern western viewer confronted with a marble bust. The viewer is looking not at the product of a decapitation of a human being, as a non-western observer may see it, but as a “member of the familiar community called portrait busts” (Gombrich 1977:53).

Bailey concludes that Gombrich, Levi-Strauss and Levy-Bruhl

strive to understand the equation between the representational object and its real subject. For some this equation is false: a bust is a masterpiece; a toy is for children. For others the equation is complete: the doll is a person; the plane ferries passengers... (Bailey 1991:69).

Three basic conclusions for the study of subject-object relationship in figurine research may be concluded from the above examples: (1) each subject-object relationship deserves individual attention, (2) understanding “must not begin in an intuitive listing of possible meanings for perceivers other than oneself: figurines are goddesses, toys, votive, or other things”, (3) instead, it should begin by “uncovering the principles which enable a figurine to be perceived in a specific function” (Bailey 1991:70). These principles form the basis of the transition from subject to object, and this transition is a major attempt to interpret the prehistoric figurines. Bailey (1991:71) emphasises that the result of his research “will not be found in the correct identifications of subject for depicted object: figurine equals idol, toy or doll”, even though, this identification may form a large part of the analysis. This identification is done to support the ‘real’ explanation of the material objects. He claims that “the

benefit of the search [for the identification of subject for depicted object] will be located in the relationship between subject and object and the social context of that transition” (Bailey 1991:71).

To summarise, the definition of social context of transition between subject and object is the most important stage of Bailey’s approach to figurine interpretation. This moment includes two main research procedures: (1) clear description and understanding of both the known object such as the figurine, and the unknown subject, for example the human populations or children’s activities. Once both object and subject are identified, (2) the transition which links them (their presence as miniature representations in a durable medium) must be investigated. The interpretation enables the researcher to “locate the transition from real subject to created object along the culturally specific dimensions of social reality” that may be evident at the settlements where their producers and users lived (Bailey 1991:70).

Although I agree with the general sequential direction of the above considerations, I argue that the recognition of the prehistoric *subject* is not as immediate as suggested by Bailey. Rather, further steps are required to understand the *subject* represented in the figurine. The above summary of Bailey’s position is a starting point and the inspiration for the next sections, where I introduce other concepts and methodological modifications to Bailey’s approach. I will further argue that the possessive- representative aspect is not an implicit characteristic of representational material culture, but restrained only to an iconic representation and particularly to the material analogy (see next sections). As a motto for this discussion I would like to bring into consideration an example of interpretation of the granite statue from Nubia, from the Egyptian Gallery, in the British Museum (690-661 BC). This statue depicts the figures of small men embraced by a big ram (Figure 2).

Image removed due to third party copyright

**FIGURE 2.** The granite statue from Nubia, 690-661 BC. The Egyptian Gallery, The British Museum, London.

The question arises: what kind of *subject-object* relationship(s) may be perceived in the case of these figures? The image was recognised as the god Amun with the monarch Taharqa of the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty from Kawa in Nubia, and interpreted as a symbolisation of the god’s protection of the king (according to the description taken from the Egyptian Gallery, British Museum). In this example the subject is not a real object but the mental construction, the idea, and there is no direct relationship between subject and object. Therefore, deeper level inferences of the relation subject-object are required to interpret these Nubian figures.

## Figurine as a ‘ first’ or ‘high order’ iconic representation

Peter Damerow (1996: 373), studying ‘representation’ on the level of philosophy of science, noted that it “is based on a fundamental and general function of the mind which is called by Piaget the symbolic function.” This symbolic function is “the ability to conceive something as representing something else” (Damerow 1996: 373). However, material objects (e.g., figurines) can represent either, or both at the same time, a real object, for example a concrete person, or the idea, for example a dead or the fertility. Layton (1978:28) notes that ideas signified by visual motifs themselves can signify other ideas. Similarly Taylor (1987: 119) considers that “conventional representations will often have a symbolic as well as iconic level”. For these reasons the real objects, functioning either as symbols or as icons can be used “...as external tools for performing mental operations” and “constitute complex representations of cognitive structures” (Damerow 1996: 373).

Now the question arises whether the figurines may or may not be considered as symbolic representations? Damerow (1996) distinguishes representations of cognitive structures according to the media of their representation. They can be a scheme of actions, such as gestures or material representations. He regards material representations as “representations of material qualities by prototypes, material models, and standards” (Damerow 1996:373). There are two types of material representations: ‘iconic’ and ‘symbolic’. The *iconic representations*

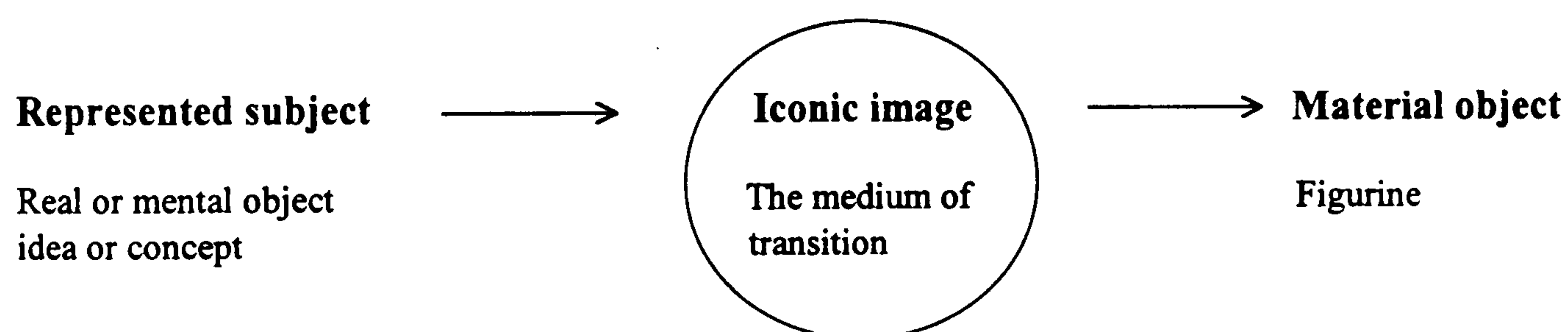


FIGURE 3. Iconic Representation scheme.

are defined as “representations of objects and actions, for example by images and graphs, using similarities and correspondences between abstract structures and their visualisations” (Damerow 1996:373). Icons are signs which do share some property with that which they represent (see Hodder (1987:3).

The symbolic is, according to Damerow (1996:373), the “representation by free, appropriate, or traditionally determined convention without any material similarities between symbols and symbolised objects and actions”. Similarly, Hodder (1987:3) considers symbols as polysemous representations that do not share any properties with their subject. The basic distinction between symbol and icon was already made decades ago by the linguists. Charles Morris stated that “a sign is iconic to the extent to which it itself has the properties of its denotata; otherwise non-iconic” (Morris 1946: 349; see also Morris 1938:24).

From the above discussion it is understood that even though the concepts of *icon* and *symbol* have some things in common, they have many more things that strongly differentiate them. The single



similitude between *icon* and *symbol* is reflected in the fact that they both possess or represent any given subject matter or thematic content (*subject*).

The intrinsic meaning is the message to be 'read' or recognised by all, or only some specific, members of a given society. An outsider has to be explained this intrinsic meaning. Therefore, it is necessary to know the 'code' to decipher both the *icon* and the *symbol*. The icon through its *iconicity* is a kind of mediator between its *subject* and the interpreter. Summarising, the main difference between the *icon* and the *symbol* lies in their *object-subject* relation in terms of their physical similarity/correspondence that is positive for *icon* and negative for *symbol*.

It is important to discuss how this 'similarity' between *icon* and *symbol* is determined, whether by an *emic* or an *etic* inquiry? The prehistorian has only the second possibility, even if he attempts to use the empathy. Nevertheless, cases of misinterpretations may be mentioned. What the archaeologist labelled a *symbol*, can otherwise be viewed as an *icon* in an *emic* perception. The best illustration of this case provides the image of fish representing the totemic ancestor of the Australian aborigines (Figure 4). For the archaeologist this representation of fish would be a symbol of an ancestor, while in fact, it is an iconic representation of a particular ancestor who was a fish. For any member of the society who knows the iconographic system, the physical similitude and, therefore, the equation fish=ancestor is straight. In this case the fish representation is a classic icon.

Image removed due to third party copyright

**FIGURE 4.** Iconic representation of fish (Tjimpitja the Rock Cod, Doubtful Bay, Kimberleys, Australia, from Layton 1991:38, Fig.9).

Although the recognition of any identifiable shape leads us to think of it as of an *icon* instead of a *symbol*, it is still necessary to demonstrate whether the given shape has, or has not, any similarity with the represented *subject*. I further argue that it is not sufficient to state that the figurines, having the iconic content, cannot be symbols nor symbolic representations. Can the archaeologist arbitrarily, without the knowledge about the *subject*, decide whether a figurine is an icon or a symbol? I disagree with Bailey's statement that "the recognition of a figurine's human or animal shape denies it the status of symbol" (Bailey 1991:72). Again, I argue that although the recognition of any identifiable shape leads us to think it an *icon* instead of a *symbol*, we must first demonstrate whether this shape has or has not, any similarity with the represented *subject*. But, can the archaeologist ever demonstrate it? If not, he should be conscious of his limitations and admit it.

Although I consider that the figurine can be an icon, a symbol, or both, nevertheless at this level of discussion it is more pertinent to say that the probability that the object with iconic content can be a

symbol is low and, that the contrary probability is high. In conclusion, I argue that although it is not sufficient to say that the figurines having the iconic content cannot be symbols or symbolic representations, I would prefer to assume that they are icons.

But before I define them arbitrarily as iconic representations or as icons, let us attempt to penetrate deeper into the *subject-object* relation in the material representation. As I said above, *representations* are based on the fundamental function of the mind - the already mentioned symbolic function. I argue that it is important to make the analytical distinction between those representations that represent an abstraction or 'mental object' (term used by Damerow 1996:374) and those which represent the real object, in order to see if this can clarify our panorama.

To account for these differences I introduce the distinction between 'first'- and 'high order representation.' These two concepts, although taken from Damerow (1996), stimulated my thoughts on 'representation' and are thus redefined here in order to suit the purposes of my research (therefore their meanings are different from Damerow's original formulation).

The *first order representations* are those of real objects by symbols or icons. In other words, the *subject* is a real object, for example, a figurine represents a subject that is a concrete person. In this case the subject is a model for the representing object. The *high order representations* are representations of mental objects or ideas by symbols or by icons; e.g. figurine represents a subject that is the concept of fertility (Figures 6 and 9). Both iconic and symbolic representations can be of first or high order.

A king's carriage porcelain miniature, a wall painting representing works linked to the pyramid construction in ancient Egypt, the monument of Francisco de Miranda situated on the corner of Fitzroy Square in London or the ceramic female and male figurines that served as dolls for the Karajá Indian (Brazil) girls (Roe 1995a:28) may all be considered as the examples of the first order representations. The above mentioned Nubian figures from the British Museum are an example of the high order iconic representations. Another example of the high order iconic representation can be an ethnographic example of zoomorphic figurines that represent malicious spirits of game animals among the Chocó Indians from Panama (de Arauz 1979:96).

Before the distinction between the first and high order representation was made, I arbitrarily assumed that the figurines, having an iconic content, are much likely to be icons than symbols. This distinction, being a higher level of resolution in the *icon/symbol* relationship, permits us to claim that figurines are almost always iconic representations. Now, the range of possibilities in favour of the *icon* is large: from being the first order representation (*material analogy*) to the high order representation (*material metaphor* or *material metonymy*). I consider that the concepts of *first* and *high order representation* cover almost all potential 'contentional' probabilities of figurines.

In another example, I argue that the feline image in the prehistoric South America, described frequently as a symbol of power, is an iconic metaphor of power or an icon of power, as correctly used in the title of the book edited by Nicholas Saunders (1998). A vulva is not a symbol, but an iconic metonymy of fertility. As icons, the figurines act "through the physical and conceptual unification of form and content" (Crawford 1991:20).

As asserted above, the main difference between the iconic and symbolic representations lies in the iconic content. This iconic content or *iconicity*, being the “quality of a sign or form whereby it shares a property with that which it represents” (Hodder 1987a:3), is clearly an important starting point in any analysis of the material object (see Figure 3). I will call it *image*. It is a medium of transition between *subject* and *object*. The *image* is a material referent of the *subject*. This third ‘constituent’ of a figurine is absent in case of a symbolic representation (see Figure 5).

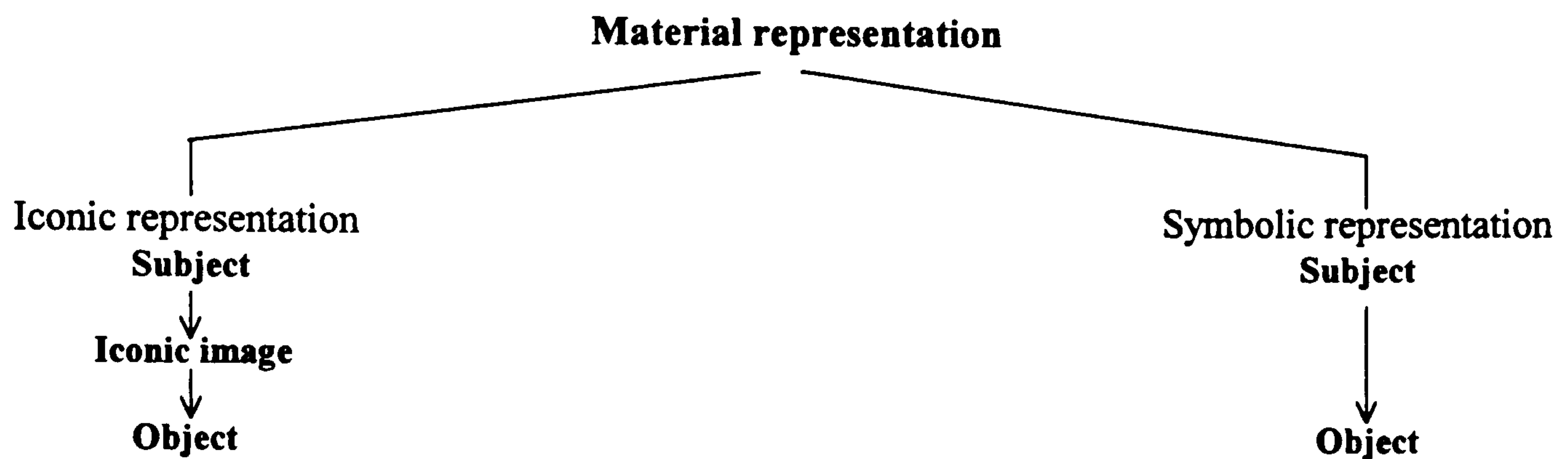


FIGURE 5. Difference between Iconic and Symbolic Representations 1.

In the case of the icons, the *image* involves a close connection between signifier and signified. Therefore it is supposed to be easier to interpret what the *subject* is (or *signified*) in the case of icons than in that of symbols. But, as Hodder (1987a:3) observed, “we can never be certain that the iconic representation represents what we think it represents.” The real content or what Sperber (1995:4) calls ‘hidden meaning’ or Shanks and Tilley (1987) ‘connotative meaning’ may be only known by its producers and/or users.

In summary, I argued that figurines are icons and not symbols and suggested that one of the most important question for the interpretation of prehistoric figurines is whether the figurines under study represent a real object or a mental construction. I return to these questions in the following sections. At this point, however, I aim to discuss the characteristics of a figurine that enable it to function powerfully in the society.

# Representational material culture

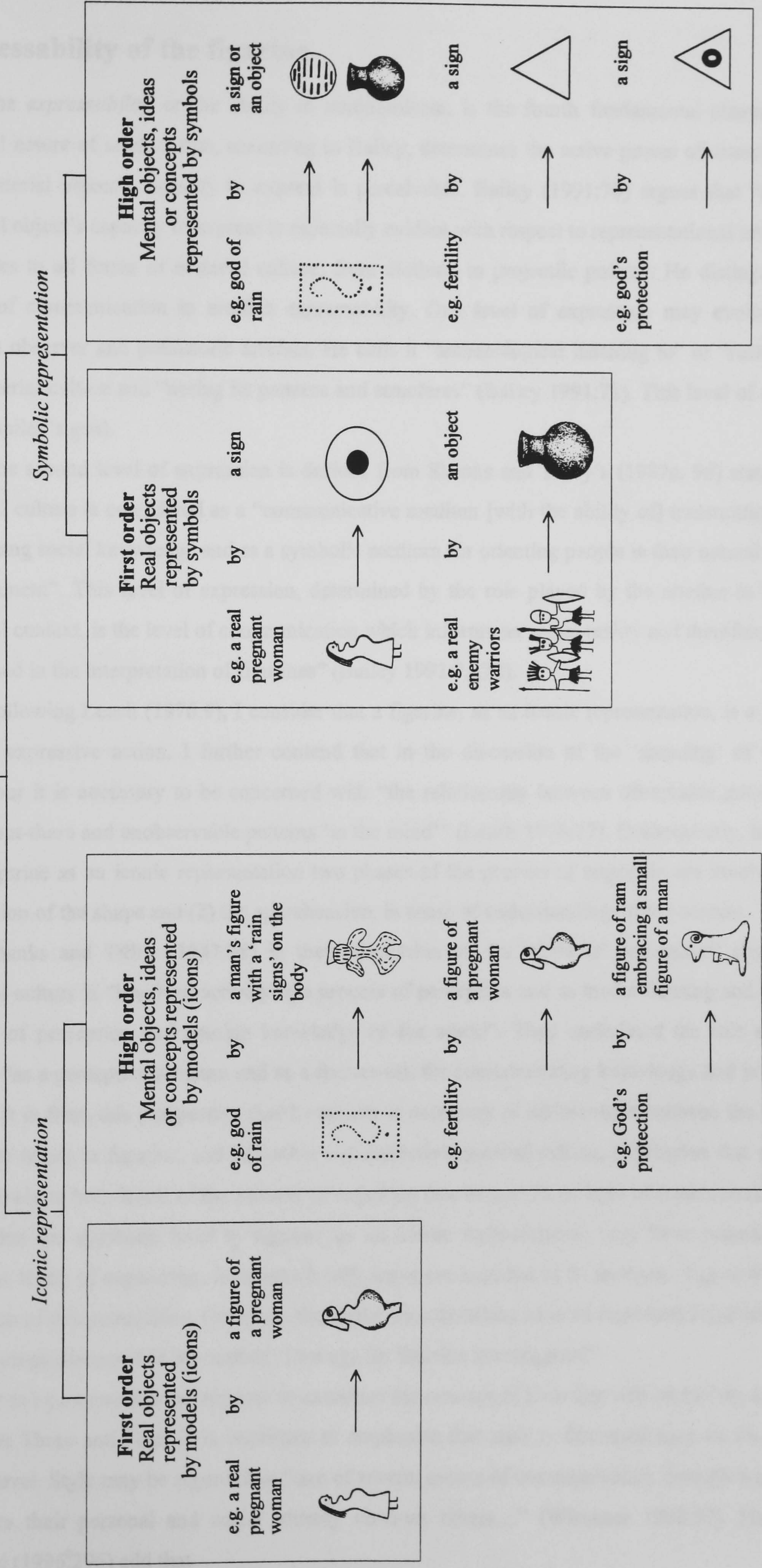


FIGURE 6. The examples of the First and High Order Representations within the Representational Material Culture scheme.

## Expressability of the figurine

The *expressability* or the ability to communicate, is the fourth fundamental characteristic of material nature of artefact that, according to Bailey, determines the active power of material culture. The material object's capacity to express is perceivable. Bailey (1991:70) argues that "although a material object's capacity to express is especially evident with respect to representational artefacts [...] it applies to all forms of material culture, from clothing to projectile points". He distinguishes two levels of communication in artefact expressability. One level of expression may evolve between modern observer and prehistoric artefact. He calls it "archaeological listening to" or "reading from" the material culture and "noting its patterns and structures" (Bailey 1991:71). This level of expression is not Bailey's goal.

The second level of expression is derived from Shanks and Tilley's (1987a: 96) statement that material culture is considered as a "communicative medium [with the ability of] transmitting, storing, presencing social knowledge and as a symbolic medium for orienting people in their natural and social environment". This level of expression, determined by the role played by the artefact in the social-material context, is the level of communication which informs on social reality and therefore, "shall be addressed in the interpretation of figurines" (Bailey 1991:71,72).

Following Leach (1976:9), I consider that a figurine, as an iconic representation, is a product of human expressive action. I further contend that in the discussion of the 'meaning' of expressive behaviour it is necessary to be concerned with "the relationship between observable patterns in the world out-there and unobservable patterns 'in the mind'" (Leach 1976:17). Consequently, in the study of a figurine as an iconic representation two phases of the process of cognition are involved (1) the perception of the shape and (2) the apprehension, in sense of understanding, of the content.

Shanks and Tilley (1987:96) in their discussion on the "field of perception" observed that material culture is "involved actively in a process of perception and as media framing and facilitating the act of perception and gaining knowledge of the world". They underlined the role of material culture "as a perceptive medium and as a framework for communicating knowledge and information" (*ibid.*). It is from this perspective that I consider it necessary to differentiate between the *iconic* and *symbolic* levels in figurine, and any other representative material culture, expression that correspond respectively to both levels of the process of cognition (see Figure 7). In light of these considerations, I argue that the symbolic level in figurine as an iconic representation may have potentially many different levels of expression, from which only some are encoded in its *iconicity*. Figure 8 shows the extension of this potentiality. Certainly, the above considerations have an important implication for my methodology discussed in the section "Strategy for figurine investigation".

At this juncture it is appropriate to introduce the concept of *style* that will be further discussed in Chapters Three and Four. It is important to emphasise that *style* is discussed here on the formal or iconic level. Style may be regarded as "one of several means of communication through which people negotiate their personal and social identity *vis-à-vis* others..." (Wiessner 1988:57). Haaland and Haaland (1996:296) add that

the imaginative moulding of material objects to imitate, emphasise or elaborate the form and attributes of the human body, serve to express and foster ways of seeing and experiencing the world, understanding oneself and forming attachments to others” (my underline).

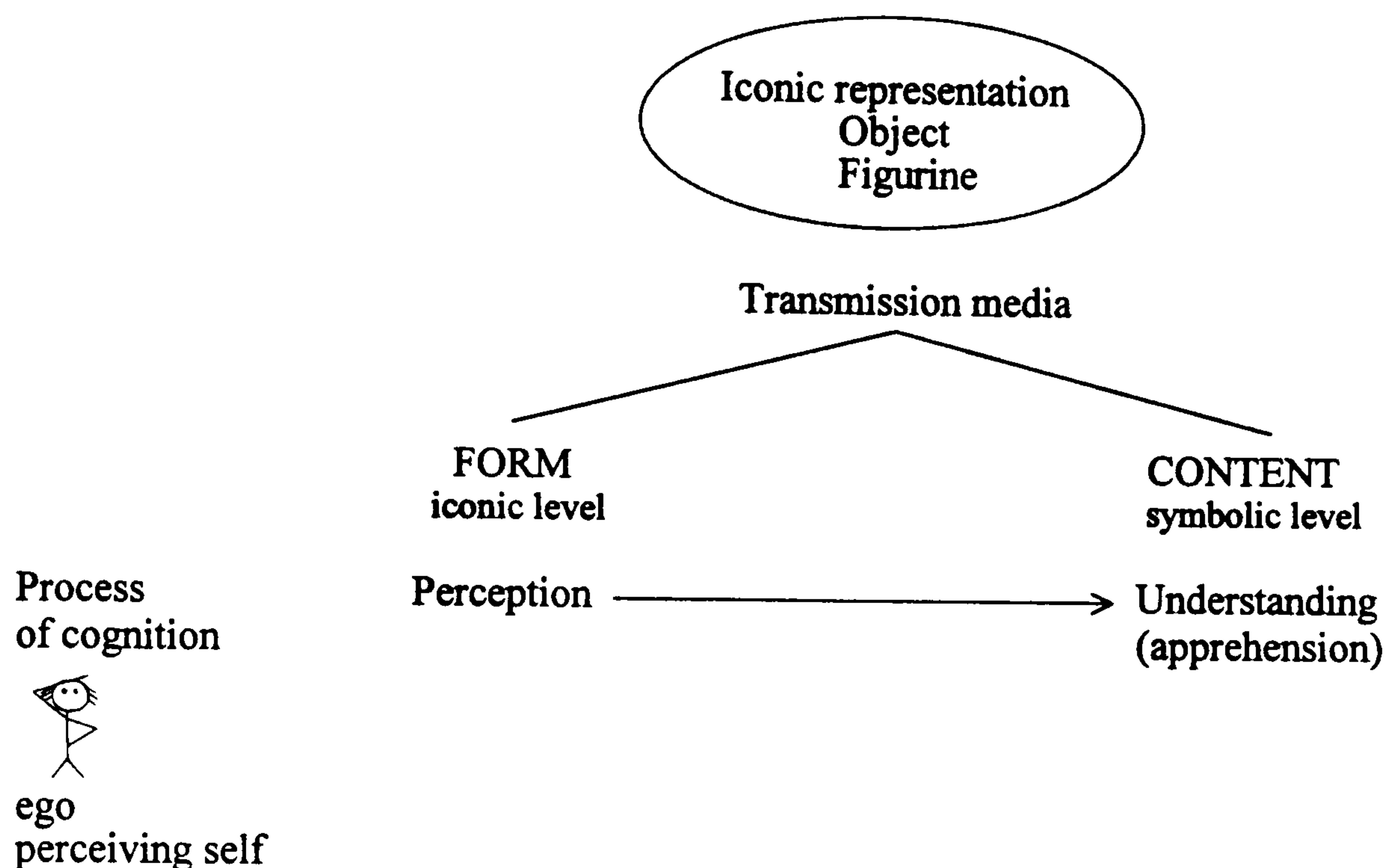


FIGURE 7. Process of cognition.

The “ways of seeing and experiencing the world” from the above citation, are, in my opinion, reflected in what Bailey (1996:293) called the *object-ive standards* established by figurines. Against these *objec-tive* standards people can be compared by others and by themselves. Bailey (*ibid.*) explains, that in such way figurines and other representative material culture artefacts “negotiate, manipulate, dictate and determine the connection between the self, the other and the world”. I prefer to reserve the concept of *object-ive* standards only for figurines that share a degree of formal order or, in other words, stylistic similarity. The style may be, in consequence, understood as “the extent to which a range of forms is subsumable into some model of its variability” (Miller 1989:199). Apart from stylistically endowed artefacts, such as figurines or other representational material culture, some items, such as buildings, clothing, or jewellery that are most visible to members of other groups, are more likely than others to convey symbolic information (Sharer and Ashmore 1993:512).

### Figurine as a ‘material analogy’, ‘metaphor’ or ‘metonymy’

Given the object’s ability to possess and to communicate, the figurine may be redefined as a *material analogy* (Bailey 1991). The *analogy* means “equivalency or likeness of relations” or “more vaguely: agreement between things, similarity” (The Oxford English Dictionary 1961, vol. I: 304). Bailey (1991: 303) argues that the connection between the *subject* and *object* is analogic, meaning “similar in certain attributes” or “having something parallel”. This analogic relationship between subject and object is a unique conjunction of expression that makes intelligible the similarity of shape. Analogy functions to transfer meaning from a *subject* to *object*.

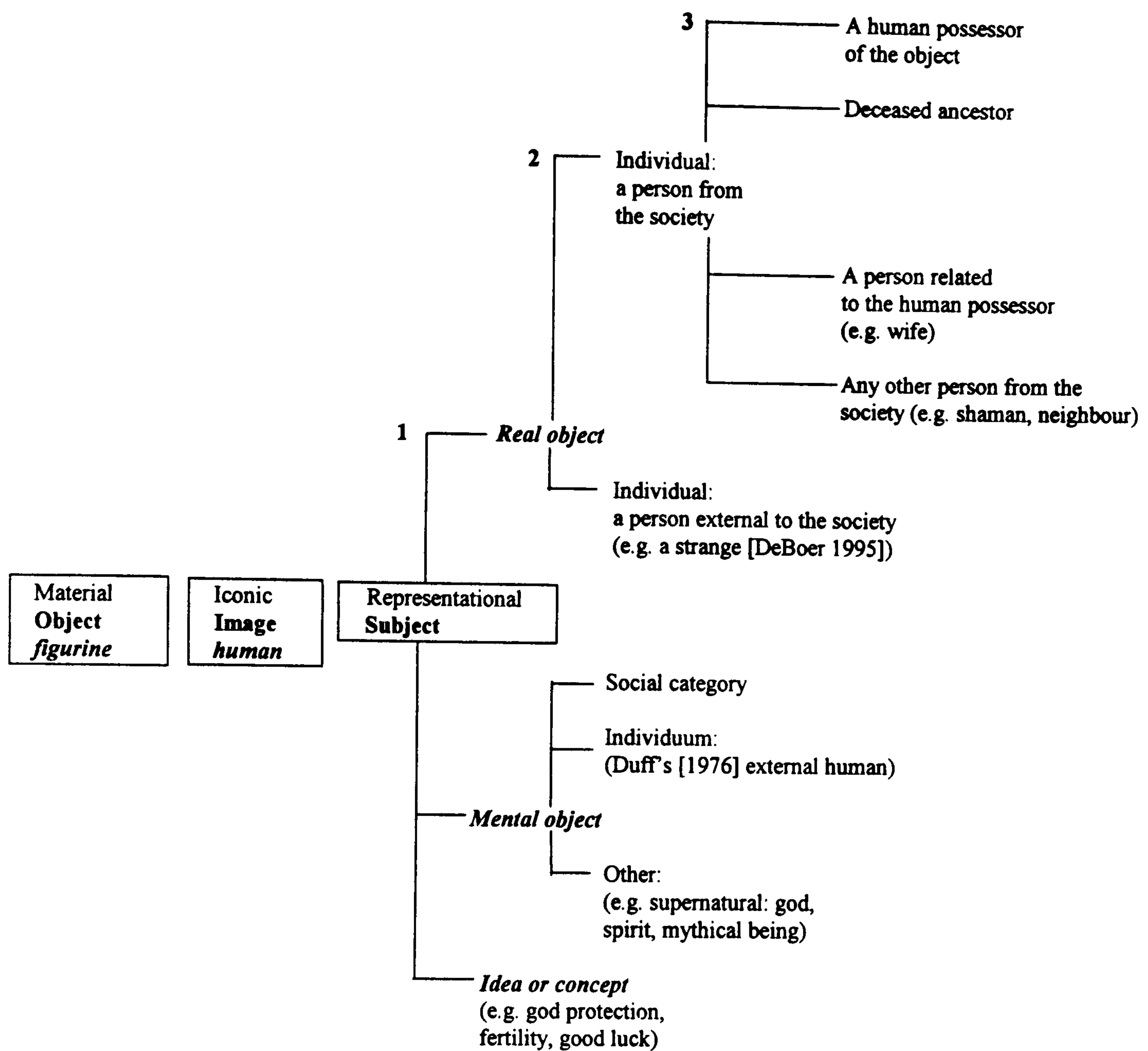


FIGURE 8. Levels of expression in the Iconic Representation.

Bailey (1991:72) regards “the artefact’s activity as analogy is a potent component of the expressability of material culture”. However, he alerts us to be aware that the ambiguity of the subject-object connection may be misunderstood unless the context of the analogy is considered. He emphasises that “the correct meaning of an analogy [...] is bound by the contexts and material spheres of reality” (*ibid.*). In these remarks, the pivotal role of material and contextual evidence in the interpretation of figurines is, once more, heavily accentuated.

In conclusion, the combination of three material object characteristics (‘physicality’, ‘possessability’ and ‘express-ability’) makes the object function effectively and efficiently as an analogy in the social world. Together these characteristics confer on the artefact a power which is “more permanent than the human ...[and]... less constrained than the living” (Bailey 1991:73). Artefacts, in conjunction with the human element of the prehistoric socio-material world, constitute *social realities*. The artefacts are its “building blocks, its structure, as well as the key to its reorganisation and down fall” (*ibid.*).





## Figurine possesses 'direct' or 'indirect' *subject*

This distinction refers to the *object-subject* relationship. I argue that figurines, that are *the first order representations* and consequently 'material analogies', possess the *direct subject*. As already stated in the case of the 'material analogy,' the connection between the *subject* that is a real object and its representation in a material object, is *analogic*. In other words, the object is similar in certain attributes or has something parallel with the subject which it represents. Archaeologist while studying the *image*, that is a medium of transition between *object* and *subject*, can observe, that the *object* is a kind of straight 'mirror' reflection of the *subject*. In the *subject-object* relation the sign of equation may be placed. Analogy functions to transfer meaning directly from *subject* to *object*.

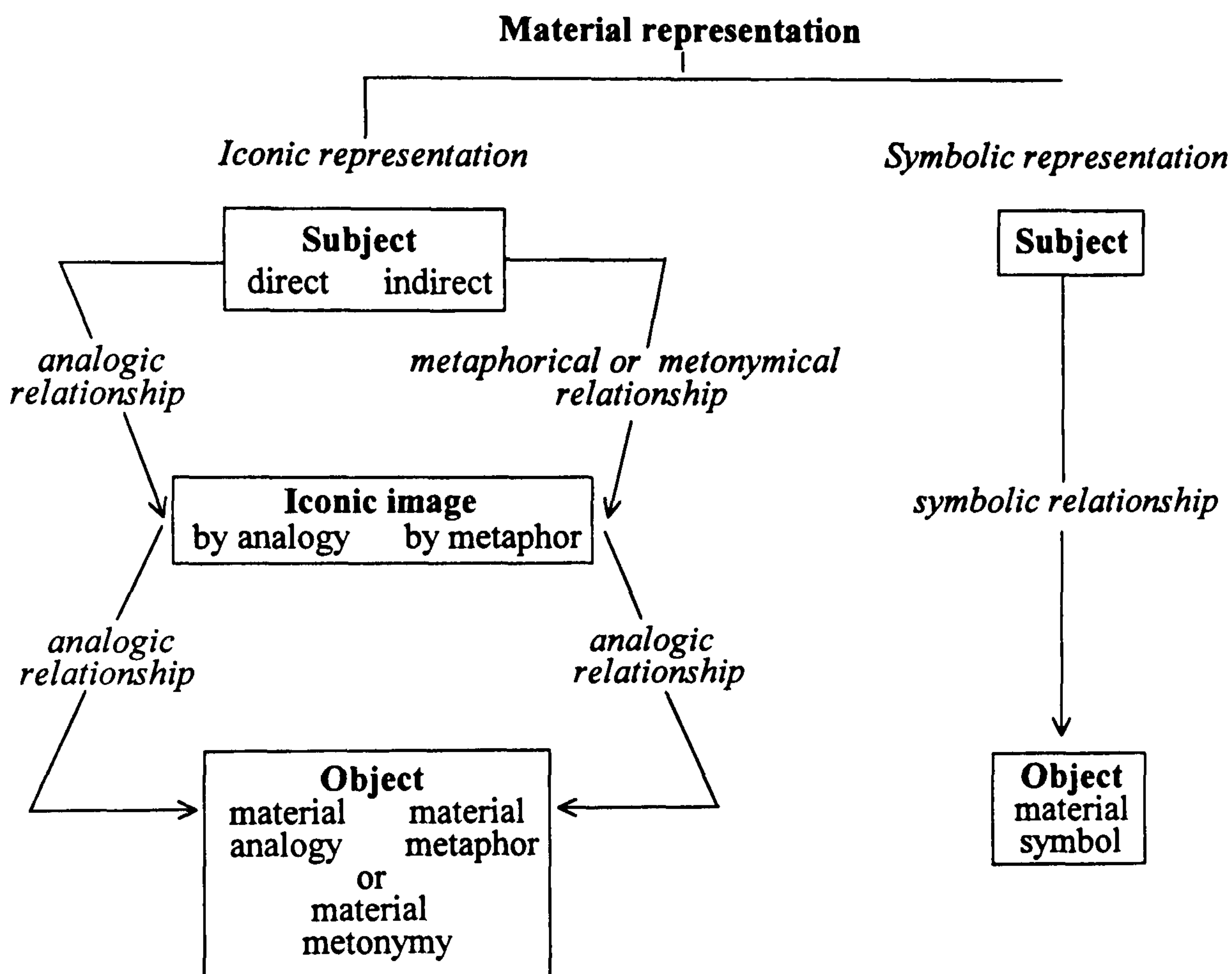


FIGURE 10. Difference between Iconic and Symbolic Representation 2.

Figurines that are 'high order representations', and consequently 'material metaphors' or 'material metonymies', possess what I call the *indirect subject*. In this case the connection between the *subject* and *object* is metaphorical or metonymical. The *image* as a medium of transition might be different from the *subject*. As already mentioned, it is required a 'tiny' material similarity or correspondence between an abstract construction and the object to make the object pertain to the iconic representation. Therefore, there is no equation in the *subject-object* relation. Metaphor or metonymy functions to transfer meaning indirectly (through the *image*) from a *subject* to *object* (Tilley 1999). In this case the *image* has a role as an important mediator (see Figure 9).

In light of the above considerations, the differences between iconic and symbolic representations are more visible than before (see Figure 10). Moreover, I argue that the possessive-representative

aspect is not an implicit characteristic of the representational material culture, as Bailey stated, but restricted only to an iconic representation and particularly to the material analogy.

## FIGURINE CONCLUSIVE DEFINITION

Phenomenologically, the figurine is a material object, product of externalisation and objectivation, positioned within a social context. A figurine, like any other artefact is an objectification, i.e. a manifestation of the socio-cultural relationship. In the same way as any other material culture item, figurine can be produced, possessed, transported, controlled, manipulated abandoned or destroyed. Like any other material object the figurine has a power which is reflected in its four fundamental characteristics: physicality, durability, possessability (in the sense of the object's ability to be possessed by the human subject) and expression. However, as only one part of a broader material culture, a figurine is a representational material culture and consequently it can act as subject and possessor.

A figurine, like any other material representation, can represent a real object or an abstract construction. A figurine is not a symbol but an iconic representation. As such it has an intrinsic visual instrumentality. Among its many functions, it was made to be looked at (certainly not by us). Therefore its significance as sign is dominant (Maquet 1993:31). As an iconic representation, a figurine may be a *material analogy*, *material metaphor* or *material metonymy*. The *iconic image* functions as a medium of transition and as a mediator in the *subject-object* relationship (Table 1). The possessive-representative aspect of figurine (i.e. a figurine is a subject of possession) is evident in those cases when it is representing an object, either a real object or mental construction (in which a figurine is a *material analogy*).

**TABLE 1.** Similarities and differences between figurines and other artefacts.

Features in common	Features exclusive for figurine
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Any artefact is a material object (an active aspect of material culture), positioned within a social context.</li> <li>• Any artefact is objectification, i.e. manifestation of the socio-cultural relationship.</li> <li>• Any artefact is a product of <i>Externalisation</i> and <i>Objectivation</i>.</li> <li>• Any artefact has a power, which is reflected in its four fundamental characteristics : physicality, durability, possessability* and expression.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A figurine, like any material representation, can represent a real object or an abstract construction.</li> <li>• A figurine, like any iconic representation, is representing a subject through the iconic image, which is a medium of transition.</li> <li>• A figurine, like any iconic representation, can be material analogy, material metaphor or material metonymy.</li> <li>• A figurine, like any iconic representation has "an intrinsic visual instrumentality" (Maquet 1993:31).</li> <li>• A figurine, like any iconic representation has a possessive-representative aspect only in case of being a material analogy.</li> </ul>

\* possessability refers to the object ability to be possessed by the human subject

In this study, I reserve the term *figurine* exclusively for the three-dimensional, human, anthropomorphic, zoomorphic or zoo-anthropomorphic miniature representation, i.e. smaller than the life-sized object it represents, and which is not a vessel nor a part of any artefact (e.g., *adorno*). I use the term *miniature* to embrace the figurines as well as all representations of smaller than life-sized objects such as houses, trees, boats, tools, musical instruments, etc., which are not a vessels nor a part of any artefact (e.g. vessel *adornos*).

Bearing in mind the definition of the figurine as well as the key-statements discussed above, gives rise to the following question: How may all these characteristics effectively be addressed and operationalised within the general strategy for figurine interpretation?



## *Chapter Two*

# **A Strategy for Figurine Interpretation**

We spend our whole time interpreting the results of the past expressive actions of other people (Leach 1976:10).

Archaeological data is not limited, only the minds that interpret it (Yates 1993:70).

### **MAKING SENSE OF FIGURINES; A FEW ADDITIONAL CONCEPTS**

In this chapter I explain the strategy used in this study to interpret the prehistoric figurines from the Los Roques Archipelago. In addition to those terms and concepts discussed in Chapter 1, in this chapter I discuss other concepts employed in my research strategy including: *interpretation, culture, meaning, iconic, symbolic* and *contextuality levels*.

*Interpretation* is understood here as a contemporary process of making sense of the archaeological record. Such a process is open and never ending, “as more can always be said or learned” (Tilley 1993:10; see also Hodder *et al.* 1995:239). Interpretation can also be seen as a kind of mediation between the past and the present. It is also a translation. The archaeologist is an interpreter who works between past and present (Tilley 1993:244; Hodder 1991:15). Using archaeological methods and tools, she/he translates the record of the past for the present audience.

In practice, interpretation is an act of inference by the archaeologist. Inferences are made from the archaeological record during the processes of formal analyses of the objects and their contextualization. These inferences may be supported by relevant ethnological, ethnohistorical, actualistic, experimental and environmental data. Inferences are made in order to address specific research questions. A large part of the process of interpretation of a figurine includes its contextualization, thus the interpretative *sense* of figurine “becomes mobilised or brought to consciousness by being placed in a wider context” (Tilley 1993:8). This ‘wider context’ refers to both the recovered archaeological context of the object and its (re)constructed social context.

To make sense of figurines means to recover the multiple meanings (i.e. answers to different meaning categories) they evoke today through their (1) existence in a concrete cultural form, (2) position in the archaeological context, and (3) conception as active actors in their (inferred) social context. A contemporary archaeological interpretation is possible only due to the figurine's objectification, contextualization and externalization. The way to make sense of figurines is through the process of (re)constructing their social reality, through the identification of figurines in their social context. This present-day process of making sense of figurines is done through a language that is a 'privileged medium', in which meanings can be produced and exchanged (see Hall 1997:1).

## **MULTIPLE MEANINGS OF FIGURINES**

All objects can be given meaning and of varied types (Hodder 1987a:1)

Material culture, as signification in general, has many different dimensions, many different meanings... (Yates 1993:70).

### **Culture as a set of meanings**

The cognitive model of culture followed in this study views *culture* as a system of symbols and meanings that determine any social action (Schneider 1976). Culture is, to put it more simply, a "set of meanings (categories and relationships) people construct for making sense of their lives," reworking individually learned norms and traditions, and "reconstructing the systems of cultural meanings to the contexts of their own lives" (Sharer and Ashmore 1993:99). These norms and traditions are reflected in the structured patterns, unique to each culture, which can be "read" expressing those patterns. As Guss (1990:96) demonstrated in his ethnographic study of the contemporary Ye'kuana society (the Amerindian group from southern Venezuela), the culture is something always 'in the making'. As a "sum of the values, beliefs, rules and behaviour patterns that are held in common by a group," such meaningfully constituted culture includes structure, style, meaning content, action and results of action (Hodder 1987a: 4).

Material culture is also seen as being meaningfully constituted, since "there are ideas and concepts embedded in social life which influence the way material culture is used, embellished and discarded" (Hodder 1992:12; see also Miller 1987; Shanks and Tilley 1992). Consequently, to understand past social phenomena attention should be paid to intention, meaning and signification (Hodder *et al.* 1995:242).

### **The essence of *meaning***

As already emphasised in Chapter One, the fabric of meaning is constituted by common sense 'knowledge' rather than ideas. This is an essential fabric without which society cannot exist (Berger and Luckmann 1966:27). An individual or a group of individuals construct their world views through three processes: externalisation, objectivation and internalisation. It is "the foundations of knowledge in everyday life, to wit, the objectivation of subjective processes (and meanings) by which the inter-

subjective common-sense world is constructed” (Berger and Luckman 1966:34). However, these subjective internal meanings, as inferred by archaeologists, are not the conscious thoughts of individuals but rather “they are public and social concepts which are reproduced in the practices of daily life” (Hodder 1986: 128). The agency of individuals as it occurred in prehistoric times is usually beyond the reach of archaeological inquiry (however, see Meskell 1999). The archaeologist thus aims to infer concepts that are encoded in the material pattern (‘norms’) that reflect such “institutionalised practices of social groups” (Hodder 1986).

## **Material culture and linguistic *meanings***

It is necessary here to differentiate between linguistic and material-culture *meanings* (Hodder 1996:300), also known as verbal and non-verbal meanings respectively (Fletcher 1989:33-40). The importance of verbal and non-verbal meanings in the functioning of human communities has been discussed extensively and from different perspectives (see e.g. Chomsky 1975; Hall 1959; 1966; 1974; Mehrabian 1972; Leavis 1975; Druckman *et al.* 1982; Fletcher 1989). Fletcher for example states that verbal meaning, although “essential for the short-term, small-scale functioning of human society, cannot be regarded as necessary or sufficient for an understanding of human interaction and communication on all timescales” (Fletcher 1989:34, my underline). I would add this is especially true in the case of the long timescale of prehistory. As prehistoric archaeologists cannot deal with the verbal messages of extinct people, they concentrate on the study of material-culture meanings. The “... material non-verbal messages operate on longer timescales, then their functioning and nature can be analysed without necessary reference to the short timescale functioning of verbal meaning” (Fletcher 1989:38).

Certainly the prehistoric archaeologist is confronted with a difficult problem. On the one hand, having no access to the verbal messages of the past she/he loses “the window into the human mind” (Fletcher 1989:33). On the other hand, the material culture left by prehistoric people is “one of the most resistant forms of cultural expression in terms of our attempts to comprehend it” (Miller 1987:3).

Hodder proposed the “reading” of the archaeological record as text (Hodder 1986). However, he recognised that “this is not a simple matter of transferring the familiar literary practice to archaeology” (Hodder 1989:72-73). Rather Hodder indicated a number of important differences between material culture and linguistic meanings. He argued that material culture is more ambiguous than language because linguistic meanings are “singly coded and linear,” while material-culture meanings are “multiply coded and multidimensional” (*ibid.*). Material-culture meanings are “less logical and more immediate, use-bound and contextual” (Preucel and Hodder 1996:300). Such multiplicity of code increases with timescale. Therefore, prehistoric material culture, as particularly distant in time from its authors/producers/users, can be given numerous meanings in different contexts of interpretation.

## ***Meaning in action***

The aim of archaeology is to interpret the material remains of the past that are static, mute things or mere arrangements of matter. However, these static remains are a surviving record of a once dynamic past (Patrik 1985). This dynamic past refers to social action viewed as a meaningful activity of human beings interrelated by common codes of communication, called a 'meaning-in action' (Schneider 1976:198, 199).

There is no doubt that past human activities pertain to the past while the archaeological record, as a unique material result of past dynamic actions, pertains to the present. By studying the material remains of past actions, the archaeologist is expecting to approach the meanings of the material past. It is a double task: she/he intends firstly to identify and describe past activities and to answer 'What happened there?', and secondly, to explain it by addressing the 'why' questions.

The link between the dynamics of the past and the archaeological record is "one of signification and communication, implying that the record contains meaning specific to the historical conditions under which it was constructed" (Hodder in Barrett 1987: 469). The meaning that is encoded (contained) in the archaeological record thus may be recovered and 'evoked' only through the study of the recurrent patterns of association and exclusion observed in the archaeological record.

## ***Meaning in archaeology***

The use of the word *meaning* in archaeology is practically unlimited. Searching randomly in a few archaeological books, I found that *meaning* has a truly universal application, as it can be possessed, given, evoked, engraved, assigned, encoded, imposed, inferred, constructed, reconstructed, recovered, considered, conveyed, derived, imputed, extracted, determined, fixed, produced, manipulated, interpreted and so on (compiled from Hodder 1986:53,124,125; Taylor 1987:117; Shanks and Tilley 1987:131; Bintliff 1988; Fletcher 1989:38; Beaudry *et al.* 1991:160; Tilley 1993:6,7,8). However, my search for a single definition of the concept of *meaning* in archaeological literature was unsuccessful. Does this mean that such a well-used word does not need to be defined? Most scholars use this term loosely in the sense of communication (conveyance) or expression of thought, differentiating meaning from form or form and style (see e.g. Rowe 1962, 1967; Carlson 1976:197), as independent components in archaeological art. An object may not only have multiple and even contradictory meanings depending on the context of interpretation (Hodder 1985:14; Tilley 1989:191), but also the 'meaning' of the concept *meaning* varies depending on how the context of the word 'meaning' is used (i.e., the *meaning* can mean 'function', 'communication', 'signification', 'purpose' and so on). To summarise, *meaning* has different meanings in archaeology.

The 'guardians of empiricism' may refuse *meaning* as potentially 'dangerous' for the discipline. However, archaeology has since its beginnings addressed meaning, "if only in the attribution of function to material culture" (Preucel and Hodder 1996:300). As Hodder (1986:124) stated "archaeologists have long discussed ways of using their contextual data to build interpretations of functional inter-relationships." In other words, the *meaning* of object was given by seeing how it

functions in relation to the “human and physical environment, the depositional processes, the organisation of labour, the size of settlement, the exchanges of matter, energy and information and in relation to economic and social structures” (Hodder 1986:124).

The term *meaning* is widely used, and took on greater significance in postprocessual archaeology. Hodder proposed the use of contextual relationships to get at the content of past meaning (structured content of ideas and symbols) with which the structured system of functional inter-relationships is necessarily linked (Hodder 1986:124-125). He believes that “with the gradual developments of terms, methods and theoretical concepts, the analysis of past symbolic meanings can claim a distinct part of the field” (Hodder 1987:1).

## **The *meaning* of a figurine**

The definition of *meaning* that better suits the purposes of this study I found in the non-archaeological discourse. For Peter Damerow, a philosopher of science, the meaning of something is “the imagined and considered conception of the real object (or of the object presupposed by linguistic symbols); the actual object (or the material linguistic symbol, respectively) becomes the vehicle of meaning as a result of its mental assignment” (Damerow 1996:57). He also noted that “meaning must be understood as an objective relationship established in the context of material action by means of material mediation, the mediation that is merely reflected in the ideal relationship of the thought” (*ibid.*). He added that “the meaning of the object signifies meaning in the context of human activity” (*ibid.*).

Damerow defines the meaning of the object in terms of a content of meaning or a kind of hidden ‘symbolic meaning’. This begs the question: Does the form alone have no meaning at all? Secondly, there is a qualitative difference between meaning as “imagined and considered conception of the real object” and “the meaning in the context of human activity” (Damerow 1996:57). Consequently, it may be argued that there is more than one category of meaning of something to be considered. The question then arises whether and how the objectivity of the relationship material action/material mediation can be judged in archaeology.

I will argue that while regarding the *meaning* of the prehistoric figurine there are multiple categories of meaning to be considered. Different categories of meaning may evoke separate multiple meanings. Therefore a definition of the meaning of the figurine has to include various categories of meanings.

In this dissertation I use the word *meaning* in the general sense of ‘signification’ or ‘purpose’; *meaningful* will mean ‘with signification’, ‘with purpose’ or ‘with expression’; *no meaning* will mean ‘a nonsense’. Unless used in the general sense, the word *meaning* will always be used with the adjective that refers to its specific category (e.g. hidden or function meaning). What then are the multiple categories of the meaning of figurine that I address in my approach?



## Multiple *meanings* of figurine

According to Hodder (1989:1), any cultural object beyond its meaning of an object as matter (to be studied by physicists, chemists and/or biologists) has three types of meaning: function, structure and content. The *function meaning* refers to the object involvement in exchanges of matter, energy and information. In other words, “the object’s [function] meaning is the effect it has on the world” (Hodder 1989:1). The *structure meaning* refers to the object’s meaning as a part of a “code, set or structure [...] and its particular meaning depends on its place within the code” (Hodder (1989:1). The *content meaning* refers to the history of the use and associations of the object that is given a particular meaning in the studied culture.

Here, two main categories of *meaning* are implemented for the study of prehistoric figurines: *representational* and *contextual*. This basic distinction is made with the intention of emphasising the abyssal differences that exist between meanings of the object *per se* and meanings provided by a “totality of the relevant dimensions of variation around [such] object,” (Hodder 1986: 139). Context is where all remaining categories of meaning, except for the representational, are located and constituted and provides the key to its interpretation. Recovery of contextual categories of meaning is predicated on recovery of context

because context not only frames meaning by tying it to actual situations and events, but it is inextricably bound up with meaning. The existence of context implies the presence of meanings functioning within it, and, conversely, meanings cannot exist in the absence of context (Beaudry *et al.* 1991:160).

The *representational* meaning relates to the perception of the external and internal qualities of the object. Is it possible to recover the *representational* meanings of a figurine through the material existence of the object and its multiple analyses (visual observation, measurements, physical-chemical analysis etc.). This category of meaning is divided in two sub-categories: *manifest* (or denotative) and *hidden* (or connotative) meanings (see Figure 9).

The *manifest meaning* addresses the question: What does it (the *object*) look like and what is it? It is an external representational meaning linked with the perception of the material and form of a figurine and the recognition of the image represented by it. All figurines have a manifest meaning that is related to an *etic* perception (see below).

The *hidden meaning* addresses the question: Who or what does the figurine represent? Hidden meaning describes the intrinsic representational meaning of the figurine. It encompasses the recognition of (or ascription to) the subject matter or the thematic content (*subject*), encoded in the figurine. While the *manifest meaning* recognises the physicality of the shape (in assuming that, e.g. a given figurine is ‘a man seated on a bench’), the *hidden meaning* is the intrinsic information that is framed in the physicality of the given image. The material object itself is a vehicle of a hidden meaning, what Damerow (1996:57) calls “the imagined and considered conception of the real object” and/or, I would add, of an idea.

To recognise the *hidden meaning* it is necessary to know the functional meaning of the object (in the sense of ‘utilitarian’ and ‘social’ functions) since, as Damerow (1996:57) put it, “the meaning of

the object signifies meaning in the context of human activity”. I argue that both *manifest* and *hidden* meanings can be perceived simultaneously only in the *emic* perception and, specifically, in what I call below the ‘internal’ *emic* perception (see below). In the *etic* perception, the *hidden meaning* can be approached only through the sound and cautious analyses of other types of meaning discussed below. Although the identification of the *subject* (hidden meaning) may take a large part of the analysis of a depicted *object*, it is argued here that this recognition must not necessarily be the next nor the most important step in the analysis of the figurine. Nevertheless, the benefit of studying a particular figurine is in establishing the relationship between *subject* and *object* and the social context of that transition.

The process of searching for the *manifest* and *hidden meanings* can be, roughly, compared to the Panofsky’s (1955) pre-iconographic description and iconographic analysis in his three-level system for discussing the material culture with iconic content. However, although the search for the symbolic meaning in prehistoric archaeology pursues similar goals as in Panofsky’s iconological interpretation (a discovery and interpretation of symbolic values), the first should include the process of contextualisation and reach the social reality of the object under study.

Every material object has its *manifest meaning*, but only the representational material culture (including symbols) possesses *hidden meaning*. At this point in the discussion it is important to admit that the main problem for an archaeologist is how, and under what circumstances, we can recognise what is, or what is not, representational material culture.

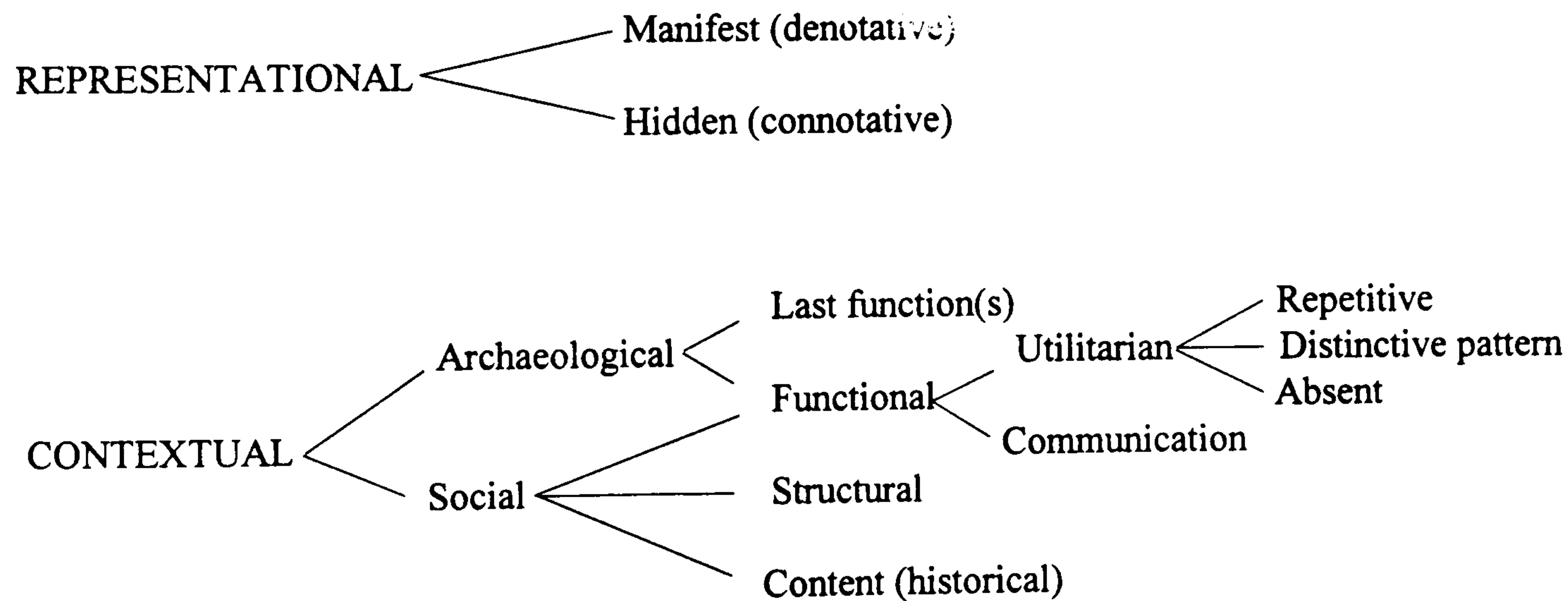


FIGURE 11. Categories of meaning addressed in figurine interpretation.

This problem is applicable to all potentially symbolic representations. The iconic representations, through their iconicity, are more easily recognisable as representational material culture. However, it is important to note that the term ‘symbolic meaning’ which includes, among others (see below) the concept of a ‘hidden meaning’, is not restricted exclusively to representational material culture. It may be the case that material culture is not representational and consequently possesses no *hidden meaning*, yet has a *symbolic meaning*. An ethnographic example of wooden posts of the Zafimaniry people from Malagasy (Madagascar) well illustrates this case. According to Bloch (1995:212-215), these posts are not representing, referring or signifying. However, their sense is not a decorative

purpose (manifest meaning) alone, but also a symbolic one. The carvings made in hardest, longest-lasting trees, “honouring” the hardness of the hardwood are “the continuation and magnification [...] of the growth and success of the couple [living in a specific house with a specific carved wooden posts], transcending the impermanence of life” (Bloch 1995:212-215).

The second category of meaning is linked with the place of the figurines in the multidimensionality of the archaeological and social contexts. This *contextual meaning* is sub-divided into two sub-categories: *archaeological* and *social* meanings. These sub-categories are further divided, as shown in Figure 11.

The *archaeological contextual meaning* is integrated by *last function(s)* and *functional meaning(s)*. The *last function(s) meaning(s)* of the figurine addresses the question: For what was the figurine used in a particular case (at a specific site or location within it and related to a specific human behaviour-or action)? This is the meaning of a particular figurine in a particular archaeological context, the meaning of associations, presence/absence and similarities/differences.

The second sub-category of the contextual meaning addresses the question: Which function(s) did a figurine have in a given society and in a determined time? The set of last function(s) meanings recovered for the figurines in several (types of) settlements in a wide macro-contextual scale, and within the same temporo-spatial frame, is considered as a more general *functional meaning(s)* (in the sense of utilitarian function). The ‘functional’ can be *repetitive*, *distinctive* or *absent patterns* meanings.

*Social meanings* are related to the role and position of the figurine in a multidimensionality of the (extinct) social context. They are the building bricks for the (re)construction of the social reality of figurines. They are based on, or inferred from, all other meanings: manifest, hidden and contextual. Of great significance is the role of bioanthropological and environmental data in the (re)construction of contextual, and especially social meanings of the figurines. Issues related to the geography, palaeoenvironment, palaeoclimate and palaeolandscape were inherently related to the producers and users of the figurines and any meaningful connection between the people and their environment are critical to interpretation. The potential influence of environmental stability/change on the society of figurine producers/users may be indirectly connected to social meaning.

The social meanings can be sub-divided into *functional* (communication), *content* and *structural*. The *social functional meaning* addresses the questions: What is the figurine about? What is it ‘telling’ us? What message is it expressing (in the sense of how it conveys information [social function])? The *content meaning* (Hodder’s [1986] ‘content’ and Whitehouse’s [1992:8] ‘historical’ meanings) informs us about why or for what purpose the figurine was made and used in a given culture through time. It relates “to the history of the use and associations of the object, which give it its particular meaning in the culture in question” (Whitehouse 1992:7). I understand this sub-category of meaning(s) as a set of social realities recovered across the different temporo-spatial boundaries of a given society. Depending on the availability of the data, the *content meaning* can be approached synchronically or traced diachronically (see Figure 17). Finally, the *structural meaning* informs us about the place of the

figurine in the whole (referring to the place of the object in a structured set of meanings or code [Hodder 1987; Whitehouse 1992]).

One question remains: What place does *symbolic meaning* have in this scheme of meaning categorisation? I consider symbolic meaning as a separate category of meaning. It is an abstraction constructed on the basis of the different categories of meaning, mentioned above. While referring to the *symbolic meaning* of a given figurine I address the conjunction of meanings in order to answer the following questions: What or whom does the figurine represent? (*hidden meaning*); What message does it express? What is it about, what does it 'tells' us? (*social functional meaning*); What was the use of a figurine in a particular case? (*archaeological the last function meaning*); Which function(s) did a figurine have in a given society and at a determined time (*archaeological functional meaning*); Why were they important across time in a given society? (*content meaning*). All these categories of meaning are interconnected and sometimes partially overlap. For example, the functional meaning pertains to both categories of the contextual meaning: the *archaeological meaning* in the sense of utilitarian function and the *social meaning* in the sense of conveyance of information.

Meanings cannot provide definite or universal answers to the above questions. Instead, they are "always provisional and local, they can always be reread and reinterpreted" (Hodder 1996:30). Moreover, "signs, codes, symbols and categories may always take on new meanings, because their meanings have their realisation in relation to specific political projects and strategies" (Shanks and Tilley 1987:74). In the following sections I will discuss the place of different meanings in the process of figurine interpretation.

### ***Emic and etic meanings***

Figurines are the material results of the meaningful actions of their producers. As Leach (1976:17) stated "whenever we discuss the 'meaning' of expressive behaviour we are concerned with the relationship between observable patterns in the world-out-there and unobservable patterns 'in the minds'". In the discussion of the meaning of the figurine it is necessary to be concerned with this intrinsic relationship. As the construction of meaning is always a social practice (Preucel and Hodder 1996: 300), the archaeologist often makes a distinction between the internal understanding of behaviour (*emic*) and the external account (*etic*). Is the archaeologist inferring meanings from the past or imposing meanings on the past? What is the relationship between "our" and "their" meanings (the meanings given or assigned to an object or situation by the extinct people).

While my perception of figurines is entirely *etic*, no single perception exists. The figurine may have represented different 'interest', 'sense' or 'meaning' to various individuals within a given society, "according to its place in their specific life schemes" (Shanks and Tilley 1987:74) or, in other words, depending on 'their' familiarity with the cognitive or mental map (as defined by Renfrew 1982, 1986) of the figurine users. Consequently, I argue that the *emic* perceptions of the figurine can be divided into 'internal' and 'external'. It might have been perceived differently by those members of society who produced and/or used the figurines ('internal' *emic* perception) and by other (groups of)

members that might not have known (all) the code(s) or shared with them the same world views ('external' *emic perception*).

Additionally, whatever the *hidden meaning* of figurines was, they may have produced different emotions in individuals from different neighbouring cultural groups (another kind of 'external' *emic perception*). This sort of 'external' *emic perception* is related more to the *manifest meaning* figurines evoke and with their *material style* in the sense of one social identity *versus* another (see Chapter 1, section *Expressability of figurine*).

Can this 'external' *emic perception* from the past be compared to the *etic perception* of the archaeologist studying figurines from the present day perspective? The answer to this question is contained in what Preucel and Hodder (1996:307) call "various forms of *etic*, linguistically constructed from a wide variety of different perspectives, both past and present." In consequence, it is only possible to understand the past in our own terms (Preucel and Hodder 1996:307). According to Hodder (Hodder cited in Barrett 1987:470), the meaning of artefacts contained within the archaeological record (*text*) and evoked (*read*) from the recurrent patterns of association and exclusion, is subjective. He argues that different archaeologists (may) derive different meanings from the same archaeological record (*ibid.*). This does not necessarily imply subjectivity since different people may focus on different aspects of things (Stephen Shennan, personal communication 1998).

For Tilley, the meaning of the past does not reside in the past but belongs to the present. The interpretation of the meaning of the material culture is a present-day activity and the archaeologist inserts the meaning from the past into the present through the medium of the text (Tilley 1989:192,193). The meanings of an object are thus multiple and even contradictory and "no ultimate meaning [of any object] can be held to exhaust it" (Tilley 1989:191).

The view that is taken here is that archaeological interpretation is the recovery and 'tying up' of multiple meanings that possibly existed in the past (reconstruction) and that do exist in the present. This process intertwines both the reconstruction and construction of the past and the present even if the validity of the 'reconstructed past' cannot be assessed directly nor fixed definitely. I accept the multivocality and agree that archaeological discourses are characterised by a high level of subjectivity. However, those 'readings' of the prehistoric meanings that have lost meaningful connection with archaeological contexts (especially in their empirical constituents, see below) are not sustainable in archaeological discourse. If there is something in the past that can be reconstructed, then the building bricks for such reconstruction should be sought for in the archaeological record.

## **ICONIC, SYMBOLIC AND CONTEXTUALITY LEVELS IN FIGURINE ANALYSIS**

Two phases of the process of cognition are involved in the study of the figurine as an iconic representation: (1) the perception, which results from the identification of the object's shape; and (2) the apprehension (in the sense of 'understanding') and recognition of the subject that a figurine represents (see Figure 7). These two phases correspond to the iconic and symbolic levels in figurine expression, respectively.

The first level in figurine analysis is the *iconic level* (or *denotation*, a term borrowed from Barthes 1967). In the perception of material objects, the specific material medium frames its subject and facilitates its perception by humans (Shanks and Tilley 1987:96). At this level the archaeologist deals with all formal and ‘visible’ aspects of the object (e.g. material, shape, size, colour, texture), with the intention of deciphering its shape. These formal analyses are divided into two stages: the morphological and (a kind of) ‘iconographical’ analysis. They conclude with the identification of the *image* which may, under certain cultural conditions<sup>10</sup>, correspond to the *iconographical type* (see Chapter 2). The *image* is the recognised shape of the object. When the *image* represents a real object (the *first order representation*) it is considered here as an *image by analogy*. Whereas an *image by metaphor* or *by metonymy* represents an idea or any mental construction (the *high order representation*). The *image* is the *manifest meaning* of a figurine.

The recognisable shape (*image*) represents an intermediate stage, a ‘medium of transition’ between *subject* and *object*. As stated by Taylor, the “icons are more readily susceptible to analysis for the very reason that they are *intended* as objects of translation” (Taylor 1991:119, his emphasis). I understand that such ‘translation’ refers to the role of the *image* in the mediation between *subject* and *object* (see Chapter One).

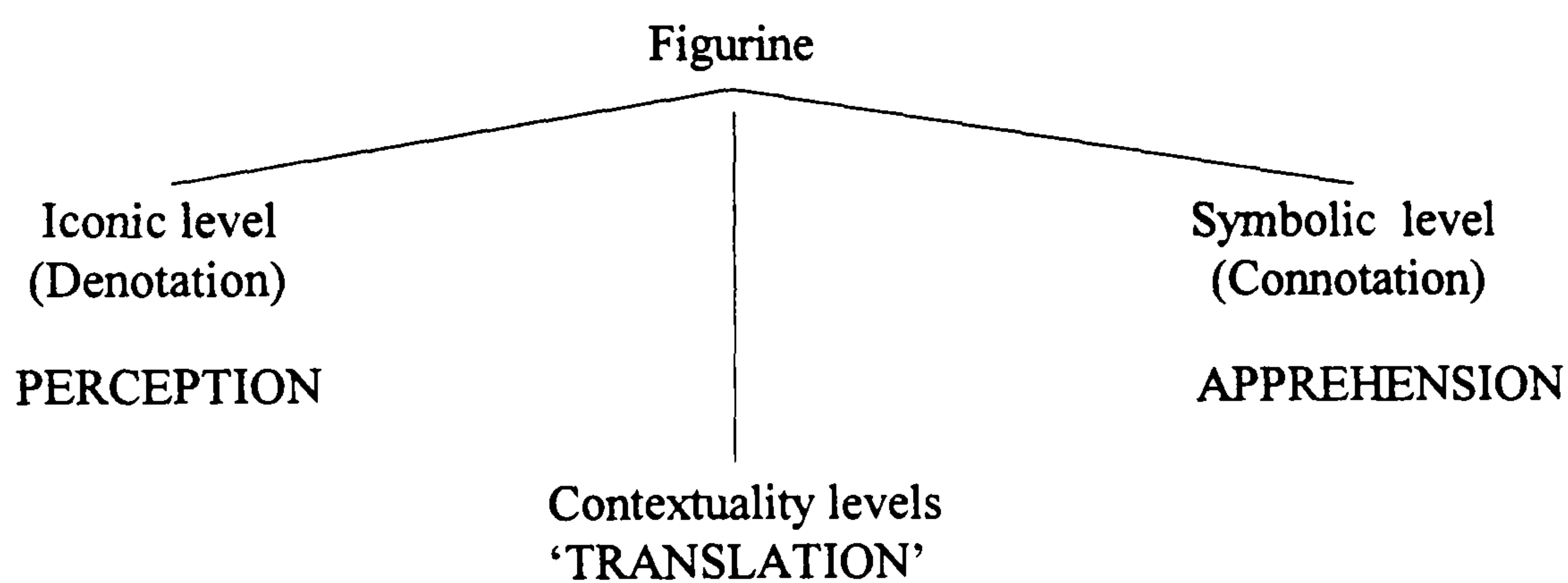


FIGURE 12. Iconic, symbolic and contextuality levels in figurine analysis.

The second level in figurine analysis I call *symbolic*. It corresponds to the level of *connotation* in Barthes’ terminology (Barthes 1967). This is a realm of recognition and of ‘understanding’ in the archaeological discourse. The *symbolic level* is the intrinsic level of the analysis. This level is much less ‘tangible’ than the first level. For the archaeologist it is not always possible to penetrate it without some additional information on top of the archaeological record. All other background information is clustered around the third cognitive dimension, which is located between the *iconic* and *symbolic* levels that include the archaeological context, the environmental data and, where pertinent, the ethnohistorical and ethnological analogies that are taken into account in the (re)construction of the social context of the figurine. In practice this dimension corresponds to the process of contextualisation that is divided into: (1) *first level of contextuality*, i. e. the positioning or identifying of the figurine in the archaeological context, (2) *second level of contextuality*, i.e. positioning of the figurine in the prehistoric social context.

As discussed above, the figurines are icons. If the icons are objects of translation (see Taylor 1991:119), then these two levels of contextuality (the archaeological and the social) may be conceived as a set of 'grammatical rules' without which the translation is not possible. The symbolic dimension of a figurine (achieved at *the symbolic level*) is a product of such a translation (Figure 12). This is a symbolic meaning of a figurine that includes a *hidden meaning* and all possible social meanings that may be inferred during the process of 'understanding', from the social context to the social reality of figurine. The next section summarises the theoretical considerations discussed above in order to outline a concrete strategy for figurine interpretation.

## TWO STAGES AND NINE 'STEP-BY-STEP' STRATEGY; A GENERAL MODEL FOR FIGURINE INTERPRETATION

The strategy for the interpretation of figurines from the Los Roques Archipelago addresses three corps of data directly related to each figurine: (1) the figurine (*object*), (2) its represented perceived shape (*image*), and (3) its subject matter or thematic content (*subject*) that may be a prehistoric object (real or mental) or idea, or both (Figure 13).

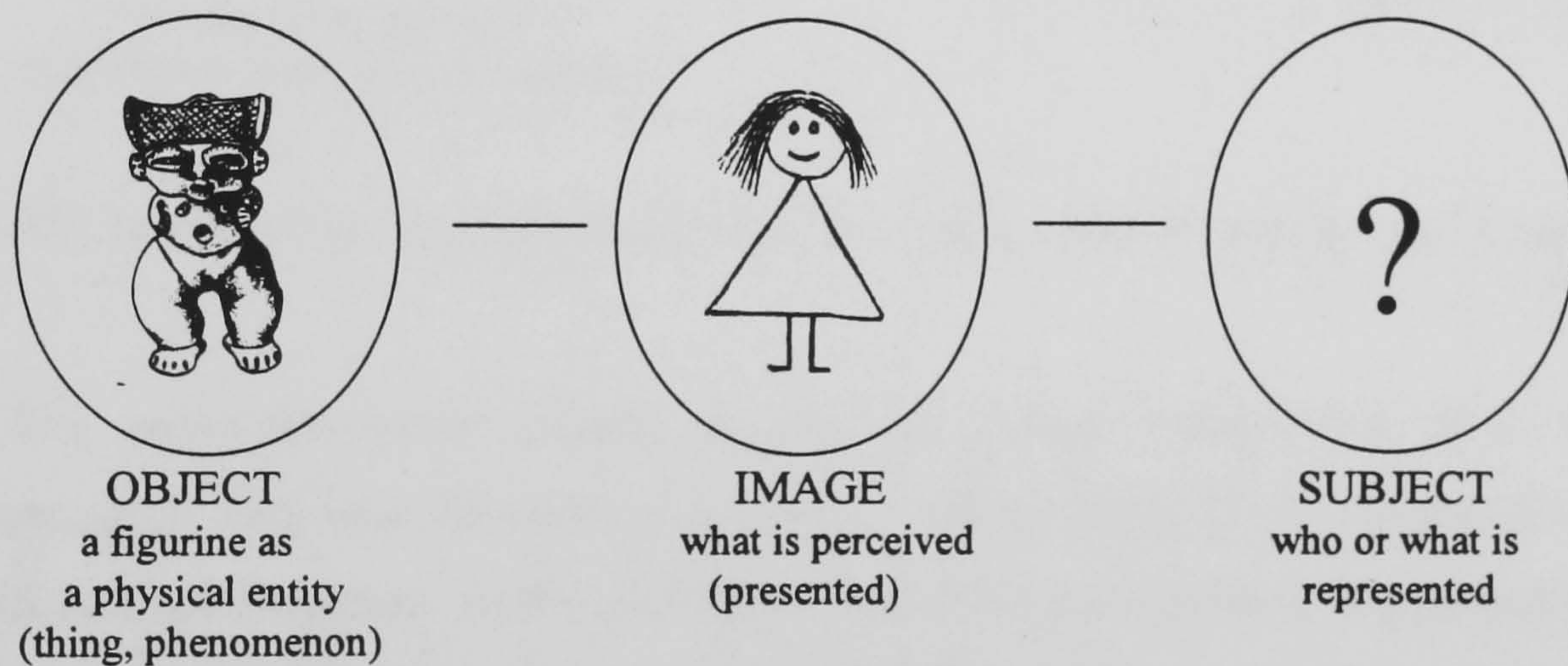
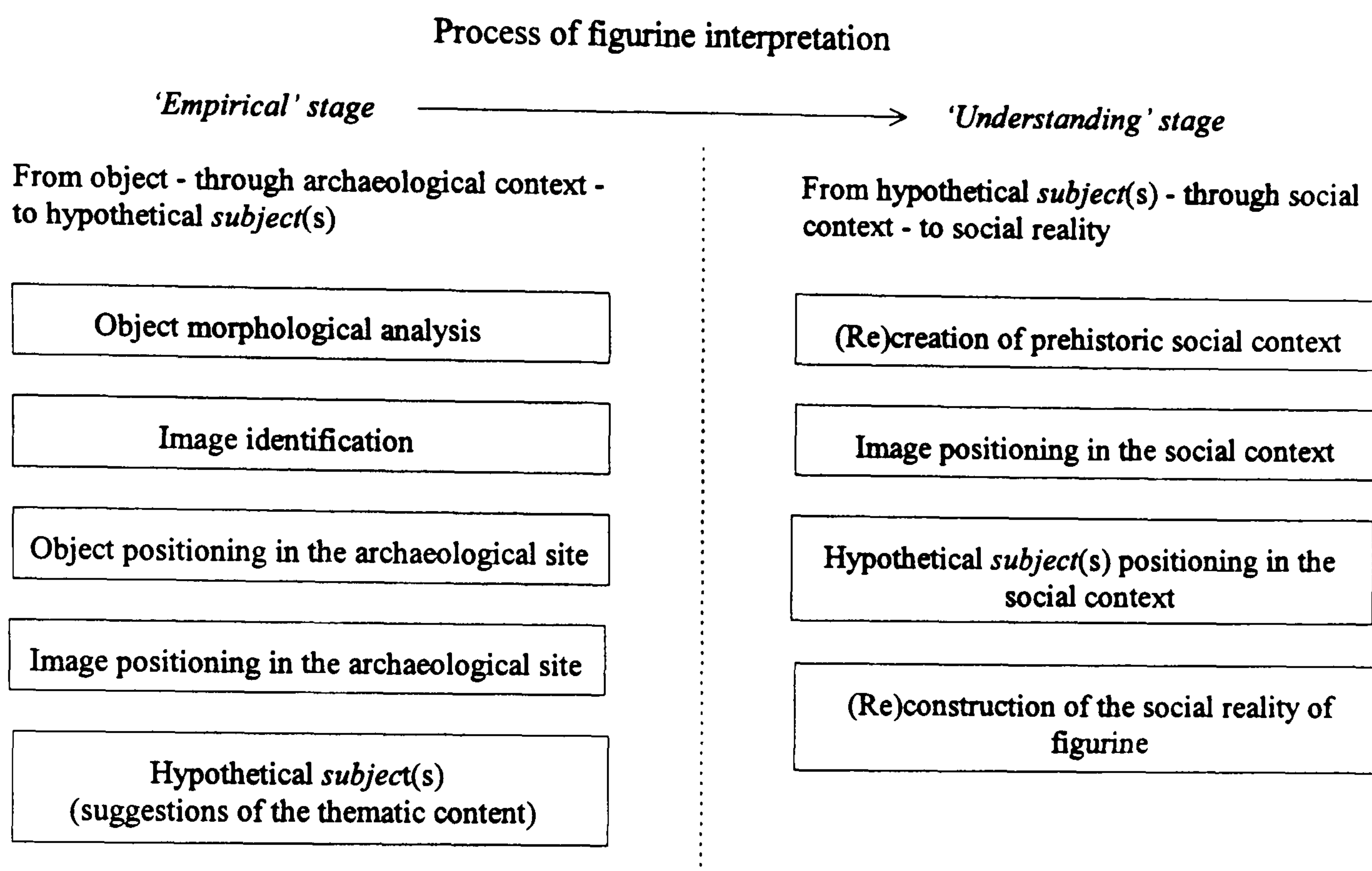


FIGURE 13. Three 'constituents' of a figurine.

This methodology also considers the figurines within two contexts: the archaeological context (present) and the social context (past). The present day context of interpretation is not addressed in this dissertation (see Pl.229). Both the figurine (*object*) and the archaeological context are considered the 'anchors' of all posterior intellectual constructs.

An archaeological context possesses three components having specific cognitive values: (1) the spatial associations of a particular figurine among other archaeological artefacts and features within a site; (2) patterns of associations of a series of figurines at the intra-site level (micro-contextual scale); and (3) patterns of associations (repetitive or distinctive) of figurines at the inter-site level (macro-contextual scale), that may even encompass a whole regional sphere of interaction. The archaeological context is an aggregate of empirical constituents tied together by meaningful links. As such, it is a subjective abstract construction. Since it is impossible to document all spatial associations of a figurine, a limited number should be selected. The archaeologist who is making the interpretation decides which associations will be examined for meaning. Consequently, the context of a figurine may

change through time as new meaningful links are added and/or different configurations of meaningful connections are considered by different scholars.



**FIGURE 14.** Model for figurine interpretation. Two stages and nine 'step-by-step' strategy.

The prehistoric social context is also an abstract construction. It is inferred from the archaeological indicators of social dimensions, such as social group composition (sex, age, social status), task specialisation, wealth distribution, differential use of food, environmental data and, where pertinent, the use of ethnohistorical and ethnological analogies.

The present strategy for figurine interpretation is composed of two principal stages: an 'empirical' examination and an 'understanding' process. These stages are divided into five and four separate steps respectively (Figure 14). The first, *empirical* stage concentrates mainly on the examination of perceptible and measurable elements of the figurine. It includes the investigation at the *iconic level* (the study of the morphological aspects of the figurine), and at the *first level of contextuality* (the three-dimensional position of figurine in the archaeological site and its meaningful spatial associations). The *first level of contextuality* includes the analysis of the archaeological context of a particular figurine, as well as of all figurines recovered within the site's boundaries. The *empirical* stage of research comprises five consecutive steps of analyses (see Figures 14 and 15).

The first two steps are related to the formal aspects of a figurine and begin (the first step) with morphological analyses (measurements, visual and physical-chemical analyses, typology, classification). The second step involves the formal analysis of the *image* that is a medium of transition between object and subject. This analysis concludes with the recognition of the shape and identification of the prehistoric *image* that, as already mentioned, may correspond, under certain cultural conditions, to the 'iconographical type'. It is during the formal analysis at the *iconic level*



when the archaeologist may deal with a *material style* or other related concepts (Carr and Neitzel 1995:5).

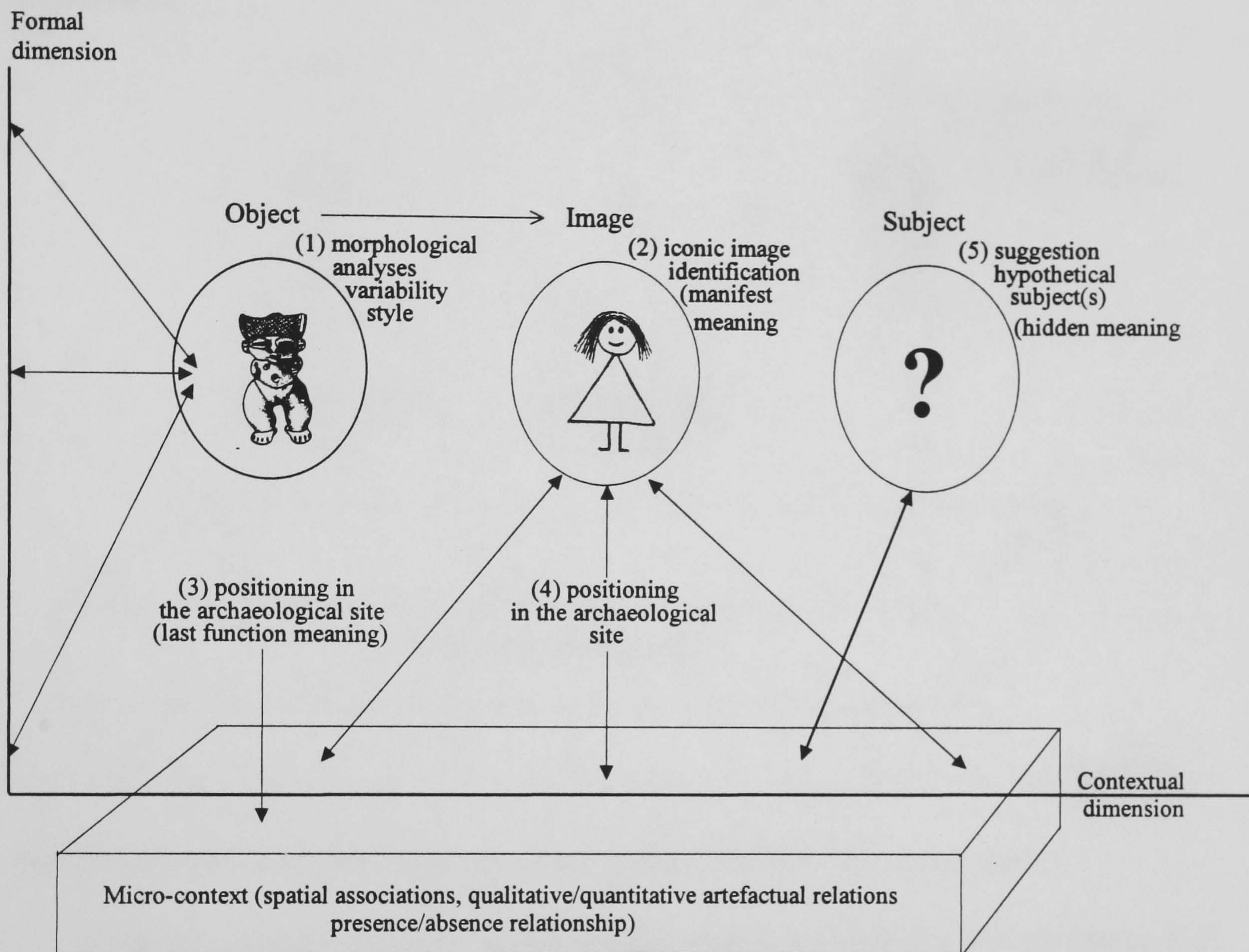


FIGURE 15. Model for figurine interpretation. First stage of the nine 'step-by-step' strategy.

The next two steps advance on the *first level of contextuality* (Figure 15). In the third step of the *empirical* stage of the strategy, the figurine as artefact is positioned and considered within the archaeological site. This step involves searching for meaningful spatial associations (micro-contextual, qualitative/quantitative artefactual and presence/absence relationships) to determine the *last function(s) meaning(s)*. These meaning(s) may, under certain conditions, correspond to a "particular past situation with a historical content" (Hodder 1987:1,2). In the fourth step, the figurine's *image* is situated within its archaeological site of origin through a process of reviewing all the associated representational material culture and searching for the non-figurine evidences of the represented *image*, within that site (see Bailey 1994:323). This step concludes the first part of the process of contextualisation of the figurine.

In the fifth step (that is the last step of the *empirical* stage of the strategy) the archaeologist leaves behind the empirical grounds and makes proposition(s) about the *subject* that logically *match* the background information. At this stage the hypothetical or suggested *subject* is formed. In other

words, this is the first 'fitting' of the empirical and contextual data to the *hidden meaning* of the figurine.

Ethnological  
Environmental  
data

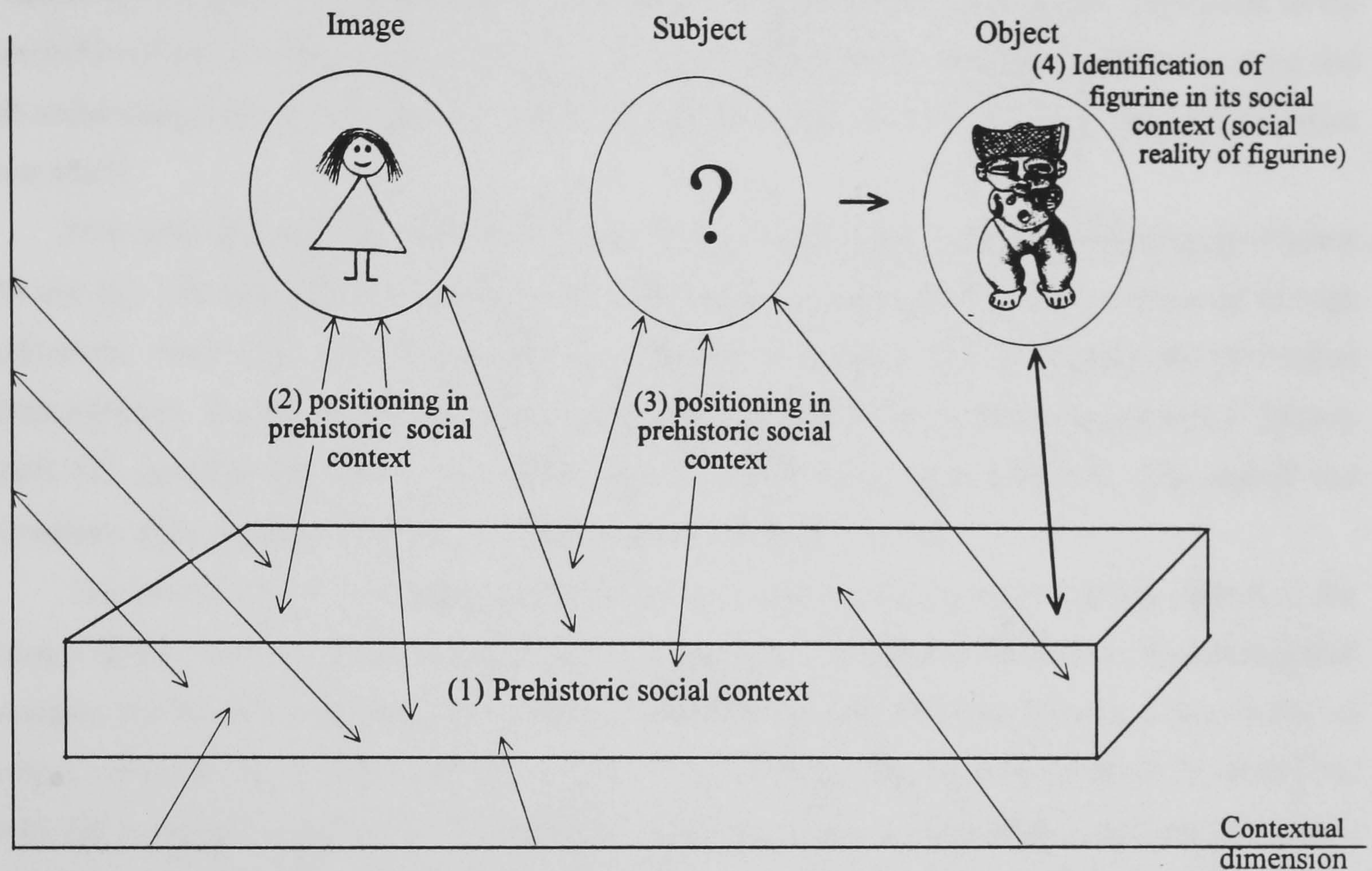


FIGURE 16. Model for figurine interpretation. Second stage of the nine 'step-by-step' strategy.

At this point in the investigation, an archaeologist ought to ask whether or not the figurine is a *first order representation*. That is, whether the figurine represents a real object (e.g. a real pregnant woman), a mental object (e.g. an idol of fertility) or both? In fact, this is a rhetorical question, especially at this stage of investigation. Although no answer to this question is yet expected, the archaeologist should be conscious of the complexity of the range of possibilities. These possibilities can be considered separately and tested in the scenario of a given prehistoric social context (or set of contexts), in the second stage of the strategy (as a second attempt to apprehend the *hidden meaning*).

The formulation of the hypothetical *subject(s)* is made at the end of the empirical stage as a kind of a nominal conclusion. This procedure is based on retroductive reasoning which is a key to Gibbon's 'realist archaeology', in which "the analytical argument is made from a manifest and usually named phenomenon to possible (hidden) causes" (Gibbon 1989:160 in Bailey 1991:46). I do not use the concepts of 'nominal' and 'real' definitions that are one of the key-concepts of Bailey's theory. Moreover, contrary to Bailey's reasoning, my 'nominal conclusion' is only a temporary closure of the topic. It is an assumption, the argumentation for which is expected to be developed in the second stage of the strategy. However, despite the argumentation, the topic of the identification of the *subject* is never definitively closed, nor concluded.

The main goal of the second stage of this strategy is the connection of the 'nominal conclusion' (hypothetical *subject[s]*) with the past *social context* of the particular society within which the figurine

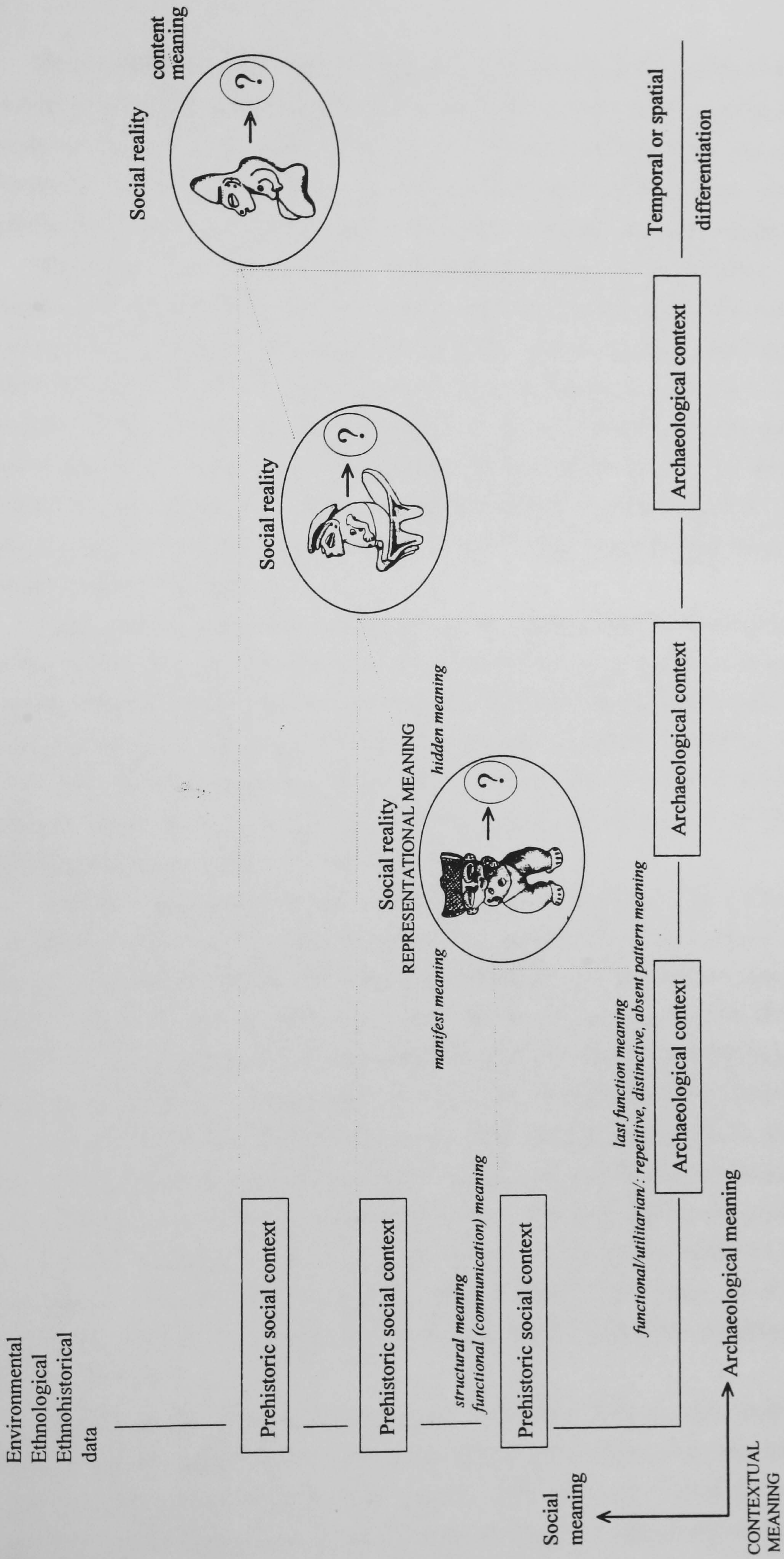
lived. This stage of investigation that can be called *understanding* is carried out on the *symbolic level of cognition*. The process of ‘understanding’ involves a search for the social reality of figurine. This search is made through delving into the prehistoric social context with an aim to identify the figurine within the boundaries of the social action. An attempt is made to explain the *subject* or *subjects* represented by figurine, suggested in the first stage. In practice these procedures correspond to the *second level of contextuality* of the figurine and explore deep levels of meaning (*hidden meaning* and all social categories of meaning), by attempting to reply ‘why’ and ‘for what use’ this representation was made.

Four steps are involved in the investigation of the *understanding* stage of this strategy (Figures 14 and 16). The first is the (re)construction of the prehistoric social context. This is achieved through inferences made from the archaeological indicators of such social dimensions as “individual differentiation, wealth, hierarchy, labour, social structure and strategy, human reproduction” (Bailey 1991:76). Additionally, the environmental and, when pertinent, ethnohistorical, ethnological and actualistic data may be used in the (re)construction of the social context.

The second step of the *understanding* stage is to analyse the prehistoric social context of the *image*. If, for example, the identified image of a figurine is a pregnant woman, then the investigation searches for the role of women, pregnancy, reproduction and gender related issues in the society of origin, especially in the site where it was recovered. Subsequently, a similar analysis is carried out with the suggested *subject(s)* by its positioning in the prehistoric social context. This is a verification of the assumptions made in the first stage of the research and a second approach to the recovery of the *hidden meaning* or, the second ‘fitting’ of the empirical and contextual data to the identification of the *subject* of a figurine. The fourth (and last) step is the (re)construction of the social reality of the figurine. The identification of the figurine within a prehistoric social context is an ‘explanatory conclusion’.

In my approach, the *hidden meaning* of the figurine is located at the junction of the meanings of *subject* and *object*. This is an ‘analogy’, a ‘metaphor’ or a ‘metonymy’ which transfers meaning from the *subject* to the *object*. As Bailey put it “this junction joins the social contexts of both *subject* and *object* with the social context of the medium of the transition” (Bailey 1991:76). The *understanding* stage explores a deeper level of meaning, where the social reality of figurines is to be found.

The intention of the “two stage and nine step-by step” strategy is to be applied firstly at the level of a particular settlement and on a micro-contextual scale (intra-site spatial associations) and, subsequently, considered on a wide macro-contextual scale (seeking for repetitive and distinctive patterns), that can encompass a whole regional sphere of interaction. It is expected that applying the methods of both stages of the strategy to the culturally homogenous, geographically and functionally heterogeneous, and temporally homo- or heterogeneous settlements, it is possible to (re)construct more than one social reality of figurines, for a given society (Figure 17).



**FIGURE 17.** Interrelation between different categories of meaning within a wide macro-contextual scale (synchronic or diachronic).

Where possible, the social realities of figurines may be studied synchronically or diachronically. A set of social realities of figurines recovered in such a way is their *content meaning*: the history of use and associations of the object, which give it its particular meaning in the culture in question (Whitehouse 1992:7). The case study presented here encompasses using the strategy outlined above to examine all (known) Valencioid settlements with figurines from the islands and from the mainland.

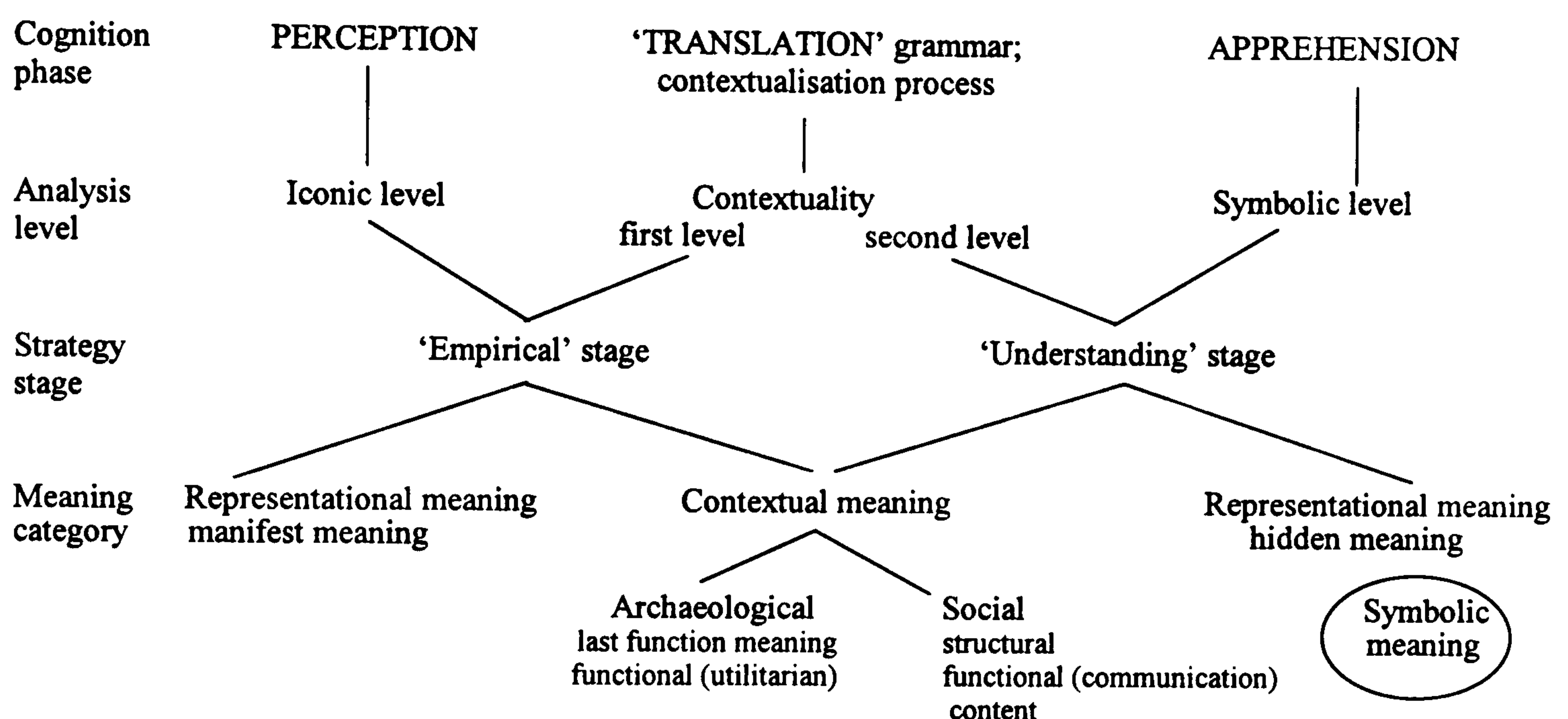
The pursuit of the *hidden meaning* (i.e. deciphering the *subject*) of a figurine is a painstaking (though fascinating) intellectual exercise. However, the final disclosure of the hidden meaning is not necessarily the most important aim of the research. Rather, I agree with Bailey that “the benefit of the search will consist in the relationship between *subject* and *object* and the *social context* of that transition” (Bailey 1991:71, my italic). Important for the archaeologist is not the recovery of the *hidden meaning* of a figurine, but an understanding of its social function(s) in the context of human activity, i. e. the recovery of the *social meanings* of a figurine. As archaeologists we should aim to address questions of “how the ideas denoted by material symbols themselves play a part in structuring society” (Hodder 1986:125).

I argue that the analysis of the *symbolic level* in a figurine, that, as shown in Figure 8, may include various levels of expression, can only be carried out under special conditions. The word ‘special’ refers to a body of information that may include: (1) the data about the archaeological context of the figurine; (2) a wide range of the repetitive patterns of contextual associations of stylistically homogenous figurines recovered across naturally and functionally diversified settlements of socio-culturally related human groups; (3) the rich environmental and ethnological information (where pertinent); (4) and the existence of written sources.

When no background knowledge is available, the (re)construction of the *symbolic level* of a figurine may border only on the intuitive and can be compared to the “bungee jump into the Land of Fantasy” (Flannery and Marcus 1996:352). The use of ethnographic analogies to interpret prehistoric figurines should be applied judiciously, even if the continuity between prehistoric and historic cultures/societies is determined. As Bray (1988:13) accurately stated, when analysing stone statues from Southern Colombia (first millennium BC up to the first centuries of the Christian era) “any interpretation of prehistoric art that relies on such [ethnographic] analogies is, in the end, a fairy story”. He added that when the museum materials (largely decontextualised) are interpreted with the aid of ethnographic analogies the archaeologists “may either make their guesses or say nothing” (*ibid.*). As archaeologists, we are not interested in creating science fiction or fairy stories, consequently we should be conscious of the abyssal difference between the use of our “creative powers to imagine the links of determinant interaction” and the “speculative description of the past” (Binford 1982:161).

The whole process of making sense of figurines or, in other words, the recovery of their multiple meanings, although viewed as a kind of mediation or translation between the past and the present, should therefore not be a completely free mental exercise. This process should be anchored to an empirical basis. At this point I would like to return to Bailey, who claimed that the “real definitions

[my *hidden meanings* of a figurine] do not float freely on imaginary power as do idealist explanations” (Bailey 1991:47). They must be based on (or grounded in) the empirical measures of the artefact, its environmental matrix and the restrained range of spatial associations and their repetitive patterns. Once we lose sight of the empirical, we can “float further and further from the stable ground of tenable explanation and closer to the nether world of imagination” (Bailey 1991:47). A figurine is an object created in the material world and as an object - as Bailey argues - it must be resolved and broken down into its ontological constituents. Only after this resolution can one begin to build an alternative to the traditional perception of the figurine. This “alternative will identify figurines as a component of the social-material dimensions of reality” (Bailey 1991:47).



**FIGURE 18.** Visual interrelation of the cognition phase, analysis level, strategy stage and meaning categories incorporated in figurine research strategy.

The main goal of this study is to make sense of Los Roques Archipelago figurines or, in other words, to shed light on the possible meaning(s) they may evoke through their location in the insular setting. Furthermore, I aim to provide some insight into the general meaning(s) of the figurines in the mainland Valencioid society. I am aware that many of my conclusions will be non-decisive and temporary. Many questions are examined here, others will be asked in the future by myself and, hopefully, by others also. I do not expect to answer many of the questions, but rather indicate the way in which they may be asked and considered. To ask questions in a “never ending process, as new links are sought and old ones re-evaluated” (Hodder 1985: 147) is a domain of contextual archaeology approaches followed in this study. The strategy presented here is my proposition of “linking question and data in a controlled way” (Hodder 1985:148). This furnishes a fascinating intellectual exercise and is an important challenge. I hope that the openness of this research will open new paths for further inquiry and stimulate future research on the figurines and other prehistoric representational material culture in north-central Venezuela.

## Archaeological context, meaning of figurine and construction of social reality

I understand Bailey (1991) to have implicitly assumed that the role of a given figurine in the society is invariant, from the beginning to the end of its social life. My own view, however, is that a given archaeological context may only be a marker of the last role (contextual *last function meaning*) the figurine played during its life in the society who produced it. This approach may shed light on the character of the particular past situation (event) by providing a particular historical content of figurine's meanings (see Hodder 1989:1,2). The lifetime of a figurine may span that of one or more human generations and during that lifetime the role of the figurine may have changed several times. The social role of a figurine may have undergone several re-formulations in relation to its original role, even within the same social context. An interesting example of meaning change comes from Ecuador. The modern Chachi Indians recycle archaeological artefacts for shamanic purposes (DeBoer 1995: 8). The shaman uses figurines and axes recovered from local archaeological sites (type's characteristic of the Esmeraldas region) that were the settlements of the ancestors of the modern Chachi. Are we not dealing here with two social realities of the same figurines and, also, two different content meanings attached to them? How similar questions may be addressed in the archaeological research?

The issues related to the cultural biography of things were widely discussed by Kopytoff (1986). According to Miller "the older tradition of semiotic anthropology, in which objects were said to represent fixed denotations for a given society, based only on synchronic structure and with little consideration of when and where the interpretation was taking place, seems to be invalidated" (Miller 1987:126). Miller regards that "almost all mundane objects possess some kind of biography through which their significance may radically alter" (Miller 1987:126). He gave an example of a ceramic pot from the modern Dangwara village (central India) that can start as a ritual object, whose meaning is derived from the ceremony within which it is presented, and later, this same pot may serve only one specific function. After that, ignoring its previous symbolic role, that pot is used for general storage (Miller 1985:172-83).

For the purposes of this discussion I have widened and changed Bailey's definition of social reality of the figurines. For Bailey (1991:76), the *social reality* of a figurine "consists of the conjunction of relevant dimension, both archaeological (e.g. contexts, chronology, faunal patterns, technological trajectories, presence-absence relationships) and social (e.g. individual differentiation, wealth, hierarchy, labour, social structure and strategy, human reproduction)". I argue that the archaeological dimensions refer to both the particular context of the figurines and a wide range of socially meaningful patterns of contextual associations of stylistically homogenous figurines within the recognised cultural tradition. The social realities of the diverse prehistoric sites, from which the figurines were recovered, are the primary building bricks necessary for the construction of a regional social reality(ies) of the figurines, from which their meaning(s) content may be inferred. Finally, it should be acknowledged that the (re)construction of the social reality of the prehistoric societies is

constrained by the absence of perishable objects that could act in the constitution of social reality with the same, or even greater power, than the non-perishable objects.



**Part One**  
**On the Islands**

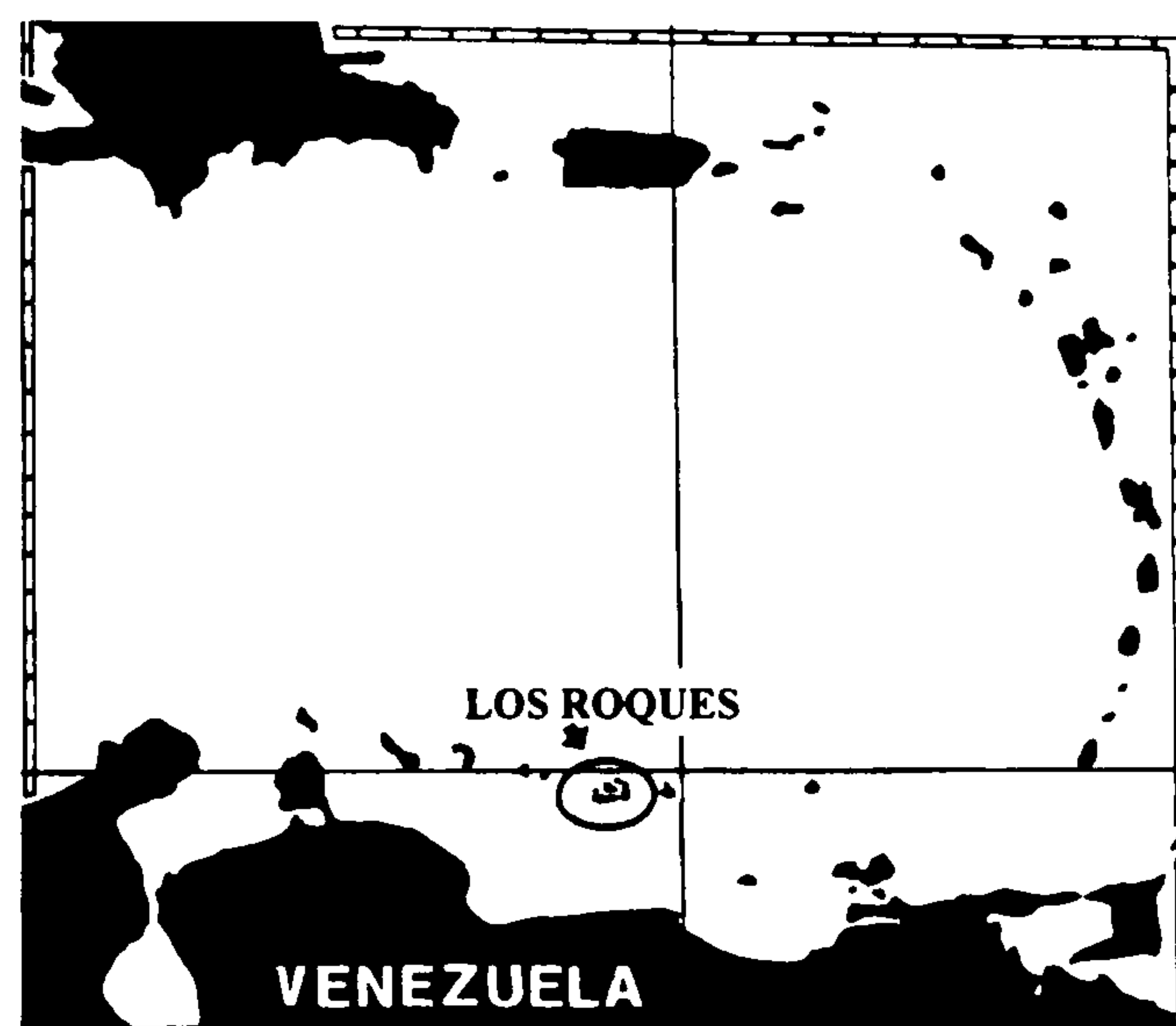


### *Chapter Three*

## **DM Site Figurine Morphology: Methodological Considerations**

A classification, whether constructed by the producer or the analyst, captures only a part of the order embedded in material categories and is always from a particular perspective (Miller 1985:11)

The human pottery figurines that are the object of this study were excavated on four islands of the Los Roques Archipelago: Dos Mosquises (DM site), Domusky Norte (DMN), Cayo Sal (CS/D) and Krasky (KR) (see Plates 5 and 6). The present and the following two chapters are dedicated to the discussion of methodology, and formal and contextual analyses of the figurine assemblages from DM site. Chapter Seven discusses the figurines from other island sites. The general structure of these chapters follows the 'two stages and nine step-by step strategy' presented in the Chapter Two.



**FIGURE 23.** The Los Roques Archipelago, the study region.

### **PURPOSES OF CLASSIFICATION**

Given that an excavation may provide thousands of artefacts, ecofacts and features, the archaeologist is compelled to make classificatory decisions from the very beginning of his work. Classification allows us to 'create order from apparent chaos' by organising a mass of undifferentiated data into manageable units (Sharer and Ashmore 1993: 288) and therefore it is an important tool used in archaeological practice. The 'need to classify and categorise' is at the basis of all archaeological work (Hodder 1991:136).

The archaeological excavations on the Los Roques islands produced in total over 20,000 artefacts and dozens of thousands of zooarchaeological remains (A. Antczak 1999a). Each figurine, like every other artefact, has been given an inventory number in the excavation catalogue and has preserved the same number for all consecutive chapters of its ‘new life’, including laboratory manipulations, storage and exhibition displays.

In the field the figurines were separated from other pottery artefacts. Once in the lab, each figurine obtained an additional inventory number indicative of its place in the overall Los Roques Archipelago figurine collection, which is open to embrace all other pottery figurines from north-central Venezuela. Thus, each Los Roques figurine was given a double-identity: (1) as a part of a particular archaeological context and, (2) as a part of a broader insular and north-central Venezuelan figurine assemblage.

All further classifications of figurines are based on visual observation. They start with the provisional grouping and continue with the formulation of the *gestalt*, or intuitive classes, that lay the bases for further typology set-up. I agree with Adams and Adams (1991:168) that a clearly understood purpose is the appropriate starting point for any practical typology. Typology is not the end in itself, as it appears to be in some archaeological writings, but is a tool to resolve a specific research problem(s). It originates from the concrete necessity for its use.

**TABLE 2.** Kinds of purposes and classifications in the Los Roques figurine study.

Specific purpose	Kind of purpose	Kind of classification
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Learn about the nature and variability of figurines</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Analytical - intrinsic (Basic purpose)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Phenetic (morphological)</li> <li>Grammatical analysis</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describe the Los Roques figurine material</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Descriptive (Basic purpose)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Phenetic and Stylistic</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Define the Los Roques figurines <i>style</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Comparative (Basic purpose)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Phenetic and Stylistic</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Through the identification of different area activities, help in reconstruction of nature and dynamic of activities of figurine makers and users in order to answer questions about figurine function, meaning and social reality</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Analytical - interpretative (Basic and Ancillary purpose)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Functional</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Through the search for the meaningful connection between figurines stylistic variation (<i>style</i> rigidity/non rigidity), spatial location and associations as a reflection of a social structure of the Amerindian islanders, read something about social structure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ancillary (Instrumental)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stylistic</li> </ul>

Regarding the objectives behind the Los Roques figurines classification, I distinguish between what Adams and Adams call *basic* and *instrumental* purposes of the classification (Adams and Adams 1991: 157-168). The basic purposes serve to learn something about the material being classified, and can be further divided into descriptive, comparative and interpretative purposes. The instrumental purposes ‘are involved when we want the classified material to tell us something else’ (Adams and Adams 1991: 158). In these terms, the Los Roques figurines classification is a ‘multiple agenda’ (see Adams and Adams 1991:165) of five specific purposes that intent to join four ‘basic’ purposes with an ‘instrumental’ or ‘ancillary’ one.

The purposes of the Los Roques figurines classification are: (1) to learn about the nature and variability of the figurines (basic *analytical-intrinsic* purpose); (2) to describe the figurine material (*basic descriptive* purpose); (3) to define the figurine *style* (*basic comparative* purpose); (4) to help in

reconstruction of activities of their makers and users in order to answer questions about figurine function, meaning and social reality (*basic analytical-interpretative purpose*); (5) to search for meaningful connections between figurines' stylistic variation (*style rigidity/non rigidity*), spatial location and associations as reflections of the social structure of the Amerindian islanders (*instrumental or ancillary purpose*).

Table 2 integrates all specific purposes of the Los Roques figurines classification to be used in the present study (see also Adams and Adams, 1991:216-217).

## DEFINITION OF VARIABILITY AND DECONSTRUCTION

### Fiches and data base

The process of classification of the Los Roques figurines is divided into analysis and synthesis. During the analytical stage the figurines are deconstructed to a number of logical dimensions of variability (variables).

As 'variable' or 'dimension of variability' I understand after Adams and Adams (1991: 170, 370) a feature or characteristic that varies from one artefact to another, and that "is taken into account in the definition and/or description of types." Table 3 presents variables chosen for the analysis (deconstruction) of the Los Roques figurines. As can be seen in the table, the *Head* or *Stature Categories* are considered as variables.

A particular fixed manifestation of a variable is regarded as an 'attribute' (*op. cit.*: 331). Each variable absorbs limited corresponding attributes, which are mutually exclusive. For example, the *Rounded* and *Elongated Head* are the attributes of the variable *Head Categories*. Variables of different kind can be grouped into the 'domains of variability'. Sixty one variables that are listed for the Los Roques figurines deconstruction are grouped under five headings: Technological, Formal, Representational (or Connotative), Use-related, and Depositional or Contextual. I refer to them as to different 'domains' or 'universes of variability'.

The number of variables is rather exhaustive, although not unlimited. The 'intrinsic' variables and attributes consist of recognisable features of the material being studied that are discoverable on examination of the material itself (Adams and Adams 1991:176). All observable variability is treated as potentially significant until we are able to determine that some variables were) non-significant for our purposes and may be eliminated from further considerations. The 'extrinsic' variables and attributes are those which are not "directly manifest or visible in the members of the type but which relates to the circumstances in which the members are found (contextual variables)" or to their presumed function (inferential variables) (*op.cit.*:341). In general, the analysis of Los Roques figurines comprises five domains of variability, 61 variables and 846 attributes. The majority are intrinsic variables (57) and attributes (802).

The differentiation at the *analytic* stage is rather exhaustive and it takes into account the majority of the variables selected in Table 3. The synthetic stage of classification begins, when the clusters of attributes are chosen for the type designation in a rational and systematic way. The choice of variables

and attributes to be considered in the figurine types formulation will increasingly be dictated by the purposes of the figurine classification (see Adams and Adams 1991:55).

**TABLE 3.** List of variables included in the Los Roques figurine analysis.

<u>Intrinsic variables</u>	<b>Technological</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Construction</li> <li>• Fired clay colour</li> <li>• Temper</li> <li>• Surface texture</li> <li>• Surface decoration</li> <li>• Zone of surface decoration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Trunk decoration</li> <li>• Arms position</li> <li>• Arms form</li> <li>• Arms-to-body ratio</li> <li>• Arms decoration</li> <li>• Hands</li> <li>• Breasts</li> <li>• Navel</li> <li>• Buttock</li> <li>• Female sex presentation</li> <li>• Male sex presentation</li> <li>• Legs form</li> <li>• Legs-to body-ratio</li> <li>• Toes</li> <li>• Other body parts</li> <li>• Remarkable feature</li> <li>• Fragmentation (what is lacking)</li> <li>• Preservation</li> </ul>
	<p><b>Formal</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fragmentation</li> <li>• Size</li> <li>• Posture (Shape)</li> <li>• Legs position</li> <li>• Proportionality (head-to body ratio)</li> <li>• Vertical symmetry</li> <li>• Stability</li> <li>• Three-dimensionality</li> <li>• Head construction</li> <li>• Head shape</li> <li>• <u>Head width to body</u></li> <li>• Headdress shape</li> <li>• Headdress decoration</li> <li>• Headdress back decoration</li> <li>• Face decoration</li> <li>• Eyes</li> <li>• Eyebrows</li> <li>• Mouth</li> <li>• Nose</li> <li>• Ears</li> <li>• Neck</li> <li>• Trunk form</li> </ul>	<p><b>Representational</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Posture (Movement)</li> <li>• Body anomalies</li> <li>• Sexual specific attributes</li> <li>• Accoutrements</li> <li>• Additional objects added to the figure</li> <li>• Facial expression</li> <li>• Gesture</li> <li>• Recognisable image</li> <li>• Feature difficult to read</li> <li>• Contradictory feature</li> <li>• Other body parts</li> </ul>
<u>Extrinsic variables</u>	<p><b>Use related</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ceremonies</li> <li>• Wearing (deterioration)</li> </ul> <p><b>Depositional variables</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Context</li> <li>• Association</li> </ul>	

The recognition and classification of variability within each separate domain constitutes the initial or *analytical* phase of the classificatory process. The purpose of deconstruction is to build up new entities during the *synthetic* phase of classification.

Some of the Los Roques figurines variables and attributes are presented in Appendixes 4 and 5 (see the second volume of this study). For each specimen a standardised fiche was filled out. Each attribute on the fiche has a different number. The information from all fiches was stored in a computer and constitutes the main data base for the present and future Los Roques figurine investigation.

## Grammatical analysis

In the analytical stage of the classification, I adapted the method of ‘generative grammatical analysis’ (see Roe 1989:268). Known also as a ‘componential analysis’ (see Miller 1985:6) it refers to the ‘language of form and design’ (Roe 1989:284). The name ‘generative’ refers to the ability of this method to generate ‘a series of designs out of a limited number of elements and rules’ and so this method is described as ‘a generative grammatical approach to the language of form and design’ (Roe 1989: 284).

It was Donald Lathrap (1962) who, in his unpublished doctoral thesis, first applied this methodology borrowed from linguistics to an archaeological data set. Raymond Scott considers this moment as 'a new path in ceramic analysis' (Raymond Scott 1995:226). Lathrap's methodology was directly influenced by the work of Rouse (1939), Spaulding (1953;1960), and Rowe (1959, 1961) and by his own experience of carrying out excavations while living in a Shipibo Indian village (Peru), a traditional Tropical Forest community with ceramic production fully integrated into the fabric of the social life.

The generative grammatical approach espoused by Lathrap originated from the modal analytic framework of Rouse (1939). Rouse (1939) divided vessels into their constituent patterns of decisions ('modes') which the artisan had to make to create different aspects of form. This framework was further modified by Lathrap (1962; see also DeBoer and Lathrap 1979), who divided vessels into naturally ordered steps in fabrication ('dimensions') within which various modes are consciously selected. Consequently, it is possible to present a flow diagram to demonstrate how the artisan constructed a pot. Several of Lathrap's students (Raymond Scott *et al.* 1975) built upon this 'scholarly tradition' (Roe 1989:284) and extended this method, incorporating Ann Shepard's work on ceramic surface decorative symmetry rules (Shepard 1956). They constructed a dimensional as well as a modal analysis of vessel shape categories and surface decoration. In this way they broke the artefacts into 'constituent elements (design elements) and postulated rules (design rules)' (Roe 1989:284). More recently, the 'generative grammatical' methodology was developed by Roe (1980, 1982, 1989, 1995b) and used in a variety of media from textiles to pottery (Roe 1989:279). He based this methodology on stylistic componential analysis (Roe 1975) with the purpose of specifying the degrees of similarity and difference between art styles. Roe considers the generative grammatical approach as emic in the sense that it

tries to decipher their [ancient people] conceptual modes, postulate solutions, while analysing a corpus of material objects (in this case pottery), and predict similarities and differences archaeologist might encounter in future excavations, can we hope to enter these ancient styles and view the intricacies of their styles from the inside out (Roe 1989:284).

Roe regards pottery as one of the chiefs *index fossils* of culture. He treats it as a fragmented typological *given*, rather than as culturally conditioned set of decisions about the artisan's conceptual *targets*, or prototypes, and their extensions (Kempton 1981; Roe 1987, 1989). Roe (1989:267) argues that with the exception of early studies of ceramic sociology (e.g. Bunzel 1972), only since the development of ethno-archaeology has 'the total performative context been addressed for a craft's articulation with other crafts, the economic system, the social structure and the world view of a culture' (see for example Miller 1985).

Up to the present this approach was used for the analysis of vessels shape and surface decoration only (e.g. Raymond Scott *et al.* 1975; DeBoer and Lathrap 1979; Roe 1980, 1982, 1989, 1995b; Raymond Scott 1995). Raymond Scott even advised that this methodology, being applicable to the classification of ceramic artefacts, is not suitable for figurines, sculpture and icons. However, the logic behind this statement he did not explain (Raymond Scott 1995:228).

Contrary to Raymond's statement, I argue that grammatical analysis may be adapted to the analysis of Los Roques figurines. The recovery and the following of the consecutive choices and points of view that were applied by the artisan may certainly prove to be more

difficult during the process of figurine construction than in the case of the fabrication of a vessel. Only in some aspects the points of the artisan and the archaeologist may coincide, when the number of possible solutions is very limited. In this study the deconstruction of the figurine will be made exclusively from the archaeologist point of view without the reference to the potential choices made by the artisan. To make clear the difference between the 'original' method and that used here, I will be using the terms 'variables' and 'attributes' instead of 'dimensions', as "naturally ordered steps in fabrication, within which various modes are consciously selected" (Roe 1989:284).

Consequently, I divide the DM figurines into basic anatomical parts of the human body. The analysis starts from the *Head* and finishes on the *Toes* (Figure 19) and as many variables as possible are taken into account. Several formal types for each variable are distinguished during the grammatical analysis. To differentiate them from the 'main' typology of figurines that follows the grammatical analysis, they are labelled *Categories* and not *Types*.

By using this method I expect, firstly, to identify and display the deconstructed elements (attributes and categories) of the figurine material, and learn about the nature and variability of the assemblage (see Chapter 4, section *Grammatical Analysis*). Secondly, the grammatical analysis will be used as a tool in dealing with the ancillary purpose of the Los Roques figurines classification, e.g. in searching for meaningful connections between style rigidity/non rigidity as a reflection of a social structure of the Amerindian islanders (see two above sections of this Chapter and the section *Structure and Embellishment*, in Chapter 4). Thirdly, I expect that this method can facilitate the comparison of island figurines with the figurine assemblages recovered from the mainland sites. Fourthly, this method, being kind of open typology, permits us to predict expectable new solutions (predictions of the concepts that lay behind the 'palaeo-behaviour' [Roe 1989: 268]) in samples not yet recovered. Since the number of systematic excavations in the LVB is limited, a very reduced data on figurines provenience and context are known. I refers not only to the small quantity of figurines from the LVB,

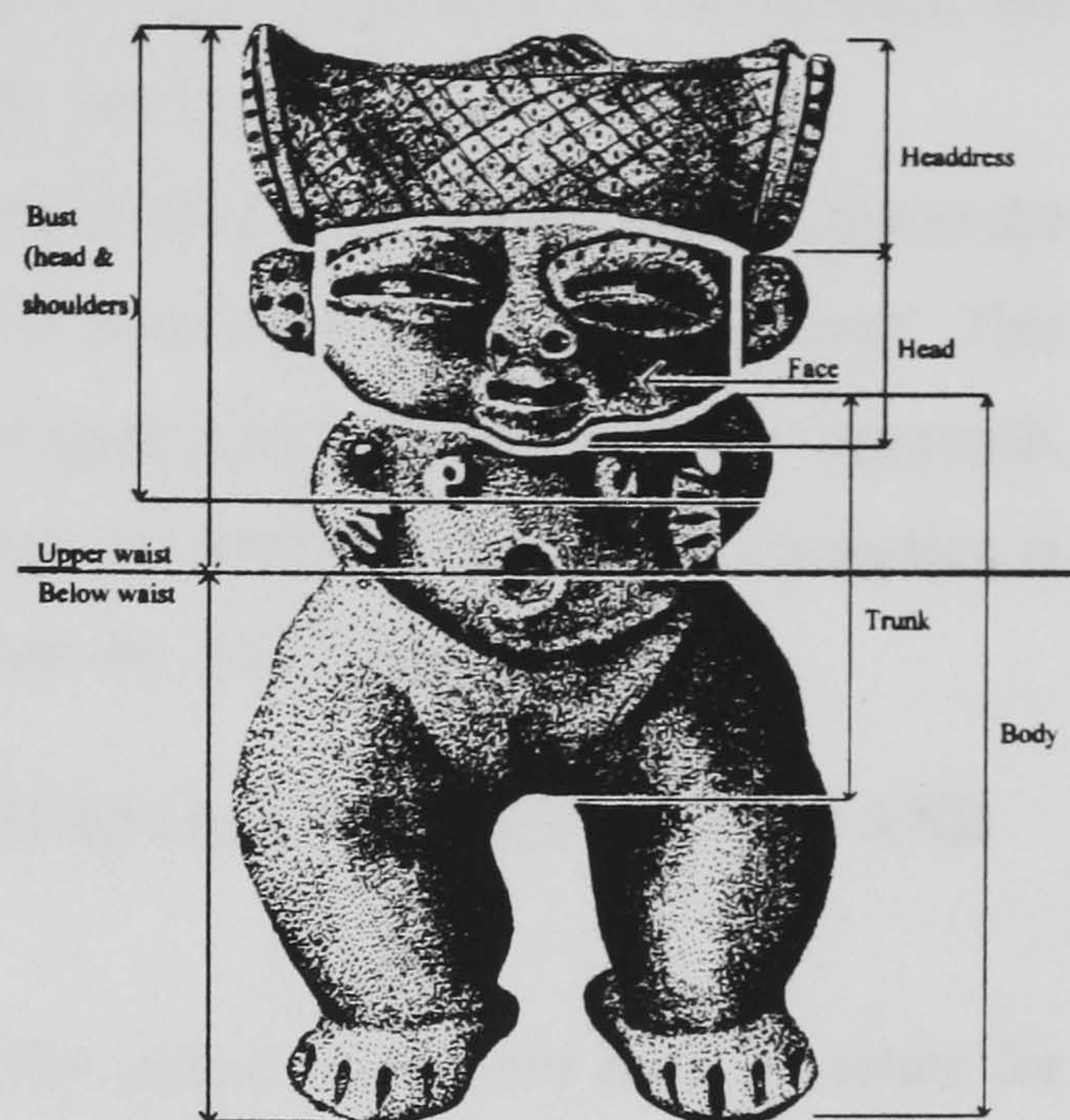


FIGURE 19. Names of figurine's body parts used in the grammatical analysis of Los Roques figurines.

but also to the inaccessibility of several figurines collections (mainly private). In consequence, the available corpus of figurines may not be representative of the whole panorama from this area.

Finally, according to Roe (1989:269) grammatical analysis is an emic method that can invest the ancient people 'with greater reality and empathy than just an analysis of objects as *givens*'. This method is characteristic of the classic method of pottery analysis, Roe's 'artefact physics' approach, which involves, for example, of portraying ceramic fragments as 'potsherds' rather than attempting to reconstruct the cultural wholes (pots) from which they are derived (Roe 1989:268).

## **THE WORKING CONCEPT OF STYLE: ITS MATERIAL, COMMUNICATIVE AND COGNITIVE ASPECTS**

For many decades material culture *styles* and especially pottery *styles* have been important for archaeologists in reconstructing the histories and cultural relation of peoples who occupied archaeological sites (Rice 1987:245). In Venezuela, Cruxent and Rouse (1958; Rouse and Cruxent 1963) used the concept of *style* with the above purpose.

Recently archaeologists have also become concerned with material culture *style* as a method of non-verbal communication in which artefact styles are encoded with cultural messages. Wiessner (1983), for example, argues that material culture style is influenced greatly by 'within group' and 'between group' social practices (here the group may be defined by ethnicity, social status, gender, age, etc.). Consequently, she maintains that a groups behaviour must be incorporated into the interpretation of the meaning of the particular stylistic messaging. This raises an important question: Are the messages for the members of the group, for other groups, or for both?

In this study I follow Wiessner's working concept of style that defines style as 'a form of non-verbal communication through doing something in a *certain way* that communicates information about relative identity' (Wiessner 1990:107). From Wiessner's definition three different aspects of material culture style are apparent. (1) The *material* aspect of *style*, as a certain, specific way of doing something, which is reflected in patterning in material artefacts. It can be defined with words of Miller (1989:199), as a 'degree of formal order' or 'the extent to which a range of forms is subsumable into some model of its variability'. (2) The *communicative* (or expressive) aspect of *style*, as a non-verbal communication messaging 'through which people negotiate their personal and social identity *vis-à-vis* others' (Wiessner 1988:57). Viewed in this way, *style* is a tool that can be used to identify those who 'belong' to a given group and is used 'occasionally as a weapon to annoy those who do not' (Beaudry *et al.* 1991:156). The meaning of the communicative aspect of *style* is well expressed in those words about the ceramics of the Jivi, the ethnic Arawak group from Venezuelan Amazon. In referring to the representations and patterns on their pottery (*Kanali*), Guillermo Guevara says

The figures or designs (*itanee*) are being introduced by *Kuvai*, the personage of the Jivi's history; he firstly pronounces the prayers and [these] create the symbolic designs; subsequently *Kuvai* imparts the knowledge about the particular significance of the different allegories and the meaning of the symbols to the members of the Jivi society. Finally, he gives them *las pintas* and tells them that they have to conserve, practice and teach these scriptures to all the Jivi people as a sign of [their] identification and to feel the self-confidence and security (my translation from Almeida 1989: 34).



(3) The *cognitive* aspect of *style*, is a kind of ‘umbrella’ for its material and communicative aspects. It refers to what the archaeologist can learn at present from studying both of those aspects of *style*. This gives rise to questions about the kind of information that can be read from *style* in order to answer archaeological questions.

In consideration of the above, three practical implications can be drawn. Firstly, it is necessary to recognise and describe the degree of formal order in the material culture under study, i.e. to define the *material style* of artefacts. To define that specific patterning of artefacts means to define where style resides with a cluster of specific attributes. Secondly, using the *material style*, as defined above, it is necessary to draw on all available contextual information (spatial location and associations), and identify meaningful correlation to assist in determining what was being communicated in the past (Wiessner 1990:108). Lastly, in order to address the specific goals of this study it is necessary to ‘read’, from the material and communicative aspects of style of the figurines what is being communicated about the nature of social relationships (individual vs. society, the hierarchy, status, power gender).

## **STYLE, MICROSTYLE, INDIVIDUAL, SOCIETY AND NATURE OF RELATIONSHIPS**

In order to deal with descriptive and comparative purposes of this research, it is necessary to study the ‘material aspect’ of the Los Roques figurine *style*. The study of the ‘communicative aspect’ of this *style* can be helpful to reach the ancillary purpose, i.e. to search for the meaningful connection between style rigidity/non rigidity as a reflection of a social structure. Both aspects of *style*, the ‘material’ and the ‘communicative’, are intrinsically interconnected in such a way that it is impossible to study the second without the first. Consequently, it is necessary to first define the nature and stylistic variability of the figurines, in order to determine how and what information they may convey regarding the rigidity, divisions and hierarchy of the social system that produced them. If a meaningful correlation between the formal variation (*material aspect of style*), spatial variation and associations of figurines can be found, then there is a potentiality that the figurines may also shed light on the questions about the social aspects of the past societies (*cognitive aspect of style*). The practicality of this analysis is discussed in the next chapter, while this section continues the discussion of topics related to the communicative and cognitive aspects of style.

I perceive *style* as both a social and individual product. *Style* is the result of interaction of individuals, as members of a given society. Peoples of every community interact not only as individuals, but as members of social categories. The issues concerning the boundaries of the stylistic *versus* individual, or stylistic *versus* social traits in material culture are at the very core of the contemporary archaeological debate (see for example Wiessner 1988, 1990; DeBoer 1990; Earle 1990; Macdonald 1990; Plog 1990; Washburn 1995; Meskell 1999).

Although the distinction between social and individual traits in a *stylistic* analysis is an important point of long-lasting debate in archaeology, it has not been given importance by several archaeologists

studying figurines. For example, Goldstein (1979:43) in her study of Maya figurines from Campeche (Mexico), assumed a straight correspondence between the iconographic traits as the social and the *stylistic* as the individual. Goldstein based her criteria on those of Troike (1968). Troike, studying stylistic elements in the Codex Colombino-Becker, maintained that the main difficulty in choosing variable traits as classificatory criteria was in “distinguishing between those features that were culturally essential to the original [...] comprehension of a particular scene (iconographic), and those which the artist might freely vary (stylistic)” (Troike 1968:167 in Goldstein 1979:43). This statement implies that the *stylistic* domain, being the ‘artist free variation’ pertains to the artist individual trait. However, I argue that both artists, a Codex author and the Maya sculptor and/or potter, were members of a given societies and, in consequence, in the ‘free variation’ aspects of both a great stylistic Maya tradition (social aspect) and their own particular skill (individual embellishment) were present. The distinction between the social and the individual in the *stylistic* traits, missing from the Goldstein study is of fundamental importance for the present research.

Several issues raised in the debate about the relations between ‘individual’ and ‘social’ style are of relevance here. Wiessner (1988:62) is of the view that it is possible to establish correspondences between behaviour and patterning of material culture Looking at *style* as ‘one of several means of communication through which people negotiate their personal and social identity *vis-à-vis* others’, *style* in archaeology can be used ‘as an indicator of the balance between the interests of the individual and society’ (Wiessner 1988:57, 59). Wiessner further observes that

if style is a means of negotiating identity relative to that of those surrounding one, then change in the amount of personal and social expression in a given artefact in a region through time should give some measure of changes in the conditions mentioned above, personal and social expression being measured by heterogeneity or homogeneity, respectively in artefacts (Wiessner 1988:59).

Similarly Biehl (1996:157), in studying figurines from the Neolithic and Chalcolithic of north-western Bulgaria argues that these figurines were made by many people rather than by one specialist who mass produced. He bases his argument on the great variability in the representation of the main motif that appears on the figurines from a single village and time period.

On the basis of the above discussion I assume that heterogeneity in Valencioid figurines indicates the predominance of free-expression (individual style) and that conversely, homogeneity would be an indicator of strong social constraints or norms (i.e. a predominantly social style, reflecting a more rigid form of social organisation). These assumptions are particularly important for the present study and are used in the subsequent stylistic analysis, especially to deal with the ancillary purpose mentioned above.

Having established these assumptions, the question arises: How do we recognise what is a social and what is an individual trait in a given *style*? Washburn (1995) stated that ‘group styles are produced consistently and persistently thorough a given temporal period and in a fairly circumscribed spatial area. In contrast, individual style is an elaboration within group style’ (Washburn 1995:118). In other words she posits ‘structural primacy in group style and embellishment primacy in an individual style’ (Washburn 1995:118). This means that all attributes of embellishment in a material culture may be

indicators of an individual style, while the 'important' elements of structure indicates the social style. She defines structure for her specific purposes as 'the way the geometric property of symmetry organises features in a pattern so as to form consistencies that are recognised as a *style*' (Washburn 1995:118). In order to distinguish the structure from the embellishment in the figurines, it is thus necessary to first define it (see below).

In conclusion, I define the *style* as composed of two sets of elements: (1) these which are determined by social norms or 'structure' ('structural primacy' in the terminology of Washburn 1995: 118), and (2) those in which the artisan/artist has a free choice, what I have called 'embellishment' ('embellishment primacy' in Washburn *ibid.*). I argue that in this scheme, those traits which are consistently reproduced in the same way. For example, figurines' eyes and noses belong within the 'structural' category, while those which are very variable, for example, treatment of mouth, can be considered as 'embellishment'. I also argue that it is rather a question of observation of the style rigidity/flexibility to determine the extension of the traits (attributes) variability within a given stylistic solution and on this basis to determine the rigidity of the social system that could give or not the freedom to the artist. As observed Wiessner (1990:110) 'although individual may be difficult to recognise in archaeological studies, increasing individual expression should not'.

To distinguish between the more rigid system and the freedom of the artist the level of *microstyle* is introduced in the analysis of the DM figurines. The study of the morphology of the figurines from this island permits us to clearly recognise groups of very similar or almost identical specimens that are significantly distinct from other groups of specimens from the same site. It is assumed that this distinctiveness cannot be assessed on the typological basis, but on the basis (or level) of *microstyle* that reflects individual variation. In such a case the 'individual' can refer to the artisan working for the household or extended family level. The differentiation of the *microstyle* in the Los Roques figurine assemblage was stimulated in part by the attribution studies performed by Morris (1993) on figurines from the peak sanctuary of Atsipadhes Korakias in Western Crete (c.2000-1650).



## *Chapter Four*

# **Dos Mosquises Figurines: Stylistic Groups and Contexts**

### **DOS MOSQUISES SITE: NATURAL AND CULTURAL SCENARIO**

Dos Mosquises Island is located on the western border of the Los Roques Archipelago at a liminal spot between the naturally protected shallow internal lagoon and the open sea (Pl.5,6,26,27). It is a flat and sandy key with a total area of ca. 15.5 ha. (Buitrago 1982). The island has a low relief, covered predominantly by grasses, with only a small arboreal community of mangroves to the south.

The DM site was excavated by A. Antczak and the author in several fieldwork campaigns between 1982-86, 1988-89, 1991-94 and in 1996. It occupies ca. 750 m<sup>2</sup> and stretches toward the south-east from the central part of a long sandy beach located on the north western shore of the island (Pl. 11-14). Six trenches (A-F), accounting for a total of 421 m<sup>2</sup>, and 43 test pits with a total of 49 m<sup>2</sup> were excavated at the site (Table 4; Pl.15). Additionally, systematic shovel testing (75 small probes) was carried out in order to determine the depth and outline of the site and its artefactual distribution (see A. Antczak 1999a).

Sieves with one square millimetre mesh were used for screening of the majority of the excavated soil. All cultural deposits from Trench B were screened through the fine 1mm<sup>2</sup> mesh (Table 4). However, the modern-disturbed areas of Trench A were screened through an eight millimetre mesh (Table 4; Pl. 15 and 33). In DM and all other island sites excavated by Antczak and Antczak, the excavation proceeded in arbitrary levels of 20 cm. No distinct vertically separated cultural strata were distinguished in the sites. However, lenses of the dark grey soil containing archaeological remains, separated by small grey-yellowish sterile lenses, were observed, especially in Trench C, DM site (see A. Antczak 1999a).

Close to the beach (Trenches A and F), the cultural deposit in the DM site begins almost from the surface and reaches a depth of about 25-30 cm. Towards the centre of the island, in the area of Trench C, the deposit reaches a maximum depth of about 50-55 cm and begins 10-20 cm below the surface (Pl.59; Table 4). The grey-coloured cultural deposit can be clearly distinguished from the sterile pre-cultural yellowish substrate. In general, the colour of the cultural deposit becomes lighter, when moving from Trench C to A.

**TABLE 4.** Parameters of trench excavations at Valencioid sites on Dos Mosquises, Cayo Sal and Krasky islands.

Trench	Excavated area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Total volume of excavated soil (m <sup>3</sup> )	Maximum depth of cultural deposit (cm)	Average thickness of cultural deposit (cm)	Total volume of excavated cultural deposit (m <sup>3</sup> )	Excavated area where 1 mm <sup>2</sup> mesh was used (m <sup>2</sup> )	Volume of cultural deposit sieved with 1 mm <sup>2</sup> mesh (m <sup>3</sup> )
<b>DM site</b>							
A	187	93.5	30	20	37.4	86	17.2
B	65	29.5	40	20	13.0	65	13.0
C	150	120	55	25	37.5	79	19.7
D <sup>1</sup>	5	4.5	80 <sup>2</sup>	80	4.0	3	2.4
E	8	4	40	20	1.6	8	1.6
F	6	3	25	20	1.2	2	0.4
Subtotal	421	254.5	Average:45	Average:31	94.7	243	54.3
<b>CS/D site</b>							
A	37	37	70	30	11.1	12	3.6
<b>KR site</b>							
A	44	44	45	?	?	10	?

<sup>1</sup>Area of pre-Valencioid cultural deposits. <sup>2</sup>Additional 20 cm should be added which correspond to the part of a low heap which emerges above the surrounding surface level.

The majority of hearths and organic materials were discarded inland. In fact, among 40 well defined hearth features 62.5% (N=25) were recovered in the area of Trench C, and 22.5% (N=9) in Trench A. Trench B yielded three hearths, Trench E two and Trench D one. All hearths were situated at depths between 25 and 50 cm. In Trench A, where the cultural deposit is shallower, the hearths were recovered at a depth between 25 and 30 cm. In the rest of the trenches no hearth was recovered above 35 cm. The vertical concentration vs. horizontal dispersion of hearths indicate that they were originally situated on an approximately single plane. This may indicate an overall time frame for the 'Valencioid' cultural deposits at DM suggesting a type of relatively frequent intermittent occupations of the site (A. Antczak 1999a). The reader interested in more details on the Dos Mosquises Island and DM archaeological site can consult the PhD thesis of Andrzej Antczak (1999a).

## THE FIGURINES ASSEMBLAGE

The Dos Mosquises site yielded a total of 303 pottery human figurines and/or their fragments (MNAS). From this total, 36.6% of the specimens (N=111) are *complete*, *semi-complete* and *complete* or *semi-complete from reconstruction* (see below), while the remaining 63.4% (N=192) are constituted by fragments (Table 5). A total of 113 fragments are ascribed to three stylistic groups: *Standardised* (Tables 6-45), *Heterogeneous* (Tables 47-56) and *Imitative* (Table 59, 61-70). Seventy seven

fragments do not possess typological information (Table 57). Two fragments are atypical. Additionally, seven animal representations were recovered, of which only one is complete (Table 73).

A *Complete* figurine is a specimen whose overall structure still exists. Only small fragments may be lacking or eroded. The term *Semi-complete* is reserved for a figurine that lacks any part of the body, e.g. leg, arm, part of the trunk or head (e.g. Pl.74:11 or Pl.77:31). Nevertheless the absent part does not affect the recognition and reconstruction of a specimen. The phrase '*Complete from reconstruction*' designates a very fragmented figurine, which in spite of its deterioration may be reconstructed (physically or graphically) to its original form (e.g. Pl.81:141 and 242; Pl.99:2). The '*Semi-complete from reconstruction*' provides typological information at the first hierarchical level in the typology of both *Standardised* (Table 38) and *Imitative* figurines (Table 67), and at the second level of typology in the *Heterogeneous* (Table 51). For example, the *Imitative* specimen illustrated in Plate 99 (164) is classified as a *Standing with Crest* but it is not possible to determine whether it is *Bent-knee* or *Straight legs*. Therefore, it matches only the first hierarchical level of typology of the *Imitative* figurines. Finally, the broad category of 'fragments' includes figurine items showing any identifiable part of the body (e.g. bust fragment), or those fragments that could not be recognised in regard to what part of the body they represent (Table 5, *Unidentified*).

**TABLE 5.** Distribution of pottery human figurines among trenches at DM site.

Figurine status	Trench A		Trench B		Trench C		Trench E		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Complete	13	35.13	29	21.48	18	14.28	1	20	61	20.13
Semi-complete	7	18.91	22	16.29	16	12.69			45	14.85
Complete from reconstruction	3	8.1			2	1.58			5	1.65
Semi-complete from reconstruction	2	5.4	1	0.74					3	0.99
Head	2	5.4	6	4.44	2	1.58	1	20	11	3.63
Head fragment	1	2.7	11	8.14					12	3.96
Head with trunk	1	2.7	2	1.48			1	20	3	0.99
Head with trunk fragment			2	1.48	1	0.79	1	20	4	1.32
Bust (head & shoulders)	1	2.7	1	0.74	1	0.79			3	0.99
Bust fragment	1	2.7	1	0.74	1	0.79			3	0.99
Headless body	1	2.7	1	0.74		0			2	0.66
Headless body fragment			1	0.74	2	1.58			3	0.99
Trunk			1	0.74	1	0.79			2	0.66
Trunk fragment			4	2.96	4	3.17			8	2.64
Below-waist	1	2.7	1	0.74	2	1.58			4	1.32
Below-waist fragment	1	2.7	8	5.92	2	1.58			11	3.63
Arms pair (separate)										0
Arm			15	11.11	35	27.77			50	16.5
Legs pair (separate)			6	4.44	1	0.79			7	2.31
Leg	1	2.7	14	10.37	27	21.42			42	13.86
Feet			2	1.48	1	0.79	1	20	4	1.32
Other (crest fragment)	2	5.4	5	3.7	5	3.96			13	4.29
Unidentified			2	1.48	5	3.96			7	2.31
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>99.94</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>99.95</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>99.89</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>99.99</b>

Table 5 shows the figurine material that includes all possible categories of the *Complete* figurine to the *Unidentified* fragment recovered at the DM site. All fragments (apart of their assignation to the specific stylistic group) are later classified into other groups according to the different typological information they provide. Issues related to the distributional data presented in Table 5 are discussed in Chapters Five and Six.

## **DEFINITION OF VARIABILITY**

### **Gestalt and intuitive classes**

Visual differentiation is a starting point in the process of classification. It is based on general perception and intuition, and takes into account some common, observable formal criteria. The DM figurine assemblage comprises clusters of specimens that are morphologically so distinctive that they can be easily recognised at first glance. Through visual differentiation three groups of figurines (A, B and C) were initially distinguished. They are the starting point for the later typology, based on increasingly conscious and systematic differentiation (see Adams and Adams 1991:55).

Group A is distinguished by the yellowish-grey colour and polished surfaces. The use of red and yellow slip gives an impression of 'fine ware.' Figurines within this group are notably large and more three-dimensional when compared to the other groups. However, they are relatively less heavy. Many wear a kind of head cover and the heads are elongated and disproportionately large. The majority are *Seated*, female or sexless specimens.

The figurines of Group B are more 'rustic' than those of Group A. The predominant surface colours are reddish brown or brown. The figurines are generally unslipped, rather small, and not three-dimensional nor sculptural. In spite of their small size, the majority are heavy, indicating a solid structure. Decoration is absent. Some wear a simple headdress. Few specimens have male genitalia depicted. There are pairs or triples of similar, or even, identical figurines within this stylistic group.

Group C is morphologically the most heterogeneous. It combines some features of the two previous groups. The formal aspects (size, three-dimensionality and decoration) are similar to the specimens from Group A, while the aspects of fabric, colour (reddish-brown) and elaboration (simple modelling) are similar to Group B.

### **Mineralogical composition and fabric**

Petrographic characterisation of the Los Roques pottery, including both vessels and figurines, was carried out in 1993 by the students from Fundatec, Caracas (Camillo *et al.* 1995). The tests included X-ray diffraction of the powdered material, polarising microscope examination using thin sections of pottery and porosity measurement through the liquid immersion method. It is important to note that the pottery samples for the above analyses were chosen before my Ph.D. research began. Consequently, the analysis did not include a representative sample of figurines by gestalt group.

The analyses demonstrated the uniformity in the raw material used for the ceramic manufacture. They also indicated that temper utilised in the production of all the Los Roques ceramic material came from the rivers of the Cordillera de la Costa, in the north-central Venezuela (Camillo *et al.* 1995). The minerals found in the Los Roques pottery samples are illite, quartz, albite, plagioclase, calcite, and hematite. Predominant were quartz, feldspar and mica.

The clay matrix of the Los Roques ceramics was illite. The different components of the samples were easily distinguished because they did not synthesise completely, nor did they form a vitreous phase. As the porosity of the Los Roques samples was high (ranging from 3% to 22% and with the

majority of samples having the index of absorption over 10%), the estimated firing temperature was between 800 - 900 °C (Camillo *et al.* 1995).

Given that the Los Roques figurines show such a high degree of uniformity of raw materials, how can we explain the variations in the different fired colour of the three distinguished figurines groups A, B and C? According to Shepard (1956:150) and Rice (1987:335), the final fired colour of pottery depends upon the chemical state of the iron. For example a red or reddish brown colours are produced by fully oxidised or ferric iron (e.g. hematite,  $Fe^2 O_3$ ). Significantly, because the colour of fired iron-bearing clay also depends on the distribution of iron, two clays of nearly the same fired colour may have different quantities of iron (Rice 1987: 335).

The presence of hematite and magnetite in many of the Los Roques samples in conjunction with a firing temperature of 800-900°C could bring about the full colour development of iron in an oxidising atmosphere (see Rice 1987:335). This suggests that the differences in the fired colour are due to different iron-bearing clay sources used in production. If that is correct, then it may be further suggested that these clays were consciously selected by the Valencioid artisans. Certainly the colour distinction between the three figurines groups is an important diagnostic attribute.

At my request, three Venezuelan potters examined the Los Roques figurines in 1998. They agreed that the inclusion of iron as an impurity to the paste may have caused the reddish brown colour of figurines from group B (Peggy Mitchell, Petra Bolívar, Guillermo Cuellar, personal communication 1996, 1998). According to these artisans, a paste containing less iron, such as group A, is finer and easier to model.

Interestingly, the potters also emphasised that although the Los Roques figurines demonstrate a relative uniformity of raw material used in their production they display a heterogeneity in the quality of the manufacture techniques. Some samples show a good separation and distribution of phases, resistance and closed texture, while others were certainly fired in simple fireplaces barely recovered by the firewood.

This may indicate different provenience of the figurines and suggest that the characterisation of figurines in terms of chemical elements may become a logic next step to follow. Especially important may prove to be the Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis. Attempts were made to perform this test for the Los Roques figurines but at this juncture was not possible to do it for reasons beyond my control.

## **Analytical deconstruction**

Once the groups of figurines have been distinguished by intuitive gestalts, we can more closely examine what makes these gestalt-groups so distinctive. The first formal analytical procedure is the figurine deconstruction which encompasses a grammatical analysis. This process is exhaustive. It takes into account the majority of technological and formal variables such as *Manufacture*, *Posture* and *Size Stature* in addition to the figurine deconstruction performed by means of grammatical analysis (see Table 3).



The differentiation of the variables becomes more rational and systematic once the clusters of attributes are chosen for the type designation. Thus the *synthetic* level begins (see section “Stylistic classification and Typologies set-up” ). The goals of the Los Roques figurines classification, as listed in Table 2, will increasingly dictate the choice of variables and attributes to be subsequently considered in style and type formulation (see Adams and Adams 1991:55). The representational or connotative variables listed in Table 3 are described and discussed in the next chapter, as they are the basis for the representational typology (image recognition).

The results of the analytical deconstruction are presented in sections “General description” for each stylistic group. Additionally, the results of the grammatical analysis are incorporated into the stylistic classification and presented, as an example, in the description of the *Standardised* stylistic group. They also form the basis of the inferences discussed in the section “Structure and embellishment.” Results of the grammatical analysis on *Heterogeneous* and *Imitative* groups are not discussed here due to space constraints. However, they will be subject of a future publication.

## STYLISTIC CLASSIFICATION AND TYPOLOGY SET-UP

As a result of the morphological analyses based on visual observation and deconstruction, the DM figurines were divided into three stylistic groups that closely match the initially distinguished gestalt-groups A, B and C. The basic criterion for this distinction is the level of workmanship involved in the figurine production. It includes: (1) technological variables, such as the construction (hollow *versus* solid structure), surface treatment (polished *versus* unpolished), the external surface colour of the paste (yellowish grey *versus* reddish brown), the use of slip (slipped *versus* unslipped); (2) formal aspects, such as the shape (three-dimensionality and volume of form *versus* flatness), size (predominance of *Large* and *Medium versus Small*), proportion and the presence/absence of decoration. The three stylistic groups are *Standardised*, *Heterogeneous* and *Imitative*.

Although the figurine deconstruction was performed for three original gestalt-groups (A, B and C), it is more clear to present the results in terms of three corresponding stylistic groups. Consequently the description of the *Standardised*, *Heterogeneous* and *Imitative* stylistic groups in the next paragraphs follow the steps of the analytical deconstruction. In this way, the main differences in the DM styles are presented in addition to a detailed description of all variables. This description encompasses some variables from the technological and formal domains, presented in Table 3 and additionally all formal variables are presented in the section Grammatical Analysis of Standardised figurines, in this chapter. The representational or connotative variables from this Table are described and discussed in the next chapter, as they are the basis for the representational typology.

This chapter continues with the typology set-up for each stylistic group where, within the *type* description, more detailed information is provided, always with reference to the concrete specimens, illustrated in the Plates in the second volume of this thesis.

## ***Standardised* stylistic group**

### **Style definition**

The *Standardised* figurines are characterised by their stylistic homogeneity. Their most distinctive variables are to be found in their form (shape and size) and colour. The red or dark red decor of their bodies contrasts with the yellowish-grey fired clay colour of their faces. They are unquestionably three-dimensional statuettes, intended not only to be seen frontally, but from all angles. The *Standardised* figurines are considerably larger than those from the other groups in the DM figurine collection.

Two opposing tendencies characterise their creation. On the one hand, there is a naturalistic bias, reflected in a consistent inclination to depict all anatomical parts of the body. On the other hand, there is a tendency towards a schematization or stylisation, for example, in the proportion of the *Head to body ratio* and the *Legs to body ratio*. As a result, the natural proportion of the head, arms and legs is changed and transformed to a kind of constant canon of disproportion. The head is always enlarged both vertically (head to body ratio is normally 1:3) and horizontally (always wider than the body). The neck is absent or shortened. The trunk is normally short and the legs are atrophic, something that is specially evident in the seated specimens.

These contrasting tendencies result in the stylisation or conventionalisation of the figurines. The emphasis of the artisan was clearly focused on the heads. They are enlarged and decorated. However, care was taken to portray anatomical details on the rest of the body that are represented both realistically (e.g. navel, belly, female sex or buttock) and conventionally (breasts, arms, hands, seated legs, toes). The majority of the *Standardised* figurines have static poses. Only few are shown in motion.

Stylisation is also reflected in the consistent way (conventional and stable small range of traits), in which some body parts and especially the facial features are elaborated. It is argued here that the term *stylisation* is a *structured part of style* and represents those traits that are ascribed to be socially (and not individually) dependent (see the last section of this chapter).

### **General description**

#### **Inventory**

A total of 105 specimens, including 40 complete or semi-complete figurines and 65 fragments were ascribed to the *Standardised* stylistic group (MNAF=60). Table 6 shows their spatial distribution in the DM site according to the grade of the specimen fragmentation.

#### **Surface texture**

All *Standardised* specimens (N=105) were examined for the assessment of this variable. As shown in Table 7, most (63.8%) specimens are tempered with *Medium* size particles. Another 21.9% are *Coarse* tempered. Only 9.5% of the *Standardised* specimens have a *Fine* temper.

**TABLE 6.** Distribution of *Standardised* figurines among trenches at the DM site.

Figurine status	Trench A		Trench B		Trench C		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Complete	5	33.33	10	19.23	7	18.47	22	20.95
Semi-complete	4	26.66	10	19.23	1	2.63	15	14.28
Leg	1	6.66	6	11.53	7	18.42	14	13.33
Arm			3	5.76	10	26.31	13	12.38
Legs pair			6	11.53	1	2.63	7	6.66
Head fragment	1	6.66	5	9.61			6	5.71
Other (crest)	1	6.66	3	5.76	2	5.26	6	5.71
Trunk fragment			2	3.84	3	7.89	5	4.76
Below-waist fragment			4	7.69			4	3.8
Feet			2	3.84	1	2.63	3	2.85
Complete from reconstruction					2	5.26	2	1.9
Bust (head & shoulders)	1	6.66			1	2.63	2	1.9
Semi-complete from reconstruction	1	6.66					1	0.95
Head with trunk			1	1.92			1	0.95
Bust fragment					1	2.63	1	0.95
Headless body	1	6.66					1	0.95
Trunk					1	2.63	1	0.95
Below-waist complete					1	2.63	1	0.95
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>99.95</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>99.94</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100.02</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>99.93</b>

The extreme categories (*Very Fine* and *Very Coarse*) are rare (Table 7). Nevertheless, the surfaces of the *Standardised* figurines are frequently polished, giving an impression of being 'fine ware.' All *Standardised* figurines are tempered with sand, which contains a high density of (easily seen) quartz.

**TABLE 7.** Ware (Surface texture) of DM *Standardised* figurines.

Type	Size of particles in mm	#	%
Medium	0.2-0.5	67	63.80
Coarse	0.5-0.8	23	21.90
Fine	0.1-0.2	10	9.50
Very Coarse	x>0.8	3	2.85
Very fine	x<0.1	2	1.90
<b>Total</b>		<b>105</b>	<b>99.95</b>

### Surface colour and decoration

Almost all figurines are fired to a yellowish-grey colour (Munsell Color Chart: light yellowish brown 6/4 HUE 10 YR), with some specimens in 'rose' tone (7.5 YR 6/4 [Pl. 6:20 and 47; Pl.2:14]).

The frequency of slip and its disposition was examined in 60 specimens. Table 8 presents the result of the comparison of two variables related to the slip (the *Surface decoration* and the *Zone of surface decoration*). All examined *Standardised* specimens show the presence of slip. However, it is difficult to assess the decor on many specimens, as figurine slip is one of the variables most affected by erosion. Consequently, for the majority of the examined figurines (83.3%, N=50) it was possible only to determine the slip colour (N=24 *Red*, and N=9 *Dark Red*), but not to determine what part of the figurine's body it was applied to (Plate 77:245).

The colour and the zone of its application could be determined for 10 figurines. From this number, most (80%, N=8) have *Dark Red* or the *Red* slip applied to the whole body, the head and headdress, except the face (Pl.77:48; Pl.78:30; Pl.79:49; Pl.80:40). Six do not have painting on the upper chest (Pl.78:30; Pl.75:64). In the remaining two the slip covers the whole body except for the headdress (Pl.76:45; Pl.78:168).

The dominant colour is *Red*, accounting for 61.4% (N=27) of those specimens in which it was possible to recognise a particular colour (N=44). *Dark red* is also very popular. The *Orange* colour is rare. In most of the figurines the face was left 'naturally' in the yellowish-grey colour of the fired clay. Or else it was occasionally painted with a yellow beige slip that was found in few figurines.

**TABLE 8.** Slip frequency in the DM *Standardised* figurines.

Zone of decoration/colour	Red	Dark Red	Orange	Undetermined	Total
Whole body, except headdress		2			2
Whole body, except face and upper breast	2	4			6
Whole body, except face	1	1			2
Undetermined	24	9	1	16	50
Total	27	16	1	16	60

## Manufacture

Almost all *Standardised* figurines are *Hollow* (90% when calculated from the 60 MNAF) with the exception of six specimens that are probably *Solid* or *Solid with hole* (e.g. Pl.73:16, 81 and 157; Pl.74:11 and 46; Pl.73:54). Interestingly, all these figurines are *Miniatures* and indeed, as none of them are fragmented, it is not easy to assess their hollow/solid status. One heavy specimen of the *Medium* size (Pl.74:14) is *Solid with hole*. Three additional specimens (Pl.74:13; Pl.75:241; Pl.78:47) are heavy for their size (all are *Medium*-sized and weigh 340-440g) and might be made *Solid with hole*.

The manufacturing process seems to be slightly different in the cases of the figurines *with Crest* and those *without the Crest*. Both have a trunk that was built up through the coiling technique. However, in the case of 'crested' figurines the construction of the trunk was extended to the plain flat shape of the head. The rest of the figurine was build up 'around' this core, and the face features, ears and headdress were added. In the case of the 'non-crested' figurines, the head was modelled separately and then added to the trunk. As a result of this difference in construction, the posterior part of the head of figurines with headdress has no clear division from the body. The construction of the remaining part of figurine was similar in both cases. The body features, arms and legs were modelled separately and then stuck to the trunk or 'extended' trunk (by the 'core' of the head), using the technique of appliqué. The process of manufacture of the figurine with headdress can be well observed in one *Seated with Crest* specimen (see Pl.78:168). As the face of this figurine was found unstuck, it was possible to see the 'core' of the head that was built up together with the trunk. Later the external part of the head (that includes the face and the ears) was modelled separately and attached to the core of the head. This applied 'face' gave the impression of being a mask although it results from a manufacturing technique. It is noteworthy that no single complete figurine head was recovered among the *Standardised* fragments (Table 6). This suggests that the junction of the head/trunk was strong, that is easily explained by the construction of the crest figurines, but certainly not in others, in which the junction point between the head and the trunk was fragile.

## Stature

The stature (height) was documented for a total of 81 *Standardised* specimens. Measurements were taken from the feet to the head or head decoration. The data were divided between those specimens which were measured (N=40) and those in which the stature was estimated (N=41). Only fragments in which the estimation was confident were measured. Small fragments, as arms, feet or crest fragments were not considered.

The average stature of this stylistic group is 13 cm, varying from a minimum of 4.9 cm to a maximum of 22.5 cm (data from both measured and estimated figurines). As shown in Table 9, more than half the *Standardised* figurines have *Large* and *Very Large* size. The *Medium* size figurines account for 32% of the total. The *Small* and *Miniature* figurines have very low frequency and account for only 17.2% of the examined specimens.

**TABLE 9.** Frequency of stature (height) categories in DM *Standardised* figurines (in cm).

Size	Complete		Fragments (size estimated)		Totals	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Miniature (x<7 cm)	5	12.5			5	6.17
Small (7-10 cm)	7	17.5	2	4.87	9	11.11
Medium (11-14 cm)	14	35	12	29.26	26	32.09
Large (15-18 cm)	7	17.5	15	36.58	22	27.16
Very Large (x>18 cm)	7	17.5	12	29.26	19	23.45
Total	40	100	41	99.97	81	99.98

## Form and Posture (leg position)

The *Standardised* figurines are three-dimensional and sculptural. With the exception of one figurine, whose body is reduced to a cylinder and thus called the *Cylindrical Body* type (Pl.81:155), all the other specimens have their anatomically 'important' parts depicted.

It was possible to examine the leg position in 69 *Standardised* specimens. This number does not include one legless figurine Pl.9:155. The data come from 45 figurines complete, semi-complete or fragmented figurines with legs (Table 10 'Figurines'), and 24 single items, constituted by six pairs of separated legs, 15 single legs and three modelled feet (Table 11 'Single legs'). Within the range of *Seated* and *Standing* specimens, *Seated* are predominant with almost 60% of the total examined specimens. Note, however, that the proportion of *Seated* is considerably much higher (73.80%) for the category of 'Figurines' and conversely notably much lower for the 'Single legs' data category (33.33%).

One conclusion can be drawn from this data: the *Standing* figurines break more often. Was it because they were more fragile and therefore fragmented more easily than the *Seated* ones, or were they broken intentionally? Although the straight legs, labelled *Spread* legs for the *Seated* and *Straight* for the *Standing*, are dominant in both *Seated* and *Standing* figurines (this is the same for both categories), it must be noted, that in both the frequency of *Bent-knee* legs are significant. The *Bent-knee* achieve more importance in *Standing* 'Figurines,' accounting for 33.3%, but they are absent within the 'Single legs' group. It seems that for some reasons the *Standing Bent-knee* figurines never broken. Were they 'kept' better and handled more carefully than any other specimens?

**TABLE 10. Posture of DM Standardised figurines: Leg position categories for 'Figurines.'**

Seated (N=33; 73.33%)				Standing (N=12; 26.66%)			
Spread legs		Bent-knee legs		Straight legs		Bent-knee legs	
#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
26	78.78	7	21.21	8	66.66	4	33.33

**TABLE 11. Posture of DM Standardised figurines: Leg position categories for 'Single legs.'**

Seated (N=8; 33.33%)				Standing (N=16; 66.66%)			
Spread legs		Bent-knee legs		Straight legs		Bent-knee legs	
#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
7	87.5	1	12.5	16	100	0	0

**TABLE 12. Posture of DM Standardised figurines: Leg position categories for 'Figurines' and 'Single legs' totalled.**

Seated (N=41; 59.42%)				Standing (N=28; 40.57%)			
Spread legs		Bent-knee legs		Straight legs		Bent-knee legs	
#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
33	80.48	8	19.51	24	85.71	4	14.28

### Proportionality (Head to body ratio)

It can be expected that the figurine's proportion might be directly related to their posture (leg position). Consequently the variable *Head-to body ratio* was contrasted with the variable *Leg position* (Tables 13 and 14). It was possible to examine these two variables together in 34 *Standardised* specimens, from which 26 are *Seated* and the rest *Standing*. This number did not include the legless specimen (Pl.81:155).

As can be seen in Table 13 the dominant proportion of all *Seated* figurines is 1:2.5 (Pl.74:14.57) and 1:2 (Pl.77:29; Pl.76:45). Together these account for 65.4% of the *Seated* specimens. These two proportions are the most characteristic and are associated with *Cone* legs, equally for the category of *Spread* as for the *Bent-knee* legs. The next is the proportion 1:3 (Pl.77:48; Pl.75:64) that is characteristic for the *Leg with feet* (that is normally much longer than the *Cone* leg), but also present in the *Cone* legs. Other proportions, like 1:1 (Pl.76:91) and 1:1.5 (Pl.77:39) are infrequent.

**TABLE 13. Leg position vs. Head-to-body ratio in *Seated Standardised* DM figurines.**

Posture/Proportion	1:1	1:1.5	1:2	1:2.5	1:3
Spread Very Open Cones	2	1	4	4	2
Spread Open Cones	-	-	1	3	-
Spread Very Open Leg with feet	-	-	1	-	1
Spread Open Leg with feet	-	-	-	-	-
Spread Atypical	-	1	-	-	-
Bent-knee Open Cones	-	-	1	3	-
Bent-knee Leg with feet	-	-	-	-	2
Total	2	2	7	10	5

**TABLE 14. Leg position vs. Head-to-body ratio in *Standing Standardised* DM figurines.**

Posture/Proportion	1:2.5	1:3	1:3.5	1:4	1:4.5
Straight Bulging with feet	2	1	-	-	1
Bent-knee with feet	1	-	1	-	1
Bent-knee Atypical	-	1	-	-	-
Total	3	2	1	0	2

Given that many of the *Standing* figurines are fragmented, the sample for the assessment of their proportion is very small (N=8). Although in 25% of them the new proportion (1:4,5) is present (Pl. 243; Pl.101:133), the majority of the *Standing* specimens do not have different proportion from their *Seated* counterparts, as two dominant ratios are 1:2.5 (e.g. Pl.80:40; Pl.78:47) and 1:3 (e.g. Pl.75:64; Pl.81:84), both accounting for 62.5% of the *Standing* figurines sample.

## Vertical symmetry and stability

Vertical bilateral symmetry could only be assessed in complete figurines (N=40). The specimens Nearly Symmetrical are dominant (Table 15). It is striking that the number of specimens completely Asymmetrical is higher than the number of specimens with a definitive symmetry.

TABLE 15. Vertical symmetry in DM *Standardised* figurines.

Vertical symmetry	#	%
Nearly Symmetrical	17	42.5
Asymmetrical	13	32.5
Symmetrical	10	25
Total	40	100

TABLE 16. Stability in DM *Standardised* figurines.

Stability	#	%
Stable	31	81.57
Unstable	4	10.52
Almost stable	3	7.89
Total	38	99.98

Stability was examined in 38 *Standardised* figurines. Table 16 shows that the vast majority of them (81.55%) have stability and 7.9% (N=4) are *Almost stable*. Only 10.6 % (N=4) are definitely *Unstable*. Interestingly, the non-stability, contrary to what it might be expected, is not associated exclusively with the *Standing* specimens. Within four figurines with non-stability status, only one is *Standing* and the remaining three are *Seated*; two of them have the *Bent-knee* legs (Pl.101:17 and Pl.3:241) and one has the *Spread* legs (Pl.73:157). Two of them, one *Spread legs* and another *Bent-knee legs* specimen (Pl.75:241) depict pregnant women (is this a cause of their overturning?). It is also noteworthy that the only unstable *Standing* specimen is one of the finest *Standardised* figurines (well modelled and with body adornments [Pl.79:49a,b]). Therefore it can be assumed that the inclination of its feet was a consciously selected trait.

## Grammatical analysis

This section discusses the results of grammatical analysis of the DM *Standardised* figurines. For two reasons, the *Standardised* figurines will be discussed although the grammatical analysis has been performed for all three stylistic groups. Firstly due to constraint of space of this thesis. Secondly, I anticipate that the *Standardised* figurines are virtually the only island stylistic category represented in the mainland sites. In consequence, a detailed discussion of their formal aspects provides data of immediate use for scholars interested in pursuing the comparative analyses of mainland and island specimens.

The discussion of the results of the grammatical analysis fulfils three aims of the Los Roques figurine classification (Table 2): (1) identifying the nature and variability of the figurines; (2) providing a description of the figurine material; and (3) the observation of the style rigidity/flexibility with the intention of determining the extension of the possible traits (attributes) variability as the basis for the future discussion about the 'Structure' and 'Embellishment' in style. The detailed discussion of the elements of the figurine's 'body' is the basis for understanding its formal variability and the

detailed display of the deconstructed elements (either in charts or in tables) is *sine qua non* for the evaluation of the rigidity/flexibility of style.

During the deconstruction process it became evident that some features of figurines were difficult to 'read' and/or that some of them can lead to contradictory 'readings'. No specific reading was made when there was doubt, for example when the trace of attachment could be either read as male or female sex (fragment of the applied pellet), or where the bulging legs prevent observations as to whether or not it is in a bent-knee position. Those features that preclude the reading of certain representational features (e.g. pregnancy) are discussed in the Chapter Five. In that chapter also the representational and connotative variables that are the basis for the representational typology are discussed.

Several formal types for each variable were distinguished during the grammatical analysis. However, they are labelled *Categories* and not *Types* in order to differentiate them from the 'main' typology of figurines that follows the grammatical analysis.

In the following sections I first present the results of the grammatical analysis and subsequently present the results of the typological study (references to particular figurine types will be made since the very beginning of this discussion). More information about clustering of particular variables is provided in the section "Typology set-up" within the particular *type* description. The "Grammatical analysis charts" illustrate the discussion that follows this section (Appendixes 4 and 5). Additionally, an effort is made to refer a particular attribute (trait) to the concrete specimen indicating its plate and number.

## Head

The head was examined in 45 figurines and their fragments. Without exception, the head in the *Standardised* specimens, regardless of the shape and the size of the figurine, is always wider than the body. Table 17 shows that *Elongated* head is dominant, accounting for 62.22% of all *Standardised* heads. This head is narrow and laterally elongated. Many *Elongated* head specimens are modelled with chin and cheeks (*Elongated Modelled*). This variation is dominant (85.71% of the *Under Headdress* heads [Pl.76:91; Pl.77: 39 and 245; Pl.78:168; Pl.79:49; Pl.80:40]). The remaining *Elongated Simple* variant (Pl.81:3 and 36) is considerably less significant (only 14.28%).

All *Elongated* heads generally have no necks (Pl.77:29 or 39). Only three of them have very short neck (Pl.78:30 and 47; Pl.81:161), however, the head is visually distinct from the trunk. This division can be appreciated both from the front and from the profile (Pl.80:40a and d). The *Rounded* head, the second most common accounts for 31.11% of the total. All *Rounded* heads are three-dimensional and visibly separated from the body, in this case both on the front and on the back. The necks in the *Rounded* heads are short (Pl.75:64).

The two specimens of the *Deformed* head show the tabular oblique type of the cranial deformation (Pl.75:43 and Pl.79:371). In both cases the head is clearly distinguished from the body. The only specimen with an *Oval* head is different from the *Rounded* because of its flat profile shape (Pl. 75:241).



**TABLE 17.** Head categories of DM *Standardised* figurines.

Category	Variant	#		%	
		Category	Variant	Category	Variant
Elongated (below the headdress)		28		62.22	
	Elongated modelled		24		85.71
	Elongated Simple		4		14.28
Rounded		14		31.11	
Deformed		2		4.44	
Oval		1		2.22	
Total		45		99.99	

### Head decoration and Headdress

These two variables were examined separately on 46 *Standardised* specimens. Three figurines have neither headdress nor the head decoration (e.g. Pl.73:157). Fourteen figurines have an *Incised line* in the upper part of the head. Except for one specimen, in which this line goes around the head (Pl.74:13), in 91.7% (N=13) of the specimens with the *Incised line*, the incision is present only in the forehead (see e.g. Pl.74:11 and 14; Pl.75:64 and 241). In all these figurines, the part of the head above the incision has always *Red* or *Dark Red* painting (see *Slip frequency* above). Thus because of the slip, the head with the *Incised line* is labelled hereafter the *Red Top Head*, and the head without the line is a *Simple Head*.

The heads of many *Standardised* figurines are covered by the headdresses. They are called *With crest*. In this study I use the terms 'headdress' and 'crest' synonymously. There are *Plain* and the *Canoe-shaped* crests or headdresses. The name *Plain* refers to the straight-shaped headdress which is much narrower than the *Canoe-shaped* one, and not to the lack of the decoration, although this is absent in the *Plain Standardised* crests. The *Plain* headdresses are covered by *Red* slip in all *Standardised* specimens. The *Canoe* crest is reminiscent of the shape of a canoe with the edges up and makes a reference to the name given by Bennett (1937) for the similar mainland specimens (see Chapter 8.). All but one (Pl.77:29) *Canoe-shaped* crest are constructed from two, separately modelled parts that are jointed at the centre. Although the crest specimens show a high level of stylisation they frequently differ in details, like the relative proportion (its width and length), more or less accentuated edges or (very rarely in the *Standardised* figurines [see below the only exception]) the decoration.

A total of 22 *Canoe-shaped* and seven *Plain* crests were identified within the *Standardised* figurines (Table 18). It was possible to examine the headdress decoration in 21 specimens. Fifteen of them have the *Canoe-shaped* crests. Ninety three percent of the headdresses have exactly the same design in the frontal decoration that consists in cross-hatched incisions and punctuation. The posterior decoration of the headdresses was examined for only nine specimens. In five cases it is identical to the frontal design, except for punctuation while in the remaining four cases it repeats the frontal design exactly. The headdress decoration of one remaining *Canoe-shaped* crest is different. It is composed by cross-hatched incisions with punctuation, but their unique combination gives a distinct design. It is identical on both sides (Pl.73:49). Finally six *Plain* headdresses do not have any decoration.

**TABLE 18. DM Standardised figurines: Crest vs. Crest Decoration categories.**

Crest shape category/Crest decoration category	Total	Frontal decoration					Posterior decoration				
		?	0	A	B	D	?	0	A	B	D
Crest Canoe	21	6	-	14	-	1	12	-	5	4	1
Crest Plain	7	1	6	-	-	-	1	6	-	-	-
Total	29	7	6	14	0	1	13	6	5	4	1

? - undetermined. A, B, D refers to the design category shown in Appendixes 4 and 5

### Face decoration

This is one of the variables (together with the 'Slip') that has been difficult to assess due to erosion. The face decoration could not be determined in 34 (70.8%) out of 48 examined *Standardised* items. In 21% of the figurines decoration was absent. The remaining 8.2% represents six specimens with different face decoration. Three of them (Pl.74:14 and 57; Pl.76:91a,b) have *Two painted lines* under each eye; two figurines (Pl.77:39 and Pl.78:30) have *Three painted lines* and in one specimen (Pl.77:168) it is not possible to say how many lines were originally present (Table 19).

**TABLE 19. Face decoration of DM Standardised figurines.**

Category	#	%
Two painted lines	3	50
Three painted lines	2	33.3
Some painted lines	1	16.6
Total	6	99.99

### Eyes

The eyes were examined in 42 specimens. Table 20 shows that the vast majority of *Standardised* figurines (95.23%) have *Coffee-bean* eyes of an overly elongated form. The majority of the eyes within the *Coffee-bean* eyes category (95%; N=38) are positioned horizontally in the face and only 5% (N=2) are in a diagonal position (see Pl.73:15 and 157).

**TABLE 20. Eye categories of DM Standardised figurines.**

Category	Sub-category	Variation	#			%		
			C	S	V	C	S	V
Coffee-bean Horizontal	Plain		38	34		90.47	89.47	
		'Closed'			22			64.70
	'Opened'	12		35.30				
	With intersection			4	10.53			
'Closed'		0	0					
Coffee-bean Diagonal	Plain		2	2		4.76	100	
		'Closed'			2			100
	'Opened'	0		0				
	Rounded	Double pellet			2			4.76
			2					
Total			42			98.89		

C - category, S - sub-category, V - variation

Two sub-categories can be distinguished within the *Coffee-bean Horizontal* eyes. One has the straight line in the middle, separating two eyelids (the *Plain* sub-category). Another has two grooves instead of a line that gives the impression of the intermitted wide line between the eyelids, or intersection in the centre of the line that may suggest a pupil (*With intersection* sub-category). The *Plain* eye sub-category is notably dominant and accounts for 89.47% of the *Coffee-bean Horizontal*

eyes (N=34). Additionally two variations of the *Plain* eyes were distinguished: in one the line that separates two eyelids is a narrow incision and therefore gives an impression of closed eyes (*Plain 'Closed' eye*). In the other the dividing line is a wide groove, giving the impression of open eyes (*Plain 'Open' eyes*). The *'Closed'* eyes are dominant and account for 64.7% of *Plain* eyes (see e.g. Pl.74:57 and Pl.77:29; for the *'Open'* eyes [N=12] see e.g. Pl.74:14). The remaining part of the *Coffee-bean Horizontal* eyes that accounts for only 10.52% (N=4) is the sub-category *With intersection*. All these specimens are of the *'Open'* eyelids variant (see e.g. Pl.77:245 and Pl.80:40).

Only two *Standardised* figurines have *Rounded* eyes. In both cases they are constituted by two pellets, from which the internal one possibly suggests a pupil (see Pl.75:64a,b; Pl.100:73 for the *Rounded with double pellet*). I further suggest that because the *Rounded* eye constitutes such a rare trait in the DM figurines, it may have an iconographical importance.

### Eyebrows and/or eye decoration

These two variables are combined because distinguishing between what can be considered as an eyebrow or as an eye decoration is often an arbitrary choice (see for example the first type in Table 21). Within a group of 36 *Standardised* specimens, in which these variables could be analysed, eyes and eyebrows are absent in seven figurines (e.g. Pl.74:13 or Pl.81:3). Nine different categories of eyebrows and/or eye decoration are present (Table 21).

**TABLE 21.** Eyebrow categories of DM *Standardised* figurines.

Category	Variation	#		%	
		C	V	C	V
Two arks of punctations	United in centre	8	4	27.58	50
	Separated		4		50
Incisions over the eyelids with punctations		7		24.13	
Eyelids punctations only		5		17.24	
Two modelled arks with one line punctations		3		10.34	
Two modelled arks with double line punctations		1		3.44	
Two modelled arks with <i>canutillo</i> decoration	United in centre		0		
	Separated		1		100
Two non-decorated modelled arks over the eyelids with punctations	United in centre	1	0	3.44	100
	Separated		1		
Two grooved arks over the decorated eyelids	United in centre		1		100
	Separated	2	0	6.89	
One line punctations oval	United in centre		0		
	Separated		2		100
Total		29		99.94	

C - category, V - variant

More outstanding, although accounting for only 27.58%, is the decoration consisting of *Two arches of punctuation* that can be *United* (e.g. Pl.74:46) or *Separated* in the centre (e.g. Pl.79:45). These variations are equally shared within the type. The next in frequency (24.13%) is a decoration in which the eyebrows are depicted through the incisions, and in addition the superior part of the eyelids is decorated with punctations (see e.g. Pl.80:40). Third in frequency (17.24%) is the decoration similar

to the previous one, in which only the superior part of the eyelids is decorated with punctations (i.e. there are no eyebrows represented above the eyelids) (Pl.76:91). Another category of these variables is present in three *Standardised* figurines (10.34%). Their eyebrows consist of two modelled and punctated arches, united in the centre (Pl.73:157, Pl.75:64 and Pl.79:37).

The remaining six specimens depict five different categories of eyebrows: (1) one line punctuation (see Pl.73:54); (2) two modelled arches united in the centre with double punctuation (Pl.100:27); (3) two modelled and separated in the centre arches with *canutillo* (Pl.74:46); (4) a combination of the eyelids punctuated in its superior part with two separated modelled arches (Pl.742:14); and (5) the same eyelids decorated with punctations, but with a groove for the eyebrows (Pl.78:20 and Pl.79:49).

## Mouth

Twelve different categories with some variations were attributed to the depiction of the mouth in the *Standardised* figurines (Table 22). This number of traits, specially if contrasted with 30 examined figurines, emphasises the high variability in mouth depiction.

Much more frequent is a *V-shape groove* that accounts for eight specimens (26.6%). In one variation (present only in one specimen (Pl.100:95) the incision is slightly modelled around. The second in frequency (16.6%) is a mouth depicted by *Two straight grooves* (e.g. Pl.74:13; Pl.78:20; Pl.75:241), also with *Slightly modelled* (around the groove) variation (Pl.78:47). Next in frequency are two categories accounting for 13,3% of all *Standardised* mouths. In one of them the mouth is depicted by two diagonal grooves (Pl.81:36; Pl.78:30); half of the specimens in this category are slightly modelled around (Pl.74:14; Pl.74:46). The space contained between two grooves (this is accentuated specially in the 'modelled' version) gives an impression of a 'tongue.' Distinct from the two mentioned categories is *One straight groove* (Pl.76:91), in which the 'modelled' version is dominant (Pl.77: 31 and 245; Pl.78:168).

**TABLE 22.** Mouth categories of DM *Standardised* figurines.

Category	Variation	#		%	
		C	V	C	V
V-shape groove		8		26.6	
	Slightly modelled		1		12.5
Two straight grooves		5		16.60	
	Slightly modelled		1		20
Two diagonal grooves		4		13.30	
	Slightly modelled		2		50
One straight groove		4		13.30	
	Slightly modelled		3		75
Two horizontal incisions		2		6.66	
V-shape two grooves		1		3.33	
One horizontal incision		1		3.33	
U-shape incision edges down		1		3.33	
Modelled and applied <i>coffee-bean</i> mouth with intersection		1		3.33	
Crooked line		1		3.33	
With a bulge only		1		3.33	
V-shape groove edges down with holes		1		3.33	
Total		30		99.77	

C - category, V - variant

Finally there are nine *Standardised* specimens which present as many as eight different mouth treatments. The first two are *Horizontal narrow incisions* (Pl.73:54 and Pl.79:49). Within the seven remaining figurines, each depicts a different mouth form: two grooves in a form of a V-shape (Pl.73:157), one *Horizontal incision* (Pl.74:57), one *U-shape incision with edges down* (Pl.81:155), one *Modelled and applied coffee-bean mouth with intersection* (see the description of the similar formal type for the “Eyes” depiction in which case the intersection gives the impression of the ‘tongue’ (Pl.76:45), one irregular *Crooked line* (Pl.81:84), one *With a bulge only* (Pl.73:81) and a *V-shape groove edges down with holes* (Pl.81:161).

## Nose

The number of attributes of this variable are considerably lower than those ascribed to some others (see *Mouth* or *Eyebrows*). Therefore it can be said that the *Standardised* nose was much more consistent and homogeneous. In 32 out of 38 examined specimens the nose is well modelled and its shape is generally profiled. All *Modelled* noses have large orifices or holes going sometimes deep inside. They probably suggest nostrils. Twenty one (70%) of the *Modelled* noses have one perforation across the septum (Table 23; Pl.100:12 or Pl.74:13 and 14). One specimen additionally shows an extra perforation in the exterior wall of the nose (Pl.78:30). Except for the perforations that represent the nostrils, all others seem to represent nose piercing for wearing some kind of nose-ring. Such adornments, none of which was recovered in the DM site, might have been made out of perishable materials, such as wood or feathers. The remaining *Modelled* noses have only two nostrils (Pl.74:46, Pl.77:39 or Pl.100:36).

Another six specimens (accounting for 15.7% of all examined *Standardised* noses) have nose built up as a pellet with two simple perforations; in five of them this pellet is round (Pl.73:15,54,81 and 157; Pl.81:155) and in one it is elongated (Pl.74:11). It is noteworthy that all six specimens with the *Applied pellet* nose are *Small* or *Miniature* in size. This kind of nose is repeated in all *Standardised Miniature* figurines with one exception that is eroded and lacks facial features (see Pl.73:16). It seems that in smaller figurines the size determined the technique of nose construction given that the pellet was easier to apply than using modelling.

**TABLE 23.** Nose categories of DM *Standardised* figurines.

Category	Variation	#		%	
		Category	Variation	Category	Variation
Modelled applied	With nostrils and septum piercing	32	21	84.21	65.62
	With nostrils		11		34.37
Applied pellet	Round pellet with holes (nostrils)	6	5	15.78	83.33
	Long pellet with holes (nostrils)		1		16.66
Total		38		99.99	

## Ears

The ears were examined in 43 *Standardised* figurines. One specimen did not have ears. In four specimens (9.5% of all *Standardised* ears) the presence of ears was confirmed, but it was not possible to determine their types. The frequency of the *Standardised* ears is given for 38 figurines (Table 24).

**TABLE 24.** Ear categories of DM *Standardised* figurines.

Category	Variation	#		%	
		Category	Variation	Category	Variation
Anatomical hole with additional perforations	Three perforations	28	23	73.68	82.14
	Two perforations		5		17.85
With perforations only	Two perforations	9	7	23.68	77.77
	Three perforations		1		11.11
	Four perforations		1		11.11
Without perforation		1		2.63	
Total		38		98.99	

The predominant category is the ear with ‘anatomical’ hole or ear duct and few, smaller in diameter than the first one, perforations distributed along the exterior border of the ear. This category accounts for 73.68% (N=28) of all *Standardised* ears. It has been divided into two sub-categories, according to the number of perforations. The dominant one (82.1%) has *Three perforations* (e.g. Pl.74:13; Pl.76:7; Pl.80:49). The *Two perforations* sub-category is infrequent (Pl.74:14; Pl.81:161). Additionally two specimens of the *Three perforations* specimens, accounting for only 8.7% of this sub-category, have a round concave surface instead of the anatomical hole (see e.g. Pl.77:245).

The second ear category lacks the anatomical hole and has only few perforations in the exterior border of the ear. It accounts for 23.68% of all *Standardised* ears (N=9). Dominant (77.7%) is the variation that has *Two perforations* (N=7; e.g. Pl.73:54c or Pl.75:64). The remaining two variations are present each in one specimen: one with *Three* (Pl.101:73) and another with the *Four* (Pl.75:241) perforations. Finally, one specimen represents the ear category that is plain *Without any perforation* (Pl.73:157).

## Trunk decoration

The decoration of the trunk was examined in 42 *Standardised* specimens (Table 25). Ten figurines are without decoration. The majority (84.4%) of decorated figurines show *Three lines* in the frontal part of the trunk. There is one horizontal line that runs below the navel along the width of the body and two diagonal lines that go along the juncture of the legs. They outline the pubic triangle. In some specimens the horizontal line connects with two diagonal lines. In the majority of the figurines (96.3%) this line is *Incised* (see e.g. Pl.73:54; Pl.75:64; Pl.76:45; Pl.78:30), and in one specimen it is *Grooved* (Pl.81:84). In one variation of the *Three Incised lines*, the horizontal line extends to the back of the figurine (Pl.77:29). In another variation the ‘principal’ decoration is accompanied by the elaborated design, consisting of incisions and punctuation. This decoration extends to the shoulders and arms of the figurine, but is present only in the front of the figurine. The next in frequency is *One*

frontal line decoration that accounts for only 15% of all decorated trunks (e.g. Pl.74:14 and 57; Pl.78:20). The *Three frontal line* decoration is further interpreted as a loincloth or *guayuco*.

**TABLE 25. DM Standardised figurines trunk decoration.**

Category	Sub-category	Variation	#			%		
			C	S	V	C	S	V
Three frontal lines	Incised	with posterior line with Design B	27	26	2	84.37	96.30	7.70
					1			3.84
				1			3.70	
One frontal line	Grooved		5			15.62		
	Incised			5			100	
			32			99.99		

C - category, S - sub-category, V - variant

### Arm categories

The arms were examined in 55 *Standardised* specimens. The data proceeds from 42 figurines (complete, semi-complete or fragments; Table 26 'Figurines') and 13 single arms ascribed to this same stylistic group (see Table 26 'Single arms'). Within this total, one figurine is armless (Pl.81:155). The type of arm could not be assessed in one specimen with arms (Pl.78:323). In total 53 specimens has been examined for arm type frequency.

The arms of all *Standardised* figurines were modelled separately and then applied to the trunk by appliqué. They vary from the *Modelled* and *Bulging* to *Plain*, reflecting small graded differences in elaboration (*Plain* being a simpler version than *Modelled*). All arms are solid. The cross-section of the *Bulging* arm is round with a diameter that varies between 0.7 to 1.4 cm. Once modelled, either *Modelled*, *Bulging* or *Plain*, the arm were stuck to the trunk in three different manners: (1) through the attachment to the trunk at both ends; in this manner a clear irregular separation can be observed between the arm and the trunk; (2) some were stuck to the trunk closely and after that the separation from the trunk was obtained through the use of a regular cylindrical tool; (3) still other arms were stuck without any separation from the trunk.

Taking into account the differences in form and construction, several types of arm were distinguished. Table 26 shows the frequencies of all formal arm types, separately for each data category. Interestingly, the succession of frequencies of arm types is this same for the 'Figurines' as for the 'Single arms.' In both the *Bulging* and *Plain* arms are dominant and, in the case of the 'Figurines' these same types are equally important (each accounting for 43.5%). The *With hole* sub-category is dominant in both *Bulging* and *Plain* arms (accounting for 70.5% in the *Bulging* arms and 64.7% in the *Plain* arms of 'Figurines', and respectively 66.6% and 100% in the 'Single arms'). The remaining two sub-categories of the *Bulging* and *Plain* arms have, however, contrasting frequencies. While the *Bulging* arms *With separation* accounts for 23.5%, the *Plain* arms *With separation* accounts for only 5.88% and conversely the *Bulging* *Without separation* sub-category accounts for 5.88%, while the *Plain* *With separation* accounts or 29.4%.

As can be expected, none of the arm types *Without separation* (being definitely less fragile than the arms separated from the trunk) was found among the 'Single arms'. Likewise the *Modelled* arms, although statistically not important in the 'Figurines' (12.8%) are absent within the 'Single arms.'

which strengthens my previous argument that the *Modelled* arms were constructed more carefully and consequently were less exposed to fracturing.

**TABLE 26.** Arm categories of DM *Standardised* figurines.

Type	Subtype	'Figurines'				'Single arms'				Total	
		#		%		#		%		#	%
		T	S	T	S	T	S	T	S	T	S
Bulging		17		43.58		9		69.23		26	50.00
	with hole		12		70.58		6		66.66		
	with separation		4		23.52		3		3.33		
	without separation		1		5.88		0		0		
Plain		17		43.58		4		30.76		21	40.38
	with hole		11		64.70		4		100		
	without separation		5		29.41		0		0		
Modelled	with separation		1		5.88		0		0		
	with hole	5	5	12.82	100	0	0	0	0	5	9.61
Total		39		98.98		13		99.99		52	99.99

T - type; S - subtype

### Arm position categories

The arm position is considered as a formal aspect of the figurine (and discussed below) and a representation, in the sense of gesture. This aspect was examined in 40 *Standardised* specimens. All examined arms are akimbo. However their position on the body varies. The predominant arm position is *On the abdomen* (Pl.75:64 or Pl.4:45), which accounts for 52.5% (N=21) of all examined *Standardised* specimens. The second in frequency is the position *On the level of waist*, accounting for 42.5% (N=17; see e.g. Pl.76:91 or Pl.77:245). It is important to note that in some specimens it was difficult to define the boundary between these two positions. The remaining two figurines, each accounting only 2.5%, present different arm positions: *On the chest* (Pl.78:30) and *On the knees* (Pl.79:371).

### Arm decoration

This variable was examined in 37 *Standardised* figurines. The vast majority (89.18%; N=33) has no arm decoration. The two different categories of decoration are represented on only four specimens (10.81% of the examined figurines). First is *Applied pellet* decoration in which one pellet of clay is depicted on the shoulders of one figurine (Pl.75:64). Another specimen has two applied pellets. The pellets are depicted on one arm: one on the shoulders and another below the elbows (Pl.73:15). A second category of arm decoration is *Incised lines with punctations*, present only in one specimen that additionally has a complex trunk decoration (Pl.79:49).

### Hand digits categories

Hands of 38 figurines were examined and 84.2% of them have *Incised lines*, suggesting fingers. They vary in number of fingers (incisions). There is a predominance of both *Incised Four lines* (accounting for 40.62% of all hands with the *Incised lines*) and *Incised Three lines* (accounting for 31.25%). In the remaining hands with *Incised lines*, although they account for only 28.13%, five other



combinations in number of incisions are present (Table 27). Note that some variations have the combination of different number of incisions on each hand.

**TABLE 27.** Hand categories (Finger presentation) of DM *Standardised* figurines.

Category	Variation	#	%
Incised		32	84.21
	4 lines	13	40.62
	3 lines	10	31.25
	2 lines	5	15.62
	2 & 3 lines	1	3.12
	3 & 4 lines	1	3.12
	4 & 5 lines	1	3.12
	5 lines	1	3.12
Modelled		5	13.15
	3 fingers	4	80.00
Carved		1	2.63
	3 & 4 lines	1	100
Total		38	99.99

Apart from hands with *Incised lines*, there are also hands with *Modelled fingers* and with *Carved lines*. The first one accounts for only 13.15% (N=5) of all examined hands and has two variations. The second category is only one combination in numbers of grooves that is present in one figurine.

#### Breast categories

The breasts were examined in 37 *Standardised* figurines. Four specimens are breastless (Pl.74:14; Pl.81:155; Pl.100:111 and 156). Out of 33 figurines with breasts, in only one specimen was not possible to assess the type (Pl.78:323). In the remaining 32 figurines, two different breast categories are dominant: the *Round pellet with hole* (e.g. Pl.73:81; Pl.75:64; Pl.79:49) and the *Cone*. Both categories account for 46.87% each (N=15 each). Table 28 shows breast type frequencies, considering small variations within the *Cone* type: the *Cone without hole* (e.g. Pl.74:13), the *Cone with hole* that is the most popular (e.g. Pl.77:245; Pl.80:40; Pl.100:12), and the *Cone with several holes* (Pl.78:30).

**TABLE 28.** Breast categories of DM *Standardised* figurines.

Category (attribute)	#	%
Round pellet with hole	15	46.87
Cone with hole	9	28.25
Cone without hole	5	15.62
Cone with several holes	1	3.12
Canutillo hole	1	3.12
Hole slightly modelled	1	3.12
Total	32	100.1

#### Navel categories

The navel was examined in 33 *Standardised* figurines. One figurine, which has no arms, legs or breasts (Pl.81:155), also lacks an *umbilicus*. In the remaining 32 figurines the presentations of almost 89% of navels are similar. They depict a round concave surface that varies only in size (the *Large* and the *Medium* variations) and the grade of the concavity (from *Slightly* to *Shallow*).

**TABLE 29. Navel categories of DM Standardised figurines.**

Category	Variation	#	%
Slightly concave	Medium	13	63.73
	Large	7	
Shallow (flat) concave	Large	8	25.00
Hole to inside		2	6.25
'Canutillo' hole		1	3.12
Applied cone		1	3.12
Total		32	101.12

Taking into account these differences, five categories of navels are distinguished (Table 29). The most popular is *Slightly concave*, accounting for 63.73%. Within this category the *Medium size* variation is dominant (65% of all *Slightly concave*, see e.g. Pl.74:13 and Pl.77:29), the *Large size* variation constituting the remaining part of this navel category (see e.g. Pl.75:64 and 241). Additionally four figurines from the *Medium* variation of the *Slightly concave* navel have a bulky surface around the navel (see e.g. Pl.74:14 or Pl.81:84). Next in frequency is a *Shallow concave* navel that accounts for 25% of all *Standardised* figurine navels (see e.g. Pl.77:69 and Pl.80:40). The remaining three types (Table 29) are rare. They all account for less than 13% of analysed specimens (Pl.73:15 and 54 for the *Hole inside* navel [note that both specimens are *Miniatures*], NR 111, not illustrated, for the *Applied cone* one, and Pl.74:46 for the 'Canutillo' hole navel).

#### Buttock categories

This variable was examined in 37 *Standardised* specimens. In four of them (10.8%) the buttocks are not present or hardly distinguished. Most of the remaining figurines (N=33) show uniformity in the depiction of the buttocks, as can be observed in Table 30. Most of the figurines (72.72%) show *Modelled and incised* buttocks. The buttocks are *Incised only* in 24.24% of the specimens.

**TABLE 30. Buttock categories of DM Standardised figurines.**

Category (attribute)	#	%
Modelled and incised	24	72.72
Incised only	8	24.24
Modelled only	1	3.03
Total	33	99.99

#### Sex presentation

The sex presentation was examined in 43 figurines. One specimens is asexual (Pl.81:155). The remaining 42 figurines have a clearly identified female sexual organ although depicted in different formal ways (Appendix 5). There were no male specimens within the *Standardised* stylistic group.

As shown in Table 31 the predominant type of female sex is one with a *One line incision*, accounting for 69.90% (N=26; e.g. Pl.74:57 and Pl.75:64). Within this type there is a small and infrequent variety, less than 8% of the type, where the incision is *Slightly modelled around* (see Pl.3:241; Pl.6:323). The next in importance is the *Wide carving*, accounting for 23.80% (N=10), from which a *Crooked* variation (e.g. Pl.78:47 and 168; Pl.80:40a,b) dominates (70% of the type) over the

*Straight* variation (e.g. Pl.74:46 20,46). The remaining three types: the *Slight carving* (Pl.74:14 and Pl.6:30), the *Modelled and applied vulva* (Pl.73:81), and the *Two line incisions* (Pl.73:15), accounting in total for 15.28% (N=6) of all *Standardised* figurines with sex, have considerable statistical importance.

**TABLE 31.** Female sex categories of DM *Standardised* figurines.

Category	Sub-category	Variation	#			%		
			C	S	V	C	S	V
One line incision		Slightly modelled around	26		2	61.90		7.69
Wide carving	Straight Crooked			10	3		23.80	30.00
Slight carving				7			70.00	
Modelled and applied vulva			2			4.76		
			3			7.14		
	With one incised line			1			33.33	
	With one carving			2			66.66	
Two line incision			1			3.38		
		Slightly modelled			1			100
Total			42			99.99		

### Leg categories

Figurine legs were examined in 69 *Standardised* specimens. This number does not include one complete legless specimen (Pl.9:155). The data derive from 45 figurines complete, semi-complete or fragments with legs, presented under the label 'Figurine' in Tables 32 and 34, and 24 single items, constituted by six pairs of separated legs, 15 single legs and three modelled feet presented under the label 'Single leg' in Tables 33 and 35.

As can be observed in Appendix 5, the leg position has direct influence on their formal types. Therefore, the examined specimens were first divided into *Seated* and *Standing*. The frequencies of the different leg positions are discussed in the section 'Posture 1: Leg position'. Subsequently, a formal leg classification was performed separately for each of the two basic leg postures (*Seated* and *Standing*). Also taken into consideration was their further subdivision into *Spread/Straight* and *Bent-knee* legs. This classification was performed independently for categories: 'Figurines' and 'Single legs'). Tables 32-35 show frequencies of the resulting leg types.

Within the *Seated Spread Legs* the *Cone* leg predominates, accounting for 82.6% of all *Seated Spread Legs* (N=23). Although the percentage values are slightly different for the 'Single legs' than for the 'Figurines', their relative proportion is similar. Within the *Cone* leg, the *open* variation (accounting for 78.9% of the type) is dominant for 'Figurines' (see e.g. Pl.76:91 and 179; Pl.77:69 for *Very Open Cone* leg and e.g. Pl.73:54 or Pl.74:13 for the *Open Cone* leg). The number of *Open Cone* and the *Very Open Cone* specimens is equal within the 'Single legs'. The *Seated Spread Leg with feet* accounts for only 11.3% of all *Seated Spread leg* specimens in the 'Figurines' and is absent in the 'Single legs.' The *Very Open* variation is dominant, accounting for 66.6% (see Pl.77:245 for the *Very Open Leg with feet* and Pl.6:30 for the only specimen of the *Open Leg with feet*).

As can be observed in Table 32 the *Cone* leg dominates (84.6%) within the *Seated Bent-knee* legs and this posture constitutes less than 20% of all *Seated* legs (Table 12). Among the *Cone leg* category the *Very Open Cone* (Pl.73:15,16; Pl.6:47 and 168; Pl.101:190) account for 72.7% of the *Bent-knee Cone* legs, and are more frequent than the *Open Cone* (Pl.75:241) variation. The *Bent-knee Cone* leg is not present within the 'Single legs.' The *Bent-knee leg with feet* category is present in only two specimens. One is with the *Open* (Pl.75:64) and another with the *Very open* (Pl.75:241) leg variation. The legs of one figurine were classified as *Seated Spread legs atypical*, as they do not match any of the above mentioned formal types (see Pl.73:81).

Almost 90% of the *Standing Straight* legs, that constitute the majority of the *Standing* specimens of 'Figurines', are of the *Bulging with feet* type (e.g. Pl.9:243 and 161; see also Pl.81: 84 for the only *Standing* specimen of the *Bulging without feet*). Within the *Standing Bent-knee* figurines only the *Bulging leg with feet* is present (Pl.79:371 and Pl.101:133). As the legs of one *Standing Bent-knee* specimen do not match any above formal types, they were classified as *Standing Bent-knee atypical* (Pl. 101:17). The *Standing* 'Single legs' show only the presence of the *Straight* leg position and within them the dominant form is the category *Bulging with feet*, accounting for 75% (Pl.101:134, and 135). The proportion between the number of *Standing* and *Seated* specimens is different in both discussed data categories.

TABLE 32. Standardised DM figurines: Seated leg attributes within the 'Figurines.'

Leg position	Category Formal	Variation	#			%		
			Lp	F	V	Lp	F	V
Spread	Cone	Open	26	22	6	78.78	84.61	27.27
		Very Open			16			72.72
	Leg with feet	Open	7	3	1	21.21	11.53	33.33
		Very Open			2			66.66
Bent-knee	Atypical	Open	7	1	2	21.21	3.84	66.66
		Very Open						0
	Cone	Open	7	5	2	21.21	71.40	40
		Very Open			3			60
Leg with feet	Open	7	2	2	21.21	28.57	100	
	Very Open			0				
Total			33			99.99		

Lp - leg position, F - formal, V - variation

TABLE 33. Standardised DM figurines: Seated legs attributes within the 'Single legs'.

Leg position	Category Formal	Position	#			%		
			Lp	F	V	Lp	F	V
Spread	Cone	Open	7	7	4	87.50	100	57.14
		Very open			3			42.85
Bent-knee	Leg with feet	Open	1	1	1	12.5	100	100
		Very Open			0			
Total			8			100		

Lp - leg position, F - formal, V - variation

**TABLE 34. Standardised DM figurines: Standing legs attributes within the 'Figurines'.**

Leg position	Category		Leg position	#	Formal	Leg position	%	Formal
	Formal							
Straight			8			66.66		
		Bulging with feet		7			87.5	
Bent-knee		Bulging without feet		1			12.5	
		Bulging with feet	4	3		33.33	75	
		Bulging without feet		0			0	
		Atypical		1			25	
Total			12			99.99		

**TABLE 35. Standardised DM figurines: Standing legs attributes within the 'Single legs'.**

Leg position	Category		Leg position	#	Formal	Leg position	%	Formal
	Formal							
Straight			16			100		
		Bulging with feet		12			75	
		Bulging without feet		4			25	
Total			16			100		

### Typological scheme

The typology of the *Standardised* stylistic group is based selected variables and on all potentially recognisable attributes for these variables (Figure 20). It is important to assess whether they are present or absent in different types. For example the attribute *Oval Head* is present only within the *Seated Bent-knee without Crest* type, which may prove to have inferential value.

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Attributes</b>
Legs Position	Seated Spread legs Seated Bent-knee legs Standing Straight legs Standing Bent-knee legs
Presence of Headdress	Without Canoe Headdress Plain Headdress
Head Shape	Simple Rounded Head  Top Red Rounded Head Simple Oval Head Top Red Oval Head Simple Deformed Head Top Red Deformed Head

**FIGURE 20.** Variables and attributes selected for the DM *Standardised* figurines Typological scheme.

In the elaboration of this typological scheme the following variables were chosen (1) the leg position (Tables 10-12); (2) the presence/absence of the crest; (3) the crest categories (Table 18); (4) the head categories (Table 17); (4) the stature categories (Table 9). The grammatical analysis chart provides the illustrations of attributes for the above variables (Appendixes 4 and 5). The advantage of using only very few variables gives the possibility that this typology can be both a taxonomic and a paradigmatic one, where the attributes are weighted equally. However, as can be observed in the Table 36 and 37, this classification can be paradigmatic only without inclusion of the head and crest categories variables (i.e. up to the second hierarchical level of the 'main' classification).

The result of the above classification consists in the distinction of five general types that constitute the first hierarchical level of the *Standardised* figurines: (1) *Seated without Crest*, (2) *Seated with Crest*, (3) *Standing without Crest*, (4) *Standing with Crest*, (5) *Cylindrical Body Flat Bottom*. The second hierarchical level comprises six specific types that further are split in thirteen subtypes in third hierarchical level that are shown in Table 39.

**TABLE 36.** Paradigmatic typological scheme for DM *Standardised* figurines without Crest.

Head attributes	Leg position attributes			
	Seated		Standing	
Simple Rounded	Spread-legs	Bent-knee	Straight-legs	Bent-knee
Red Top Rounded	Spread-legs	Bent-knee	Straight-legs	Bent-knee
Simple Oval	Spread-legs	Bent-knee	Straight-legs	Bent-knee
Red Top Oval	Spread-legs	Bent-knee	Straight-legs	Bent-knee
Simple Deformed	Spread-legs	Bent-knee	Straight-legs	Bent-knee
Red Top Deformed	Spread-legs	Bent-knee	Straight-legs	Bent-knee

**TABLE 37.** Paradigmatic typological scheme for DM *Standardised* figurines with Crest.

Crest shape	Leg position attributes			
	Seated		Standing	
Canoe	Spread legs	Bent-knee	Straight legs	Bent-knee
Plain	Spread legs	Bent-knee	Straight legs	Bent-knee

**TABLE 38.** Typology frequencies of DM *Standardised* stylistic group figurines.

General type	Type	Sub-type	Variant/Illustration
1. Seated Without Crest (N=13)	A. Spread legs (N=8)	a. Rounded Head Simple (N=1)	Miniature (Pl.73:157)
		b. Red Top Rounded Head (N=7)	Miniature (Pl.73:54, 81) Small (Pl.74:11, 46); Medium (Pl.74:13, 14, 57)
		b. Red Top Rounded Head (N=1)	Large (Pl.75:64)
	B. Bent-knee (N=5)	d. Red Top Oval (N=1)	Medium (Pl.75:241)
		e. (N=1)	
		f. Red Top Deformed Head (N=1)	Miniature (Pl.73:15, 16) Small (Pl.75:43)
2. Seated Crest (N=16)	A. Spread legs (N=14)	a. Canoe Crest (N=10)	Small (Pl.76:45, 91, 179); Medium (Pl.76:7; Pl.77:31, 39, 69) Large (Pl.77:29, 245 [also ref. to 132])
		b. Plain Crest (N=4)	Medium (Pl.77:48; Pl.78:20, 323) Large (Pl.78:30)
	B. Bent-knee (N=2)	a. Canoe Crest (N=1)	Medium (Pl.78:168)
		b. Plain Crest (N=1)	Medium (Pl.78:47)
Type 3. Standing Without Crest (N=1)	B. Bent-knee (N=1)	1. Deformed Head (Hunchbacked) (N=1)	Very Large (Pl.79:371)
Type 4. Standing Crest (N=9)	A. Straight legs (N=9)	a. Canoe Crest (N=7)	Large (Pl.79:49; Pl.81:36) Very Large (Pl.80:40 ; Pl.81:3, 141, 161 and 242)
		b. Plain Crest (N=2)	Medium (Pl.81:84) Very Large (192 not illustrated) Small (Pl.81:155)
Type 5. Cylindrical Body (N=1)			
Total: 40			

### *Seated Without Crest*

This is group of specimens have either *Spread* or *Bent-knee* legs and possess no *Crest* on the head. The *Spread leg* category includes both the extended legs that finish with a feet (*Leg with feet*, the only specimen is one with *Crest*, Pl.78:30), the *Open Cone* legs (Pl.74:13; Pl.73:54) and *Very Open Cone* legs (Pl.73:157; Table 32). I do not agree with Alcina (1970), who interpreted similar specimens from the Valencia Basin as kneeling or seated on their legs (*en cuclillas*), since within the group of

82% of the Los Roques specimens with the *Cone* legs (N=22), exactly half of them have incised toes at the end of the cone (Table 41).

**TABLE 39.** Frequency of DM *Standardised Without Crest* figurines (match the data in Table 40).

Head attributes	1. Seated Without Crest		3. Standing Without Crest		5. Cylindrical body	Total
	A. Spread Legs	B. Bent-knee	A. Straight Legs	B. Bent-knee		
a. Simple Rounded	1	-	-	-	1	2
b. Red Top Rounded	10	1	-	-	-	10
c. Simple Oval	-	-	-	-	-	0
d. Red Top Oval	-	1	-	-	-	1
e. Simple Deformed	-	-	-	-	-	0
f. Red Top Deformed	-	1	-	1	-	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>16</b>

**TABLE 40.** Frequency of DM *Standardised with Crest* figurines (match the data in Table 39).

Crest shape	2. Seated with Crest		4. Standing with Crest		Totals
	A. Spread Legs	B. Bent-knee	A. Straight Legs	B. Bent-knee	
Canoe	10	1	7	-	18
Plain	4	1	2	-	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>25</b>

Although the majority (61.5%) of complete or semi-complete *Seated without Crest* specimens (N=8) have *Spread legs*, the *Bent-knee* figurines are an important category. All the *Bent-knee* and the major part of the *Spread leg* figurines have an incised line on the forehead that may go around the head or may be present in the frontal part of the head only. In all these specimens the superior part of the head (precisely above the line) is red painted. These specimens are labelled the *Red Top Head* (see e.g. Pl.75:64).

**TABLE 41.** Presence/absence of toes in DM *Standardised Seated* figurines with open and very open cones.

Cat. NR	With toes	Without	Undetermined
7	+		
13			+
14		+	
15		+	
16			+
20		+	
28	+		
29		+	
31	+		
39	+		
45	+		
48		+	
54	+		
57		+	
69			+
91	+		
132		+	
133	+		
157	+		
179			+
184		+	
323		+	
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>4</b>

The *Spread leg* variant in all eight specimens have only *Rounded Head* both with the *Red Top* (type 1Ab, see Pl.73:54, 81; Pl.74:11,13,14,46 and 57) or without: the *Simple Rounded Head* (type 1Aa, Pl.73:157). However, within the *Seated Bent-knee* figurines the *Deformed Head* is dominant (type 2Bf, Pl.73:15 and 16; Pl.75:43). From the remaining three *Bent-knee* specimens, all of them with

a *Red Top* variation, each possesses a different head shape: the *Rounded* (type 2Bb, Pl.75:64), the *Oval* (type 2Bd, Pl.75:241), and the *Deformed Head* (type 2Bf, Pl.75:43).

The *Spread leg* subtype is elaborated almost in this same proportion in the *Medium*, *Miniature* and *Small* sizes. The *Bent-knee* subtype shows this same tendency to variability as with the head shapes. All stature sizes are present. The type 1Bf (Pl.75:43) is one of only two known insular examples (the second comes from the Krasky Island) of the *Seated* variant of this iconographical image.

### *Seated with Crest*

This type comprises 16 complete specimens. The majority of them have a *Spread leg* condition and only two are *Bent-knee*. It is noteworthy that all *Spread leg* figurines have exclusively a *Very open* variation, either within the *Cone* or the *Leg with feet* subcategories.

The *Canoe Crest* is dominant especially within the *Spread leg* figurines (type 2Aa, Plates 4 and 5); 71,5% (N=10) out of 14 complete *Spread leg* specimens have headdress. The *Medium* and *Large* variants are dominant (70%; the remaining 30% are *Small* figurines). There are four specimens of the *Plain Crest* subtype (2Ab), all of them are *Medium* (Pl.77:48; Pl.6:20 and 323) or *Large* (Pl.78:30). The *Bent-knee* subtypes (2Ba and 2Bb; Pl.78: 47 and 168) are represented by one specimen for the class, each with the different head cover shape (the *Canoe* and the *Plain*). Both are the *Medium*-sized.

### *Standing Without Crest*

The only specimen belonging to this general type represents a *Very Large* variation of the *Red Top Deformed Head* type (Pl.79:371). I decided, however, to formulate this as a separate type since it has a meaningful spatial (micro- and macro-regional) importance (see Chapter Five). It is noteworthy that several attributes of this type, such as the *Bent-knee* legs, the *Deformed* head with line (the *Red Top* variant) and additionally a hunchback, are always clustered together and, as I will argue later, potentially represent a separate iconographical *image* (it coincides exactly with the representational type of the *Standing Bent-knee Individual with Hunchback and Deformed Head*. The only changing attribute of this *Image* is the *Standing/Seated* position of the legs (see Pl.75:43).

### *Standing with Crest*

Among nine specimens belonging to this type, almost 78% (N=7) have the *Canoe Crest* (type 4Aa; Pl.79: 49; Pl. 80; Pl. 81: 3, 36, 141 and 242), which confirms the importance of this category of headdress for both *Standing* and *Seated* specimens. Only the *Large* and the *Very Large* variations of this type are present. The *Plain Crest* type (4Ac, Pl.81:161, 84 and 192) is represented only by two specimens (one *Medium* and one *Very Large*). The *Bent-knee* condition is absent in the *Standing with Crest* figurines.



### ***Cylindrical Body***

Only two specimens of this category are present among the DM figurines. Only one of them resembles a human being, the other is an zoomorphic representation (see Pl.107:325). The principal characteristic of this type is a legless body that is in shape of a cylinder. This specimen has an armless flat bottomed body with a *Rounded Head* and is of *Small* size (Pl.81:155).

### ***Standardised figurine fragments***

A total of 65 different of figurine fragments were ascribed to the *Standardised Stylistic Group*. The fragments were classified as follow: (1) bust, head or head fragment; (2) headless body or below-waist; (3) legs pair or single leg; (4) arm; and (5) other fragments. Tables 42-45 show the frequency of classified fragments and the typological information derived from them. These tables do not show 13 arm fragments that are presented in Table 26 under the 'Single legs', together with the typological information they provide.

The typological information derived from the figurine fragments is varied. It is difficult to determine from which stylistic group a given fragment originated. What can be eventually established is that a given fragment is certainly not part of one of two large stylistic groups. It can be determined, for example, that one fragment is not *Standardised* or another not *Heterogeneous*. However, it is not possible to rule out the *Imitative stylistic group*, mostly because the *Heterogeneous* and *Imitative* share the same fired clay colour. There are 77 'Unclassified fragments.'

Nevertheless, in other cases (for example the *Standardised* fragments from the above tables), it was possible to obtain more specific, although incomplete, typological information referring to the different hierarchical levels. The obtained typological information was for example: the *Standardised Top Red Rounded Head* or *with* or *without Crest* for specimens having no information about the leg position, the *Seated Standardised* or *Standing Standardised* for specimens having no information about the head.

The *Standardised* specimens present relatively high percent of fragmented items (61.9%), while fragmentation in the *Heterogeneous* and *Imitative* figurines accounts for only 40%. This is probably due to the distinctive morphological aspects of the *Standardised* specimens which made their identification more obvious than fragments of the remaining two groups. These aspects are the colour of the fired clay, the quality of the material (polished, more thin) and the frequent presence of the red slip. On the other hand, the recognition of the *Imitative* and *Heterogeneous* specimens from the figurine fragments is not easy and sometimes impossible, mainly because they share this same colour and quality of material. As well, the distinctive features for these groups (as a voluminosity, size etc.) are not always observable in the fragments. It can be said therefore that the group of 79 unclassified fragments mainly contains items of both these groups.

The *Standardised* fragments were used in the grammatical analysis for the examination of the different variables. For example, as fragments of legs are numerous within the *Standardised* collection, they play an important role in the analysis of the leg position and/or the leg formal types (in the grammatical analysis they were analysed as a separate body of data ['Single legs']). Similarly,

other figurine fragments (except for the small crest fragments) widen the information about several other variables. The careful observation of all *Standardised* fragments does not indicate that the figurines were broken intentionally. The observation of their 'fragile points' indicates that certain fragments of the figurine body had a 'natural' tendency to the fracture (e.g. the arms). Nevertheless, the junction of the head was not necessarily a fragile point in the *Standardised* figurines, due to the technique of its construction.

Stature size is an important factor that could influence the fragmentation of the figurines. The data seem to show that larger figurines are more fragmented (Table 9). For example, it is interesting to note that the *Miniature* size, although present in 12.5% of the complete specimens, is absent in 'Fragments'. It can be assumed that the small size required compact structure and consequently the small figurines were hardly broken. Nevertheless, note that it is not true for the *Heterogeneous* specimens, in which the fragmentation of *Small* and *Miniature* specimens is a frequent phenomenon (Table 47). Another indicator of the size influence is a high number of the *Large* and *Very Large* fragmented figurine items that account for 67.5% of all *Standardised* fragments, in which the size variable could be assessed. Also from a total of all *Large* and *Very Large Standardised* items (N=41), 66% are fragments. In conclusion, it seems that the *Large* and *the Very Large* specimens are more often broken (Table 9), especially those of the *Standing* categories (see Tables 10-12), whose legs were longer and heavier, and consequently required more careful appliquéing technique.

**TABLE 42. DM *Standardised* figurine bust, head or head fragments.**

Cat. NR	Bust, head or head fragment		Typological information
	Description	Size	
12 (PI)	Bust	Very Large	Head with Canoe Crest
27 (PI)	Frontal part of head with cover	Large	Head with Canoe Crest
73 (PI)	Female trunk with head ( <i>guayuco</i> and round eyes)	Very large	Red Top Rounded Head
92 (PI)	Head fragment	CS	Standardised head fragment
95 (PI)	Face with nose, eye and mouth	CS	Standardised head fragment
114 (PI)	Head	Medium	Red Top Rounded Head
235	Ear and head fragment	CS	Standardised Head fragment
236	Head fragment with Crest fragment	Medium	Standardised Head fragment
318	Eroded Head with Crest fragment	Large	Head with Crest fragment
324 (PI)	Bust	Medium	Head with Crest

For those figurines that have the sign (PI) the illustrations are provided in Plate 100, under the number of the specimen

**TABLE 43. DM *Standardised* figurine headless body or below-waist fragments.**

Cat. NR	Headless body or below-waist		Typological Information
	Description	Size	
17 (PI)	Headless body	Very Large	Seated Bent-knee
28 (PI)	Female below-waist fragment	Small	Seated Spread Legs
101 (PI)	Female headless body	Medium	Seated Spread Legs
111	Trunk fragment	Medium	Standardised trunk fragment
116 (PI)	Standing female below-waist fragment (bulging legs with solid feet, incised toes)	Very Large	Standing Straight Legs
126	Trunk fragment with akimbo arm	Medium	Standardised trunk fragment
133 (PI)	Female below-waist complete ( <i>guayuco</i> )	Medium	Seated Spread Legs
156	Seated female trunk with akimbo arm ( <i>guayuco</i> )	Medium	Seated Spread Legs
163	Trunk fragment with akimbo arm	Large	Standardised trunk fragment
176	Trunk fragment	CS	Standardised trunk fragment
190 (PI)	Female below-waist complete ( <i>guayuco</i> )	Large	Seated Spread Legs
201	Trunk fragment with akimbo arm	Large	Standardised trunk fragment

For those figurines that have the sign (PI) the illustrations are provided in Plate 101, under the number of the specimen

**TABLE 44. DM Standardised figurine leg fragments.**

Cat. NR	Legs		Typological Information
	Description	Size	
97	Standing bulging leg	Very Large	Standing Straight Legs
98	Seated very open cone leg (incised toes)	Medium	Seated Spread legs
99	Modelled feet	Very Large	Standing Standardised
100	Modelled feet ( modelled toes)	Very Large	Standing Standardised
108 (PI)	Seated open cone leg (incised toes)	Large	Seated Spread Legs
109	Seated open cone leg	Medium	Seated Spread Legs
115	Two standing bulging legs feet (incised toes)	Large	Standing Straight Legs
127	Standing bulging leg with feet (incised toes)	Very Large	Standing Straight Legs
134 (PI)	Pair of standing bulging legs with reduced feet (incised toes)	Large	Standing Straight Legs
135 (PI)	Pair of standing bulging legs with modelled toes	Very Large	Standing Straight Legs
136	Pair of standing bulging legs with feet (incised toes)	Very Large	Standing Straight Legs
139	Pair of standing bulging legs	Large	Standing Straight Legs
142	Seated very open cone leg (incised toes)	Medium	Seated Spread Legs
151	Pair of standing bulging leg (incised toes)	Large	Standing Straight Legs
165 (PI)	Standing bulging leg with feet	Large	Standing Straight Legs
166 (PI)	Standing bulging leg with modelled feet (carved toes)	Large	Standing Straight Legs
173	Standing bulging leg with feet (carved toes)	Very Large	Standing Straight Legs
193	Standing bulging leg	Large	Standing Straight Legs
197	Seated open cone leg	Small	Seated Spread Legs
200	Seated open cone leg	Medium	Seated Spread Legs
257	Standing leg with feet (carved toes)	Large	Standing Straight Legs
299	Seated very open cone leg	Medium	Seated Spread Legs
319	Pair of seated bulging bent-knee legs (incised toes)	Very Large	Seated Bent-knee
374	Standing leg with feet	Medium	Standing Straight Legs

For those figurines that have the sign (PI) the illustrations are provided in Plate 101, under the number of the specimen

**TABLE 45. DM Standardised figurine 'Other fragments'.**

Cat. NR	Other fragments		Typological information
	Description	Size	
106	Decorated crest fragment	CS	Standardised Canoe Crest
123	Decorated crest fragment	CS	Standardised Canoe Crest
128	Decorated crest fragment	CS	Standardised Canoe Crest
148	Decorated crest fragment	CS	Standardised Canoe Crest
199	Decorated crest fragment	CS	Standardised Canoe Crest
235	Ear and head fragment	CS	Standardised head fragment
236	Head fragment with crest fragment	Medium	Standardised head fragment
262	Decorated crest fragment	CS	Standardised Canoe Crest

## *Heterogeneous* stylistic group

### Style definition

The prominent feature of the *Heterogeneous* figurines is their diversity. However, they share several characteristics that permit their classification as one separate group within the DM figurine assemblage. The basic feature of this style is the lack of artisan's skill reflected in the inability to produce pottery figurines of 'good quality,' such as the *Standardised* specimens. The *Heterogeneous* seem crude and rustic when compared to the *Standardised* figurines. The majority of them are also poorly fired and the fire clouds can be seen on several specimens.

Although the fabric (paste and temper) of the *Heterogeneous* figurines is similar to the *Standardised* group, the texture of their surfaces is coarser (or rougher) and the polishing is rare. The predominant colour of their fired clay is reddish brown or brown. Slip application is rare. The *Heterogeneous* figurines are significantly smaller than the *Standardised* and they are rarely three-dimensional. They are flat, although the degree of their 'flatness' varies from completely flat figures, such as the *Cylindrical Figure* and *Flat Anatomical Figure*, to the figurines that show a kind of three-dimensional 'rudeness', such as in the *Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure* specimens.

**TABLE 46.** Distribution of *Heterogeneous* figurines and their fragments among the trenches at the DM site.

Figurine status	Trench A		Trench B		Trench C		Trench E		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Complete	5	55.55	14	33.33	7	22.58	1	33.33	27	31.76
Semi-complete	3	33.33	8	19.04	12	38.7			24	28.23
Complete from reconstruction										
Semi-complete from reconstruction			1	2.38					1	1.17
Head			4	9.52					4	4.7
Head fragment			1	2.38					1	1.17
Head with trunk							1	33.33		
Head with trunk fragment			2	4.76			1	33.33	3	3.52
Bust (head & shoulders)			1	2.38					1	1.17
Bust fragment			1	2.38					1	1.17
Headless body			1	2.38					1	1.17
Headless body fragment			1	2.38	2	6.45			3	3.52
Trunk			1	2.38					1	1.17
Trunk fragment			2	4.76	1	3.22			3	3.52
Below-waist										
Below-waist fragment	1	11.11	2	4.76	1	3.22			4	4.7
Arm (or separate pair)										
Leg (or separate pair)			3	7.14	8	25.8			11	12.94
Other (crest)										
Unidentified										
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>99.99</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>99.97</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>99.97</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>99.99</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>99.91</b>

The majority of the *Heterogeneous* figurines are heavy, indicating their solid structure. The decoration is virtually absent and only a few figurines wear simple headdresses. One figurine could have been originally attached to a stool. There are sexless *Heterogeneous* figurines and those with female and/or male genitals, as well as pairs or trios figurines that show similar or even identical formal aspects.

## General description

### Inventory

The *Heterogeneous* group comprises a total of 85 specimens: 51 complete or semi-complete figurines and 34 fragments. Table 46 shows the distribution of *Heterogeneous* figurines among the trenches within the DM site.

### Surface texture

All *Heterogeneous* figurines are tempered with sand. The surface texture varies from *Coarse* to *Very coarse* with only two exceptions (Pl.83:94 [*Fine*] and Pl.92:191a [*Very fine*]). Very large ( $x > 0.8$  mm) particles of quartz are often visible on the surface.

### Surface colour and decoration

The predominant colour of the fired clay is reddish brown (Munzel Color Chart: Hue 2.5 YR 4/8) and brown (Hue 5YR 4/4). However, there are six figurines with a yellowish-grey colour (10YR 6/4 [Pl.83:21, 94 and 315; Pl.84:93; Pl.85:33 and 34]) and one with the pinkish grey/light brown colour of fired clay (7.5 YR 6/2-6/3 [Pl.82:8]). Only a few specimens are polished (e.g. Pl.82:85; Pl.83:21, 315; Pl.84:93, 182) or have a dark red slip (Pl.83: 42, 167 and 315; Pl.90:38; Pl.91: 175). It is possible that more specimens were originally polished and slipped but erosion prevents the assessment of these traits. The erosion as well as the frequent absence of facial features and/or arms

seem to be, in part, a result of bad firing and overly poor workmanship involved in the production of the *Heterogeneous* figurines.

### Manufacture

The majority of the *Heterogeneous* figurines are relatively heavy. They have solid structure or, in some cases, very thick walls. Several figurines have poorly anatomical bodies and their heads are undistinguished or barely distinguished from the trunks. In the *Cylindrical Figure* (Pl. 82 and 83) and in some *Flat Anatomical Figure* specimens the head is barely distinguished from the body and both the head and the body are made out of one solid piece of clay (Pl. 84; Pl.85: 33, 34; Pl. 86: 326; Pl. 87: 320; Pl. 88: 66, 75, 160, 172). The bodies of these specimens are poorly anatomical. In some *Flat Anatomical Figure* specimens the head is slightly modelled stretching out of the core piece of clay (Pl. 84: 82; Pl. 85: 83, 149; Pl. 86:56, 177, 178, 322; P. 87: 78, 79, 80). The facial features are poorly modelled. The limbs are modelled separately and roughly applied to the core (body/head) piece of clay.

A different method of construction was applied to those figurines whose heads are clearly distinguished from the trunks and have more anatomical bodies. These are *Flat Anatomical Figure* (Pl.85: 83; Pl.86: 56, 177, 178 and 322; Pl.87: 78, 79 and 80), and *Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure* specimens (Pl.89-92). The head, body and limbs of these figurines were modelled separately and then stuck together. The facial and body features, as well as the limbs were added in appliqué. The arms are usually applied as strips of clay and only a few legs are modelled with feet. In these specimens the modelling and appliquéing denote more skilfulness in the manufacture than in the first group of the *Heterogeneous* figurines.

### Stature

The size stature (height) of seventy three *Heterogeneous* specimens (85.9%; N=85) was measured. The stature categories are distinguished by the same criteria as in the *Standardised* figurines (Table 47). The average stature of the *Heterogeneous* figurines is 9.5 cm, the maximum 14.8 cm and the minimum six cm. Small forms dominant. The *Miniatures* and *Small* specimens account for 65.8% of the sample. The *Large* (larger than 15 cm) and the *Very Large* categories are absent.

**TABLE 47.** Stature of DM *Heterogeneous* figurines.

Category	Complete		Fragments		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Miniature (x<7 cm)	5	9.80	3	13.63	8	10.96
Small (x<10 cm)	29	56.84	11	50.00	40	54.80
Medium (10-15 cm)	17	33.32	8	36.36	25	34.24
Large (15-18 cm)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Very Large (x>18 cm)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	51	99.96	22	99.99	73	100.00

## Form and Posture

While the majority of the *Heterogeneous* figurines are flat, they do vary in the degree of their three-dimensionality. This variation is the basis for the distinction of two *Heterogeneous* sub-groups: the *Flat Anatomical Figure* and the *Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure* (see below).

The *Leg position* was examined in 69 specimens: 58 complete, semi-complete or fragments of figurines with legs (Tables 48 and 50, 'Figurines'), eleven single legs and three modelled feet (Table 49, 'Single legs'). The *Standing* figurines dominate accounting for almost 67% (N=46). The proportion between *Standing* and *Seating* figurines is similar in 'Figurines' and 'Single legs'. Two legs are *Seated Bent-knee* and the remaining are *Straight*.

**TABLE 48.** Posture: Leg position categories of DM *Heterogeneous* 'Figurines.'

Category	Sub-category	#		%	
		Category	Sub-category	Category	Sub-category
Seated	Spread legs	19	37	32.75	94.87
			Bent-knee legs		2
	Standing	Straight legs	39		67.24
Total		58		99.99	

**TABLE 49.** Posture: Leg position categories of DM *Heterogeneous* 'Single legs.'

Category	Sub-category	#		%	
		Category	Sub-category	Category	Sub-category
Seated	Spread legs	4	4	36.36	100
Standing		7	7	63.63	100
Total		11		99.99	

**TABLE 50.** Posture: Leg position categories of DM *Heterogeneous* 'Figurines' and 'Single legs.'

Category	Sub-category	#		%	
		Category	Sub-category	Category	Sub-category
Seated	Spread legs	23	21	33.33	91.30
			Bent-knee legs		2
	Standing	Straight legs	46	46	66.66
Total		69			

## Proportionality (Head to body ratio)

The *Head to body ratio* in figurine is measured by comparing the height of the head with the height of whole figurine. This variable was examined in 40 figurines. The *Cylindrical Figure* specimens in which the head is not distinguishable from the body were not considered. In the majority of the *Heterogeneous* specimens (47.5%; N=19) the head to body ratio is 1:3 (e.g. Pl.91:25, 88) followed by the ratio 1:2.5 (25%; N=10 [e.g. Pl.87:78, 79]) and 1:3.5 (12.5%). Three out of five remaining figurines have a ratio 1:4.5 and two 1:2.

The *Heterogeneous* heads are much smaller in relation to their bodies than the heads of the *Standardised* figurines (the *Head to body ratio* of the later is 1.2 - 1.2.5). However, the most important difference in proportion between these two groups of figurines can be noted when the width of their

heads is compared with the width of their bodies including the arms. In the majority of the *Standardised* figurines the head is wider than the body together with its arms, while in 85% of the *Heterogeneous* figurines the head is significantly narrower.

### Classificatory scheme

Despite common characteristics, such as the reddish-brown colour, solid status, small size and the overall artisanal low skills in modelling and appliquéing, the *Heterogeneous* style shows such a wide range of formal variability that it is necessary to establish a different criteria for the classification of the *Heterogeneous* figurines than that used for the *Standardised*. The difference consists in the use of a different classificatory unit and variables for the first and the last levels of the classification of the *Heterogeneous* figurines (Figure 22).

I agree with some archaeologists who have worked in figurine classification (see Morgan 1995:25-26) that the *group* is a more flexible classificatory unit than the *type*. In consequence, in the first classificatory level the specimens of the *Heterogeneous* style are divided in *groups* (Table 51). Two formal variables are the basis for this distinction: the *Posture* that refers to the figurines' overall shape, for example the anatomical *versus* non-anatomical body, and the *Three-dimensionality*, the relative degree of 3-D (volume) to flatness of the figurine. Taking into account these differences, the *Heterogeneous* figurines are divided into three *groups*: (1) *Cylindrical Figure*; (2) *Flat Anatomical Figure*; and (3) *Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure*.

Variables	Attributes
Posture (overall shape)	Cylindrical figure Cylindrical figure (trunk/head) with limbs Cylindrical trunk with limbs
Three-dimensionality	Flat 3-D simple ('rude') Intermediate
Legs Position	Seated Spread legs Seated Bent-knee legs Standing Straight legs Standing Bent-knee legs
Presence of Headdress	Without Headdress With Headdress

**FIGURE 22.** Variables and attributes of the DM *Heterogeneous* figurines Classificatory Scheme.

Further sub-divisions use the same variables as in the classification of the *Standardised* figurines. Thus in the second classificatory level the cluster of principal categories of the variable *Legs position* (*Seated* and *Standing*) and the variable *Presence of Headdress* (*With* and *without Headdress*) split the *Heterogeneous groups* into several subgroups or 'types.' Subsequently, some attributes of the variable *Leg position* (*Spread* and *Bent-knee legs*) are used to distinguish the 'variety'.

**TABLE 51. DM *Heterogeneous* stylistic group figurine typology frequencies.**

Group	Subgroup	Variety	Size category
Group 1. Cylindrical Figure (Trunk - Head) (N=11)	A. Seated (N=2)		Small (Pl.82:85) Medium (Pl.82:8)
	B. Standing (N=9)		Miniature (Pl.83: 94) Small (Pl.83: 158, 315 and 344) Medium (Pl.83:21, 35, 42, 50 and 167)
Group 2. Flat Anatomical Figure (N=24)	A. Seated without Crest (N=9)	a. Spread Legs (N=7)	Miniature (Pl.84:53, 82 and 187) Small (Pl.84:55, 58, 93 and 182)
		b. Bent-knee (N=2)	Small (Pl.85:83 and 149)
	B. Seated with Crest (N=2)		Small (Pl.85:33 and 34)
	C. Standing without Crest (N=5)		Small (Pl.86:56, 178, 322 and 326) Medium (Pl.86:177)
Group 3. Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure (N=16)	A. Seated without Crest (N=6)		Miniature (Pl.87:320) Small (Pl.87:78 a-c, 79 and 80; Pl.88:172) Medium (Pl.88:66, 75, and 160 a-e) Small (Pl.89:6 a-c, 26, 52, 63, 180, and 189)
	B. Standing without Crest (N=8)		Small (Pl.90:22) Medium (Pl.90:38, 41a-c and 350; Pl.91:25a-c, 88a-b and 175 a-c; Pl. 92: 188)
	C. Standing With Crest (N=2)		Small (Pl. 20:159 and 191a-d)
Total 51			

Note that the terms 'types' and 'variety' are used in brackets in order to emphasise the less rigid and less normative system of production of the *Heterogeneous* figurines in relation to the *Standardised* ones. For the same reasons, the third classificatory level refers only to the 'variety' that is present only in one specimen of the *Flat Anatomical Figure*. Table 51 shows the frequencies of the resulted *groups* and 'types' within the DM *Heterogeneous* figurine assemblage.

#### Group 1. *Cylindrical Figure with Limbs*

The category of the *Cylindrical Figure* is distinguished from the *Cylindrical Body*, according to the same criteria as described for the *Standardised* figurines (Type 5, Pl.9:155). They both are part of the wider category of the 'Cylindrical forms'. The head and body of the *Cylindrical Body* figurines are separated and the body has a cylindrical shape that can be flat bottomed or rounded. The *Cylindrical Figure* specimens, also called the *Trunk-Head*, have an overall shape of a cylinder in which the head and the trunk were built up as one unit without any visible separation. The term 'trunk' is used when the cylinder has limbs, like in all *Heterogeneous Cylindrical Figure* specimens. The term 'body' is used when no limbs exist and the cylinder 'stands' for all the body, as in the example of the *Standardised Cylindrical Body*).

Eleven specimens were ascribed to the *Cylindrical Figure* (or *Trunk-Head*) with limbs group. All of them have legs added to the cylinder (Plates 82 and 83). Nine are *Standing* and two *Seated*. All *Seated* specimens and 66.7% (N=6) of *Standing* have cone-like atrophic legs. The legs of the remaining three *Standing* specimens are slightly bulging (Pl.83:42, 50, 167). One has the leg with feet (Pl.83: 50) and one has incised three toes on the cone-like legs (Pl.83:35). Two specimens are armless



(Pl.82:85; Pl.83:344), while all other specimens had originally applied arms which broke totally or partially.

All *Cylindrical Figure* specimens are flat, asymmetrical and simple. The distinction between head and trunk is only optional. The face is 'suggested' by roughly modelled and applied pellets of clay. The pellets in shape of a *coffee-bean* represent eyes while other, similar, may represent the nose and/or the mouth. Ears are present in four figurines and in one the non-anatomical perforation is present (Pl.82:8). Five out of eleven *Cylindrical Figure* specimens have depicted breasts and/or navel. One of the *Seated* specimens is atypical depicting four legs, an atypical head top and either a very prominent male sexual organ or a navel (Pl.82:85). Only *Small* and *Miniature* size figurines are present within the *Seated* 'type,' while within the *Standing* figurines, the *Medium*-sized are frequent (55.55%).

All but two specimens have female sex depiction. Plate 83:94 illustrates one asexual specimen and Plate 82:8 another one, in which sex features cannot be determined. One figurine with male genitals (Pl.83:35) and another possible male (Pl.82:85) are also within this category.

## Group 2. *Flat Anatomical Figure*

The figurines from the Group 2 and the below described Group 3 (*Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure*) have clearly distinguishable head, trunk and limbs. The difference between them consists in the three-dimensional rendering of the human body. The *Flat Anatomical Figure* specimens are flat and the anatomical parts are rarely accentuated. In the *Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure* group the anatomical parts are more three-dimensional and curved, and more care is observed in the rendering of the details.

All *Flat Anatomical Figure* specimens have breasts. Only a few specimens. The majority have toes distinguished by few incisions. The majority (N=13) of 24 *Flat Anatomical Figure* specimens are *Standing* and 61.5% (N=8) of them are ascribed to the *Standing With Crest* general type.

Eighty one percent of *Seated* figurines are *without Crest*. Both *Seated* and *Standing* specimens *without Crest* are poorly elaborated in comparison with their *with Crest* counterparts. All *Seated without Crest* figurines have a head which is rounded *en face* but very flat from the profile (Plate 84). Their legs are simple atrophic and cone-like. Few specimens have incised toes. All but two figurines have arms and some have incised 'fingers'. A half of the *Seated* specimens have breasts. The *guayuco* (loincloth) triangle is present in two specimens (Pl.84:55, 58). Another two specimens (Pl.85:83, 149) have a roughly gained bent-knee position. The hands of one of them rest on knees (Pl.85:83). The bottom of this last figurine is flat and bent backwards that suggests that it may have been originally seated on a bench like the specimen illustrated in Plate 108 (249). The unusual position of another bent-knee specimen that seems to be 'seated in air' also suggests that it could have been seated on a stool from which his legs were hanging down (Pl.85:149).

Two *Seated with Crest* specimens have vertical bilateral symmetry. Their facial features are relatively carefully depicted, the hands and foot are modelled and with incisions that represent fingers and toes. In addition, the fronts of their *Crests* have an incised decoration (Pl.85:33, 34). Similarly

better rendering of details is observed in *Standing with Crest* specimens. Their legs are slightly bulging, with feet, and the toes are often incised (Pl.87:320; Pl.88:160). The headdresses of the majority of these specimens are decorated with incisions (Pl.88:66,160,172) or punctation (Pl.87:320).

The majority (N=15; 62.5%) of *Flat Anatomical Figure* specimens have female genitals. Five have male genitals depicted (Pl.85:33, 34, 83; Pl.87:320; Pl.88:75) and two of them have also breasts (Pl.85: 33, 34). There are also four asexual specimens (Pl.84:93, 187; Pl.85: 149; Pl.87:80). The male figurines account for 20.8% of all *Flat Anatomical Figure* specimens. All *Seated* specimens are of *Small* or *Miniature* sizes. The *Small* category dominates (70%), but four *Medium* specimens are also present in the *Standing* 'types'.

### Group 3. *Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure*

The *Standing* figurines (60%; N=9) are dominant among fifteen specimens that pertain to the *Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure* group. The specimens *without Crest* account for 87.5% (N=14). The *Crest* have only two *Standing* specimens.

This group represents the most three-dimensional *Heterogeneous* figurines with relatively well defined anatomical body parts and careful rendering of the details. Especially the *Standing* specimens of this group are more 'sculptoric' than their *Seated* counterparts. Several of them are also a relatively realistic human representations (Pl.90:41; Pl.92:191). In all but one specimen (Pl.92:191) the breasts and navel are depicted. Ears are present and have generally two perforations. All legs are bulging with feet. One of the specimens with *Crest* has incised decoration on the front of the crest.

All specimens of this group are female. Although the majority of the specimens are *Small*, the *Medium* size is frequent in the *Standing* figurines, accounting for 49% of all *Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure* specimens. No *Miniatures* are found in this group.

### Microstylistic groups

In parallel to the above classification a second grouping of the *Heterogeneous* figurines was performed. Careful examination of their physical appearance resulted in the distinction of *microstylistic* groups that cluster figurines with common morphological characteristics. In consequence, 22 *Heterogeneous* specimens were ascribed to eight *microstylistic* groups (Table 52).

In what consists the distinctiveness that allows to think about the *microstyle*? The visual examination indicates that in most cases the specimens that belong to the specific *microstylistic* group share the overall creative concept and combine the same attributes for the following variables: (1) the fired clay colour and the surface texture; (2) the size (stature); (3) the posture and three-dimensionality; (4) the rendering of facial details such as the eyes, mouth, nose, ears and body elements such as the sexual organ, navel, breasts, arms and toes; (5) the presence/absence of the crest; and (6) genitals. Moreover, some of the figurines from the same *microstylistic* groups are good 'reproductions' of each other.

**TABLE 52.** Microstylistic groups within DM *Heterogeneous* figurines.

Microstylistic group	Typological information	Total #	Size/ Illustration
Microstylistic Group 1	Standing Cylindrical Figure	2	Small (Pl.83:315) Medium (Pl.83:21)
Microstylistic Group 2	Seated Spread Legs Flat Anatomical Figure	3	Miniature (Pl.84:53) Small (Pl.83:55 and 58)
Microstylistic Group 3	Seated Spread Legs without Crest Flat Anatomical Figure	1	Small (Pl.84:182)
	Seated Spread Legs without Crest Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure	3	Small (Pl.89:26,180 and 189)
Microstylistic Group 4	Seated Bent-knee (on bench) Flat Anatomical Figure	1	Small (Pl.85:83)
	Standing with Crest Flat Anatomical Figure	3	Small (Pl.87:78,79 and 80)
Microstylistic Group 5	Seated Spread Legs Crest Flat Anatomical Figure	2	Small (Pl.85:33 and 34)
Microstylistic Group 6	Standing without Crest Flat Anatomical Figure	1	Small (Pl.86:322)
	Standing with Crest Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure	1	Small (Pl.92:159)
Microstylistic Group 7	Standing with Crest Flat Anatomical Figure	2	Small (Pl.88:172) Medium (Pl.88:160)
Microstylistic Group 8	Standing without Crest Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure	3	Medium (Pl.91:25, 88 and 75)

However, there are some exceptions in which the specimens from the same *microstyle* do not share the same attributes for one or two of the above mentioned variables. It refers to three *microstylistic* groups. First of them, the *Microstyle 4*, comprises four figurines. While three of them share the same leg position and sex (*Standing with Crest* females [Pl.87:78, 79 and 80]), one specimen shows different attributes of these variables. It is a *Seated Bent-knee* male figurine that might be originally seated on bench (Pl.85:83). The second case refers to the *Microstyle 6* where one specimen has (Pl.92:159) and another has not crest (Pl.86:322). Finally, three specimens of the *Microstyle 3* are classified as the *Three-dimensional Anatomical Figures* (Pl.89:26, 180 and 189), but the fourth specimen is less three-dimensional, and is classified as the *Flat Anatomical Figure* (Pl.84:182).

The production of a large numbers of almost identical figurines was a common phenomenon in a mould technology (e.g. Goldstein 1975:56). It is however an uncommon trait in the case of the hand made figurines. Eight microstylistic groups comprise almost 50% of the DM *Heterogeneous* figurines. The question arises how the *microstylistic* groups relate to the typological classification of the *Heterogeneous* figurines? As indicated in Table 53, the figurines that share one particular *microstyle* may pertain to one specific group (1B; 2B; 3B) or may come from different groups (2Aa and 3A; 2Ab and 2D; 2C and 3C). One group may also encompass more than one *microstyle* (group 2Aa: *Microstyles 2* and 3; Group 2D: *Microstyles 4* and 7).

**TABLE 53.** Microstyles versus *Heterogeneous* grouping in the DM figurines.

Microstyle	Group 1Aa	Group 1Ab	Group 2Aa	Group 2Ab	Group 2B	Group 2C	Group 2D	Group 3A	Group 3B	Group 3C
Microstyle 1		X								
Microstyle 2			X					X		
Microstyle 3			X							
Microstyle 4				X			X			
Microstyle 5					X					
Microstyle 6						X				X
Microstyle 7							X			
Microstyle 8									X	

How the distinction of the *microstyles* in the *Heterogeneous* figurines can contribute to our understanding of the social past of the DM campsite? I regard the *microstylistic* groups as the reflection of the differences in the *habits* or *motor performances* of individuals that produced them

(Hill 1977; 1978; Hill and Gunn 1977). I argue, that the specimens that belong to one *microstylistic* group were probably made by the same artisan or small group of closely related artisans. Such artisans might have been working on the household level and, in consequence, every *microstyle* may be cautiously considered as a product of a different household (see Lathrap 1983 for the discussion of the ethnographic examples).

I further argue that it is possible to perform the attribution study of the *Heterogeneous* figurines given that (1) their individual variation has been reproduced in specimens clustered within the different *microstylistic groups*, and that (2) the *Heterogeneous* figurines exhibit sufficient formal complexity to measure their individual variation (see Morris 1993:44, 46). If such an attribution study is not performed “as an isolated aesthetic pursuit” but “approached contextually, as an integral part of artefact analysis” (Morris 1993:41), then it can contribute to answer specific research questions, that in this case are related to the (re)construction of the social reality of the figurines.

The consideration of the microstylistic distinctiveness as the ‘messaging’ of the household group identity in combination with the fact that their deposition took place on the Dos Mosquises Island may suggest that the household representatives were present in this site. The microstylistic group sometimes cross cut groups from the first classification what demonstrates that separate specimens from the same microstylistic group have to convey also different messages within the same identity. The different messages from the same group seem to refer to the representational aspect (i.e. gender, posture and crest presence/absence). Sometimes they are difficult to read (e.g. change in three-dimensionality).

### ***Heterogeneous* figurine fragments**

A total of 34 figurine fragments are ascribed to the DM *Heterogeneous* group. They were classified to the same categories as their *Standardised* counterparts. Tables 54-56 show frequency of classified fragments and the typological information derived from them.

The *Heterogeneous* classificatory system has benefited more from the fragments than *Standardised* has. The first level of their grouping refers to the cluster of two variables (*Posture* and *Three-dimensionality*) whose attributes are easier to be recognised in fragmented material than attributes from the cluster of *Leg position* and *Crest presence* (variables used for the first hierarchical level in *Standardised*). As a result many legless fragments with some parts of the body present can be ascribed to the first classificatory level of the *Heterogeneous* figurines, for example the seated below-waist fragment can still be assigned to the *Seated Three-dimensional Anatomical Body*, while the same fragment category from the *Standardised* can only be considered as *Seated Standardised*.

The number of the *Heterogeneous* figurines fragments is low in comparison to the *Standardised* counterparts, especially when considered within the ratio of complete to semi-complete figurines (51:34 for *Heterogeneous* and 40:65 for *Standardised*). The discrepancy in both ratios is partly related to difficulties in the distinction between the fragments that pertained to the *Heterogeneous* and to the *Imitative* figurines. In consequence, the number of the *Heterogeneous* fragments (N=34) does not represent the total of the fragments of the figurines within this category.

The seventy six *Unclassified* figurine fragments (Table 57) certainly include the specimens of both *Heterogeneous* and the *Imitative* categories. I consider that the average number of fragments that could pertained to each of these groups can be estimated. Observing that the number of complete and semi-complete *Heterogeneous* specimens (N=51) is 2.55 times higher than that of their *Imitative* counterparts (N=20), I assume that a similar proportion might be represented in the unclassified fragments.

**TABLE 54. DM *Heterogeneous* figurine legless body, bust, head or fragments.**

NR	Bust, head or head fragment		Typological information	Illustration
	Description	Size		
37	Head with trunk	Miniature	Cylindrical Figure (Body-Head)	Pl. 103:37
77	Head with trunk (legless body) fragment	Small	Three-dimensional Anatomical Body	Pl. 102:77
86	Head	Medium	Three-dimensional Anatomical Body	Pl. 102:86
87	Head	Medium	Heterogeneous head	Pl. 103:87
89	Bust	Medium	Heterogeneous bust	Not illustr.
131	Head	Undeterm.	Heterogeneous head	Pl. 103:131
150	Head	Undeterm.	Heterogeneous head	Pl. 103:150
154	Head	Small	Heterogeneous head	Pl. 103:154
243	Bust	Undeterm.	Heterogeneous bust with atypical arms	Pl. 103:243
346	Legless body with Plain Crest	Medium	Three-dimensional Anatomical Body with Crest	Pl. 102:346
370	Female legless body	Medium	Three-dimensional Anatomical Body	Pl. 102:370
Total 11				

Undeterm. - undetermined

As a result, 71.8% (N=55) of the *Unclassified* fragments are assumed to be the fragments of the *Heterogeneous* figurines. By adding to this number those fragments that were already classified as *Heterogeneous* (N=34), the sum (N=89) may be considered as the more appropriate estimate for the total number of *Heterogeneous* fragments in the DM assemblage.

The same estimation was calculated for the *Imitative* fragments (the section “*Imitative figurine fragments*”). Table 58 displays the frequencies of all figurine specimens, taking into consideration the estimated numbers for the *Heterogeneous* and *Imitative* fragments. Note that the ‘real’ proportion between fragments and complete figurines in *Standardised* is 1:1.6, which means that fragments in the *Standardised* specimens account for 61.9% of all *Standardised* figurine items. Interestingly, after correcting for the estimated total fragments of the two remaining groups, the percentages are 63.30% for the *Heterogeneous* and 64.28% for the *Imitative* figurines.

The estimates, if accurate, suggest that the ratio of breakage in all three stylistic categories of figurines was similar. The tendency in the *Heterogeneous* and *Standardised* fragments suggests that size (stature) had an influence in the breakage of the figurines. Although 50% of the *Heterogeneous* fragments pertained to *Small* specimens, they represent only 30% of all *Heterogeneous Small* specimens. The *Medium* fragments account for almost 50% of the *Medium* specimens. If *Small* figurines fractured more often because of the poor manufacture process and bad appliquéing, then the poorly elaborated *Medium*-sized figurines might have fractured even more frequently.

**TABLE 55. DM *Heterogeneous* figurine headless body, trunk, below-waist or fragments.**

NR	Headless body and below-waist		Typological information	Illustration
	Description	Size		
59	Female below-waist	Small	Standing Heterogeneous	
62	Trunk fragment	Small	Heterogeneous trunk fragment	
67	Standing trunk	Medium	Standing Three-dimensional Anatomical Body	Pl. 102:67
102	Below-waist fragment	Small	Heterogeneous below-waist fragment	
113	Standing female headless body	Small	Standing Three-dimensional Anatomical Body	Pl. 102:112
117	Trunk fragment	Undeterm.	Three-dimensional Anatomical Body	Pl. 102:117
140	Female trunk	Small	Three-dimensional Anatomical Body	Pl. 102:140
145	Standing below-waist	Small	Heterogeneous Standing	
171	Standing male below-waist	Medium	Cylindrical Figure or Flat Anatomical Figure	Pl. 103:171
174	Standing below-waist	Miniature	Heterogeneous Standing	
195	Standing trunk	Medium	Standing Three-dimensional Anatomical Body	Pl. 102:195
286	Trunk fragment	Small	Heterogeneous trunk fragment	
Total 12				

**TABLE 56. DM *Heterogeneous* figurine legs.**

NR	Legs		Typological Information	Illustration
	Description	Size		
103	Standing solid	Small	Standing Heterogeneous	
104	Standing solid	Undeterm.	Standing Heterogeneous	Pl.103:104
153	Standing solid leg fragment	Undeterm.	Standing Heterogeneous	
253	Standing solid leg fragment	Undeterm.	Standing Heterogeneous	
259	Seated solid leg	Small	Seated Heterogeneous	
274	Standing very thick leg	Small	Standing Heterogeneous	Pl.103:274
281	Standing solid leg	Medium	Standing Heterogeneous	Pl.103:281
283	Standing solid leg	Small	Standing Heterogeneous	
291	Seated solid leg	Miniature	Seated Heterogeneous	
296	Seated solid leg fragment	Undeterm.	Seated Heterogeneous	
302	Seated solid leg	Small	Seated Heterogeneous	
Total 11				

**TABLE 57. Unclassified fragments of DM figurines.**

Head	Headless	Trunk	Below-waist	Buttock	Arms	Legs	Feet	Other (Crest)	Unidentified
3	1	1	2	1	38	17	3	5	6
Total 76									

**TABLE 58. Frequencies of complete and semi-complete figurines *versus* fragments ('real' and 'estimated') for three stylistic groups of DM figurines.**

<i>Standardised</i>			<i>Heterogeneous</i>			<i>Imitative</i>			Total	
Complete	Fragments real	est	Complete	Fragments real	est	Complete	Fragments real	est	Complete	Fragments real est
40	65	-	51	34	55	20	14	22	111	113 76
40	65		51	88		20	36		111	189

'real' - classified fragments; 'est' - estimated fragments, as described in the section '*Heterogeneous* figurine fragments'

### ***Imitative* stylistic group**

The name for this stylistic group originated after the Annual Meeting of ASOVAC, in Mérida, in 1985. During this event, one local potter attended my presentation on the Los Roques figurines. Inspired by the images of the figurines the potter decided to reproduce some of them in his workshop. The relationship between the result of his work and the Los Roques originals was very similar to those that may be seen between the DM *Standardised* and *Imitative* figurines. The potter from Mérida assimilated and reproduced the general 'idea' of the Los Roques figurines style. However, the overall workmanship and the rendering of the details of his 'imitations' were different from the Los Roques originals and none of them was an accurate copy of any of the originals. Similarly, an artisan from the Primavera village in the Patanemo Bay (north of the LVB), who aimed to reproduce some Valencioid

figurines with highest degree of fidelity possible, reached the result that can be seen in Plate 221. In both cases we deal with the 'prototype' (original model) and its copy or imitation. The prototype can consist of the idea or the thematic content (*subject*), the iconographical representation (*image*) or the main physical object (*object*). In the case of the mentioned potters, the basis for the reproduction was the perception of concrete physical objects with determined morphological characteristics. The visual concept (or schemata) of these *objects* was reproduced through the abilities and/or motor habits of the potters.

The *Standardised* figurines may be seen as physical entities (*objects*) with concrete presentational aspects (*images*) and could be models for the Los Roques *Imitative* figurines (see Chapter 9 for further discussion). However, the question whether the *Imitative* figurines 'imitated' the *Standardised* specimens (i.e. were produced after the *Standardised*), or were a consecutive step in the 'evolution' of artisan skills (i.e. were produced before the *Standardised* specimens) cannot be answered at this stage of the study. In consequence, the term 'Imitative' has here purely stylistic connotations (not chronological).

### Style definition

The *Imitative* stylistic group comprises an aggregation of elements selected from the DM *Standardised* and *Heterogeneous* figurines. I would say that the artisans who made them had the 'eyes' of the makers of the *Standardised* and the 'hands' of those who made the *Heterogeneous* figurines. At first glance, the *Imitative* figurines look very much like the *Standardised* figurines as they show much of the same visual concept. However, upon closer examination their three-dimensionality is actually based on their voluminosity rather than on the modelled and curved sculptural form. They were conceived to be viewed frontally, since less attention was paid to the elaboration of their dorsal parts. In conclusion, the overall structure and proportions of the *Imitative* figurines are similar to the *Standardised*, however, the material and the rendering of the details are similar to the *Heterogeneous* group.

### General description

#### Inventory

A total of 20 complete or semi-complete figurines and 14 fragments were ascribed to the *Imitative* group. Table 59 shows their spatial distribution in the DM site, according to the grade of their fragmentation.

#### Surface texture

All *Imitative* specimens are tempered with sand. *Large* (0.5-0.8 mm) and *Very Large* ( $x > 0.8$  mm) particles of quartz are visible, giving a 'rough' or a 'very rough' aspects to their surfaces. Polishing is very rare. The surface texture of the *Imitative* figurines is similar to the *Heterogeneous* ones.

**TABLE 59.** Distribution of *Imitative* figurines at the DM site.

Figurine status	Trench A		Trench B		Trench C		Trench E		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Complete	3	30	5	31.25	3	42.85			11	32.35
Semi-complete			3	18.75	2	28.57			5	14.7
Complete from reconstruction	3	30							3	8.82
Semi-complete from reconstruction	1	10							1	2.94
Head	1	10	1	6.25	1	14.28	1	100	4	11.76
Head fragment			5	31.25					5	14.7
Head with trunk	1	10	1	6.25					2	5.88
Head with trunk fragment					1	14.28			1	2.94
Bust (head & shoulders)										
Bust fragment	1	10							1	2.94
Headless body										
Headless body fragment										
Trunk										
Trunk fragment										
Below-waist										
Below-waist fragment			1	6.25					1	2.94
Arm (or separate pair)										99.97
Leg (or separate pair)										
Other (crest)										
Unidentified										
Total	10	100	16	100	7	99.98	1	100	34	99.97

### Colour and surface decoration

The predominant colour of the fired clay of the *Imitative* figurines is reddish-brown (Munzel Color Chart 2.5 YR 4/4). Only four specimens have the yellowish grey colour (10YR 6/4 [Pl.94: 194a,b; Pl. 97: 184 and 244; Pl.104:24]).

The decoration was absent in three figurines (Pl.97:32; Pl.96:61a-c and 68). The presence of *Dark red* slip was determined in seven specimens (e.g. Pl. 95:10a-c; Pl.98:44a-c). One shows traces of *Orange* slip (Pl.97:184). The distribution of slip on the figurines' 'bodies' could not be determined due to erosion. For the same reasons the surface decoration could not be assessed in 65% figurines from the sample.

### Manufacture

The technique of manufacture of the *Imitative* figurines is similar to that of the *Heterogeneous Three-dimensional Anatomical Figure* group (see "Manufacture" section for the *Heterogeneous* stylistic group). Most of the specimens show solid construction or have very thick walls, which is one of the main differences with the *Standardised* group. The solid construction or thick walls of the *Imitative* figurines are reflected in their weight. They are much heavier than the *Standardised* figurines (Table 60). The modelling and appliquéing in the *Imitative* figurines are significantly 'poorer' than in their *Standardised* counterparts.

### Stature

The stature was measured in 24 *Imitative* specimens. The average size is 13.45 cm. The smaller figurine is 6.4 cm tall (Pl.97:184) and the larger is 22 cm (Pl.99:74). The *Medium* stature category dominates, accounting for 65% of the sample (Table 61).



**TABLE 60.** Weight and Stature of DM *Standardised* and *Heterogeneous* figurines.

Specimen PI/NR	Category	Standardised		Weight (g)	Specimen PI/NR	Imitative		Weight (g)
		Stature mm				Stature mm		
Pl.161	Very Large	195		480	65	Very Large	191	700
49	Large	159		371.8	11	Medium	110	450.5
6	Medium	103.99		229.8	60	Medium	117	357.5
20	Medium	110		318.14	68	Medium	133	474.90
48	Medium	109		276.4	61	Small	97	331.3
91	Small	97		210.8	9	Small	99	238.3
54	Miniature	49		23.5	184	Miniature	64	121.5

The average, maximum and minimum sizes of the *Imitative* figurines are almost the same as those of the *Standardised* figurines. However, the proportions within the stature categories are slightly different: the *Medium* to *Very Large* categories are dominant in the *Standardised* figurines. The *Miniature* and *Small* specimens are virtually absent within the *Imitative* figurines.

**TABLE 61.** Stature of DM *Imitative* figurines.

Stature	Complete		Fragment		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Miniature	1	5	-	-	1	4.16
Small	1	5	-	-	1	4.16
Medium	13	65	2	50	15	62.5
Large	1	5	1	25	2	8.33
Very Large	4	20	1	25	5	20.83
Total	20	100	4	100	24	99.98

### Form and Posture

Several formal aspects of the *Imitative* figurines, such as size, three-dimensionality and the use of the anatomical forms are similar to the *Standardised* group. However, the three-dimensionality of the *Imitative* is built on the voluminosity of figurines rather than on the sculptoric 'roundness' of forms appreciated in the *Standardised* specimens.

*Seated* figurines are dominant within the *Imitative* category, accounting for almost 64% of the examined sample (N=22), similarly as in the *Standardised* stylistic group (Table 62).

**TABLE 62.** Leg position categories of DM *Imitative* figurines.

Category	Subcategory	#		%	
		Category	Subcategory	Category	Subcategory
Seated	Spread legs	8	8	36.36	100
		14	14	63.63	100
Standing	Straight legs	14	14	63.63	100
		8	8	36.36	100
Total		22	22	100	100

### Proportionality

The variables of the *Leg position* and *Head-to-body ratio* were considered in assessing the proportionality of the *Imitative* figurine (Table 63). In almost 60% of the examined specimens (N=17) the *Head-to-body ratio* is 1:2.5. This proportion is dominant (60%) in both *Standing* and *Seated* specimens (Tables 13 and 14). The head of the majority of the *Imitative* specimens is wider than the body including the akimbo arms (e.g. Pl.98:44a-c and 90a,b). The proportionality of the *Imitative* figurines is very similar to their *Standardised* counterparts.

**TABLE 63.** Leg position *versus* Head-to-body ratio of DM *Imitative Seated* figurines.

Posture/Proportion	1:2	1:2.5	1:3	1:4	Total
Seated	2	7	2	1	12
Standing		3	1	1	5
Total	2	10	3	2	17

### Vertical Symmetry and Stability

*Vertical symmetry* was assessed in 20 complete figurines. Only 20% of the *Imitative* figurines have vertical bilateral symmetry, while the asymmetrical specimens are more frequent (45%) (Table 64). *Stability* was examined in 16 specimens (Table 65). Over 93% of the *Imitative* figurines are stable. They are less symmetrical and more stable in comparison with the *Standardised* figurines.

**TABLE 64.** Vertical symmetry of DM *Imitative* figurines.

Vertical symmetry	#	%
Without	9	45
Hardly with	7	35
With	4	20
Total	20	100

**TABLE 65.** Stability of DM *Imitative* figurines.

Stability	#	%
With	15	93.75
Hardly with	1	6.25
Without	-	-
Total	16	100

Table 66 shows the variables which comprise attributes shared by the *Imitative* figurines and their *Standardised* and *Heterogeneous* counterparts. As shown in the table there are significantly more (9:4) morphological aspects that the *Imitative* figurines share with the *Standardised* than with the *Heterogeneous* figurines.

**TABLE 66.** Variables which comprise attributes shared by DM *Imitative*, *Standardised* and *Heterogeneous* figurines.

Variables which comprise attributes shared with the <i>Imitative</i> figurines	Standardised	Heterogeneous
Fired clay colour		X
Surface texture		X
Surface decoration		X
Manufacture		X
Stature	X	
Posture	X	
Three-dimensionality	X	
Leg position	X	
Proportion	X	
Stability	X	
Headdress presence	X	
Headdress shape	X	
Headdress decoration	X	

### Typological scheme

The typological scheme of the *Imitative* figurines is the same as that of the *Standardised* group (Table 67; see Figures 20 and 21). The variables chosen for typological classification are also the same, although the attributes are different. The *Bent-knee* position is absent in *Standing* and *Seated* *Imitative* figurines. Similarly the *Deformed* heads and those *with the Top Red* are absent. The heads *with the Top* and a new headdress shape (the *Inverted Canoe*) are present in the *Imitative* category.

<b>Variables</b> Legs Position	<b>Attributes</b> Seated Spread legs Standing Straight legs
Presence of Headdress	Without Canoe Headdress Plain Headdress Inverted Canoe Headdress
Head Shape	Simple Rounded Head Rounded Head with Top Simple Oval Head

**FIGURE. 21.** Variables and attributes selected to the DM *Imitative* figurines Typological scheme.

**General Type 1. Seated without Crest**

This type is represented by two *Medium* and one *Large* size figurines. It has a variant *Spread legs*: two specimens with the very open cones (Pl.93:1 and 60) and one with *Open cones* (Pl.93:5). All figurines have *Simple Rounded Head* without the frontal line. One of them is distinguished by rounded eyes (Pl.93:60) similarly as one *Standardised* figurine (Pl.75:64a,b). This attribute may be considered as an iconographic trait (see Chapter Five). Three elements are absent from this type when compared to its *Standardised* counterpart: the *Bent-knee* position, the *Deformed head*, and the *Red Top Rounded Head* subtypes.

**TABLE 67.** Typological frequency of DM *Imitative* figurines.

General type	Type	Subtype	Variation (Stature Category)	Illustration
1. Seated without Crest (N=4)	A. Spread Legs (N=4)	a. Rounded Head Simple (N=4)	Medium Large	Pl. 93:5, 60 and 147 Pl.93:1
2. Seated with Crest (N=9)	A. Spread Legs (N=9)	a. Canoe Crest (N=2) b. Plain Crest (N=2) c. Inverted Canoe Crest (N=5)	Medium Very Large Miniature Medium Medium	Pl.94:194 Pl.94:65 Pl.97:184 Pl.97:32 Pl.97:244a,b; Pl.96:61a-c and 68; Pl.95:9a-c and 10a-c Pl.99:74
3. Standing without Crest (N=3)	A. Straight Legs (N=3)	b. Rounded Head with Top (N=1) c. Simple Oval Head (N=2)	Very Large Small Medium	Pl.98:44a-c Pl.98:90a,b
4. Standing with Crest (N=4)	A. Straight Legs (N=4)	a. Canoe Crest (N=1) b. Plain Crest (N=1) c. Inverted Canoe Crest (N=2)	Medium Medium Very Large	Pl.99:164 Pl.99:143 Pl.99:2 and 246
Total: 20				

**General Type 2. Seated with Crest**

A total of 13 *Imitative* figurines have headdress (65% of complete or semi-complete specimens) and 70% of them are *Seated* (N=9). The type *Seated with Crest* accounts for almost 50% of all complete and semi-complete *Imitative* figurines (N=20). The *Seated without Crest* and the *Standing with and without Crest* account for the remaining 50%.

All *Seated with Crest* specimens have straight legs. The main difference between them consists of the shape of the crest. Three headdress categories are distinguished: the *Canoe*, the *Inverted Canoe* and the *Plain*. These categories correspond to three figurine subtypes: the *Seated Spread Legs with Canoe Crest*, the *Seated Spread Legs with Inverted Canoe Crest*, and the *Seated Spread Legs with Plain Crest* (2Ac).

Only two specimens of the *Canoe Crest* subtype are present (Pl.94:65a,b and 194a,b). Both have a very open cone legs and resemble the general 'air' of the *Standardised* figurines of the same subtype. The headdress of one specimen (Pl.22:65a,b) has similar shape as these of its *Standardised* counterparts (see e.g. Pl.77:245 or Pl.8:40a-c), though it is relatively much smaller and poorer in details. Its decoration is also similar (cross-hatching incised lines and punctuation) but bears different motifs (wider cross hatched camps with many dots).

The subtype has five specimens. The *Inverted Canoe* headdress is exclusive to the *Imitative* group. It gives an impression of an 'simplified version' of the *Canoe Crest* of the *Standardised* figurines. The headdress decoration of two *Imitative* figurines (Pl.96:61a-c and Pl.97:244a,b) has elements (but not a design) similar to the *Standardised Canoe Crest*. One is decorated by the combinations of incised lines alone (Pl.96:61a-c), while another (Pl.97:244a,b) is decorated with the incised lines and punctuation. The last decoration is identical to the headdress of the *Imitative Canoe Crest* specimen (Pl.22:65a,b).

Two other *Inverted Canoe* specimens (Pl.95:9a-c and 10a-c) share a design that consists of vertical incisions and *canutillo* in different combinations. These specimens belong to the same microstylistic group (see below). Although most of the *Imitative* headdresses repeat the elements and motifs (cross-hatching and punctuation) of their *Standardised* counterparts, the resulting designs are different. None of the decorated headdresses is exactly the same as in the *Standardised* figurines. Moreover, two of the *Imitative* figurines have even a different decorative element: the *canutillo*, which together with the incised lines result in a new motif and design.

### General Type 3. *Standing without Crest*

The *Imitative* group comprises three *Standing* figurines without crest. They have straight bulging legs. One is a *Very Large* specimen with *Rounded Head with Top* (Pl.99:74). The word 'Top' refers to the presence of the frontal line in the upper part of the head. The area above the line gives the impression of a *top*. Similar *top* in the *Standardised* specimens is always red slipped and therefore it has been termed the 'Red Top'. The presence of the slip in this area was not observed in the *Imitative* figurines.

Two other figurines are *Simple Oval Heads* (without the frontal line). Both are *Medium*-sized. One lacks mouth (Pl.98:44a-c) and another (see Pl.99:143) has punctuation along the head that may represent eyebrows or a separation that suggests a *top*.

#### General Type 4. *Standing with Crest*

This category comprises four figurines with *Standing Straight legs* and with *Crests*. One medium-sized specimen (Pl.27:164) has the *Canoe-shaped Headdress* decorated with three incised lines on both sides. The second has *Plain Crest* headdress decorated with two horizontal intermittent lines. The last two figurines of this category are *Very Large* and have *Inverted Canoe Crests*. One of them (Pl.99:2) has a prominent *Inverted Canoe Crest* decorated with one horizontal and two vertical lines. The shape of the headdress of the second specimen can be recognised but its decoration would have vanished due to erosion (Pl.99:246).

The *Canoe headdress* has three vertical lines incised (Pl.99:164). One of the *Inverted Canoes* is a prominent headdress with lineal decoration below the external line (Pl.99:2), while the presence/absence of decoration in two remaining *Inverted Canoes* cannot be assessed due to erosion. The decoration of a single *Plain Crest* consists of two horizontal interrupted lines (Pl.99:143).

#### *Imitative fragments*

There is a total of 14 fragments of the *Imitative* figurines divided in the same categories as the fragments of the first two stylistic groups. The categories of ‘headless bodies’ and ‘legs’ are absent. Tables 68 and 69 show the classification of the *Imitative* figurines fragments. Additionally, there are 19 ‘estimated’ *Imitative* fragments (see assumptions for the estimates in the section *Heterogeneous Fragments*) giving a total number of 33 possible *Imitative* fragments.

**TABLE 68.** DM *Imitative* figurine legless body, bust, head or their fragments.

NR	Description	Stature	Typological information	Illustration
23	Bust fragment (frontal part)	Large	Rounded Head with Top	Pl.104:23
24	Legless figurine	Medium	Simple Rounded Head	Pl.104:24
51	Head with line	Medium	Rounded Head with Top	Pl.104:51
96	Head fragment	Medium	possible Imitative Head: Rounded Head	Pl.105:96
112	Head with line fragment	Medium	possible Imitative Head: Top Rounded Head	Pl.105:112
119	Legless figurine with crest	Medium	Head with Inverted Canoe Crest	Pl.105:119
121	Head fragment	Large	possible Imitative Head: Head with Plain Headdress	Pl.105:121
122	Head fragment (face)	Large	Imitative Head	Pl.104:122
130	Head fragment	Medium	possible Imitative Head: Head with Plain Headdress	Pl.105:130
196	Standing legless figurine (lacking the frontal part of the headdress)	Very Large	Standing with Crest	Pl.104:196
203	Head fragment	Medium	possible Imitative Head: Head with Plain Hatters	Pl.105:203
347	Head fragment	Medium	possible Imitative Head: Rounded Head	Pl.105:347
372	Head	Medium	possible Imitative Head: Head with Plain Headdress	Pl.105:372
Total 13				

**TABLE 69.** DM *Imitative* figurines headless body or below- waist fragments.

NR	Description	Size	Typological information	Illustration
360	Below-waist	Large	Possible Imitative: Seated Spread Legs	Pl.105:360
Total 1				

#### *Microstylistic group*

Two figurines within the *Imitative* style may be ascribed to one *microstyle*, as defined in the section “Microstylistic groups” of the *Heterogeneous* figurines (Table 70). Both are *Seated Spread Legs* figurines with the *Inverted Canoe Crest* and of the *Medium* stature (Pl.95:9a-c and 10a-c).

**TABLE 70. DM *Imitative* figurine Microstylistic group.**

Microstylistic group	Typological information	Total #	Size	Illustration
Microstylistic Group 9	<i>Inverted Canoe Crest Seated Spread Legs</i>	2	Medium	Pl.95:9a-c and 10a-c

## STRUCTURE AND EMBELLISHMENT IN STYLE

In this section I preliminarily discuss how the social (*structure*) and the individual (*embellishment*) can be addressed in the Los Roques figurines assemblage (see Chapter Three, section “Style, microstyle, individual, society and nature of relationships”). The starting point in this discussion is the assessment of the extension of the variability contained in a given stylistic solution. This was partly achieved for the DM *Standardised* figurines through the application of the grammatical analysis. During that analysis I examined elements of figurine ‘body’ (variables) and observed that some of them have large numbers of attributes what allowed the distinction of different categories within each variable. Moreover, within those variables no category or attribute showed dominance over another. The variable with the above characteristic is, for example, the *Mouth*, with twelve different categories and sixteen attributes (Table 22). Another variable with such a ‘non-normative aspect’ is that of the *Eyebrows*, which has nine different categories and ten attributes (Table 21).

Other variables of the DM *Standardised* figurines show consistency in the patterning of their attributes. For example, for the *Ear* variable only three categories were distinguished. Up to 90% of the DM *Standardised* figurine ears belong to one of these categories, and the majority of them share the same attribute (Table 24). The ‘normative aspect’ can be also appreciated in the variable *Nose* that has only two categories. Two attributes from one of these categories account for up to 85% of all *Standardised Noses* (Table 23).

The questions arise which of the variables showing such a ‘normative aspect’ can be related to the stylistic structure and which of those were those with the ‘non-normative aspect’ associated to the style embellishment? I consider that detailed examination of the attributes used in the depiction of each element of the figurine ‘body’ can contribute to the discussion of *structure* and if supported by the presence of another variables and/or different aspects of the same variables. I argue that the representational variables (e.g. *Gender recognition*, *Body anomalies* and the *Accoutrements presence*) are *par excellence* socially significant and are parts of the stylistic structure. This statement coincides with those made by other scholars who investigated the iconographical traits in figurines (Troike 1968; Goldstein 1979; Sánchez 1981; Morgan 1995). The representational variables considered here as parts of stylistic structure are essential for the distinction of the representational types (*images*) of the figurines (Chapter Five).

Such formal variables as *Leg position*, *Mouth*, *Ear* or *Breast* are also related to the representational aspect of the figurines. However, the way in which the mouth, ear or breasts is depicted is also a part of the formal and/or representational domain. For example, a very open mouth

can be read as expressing emotion or the relatively large breasts can be identified as decidedly female. These formal variables that are related to their representational aspect are considered as parts of the stylistic structure, similarly as the representational variables. In this study the reading or 'translation' of certain formal elements into the representational elements was performed with caution. For example, the attributes of the variable *Facial expression* (*Neutral*, *Expressive positive* and *Expressive negative or disturbing*) were not considered in the recognition of the *images*. The formal typological scheme of the *Standardised* figurines is based on some of these variables (see Fig. 20) and their grouping may be of importance in the stylistic typology.

The consideration of both the representational variables and those that convey formal and representational information is the first step in the search for the stylistic *structure*. The next is the examination of the rigidity/non-rigidity in the depiction of the elements of figurine 'body' (as performed in the grammatical analysis and demonstrated above). I argue that in the discussion about the *structure* and *embellishment* the examination of these elements may have a double importance. Firstly, because their analysis provides the basic information about their presence/absence in the figurines 'body.' Secondly, because the consistence in clustered depiction of some of these variables (i.e. certain parts of the figurine 'body'), as demonstrated in the DM *Standardised* figurines, is seen as a part of the stylistic solution, and refers to the structural component of style.

My analysis indicates that the *Miniature* figurines are the best examples in which the most important elements of the DM *Standardised* stylistic solution can be seen. In these figurines there is a 'condensation' of certain structural elements of style. Given the limited area or zone available for the depiction, the area or place for the individual embellishment is also reduced. It can be observed that the *Standardised Miniature* figurines depict the same 'body' elements (e.g. eyes, nose, mouth breasts, navel, buttock, sex, etc.) as the *Standardised* figurines that pertain to larger stature categories. However, despite their miniature condition, the importance of the depiction of the maximum number of discrete parts of the body is notable. The practical difficulties in the depiction of all these elements in a figurine whose stature is less than five centimetres (Pl.73:54a-c) are resolved using special techniques and skills. Some of these techniques are exclusive of *Miniature* figurines as, for example, where the breasts and navel are depicted through punctuation (Pl.731:54a-c). In these cases, the artisan preferred to change the technique of the depiction rather than ignore certain anatomical parts that were difficult to depict in such a small figurine. In other words, the rendering of some elements of figurine 'body' was adapted to its size (see discussion of the *Miniature Nose* depiction in the "Grammatical analysis" section). I argue that in the *Miniature* figurines the individual *embellishment*, or the decision about the use of the punctuation for the depiction of breasts, navel or the pellet nose, is dictated by the structural imperatives.

Once the tendency toward the depiction of several elements of figurine 'body' is demonstrated, the next step is to examine the way in which these are depicted formally, with reference to their formal categories and attributes. The search for the 'normative' and 'non-normative' aspects of variables yields additional information about the importance of particular elements of figurine 'body' within

given stylistic solution. The observations from the grammatical analysis, discussed at the beginning of this section suggest a way in which it can be evaluated.

I consider, that the tendency to depict all of the body elements in *Standardised* figurines is related to the *structure* rather than to the individual *embellishment*. However, some elements of the figurine 'body' such as eyes, ears or noses show 'normative' patterning that is absent in the depiction of other elements, such as the eyebrows or mouth. This may suggest that their depiction is more closely related to the stylistic structure. Table 71 compiles some results of the preliminary observations.

The comparison of the elements of *structure* and *embellishment* in the same style across time/space dimensions can better reflect certain developmental tendencies and indicate eventual changes in the stylistic structure. This proposition may be fruitfully investigated in future comparative analyses between the DM and the LVB *Standardised* figurines. Yet the comparison of the elements of structure and embellishment noted within different stylistic groups that has been identified within the same temporo/spatial setting, such as the *Standardised versus Heterogeneous* and *Imitative* from the DM site, can shed light on the rigidity of the different societies that produced them. These issues will be addressed in the future study.

**TABLE 71.** Structure and embellishment in DM *Standardised* figurines.

Elements related to the structure (social)	Elements related to the embellishment (individual)
All elements (variables) of the iconographical and representational system, such as for example some <i>Head shapes, Accoutrements, Gestures, Body anomalies, Genitals</i>	
Formal variables of figurines related to their representational aspect, as e.g. the <i>Leg position, Mouth, Ears</i> and <i>Breast presence/absence</i>	
The elements of the formal system that demonstrate certain patterning ('normative aspect') within given stylistic solution, e.g. <i>Colour, Shape, Size categories, Eyes treatment, Ears treatment, presence/ absence of body elements</i>	The elements that show high variability (non-normative' aspect) within otherwise 'rigid' system, e.g. <i>Mouth, Eyebrows, Hands or Toes</i> in <i>Standardised</i> figurines
Elements of manufacture since they reflect an ability that is achieved (learnt) by artisans as members of a given society or social group	The elements of formal system that clearly show that they are a result of the level of skilfulness of the artisan, such as the precision or symmetry

The distinction of the *microstylistic* groups within the *Heterogeneous* and *Imitative* styles can contribute to a stimulating discussion about the social and individual aspects in a given stylistic solution, even though the grammatical analysis of the figurines from both these stylistic groups is not discussed in any great detail here. I distinguished the *microstyles* within the DM *Heterogeneous* and *Imitative* figurine groups because the specimens from any of them share elements of habits (or motor performances) of the individuals who produced them. These elements reflect the individual embellishment. It can be said that the elements that divide different microstylistic groups, but are shared by the members of one microstyle (see the elements in column Aa, Table 72) are those that belong to the individual embellishment. Consequently, it can be expected that those elements that are common to jointed by all microstylistic groups (column Ba, Table 72), and those that may have tendency to change within one microstyle (column Ab, Table 72) might be a part of the stylistic structure. The elements that are considered as belonging to the stylistic structure are shown in Table 72 in bold.



**TABLE 72. Shared and divergent elements between one Microstyle member and all Microstyles members.**

A. One microstyle members		B. All microstyles members	
a. Shared elements	b. Variable elements	a. Shared elements	b. Divergent elements
'Exact' overall creative concept		<b>Artisanal unskillfulness and 'rudeness'</b>	'Exact' overall creative concept
'Exact' figurine size		<b>Small size categories</b>	'Exact' figurine size
'Exact' surface colour and texture		<b>Simplicity in the 3-D execution</b>	'Exact' surface colour and texture
	<b>Posture</b>	<b>Solid structure</b>	Posture
	<b>Three-dimensionality</b>	<b>Similarity in surface texture</b>	Three-dimensionality
	<b>Presence/absence of Crest</b>		Presence/absence of crest
Rendering of face details, such as the eyes, mouth, nose, ears, and of the body elements, such as the sexual organ, navel, breasts, arms, toes			Rendering of face details, such as the eyes, mouth, nose, ears and of the body elements, such as the sexual organ, navel, breasts, arms, toes
	<b>Sex depiction</b>		Sex depiction

Can the *microstyles* be also distinguished within the *Standardised* figurine group? Certainly, all figurines with the *Canoe Crest* looks very 'similar' (see Pl. 76 and 77; Pl.78: 168 and Plate 80; Pl.81: 36 and 161). However, upon closer examination, these specimens reveal that this 'similitude' is based on different criteria than the elements shared by the members of a given microstyle (see Table 72, column Aa). The elements shared by members of a particular microstyle are virtually 'identical' in the *Heterogeneous* or *Imitative*. However they are not identical in the *Standardised* figurines. It seems that in the *Standardised* style they follow a model or type. For example, the overall presentation of the figurines, it means the head and headdress shapes, the way in which ears and noses are depicted and a general rendering of the details are similar in *Standardised Seated Canoe Crest* figurines. Certainly, there are differences in the particular specimens that might be attributed to the *motor habits* of the artisan (e.g. different eyebrows, differences in the edges of the headdresses or in the angle of the head). Even though some of these elements are repeated in more specimens (see e.g. Pl.77:29 and 31 for the same eyebrows) the effect of their general similarity is never as is in *the specimens belonging to the Heterogeneous* or *Imitative* microstyle. They are never 'identical'. Consequently, it is more convenient to speak about certain common standards of execution that follow an 'ideal' model, as in the *Standardised* style, rather than to consider them as a product of one artisan. Given that the figurines from the *Imitative* stylistic group share several elements with the *Standardised* figurines (see section "Imitative stylistic group", Table 66), it can be suggested that some aspects of those common standards of execution were also followed by the makers of the *Imitative* figurines, though with different results than in the *Standardised* style.

In conclusion, I consider a particular *microstyle* isolated in the *Heterogeneous* figurines as a product of a single artisan or of a small group of closely related artisans that might have been interacting within an individual household. I cautiously suggest that some of the *Standardised* specimens might have been made by the artisans that worked on the supra-household level. These matters are not deepened here given the lack of archaeological data about the relationships within and between household spheres of activities, in the mainland settlements of the makers of the island figurines (see Chapters Eight and Nine).

## ANIMAL FIGURINES

The only complete animal figurine from the DM site is one *Cylindrical Body Rounded Bottom* specimen that represents a beaked bird with cross-hatched decoration incised below the head (Pl.107: 325; Table 73). This specimen has a hole and a groove in its back, indicating that it could be suspended. The lower part of the figurine is covered by a red and the upper by a yellowish slip. Three other figurines were probably deposited complete or semi-complete but were recovered heavily eroded and fragmented. Two of them are quadrupeds with short cylindrical legs, large bulging trunks and small heads. One of them is headless and has an undulating crest along its back (Pl.107: 357). The other has no crest but has an eroded face with features that seem more human than animal (Pl.107:4). Both specimens were found in Trench B within the large cache-deposit (see Chapter 5). A few 'fantastic' animals similar in form are known from the Valencioid sites in the Lake Valencia Basin, on the mainland (see Chapter Eight and Pl.222: 432).

Another heavily eroded headless figurine is an probable representation of a turtle, and was recovered within Trench A (cluster A-X3, Pl.21; see Pl.107:18). Fragments of another quadruped that was a figurine or a zoomorphic vessel were found in Trench C (Pl.107:381). Finally, there were recovered two animal heads that could be fragments of figurines or of zoomorphic vessels, or are *adornos*. The first is well modelled head of, possibly, a dog (Pl.107: 240). The second has atypical morphology that suggests its Barrancoid stylistic origin (Pl.107:183), whereas the remaining specimens are of Valencioid stylistic affiliation (see the definitions of the Barrancoid and Valencioid series in Cruxent and Rouse 1958).

TABLE 73. Quantitative distribution of pottery animal figurines and fragments among trenches at the DM site.

Figurine status	Plate 107 #	Trench A	Trench B	Trench C	Total
Complete	395			1	1
Semi-complete	4; 357		2		
Figurine or vessel	18	1			
fragments	381			1	4
Head fragment	183; 240		2		2
Total		1	4	2	7

## FIGURINE STYLISTIC GROUPS IN CONTEXTS

Figurines from all three stylistic groups appear together in intimate spatial association in Trenches A-C, except for *Standardised* which is absent from Trench E. None of the figurines was recovered in Trenches D and F. Trench D is located in an area of low heaps of *Strombus gigas* shells, where only a few potsherds were recovered. A. Antczak (1999a) interpreted this area as a place where molluscs were intensively processed by skilful individuals, probably for delayed consumption. He further argued that these heaps might have been created before the deposits of Trenches A-C, E and F (Valencioid), and therefore, considered them as pre- or proto-Valencioid formations. The area of

Trench F, characterised by a high level of modern anthropic alteration, has been interpreted as a marginal refuse area of the site.

At this juncture I should anticipate that the *Heterogeneous* figurines, which are the only figurines that were found in the DMN Ocumaroid site, are considered here as the products of the Ocumaroid 'people'. This statement will become increasingly understandable during the discussion of the mainland data (see Chapters 8 and 9). The *Heterogeneous* figurines are regarded as markers of the presence of the DMN Ocumaroids at the archaeological island sites. The term 'Ocumaroid' refers to makers of the pottery found at the DMN site that is related stylistically to the Ocumaroid series defined by Cruxent and Rouse (1958) on the Venezuelan mainland. Similarly, the *Standardised* and *Imitative* figurines from the DM site are regarded as the product of the Valencioid 'people' (see also Cruxent and Rouse 1958).

In the next two sections I will discuss two contexts in which the spatial associations of the figurines from the three stylistic groups shed light on the character of the interactions between their bearers, between the DMN and the DM sites, and within the DM site. It is for this reason that these two contexts are discussed separately from the general discussion of the DM figurine contexts presented in Chapter Five.

The first of the contexts discussed here, from Trench E (refuse area), is the only known in which the *Heterogeneous* and *Imitative* figurines appear clustered together in the absence of *Standardised* figurines. This example arises questions about the socio-cultural correlates of the spatial seclusion of the activities carried out by the makers of the *Heterogeneous* figurines. The second, the micro-context B-Mc-1 from the south-western margin of Trench B ('ritual' context, see Pl. 25, 41), is the only known where the *Standardised* figurines cluster tightly with *Heterogeneous* figurines, in the absence of the *Imitative*. In all other contexts the figurines from the three stylistic categories appear together. This example permits inferences contrary to that derived from the first. It shows a common action of the makers of *Heterogeneous* and *Standardised* figurines at the DM site.

## **Refuse context**

The cultural deposit cross-cut by Trench E is the refuse area that, according to shovel testing stretched west of Trench C in patches with a total extension of ca. 25 square metres (Pl.15). While Trenches A and B, and to lesser extent C, contained clusters of complete and semi-complete vessels, stone, bone and shell artefacts, the Trench E is a typical refuse area with high concentration of fragmented artefacts and ecofacts (Pl. 72). The sandy soil matrix in Trench E had a dark grey colour and contained some humus and carbonised particles; two small hearths were recovered (see A. Antczak 1999a). The potsherds are exclusively plain and small. Also recovered were various *Strombus gigas* shells and their fragments, including 12 outer lips and four-scoop-like objects (A. Antczak 1999a). The remains of various species of molluscs, fish, lobster (*Panulirus argus*), birds (*Phoenicopterus ruber* and *Pelecanus occidentalis*), one unmodified allochthonous mammal bone, one landshell pendant (*Labyrinthus plicatus*) and some shell beads and discs were also recovered, together with some stone chipping debitage, small quartz flakes and coral fragments. Six shark teeth-like

pottery pendants recovered in this trench have no known counterparts in Venezuelan archaeology (Pl.142:575-580).

The overall composition of the Trench E deposit is more similar to that of the Domusky Norte Island Ocumaroid midden than to any other deposit at the DM site. The random deposition of largely fragmented *Heterogeneous* figurines within the refuse resembles the depositional characteristic of the majority of the figurines at the DMN site. Could it be suggested that the deposit from Trench E is temporally linked with some segments of the DMN site? Does it mean that the DMN Ocumaroids carried out some activities in the area of Trench D, at the DM site? How does this deposit relate to the remaining deposits at the DM site?

Some data indicate that in Trench E, on one side, and trenches A-C and F, on the other, may represent the results of relatively contemporaneous activities, though distinctive in character and intensity: (1) the depth of the cultural deposit in Trench E and its thickness are identical to that of the adjacent Trench B (Table 4); (2) all figurines from Trench E were recovered at a depth between 20 and 40 cm, which is the depth at which 98% of all Trench B figurines were recovered; (3) the cultural deposit between trenches E and B is continuous; (4) one *Imitative* figurine (*Imitative* and *Standardised* are absent from DMN site) was recovered in Trench E matrix; and (5) the *Standardised*, *Heterogeneous* and *Imitative* figurines are recovered in tight contextual association in the adjacent Trench B. These data indicate that the activities in Trench E and the other above-mentioned trenches were carried out relatively contemporaneously but by different socio-cultural agents (makers of different stylistic categories of figurines). Unfortunately, without tight micro-chronological control of the deposits between sites and trenches I cannot determine whether or not the activities in Trench E were contemporary or not to some activities carried out at the DMN site. In consequence, the possible contemporaneity of some segments of the DMN and DM sites (with the Trench E deposit as an interface between them), cannot be determined.

Nevertheless, drawing on the above evidence, I argue that (1) some of the producers/users of the *Heterogeneous* figurines (which I will call DM Ocumaroids, hereafter) were carrying out in the area of Trench E activities similar in character and intensity to those carried out (previously?) at the DMN site, while (2) at the same time, they joined the DM Valencioids (producers/users of the *Standardised* and *Imitative* figurines) in those activities that resulted in the creation of the large cache-deposits in Trenches A and B, and deposit in Trench C. The clustering of *Standardised*, *Imitative* and *Heterogeneous* figurines in Trenches A and B is so intimate that there can be little doubt about their relatively contemporaneous use-deposition.

Were the DM Ocumaroids a semi-independent sociocultural unit? How were they integrated with the rest of the occupants of the DM site? Did they have similar 'rights' as the DM Valencioids or were they subordinate, lower status people? The presence in Trench E of all categories of animal remains recovered in DM site (including the very rare lobsters) indicates that the Trench E Ocumaroids had access to the same foodstuffs as the others. Were the DM Ocumaroids producing goods for themselves or for the DM Valencioids? The shellwork and stone artefacts from Trench E are similar to those recovered in other areas of the DM site. Similar is also the overall patterning of *Strombus gigas* shell

breakage, the occurrence of their morphological types, the proportion between whole and modified shells, the numbers of shells processed ('opened' for meat extraction) with the same tool (other *Strombus gigas* shell), and the percentage of juvenile shells used to process ('open') other shells (see A. Antczak 1999a).

In conclusion, I am inclined to think that the DM Ocumaroids (from Trench E area) were carrying out some of their daily activities (i.e. food preparation and/or consumption, perhaps some shellwork) semi-independently from the Valencioids. These activities also included the use of a small fraction of 'their' figurines. However, they participated alongside the Valencioids in a wide range of other day-to-day activities, including the 'manipulation' of the majority of 'their' figurines together with Valencioid figurines.

### **The 'ritual' context**

The results of common actions performed by the producers/user of the *Standardised* and *Heterogeneous* figurines are well illustrated in a small micro-context (B-Mc-1) recovered only three metres north of Trench E, on the south-western border of Trench B (Pl. 25; Pl.41). This primary deposit included six *Heterogeneous* (Pl. 87:78, 79, 80; Pl. 84: 82; Pl. 85: 83; Pl. 82:85), and two *Standardised* (Pl. 73:81; Pl. 81:84) figurines, three small jars with bulging necks, and one large fragment of medium-sized *olla*. Only one figurine is broken, the others are complete. Two figurines were placed up side down. Three figurines are female with both sex and breasts and one of them is *Standardised*. Three have breasts, but undetermined sex status, one has no breasts and the sex is undetermined, and the last has male genitals and lacks breasts. At least two figurines were almost certainly made by the same artisan (Pl.85: 83; Pl.87: 78a-d, 79, 80 [Micro-stylistic Group 4, see Table 32). Only 15 cm SE of this group one atypical figurine was recovered (Pl.82:85a-c).

The micro-context B-Mc-1 is located at the interface between the large concentrations of artefacts (cache-deposit, see below) in Trench B and Trench E. The deposit between these two trenches is continuous, and has similar thickness and depth. I suggest that this micro-context is a result of the interaction between the producers/users of *Standardised* and *Heterogeneous* figurines (Valencioids vs. Ocumaroids, respectively), that took place during joint discrete events. This is one of the best (though not unique) examples of the common action of the producers/users of both figurine categories and possibly of the interpenetration of their structures of thought.



## Chapter Five

# DM Figurines: Images and Contexts

### IMAGE RECOGNITION

The discussion of images begins with the analysis of presence/absence of sex and breasts in each stylistic category of DM figurines. Table 74 shows that the presence/absence of sex and breasts could be assessed in 87(52%) specimens, from the total of 167 stylistically classified figurines. The presence/absence of sex depiction could be assessed in 106 (63.4%) figurines; both traits could not be assessed in 48 (28.7%). Female genitals are depicted in 92 (86.7%) and male in seven (6.6%) assessable figurines. Seven figurines are sexless (6.6%).

TABLE 74. Status of sex/breasts depiction in DM figurines stylistic categories.

Sex	Breasts	Standardised Female sex		Imitative Female sex		Female sex		Heterogeneous Male sex		Sexless	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
+	+	27	93.1	15	93.7	23	79.3	4	66.6		
+	-	2	6.8	1	6.25	6	20.6	2	33.3		
-	+									5	71.4
-	-									2	28.5
Sub-total		29	99.9	16	99.95	29	99.9	6	99.9	7	99.9
+	?	10		2		6		1			
?	+	2		4				5			
?	-	0		1				1			
?	?	19 (31.6%)		10 (30.3%)				19 (25.6%)			
Sub-total		31 (51.6%)		17 (51.5%)				32 (43.2%)			
Total		60		33				74			

The sign '+' signifies the presence of the trait and '-' absence. The sign '?' signifies that the presence/absence of the trait cannot be assessed due to the erosion and/or fragmentation of the specimen

The *Standardised* and *Imitative* figurines have exclusively female sex and the vast majority of them are represented with breasts (93.3%; N=42). The proportion between the figurines with sex and with or without breasts is almost identical in *Standardised* and *Imitative* figurines. Sexless and breastless figurines are absent.

The *Heterogeneous* figurines are much more variable regarding sex and breasts representation than those of the previous groups. Thirty five (71.4%) out of 49 sexable specimens are female, seven (14.2%) are male, and seven (14.2%) are sexless. The depiction of breasts is important in both female and male categories (77.1%; N=27). Four specimens have sex and breasts depicted and are considered as male/female representations. Five figurines have sex but not breasts, and two have none of these traits (sex-neutral).

The data indicate a dichotomy in the presence/absence of the genitals and breasts between the *Standardised* and *Imitative* on one side, and the *Heterogeneous* figurines on the other. Strict rendering of female sex and breasts was of vital importance for the producers/users of the *Standardised* and *Imitative* figurines. As much as 93.3% (N=42) of these figurines (in which the presence/absence of sex/breasts could be assessed) are 'fully' female (i.e. have both female genitals and breasts). Only 6.6% (N=3) have female sex and are breastless. This indicates that the *Standardised* and *Imitative* figurines might have been purposively selected from a wider assemblage of mainland figurines (or especially produced) to convey and emphasise the notion of femaleness, in the insular setting.

The *Heterogeneous* category figurines, though largely retaining the importance of female sex, also include an noticeable proportion of male, male/female and sexless specimens that account for 44.8%(N=13) of specimens in which the sex/breasts occurrence could be assessed. I argue that the occurrence of sex/breasts variables in the *Standardised* and *Imitative* figurines, and the difference between them and the *Heterogeneous* group, may be considered as an additional indication of socio-cultural 'homogeneity' of the producers/users of the first two (Valencioid) and of their 'otherness' with respect to the third (Ocumaroid) stylistic category.

The spatial distribution of the variables of images, according to stylistic categories, in the DM site, is shown in Table 76, and identified representational types are presented in Table 75. In the identification of images the following variables were evaluated: (1) posture; (2) absence/presence of sex, breasts and headdress; (3) absence/presence of signs of pregnancy; and (4) natural and artificial deformations of the body. It should be emphasised that only those figurines, whose state of preservation permitted the assessment of all above variables, are taken into account in image identification.

The most popular are images of *Seated* (N=45;49.4%) and *Standing Ladies* (N=31;34%). They account for 83.4% of all identified images. Among the particular images the most popular are *Seated Ladies with Headdress* (N=26; 28.5%), followed by *Seated Ladies without Headdress* (N=24; 26.3%), *Standing Ladies with Headdress* (N=18;19.7%) and *Standing Ladies without Headdress* (N=16; 17.5%). The remaining eight percent is divided between *Seated Bent-knee Ladies*, *Standing* or *Seated Male* and *Male/Female* with or without headdresses.

Over a half of the representations (51.6%; N=47) have headdresses. The popularity of the headdress within each posture group is uniform. The headdresses are depicted on 24 (48%) *Seated*, 16 (47%) *Standing* and three (42.8%) *Bent-knee Individuals*. Male representations are depicted without headdress, which suggests that the use of headdress was restricted to 'real' women. The unsexed and

asexual individuals may or may not have headdresses. No correlation has been found between the type of headdress (form and decoration) and presence/absence of pregnancy (see below).

Some figurines show artificial head deformation (Pl. 73:157a-c, 16; Pl. 75: 43, 241a,b; Pl.79: 371). However, this feature will not be further discussed in this study. I consider that its sociocultural significance can be disentangled only after systematic assessment of the pertinent bioanthropological and contextual data from the mainland, where several types of cranial deformations have been identified in the Valencioid skeletons from the Lake Valencia Basin. No evidence of personal adornments such as necklaces, nose-rings, earrings or clothes are present on DM figurines. Nevertheless, the perforations of the nose and multiple perforations of the ears suggest that the 'prototypes' of these figurines were probably wearing nose-rings, earrings and/or ear-plugs. Similarly, the triangle incised in the pubic area may be interpreted as loincloth (*guayuco*), though other interpretations of these markings are also possible (see below the image analyses of the mainland figurines). The overall frequency of the use of slip and the presence/absence of short lines painted below the eyes of the figurines cannot be properly assessed due to the erosion.

**TABLE 75.** Images identified in stylistic categories of DM figurines (in order of popularity according to posture).

Image	Standardised		Imitative		Heterogeneous		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Seated Ladies without Headdress	6	25	2	18.1	9	60	17	34
Seated Ladies with Headdress	11	45.8	4	36.3			15	30
Seated Pregnant Ladies with Headdress	3	12.5	5	45.4			8	16
Seated Pregnant Ladies without Headdress	4	16.6			1	6.6	5	10
Seated Male/Female with Headdress					2	13.3	2	4
Seated Male without Headdress					1	6.6	1	2
Seated Sex Neutral Individual with Headdress					1	6.6	1	2
Seated Sex Neutral Individual without Headdress					1	6.6	1	2
Sub-total	24	99.9	11	99.8	15	99.7	50	100
Standing Ladies without Headdress					13	56.5	13	38.2
Standing Ladies with Headdress	1	16.6	3	60	6	26	10	29.4
Standing Pregnant Ladies with Headdress	5	83.3	1	20			6	17.6
Standing Pregnant Ladies without Headdress			1	20	1	4.3	2	5.8
Standing Male/Female with Headdress					2	8.6	2	5.8
Standing Male without Headdress					1	4.3	1	2.9
Sub-total	6	99.9	5	100	23	99.7	34	99.7
Seated Bent-knee Ladies with Headdress	3	50					3	42.8
Seated Bent-knee Pregnant Lady without Headdress	1	16.6					1	14.2
Seated Bent-knee Man without Headdress					1	100	1	14.2
Seated Bent-knee Individual with Hunchback and Deformed Head	1	16.6					1	14.2
Standing Bent-knee Individual with Deformed Head	1	16.6					1	14.2
Sub-total	6	99.8	0	0	1	100	7	99.6
Total	36	-	16	-	39	-	91	-

Two images are exceptional within the overall homogeneity of shape and 'austerity' in the use of iconographic traits represented by the vast majority of figurines. The first is the *Standing Lady with Headdress* that holds in both hands objects that can be interpreted as rattles or body stamps (*pintaderas* [Pl.79:49a,b]). It seems probable that incised and punctated figurine decoration represents body painting produced by such stamps. The overall careful modelling and rendering of details, the use of one or more slips, the very thin walls and superior firing technique of this figurine situate it among those with the highest standards of workmanship within the DM assemblage.



The second exceptional image is a *Standing Bent-knee Individual* (Pl.79:371a,b). This is the only specimen that shows the following traits together: hunchback, artificially deformed head, breasts, hands on knees and *Standing Bent-knee* position. The contextual association of this specimen is unknown, since it is the only figurine from Los Roques Archipelago that was not collected by the author. It was found by a non-archaeologist, in the area of Trench A, in the late 1970s (Rolf Römer, personal communication 1983).

The attributes of pregnancy are clearly recognisable in some of the DM figurines. According to the opinion of Mr. R. H. T. Ward MA, FRCOG (Senior Lecturer and Consultant in the Department of Obstetrics and Gynaecology in the Royal Free & University College Medical School in London, personal communication 1999), the specimens with hands resting on the rounded and prominent abdomen strongly suggest that we are dealing with the representations of pregnant women (Pl.73:157; Pl.75:64, 241; Pl.95:10; Pl.97:244; Pl.98:90). He further indicated that even if the belly is not prominent and rounded (the visual pregnancy) the position of hands on the abdomen may suggest that there is a baby inside it (Pl.73:54; Pl.4:45). According to Mr. Ward, there are some other features in DM figurines that may suggest pregnancy. The wide hips and the slack waists are mentioned among them. Finally, the wide angle of the spread legs in *Seated* specimens is possible in women but rare in men.

Drawing from the above observations I determined signs of pregnancy in eight (34.7%) *Seated Ladies with Headdress* (Pl. 78: 20a,b, 30), five (22.7%) *Seated Ladies without Headdress* (Pl. 73:15, 81, 157a-c), six (37.5%) *Standing Ladies with Headdress* (Pl. 81: 84, 36, 161), and two (13.3%) *Standing Ladies without Headdress* (Pl: 98: 44a-c, 90a,b) figurines. In total, 27.5% (N=22) of female images (N=80) may represent pregnant women of which 14(63.6%) have, and eight (36.3%) do not have headdresses. The image of pregnant women was largely depicted by the artisans who produced *Standardised* (59% of a total of pregnant images; N=13), and *Imitative* (31.8%; N=7) figurines, while in *Heterogeneous* specimens it was presented only marginally (9%; N=2). These data confirm the dichotomy between *Standardised/Imitative* and *Heterogeneous* figurines noted earlier.

There is some visible difference in the workmanship involved in the production of figurines with the depiction of *Seated* vs. *Standing Ladies*. The first are rendered with less attention to anatomical details, particularly with respect to the legs, which are shortened (atrophic) and rarely end in feet (16.1%, the rest are *Cone* legs). The legs of the *Standing Ladies* are more sculptural, depicted in an anatomically correct fashion, and as many as 90% of them end in feet. The buttocks of the later are often anatomically modelled (Pl.79: 371a,b; 49a,b; Pl. 80: 40a-d), and sometimes bear signs of steatopygy (Pl.80:40a-d). It may be suggested that the *Standing Ladies* represent a category of younger, perhaps adolescent females, in contrast to the less sculpturally depicted *Seated Matrons*. However, the data does not permit us to draw a straightforward division between these two possible categories. Some of the *Seated Ladies* give an overall 'impression' of representing 'young' women rather than 'elder' women (Pl. 4: 45a,b), and figurines from both categories include the images of *Pregnant Women*. It may be also argued that less bulging abdomen, visible in several figurines, does not necessarily represent pregnancy and, therefore, some of the images identified as 'pregnant' may

alternatively be interpreted as the representations of 'fat' women. We may expect that fat individuals would have the lower part of the belly prominent and hanging such as shown in the specimen in Plate 77: 245; Pl. 76: 91a,b).

In conclusion, the data do not indicate that the categories of *Standing* and *Seated* female figurines were separated by age (young/elder) or social status (nubile/matron; more/less affluent). Nevertheless, there is plenty of evidence to claim that the figurines, especially the *Standardised* and the *Imitative*, embodied and strongly emphasised the notions of 'femaleness' of both, young and older, as well as those related to female fertility and procreation. The notions related to maleness, as well as the possible liminal character of man/woman or asexual representations, are marginal and largely restricted to the *Heterogeneous* specimens.

I should explain at this juncture that the term 'man/woman' refers here to figurines with both male genitals and breasts. Such figurines may represent a *berdache* (for a wide discussion on this concept see Fulton and Anderson 1992). The 'breasts' of the male/female figurines examined in this study are always depicted as small, nipple-like projections that resemble the teats of the undeveloped male breasts. In consequence, judging by the representational traits I am inclined to consider these figurines as male representations. Nevertheless this reading may be confirmed or rejected through the analysis of the social contexts in which the man/woman figurines were activated (see Tilley 1999:103; see also (see also Knapp and Meskell 1997; Meskell 1999: 53-106).

## IMAGES IN CONTEXTS; THE CONTEXTUAL MEANING OF THE FIGURINES

The DM figurines were recovered in three broadly defined types of contexts: refuse, burial, and cache. The context of the figurines from the refuse area has already been discussed. In this section I will focus on the burial context recovered in Trench C and cache-deposits in Trenches A and B.

### Burial context

The Dos Mosquises burial is the only Amerindian burial known from the Venezuelan islands in the study area (Pl. 66). It contained an incomplete human skeleton of an approximately 35±5 years old man of short stature but strong build, and lay at a depth between 16.5 and 27 cm (Berrizbeitia *et al.* 1991; see also A. Antczak 1999a). Perforated (i.e. processed for food) and unperforated *Strombus gigas* shells underlaid and surrounded the human bones, although some shells were also recovered above the burial. The shell scatters lacked any recognisable spatial patterning and were evenly distributed in patches of irregular shape and volume. Several bones were found lying directly on the shells which indicates that the body was put directly on top of the shells (Pl. 63 and 64). The burial-associated objects are considered in two groups: those intimately associated to the human bones (found within the same square metre), and those that were located in patches, east of the bones (Pl. 63).

**TABLE 76. Spatial distribution of image variables of DM figurines, according to stylistic categories.**

Image attributes	Figurine stylistic group														Total
	Standardised Trenches				Imitative Trenches					Heterogeneous Trenches					
	A	B	C	T	A	B	C	E	T	A	B	C	E	T	
<b>Seated</b>															
Seated Female with Headdress (with breasts)	1	5	2	8		3			3					0	11
Seated Female with Headdress (CS breasts)		2	1	3			1		1					0	4
Seated Pregnant Female with Headdress (with breasts)	1	2		3	2	1	2		5					0	8
Seated Male/Female with Headdress (male genitals and breasts)				0					0		2			2	2
Seated Female without Headdress (with breasts)	3	2		5		1			1	2	2	3		7	13
Seated Female without Headdress (CS breasts)	1			1					0		1			1	2
Seated Female without Headdress (no breasts)				0		1			1					0	1
Seated Pregnant Female without Headdress (with breasts)	1	2	1	4					0		1			1	5
Seated Male without Headdress (male genitals, no breasts)				0					0		1			1	1
Seated Asexual Individual without Headdress (no sex, no breasts)				0					0	1				1	1
Seated Female CS Headdress (with breasts)			1	1					0					0	1
Seated Female CS Headdress (CS breasts)				0		1			1					0	1
Seated Female CS Headdress (CS breasts)		1	1	2					0					0	2
Seated Individual with Headdress (CS sex, with breasts)			1	1					0	1				1	2
Seated Individual without Headdress (CS sex, with breasts)				0					0		1			1	1
Seated Asexual Individual with Headdress (no sex, no breasts)				0					0		1			1	1
Seated Not Sexed Individual with Headdress (no sex, with breasts)				0					0		1			1	1
Seated Individual without Headdress (CS sex, CS breasts)				0	1				1			1		1	2
<b>Sub-total Seated</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>Standing</b>															
Standing Female with Headdress (with breasts)		1		1	2		1		3		2	3		5	9
Standing Female with Headdress (without breasts)				0					0			1		1	1
Standing Pregnant Female with Headdress (with breasts)		3	1	4	1				1					0	5
Standing Pregnant Female with Headdress (with breasts, CS sex)	1			1					0					0	1
Standing Male/Female with Headdress (male genitals and breasts)				0					0	1		1		2	2
Standing Female without Headdress (without breasts)				0					0			4		4	4
Standing Female without Headdress (with breasts, CS sex)				0					0	1				1	1
Standing Female without Headdress (with breasts)				0					0	1	5	2		8	8
Standing Pregnant Female without Headdress (with breasts)				0	1				1		1			1	2
Standing Male without Headdress (male genitals, no breasts)				0					0		1			1	1
Standing Female CS Headdress (with breasts)		1		1					0		1			1	2
Standing Female CS Headdress (CS breasts)				0					0	1	1			2	2
Standing Individual with Headdress (with breasts, CS sex)				0			2		2		2			2	4
Standing Individual with Headdress (CS sex, CS breasts)	1		1	2					0					0	2
Standing Individual without Headdress (with breasts, CS sex)				0		1			1		2			2	3
Standing Individual without Headdress (CS sex, CS breasts)				0					0			1		1	1
Standing Individual CS Headdress (CS sex, CS breasts)				0					0			1		1	1
Standing Male CS Headdress (male genitals, CS breasts)				0					0			1		1	1
Standing Not Sexed Individual with				0					0			1		1	1

Headdress (no sex, with breasts)															
Sub-total Standing	2	5	2	9	4	1	3	0	8	4	15	15	0	34	51
<b>Bent-knee</b>															
Seated Bent-knee Female with Headdress (with breasts)		1	2	3					0					0	3
Standing Bent-knee Female CS breasts)		1		1					0					0	1
Seated Bent-knee Pregnant Female without Headdress (with sex and breasts)		1		1					0					0	1
Seated Bent-knee Female CS Headdress (with sex, CS breasts)	1			1					0					0	1
Seated Bent-knee Male without Headdress (with male genitals, without breasts)				0					0		1			1	1
Seated Bent -knee Individual with Hunchback and Deformed Head (with breasts, CS sex)		1		1					0					0	1
Standing Bent-knee Individual with Deformed Head (with breasts, CS sex)	1			1					0					0	1
Sub-total Bent-knee	2	4	2	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	9
<b>Cylindrical Body</b>															
Cylindrical Body Individual without Headdress (sexless and breastless)			1	1					0					0	1
Sub-total	11	23	12	46	7	8	6	0	21	8	26	19	0	53	120
Undetermined posture	2	0	11	14	1	2	8	1	12	0	2	16	3	21	47
Total	13	23	24	60	8	10	14	1	33	8	28	35	3	74	167

T- total

Among the artefacts most intimately associated to human bones is one legless, *Standing Female* figurine (Pl. 63; Pl. 104:196a,b). The legless trunk lay close to the right radius of the skeleton. The face was eroded or, possibly, intentionally scratched off. Two separated legs of this figurine were lying each one close to a femur of the skeleton. There might be an eventual meaningful link between the broken legs of the figurine and leg bones of the skeleton that were broken post-mortem (Berrizbeitia *et al.* 1991).

Alongside the left leg of the dead lay two pendants, one of serpentinite and another made out of an allochthonous landshell (*Labyrinthus plicatus*), and a small ceramic receptacle (Pl.141: 825a,b), which contained a white powder, possibly lime obtained from burned shell. A few centimetres NE, and just above the remains of a small hearth (ca. 25 cm in diameter), lay one *Seated Female* figurine, placed in a large fragment of *olla*. The base of the hearth was at the same level as the deepest *Strombus gigas* shells (45 cm), which means that it lay below the lowest human bones and the majority of the accompanying artefacts. This hearth was placed in a small concavity especially made in the sand matrix among the shells, and its top reached a depth of 28 cm. Given this evidence it cannot be determined whether this hearth was or not related to the burial.

Alongside the right leg bones of the skeleton lay a large quartz pebble which, together with the above mentioned stone pendant, are the largest specimens of their kind in DM assemblage. Other objects in the same cluster are: one globular medium size *olla* and a few smaller vessels, one *Cittarium pica* shell, and one *Tivela mactroides* pendant. A group of three *Seated* female and one *Standing* figurines, and one figurine head accompanied by some small vessels, were deposited at the feet of the dead.

At a distance of more than one metre of the bones there were groups of artefacts composed of decorated vessels, figurines alone or in groups (some of them placed on large fragments of vessels), one zoomorphic figurine, a few perforated shell discs and hammerstones. One pottery pedestal burner (Pl.54a), the upper part of a possible another burner (Pl.142:18001), the shoe-shape vessel (Pl.148:789), the fruit-like micro-vessel (Pl.141:825a,b), the stone pendant and large quartz pebble

(Pl.65) are unique specimens in the overall DM collection. The second small hearth, with characteristics similar to the other one described above, was located at a distance of approximately one metre east of the skeleton's feet.

In total, within the radius of one metre from human bones, eleven predominantly *Seated Female* figurines were recovered. All stylistic categories of figurines are present, including one *Atypical* figurine; however, the majority are *Heterogeneous* (Table 77). Only one *Standardised* figurine (Pl. 76:179) was recovered close to the deceased but laid at a greater distance than the other nine figurines. This figurine is a *Seated Lady* with *Headdress* and was placed on a large fragment of a plain *olla*, immediately above a *Heterogeneous Seated Lady* figurine without *Headdress* that also rested on a fragment of an *olla*. The edge of the upper fragment of *olla* covered the head of the lower figurine (Pl. 63 and 67). These data suggest that the immediate burial furniture was composed of *Heterogeneous* and *Imitative* specimens only, before the disposal of the only *Standardised* figurine, which was also intimately associated to the burial. It cannot be determined whether the *Standardised* figurine was intentionally placed above the *Heterogeneous* one. There was a thin layer of sand between them, suggesting that they were deposited close in time, but probably during separated events. I speculate that if the *Heterogeneous*, and to a lesser extent *Imitative* figurines, were originally disposed with the dead, then the deceased individual might have been more closely related (socio-culturally) to the producers/users of the *Heterogeneous* and/or *Imitative*, than to *Standardised* figurines.

**TABLE 77.** Human figurines recovered within the same square metre as the Amerindian skeleton at the DM site, ordered according to distance from the bones (from closest to farthest).

Image (from closest to farthest)	Standardised	Imitative	Heterogeneous	Atypical	Cat. NR
Standing Female with Headdress (with breasts; legs recovered separately)	-	1	-	-	196
Seated Female without Headdress (with breasts)	-	-	1	-	189
Standing Individual without Headdress (undetermined sex, breasts and headdress)	-	-	1	-	195
Seated Female with Headdress (undetermined breasts)	-	1	-	-	194
Seated Female without Headdress (with breasts)	-	-	-	1	185
Seated Female with Headdress (with breasts)	-	1	-	-	184
Seated Female without Headdress (with breasts)	-	-	1	-	182
Seated Individual without Headdress (undetermined sex and breasts)	-	-	1	-	187
Seated Female without Headdress (with breasts)	-	-	1	-	180
Seated Female with Headdress (with breasts)	1	-	-	-	179
Standing Female with Headdress (no breasts)	-	-	1	-	191
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	

At a distance of ca. 2-2.5 metres NE and E from the burial, two large clusters of artefacts were recovered. They were separated from the immediate burial context by at least a one metre wide gap of almost sterile sand, except for *Strombus gigas* shells, and contained smaller clusters of whole and broken vessels, human figurines, and largely fragmented *Strombus gigas* shells. The figurines in these clusters are more fragmented than those from the immediate surroundings of the burial, and from any other DM trench. I cannot determine whether the broken figurines recovered at a greater distance from the burial represented: (1) burial-associated activities of a different kind than those close to it; (2) burial offerings posteriorly affected by the processing and discarding of heavy *Strombus gigas* shells; or were (3) unrelated to the burial.

I conclude that some objects (including figurines) were disposed with the dead, while others were added in subsequent events possibly as 'offerings' to the dead. It has been determined that the area of the burial already had a scatter of *Strombus gigas* shells before the disposal of the dead, and that activities related to the processing of this gastropod, food preparation and consumption, continued in this area afterwards and could have affected those offerings that lay at a greater distance from the skeleton.

### The 'offertory' deposits

Let us turn now to figurine contexts in Trench A. The cultural deposit in this trench was found in a matrix of beach sand, at a distance of ca. 30 metres from the present-day active seashore. It contained three clusters of artefacts (X1-X3) separated horizontally by almost sterile gaps of sand (Pl. 17-21). The core of the cluster A-X1 contained one medium-sized *olla* with two figurines and one elongated serpentinite pendant inside, placed on a large fragment of coral (Pl. 22). Another figurine lay directly on the coral. These objects were intimately associated with another semi-complete *olla* and one globular bulging necked jar. The decorated spouted jar, one medium size and one small-size *olla* were lying in immediate proximity to the above enumerated artefacts ( $x < 30\text{cm}$ ). One landshell (*Labyrinthus plicatus*) pendant, one mammal bone bipoint (projectile point), two feline mandibles (*Felis pardalis*), one bone pendant, and a piece of resin, were recovered among the vessels.

The cluster A-X2 was recovered at a distance of 1.5 m to the east from the cluster A-X1. It occupied an area of ca  $2.5\text{m}^2$  and contained dozens of decorated and plain vessels varying in form and size, and also potsherds. The core of this deposit was comprised by two *Seated* figurines (Pl. 17) surrounded by medium-sized *ollas*, one decorated globular jar, one open bowl, one microvessel with a frog motif application, and plain and decorated shards. One of the *ollas* contained a microvessel inside. To the N/E this context was flanked by one anthropomorphic vessel associated with one *olla*, potsherds, one marine shell (*Codakia orbicularis*) and a fragment of a coral (Pl. 23) This micro-context also included another anthropomorphic vessel (Pl. 111) intimately associated with a medium-sized *olla* and a juvenile *Strombus gigas* shell with its apex broken (Pl. 24).

The context (A-X2) extended to S/E, where the artefacts were more sparse. In this area, lying among largely fragmented decorated and plain pots and potsherds, were found whole and broken figurines, stone pendants and micro-axes, artificially cut piece of hematite, coral fragments, land (*Strophocheilus* sp. and *Plekocheilus* sp.) and marine shell pendants (*Oliva* spp. and *Tivela mactroides*), and one feline mandible. Some whole and fragmented juvenile *Strombus gigas* and other marine shells were also recovered in this deposit. Fish and turtle remains were scarce. Hearths were absent. About two metres to S/E of cluster A-X2 there was another cluster of artefacts (A-X3) similar in composition to the previous two. The artefacts in this cluster were more sparse and the representational material culture, apart from figurines, absent.

In total, ten small hearths were located at a distance of ca five to eight metres to the north and south of the above described clusters of artefacts (Pl.21). A belt of whole and broken *Strombus gigas* shells, largely juvenile, was recovered to the west of the clusters. Turtle and fish remains were largely

concentrated around the hearths. The core of the cluster A-X2 is the only part of Trench A, where some vessels were found resting directly on top of each other suggesting that they were deposited during a single event (Pl. 17). Vertical stratigraphy was not observed in other parts of the deposit and there is an general 'impression' of a relative contemporaneity of a different parts of the whole deposit.

The vast majority of vessels recovered in Trench A seem to be deposited in complete or semi-complete states. They could have deteriorated as a result of long-lasting exposure to sun and rain, and, once covered by the aeolian activity, the roots of the grasses, especially the extremely hard roots of the mobile sand colonisers, penetrated into the weak structural points and cracks of the vessels. Bunches of dried roots were recovered inside many of the vessels. On the other hand, given that the upper parts of the vessels were lying only a few centimetres below the surface, they could be easily fractured under the feet of those who eventually walked over the site in postdepositional times. From this juncture onwards, I will refer to the above described clusters of artefacts of Trench A and other similar (see below) as *cache-deposits*, considering them as places where the supplies of most valuable Valencioid material culture were concentrated.

The largest cache-deposit was recovered in Trench B, where an area of over 15 square metres was covered by dense accumulations of pots, figurines, zoo- and anthropomorphic vessels, bone, stone and shell artefacts (see Plates 15 and 25). This deposit was situated at a depth between 20 and 40 cm. The soil matrix was more greyish and contained more organic and ashy particles than the yellowish, sandy and rather sterile matrix of Trench A. The destructive action of the roots of grasses, and of the beach grape (*Cocoloba uvifera*) could be observed elsewhere in this deposit, and undoubtedly contributed to the high fragmentation of the majority of the vessels during the postdepositional period.

Let us approach this cache-deposit from the north-western corner (Pl.32). The first micro-context (B-Mc-2) is a small heap of artefacts (see the lower right corner of Plates 32 and 33). This heap was the most visibly stratified part of the Trench B deposit (Pl.34). One small female figurine was found in a face down position at the bottom of the heap (Pl.35). Above the figurine was laid a fragment of turtle carapace with a large fragment of a globular *olla* on top. The *olla* fragment contained some potsherds and one *Cittarium pica* shell with the labial part broken, possibly the result of meat extraction. A pair of figurines capped the heap (Pl.35). Both are the images of *Seated Pregnant Ladies with Plain Headdress*. One of them was recovered in the vertical position and the other laid on its back, at its feet. On the other side of the heap, and below the top pair of figurines, an adult apexless *Strombus gigas* shell was placed (Pl.36). The outer lip of the shell touched a small fragmented figurine on top of which a small *olla* was placed. Thin layers of sand separated each of the above described objects, especially the lower figurine from the large sherd, and the sherd from the top pair of figurines. There seems to be no doubt that the figurines recovered at the base and on top of the heap were deposited during chronologically separated events. Thought not quite as obvious as in the heap, there is other evidence for the cumulative formation of this deposit, especially along its western border: some vessels were placed on top of other vessels, on top of the figurines, or *vice versa*.

Toward the south-east of the heap an aggregation of *ollas* and necked jars was recovered (Pl.37). Two *ollas* contained objects, two others were in upside down positions. One legless figurine in the

upside down position was placed inside an *olla* (Micro-context B-Mc-3). The second *olla* contained a small vessel. One figurine was placed in face-down position between the vessels (Pl.38 and 39).

Farther to the south-east the *olla* with a figurine inside (see above) touched the bottom of a large anthropomorphic vessel (Pl. 32, at the centre in the background). This micro-context was part of a particularly dense accumulation of plain and decorated pots, figurines and anthropomorphic vessels. Plate 31 shows a large figurine lying on its back and flanked by one complete necked jar and one juvenile *Strombus gigas* shell. The head of the figurine rests on another juvenile shell of the same mollusc. A decorated jar and a large figurine with broken back, in face-down position was laid to the SW of this locus (at the background of Plate 32). Another heavily eroded, large *Standing* figurine was placed face-down in a semi-vertical position, with its head resting on the rim of a decorated jar, and its right body part touching another globular jar. One stone pendant and one micro-axe were recovered beneath the figurine, and one microvessel lay beneath its feet. Immediately to the north from this figurine the large anthropomorphic vessel (Pl.112: 450a,b) mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph was recovered. It was lying on its back next to a complete *olla* placed upside down with other vessels and large pottery fragments (upper, left corner of Plate 33a).

To SE of the western border of the deposit the concentrations of pots and other artefacts vanished abruptly, giving way to a dark-grey coloured matrix rich in humus, charred particles, potsherds and animal remains. Large fragmented *Strombus gigas* shell scatters became more dense toward the elongated hearth feature situated at a distance of approximately four metres from the south-western border of the cache-deposit (Pl.25).

Moving toward the NE of the western border, the cache-deposit became slightly shallower, although artefacts were still found lying inside or over other objects. In the micro-context B-Mc-9 shown in Plate 56, two overlaying halves of a large *olla* contain four objects: a globular necked jar (with rim and part of neck missing), a landshell (*Labyrinthus* sp.) pendant, an elongated stone pendant and a figurine. The figurine is lying in the face-down position and the globular jar is placed on its head.

Another micro-context (B-Mc-4) was recovered in the central part of the deposit (Pl.40). It was composed of one medium-sized and one small-sized *olla*, one small globular vessel and three figurines. One male/female figurine was 'sitting' inside a small *olla*. Outside, another small, sexless figurine lay on a fragment of a large-sized *olla*. The third heavily eroded figurine lay on its back close to the other specimens, on top of three larger fragments of *Strombus gigas* shell.

In the south-eastern part of the deposit a large flat piece of coral, surrounded by globular *ollas* of varied sizes, was recovered (Micro-context B-Mc-10; Pl.57). Three medium size *ollas* were resting on top of the coral. A small piece of coral was recovered underneath the central *olla*. One very large, 28 cm in length, shell of *Strombus gigas* with its labial-dorsal part broken off, lay about 20 cm west of the coral stone. Between the shell and the coral lay one *Strophocheilus* sp. landshell with a perforation in its labial part. The surroundings of the coral, especially toward SE and immediately beneath it, had the highest concentration of animal remains in the entire Trench B deposit, including fragments of turtle



carapaces, fishbone and otholits, and some pieces of *Strombus gigas* shell. The data suggest that the coral might have served as base for meal-serving and/or preparation.

To the south and south-east of the coral stone the concentrations of pots gave way to dense scatters of *Strombus gigas* shells, predominantly adult and old specimens, without signs of meat extraction (Pl. 28; see A. Antczak 1999a). There, among the shells, the second bone flute and a pipe bowl were recovered.

**TABLE 78.** Figurines with ‘special’ depositional characteristics at the DM site.

Image/Depositional characteristics	Context/ Trench	Standardised	Heterogeneous	Imitative	NR Cat	Total
Seated Lady without Headdress lying on a fragment of an <i>olla</i>	Burial/C	-	2	-	189, 760	2
Seated Lady with Headdress lying on a fragment of an <i>olla</i>	Burial/C	1	-	-	179	1
Seated Lady without Headdress placed in up-side-down position on a large <i>olla</i> fragment	Cache/B	1	-	-	46	1
Seated Sex-Neutral Individual without Headdress laid on a large fragment of <i>olla</i>	Cache/B	-	1	-	93	1
Seated Man/Woman with Headdress seated inside a medium-sized <i>olla</i>	Cache/B	-	1	-	34	1
Standing Lady with Headdress placed up side down inside medium sized <i>olla</i>	Cache/B	1	-	-	36	1
Seated Lady without Headdress in seated position covered with a large fragment of large-sized <i>olla</i>	Cache/B	1	-	-	64	1
Seated Lady without Headdress placed laying on rounded stone of non-local provenance	Cache/B	1	-	-	54	1
Seated Individual without Headdress placed in up-side-down position inside a medium-sized <i>olla</i>	Cache/A	-	-	1	1	1
Seated Lady with Plain Headdress placed in up-side-down position inside a medium-sized <i>olla</i>	Cache/A	1	-	-	20	1
Seated Lady without Headdress placed on coral stone	Cache/A	-	1	-	6	1
Total		6	5	1	-	12

Twelve figurines from DM site were deposited with recognisably ‘special’ care (Table 78). Five were disposed on large fragments of *ollas*, four were placed inside vessels, one was covered with a fragment of a vessel, one laid on a non-local stone, and one on a coral stone. The contexts with figurines lying on vessel fragments suggest that they were used as offerings (last function meaning). Two of them are considered as burial offerings and the another two are in non-burial offertory contexts.

The micro-context B-Mc-5 in which the figurine that depicts a *Seated Lady* covered by a large fragment of *olla* demonstrates the intention of the Amerindians to protect it and to create the micro-space to ‘alienate’ the figurine from its surroundings (Pl.43). The protected figurine is a rattle and has atypical rounded eyes (Pl.75:64a,b). I call this context ‘micro-shrine’ and suggest that the last function/meaning of this figurine may be related to ritualistic invocatory activity.

The figurines were not the only artefacts recovered inside the vessels. One plain (Pl. 53a) and one zoomorphic microvessel (Pl. 50c) were also recovered inside larger vessels. Also smaller *ollas* were often placed inside larger *ollas* and smaller vessels were often recovered placed on fragments of larger ones. I cannot determine whether the figurines and microvessels that were placed inside other

vessels had an offertory character or were just stored for further use. It is also probable that some of these figurines were kept inside vessels during the transportation in the canoe and were as yet 'unpacked'. However, the contextual association of figurines illustrated in Plate 40 seems to be intentional. In this micro-context the figurine of *Seated Man/Woman* with *Headdress* was found seated inside a medium-sized *olla*. The specimen has male genitals and breasts (Pl. 85:34). Touching the base of the vessel that contained the *Man/Woman* figurine was another figurine that represents a *Seated Sex-Neutral Individual* without *Headdress* (no sex, no breasts [Pl.84:93]). Touching the rim of the same vessel and above the *Sex-Neutral* figurine was a third figurine with the same formal characteristics as the *Man/Woman* (Pl.85:33). Both *Man/Women* figurines were probably made by the same artisan (Microstylistic Group 5). The whole micro-context may have been deposited during the same event, since the figurines outside the vessel were almost touching each other, and both touched the vessel with the third figurine inside. This micro-context contains the only two *Male/Female*, and one of two known sexless figurines in DM site. The positioning of a *Male/Women* figurine above one with *Asexual* characteristics and in proximity to an other *Male/Female* specimen suggests an array of interpretations related to gender identities and their relationships to their producers/users. The fact that all three clustered figurines are *Heterogeneous* also raises questions about the links between these phenomena and the already determined dichotomy between the *Standardised*, *Imitative* and *Heterogeneous* figurines. Unfortunately, the uniqueness of this context does not permit us to draw any far reaching interpretations.

Two contexts with allochthonous mammal bones one of them containing human figurines also bear consideration here. They were found in two adjacent square metres in the northern border of the Trench B. The first contained one left and one right maxilla of margay cat (*Felis wiedii*) and one left mandible of juvenile ocelot (*Felis pardalis*) (Pl.55b). These bones were tightly clustered with two large fish maxillas (Lutjanidae), three marine shells and a few small fragments of turtle bones. These objects were placed in a large fragment of an *olla*, that lay among other medium-sized *ollas* and large potsherds, and are interpreted as votive offerings. A miniature pottery bench lay at a distance of only five centimetres north of this cluster. To the NW were recovered two pendants made out of landshells (*Labyrinthus plicatus*). At a distance of about 15-20 cm NE of the mammal remains were deposited three *Heterogeneous* figurines (Pl.89: 52; Pl. 84: 53,55) with a rounded polished stone among them, while two *Standardised* figurines (Pl.73: 54a,b; Pl.74: 57) lay at a distance of about 5-10 cm to the north of them. Two of the *Heterogeneous* figurines (NR 53 and 55) pertain to the Microstyle 2 (*Flat Anatomical Figures*).

At a distance of about one metre north of the above described mammal bones was found another cluster composed by mammal remains that may also be interpreted as votive offerings. It occupied an area of about 25 cm<sup>2</sup>. At its centre lay one right and one left mandible and two calottes of a juvenile margay cat (*Felis wiedii*). Tightly associated to these bones were one *Cittarium pica* shell, one *Plekocheilus* spp. landshell pendant, two adult and two juvenile *Strombus gigas* shells, and two large and some smaller fragments of turtle carapace. No figurines or other pottery artefacts were directly associated to these animal remains. Between the above described clusters with bones was found a

group of medium-sized vessels, one *Strophocheilus* spp., one *Plekocheilus* sp. landshell and small fragments of coral.

In conclusion, I consider (1) the figurines from the burial context are offerings to the deceased for whatever purpose; (2) those recovered in the micro-contexts B-Mc-1 and in the 'micro-shrine' are 'actors' that participated in *in situ* ritual activities (i.e. petitionary and/or thanksgiving rites); and (3) those disposed on pottery fragments, especially when accompanied by other valuable objects, as votive offerings. The overall characteristic of the deposits in Trenches A and B seems to suggest that the majority, if not all, of the figurines deposited there may be considered as votive offerings in the broadest sense of this phrase.

The activities carried out in those areas of the site cross-cut by Trenches A-C, and as I have already discussed for Trench E, were relatively contemporaneous. Several morphologically similar figurines and their fragments, and even some that pertained to the same micro-stylistic group, were recovered separated in different trenches. In total, there are six figurines, three *Standardised*, one *Heterogeneous*, one *Atypical*, and one unclassified, whose parts were distributed between trenches A and B (three cases), B and C (two cases), and A and C (one case) (e.g. Pl.9:3; Pl.17:6; Pl.34:137). Similarly, some non-ceramic artefacts were dispersed among the trenches (A. Antczak 1999a). I observed a slight tendency toward the clustering of *Heterogeneous* figurines. However, in the majority of micro-contexts the figurines of all stylistic groups were recovered together, suggesting that their producers/users participated together in those activities that involved the manipulation of the figurines. If, so then the figurines may have participated in those spheres of day-to-day life camp that were of major concern for all its occupants.

## THE NON-FIGURINE REPRESENTATIONAL MATERIAL CULTURE

According to my strategy the non-figurine DM imagery is discussed for two broad categories: (1) the anthropo- and zoomorphic vessels, *adornos* and miscellaneous pottery, and (2) the non-pottery representations.

### Anthropo- and zoomorphic vessels and *adornos*: morphology and contexts

The assemblage of anthropomorphic vessels in the DM site is relatively large and varied, especially given that it was found in a temporary campsite. The vessels range from a large size of 26.4 cm (Pl.112: 450a,b) to miniature of 7.35 cm (Pl.112: 262a,b). The first group of vessels is comprised of four specimens that represent the whole human body, having features that are typical of the *Standardised* figurines. Two of these vessels are representations of *Seated* females (Pl.110: 61a-d; Pl.109: 686a-c;), one is sexless (Pl.112: 450a,b). Two of them are slipped in red-brown (Pl.112: 450 and Pl.109: 686) and one (Pl.110: 61a-d) in yellowish colour. The only *Standing* whole-bodied figure vessel (Pl.134) appears to represent a female body with the head and upper limbs of a bat. This vessel

demonstrates the highest standards of the Valencioid ceramic workmanship. The only known anthropomorphic specimen in which the body and the trunk form one piece to which the legs are attached is illustrated in Plates 111 (23a-c) and 121. Tiny arms can be seen behind the ears.

The second group of vessels is comprised of specimens in which the bulging neck of the vessel is treated as a human head on which are depicted facial features. Arms unite the vessel's neck and the body, breasts are often present, and sex depiction and legs are absent (Pl. 112: 262a,b; Pl. 114:67a,b; Pl. 116:321 a-c; Pl. 119:1072). One of these specimens is decorated with a necklace which is the only representation of this accoutrement in the DM imagery (Pl.116:303). Another specimen illustrated in Plate 115 (261a,b) is an anthropo-zoomorphic representation with two noses and an open mouth in which may be seen teeth and/or human limbs. The notable ferocity of this image, and its possible relationship to cannibalistic practices, are outstanding features in the DM and all north-central Venezuela imagery.

The third category includes vessels in which the human head is depicted on the bulging neck of the vessel and the body of the vessel is plain (Pl. 113: 445a,b, 1823a,b; Pl. 114:62a-c; Pl. 117: 115a,b, and 557a,b; Pl. 118:60a-d; Pl. 119: 1094a,b, 1095a,b, 3053a,b). In several specimens the features of the human face are reduced to schematically depicted eyes and mouth (Pl. 120: 208a,b, 'various'; Pl.122). The 'faces' are usually depicted in pairs on opposite sides of the neck, but in some specimens as many as four faces may be distributed around the neck (Pl. 123:167a; Pl. 117: 115a, b). In one case the human face is 'compressed' to a form of a decorative collar applied at the lower part of the neck (Pl. 133:248).

The fourth category comprises small-sized and micro-vessels in which the human face is depicted on the body of the vessel with various degrees of stylisation (Pl.125: 679a,b and 165a-d; Pl.126: 3533, 1834 and 454a-c; Pl.127: 22a-c).

One atypical vessel has a cylindrical body with flat bottom to which four small legs are applied (Pl.113:1065a,b). The vessel lacks a neck and is widely open on its top. The frontal part of the vessel is missing where the human face was probably depicted. One tiny arm is preserved as well as traces of black parallel lines painted on the back of the specimen. Finally, there is a group of vessels that have modelled, incised and punctated decoration on their necks that resemble eyes, ears and noses (Pl. 124). One of these specimens has an atypical whitish slip (Pl. 124: 17997).

Several medium and small-sized globular vessels show motifs of *coffee-bean* eyes and mouth or beak with or without stylised ears, applied on bulbous necks; many of them are red slipped (Pl.120: 208a,b, see also Pl.121a; Pl.123: 167).

All the above described complete and semi-complete anthropo- and anthropo-zoomorphic vessels were recovered clustered with other artefacts within the non-refuse areas of the site (see below the discussion of the DM site contexts). The fragments of the vessels with applied motifs of eyes and nose, especially those illustrated in Plate 120 (Various), were recovered from spots dispersed throughout all the deposit.

The only zoomorphic vessel in the DM collection is a small (height = 3 cm) representation of a quadruped (Pl. 135:514a-c) that was found inside a medium-sized pot (Pl. 50). Double perforated ears

and *coffee-bean* eyes resemble traits used in human figurines. It represents an anthropomorphised mammal, possibly a dog.

The pottery assemblage also includes anthropo- and zoomorphic rim *adornos* applied on vessels necks and bodies. Anthropomorphic faces were applied on top of the rims of two open pedestal bowls (Pl.128:72a,b, 194). The specimen NR 194 is a 3.5 cm high miniature with two inward looking tiny faces applied on its rim.

Two bi-globular spouted jars have human faces applied to the bases of horizontal handles (Pl.131: 63, 303a,b). Both show incised and punctate cross-hatched decoration. The upper part of one of these vessels has a yellowish-beige and the lower part a red slip. Another globular spouted vessel is decorated with two human heads and arms linked by a horizontal handle. One face is applied to the base of the spout, the second at the end of the handle, and both are interconnected by the rows of punctations on the vessel body (Pl.130:38a-c). These three images seem to depict a mother carrying a baby on her back. The vessel in Plate 135 (6641) has a human head and arms modelled on its side and the spout on the other, and it has a pedestal base. The vessel illustrated in Plate 129 (214a-c) is a curious thermos-like double-wall container with flat base and two spouts decorated with two inward facing human faces.

The vessel in Plate 141 (825a,b; see also Plates 63 and 64), was recovered in the burial context and seems to be a combined representation of a pumpkin or *jabillo* fruit (the vessel body) and a phallus (the spout). This receptacle contained traces of white powder, possibly lime obtained from burned shell. The chemical analyses of this substance have not yet been performed. However, the vessel may have contained dried and ground powder of *hayo* or *coca* (*Erythroxylum* sp.) leaves, mixed with pulverised burnt shells. This substance was chewed by all adult members of Carib societies along the Venezuelan coast (López de Gómara 1979[1552]: 295; Pimentel 1964[1578]: 131; see also Ernst 1946; Bray and Dollery 1983).

There are six images of batrachians modelled and applied to the walls of vessels, below the inflexion point (Pl. 136). The batrachian image was applied to small globular liquid containers and to medium-sized shallow *ollas*. One image, applied to a small globular vessel, seems to represent a batrachian or a crab (Pl.136: 150a, b).

There are seven bat *adornos*. Two tiny bat figures with spread wings are applied on top of a rim of an open pedestal bowl (Pl.137:285). Another pair of bat heads is applied on the rim of a small shallow burner on a pedestal (Pl.137:756). One bat rim appendix is illustrated in Plate 137 (NR 1576), two other similar specimens are illustrated in Plate 138 (1710 and 2884). Finally, a wide outcurved rim vessel has a pair of spread wing bird representations that may also be bats (Pl.137: 320a,b). One open pedestal bowl, with a coil that ends with a sort of ears or eye, possibly of a snake or a bird, is considered as an unidentified animal representation (Pl.149:743).

## Pottery - miscellaneous

There are four types of miscellaneous pottery objects. One specimen is representational, having a grey-coloured pottery pipe bowl in shape of a schematised human head with two large *coffee-bean* eyes (Pl.132:429a,b). Twelve tiny pottery balls, identical to those found inside broken figurine-rattles, were recovered in Trench A and three in Trench B. One small pottery bead (three cm in diameter) also came from Trench B. Finally, six three-pointed T-shaped objects that resemble shark teeth were recovered clustered together in the refuse area in Trench E. They are vertically perforated, suggesting they might have been suspended (Pl.142:575-580).

## The non-pottery representational material culture

Non-pottery representational material culture in DM site is rare. Only three specimens were found here and all are carved in *Strombus gigas* shell. One small three-dimensional shell carving seems to represent a schematised human-bird figure. This is probably an unfinished pendant (Pl. 140:17995a,b). The second object is a carefully carved bead representing a beaked bird (Pl.140:17996). A third is a shell pendant that may represent a schematised human being (Pl.140:17994). Representational items, made of bone or stone, were not recovered in the DM site.

## DECORATED AND PLAIN POTTERY: MORPHOLOGY AND CONTEXTS

Several well preserved decorated and plain vessels, and over 17,000 potsherds were recovered in the DM site. The *ollas*, jars and bowls are largely undecorated. Only few cooking/storage *ollas* were recovered complete (Pl. 155: 156; 202; see also Plates 53 and 55;). They have globular bodies and round or flat bases. Some medium-sized *ollas* were red slipped down from the inflexion point and/or have small *coffee-bean*-shaped pellets applied around the inflexion line (Pl.155:202).

The vast majority of *ollas* bear clear marks of being in contact with open fires. It was common to find fish remains inside them. Fragments of *ollas* were scattered in the refuse deposits all over the site, concentrating in the areas of high content of hearths and animal remains (Trench C). Three semi-complete bottomless *ollas* were recovered laying separately in sterile sand, to the north and west of Trench A. The complete and semi-complete *ollas* are also quantitatively an important component of the cache-deposits. Medium- and large-sized and round bottomed open bowls are uncommon in the assemblage, their fragments are scattered in the refuse areas.

The plain vessel assemblage is composed of dozens of complete, globular, simple and bulging-necked jars, with flat bases and everted rims (Pl:157 and 158). Without exception all these vessels were recovered from the cache-deposits. The smaller ones were consistently, though not exclusively, associated with the figurines throughout the site (Pl.41; see also Plate 53). Fragments of larger globular necked jars, some with the height reaching 50 cm, were recovered in the refuse areas. The vast majority of these vessels have no fire-marks and were most likely used as containers for liquids such as water and turtle oil.

Three vessels are composed of remarkably unique forms (Pl.154). The first is an elaborate double spouted, round base, globular vessel. Another specimen is a large vessel comprised of two vertically connected globular bodies, with rounded base, everted rim and punctate neck decoration around the inflection line.

A group of pedestal bowls encompasses wide range of forms and sizes. Many are plain, some have incised and punctate decoration (Pl.149:1568), while others show painted parallel lines, triangles and dots in black on red or on buff surfaces (Pl.149:272; 21). Only three fragments of pottery griddles were recovered at the site, one in Trench C, one in E, and one in a shovel test pit located seven meters southwest of Trench C (see A. Antczak 1999a). All were recovered in refuse areas associated with hearths, potsherds and food remains.

In conclusion, the outstanding formal and depositional occurrences of the DM vessel assemblage are: (1) the great richness, in relation to other island assemblages, of form, size and decoration; (2) presence of some especially fragile objects (e.g., Pl.112:450a,b; Pl.154; Pl.137:285; 116:321a-c), difficult to transport, especially in a canoe); (3) relative scarcity of griddles (considering the large size and multifunctional nature of the site); (4) high frequency of small and miniature vessels (largely liquid containers); (5) a low frequency of 'serving' ware (e.g. of shallow open bowls, plates and 'cups'); (6) spatial clustering of decorated, medium-sized to small, and complete and semi-complete vessels within the cache-deposits (Trenches A and B), and their consistent association to pottery figurines and landshell pendants. In the next section I will integrate these occurrences with the results of the analysis of the non-ceramic evidence, in order to (re)construct the social context of the DM site.

## THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF DOS MOSQUISES FIGURINES

The first part of this section is a brief summary of A. Antczak's (1999a; 1999b) inferential (re)constructions of the DM site social context, based on the analyses of the non-ceramic evidence. Subsequently, I discuss the social context of the site, integrating the pottery and figurine data, and conclude with the formulation of the figurine hypothetical subject(s).

The only direct evidence of a human presence in the DM site was the already mentioned single skeleton of a male of 35±5 years (see Berrizbeitia *et al.* 1991). Signs of heavy attrition observed on arms and vertebral articulations of the skeleton were interpreted as resulting from paddling and net fishing activities that the deceased carried out during his life. A. Antczak (1999b) considered the manoeuvring and paddling of large sea-going dugout canoes as male-related activities that implied that a certain number of adult men had to be present in the Dos Mosquises site, during every occupational episode.

The allochthonous perforated and unperforated mammal teeth (*Cerdocyon thous*, *Dicotyles tajacu* and *Tapirus terrestris*), and unmodified bones (*Alouatta seniculus*, *Didelphis marsupialis*, *Dicotyles tajacu*, *Mazama* sp., and *Mustelidae*) have been interpreted as hunting trophies loaded with symbolic meaning related to male terrestrial hunting on the mainland (A. Antczak 1995). The perforated and unperforated shark teeth, especially of *mako* (*Isurus oxyrinchus*), one of the most active and strongest

swimming sharks, suggested they were caught by men engaged in open-sea fishery (see A. Antczak 1999a:236).

The DM shell assemblage comprises 8678 (MNI) shells, of which *Strombus gigas* specimens account for 77.16% (A. Antczak 1999a). The presence of the non-*Strombus gigas* shells of edible molluscs, whose physical condition indicates that they might have been used for food, is marginal. A large bulk of ethnographic data indicate that collection of marine molluscs was chiefly women-related activity, in many pre-industrial societies (Meehan 1982; Bobrovsky 1984; Waselkov 1987; Claassen 1994; 1998). A. Antczak (1999a) argued that the *Strombus gigas* molluscs cannot match easily the data provided by the ethnography, since they are by far heavier and thicker than the majority of other edible mollusc species in the Caribbean and elsewhere. He attributed the formation of large heaps and scatters of *Strombus gigas* in DM site to processing/discard activities carried out by men, assuming that the implementation of the 'punch hole' meat extraction technique requires greater and sustained physical strength, especially if the molluscs are processed in mass for delayed consumption (see De Booy 1915; Keegan 1982; Antczak and Antczak 1987; A. Antczak 1999a)

Drawing from the above data, the presence of men in every occupational episode in the DM site seems rather unquestionable. However, the presence/absence of women is more difficult to determine. The artefacts related to the processing of grains and/or tubers, such as *manos* and *metates* often linked by ethnographic analogy to women-related cooking and food preparing activities, are scarce in the DM site. A. Antczak (1999b) argued that if grains and/or tubers were used so sparingly by the site occupants, then it may strengthen the previous inference, that whole DM enterprise might have had a character of short-term male-dominated parties, rather than a non-specialised opportunistic endeavours of broad spectrum of the household(s) members.

We do not know, who was wearing the shell beads that were made at DM site (Pl.163). Two fragments of bone necklace string separator, one of them made to separate at least four strings, were also recovered in Trench B.

The analysis of fish (NISP = 32,745) and other marine fauna remains suggest that the Dos Mosquises Amerindians used largely the pocket-seine or trammel, in the areas adjacent to the seashore. Traps and open-sea gill nets were not used, or used sporadically (A. Antczak 1991). We know, that by that time the gill-nets were used by the inhabitants of the north-central Venezuela coast (Alvarez and Casella 1983; Morales 1984; Martín 1995; A. Antczak 1999a). However, in Dos Mosquises a prudent, inshore fishery was adopted. The pocket-seine does not impose sex/age restrictions on its operators. When the large pocket-seine nets are used by the contemporary Venezuelan fishermen, the activity integrates the members of whole village, and even transcends the supra-village co-operation level (Méndez-Arocha 1963; Suárez and Bethencourt 1994). A. Antczak (1999b) concluded that fishing techniques used by the occupants of the DM site did not exclude the participation of women nor children. However, their presence cannot be proven.

A. Antczak (1999a,b) also discussed the potential presence of children in the DM site. He analysed 3962 (NISP) non-*Strombus gigas* shells including a large number of unmodified, water-worn shells of molluscs that are highly valuable for food, such as *Arca zebra*, *Chama* and *Astraea* spp. He determined



that these shells are not food or manufacture debris (A. Antczak 1999a:188-190). Ethnographic data suggest that a wide range of molluscs, including those of non-economic size, are collected by children who accompany adults in wading during mollusc gathering (Meehan 1982; see also Politis 1998). Were the worn shells brought by children as curiosities to the Dos Mosquises site, or were they collected by adults and used for ceremonial and other unknown purposes?

Some intriguing inferences have been advanced from the analyses of *Strombus gigas* shell remains (A. Antczak 1999a). About 6.5% (N=170) of all shells from DM site, from which the meat was extracted, have more than one 'opening hole' in their spires, some showed as many as four holes. These data indicate that some Amerindians were inexperienced with this task and that it took several tries before the accurate place was finally struck. These results of highly distinctive actions were clustered in distinctive spatial settings. The skilful individuals were processing large numbers of molluscs for delayed consumption in areas located near to the shorelines, on the outskirts of the site. The 'greenhorns' instead, were dedicated to mollusc processing in the central areas of the site, close to the hearths. These individuals were possibly processing the molluscs for *in situ* consumption and additionally were detaching the outer lips of some shells. These preforms were piled up, and prepared, presumably for further shipment to the mainland.

The difference between the 'multiperforated' and 'uniperforated' *Strombus gigas* shells strongly suggests a sharp differentiation in skill between the individuals. Can these data be used for creating the gender and the delineation of spatial settings for gendered action, or does it simply reflect a difference of skill? A. Antczak (1999b) identified the unskilled individuals as male adolescents. The uniperforated shells were interpreted as associated with shell processing by adult males. The ethnohistory refers explicitly to *Cumanagoto* male adolescents as companions of adult men in their off shore rookeries, where they learned masculine skills (Civrieux 1980). A. Antczak (1999a) emphasised that even if some of the above interpretations may be considered plausible, the contemporaneity of the events during which the skilled and the unskilled shell processing were carried out, has not yet been conclusively demonstrated (A. Antczak 1999a). He also added that the 'erroneous' opening holes might have had an alternatively non-functional, symbolic significance.

A. Antczak (1999a, b) also discussed the social roles or status differentiation of the DM Valencioids. Such artefacts as bone flutes, resin (that was probably burned in pottery burners or censers), and mineral ochre, may be considered as shaman-related, or linked to ceremonial activities that might have well required his presence (A. Antczak 1999a). The cranial vaults, mandibular fragments and phalanx of margay and ocelot (*Felis wiedii* and *Felis pardalis*) were interpreted as potential remains of feline skins (A. Antczak 1995). Based on ethnohistorical analogy from north-central Venezuela, the possible presence of skins of wild cats has been considered as the indication of the presence of high status individuals, such as headmen, shamans and/or warriors (A. Antczak 1995).

It must be also said that postholes were not recovered in the DM site, suggesting that if any construction was erected there, it was probably a simple shelter or wind break made out of mangrove branches. A. Antczak (1999a,b) concluded that the Dos Mosquises enterprise was largely carried out by adult and adolescent men, though not necessarily instigated by them. Women and children seem to be

present less frequently in the site than the men. He further argued that the shamans, headmen and/or warriors were present in the site, and some lower status individuals, such as adolescents and simple paddlers, were accompanying them. The men would belong to corporate households or specialised task groups from mainland Venezuela led by a 'Big Man' type of headmen, and/or by a shaman. The composition of the social actors hidden behind the Dos Mosquises archaeological remains probably fluctuated from one occupational event to another.

A. Antczak (1999a,b) acknowledged that the (re)constructions of the social context based on the non-ceramic evidence alone cannot be conclusive without full integration of data derived from the analyses of the ceramic material culture. He also acknowledged that the stereotyped association of the women to griddles and *metates*, and thus to cooking and food preparing activities, may be fallacious in the case of the DM campsite (see Conkey and Gero 1991).

Let us now integrate the pottery and figurine data with the non-ceramic evidence. The only three fragments of pottery griddle found in the site added to scarce fragments of *manos* and *metates* reinforces the supposition that the processing of grains and/or tubers was marginal. This may also strengthen the previous claims for the temporality of the campsite. It may also suggest male quantitative dominance in the site but only if we consider the processing of grains and tubers as women-related activity, based on ethnographic analogy.

We know that the DM Amerindians cooked in globular *ollas*. It may be expected that they were cooking fish, mollusc and/or turtle stews for *in situ* consumption. The scarcity of charred faunal remains suggest that the food was preferably boiled/stewed and to much lesser extent roasted in the open fire (A. Antczak 1999a). Perhaps, the cooking *ollas* were employed not so much for the preparation of meals as for the production of the turtle oil. However, A. Antczak (1999a) demonstrated that turtle remains in the site were by far less abundant than might have been expected, taking into account that Dos Mosquises Island is adjacent to the best turtle beaches in the archipelago. These data suggest that the *ollas* were used for cooking meals rather than for turtle oil processing. Could the evidence of extensive food boiling in *ollas*, instead of roasting directly in the open fire, suggest women's presence in the site? This question, that arises from the modern association of cooking at 'home' with women, and of roasting at a campsite with men, cannot be answered on the basis of available data.

One pipe bowl was recovered in the site and another specimen may have been a pipe bowl or a vessel spout (Plate 132). The pipe cannot be assigned to a gender since it may have been used either by a man or a woman. Given that only one pipe was identified in the site and it lay at the border of the largest cache-deposit, it may be suggested that it was used by a special person(s), perhaps headmen or shaman.

The low frequency of serving ware noted in the DM pottery assemblage may certainly be expected from an ephemeral campsite. However, how can we explain the overall richness of pottery forms and decoration? Perhaps we have no other option than to associate the vast majority of these objects with 'special', ritual/offertory activities.

In conclusion, the gendering of the DM site occupants cannot be decisive. The arguments in favour of women's absence in the campsite are certainly fragile and indirect. However, having no more sources of inferences, I am intuitively inclined to favour the hypothesis that the DM site was largely occupied by

adult and adolescent males of diversified social status and skills, including the shaman and or headmen. Before this proposition may be accepted as a basis for the (re)construction of the social reality of the DM figurines, I have to integrate the data collected on the mainland, where the permanent settlements of the island visitors were located. The complementary 'bricks' for the (re)construction of the DM societies must be also sought outside the DM site, and outside the Los Roques Archipelago.



## *Chapter Six*

# **Other Los Roques Figurines: Morphology, Image, Context**

Apart from the Dos Mosquises site, pottery figurines were also recovered on three other Los Roques Archipelago islands: Krasky (KR/A site), Cayo Sal (CS/D) and Domusky Norte (DMN) (Table 79). This chapter begins with brief presentations of the natural and cultural settings of these sites (for details see A. Antczak 1999a), and follows with discussions on the morphology, imagery and contexts of the figurines from each site.

## **KRASKY ISLAND (KR SITE)**

### **Natural and cultural setting**

Krasky is located in the central part of the Los Roques Archipelago and the archaeological site is situated about 100 meters from the sandy beach on the south-western coast (Pl. 177). A. Antczak (1999a) demonstrated that the pits excavated in this island by Jam (1956) in the 1950s, and the trench excavated during the present project were located in the same site.

In Krasky, the Amerindian artefacts were recovered at a maximum depth of 45 cm, however, a variety of non-Amerindian objects, such as fragments of concrete, wooden posts, bricks, metal rods, and other features (e.g. large refuse pits) dating from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, were also recovered at every level of the deposit (see Antczak and Antczak 1991a,b). Given this heavy postdepositional alteration, the attempts at disentangling the genuine Amerindian depositional contexts, faunal remains and features was unfruitful (see A. Antczak 1999a).

**TABLE 79. Amerindian sites and excavations at the Los Roques Archipelago.**

Island	Site code	Site area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Site max. depth (cm)	Pit #	Pit m <sup>2</sup>	Trench #	Trench m <sup>2</sup>	Total excavated (m <sup>2</sup> )	Stylistic affiliation
Rabusky	RA/A	500	45-70	2	2	-	-	2	undefined
Rabusky	RA/B	?	?	1	1	-	-	1	undefined
Isla Larga	ILR/B	126	45	2	2	-	-	2	undefined
Isla Larga	ILR/C	225	45-50	2	2	-	-	2	undefined
Espenky	ESN/A	204	45-48	2	2	-	-	2	undefined
Espenky	ESN/B	?	0	2	2	-	-	2	undefined
Cayo Sal	CS/E	?	40	2	2	-	-	2	undefined
Cayo de Agua	CA/A	350	50	2	5	-	-	5	Valencioid
Cayo de Agua	CA/B	?	0	3	5	-	-	3	undefined
Madrysky	MA	250	30-35	3	3	-	-	3	undefined
Noronky	NO	100	45-50	3	3	-	-	3	undefined
Isla Larga	ILR/A	500	34-43	3	3	-	-	3	undefined
Nordysky	NR	?	20	3	3	-	-	3	undefined
Boca de Cote	BC	500	25-30	3	3	-	-	3	undefined
Isla de Loco	IL/A	450	25	3	3	-	-	3	undefined
Mosquitoqui	MO	?	5-7	3	3	-	-	4	undefined
Francisky	FS	100	40-45	4	4	-	-	4	undefined
Gran Roque	GR	600	35-40	4	4	-	-	4	undefined
Cayo de Agua	CA/C	?	30	2	4	-	-	4	undefined
Punta Cuchillo	PC	450	15-20	4	4	-	-	4	undefined
Isla de Loco	IL/B	?	0	4	4	-	-	5	undefined
Cayo Sal	CS/C	350	65-70	5	5	-	-	6	Valencioid
La Pelona	PL	?	39	3	6	-	-	6	undefined
Cayo Sal	CS/D	400	37-70	6	6	1	37	39	Valencioid
Krasky	KR	365	25-45	2	2	1	44	46.5	Valencioid
Domusky	DMN	700	65-75	10	2.5	1	34	83	Ocumaroid
Norte <sup>1</sup>	DM	750	45-55	43	49	6	421	470	Valencioid
Dos Mosquises									
Total		6920	43.34	126	134.5	9	536	714.5	

<sup>1</sup>The units excavated during the 1996 season are not included in this table.

In conclusion, neither contextual information nor datable/reliable radiocarbon samples could be obtained in the Krasky site. However, such pottery characteristics as mineral temper, rough surfaces, external red slip, punctated bands around bottle necks, *coffee-bean* eye, appliqué frog motifs, human figurines, and forms of globular *olla* with everted rims, and bulbous neck jars (Pl. 182), confirm the inclusion of the KR/A site pottery into the Valencioid series (Cruxent and Rouse 1958). Two modified *Strophocheilus spp.* land shells, one of them a whistle, and one *Tivela mactroides* pendant recovered in the site were certainly brought by the Amerindians from the mainland. Similar specimens were also recovered from DM/A, CS/C and CS/D Valencioid deposits (A. Antczak 1999a).

## Figurine morphology and images

The figurine assemblage from KR/A site includes 32 items that account for a minimum of 20 figurines (Table 80). The *Standardised* stylistic group includes only one complete specimen, a *Seated Bent-knee Red Top Deformed Head* figurine with a hunchback and twisted shoulders (Pl.1781:231a-d). The remaining items are fragments: one face with *Coffee-bean Horizontal Plain, Closed eyes, eyebrows* as the *Two modelled arcs united in a centre* and *Modelled applied nose with nostrils and perforated septum* (Pl.178:217), one fragment of *Rounded Head* with eyebrows as the *Two modelled arcs united in a centre* and atypical posterior head decorations (Pl.178:229), and a fragment of *Standing Straight Bulging leg with feet* (Pl.178:227).

All KR/A *Standardised* specimens are formally similar to the DM *Standardised*. They share the colour (yellowish grey of the fired clay and red or dark red slip), paste texture (medium and coarse),

the *coffee-bean* eyes, modelled and punctated eyebrow arcs and eyelids, profiled and modelled nose with anatomical holes and perforated interior wall (Pl.178:217 and 231a-d), and standing bulging legs. The only complete figurine is similar to the formal type present within the DM *Standardised* (3B1) and identical to the representational type *Bent-knee Hunchbacked Deformed Head Individual*. With regards to the image, the only recognisable representation is that of *Seated Bent-knee Lady with Hunchback and Deformed Head* which is the only *Seated* figurine in the whole KR/A assemblage.

**TABLE 80.** Quantitative distribution of KR/A site figurines according to stylistic group.

Stylistic category	MNAS	MNAF
Heterogeneous	13	11
Imitative	11	6
Standardised	4	3
Unclassified	4	-
Total	32	20

MNAS - Maximum Number of Anthropomorphic Specimens; MNAF - Minimum Number of Anthropomorphic Figurines

The KR/A *Imitative* category comprises 11 items (MNAF=6) consisting of: one *Standing Rounded Head with Top* (Pl.181:233), one trunk with *Rounded Head* (Pl.181:232), one head with *Plain Headdress* (Pl.2: 212a,b), three head fragments that include one face fragment with a *Modelled nose with nostril* and atypical, realistically modelled mouth (Pl.181:225), one head with an atypical crest, *Coffee-bean Horizontal Plain 'Closed'* eyes and nose with several perforations (Pl.181:239), and a fragment of *Rounded* head with the *Coffee-bean* (slightly) *Diagonal Plain 'Open'* eyes and ears *With two perforations* (Pl.181: 238). Five legs are not illustrated: one *Standing with feet* (NR 206), two *Seated* (NR 230 and 209), and two *Standing bulging* (NR 213 and 226).

The KR/A *Imitative* figurines share the following formal characteristics with their counterparts from the DM site: the reddish brown colour of fired clay, voluminosity and size (large or medium sized) combined with solid structure or thick walls. The heads were classified as *Imitative* for two reasons: (1) the colour of the fired clay does not suggest *Standardised*, and (2) the size and more careful rendering of details do not suggest *Heterogeneous*. Some KR/A *Imitative* heads show similarity with DM counterparts. For example, the head with *Plain crest* (Pl.181:212a,b) is similar to the DM *Imitative Seated with Inverted Canoe Crest*; they share the way of construction and decorative motifs (Pl.95:9a,b and 10a-c), they also pertain to the DM *Imitative* Microstyle 1. The *Rounded Head* (Pl.181:238) from KR/A is similar to two heads from the DM *Imitative Seated* specimens (Pl.93:1 and 5), and also to the DM *Imitative* head fragment shown in Plate 105:96. Although the Krasky head shows some 'air' of likeness to these *DM Imitative* specimens, two features (slightly diagonally positioned eyes and ears on the superior part of the head), might also suggest an animal connection.

The Krasky *Heterogeneous* group includes 13 items that account for 11 MNAF (see Plates 179 and 180). It includes two possible *Standing Cylindrical Figure* bodies (NR 228 and 237), one *Standing Cylindrical Figure with Crest* (NR 222), two possible *Flat Anatomical Figure* bodies (NR 205 and 207), six *Flat Anatomical Figure* specimens (NR 204, 214, 215, 216, 218 and 373), and two possible *Flat Anatomical Figure* heads (NR 208 and 219). The *Heterogeneous* figurines bear several unmistakable characteristics of this group, such as the small size, the reddish brown colour of the

firing clay, the solid structure, the very coarse surface texture, the apparent lack of skilfulness, poor use of modelling and appliqué techniques, low firing and, consequently, high levels of erosion.

Morphologically, the KR/A *Heterogeneous* group seems to be more similar to DMN *Heterogeneous* than to those from the DM site. Two *Cylindrical Figures* from KR/A (Pl.180:228 and 237) show close similarity to some of the *Cylindrical Figures* from DMN site (particularly see Pl.171:329 and 337). The form of some specimens classified as KR/A *Flat Anatomical Figures* shows some similarity with *Flat Anatomical Figures* from the DMN site (compare e.g. the KR/A figurine Pl.179:214 with DMN specimen Pl.173:342). However, the headdresses of two Krasky specimens: one complete *Cylindrical Figure with Crest* (Pl.180:222) and one head of the *Flat Anatomical Figure* (Pl.179:219) show striking similarity with some *Flat Anatomical Figures* from DM site (see Pl.87:78a-d and 79). Moreover, it can be suggested that the head of the *Flat Anatomical Figure* from Krasky might be even a part of the DM *Microstylistic Group 4* (Table 52).

Regarding the sex depiction, the *Standardised* and *Imitative* figurines from KR/A site have female sex and breasts. Among those specimens in the *Heterogeneous* group where the presence/absence of sex and breasts could be determined, there are two with female sex (one with and the other without breasts), and three *Male/Female* figurines with male sex and breasts. However, both the penis and the navel in Krasky *Heterogeneous* figurines were depicted by the application of a pellet of clay either in genitals area or on the abdomen (see Pl. 180:207 for pellet as a navel). In consequence, the identification of the pellets as representation of penis in figurines NR 205a,b and NR 214 (Pl.180) is ambiguous.

There are six with heads and seven headless specimens in the KR/A *Heterogeneous* group. Note that at least in two *Cylindrical Figures* (Pl.180:228 and 237), the head/trunk connection was not a weak point and may suggest an intentional breaking. Comparatively, there are 62 specimens with head contrasting with only 12 specimens lacking heads in the DM *Heterogeneous* figurines. In the DMN site figurines with heads account for 24 specimens and only eight are headless. In conclusion, the ratios of complete to headless *Heterogeneous* specimens in DM and DMN are very similar, while there are significantly more headless figurines in KR/A site. Given the heavy anthropic disturbance of the KR/A site I cannot determine whether it was due to intentional breaking in prehispanic times or the result of postdepositional alteration.

In conclusion, the stylistic and iconographic similarities of KR/A and DMN figurines suggest the existence of a functional relationship between these two campsites. However, the pottery from KR/A is closely related to the Valencioid pottery from the DM site, and lacks any stylistic relationship with the Ocumaroid pottery from DMN site. Several items, such as microaxes, stone pendants, allochthonous landshell pendants and whistles, as well as *Standardised* and *Imitative* figurines, are present in KR/A and DM sites, but are virtually absent in DMN site. We also should note the presence in KR/A and DM sites of items that pertain to the same Microstylistic Group and, of the conspicuous image of *Bent-knee Hunchbacked Individual with Deformed Head*. These data, despite the lack of contextual information from the KR/A site, suggest that it was structurally and, possibly functionally, linked to the DM site. Moreover, the presence of all three stylistic groups of figurines in this site

suggest similar socio-cultural composition of this site's occupants, and the operation of some similar organisational principles.

## CAYO SAL (CS/D SITE)

### Natural and cultural setting

This site is situated close to the western edge of Cayo Sal, the longest (ca. 12 km) island and the southern barrier of the archipelago (Pl.183). The southern coast of this island is exposed to strong open sea waves action. The northern coast is covered by mangrove swamps. The western part is occupied by a series of interconnected shallow lagoons that are natural salt pans (Pl.185).

The site CS/D is located close to the sandy beach to the north, while to the south it lies directly on the northern shore of the inner lagoon (Pl.186). To the west, at a distance of only a few meters, begins a series of large heaps composed of millions of *Strombus gigas* shells. The functional relationship between the midden and the CS/D site, remains for now unproved. The cultural deposit in Trench A (CS/D site), started at a depth of 10 cm beneath the surface and reached a maximum depth of 75 cm. Numerous carbonised particles scattered throughout the deposit suggest that hearths had originally existed in the area of the trench.

A radiocarbon sample, dated  $750 \pm 100$  b.p. or a.d. 1200, was taken from the only relatively well preserved hearth that was recovered in a test pit situated only five meters south-east from the trench, at a depth of 35 cm (Pl.184). The cultural deposit is continuous between the trench and the pit and sherds, quartzite flakes and animal remains found in the pit had their counterparts in the trench.

The potsherds recovered at the CS/D site were heavily eroded as a result of the proximity of the hypersaline lagoon (Pl. 187 and 188). Great numbers of semi-complete and whole vessels, were recovered predominantly medium sized cooking *ollas* with everted rims, were recovered. They are followed in number by necked globular jars, some of them with bulbous necks. A few fragments of clay griddles were also recovered. Plastic decoration includes small appliqué on the walls and rims of the *ollas*, and *coffee-bean* eye motifs applied to simple and bulbous jar necks. One small globular double-spouted pot was also recovered (Pl.192:1724a,b; Pl.188b). Painting is relatively common. Large globular jars show parallel lines painted in black (Pl.192:1928, 1740). Pedestal bowls painted with red lines, and a few potsherd with typical Dabajuroid painting, were also recovered (Pl.192:1794, 18111). In conclusion, the specific configuration of Valencioid stylistic traits mixed with Dabajuroid painting, as well as painting of unknown stylistic origin, may be satisfactory to formulate a new member (style) of the Valencioid series (in terms of Cruxent and Rouse 1958).

A few non-ceramic artefacts recovered at the CS/D site were also recovered in typical Valencioid sites in Los Roques Archipelago. They include pendants of *Labyrinthus plicatus* and modified *Plekocheilus* sp. land shells. Both shells were brought from the mainland and were also found in the DM and KR/A sites. Deer bone flutes recovered in CS/D were also found in the DM site. The clustering of landshells, bone flutes, decorated vessels, micro-vessels and figurines has been observed in both CS/D and DM sites and seems to suggest some common structural principles. The large



numbers of quartzite flakes and the high frequency of semi-complete medium sized *ollas* with everted rims, have no counterparts in other Los Roques sites. Some of these latter characteristics might have been related to the exploitation/processing of the salt.

## Figurine morphology, images and contextualisation

The figurine assemblage from the CS/D site includes seven specimens (MNAF=6): one complete and two semi-complete figurines, two heads, two fragments of the same figurine, and one foot of *Standing* figurine leg. The figurines are morphologically different from each other, and from the DM figurines (except for the figurine 313 [Pl. 191] and the leg [not illustrated]).

The *Standardised* group includes one *Male/Female Seated on bench with a Cap-like Crest* (Pl.190:312a,b), one *Standing Lady with Canoe-shaped Crest* (Pl.190: 307a, b, c, d), one *Standing Individual with Cap-like Crest* (Pl.191:310), and one figurine head with *Snake-like* (or *Spiral-like*) *Crest* (Pl.191:309 a, b, c). Although the temper size of the CS/D *Standardised* figurines is similar to their counterparts from the DM site (the texture ranges from *medium* to *coarse* and the temper is sand), there are important differences between the two assemblages. The first difference is in the colour of the fired clay. While the DM *Standardised* are yellowish-grey, the CS/D *Standardised* are reddish, ranging from red to dark red (from Hue 5 YR 4/4 and 5/6, through 2,5 YR, 4/6 to 2.5 YR 3/4 in Munzel Colour Charts). All the CS/D *Standardised* have a dark red slip. The quality of workmanship in CS/D figurines is slightly lower than those of the DM specimens and they may be considered as *Sub-standardised*, when compared to their DM counterparts. For example, the figurine 312a,b (Pl.190) shows good workmanship, but the modelling of hands and legs is poor. The CS/D assemblage has two forms of headdress that have not counterpart in DM figurines, the cap- (Pl.190:312 and Pl. 191:310) and snake-like (Pl. 191: 309).

The differences between CS/D and DM *Standardised* figurines continues on the level of the image. The *Male/Female Seated on the Bench* (Pl.190:312a,b), the *Standing Individual with Cap-like Crest* (Pl.191:310), and the head with the *Snake-like Crest* and open, 'screaming', mouth are the unique images.

The CS/D *Imitative* group includes one figurine head with *Plain Headdress* (308a-d), fragments of head and trunk (Pl.191:313) and one foot (not illustrated). The discriminatory traits were: the thickness of the walls of the head (Pl.191:308a-d), the solid structure of other fragments, coarse texture of the surface, and more rustic finish when compared to the *Standardised* figurines. The *Plain Headdress* of head 308a-d (Pl.191) has a unique decoration that consists of a horizontal line divided by vertical lines, creating in this manner squares with punctations. This same head has two incised lines under eyes. Note that no other Los Roques figurine has incised lines under the eyes and only one anthropomorphic effigy-vessel (Pl.111:23a-c) from DM site has similar incised lines, but four in number.

Next, I will discuss three clusters of artefacts (CS/D-X1 to X3) recovered in the CS/D site (see also A. Antczak 1999a). From the central part of the trench, toward the shore of the inner lagoon

several whole and semi-complete medium sized *ollas* were recovered. Small open bowls with annular bases (few of them decorated), medium-sized decorated vessels, and three deer bone flutes were recovered in the centre of the trench (CS/D-X1). These artefacts surrounded a single centrally disposed skull of a large green turtle (*Chelonia mydas*) that originally weighed over 100 kg (Alfredo Paolillo personal communication 1996). It should be emphasised that turtle skulls were also recovered in DM and DMN sites; however, they were always fragmented and found in refuse areas, associated with food remains and broken pottery (A. Antczak 1999a).

Two human figurines, three medium size round beads made out of *Spondylus sp.* and *Strombus gigas* shells, one 'pearl' of *Strombus gigas*, a fragment of a polished petaloid stone axe, and three fragments of griddle, were recovered within a radius of 1.5 m from the centre of the first cluster (CS/D-X2). Quartzite flakes, remains of fishes, turtle, birds and chitons, as well as *Strombus gigas*, *Cittarium pica* and other marine shells were also recovered in this context (A. Antczak 1999a).

About two meters to the west from this cluster of artefacts, another interesting context was excavated (CS/D-X2). It contained the 32 cm long beak of a white marlin (Istiophoridae, probably *Tetrapturus albidus*), cut off at its base. Alongside this, several minor fragments of beaks belonging to smaller individuals of Istiophoridae were recovered, some of them showing clear evidence of being modified at their bases. One human figurine, a *Labyrinthus plicatus* land shell pendant, and several long bones of large marine turtles, were recovered in association with these bones. Numerous fragments of cooking *ollas* were found accumulated in the southern part of this cluster, toward the shore of the lagoon.

In order to understand the socio-cultural phenomena hidden behind the unique combination of characteristics displayed by the CS/D deposit, it is vital to disentangle its relationship with the adjacent mega-midden of *Strombus gigas* shells. This is, however, a task for future research, but in the meantime, the site escapes any sound interpretation. The presence of a variety of pottery forms, griddles, lithics, shellwork, suggests that we are dealing with a campsite that was relatively self-sufficient in pragmatic, subsistencial aspects. The presence of bone flutes, shell whistles, figurines and microvessels clustered together additionally suggests that the occupants of the site were involved in some ritual activities, possibly conducted by a shaman. This supports the interpretation by A. Antczak (1999a) of these contexts as 'offerings', given the clusters with figurines, flutes, whistles, and the turtle skull and marlin beaks. These artefacts, including the figurines may be therefore considered as votive objects presented to the spirit protectors of the marine animals.

Regarding the chronology, the radiocarbon date from CS/D (a.d. 1200±100), and the date from the pre-Valencioid deposit in DM site (a.d. 1270±80), suggests that the visits of the pre-Valencioid people to these two islands began at approximately the same time. However, during the 'Valencioid times', the CS/D site was occupied by different socio-cultural groups than the DM and KR/A sites. The occupants of the last two sites were an inter-cultural 'amalgamation' of segments of Valencioid and Ocumaroid people, while the CS/D occupants were associated with Dabajuroid rather than with Ocumaroid people. The distinctive pottery from CS/D site suggests that such inter-cultural fission had happened already in the permanent settlements on the mainland, and was not an *ad hoc* arrangement

established only for the purposes of the particular voyage to the island. Similar arrangements, established on the mainland between the Valencioid and Ocumaroid people seem to be reflected by the archaeological deposits in DM and KR/A sites.

Common to the occupants of all these three sites was the use of human pottery figurines in such social strategies, as implied by their spatial clustering, usually with microvessels, landshell pendants and whistles, flutes, microaxes, and other objects. We know that the positive outcome of such a strategy was within the core of the interest of all individuals that camped in these islands. The contextual association of figurines in CS/D site suggest that they might have been employed in social strategies directed toward the placation of spirit protectors of marine animals. Let us now analyse the figurine data from the DMN site, which is the only deposit in the Los Roques Archipelago that yielded non-Valencioid (Ocumaroid), pottery and figurines.

## **DOMUSKY NORTE ISLAND (DMN SITE)**

### **Natural and cultural setting**

The tiny Domusky Norte Island is located only about 300 metres north-east of Dos Mosquises Island, at the western border of the Los Roques Archipelago (Pl.5,6,164). Comparative analyses of the DMN pottery and its mainland counterparts suggests it may constitute a new style within the Ocumaroid series (Cruxent and Rouse 1958; Colmenares 1990; Antczak and Antczak 1991b, 1993; A. Antczak 1999a; Pl.175 and 176). The presence of Valencioid pottery shards within this assemblage indicates the interaction between the bearers of these two ceramic traditions, during the entire span of site's occupation. It should be emphasised that the DMN is the only site off the coast of Venezuela that contains Ocumaroid pottery, while the DM site is one out of eight Valencioid insular sites.

The analyses of the data obtained during the 1996 fieldwork season are not concluded yet, but some information can be presented (Pl.165 and 166). The DMN pottery is rough, rarely slipped, and is fragmented. Not a single whole vessel was recovered. The pottery assemblage is dominated by plain cooking *ollas* and medium and large size open bowls. The decoration is scarce and includes non-representational appendixes, multitubular handles and, to lesser extent, painting (see Colmenares 1990). The anthropo- and zoomorphic representations are absent except for one anthropomorphic effigy vessel and the figurines. Fragments of griddles are frequent.

*Strombus gigas* shells are abundant at the site and the meat of this gastropod was certainly widely consumed. The DMN site occupants, though interested in the shell lips and discs procurement, like the DM people, modified the shell in distinct and specific manner. This is evident from the 1828 nodules or spines which were recovered, amassed in small heaps, in a single four square meter pit (see A. Antczak 1999a). These nodules appear to have been purposefully separated from the shells and are therefore not by-products of the manufacture of other objects. Shell carving is absent and the evidence of bead-making is very weak in the site. The separation of large numbers of *Strombus gigas* shell nodules is a unique phenomenon in the Venezuelan islands.

The bird bones recovered from DMN site were more abundant than in all the Valencioid sites put

together, suggesting an emphasis on exploitation of avifauna for food and feathers (flamingos). Turtle remains are abundant, while the fish remains seem to be significantly less frequent than in the Valencioid sites. The only mammal remain is the mandible of a deer (*Mazama spp.*).

The data suggest that the Ocumaroids were ranging for several miles around DMN Island, and at the end of the day were returning back to their unique campsite. The flesh/feathers of flamingos, the *Melongena melongena* shells, and possibly the larger quantities of firewood, were brought from other islands, laying within the range of 7-10 km from DMN.

The radiocarbon sample processed in 1987 was dated to 620±80 b.p. or a.d. 1330 (Antczak and Antczak 1989c; 1991b). Three recent radiocarbon dates range between a.d. 1020 and 1070 (see Antczak and Antczak 1999a) (Table 81).

**TABLE 81.** Radiocarbon dates from Amerindian sites on Venezuelan islands (Central Islands). Not calibrated.

Island	Site code	Sample code	Sample context/depth	Years b.p.	Years a.d.	Reference
Curricai	CR/A/3	I-17,219	Hearth; 35 cm	420 ± 80	1530	Antczak & Antczak 1993
Isla del Tesoro	IT/A/1	I-16,278	Hearth; 57 cm	420 ± 80	1530	Antczak & Antczak 1993
Ave Grande	AG/A/1	I-17,218	Hearth; 38-40 cm	470 ± 80	1480	Antczak & Antczak 1993
Dos Mosquises	DM/A/C/10	I-15,087	Hearth; 45-47 cm	470 ± 80	1480	Antczak & Antczak 1991b
Dos Mosquises	A/B/9	I-16,294	Hearth; 38 cm	490 ± 80	1460	Antczak & Antczak 1991b
Dos Mosquises	DM/A/C/11	I-15,088	Hearth; 38 cm	520 ± 80	1430	Antczak & Antczak 1991b
La Orchila	OR/F/A/6	I-16,323	Hearth; 63 cm	580 ± 80	1370	Antczak & Antczak 1993
Domusky Norte	DMN/A/23	I-15,089	Hearth; 61 cm	620 ± 80	1330	Antczak & Antczak 1991b
Dos Mosquises	DM/A/1K	I-16,279	Hearth; 43-49 cm	680 ± 80	1270	Antczak & Antczak 1991b
Ave Grande	AG/B/2	I-16,286	Hearth; 43 cm	690 ± 80	1260	Antczak & Antczak 1993
Cayo Sal	CS/D/1	I-16-287	Hearth; 35 cm	750 ± 100	1200	Antczak & Antczak 1991b
Domusky Norte	DMN/1/50	I-18,582	Hearth; 50 cm	880 ± 80	1070	Antczak & Antczak 1999a
Domusky Norte	DMN/6/33	I-18,580	Hearth; 38 cm	890 ± 90	1060	Antczak & Antczak 1999a
Domusky Norte	DMN/2/35	I-18,581	Hearth; 35 cm	930 ± 80	1020	Antczak & Antczak 1999a

## Figurine morphology, images and contextualisation

A total of 32 figurines and their fragments (MNASF) were recovered in the DMN site, accounting for 23 individual figurines (MNAF, counting whole figurines and headless and/or legless trunks). All but one (a hollow leg) DMN specimens are classified as *Heterogeneous* and share the most important stylistic aspects with the DM *Heterogeneous* figurines. It is for this reason that I consider the *Heterogeneous* figurines from DMN, DM and KR/A sites as products of the Ocumaroid people.

The figurines are small in size (height < 7 cm) and solid. The surface texture is coarse, resembling the reddish-brown colour of the fired clay, and the surfaces are rough and barely smoothed. The basic forms of the DMN figurines are *Cylindrical Figure* and *Flat Anatomical Figure* (Table 82). Modelling is simple and the anatomical parts of the human body are poorly marked. Heads are largely undistinguished from the trunks. Some figures were constructed so crudely that it is difficult to recognise where is the head and where is the lower part of the body (Pl.173:339). Necks, as well as ears (except for specimen NR 358, Pl.174), elbows, knees and toes are absent. In some figurines the facial features do not include noses. The fingers and navel are represented in two specimens only (Pl.172: 334, 336). Six figurines have a triangle incised on the pubic area, emphasising the pubic triangle or representing the loincloth (Pl. 171:329; Pl.172:334, 336; Pl.173: 339, 355; Pl. 174: 338). No male figurines are depicted with loincloth. Two figurines bear *Headdresses*.

**TABLE 82. Typology of DMN *Heterogeneous* figurines.**

Type/fragment	Posture	Illustration
<b>Complete</b>		
Cylindrical Figure (with limbs)	Standing	Pl. 171: 327, 328, 329, 337, 366, 376; Not illustrated: 335, 343
Cylindrical Figure (with limbs)	Standing?	Pl.172:331
Flat Anatomical Figure	Standing	Pl.171:330, 333; Pl. 172:341
Flat Anatomical Figure with Crest	Standing	Pl.172:334, 336
<b>Headless body</b>		
	Standing	Pl.173:342, 355, 364, 365, 377
<b>Legless body</b>		
Flat Anatomical Figure		Pl.173: 332, 340; Pl.174: 338, 351, 368, Pl.171:378
<b>Fragments</b>		
Head fragment (without headdress)		Pl.174:367, 356, 352, 358
Legs	Standing	Pl.174:369, 377

All figurines, whose posture could be identified, are *Standing*. Six figurines show male genitals while four are female (Table 83). From the twelve figurines, where both sex and breasts (presence/absence) could be assessed, four are female (two with and two without breasts), three are male without breasts, two are male with breasts (male/female), and three are sexless and breastless. In general, the DMN figurines may be characterised by the poor workmanship, solid construction, standing posture, absence of accoutrements (except for two headdresses and loincloth), dominance of male sex, and overall variability of sex representations (male, female, male/female and sexless).

**TABLE 83. Images and sex attributes of DMN *Heterogeneous* figurines.**

Image	NR	Breasts	Breasts (not assessable)	Male genitals	Female genitals	Genitals (not assessable)	Sexless
Standing (headless)	365		x			x	
Standing (headless)	364		x				x
Standing Individual without Headdress	332	x				x	
Standing Individual without Headdress	329	0				x	
Standing Individual without Headdress	333	x				x	
Standing Lady with Headdress	336	x			x		
Standing Lady with Headdress	334	x			x		
Standing Lady without Headdress	327	0			x		
Standing Lady without Headdress	337	0			x		
Standing Male (headless)	342	0		x			
Standing Male (headless)	377		x	x			
Standing Male without Headdress	376	0		x			
Standing Male without Headdress	328	0		x			
Standing Male/Female without Headdress	331	x		x			
Standing Male/Female without Headdress	330	x		x			
Standing Sexless Individual (headless)	355	0					x
Standing Sexless Individual without Headdress	341	0					x
Standing Sexless Individual without Headdress	366	0					x
Individual (legless)	339		x			x	
Individual without Headdress (legless)	340	x				x	
Individual without Headdress (legless)	378	0				x	x

x - present; 0 - absent

The majority of broken figurines were dispersed throughout the midden, while the most complete specimens were recovered in two clusters located beyond the core area of the midden (pits 12 and 25; see Pl.166c). The first cluster (DMN-X1) is an integral part of the typical midden matrix, where the

potsherds, animal remains and concentrations of carbonised particles were recovered lying on, and intermingled with, *Strombus gigas* shell fragments (Pl.167). However, the area where the figurines were recovered also contains an unusual concentration of whole and fragmented corals, and some non-*Strombus gigas* shells that seem to be intentionally deposited in association with the figurines. Within an area of c.a. 1.8 m<sup>2</sup> were five complete, two headless figurines and one figurine leg. There were two pairs of figurines so intimately associated that they were touching each other.

The second figurine context (DMN-X2) is a small heap largely composed by pottery vessels and their fragments (Pl.168). The disintegrated small medium sized *ollas* alternate here with four complete and semi-complete globular long-necked micro-vessels, and fragments of large *ollas* or bowls. These micro-vessels are the only specimens of this type recovered in the site. Their good preservation is remarkable, since only two other semi-complete vessels were recovered in the site. Among the pottery lay two figurines, a piece of vegetal resin, two land-shell pendants, two large *Cittarium pica* shells and fragments of corals. Such vertical/horizontal clustering of selected artefacts is unique in the DMN site and indicates that this pyramid-like heap was created during separated events. It is tempting to interpret the first context as related to ritualistic, and the second, to offertory activities; however, the bases for such interpretation are very weak, and we still cannot explain the conspicuous dominance of male representations in the DMN figurine assemblage.

## **DOS MOSQUISES AND DOMUSKY NORTE: TWO ISLANDS, TWO CULTURES AND THE ROLE(S) OF THE FIGURINES**

Let us examine whether the role(s) the figurines played in DMN (Ocumaroid) settlement can shed light on the roles of the DM figurines. The internal consistency of the radiocarbon dating of each site (DM and DMN) and the temporal gap between the two sets of dates seem to suggest that the main period of occupation of these sites were temporally dissociated. The data suggest that the deposit in Trench E and, perhaps the burial and its immediate surroundings from Trench C in the DM site, may be considered an interface period between the final occupation of the DMN settlement and the initial occupation of the DM (Valencioid) campsite, somewhere between a.d. 1300 and 1400. The fact that the Valencioid people did not camp on top of the DMN deposits, but established the campsite on the adjacent Dos Mosquises Island also suggests that the DMN camp was still in use during the earlier years of the Valencioid (and Ocumaroid) occupation of the DM site. It should be added that the earlier dating of the DM site (1270±80) shown in Table 81 comes from a non-Valencioid deposit (see Antczak 1999a).

Differences between the DMN and DM campsite include the pottery and lithic artefacts (Antczak 1999a; Colmenares 1990), the subsistence economies, social group composition and logistical organisation of activities (Antczak and Antczak 1991b). The Ocumaroids operated from one place (DMN) and did not camp beyond it. In fact, not a single 'ephemeral' Ocumaroid site is known from the insular area (see A. Antczak 1999a). The DM Valencioids also operated from a central multifunctional campsite (DM), where the bulk of the most valuable material culture was deposited. However, they (1) also established specialised campsites of diverse occupational intensity in other

islands of the archipelago, and (2) it is also possible that more than one Valencioid group operated simultaneously and semi-independently from the DM group (e.g. KR/A and CS/D sites) in the archipelago.

The DMN Ocumaroids followed an opportunistic resource strategy, exploiting a wide range of marine animals and avifauna. The DM Valencioids, however, relied largely on *Strombus gigas* molluscs, and to lesser extent on fish and turtle. Regarding shell processing, the Valencioids separated *Strombus gigas* outer lips for further elaboration on the mainland, while the Ocumaroids focused on the separation of nodules of the same mollusc shell that were discarded on the island for unknown reasons (A. Antczak 1999a).

The presence of *manos* and *metates* (Pl.170), and especially of numerous fragments of large-sized griddles (Pl. 169) may indicate that grains and/or tubers were extensively processed in the DMN site. These data may suggest that the women were present in this site, alongside the man. I intuit, though cannot demonstrate, that the DMN enterprise was carried out by the members of a kin-related co-operating households from one particular coastal bay.

Based on the data discussed in this chapter, the DM site that was interpreted as largely occupied by co-operating adult and adolescent males of apparently multicultural background, seems to be diametrically different from DMN in regards to forms of social and political organisation of the enterprise. Does the differences observed in the islands mimic the differentiation of the Valencioid/Ocumaroid social organisation on the mainland? Were the Ocumaroids decentralised societies while the Valencioids more complex, or hierarchically organised? The overall spatial circumscription of the DMN occupants' activities to one locality may be considered as the reflection of the tightness of the kin links that united them. On the other hand, the spatial 'openness' of the Valencioid logistics in the Archipelago, where small satellite sites gravitated around the DM centre (and other possibly around the KR/A and CS/D sites), may echo the multicultural character of the enterprise that was apparently carried out under the leadership of the Valencioid people. Were the DM Valencioids, who are considered as leaders and instigators of the DM enterprise, the owners of the large sea-going canoes? Were they the powerful shamans who could bind the multicultural group by their supernatural powers and authority? The data seem to suggest that we are dealing with the enterprise carried out by the patrons or masters (Valencioids) and their allies (Ocumaroids), rather than by the conquerors and the subdued.

The most conspicuous links between the DMN and DM archaeological records are (1) the presence of the *Heterogeneous* figurines, and (2) the similarity of some of their depositional contexts. I already considered the *Heterogeneous* figurines as Ocumaroid products and I further suggest that their presence in both islands may suggest the concomitant presence of their producers/users in both DMN and DM campsites. However, the roles which the Ocumaroids played in each site seem to be different. They were certainly in the foreground of the DMN site but the same cannot be said about their roles in the DM enterprise.

The contextual clustering of figurines with microvessels, resin, allochthonous mammal mandibles and landshell pendants in one context at the DMN and in several context in the DM sites

suggests the operation of some common structural elements. The depositional association of figurines with microvessels and allochthonous landshells have also been documented in the Cayo Sal (CS/D), and, in the Krasky (KR/A) sites. These suggest that some structural pattern guided the basic spatial clustering of the figurines with microvessels and landshells that was detected in four island sites interpreted as multifunctional campsites (Antczak and Antczak 1991b).

I argue that the contextual homogeneity of the figurines may be a result of an 'durably installed generative principle' or *habitus* (according to the use of this term by Bourdieu 1977), through which the visitants to the Los Roques islands, despite their diverse socio-cultural origin, were using human figurines in common social strategies. These practices involved the spatial clustering of the figurines with microvessels, decorated pottery, allochthonous landshell pendants (*Labyrinthus* spp.) and whistles (*Strophocheilus* and *Plekocheilus* spp.), bone flutes, oleoresin, and often unused stone microaxes. The *habitus* was for the first time 'installed' in the context DMN-X2, in the Ocumaroid site, in Domusky Norte, and, I suggest, being proved successful, it was adopted by the occupants of the DM and other islands of the archipelago. The possible origin of this *habitus* should be traced down on the Ocumaroid coast of the north-central Venezuela.

Drawing on the above considerations, it may be suggested that despite the differences between the stylistic categories and images of the DM Valencioid (*Standardised* and *Imitative*, largely *Seated* and exclusively female), and Ocumaroid (*Heterogeneous*, largely *Standing* and female but also including male and male/female) figurines, their contextual meaning at the Dos Mosquises site might have been homogeneous.

The evidence of these morphologically and representationally diversified figurines sharing the same depositional contexts suggests that the activities in which they participated (rituals, offerings) were equally accessible to and shared by, all occupants of the DM campsite, regardless of their cultural background and/or status. This suggests that the purpose of the social use of the figurines was common, which may be expected from the members of these multicultural parties that, as previously suggested, were co-operating in the enterprise.

Were the DMN figurines the representations of those household members who were absent from the islands? Were they representing living persons, ancestors or mythical beings? Unfortunately none of the three levels of the DMN figurine expression can be explained (see Figure 8). This is due to the character of the DMN site deposits in which the contexts with figurines are rare and poorly defined. However, the information on the archaeological and social contexts of the mainland Ocumaroids may shed light on the roles the figurines might have played in the island sites.

## **MAKING SENSE OF LOS ROQUES FIGURINES: PAUSE FOR REPLENISHING THE DATA**

After the review of morphological, functional and representational attributes of the figurines and their contextual data, the definition of their hypothetical subjects is still a highly speculative exercise. It should again be emphasised that all insular sites were interpreted as temporary campsites of people whose permanent settlements were located somewhere on the Venezuelan mainland. In consequence,



the island sites comprised the results of action of segments of mainland societies (according to sex, age, status, and/or specialisation), as well as selection of the overall cultural baggage that was produced/used in the permanent villages on the mainland.

At this stage of research the Dos Mosquises site figurines may be interpreted in terms of their function/meaning as (1) tokens for fertility, given the predominance of *Seated* and *Standing (Standardised) Ladies*, many of them pregnant; (2) shamanistic vehicles used in propitiatory ceremonies, given that some of the figurines are rattles, and were spatially associated with the presumably shaman-related objects, such as flutes, pipes and burners; (3) votive offerings, given their spatial clustering with other highly valued, largely unused artefacts, and their 'display' on fragments of vessels; (4) material culture 'repellents' that warned off intruders to the area, given the expected defensibility of the bountiful resources area; (5) representations of real individuals, e.g. of the women left on the mainland; or as (6) mythical beings. Within this range I favour the second, third and fifth hypothetical *subjects*, based on what has been suggested by the data up to this juncture. However, to substantiate my choice I will look for information about the social roles the figurines have played on the mainland sites of the island visitors.

The contextual meaning of the CS/D figurines suggests that they might have been employed in social strategies of negotiation between the occupants of the site and the supernatural powers, e.g. protectors of the marine animals. I could not determine the contextual meaning of the DMN figurines, nor those from KR/A site.

Perhaps the most important achievement of this study, at this juncture, is the 'discovery' of an *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977), through which the late prehistoric visitants to the Los Roques islands, despite their diverse socio-cultural origin, were using human figurines in common practices that perhaps entailed common social strategies. The reproduction of this *habitus* by all late prehistoric visitors to the islands suggest that such practices were fundamental for the success of the expeditions to the islands. This practice is documented for three islands of Los Roques Archipelago, and potentially in the fourth, KR/A site.

Prior to a final discussion of the possible social strategies hidden behind the *habitus* that involved the use of the figurines, I propose to first examine the figurine data from the mainland. We know that the permanent settlements of the island people were located on the north-central Venezuela mainland and, in consequence, it is reasonable to expect that such *habitus* was set by concrete historical and socially situated conditions, that should be sought, and eventually, uncovered on the mainland sites.

In conclusion, at this juncture, I put aside (temporarily) the process of 'making sense' of island figurines and consider imperative to enter the 'hermeneutic circle' (in terms of Gadamer 1960) and 'move' to the mainland. My aim is to uncover and understand the historical context of island expeditions, and the beliefs and values of the prehistoric social actors from Dos Mosquises, and other islands of the Los Roques Archipelago.

**Part Two**  
**On the Mainland**



## Chapter Seven

# Harvesting the Data

This chapter summarises our knowledge of Valencioid sites on the Venezuelan mainland, with emphasis on the figurine material. Its purpose is primarily descriptive (to put on record the typology and archaeological contexts of the figurines and other representational material culture) and to provide an essential database for the discussion that follows in Chapters Eight and Nine.

### THE LAKE VALENCIA BASIN HUMAN FIGURINES

Looking at the archaeology of north-central Venezuela, it can be seen at the first glance that the counterparts of the Los Roques figurines were overwhelmingly produced/used in the Lake Valencia Basin, in north-central Venezuela. For this reason, I begin my mainland research with the discussion of the archaeology of this core geographic feature of the region.

The Lake Valencia Basin is a part of a tectonic depression that separates two mountain ranges: the *Cordillera de La Costa* to the north and the *Serranía del Interior* to the south. The basin covers an approximate area of 2,750 km<sup>2</sup> and its central part is occupied by Lake Valencia (Schubert 1980). The lake, situated at the altitude of 402 m asl, extends 65 kilometres from east to west and 22 kilometres



FIGURE 24. Study region

from north to south thus covering 350 km.<sup>2</sup> It reaches a maximum depth of 40 metres (Bradbury *et al.* 1981). Several islands of different sizes are scattered on the lake and some of the former islands are now evolved into peninsulas.

The lake, which is an nondischarging reservoir (endorheic), has undergone several periods of filling and desiccation. Since the beginning of the Holocene the fluctuations have been long-term, short-term and seasonal (A. Antczak 1999a). One of the larger fillings of the lake was reported in 1727 when the water level reached a spill point at 427 m asl and drained southward toward the Orinoco watershed (Schubert 1978). The amplitude of the lake water level changes is more than ten metres.

Since the beginnings of the 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars have attempted to determine whether and how the fluctuations of the Lake Valencia water level affected the prehistoric settlements of the region (Berry 1939; Jahn 1940; Kidder 1944). Despite this long research trajectory, the archaeological and environmental data are still not correlated accurately. At present more systematic archaeological work still needs to be matched with the available detailed palynological and sedimentological records (Peeters 1968; Schubert 1978; 1980; Bradbury *et al.* 1981; Leyden 1985; Curtis *et al.* n.d.)

The dramatic changes in the water level have converted the immediate surroundings of the lake into an environment that would be risky for human settlements. However, the fertile soils that once formed the Lake Valencia beds are classified among the best soils in Venezuela for agricultural purposes and certainly might have been perceived as highly attractive by the Amerindian horticulturists (Ewel *et al.* 1976).

In this environment the remains of prehistoric dwellings and cemeteries of the bearers of Valencia style pottery, are recovered mainly on the eastern Lake Valencia shores (the sites of La Mata, La Pica, Los Cerritos[1], Camburito and Tocarón; see Pl. 4). The prehistoric remains in these sites are often found encapsulated within artificial mounds. Only two enclaves of mounds are located on the western lake shore on the banks of the El Roble river (El Roble and Los Cerritos [2] sites). Outside the mounded areas Valencia style remains literally sprinkles all the lake's surroundings, including peninsulas (especially the former islands of La Cabrera, Chambergo, Morro de Guacara and Culebra) and islands.

## **Data sources, goals, methodology**

Having broadly described the geographical/archaeological scenario, I now turn to the figurine data base. Table 84 reflects the heterogeneity of figurine data sources, anticipating problems that had to be overcome in their assessment and classification. It also shows that 66.54% of the data sources are archaeological texts. However, the quality and quantity of the information, as well as the extent and quality of excavation that was undertaken by the author of each publication, vary greatly. These excavations varied from stratigraphically controlled works of Bennett (1937), Osgood (1943) and Kidder (1944; 1963), to less controlled excavations of Peñalver (1965; 1967; 1971; 1976; 1981; n.d. a, b, c) and unsystematic excavations of Marcano (1889-1891[1970]), Jahn (von den Steinen 1904) and Requena (1932 [see Appendix 2]).

**TABLE 84. Minimum Numbers of Valencioïd Anthropomorphic Figurines (MNAF) from the Valencia Basin analysed in this study (according to source type)<sup>1</sup>.**

Source type	MNAF	
	#	%
Archaeological texts: excavation reports, monographs	358	66.54
Museum collections (analyses performed by the author)	115	21.37
Publications based on museum collection analyses	43	7.99
Publications on prehispanic art, exhibition catalogues	18	3.34
Various: non-specialised publications in anthropology, press articles, illustrations on book's covers	4	0.74
Total	538	99.98

<sup>1</sup>Compare to Appendixes 1, 2 and 3.

With the exception of Wendell Bennett (1937) and perhaps to a lesser extent Kidder (1944), none of the archaeologists who carried out the archaeological excavations in the LVB considered the human pottery figurines as objects of study *per se*. The figurines were briefly discussed or just merely mentioned in the sections of the reports dedicated to the descriptions and morphological analysis of ceramic assemblage. It is remarkable that only three sources (Bennett 1937; Osgood 1943 and Kidder 1944) provide analysis of distribution of Valencioïd figurine types according to the sites' stratigraphy.

The contextual information given by the archaeological sources is coarsely grained and scant and is absent from the art books and exhibition catalogues. Unexpectedly, my research of the Alfredo Jahn collection held by the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin revealed some interesting contextual data on Valencioïd figurines (for details see the section 'Alfredo Jahn').

Appendixes 2 and 3 show the quantities of Valencioïd specimens that are analysed in this chapter. This data is not a mere reproduction of information that has been provided by the sources thorough the last over 100 years but it is systematically extracted from a wide range of different presentations and classified for the further use. Some further comments will ease the reading of the data contained in Appendixes 2 and 3.

The 'Complete or semi-complete' figurines are those whose heads are still preserved and attached to the body; the *Standing/Seated/Cylindrical Body* status of these specimens may be determined. The column 'Figurine heads' enumerates those heads that were separated from the trunks and their remaining parts are unknown. These specimens were recovered during the excavations and/or are held in the museums as individual items. For the determination of the *Minimum Number of Anthropomorphic Figurines* (MNAF) all complete or semi-complete were counted together with separated heads.

The headless specimens were useful to determine certain characteristics of the type (e.g. *Seated, Standing, Cylindrical Body, Hollow, Solid*); however, they were not counted for MNAF. A total of 333 specimens has been used as the data base for figurine typology.

The quantification standard of *Maximum Number of Anthropomorphic Specimens* (MNAS) resembles the *Number of Identified Specimens* (NISP) used in zooarchaeology. Here, it accounts for all known figurines and their fragments, taking into account the higher number of specimens mentioned or illustrated by a particular source. It should be noted that six figurines illustrated by von den Steinen (1904) are not counted for MNAF nor MNAS, since they are included in the overall number of the figurines analysed by M. Antczak and A. Antczak (1999b) in the Museum für

Völkerkunde in Berlin. Note that these figurines are subtracted from the total of 50 figurines enumerated in the 24<sup>th</sup> row of Appendix 2 ('Complete or semi-complete figurines', 'illustrated').

In the case of Osgood, I have used the quantitative data of his collection received from the Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University, New Haven; however, 26 'headless figurines and trunks' that are mentioned by Osgood (1943) are not listed in the museum data base I received from Yale (Maureen DaRos letter from July 24, 1997). Further analysis of Osgood's collection in Yale may shed light on these inconsistencies.

The figurine data shown in Appendix 1 to 3 has been extracted from the data sources, analysed and classified in order to provide the information about (1) the overall number of known Valencioid figurines and their fragments, their provenance and present day location; (2) their formal variability and typology; (3) possible changes of figurine types across time and space; and (4) their contextual associations.

Except for the critical review of Wendell C. Bennett's (1937) contribution to figurine classification that opens this chapter, the rest of the contributions are examined in chronological order by the author. Bennett is put first since he elaborated the first typology of stratigraphically excavated figurines in the Valencia region.

It is for three reasons the criteria for figurine typology used by Bennett's has been applied here to all mainland Valencioid figurines whose images are available. Firstly, the number of figurines from Bennett's excavations at La Mata is by far the largest ever recorded in any stratigraphically controlled excavation in the region. However, only 10 percent of his figurines are illustrated. In this situation, his typology becomes the only available tool to assess the distribution of all his figurine in relation to the stratigraphic sequence. Secondly, the typological criteria used by Bennett had been applied to the classification of figurines from the two other stratigraphically controlled excavations by Osgood (1943) and Kidder (1944). Thirdly, given that Osgood and Kidder provided the illustrations of only segments of their figurine collections, Bennett's typology is the only available key to decipher Osgood's figurine typology distribution. Bennett's typology is thus the key to the stratigraphic sequence, shedding light on the qualitative and quantitative changes/stability across time and space. Bennett drew heavily on the collections excavated by his predecessors, mainly Requena (1932), when constructing the typology of La Mata figurines. This means that his typology was successfully 'checked' against a body of data that was larger than that from his own excavations. Bennett also recognised that Requena's collection also contained types that were absent in his assemblage (Bennett 1937:109).

The numbers of figurines to which I applied Bennett's typological criteria are displayed in Appendix 2, in the columns with the header 'analysed', while the columns with the header 'listed' show the total numbers of complete or semi-complete specimens listed by the particular source. From the total of 319 complete or semi-complete analysed specimens, the images of 214 (67.08%) are known. There are 105 (32.92%) complete figurines whose types were established according to description and not corroborated with the respective image. These specimens come from Bennett

(1937), Osgood (1943) and Kidder (1944). In these cases, the data about the quantity of specimens pertaining to the particular type is taken from the tables provided by the authors.

Finally, it should be said that several inconsistencies in the presentation of the figurine data in the original sources were detected during this study. The major difficulties were found in the analyses of data provided by Alcina Franch (1970). Due to serious discrepancies between the qualitative/quantitative information provided in the text, tables and illustrations, Alcina's classification was rejected and replaced by my own typology, elaborated on the basis of provided images (Alcina 1970: *Láminas I-IX*).

Other inconsistencies were also noted in Bennett's figurine data presentation. In the analysis of the quantitative distribution of figurine types between the strata in the La Mata mound, I use exclusively the data provided in Bennett 1937, Tables 1-7. Osgood's and Kidder's contributions also did not escape from inconsistencies in the presentation of the figurine data (see respective sections for details).

To avoid the above mentioned inconsistencies and in order to gain the maximum reliable information necessary to the definition of figurine types, my typology is based almost exclusively on figurines whose images are known. Also it integrates those attributes that can be assessed by the visual examination.

All figurine images identified in the literature (i.e. photographs or drawings) were carefully analysed to avoid double counting. Every identified anthropomorphic figurine received a number and was included in the same data base that was originally designed for the Los Roques Archipelago specimens. This data base is open to include more specimens, attributes and any additional information that may be obtained in future studies.

## **Wendell C. Bennett**

...not until Bennett's excavation at La Mata was there any attempt to provide a systematic study of the collections. His work, based on the materials accessible at the time and applied to those recovered by him, gives us the necessary preliminary orientation (Osgood 1943:24).

### **La Mata Mound Six**

Wendell C. Bennett, from the American Museum of Natural History in New York, was the first North American archaeologist invited by Rafael Requena to carry out excavations in the LVB. Between September and October of 1932 Bennett excavated a single mound from the group of already known and partly excavated artificial mounds in La Mata, located about five km east from the Lake Valencia shore. At that time, about 40 round or oval mounds could still be observed in La Mata. They typically stood about three metres high in the centre with a diameter of *circa* 30 metres.

According to Bennett, the occupational history of the Mound Six began with lacustrine dwellings constructed on stakes that went down into the undisturbed lake bed (Bennett 1937:136). The distribution of 25 posts, post holes and one cross beam suggest that this wooden construction possibly had a circular base (Bennett op.cit. 82, Figure 4). Bennett maintained that the debris falling from the

palafitte dwelling created a heap of debris. This heap, that will be referred to as the 'bottom section' of the mound, was interpreted as an underwater refuse deposit created by the lacustrine dwellers (Bennett *op.cit.* 87). Over this stratum a proper mound had been built up with dozens of beds of various coloured clays, dirt and ashes (Bennett *op.cit.* 79, Figure 2). According to Bennett the clays were brought from other localities and the beds are the result of an active period of mound construction rather than slow and gradual naturally induced accumulation (Bennett 1937:83).

The mound construction was completed when a series of layers of a yellow sandy clay capped the underlying layers. The clay beds and the yellow cap almost lack artefacts and burials. Logically, the construction of the mound atop of the heap of palafitte debris was carried at the time, when the waters had receded from beneath the pile dwelling. Once the construction of the mound was completed, it served as a habitation site and burial ground. A thick humus layer, made up of refuse from the mound dwellers, covered the mound entirely. These deposits of clays and humus will be referred here as the 'top section' of the mound. According to Bennett, the same sequence of layers was observed by Mario del Castillo, the field director of Rafael Requena, in another mound excavated close to the one excavated by Bennett. This interpretation clearly suggests two periods of inhabitation: palafitte and mound dwelling (Bennett 1937:133).

The burials, recovered in the top section of the mound, relate to the phase of the mound dwelling (Bennett 1937: 57, 83). Only two (3.17%) of them were recovered at the lower part of the top section layer but they still occur above the black refuse (bottom section). The lack of burials in the bottom of the mound would be expected if this section was indeed made up of deposits of materials that fell down from the lacustrine dwellings (Bennett 1937:86, Table 1). Six isolated human bones recovered in the bottom section suggest that 'bundles' of bones may have been kept in the dwellings, from which pieces might fall (Bennett 1937).

In total Bennett recovered skeletal remains of 63 individuals, including 10 children, nine youths and 44 adults (Bennett 1937:83). Sex categories of these remains are not given. Primary and secondary urn (N=29) and direct burials (N=27) were the most abundant (98.2%). If the humus layer (top section) is divided into upper and lower parts, then 66.6% (N=18) of all direct burials were recovered from upper part and 33.3% from the lower. Bennett believed that the direct burials from the upper humus were relatively more recent than the other burials in the mound (Bennett 1937:89).

Nine skulls excavated by Bennett have artificial deformation of the so called *Aymara* type, involving an artificial frontal flattening (for type description see Requena 1932:158). Seven of these skulls were recovered in secondary urn burial and two in secondary direct burial, in which the bones were piled up and the skull placed on top (Bennett 1937:89). The primary direct burials do not have artificially deformed skulls nor do all of the urn burials. If the primary direct burials in the upper humus layer were in fact more recent than any other burials in the mound, then the latest occupants of the site did not practise the artificial cranial deformation that was so characteristic of their predecessors.



## Pottery

Bennett distinguished Grayware and Redware within the pottery assemblage from the La Mata Mound Six. The Grayware was 'essentially a greyish colour with slight variants' (Bennett 1937:134). It was relatively thick, normally unslipped, only sometimes finished with a grey slip 'which gives the slick feeling of graphite, and a silver grey colour' (Bennett 1937:91). A variant of thick Grayware has a slip with a reddish tinge, and the same graphitic smoothness and the same silvery sheen is maintained. The thin grey brittle ware is rough to the touch and is seldom slipped. Bennett suggests that if this thin grey is subjected to considerable contact with fire 'it takes on a dull black colour' (Bennett 1937:91). The Grayware is a dominant characteristic of the bottom half (70% of the pottery), although not limited to it.

The Redware is distinguished by a bright coloured red slip applied over a yellow or grey clay. A thick Redware is of fairly coarse composition. Redware is predominant in the top section of the mound and almost 100% of the variant of Red-yellow ware is present in this section. A 100% of thin Redware of fine texture with its associated forms is found in the top half of the mound (Bennett 1937: 132, Table 13). Bennett suggested that the primary direct burials of the upper humus may be associated with the Redware (Bennett 1937:136).

Bennett considered that the material recovered in the bottom half of the mound represent 'a fairly consistent culture, isolated by its position in the mound' (Bennett 1937:134). The mound-dwelling upper section, which is characterised by the new Redware type pottery, does not present a conclusive new complex. However, when associated with the new urn burial type seem to suggest a strong outside influence or a new period of dwelling (Bennett 1937:137). Despite these dichotomies, Bennett concluded that there was not sufficient nor adequate data to conclusively prove culture change in his mound. Therefore, it is possible that the palafitte and mound dwellers were the same people (Bennett 1937:128).

Quantitatively the clay artefacts were distributed evenly between the top and bottom sections of the mound (N=1181 and N=1104 respectively). Moreover, the different categories of clay objects (figurines, amulets, shards, bowl shards, bowl handles, bowl *adornos* and miscellaneous) were recovered in both sections in about the same proportion (Bennett 1937:91, Table 2). This quantitative and qualitative similarity in the distribution and proportion of pottery artefacts in these two sections suggests that both lacustrine and mound dwellers were carrying out similar types of activities, and also both occupational phases were characterised by similar occupational intensities. In fact, it also suggests that one or more generations of kin-related people first inhabited the palafitte dwelling and later on lived on top. The lacustrine dwellers located their cemeteries away from the water, possibly toward the lake shores or on the islands. Consequently, we expect that some burial grounds in the area should be functionally detached from any possible dwelling remains. It has still to be determined whether the shift from the custom of burying the dead outside the residence (the palafitte dwellers) to burying the dead within the residential place (the mound dwellers), was related to the introduction of urned burials by the mound dwellers, or was already practised by the palafitte inhabitants. In any case, it may be expected that the dramatic shifts in burial practices that began with burying the dead in non-

residential areas (it is unknown whether they were direct or in urns) to in-house in-urn burials and later to in-house direct burials, were accompanied by changes in the ideational realm of the Valencioid people, related to some unidentified internal factors and/or external influences.

## Figurines

Bennett's excavation at La Mata Mound Six yielded 86 complete or semi-complete figurines, 102 heads, 85 figurine legs, and 28 amulets (Bennett 1937:114, Tables 7-10). He stated that 'the mound trenches furnished very few complete bowl or figurines', therefore, he referred to the complete specimens from Requena's collection to define the types of his figurine assemblage (Bennett 1937:90).

The majority of the figurines are coloured red over the body and yellow on the face and upper chest. The red colouring is not this same as the Redware which is also represented in some figurines. Other figurines are plain grey or yellow. In terms of manufacture the head, body, and limbs were typically modelled separately and then stuck together. Features, headdresses, limbs, and other details were subsequently added in appliqué technique. The legs may be modelled and the arms are usually appliqué strips. The decoration was accomplished with punched holes and incised lines. The majority of figurines are female, others are sexless. Except for one or two exceptions, Bennett described his figurines as crude, poorly modelled, and stylised.

**TABLE 85.** Quantitative distribution of anthropomorphic Valencioid figurine and 'amulet' types from the La Mata Mound Six, in order of abundance (based on data contained in Table 7, Bennett 1937:114).

Figurine type	Top half		Bottom half		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
<b>Figurines<sup>1</sup></b>						
Standing Hollow Oval Head	16	32.65	17	54.83	33	41.25
Cylindrical Body Hollow	7	14.28	7	22.58	14	17.5
Standing Hollow Rounded Head	8	16.32			8	10
Seated Solid	7	14.28			7	8.75
Standing Solid	2	4.08	5	16.12	7	8.75
Cylindrical Body Solid	3	6.12	1	3.22	4	5
Standing Hollow Canoe-shaped Head	4	8.16		0	4	5
Seated Hollow with Canoe-shaped Headdress <sup>1</sup>	1	2.04	1	3.22	2	2.5
Atypical <sup>2</sup>	1	2.04			1	1.25
Subtotal	49	99.97	31	99.97	80	100
<b>Amulets<sup>3</sup></b>						
Cylindrical Body Hollow Oval Head (Type C)	3	25	7	50	10	38.46
Cylindrical Body Flat Bottomed (Type D)	4	33.33	5	35.71	9	34.61
Dwarfed Body Solid Oval Head (Type B)	4	33.33	1	7.14	5	19.23
Rounded Body Solid (Type A)	1	8.33	1	7.14	2	7.69
Subtotal	12	99.99	14	99.99	26	99.99
Total	61		45		106	

<sup>1</sup> Bennett identified two figurines of this type; from his inaccurate description it can be inferred that one or both were recovered in the top half of the mound (Bennett 1937:113). <sup>2</sup>This is a *Atypical Hollow* three-leg or tripod-based figurine (Bennett *op.cit.*:119, Figure 14, bottom row, 2). <sup>3</sup>Based on description provided by Bennett (*op.cit.*: 117-118, see also Figure 14 and Table 10).

Bennett performed the hierarchical classification of La Mata figurines which is the first and, up till present, the most complete typology of the figurines from whole Valencia region. The first variable of the classification was the position, distinguishing the types of *Standing*, *Seated* and *Cylindrical*

*Body* (head put on cylindrical body with a flat bottom, usually without distinct limbs) figurines. Each of these types was further divided into *Hollow* and *Solid* subtypes. The final segregation of types was based on *Oval*, *Rounded* or *Canoe-shaped* heads (see Plates 217, 218 and 219).

Before starting the discussion of the figurines, it is necessary to examine the category of anthropomorphic 'amulets' that, according to Bennett, differ from figurines 'by their small size and by the fact that [unlike figurines] they are pierced for suspension' (Bennett 1937: 117). Only three types of 'amulets' are illustrated (Types A, D and E in Bennett 1937, Figure 14). I consider Bennett's 'amulets' as anthropomorphic figurines pierced for suspension, therefore, they are listed in Table 85 as integral part of figurine assemblage. Two 'amulets' have *Hollow Rounded Body Rounded* heads (Type A) and loops for suspension. It should be noted that the specimen illustrated by Bennett as the representative of this category has not a *Rounded* but typical *Oval* head (Bennett 1937, Figure 14, top row, 2).

The type B includes *Solid Oval Head* figurines on *Dwarfed Body*. This type is not illustrated and Bennett states that it is similar to the *Cylindrical Body Hollow Oval Head* figurine illustrated in Figure 12 (Bennett 1937, bottom row, centre). He describes it as having appliqué features a punched mouth and a body that is incomplete with two projecting stubby arms (Bennett 1937:117). The 'amulets' of Type C are not illustrated. They are described as *Hollow Cylindrical Body Oval Head* small figurine, pierced on the sides for suspension.

Type D is described as *Hollow Body with Bent Back Oval Head*, but judging by the provided image (Bennett 1937, Figure 14, middle row, 4), these seem to be the typical *Cylindrical Body Hollow Flat Bottomed* figurines. In this case, and until the specimens can be re-examined, I retain Bennett's classification of this type. To add to the confusion, the head of the illustrated specimen is *Canoe-shaped* and not *Oval*, as described by Bennett. Given these inconsistencies it is impossible to assess the form of the heads of the other 'amulets' of this type, apart from the illustrated specimen. Consequently, the head types of 'amulets' of types A and D are not taken into account in Table 87.

The last category of 'amulets' (E) is not discussed in here, since it comprises the anthropomorphic double-headed whistle (see Bennett 1937, Figure 14, top row 1 and 3) that is discussed in the section 'Whistles and ocarinas'.

In sum, the *Cylindrical Body* 'amulets' dominated the sample (N=19, 73.07%). They were also the most popular type in both the top and bottom sections of the mound. However, in the top half they shared popularity with *Dwarfed Body Solid Oval Head* 'amulets' that became significantly more popular in the top than in the bottom section of the mound. Before these statistical occurrences may be considered conclusive, Bennett's collection should be re-examined in order to sort out the inconsistencies detected in the classification of 'amulets'.

### **Standing figurines**

*Standing* figurines are the most frequent type and account for 65% (N=52) of all La Mata specimens, except for the amulets (Table 86). Their heads are usually large and affixed to thin, elongated bodies with appliqué arms and spreading, bulbous legs. *Oval* heads dominate.

Within this type *Standing Hollow* figurines are the most common within this type (84.45%) and account for 56.25% (N=45) of all recovered figurines. Within this group variation occurs principally in head shape with *Oval* heads as the most numerous followed by *Round* and *Canoe-shaped*.

The *Standing Hollow Oval Head* specimens account for 41.25% (N=33) of all figurines. The figurines with *Oval* heads are typical of the *Standing Hollow* group (73.3%). In general terms this type may be described as follows: (1) the body is long and narrow, spreading out to form the bulbous legs; most of the figurines show signs of steatopygy; (2) the arms are very small in proportion to the rest of the body and are represented by appliqué strips; (3) the hands rest on the chin, or on the hips; (4) the fingers are slit, five in number, and slightly modelled; (5) the eyes, mouth, and sex features are represented by oval appliqué pellets with an incised slit; (6) the nose is a modelled appliqué pellet with two punches; (7) the punched brow ridges branch out from the nose; (8) the ears are formed by one or two side loops but are not modelled; and (9) collar decoration is common, probably representing necklaces. The height of the figurines of this type varies from about seven to over 55 cm.

Bennett (1937:114) recognised certain variation within the *Standing Hollow Oval Head* figurine type. Unfortunately, these specimens are not illustrated in Bennett's report. One variant has a high crest which converts the oval shaped head into a half circle. The unique Grayware figurine has a rectangular head shape and should really form a distinct subtype. In contrast to the over-sized oval heads, this figurine has a head which is only slightly wider than the body, flat on top, and roughly rectangular in shape

The *Standing Hollow Oval Head* figurines were considerably more popular in the bottom half (54.83%, N=17) than in the top half (32.65%, N=16) of the mound. *Standing Hollow Canoe-shaped Head* type figurines account for 5% (N=4) of the La Mata assemblage and share the body and limb treatment, steatopygy, and the arm position with those of the former type. However, they also show significant differences. The 'canoe-shaped head' is the typical feature of this type. The head is long, narrow rectangle, thin at the top, thicker at the bottom, thus resembling an inverted canoe. The eyes are elongated and oval with horizontal slits; long punched brow ridges run into the nose, and a small mouth is represented by two punch holes, joined by a groove. The edges of the head may be decorated, especially the ends where two or more loops represent ears. The top of the head is sometimes curved and pointed at the corners thus augmenting the canoe-appearance. Some other differences between the first two types may be mentioned. All *Standing Hollow Canoe-shaped Head* type figurines have a red finish, unlike *Standing Hollow Oval Head* ones that also included a Grayware. Incised decoration is more common within the second type and all figurines of this type are well finished. All *Standing Hollow Canoe-shaped Head* figurines were recovered only in the top half layer of the La Mata mound and represent 8.16% (N=4) of all figurines recovered in this layer (Table 85).

The *Standing Hollow Rounded Head* figurines account for 10% (N=8) of all specimens. Unfortunately they are not illustrated in Bennett's publication (Bennett 1937). Two groups of figurines were distinguished within this type (Bennett 1937:111). The first set includes four Grayware figurines that differ from the preceding types only in the Rounded heads. The second set of eight specimens differs in several aspects from the preceding types: (1) they are made of thin Redware; (2) the heads

are not only rounded but more modelled, even the features are partly modelled and partly in appliqué; (3) the head is well proportioned to the body; (4) the arms are more carefully modelled than in other figurines and placed with the hands on the hips; (5) the legs are bulbous at the hips, with upper limbs and lower limbs modelled; and (6) the feet are shaped. All eight *Standing Hollow Rounded Head* figurines come from the top half of the La Mata mound, where they account for 16.32% (Figure 5).

The figurines of *Standing Solid* type account for 8.75% (N=7) of the La Mata specimens. They are generally smaller than the hollow figurines and their legs are shorter and not bulbous. In all other aspects their treatment is similar to the hollow figurines. Within the *Standing Solid* type Bennett described three *Canoe-shaped head* figurines, one of them with a very prominent pregnant-like abdomen and one having an *Oval head* of grey colour. None of these figurines is illustrated.

The head and the body of three of Bennett's *Standing Solid* figurines were made in one piece instead of two. The legs are short, the head thin and round. According to Bennett (1937:112) the *Standing Solid* figurines were common in Requena's collection but were brown-coloured

Five (71.4%) of *Standing Solid* type figurines were recovered in the bottom half of the La Mata mound where they accounted for 16.2% of all types. They were less numerous (N=2) and less popular (4.08%) in the top half layer of the mound.

**TABLE 86.** Quantitative distribution of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurine posture at La Mata mound (compiled from Bennett 1937).<sup>1</sup>

Figurine type	Top half		Bottom half		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Standing	30	61.22	22	70.97	52	65
Cylindrical body	10	20.4	8	25.81	18	22.5
Seated	8	16.32	1	3.22	9	11.25
Atypical	1	2.04	0	0	1	1.25
Total	49	99.98	31	100	80	100

<sup>1</sup>The category of 'amulets' is not taken into account in this table.

### *Cylindrical Body* figurines

Some of the *Cylindrical Body* figurines have cylindrical or barrel-shaped bodies with oval or round heads. Legs and arms may both be indicated in the appliqué technique. The base of the body is flat and they seem to be intended to be put on a flat surface. Both hollow and solid figurines with *Cylindrical Body* were recovered in La Mata Mound Six. The figurines of this type account for 22.5% (N=18) of the La Mata specimens (Table 86). They were quantitatively similarly distributed in the mound's layers and maintained similar popularity within each layer (Tables 85 and 86).

The (N=14, 17.5%) figurines are made mostly in Grayware, sometimes with a reddish finish. Except for the *Canoe-shaped* head, the range of all La Mata figurine head shapes occurs within this type. Six of the *Cylindrical Body Hollow* figurines have *Oval* head and the bodies of this group have dwarfed, appliqué limbs. Four figurines have *Rounded* heads and show broken-slit eyes and a punched collar around the necks their limbs are not indicated. Three figurines with narrow *Rectangular* heads have barrel-shaped bodies, their limbs are not indicated and female sex marking is prominent.

There are also two exceptional head representations within the *Cylindrical Body Hollow* figurines. One is a well modelled head, with a bulging forehead, a prominent modelled chin, and a nose ring. The body of this figurine is bulbous, the female sex representation is prominent and the flat

base is modelled at the back to indicate buttocks. Bennett (1937:112) considered that the second exceptional head does not belong to this group but it is included here because it is the only example of its class. It is a hollow, cylindrically shaped figurine with three short projections at the base forming a tripod crest, and the facial features in appliqué are placed directly on the top part of the body. Two buds on the side indicate arms and the sex is not represented. The mouth is V-shaped. The whole figurine has a reddish-brown colour with a smooth finish and has small pebble rattles are on the inside. This figurine was recovered in lowest brown layer of the La Mata mound.

The total of 14 *Cylindrical Hollow Body* figurines were equally distributed thorough the mound top and bottom layer (seven and seven); however, they were more popular in the bottom layer (22.58%) than in the top layer (14.28%).

The *Cylindrical Body Solid* figurines are uncommon in La Mata assemblage and are represented by four (5%) specimens only. Two of them have *Oval* heads on cylindrical bodies with flat bases and appliqué arms, with the hands on the chin. Another is a Redware with a modelled semi-canoe-shaped head. The face is surrounded by a smooth red straight crest. The eyes are in appliqué, the nose is a pellet with two holes, the brows are represented by the row of punched holes, the mouth by four grooves forming a broken cross. The last example of this type is a headless figurine that has an exceptionally long, cylindrical body and two projecting lugs for feet.

Three (70%) *Cylindrical Body Solid* figurines were recovered in the top half layers and one (30%) in the bottom half of the mound. Their popularity in the top layer was higher (6.12%) (Table 85).

### ***Seated* figurines**

The *Seated* figurines have legs extended forward from the body at a right angle, thus forming a base on which the figurine rests in a sitting position. The spread of the legs varies considerably. As a rule, the feet are not depicted and the legs are short and plain. The rest of the body of seated figurines is not different from that of the standing ones. Bennett stated that seated figurines are always of small size, however, their exact dimensions are not given. No other position of the legs than straight extension was found in Bennett's collection.

*Seated* specimens account for 11.25% of all La Mata figurines. Two types of *Seated Hollow* figurines were recovered. Both are distinct from other figurines and pertain to red or yellow ware categories. Two specimens have akimbo arms and slightly bulbous body and legs. The head is well finished with a *Canoe-shaped Headdress*. The face is below the headdress, which is not true of the regular, *Canoe-shaped Head*. The headdress is decorated with a cross-hatched pattern of incised lines and dots and topped with a ridge which is bifurcated at both ends.

Six specimens of the second type of the *Seated Hollow* figurines are entirely of Redware and distinguished by a bowl rim mouth opening on the top of the smooth, domed headdress; the figurine is small but nevertheless suggests a figurine-jar. The face is triangular with prominent ears, round eyes, pointed chin, and, like most of the body, bears considerable decoration with incised lines and punctations. The legs are short and wide spread, with grooves or toes on their stubby ends. The sex

designation is prominent and the arms are akimbo. Two round breasts are indicated, which is an unusual trait in La Mata figurines. These specimens are discussed here since they were classified by Bennett as figurines, however, they are excluded from figurine category here and instead considered within the group of anthropomorphic vessels.

The *Seated Hollow with Canoe-shaped Headdress* account for 2.5% (N=2) of all La Mata specimens. Unfortunately, Bennett did not give precise data on their distribution within the mound halves. It can only be inferred that at least one, but possibly both, were recovered in the top half of the mound (Bennett 1937:113).

There are seven *Seated Solid* figurines in the collection that account for 8.75% of the specimens. They are finished in red and characterised by *Oval* heads and akimbo arms, with the hands resting on the slightly bulging stomach. Two breasts are usually depicted and the legs are short, extending straight out, with incisions for toes. Possible signs of steatopygy are also present. Two figurines have slightly rounder heads, with the features somewhat better modelled. It is remarkable that all seven *Seated Solid* figurines were recovered in the top half layer of the La Mata mound where they accounted for 14.28% of popularity (Table 85).

There are two significantly weak points of Bennett's figurine typology that constrain its understanding and applicability for further study (until the original collection can be re-assessed). The first weakness is the lack of the data about the size of the figurines such that the size cannot be matched to any particular type nor specimen. The second weakness is the lack of illustrations of Bennett's collection. Only one representation of each type is provided which precludes understanding the range of variation that Bennett 'allowed' for each of his normative types.

### **Distribution and context**

Bennett did not give any detailed information about the contexts in which the particular figurines were recovered. We do know, however, that they were recovered from either the top or bottom section of the mound. The bottom section, accumulated from the refuse from lacustrine dwelling, was 'an unusual aggregation of broken pottery fragments, shells, broken artefacts and black coloured dirt' (Bennett 1937:81). The top section, representing the mound dwelling refuse, contained 'grind stones, broken axes, cooking pottery, and other articles distinct from pure burial material' (Bennett 1937: 83).

The burials were clustered within the top humus layers of the mound and none of the figurines were associated with them (Bennett 1937:83, 133-134). Shell beads or pottery bowls accompanied mainly child primary burials, contained in shallow urns. One child burial contained 'four kinds of beads and a stone frog' (Bennett 1937:87). Direct burials, both primary and secondary, had 'little preparation' and less mortuary furniture than urn burials (*op.cit.*: 85).

The lack of spatial association between figurines and burials seems to indicate that the figurines were related to domestic activities on a household level. If so, then it may reasonably be assumed that the domestic activities were, at least in part, responsible for the remarkable fragmentation shown by Bennett's figurine assemblage. It is impossible to follow this chain of inferences, since Bennett did not

provide data about similarities and differences between the nature and proportions of figurine fragmentation by type between the upper and lower strata.

The distributional data of the pottery assemblage, including figurines, strongly suggest a drastic increase in form diversification and technical sophistication between the bottom and top sections of the mound. The popularity of thick Grayware that accounted for 60.4% of all pottery from the bottom section decreased to 27.46% in the top section. Here the Redware became dominant (37.28%). The well-fired, thin red-slipped Redware first appeared in the top level and account for 21.66% of the popularity. The vessels of the top half contained a greater variety of bowl shapes and *adornos* were more frequent and more varied (Bennett 1937:99). In the top section may also be observed an increase in the number and variety of miscellaneous pottery objects such as large and shallow urns, griddles, bowls and urn covers, and modelled clay animals. Finally, almost double the number of figurines recovered in the bottom section of the mound were recovered in its upper half.

TABLE 87. Quantitative distribution of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurine head types at La Mata mound (compiled from Bennett 1937).

Figurine head type	Top half		Bottom half		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Oval	30	50.86	23	53.49	53	51.96
Modelled <sup>1</sup>	13	22.03	2	4.65	15	14.7
Canoe-shaped with or without Headdress <sup>2</sup>	8	13.56	2	4.65	10	9.8
Rounded	6	10.17	3	6.98	9	8.82
Triangular <sup>3</sup>	2	3.39	7	16.28	9	8.82
Rectangular <sup>4</sup>	0	0	6	13.95	6	5.88
Total	59	100.01	43	100	102	99.98

<sup>1</sup>Since the criteria used for the discrimination of the *Modelled* type are based on manufacturing technique used in head elaboration and not on its shape they are not compatible with the other head types whose discrimination was based on head morphology (shape) because the shapes of *Modelled* heads are not given (*Modelled* head type is illustrated in Bennett 1937:115, Figure 13e). <sup>2</sup>The *Canoe-shaped* head type includes both the regular *Canoe-shaped head* and the heads with *Canoe-shaped Headdress*; however, even if Bennett distinguished between these two forms of head he did not provide specific quantitative occurrences of them and included both forms within the *Canoe-shaped* head type; the precise quantitative vertical distribution of specimens with or without *Headdress* cannot be determined. <sup>3</sup> See Plate 220: 661 and 662. <sup>4</sup> See Pl. 220: 442.

It is interesting to note that, even if almost double the number of figurines were recovered in the upper half of the mound, the frequency of figurines within the overall assemblage of pottery objects was similar in each of the halves of the mound (7.69 to 8.64%, see Bennett 1937:91, Table 2). This suggests that figurine production and/or discard grew in parallel to the rise in overall pottery production so that the production and discard remained proportionally similar in the lacustrine and the mound dwellers households. This may suggest that the household grew in size, and with this increased their need for pottery objects, or that the number of dwellers remained constant but that their needs for pottery production were expanded. Even if a relatively similar number of figurines were produced/used in both occupational phases, their forms and manufacture techniques clearly diversified, following the overall trend toward diversity of forms and techniques of pottery manufacture observed between the bottom and top sections of the mound.

As shown in Tables 85 and 86 the *Cylindrical Body* figurines maintained popularity uniformly thorough the occupational history of the mound. The *Standing* figurines dominated in both halves of the mound but show an increased popularity in the top half. Four new types of figurine appeared in the



top section. The most dramatic change is observed with the *Seated* figurines which gained popularity from 3.22%(N=1) in the bottom to 16.32%(N=8) in the top section. However, it should be noted that, given the lack of precise data on vertical distribution of *Seated* figurines with *Headdress*, both such specimens might have well be recovered in top half of the mound, my distribution of one specimen in each half is arbitrary.

Let us turn now to examine the vertical distribution of figurine head types (Table 87). The rustically shaped *Rectangular* and *Triangular* figurine heads that accounted for 30.23% (N=13) in the bottom section were eliminated and replaced by carefully *Modelled*, *Canoe-shaped* (with or without *Headdress*) and *Rounded* heads in the top section (Table 87). Not one *Rectangular* head was recovered at the top section and the *Triangular* heads accounted there for 3.39%(N=2) only. The number of *Modelled* heads increased dramatically from 4.65(N=2) to 22.03% (N=13). The *Oval* shaped maintained their dominant position thorough the sequence.

The overall trend toward diversification and technological sophistication in figurine production in La Mata Mound Six is also confirmed by distributional analysis of figurine legs. As shown in Table 88 the popularity of *Modelled Foot* legs increased dramatically from 4.76%(N=2) to 20.93%(N=9) from bottom to top layer. Additionally two new types, *Solid With Hole* and *Bulging Solid* were added to the leg type repertoire. It is noteworthy that separated figurine arms were not reported by Bennett.

If we assume that the replacement of *Solid* by *Hollow* figurines is an indicator of overall technological improvement in figurine manufacture than it cannot be observed in the La Mata Mound Six. On the contrary, the popularity of *Solid* figurines rose slightly from the bottom (19.34%) to the top half (24.48%) of the mound and inversely, the *Hollow* specimens lost popularity from 80.63% to 73.45%. This tendency is even more dramatically demonstrated by the distribution of anthropomorphic 'amulets', where the *Solid* specimens gained popularity from 22.22% to 62.5% and the *Hollow* lose it from 77.77% to 37.5%, from the bottom to top halves of the mound. In general the *Seated* figurines and *Canoe-shaped* heads with or without *Headdress* may be considered as 'latest arrival' of the Valencioid occupants of the mound.

**TABLE 88.** Quantitative distribution of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurine leg types at La Mata Mound Six (compiled from Bennett 1937).

Figurine leg type	Top half		Bottom half		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Plain Solid	10	23.26	14	33.33	24	28.23
Bulging Hollow	9	20.93	13	30.96	22	25.88
Plain Hollow	8	18.6	11	26.19	19	22.35
Modelled foot leg	9	20.93	2	4.76	11	12.94
Bent-knee Hollow	2	4.65	2	4.76	4	4.7
Solid with hole	3	6.98	0	0	3	3.52
Bulging Solid	2	4.65	0	0	2	2.35
Total	43	100	42	100	85	99.97

Regarding the distribution of figurines according to the ware, the Grayware *Standing Hollow Figurines* dominate and the *Triangular* and *Rectangular* heads are characteristic for the bottom half of the mound.

At the top section the Grayware figurines with *Oval* heads are still typical, but a number of the *Canoe-shaped* and *Round-headed* specimens are also recovered. The *Cylindrical Body Solid* figurine is common (Bennett 1937:135).

The exclusive characteristics of the Redware are *Seated* figurines, both *Solid* and *Hollow*, from the top section. Associated with Redware are also *Modelled Foot*, *Bulging Solid*, and *Pierced* legs of figurines. Bennett suggested that another characteristic of the Redware are probably the *Modelled* and the *Canoe-shaped* heads.

In sum, even if we cannot speak about a 'trend' on the basis of only two levels of cultural deposit, the analysis of the vertical distribution of figurine types and attributes suggests some tendency toward the diversification in figurine production. The trend toward the technological sophistication that may be observed in some aspects (modelling) is, however, not confirmed by the increase in the production of *Solid* specimens.

## Gaspar and Vicente Marcano

The first monograph on the prehistory and ethnohistory of north-central Venezuela was published by Gaspar Marcano, the Venezuelan medical doctor, between 1889 and 1891 in Paris (Marcano 1971[1889-91]). Marcano, considered as the first Venezuelan anthropologist and ethnohistorian, described and interpreted 507 archaeological artefacts sent from Venezuela to Paris by his brother Vicente (Marchelli 1971). Vicente Marcano, as a head of the Anthropological Commission created by the Venezuelan President General Guzmán Blanco, carried out extensive excavations in the Lake Valencia region (Marchelli 1971). Some of the archaeological artefacts excavated by Vicente were exposed during the 1889 Universal Exposition in Paris.

Vicente Marcano excavated 20 out of 50 artificial mounds or *cerritos* in the site of La Mata, situated between the villages of Turmero and Magdaleno in 1887. However, it seems probable that some archaeological material from other adjacent archaeological sites, such as Camburito, Tocarón and La Cabrera might have been admixed to that of La Mata. If Vicente Marcano in fact excavated as many as 20 mounds at La Mata, apart from the excavations carried out in other surrounding localities, then the number of 507 artefacts that were sent to Paris must be only a fraction of a much larger number of specimens, whose destiny is unknown. Given that the excavations were probably focused on the recovery of aesthetically valuable and preferably complete specimens, it can be also expected that the remaining objects were not collected.

The mounds explored by Marcano were oval shaped, varied from 10 to 300 meters in diameter and were about three meters high. At least one mound had around its base a 90 centimeters thick stone wall. This stone enclosure was not continuous but had gaps between the segments of the wall which contained many entire and fragmented human remains, shells, bones, wood, lithic artifacts and clay vessels. According to Marcano, this stone wall circumscribed a cemetery (Marcano 1971[1889-91]).

## Figurines

Marcano's (Marcano 1971[1889-91], Figures 32, 54-56) report refers to the figurines marginally and only three drawings of whole specimens and one of a figurine head are provided. Figure 35 illustrates a head that is almost surely not a head of a figurine but an *adorno*. All three illustrations are of the *Seated Spread Legs* type figurines, two with *Rounded* heads and one with a *Canoe-shaped Headdress*. According to Marcano two of the figurines are covered by 'red paint', probably a red slip (*op.cit.*:108). The head depicted in Figure 32 is of *Rounded* type (*op.cit.*:89).

Marcano stated that all his figurines were female the majority being *Seated* and one *Bent-knee* types. However, neither the total number of specimens nor images or descriptions of other figurines, apart from the three specimens already mentioned, are given. It may be inferred from the text of Marcano's report that the majority of his figurines were fragmented. One whole specimen described by Marcano is *Standing* figurine, 26 cm in height, with an enormous 18 cm wide head with *Canoe-shaped Headdress*.

Marcano divided his figurine assemblage into groups with 'deformed' and 'normal' heads. The former were better elaborated or made in more recent times and were more numerous than the latter (Marcano 1971[1889-91]: 108).

According to Marchelli (1971), part of Marcano's collection was deposited in the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. This fact motivated me to seek access to the material from that museum with the expectation that I could examine the remaining Marcano figurines. However, I was unable to obtain direct access to this collection, so I incorporated the data on Venezuelan figurines held by the Musée de l'Homme, drawn from the study by Alcina Franch (Alcina 1970). Apart from his 1970 study, three incomplete *Seated Hollow Spread Legs* Valencioid figurines were illustrated by Alcina in an earlier article (Alcina 1962, Figure 18, 1-3), matching the specimens illustrated in the later publication.

Alcina carried out comparative analyses of forms and types of Venezuelan pottery, mainly figurines from the Valencia and Venezuelan Andes areas, in order to elaborate hypotheses on 'migratory routes of styles or cultural elements' in Northern part of South America (Alcina 1970). He analysed 14 different collections deposited in the Musée de l'Homme between 1873 and 1953. Among them 74 archaeological specimens from the Lake Valencia region were recovered. These specimens were entered into the museum collections in 1926, 1932, 1934 and 1947. Perera (1972) corroborated that the artefacts from Marcano's collection entered that museum in 1932.

Unfortunately the detailed provenance of most of Valencioid figurines is unknown. Sixty four were reported to have been found in Aragua Valley, eight in the Peninsula of La Cabrera and Serranía de Maracay, and two from Tocarón (Alcina 1970: 3, Tables 1 and 2). All these specimens came from eastern and north-eastern Lake Valencia shores (Table 89).

Several inconsistencies are evident when comparing the quantitative data contained in Tables 89, 90 and 91. These inconsistencies stem from the fact that the data contained in Tables 89 and 90 are compiled from Tables 3-6 contained in Alcina's publication (1970:6-7), while Table 91 shows the distribution of figurine and head types that I performed. Table 91 is based exclusively on Alcina's

(1970: *Láminas* I-IX) images and descriptions and checked against the catalogue of the specimens held in the Musée de l'Homme, annexed at the end of Alcina's publication (*op.cit.*:36-44).

**TABLE 89.** Image removed due to third party copyright

Major inconsistencies in Alcina's work became visible after the examination and comparison of data given in the main body of his publication, in tables and figures, and in the catalogue annexed at the end. For example, the total number of 46 figurines from the Valencia region given in his Table 3 (*op.cit.*:6) does not match the total of 15 figurines from the same region listed in the catalogue. Likewise, the total of 29 heads (*op.cit.*: 7, Table 5) does not match the number of 21 heads specified in his Table 6 (*op.cit.*: 9), nor do they match the number of 19 heads enumerated in the catalogue and illustrated in the figures.

**TABLE 90.** Image removed due to third party copyright

To avoid this discrepancy and to avoid the possible inclusion of anthropomorphic *adornos* (human head rim appendixes) as figurine heads, I rejected Alcina's (1970) data contained in Tables 89 and 90. Moreover, in order to save as much as possible of the data included in Alcina's study I performed my own classification of figurines and figurine heads based on the images, their descriptions and a catalogue provided in Alcina's publication.

In the classification based on images alone, some of the discriminant type criteria had to be abandoned, for example, the status of *Hollow/Solid* figurines could not be established in the majority of the cases. In the case of two other specimens (Musée de l'Homme NR 32.106.277 and 26.4.18) it was impossible to determine conclusively whether they are *adornos*, figurine heads or semi-complete figurines. These specimens were described on page 43 of Alcina's publication as 'human figures' but in the descriptions given below *Lámina VIII* they were classified as 'miscellaneous *adornos*' (Alcina 1970: 52, 43). Given their morphology I am inclined to consider them as *adornos* and, therefore they are not included in Table 91. One figurine fragment from La Cabrera (NR 32.34.36), and two heads from Aragua Valley (NR 26.4.62; no number of the second specimen is given), are not illustrated.

**TABLE 91.** Quantitative spatial distribution of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurine and figurine head types from collections at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. Data on the first three figurines is taken from Marcano 1971[1889-91], the rest is based on illustrations, descriptions and the catalogue provided by Alcina (1970).

**Image removed due to third party copyright**

Table 91 comprises data on 17 figurines. Two specimens are not considered because the type of one specimen is unknown due to the lack of its image and the other is atypical of the Valencioid collections. Most common in the sample are *Seated Spread Legs* figurines that account for 50%

(N=8); three of them are *Hollow* while the *Solid/Hollow* status of the rest is undetermined. The heights of four specimens of this type are known to vary between 8.3 to 12.8 cm (average height 10.1 cm). Three heads (37.5%) of this type of figurine are *Rounded*, two (25%) *Oval*, two (25%) *Canoe-shaped* (one of them with *Headdress*) and one (12.5%) head type is unknown.

Five figurines (31.25%) are *Standing* and one of them is definitively *Hollow*. One *Standing* figurine head is *Rectangular* while the shape of the rest is unknown. The heights of this type specimens vary from 6.5 to 15 cm (average height 12,8 cm).

Three figurines (18.75%) have *Cylindrical* body. Two of them have *Rounded* and the third *Oval* heads. The heights vary from 6.5 to 9.5 cm (average height 7.6 cm).

A total of 21 figurine heads are illustrated and specified in Alcina's catalogue ([1970, *Láminas I-IX*] Table 91). The images of two heads are not given and one is broken in such a way that the reconstruction of its original shape is dubious. These three specimens are not taken into account in the statistics below.

Returning to Marcano (1971[1889-91]: 109), he described all his figurine as female and the majority of them as *Seated* and emphasised the presence of *Rounded* heads and red slip. Marcano was the first scholar to point out the difference between figurines with anteriorly-posteriorly flattened (deformed) and normal heads. Moreover, he pointed out similar differences within the assemblage of Amerindian skulls excavated in the Valencia region (Marcano 1971[1889-91]:108-9). He posed the, still very actual and unresolved, question as to whether the heads with *Canoe-shaped Headdress* represent 'a headdress or an apparatus for [cranial] deformation' (Marcano 1971[1889-91]: 109). Marcano noted that the figurines with headdress or 'deformed head' were always better elaborated and preserved than the non-deformed ones. Unfortunately, Marcano did not back up his observations with sufficient nor adequately detailed data.

Coarsely grained contextual information is contained in Marcano's publication. He mentioned that the figurines were often found as funerary furniture in the mounded sites on the eastern shore of Lake Valencia. They were often recovered together with lithic axes, pottery vessels and 'jewels' (*alhajas* (1971[1889-91]: 113). The contexts in which the figurines were recovered are not mentioned in Alcina's study.

In conclusion, my original intention to gain access to Marcano's material through Alcina's study of the Musée de l'Homme figurines was not fully accomplished. None of the figurines illustrated in Marcano's publication are depicted nor mentioned in Alcina's study. However, there is no doubt that part of Marcano's collection ended up in that museum. Two zoomorphic *adornos* illustrated by Marcano (1971[1889-91]), Figures 41 and 43) correspond to those depicted in Alcina's study (Alcina 1970, *Láminas IX,9* and 11 respectively). The same may be said of figurine heads (Figures 32 and 35 and *Láminas VII,2* and VIII,1); one rim *adorno* (Figure 36 and *Lámina VIII,13*), one zoomorphic figurine (Figure 34 and *Lámina IX,7*), and a sherd decorated with batrachian motif (Figure 42 and *Lámina IX,9*). The whereabouts of the remaining figurines from Marcano's collection is presently unknown.

## Alfredo Jahn

Alfredo Jahn, the Venezuelan engineer employed by the German Railway Company Caracas-Valencia, carried out excavations on the eastern Lake Valencia shores, between January and March of 1903. The excavations were undertaken on behalf of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (hereafter MFVB) and concentrated on two well known and previously partly excavated mounded sites of El Zamuro (in the area known as La Mata), and the nearby site of Camburito. Jahn (1932:12) also carried out some excavations at San Mateo, east of the lake, where some Amerindian human remains were found. The MFVB holds artefacts that Jahn recovered in El Zamuro and Camburito mounds, those collected in the area of Guigüe (southern lake's shore), those from the non-mounded cemetery situated two kilometres east from Camburito (I called it Camburito/Molino), and those from lake's islands, such as El Burro, Caigüire and Culebra. Jahn sent the bulk of his collections to Berlin in two separate shipments in 1901 and 1903.

Jahn began his excavations in the site of El Camburito, which is situated on the left bank of the Turmero river, about three kilometres from the shore of the lake, and about six kilometres north of the El Zamuro site (Jahn 1932; Pl.196A). Von den Steinen (1904) reports about 50-60 mounds in this site, however, Jahn (1932) mentions only 20. Thirteen of these mounds were surveyed by Jahn, but only two proved 'profitable' (Osgood 1943:12), yielding artefacts of the museistic value that Jahn was seeking. Being considerably smaller than that from El Zamuro or La Mata site (Jahn 1932) the mounds from Camburito had circular bases with diameters ranging between 10 and 25 metres.

The El Zamuro site is situated six kilometres south of El Camburito, between the villages of La Quinta and Tocarón. It is located on the right bank of the Aragua River, about three kilometres from the river mouth (according to the water level in 1903), just below the confluence of the Aragua River with the Caño Aparo. According to von den Steinen (1904:104) this is the same site of La Mata or Las Matas but Osgood (1943:12-13) suggests that La Mata and El Zamuro are two adjacent but separated mound complexes. Osgood's observations are confirmed by the fiche of the MFVB which reports that in 1901 Jahn shipped to Berlin several artefacts recovered from the site called *Los Cerritos* (or La Mata), which he had excavated in 1887 with Vicente Marcano (Marcano 1971[1889-91]). It is difficult to explain why Jahn could change the name of Los Cerritos to El Zamuro sometime between 1901 and 1903. Therefore Osgood's supposition that El Zamuro had to be a semi-detached segment of the larger La Mata or Los Cerritos complex is accepted here. I preserve Jahn's original toponymy throughout this study but in general statistical accounting, I sum El Zamuro together with La Mata.

Jahn reported that between 22 and 26 artificial mounds were still visible at the El Zamuro site in 1903, containing a total of c.a. 50.000 cubic metres of soil (Jahn 1932:4). If Marcano excavated 20 out of 50 mounds in this site, then Jahn's data roughly confirms the total number of mounds that existed in this locality. This strengthens the argument that the El Zamuro complex is the same as La Mata. The mounds had circular bases of between 20 and 40 metres in diameter and were 2.5 m height. The largest one had an elongated form and was 130 m long, 63 m wide, and three metres high (von den

Steinen 1904:104). Of these mounds at least two were trenched by Jahn (Osgood 1943: 13). Finally, Jahn also excavated in the non-mounded cemetery two kilometres east of Camburito site ('near a mill': Camburito/Molino) where five large urns were recovered.

An article about these excavations was published in 1904 by Carl von den Steinen, the Director of MFVB. Jahn never published the report about his 1903 excavations. Instead a brief references to this work were made in the publications of 1927 and 1932 (Jahn 1927; 1932). According to Jahn (1932:7-8), the collection was shipped to Berlin in 1903, together with a written report that served as the basis for the von den Steinen's publication. Two years before, in 1901, Jahn had shipped to the same museum a small number of artefacts collected from diverse localities around the lake, such as La Cabrera, Guigüe, and two lake islands El Burro and Caguire (Antczak M. and A. Antczak 1999b). Osgood (1943:13) assumed (probably correctly) that because the majority of the objects that Jahn sent to Berlin were complete pieces then 'a mass material must have been discarded' in the site.

Von den Steinen (1904:103, Figures 5 and 6) provides a description of the structure of Mound 2 excavated by Jahn in the El Zamuro site. The upper 70 cm layer of the mound was composed of humus in which the majority of the archaeological remains, as well as 50 urn burials, were located. Interestingly, a thin layer of chalk divided the humus layer in the middle which may indicate a short-time inundation of the whole mound. Beneath the humus lay a 2.7 metres thick layer of clay that continued down to the lake marl. This layer contained refuse and discontinuous bands of charcoal. Some large stones were found on the periphery of the mound. Although Marcano (1971[1889-91]) reported a stone wall at the site von den Steinen did not interpret these stones as stone wall.

Jahn considered all Valencioid archaeological artefacts as the remains of the *aruac* (Arawak) populations. He maintained that the *aruac* were closely linked culturally to the *Caquetíos*. The *Caquetíos* were Arawak-speakers, who inhabited the north-western coast of Venezuela at roughly the time when the Valencioids dominated the LVB (see Oliver 1989, 1997; A. Antczak 1999a). Jahn suggested that shortly before the European Conquest, the Arawak-speaking Valencioid societies were overridden by Carib-speakers (Jahn 1932:4-7). He maintained that the cultural influences from Costa Rica and Nicaragua may be clearly distinguished in the Valencioid artefacts (Jahn 1932:4). Jahn did not provide convincing nor adequate arguments for his Valencioid-Caquetio connection nor for his supra-regional cultural links; however, the issue of some strong external cultural influence that reached the LVB just before the European Conquest had been a motif that reappeared in several later writings on regional archaeology (e.g. Bennett 1937:89; Peñalver 1976).

## Figurines

The collection of Valencioid figurines held in the MFVB is comprised of a total of 57 whole figurines, 25 heads (MNAF=82) and 35 legs and other fragments. A total of 55 whole specimens comes from Jahn collection (from 1901 and 1903), one was sent to Berlin by C. Plock in 1892, and the other by Schliephacke in 1931 (Table 92 [Antczak M. and A. Antczak 1999b]).



**TABLE 92.** Distribution of Valencioid figurine types from the collection of the MFVB.

Figurine type	El Zamuro	Camburito	Mariara	Los Cerritos	La Cabrera	Unknown locality	Total
<b>Seated</b>							
Hollow Canoe-shaped Head	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Spread Legs Hollow Canoe-shaped Headdress	2	1 <sup>1</sup>	-	-	-	-	3
Rounded Head	1	-	2	-	-	-	3
Spread Legs Plain Headdress	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Spread Legs Hollow Headless	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
Spread Legs Canoe-shaped Headdress	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bent-knee Hollow Headless	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Spread Legs Solid Oval Head	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Spread Legs Solid Headless	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Spread Legs Solid Canoe-shaped Headdress	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Solid (atypical)	1 <sup>2</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Standing</b>							
Oval Head	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Hollow Oval Head	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Hollow Rounded Head	1	1 <sup>1</sup>	-	-	-	-	2
Hollow Headless	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Solid Rectangular Head	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hollow Canoe-shaped Head	1	-	-	-	-	1	2
Hollow Canoe-shaped Headdress	1	-	1 <sup>?</sup>	-	-	-	2
Solid Triangular Head	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bent-knee Hollow Rounded Head	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Solid Oval Head	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Canoe-shaped Head	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rounded Head	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Solid Headless	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>Kneeling</b>							
Solid (atypical)	1	-	-	-	0	-	1
<b>Cylindrical Body</b>							
Hollow Flat Bottomed Rounded Head	3 <sup>2</sup>	-	-	-	1 <sup>2</sup>	-	4
Hollow Flat Bottomed Oval Head	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hollow Round Bottomed Rounded Head	1 <sup>2</sup>	1	-	-	-	-	2
Solid Flat Bottomed Oval Head	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
Hollow Flat Bottomed Rectangular Head	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Hollow Round Bottomed Rectangular Head	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Flat Bottomed Oval Head	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Flat Bottomed Canoe-shaped Head	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Round Bottomed Rectangular Head	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Round Bottomed Rounded Head	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>57</b>

<sup>1</sup>These two specimens come from the non-mounded burial ground at 'Camburito/Molino'. <sup>2</sup>These five specimens seem to be zoo-anthropomorphic figurines. The type with the question mark (?) is legless and therefore its *Standing/Seated* condition is inferred, not determined.

Among the total of 57 complete or semi-complete anthropomorphic figurines seven are headless, which gives the MNAF of 50 (Table 92). The most common are *Standing* specimens (40.35%, N=23); 18 (78.26%) of them come from El Zamuro. The provenance of one figurine (4.54%) of this group is unknown (Antczak M. and A. Antczak 1999b).

The *Hollow/Solid* status of 17 (73.91%) *Standing* specimens is known. 13 (76.47%) are *Hollow*, four (23.52%) *Solid* specimens. The head type of three (13%) *Standing* figurines is unknown; they are headless specimens. The *Oval* (N=8, 40%) heads dominate; *Rounded* (N=4, 20%), *Canoe-shaped* (N=3, 15%) and *Rectangular* (N=2;10%) heads, as well as those with *Canoe-shaped Headdress* (N=2, 10%) are less common; *Triangular* heads are (N=1) rare.

*Seated* figurines account for 29.82%(N=17) of all specimens; 12 (70.58%) of them come from El Zamuro site. Four (23.52) specimens are headless. The *Hollow/Solid* status of six (35.29%) *Seated* figurines is unknown; seven (63.63%) are *Hollow*; four (36.36%) *Solid*. The heads with *Canoe-shaped Headdress* are the most popular among the *Seated* specimens (58.33%, N=7); *Rounded* heads are considerably less common (25%, N=3); *Oval* and *Canoe-shaped* heads are rare (N=1 each).

**TABLE 93.** Distribution of types of Valencioid figurine heads from the collection of the MFVB)<sup>1</sup>.

Head Type/Site	El Zamuro		Camburito	La Cabrera	La Mata	Total	
	#	%				#	#
Rounded	8	40	-	1	1	10	40
Oval	3	15	2	-	-	5	20
Canoe-shaped Headdress	4	20	-	-	-	4	16
Canoe-shaped	3	15	-	-	-	3	12
Triangular	1	5	1	-	-	2	8
Atypical Headdress	1	5	-	-	-	1	4
Total	20	100	3	1	1	25	100

<sup>1</sup>Two face fragments of hollow figurines are not included in the table; however they do account for MNAF standard.

*Cylindrical Body* figurines account for 28.07% (N=16); 75% (N=12) of them come from el Zamuro site. 11 (68.75%) are *Flat Bottomed* and five (31.25%) *Round Bottomed* specimens. The *Hollow/Solid* condition of four (25%) figurines is undetermined; 10 (83.33%) are *Hollow* and two (16.66%) *Solid*. *Rounded* heads dominate (43.75%, N=7) among the *Cylindrical Body* figurines; *Oval* (31.25%, N=5) and *Rectangular* (18.75%, N=3) heads are less popular; *Canoe-shaped* heads are rare (N=1).

**TABLE 94.** Quantitative distribution of types of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurine heads among archaeological sites in the Valencia region (MFVB collection)<sup>1</sup>.

Figurine head type	El Zamuro	Camburito	Mariara	La Mata	Los Cerritos	La Cabrera	Unknown locality	Total
Rounded	15	5	2	1	-	2	-	25
Oval	16	3	-	-	-	-	-	19
Head with Canoe-shaped Headdress	8	1	-	-	1	-	-	10
Canoe-shaped	9	-	-	-	-	-	1	10
Rectangular	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	5
Triangular	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	3
Plain Headdress	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Atypical Headdress	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	57	11	2	1	1	2	1	75

<sup>1</sup> Both separated heads and the heads from complete specimens are taken into account.

Table 93 shows that among the separated figurine heads the *Rounded* specimens were decidedly dominant. The same pattern of occurrence is confirmed by the statistical comparison of all figurine heads including both those that pertained to complete specimens and those that are separated (Table 94). This evidence indicates that no one particular figurine head type was casually/intentionally separated from the trunk more often than any other head type.

One figurine arm with hand from El Zamuro site (# 15359), stands out from the assemblage because this specimen shows several morphological characteristics that are unknown from the Valencioid repertoire (Table 95). It appears to belong to an anthropo- or anthropo-zoomorphic figurine. The arms with a bowl in hand are unusually well modelled; all fingers with their nails are represented. The arm is solid, 10.8 cm long and red slipped. Taking into account the average sizes of the Valencioid figurines this specimen is large. It possibly stood about 30 cm in height if it was a

*Standing* figurine. The motif of a bowl in the hand is common to pottery figurines from Venezuelan Andes and, it is well possible that this was the origin of the specimen to which the fragment pertained. However, not a single Valencioid specimen with long arms extended outside the body is known; all anthropomorphic vessels and figurines have hands positioned on the abdomen, akimbo or supporting the head.

**TABLE 95.** Quantitative distribution of fragments of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurine from the MFVB collection.

Figurine fragment/Suggested figurine type	El Zamuro	Camburito	La Cabrera	Unknown locality	Total
Leg, Hollow Standing	13	-	-	1	14
Leg, Hollow, Seated or Standing (?)	2	-	-	-	2
Leg, Solid Standing	3	-	-	-	3
Leg, Seated Bent Knee	1	-	-	-	1
Leg, Hollow, Standing, Bent-knee (?)	2	-	-	-	2
Leg or hand, Hollow (small fragment)	-	1	-	-	1
Leg, Solid, Seated or Bent-knee (?)	-	-	1	-	1
Leg, Solid	-	-	-	1	1
Arm with hand, Solid, usually with five modelled fingers	6	-	-	-	6
Arm, solid	2	-	-	-	2
Other fragments	2	-	-	-	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>35</b>

### Distribution and contexts

The analyses of the collection in the MFVB unexpectedly yielded valuable information about both the stratigraphic position and contextual associations of Valencioid artefacts. A total of 25 specimens (43.85% off all figurines) have the specification of the mound of provenance and the depth of 19 figurines (33.33%) is also given.

The museum data revealed that five mounds (#1-4 and #8) were excavated in El Zamuro site and not two as suggested by Osgood (1943: 13). In mounds #2 and 4 the figurines were recovered between a depth of 0.5 and 1.5 m, and in mound #1 at a depth of one metre. According to the plan drawing of the section of mound #2 in El Zamuro (von den Steinen 1904, Figure 6), the uppermost layer of humus ended at a depth of 0.7 m. As shown in Table 96, all but one figurine were recovered in this layer. A single *Seated Hollow* specimen with *Canoe-shaped Headdress* was recorded 80 cm below the lower limit of this layer. No mention of this conspicuous occurrence was found either in the museum data or in the published record. It is also noteworthy that no one figurine was recovered from the first 50 cm of the mounds #2 and 4, or below the first metre in mound #1. This evidence indicates that the figurines were decidedly not surface finds.

The vertical distribution of figurine types within each mound and in all mounds together does not reveal any recognisable distributional pattern. Figurines types are scattered thorough different depths with no recognisable clustering. However, there is a significant rise in the number of figurines from lower to upper strata.

Let us establish the first level arbitrarily between 0.50 and one metre and the second between one and 1.5 metre. The figurines, whose depths are known, rise in number from 7 to 12 specimens respectively. In mound #4 they rise from 2 to 7 and in mound #2 from 1 to 5. These data suggest that

more figurines were produced/used by the Valencioid people while the mound was augmenting its altitude over the terrain. However, the inferential value of these data cannot be overestimated, since they represent the depth specifications of only 44.18% (N=19) of the figurines recovered in El Zamuro. Unfortunately, the lack of data on the stratigraphical distribution of figurines in mound #3, limited data on mounds #1 and 2, and lack of detailed stratigraphy of all mounds, except for mound #4, undermines the value of any comparative analyses of figurine vertical distribution among mounds.

**TABLE 96.** Distribution of figurine types at the El Zamuro site according to mounds and depth (source: MFVB original object-fiche).

**Image removed due to third party copyright**

The contextual information found at the MFVB archives undoubtedly was reproduced from the original notes sent to the museum by Alfredo Jahn. Accordingly, three figurines were recovered associated with direct burials and four came from funerary urns (Table 97). Except for the Mariara urn, whose complete artefactual content is known (see the discussion below), since the pertinent data is not given we might tentatively assume that each figurine was the unique furniture of a particular burial. The sex and age of the dead whom the figurines were ‘accompanying’ are unknown.

It is remarkable that only 12.28% (N=7) of the total of 57 figurines from the MFVB collection have been contextually associated with human burials. These data indicate that the majority of figurines (87.72%) were recovered in non-funerary contexts including domestic activity areas, refuse areas and other contexts. As shown in Table 97, the *Cylindrical Body* (42.85%, N=3) and *Seated* (42.85%, N=3) figurines were more commonly used as grave furniture. Only one *Standing* figurine was recovered in burials. The burial association of two *Cylindrical Body* zoo-anthropomorphic representations should also be emphasised.

The quantitatively low association of figurines with burials is also confirmed by the evidence from one specific site. Among the 50 funerary urns recovered in El Zamuro (von den Steinen 1904:103), only two (4%, N=2) contained figurines. Not only figurines but grave furniture, in general, seems to be an uncommon feature at this site. In fact only 14% (N=7) of urn burials contained grave

furniture, including two figurines and five pottery, stone and shell artefacts (Table 98). An overwhelming majority of urns had no furniture at all. A similar statistical analysis of the direct burials cannot be performed since their quantity per site is unknown.

**TABLE 97.** Quantitative distribution of Valencioid figurine types recovered in burial contexts, the MFVB collection.

Figurine Type	Site	Mound #	Depth m	Burial type	Museum NR	Collector
Cylindrical Body Hollow Oval Head (Zoo-anthropomorphic representation)	El Zamuro	4	-	Urn	15365	A. Jahn
Cylindrical Body Solid Oval Head	Camburito	-	-	Direct	15459	A. Jahn
Cylindrical Body Hollow Round Head (Zoo-anthropomorphic representation)	Camburito	-	-	Direct?	15455	A. Jahn
Seated Spread Legs Hollow Canoe-shaped Headdress	El Zamuro	4	0.70	Urn	15040	A. Jahn
Seated Spread Legs Rounded Head	Hacienda Mariara	-	-	Urn	11589,b	C. Plock
Seated Spread Legs Rounded Head	Hacienda Mariara	-	-	Urn	11589,c	C. Plock
Standing Solid Oval Head	Camburito	-	-	Direct	15458	A. Jahn

Jahn's excavations in El Zamuro, Los Cerritos and Camburito sites yielded 14 items associated with human burials. Seven (50%) were pottery specimens, five (35.71%) lithic artefacts, one (7.14%) was made out of bird bone and shell, and another (7.14%) from shell. Taxonomically unidentified bird bone, used as raw material for the necklace, and exotic, locally unavailable *Cypraea* spp. and *Strombus gigas* marine shells, used as a pendant and raw material respectively, were associated within one case. Bird bones, exotic marine shells and figurines are uncommon among the analysed burial furniture.

In all three sites lithic artefacts were associated with burials. Except for the ochre, all of lithic artefacts were tools that had been used before their final deposition in the grave took place. The presence of a fragment of ochre in one burial suggests that the Valencioid society may have associated the red colour with the death.

None of the vessels showed noticeable signs of previous use. The decorated bowl and the globular micro-vessels seem to be almost certainly not in use before being deposited as funerary furniture. It is interesting to note that only two out of six vessels recovered in burials were decorated; the third was red slipped. There were two open bowls, two high-necked liquid containers and two micro-vessels. According to the museum fiche, one of the liquid containers was of 'coarse manufacture'.

The decorated bowl has two human heads with headdresses in a form of truncated cone, attached to opposite sides of the rim. The contents of the bowl are not housed at the museum, possibly Jahn did not send them to Berlin. It reportedly contained 'finely worked small objects made out of *Strombus gigas* shell representing caimans and turtles' (translation from the original museum fiche). In this case the exotic shell of *Strombus gigas* was used as a raw material to represent the water-related reptiles. The aquatic, marine origin of these artefacts links meaningfully all the content of the bowl.

The pyramid-like objects mentioned in Table 98 are, as far as I know, a unique find within north-central Venezuela. All 203 small objects were found inside a single funerary urn from the El Zamuro, Mound #8. They were carefully carved out of the *Strombus gigas* shell and polished. These artefacts, made out of locally unavailable marine shell, might have represented a real 'wealth' for the Valencioid

people. Apart from the exotic raw material, they encapsulate the investment of considerable time and work in their production. In terms of time/work they may only be compared to collars composed of dozens of small figures carved in shell and/or bone. If these pyramid-like objects had not functioned purely as symbolic paraphernalia they might have been used as tokens or to inlay wood, bone or pottery items. The presence of these artefacts in the urn may indicate the exceptional status and/or the occupation of the deceased. However, we do not know how 'common' this practice might have been.

**TABLE 98.** Mortuary furniture from Alfredo Jahn excavations in the Valencia region (data contained in the fiche of the MFVB).

**Image removed due to third party copyright**

The general lack of bioanthropological data precludes further insights into the correlation between the grave offerings and gender, age and social status of the deceased. In only two cases is grave furniture known to be associated with infant skeletal remains. In one of these cases a globular, high-necked pottery liquid container was found beside the skull of one infant in the Camburito site.

In the second case, the microvessel in the form of a 'micro-urn', was placed inside a larger urn containing an infant in the El Zamuro site. I called them 'micro-urns', since their conical base and

globular form resemble the large conical funerary urns typical for the Valencioid cemeteries. This type of microvessel was neither previously described nor illustrated by any other source. Three other almost identical micro-vessels ranging from 6.8 to 11 cm in height were found in Jahn's collection (see Pl. 198). Three of these specimens were found in El Zamuro and one in the Camburito site. A red slip is still visible on some of them. Were these artefacts models of large funerary urns made by or for the Valencioid children? The association of one of these objects with an infant burial may strengthen this connection.

The most interesting contextual data on a single burial relates to the group of objects sent to Berlin by C. Plock, the Director of the Railway of Venezuela, in 1894 (NR 11589, a-n; Table 99). Thirteen objects, including clay and stone artefacts and one unmodified fragment of coral, were recovered together with one 'bent' human skeleton inside a 'large' funerary urn found in Hacienda Mariara, northern Lake Valencia shore (information from the fiche of the MFVB). No data on the characteristic of the site in which the urn was found is available.

**TABLE 99.** Artefacts contained in urn burial from Hacienda Mariara, northern shore of Lake Valencia (according to the data contained in the fiche of the MFVB).

**Image removed due to third party copyright**

The list of artefacts shown in Table 99 is certainly the most detailed inventory of one of the most artefactually diverse Valencioid funerary furniture recovered in north-central Venezuela (Pl. 197). The overall impression is that all the artefacts from the urn were used before their deposition in the urn. Of particular significance is the fact that several objects contained within the urn, especially the lithic artefacts and the pipe, seem to have been used for a long time before they were finally deposited in the burial. Indeed, all other artefacts from the urn, even if they do not bear signs of such severe use-wear attrition, appear to be objects that had been previously used rather than objects that were made for a funerary purpose. Were they used by the deceased person during its life and/or pertained to its household?

In terms of non-local raw material, two lithic axes were made out of serpentinite, a material which is not available in the LVB but may be found thorough the Cordillera de La Costa mountain

range, that flanks the basin on the north (Wagner and Schubert 1972). Coral is the only truly exotic item in this inventory and would have been brought from some of the bays on the north-central coast, e.g. Patanemo bay. Alternatively, it might have been brought from the Morrocoy cays to the north-west or from the coral islands, such as Los Roques and Las Aves archipelagos.

### Pottery

Apart from human figurines, Jahn's collection is composed of animal figurines, microvessels, anthropomorphic vessels, larger fragments of decorated pots, zoo- and anthropomorphic *adornos*, pipes, whistles, *ocarinas*, as well as shell, bone and lithic objects. I am not going to describe in detail the Valencioid pottery from the MFVB collection, which is representative for the eastern Lake Valencia mounded sites (see Bennett 1937, Osgood 1943, Kidder 1944). However, several of these objects are mentioned in the following sections of this chapter.

### Rafael Requena

Whatever doubt may be raised as to the factual basis behind the Requena's great speculation, there should be none that he, more than any other individual, has inspired scientific interest in the archaeology of Venezuela (Osgood 1937:14).

Rafael Requena, a Venezuelan medical doctor, first encountered South American prehistoric figurines in Paris, during his visit at the Museum of the Palace of Trocadéro, in 1904 (Requena 1932:109). At that time he was preparing his doctoral dissertation about leprosy and while examining the protuberances seen on the faces of the figurines, his first impression was that these deformations were related to leprosy (see also Requena 1945a, b). Later on, he realised that the prehispanic Americans could not suffer from leprosy since this illness is not of American origin.

Requena's sustained a long-term interest in the prehispanic past which culminated in the large scale excavations which he promoted and supervised in 1930. These excavations targeted the areas of mounded and burial grounds of the eastern and western Lake Valencia shores (Pl.196 B, C). A considerable portion of Requena's artefacts came from the locality of Palmita or Araguata in the Peninsula of La Cabrera (see Bennett 1937:75). However, it seems that the most extensive excavations were carried out at the site of Los Tamarindos, on the same peninsula, where Alfred Kidder II excavated systematically three years later (Kidder 1944). Other sites excavated by Requena are Los Cerritos (in the La Mata area), and Cascabel and El Charral on the western shore of the lake. The Charral site was incorrectly located by Bennett (1937) on a hill north of the lake. Osgood (1943:10, Figure 1) situated it correctly on the western lake's shore, close to the Cascabel site.

Requena excavation standards were far below those of the archaeology of his time. He admitted that his excavations were 'made in an imperfect way and in limited time' (Requena 1932: 253). Kidder, who re-excavated after Requena at the site at Los Tamarindos, remarked on the large quantities of shards and lithic artefacts left around the trenches abandoned by Requena's team (Kidder



1944:28). Osgood (1937) also pointed out the lack of documentation in Requena's work and considered his collection as an admixture of archaeological material from several localities.

Despite these weaknesses, quantitatively and qualitatively the findings were impressive in terms of good preservation and aesthetic value. Requena's excavations made a profound impact on the national politicians and general public, and had repercussions felt far beyond the Venezuelan frontiers. His well illustrated book (Requena 1932) and an archaeological exhibition, launched in Maracay in 1932, presented the figurines as objects to be 'admired' (Pl.196D).

As the Private Secretary of Juan Vicente Gómez, the Dictator of Venezuela, Requena raised the interest of the government in promoting excavation and conservation of prehispanic remains of the country. Taking advantage of the propitious atmosphere raised by his political and archaeological activities, he promoted the invitation of three North American archaeologists, Wendell C. Bennett, Cornelius Osgood and Alfred Kidder. These scholars were hosted by the Venezuelan government and carried out surveys and excavations in the Valencia region. Thus it was the figure of Rafael Requena, who metaphorically closed the first chapter in the history of archaeological research in the LVB, in which unsystematic explorations and excavations were carried out by non-archaeologists, and free speculations were made about the origins of the findings. It was Requena who opened the next chapter, characterised by controlled excavations and more rigorous testing of proposed hypotheses (A. Antczak 1999a: 36).

After the collapse of Requena's museum in Maracay, the majority of archaeological specimens, including the figurines, were sent to the *Museo de Ciencias Naturales* (National Science Museum) in Caracas, where they have remained. Some specimens are still held by Requena's descendants (see e.g. Kelemen 1969; Deletaille and Deletaille 1992:313, Figure 298). At least one specimen, illustrated in Requena book (1932: 114, first specimen on the left and pp. 59, top row fourth from the left) ended in the collection of the Rhode Island Museum Works of Art Fund, in New York. More than 200 objects from the Valencia region, some of them certainly coming from Requena's excavations, were sold in 1937 by Mario del Castillo, Requena's field director, to the Museu Nacional, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (Andrade Lima, personal communication 1999).

### **Chinese figurines in the Valencia Basin?**

Requena was well aware of formal differences among his figurine assemblage. He also observed significant differences in the disposition and the content of human burials and the characteristics of the skeletons. He considered that these differences proved that the LVB had been the seat of 'various nations of different religious practices for long centuries' (Requena 1932:283).

According to Requena the most culturally 'advanced' group was the race of people with 'flat skulls' and long arms. This group produced artefacts of more refined in aesthetic character. Requena, trained as a doctor, considered 'flat skulls' to be biogenetic feature of this ancient population rather than the result of the artificial deformation (Requena 1932:293-4). The cultural strata of these 'people' was found in the upper layer of excavated sites (Requena refers probably to the La Mata and La Cabrera trenches). This strata ended, on average at a depth of two metres, which corresponds roughly

with the Valencia style cultural layers (Kidder 1944; Cruxent and Rouse 1958). Requena (1932) does not clarify the identity of the 'other' prehistoric inhabitants, those that practised direct burials with poor, or even without any, furniture. These 'earlier people' produced 'rude' pottery which is neither illustrated nor described. Artefacts of this culture, found in the deeper layers of deposits excavated by Requena, were later described and identified by Kidder (1944).

Unfortunately, Requena's explanations for the origins of the characteristics and variation observed in the archaeological record were based on an uncritical form of diffusionism. He aimed to prove that the descendants of 'civilised' Old World human races and cultures such as Chinese, Egyptian, Phoenician and Etruscan, were present in the LVB in the prehispanic times. He maintained that the 'seal' of the Old World high civilisations was impressed not only on Valencia figurines and pottery but also the 'bone, stone and ivory necklaces which have an exact Egyptian aspect' (Requena 1932:118).

By 'emphasising' the Old World presence in Valencia region Requena aimed to prove that the producers/users of the figurines and other artefacts were the descendants of the extinct race of the Atlantis. This fantastic 'theory' was constructed in an idealistic attempt to 'ennoble' and 'elevate' the local prehistoric cultures by indicating their connections with the high civilisations of the Old World (A. Antczak 1999a). The descendants of Atlantis were, according to Requena, the 'flat skull' people identified in his excavations.

Requena went even further in constructing his theory by actually physically altering some of the figurines specimens. In his diary he recorded that on the 4<sup>th</sup> of October of 1930 three *idolos* were recovered. He describes one as 'the head and a part of the trunk of a perfect Chinese Buddha', whose position suggested 'that we contemplate an idol from the sacred Pagoda of Pei-Ping', while another 'has a striking resemblance with Egyptian idols' (Requena 1932: 118, 285). These figurines were later 'restored' and round pedestal-type bases were annexed to their trunks. From the photographs and drawing provided by Requena (1932: 71, 119) it can be seen that these bases are modern amendments. I examined these figurines in the Museo de Ciencias Naturales in Caracas, in 1996, and corroborated that the pedestal-like bases were certainly added in modern times (see Pl.218:423; Pl.219:422).

Figurines whose bodies are made in the form of a flat-bottomed cylinder are not absent in the Valencioid stylistic repertoire, however, none is similar to the rounded, pedestal-type bases of Requena's 'restored' specimens. On the other hand, not a single head with *Canoe-shaped Headdress* stuck to the cylindrical body figurine is known. The figurine bust illustrated by Requena (1932:71, the second photograph to the right) is one of the most typical standardised images of the Valencioid figurines and was always represented as *Standing or Seated Spread Legs* figurine. These data seem to indicate that Requena's 'restorations' went far beyond the standards of scientific reconstruction even for his time and do not respect the criteria of Valencia style figurines.

The extent to which Requena was biased by his Atlantis theory is well illustrated in his interpretation of the yellowish slip on the Buddha-like figurine, a colour that is typical on Valencioid figurines, as the 'imitation of gold' (Requena 1932:71). These facts suggest that the Requena's

‘restoration’ process aimed to ‘construct’ a new type of figurine that could best suit his theory about its Old World origin.

## Figurines

A total of 52 figurines and their fragments from the excavations on the Lake Valencia shores were displayed in the early 1930s in the Museum in Maracay, as can be counted from Requena’s (1932: 303-327) inventory of exposed objects. According to this inventory, the glass case #7 contained 31 whole figurines, 14 figurines without feet, three without legs, one without all members, one fragmented figurine and two heads (Requena 1932: 312).

**TABLE 100.** Frequency of figurine types from Requena’s excavations at different localities in the LVB (based on the illustrations contained in Requena 1932).

Figurine type	Quantity	
	#	%
Standing Oval Head	15	62.5
Standing Canoe-shaped	6	25
Standing Hollow Headless	2	8.33
Standing Rounded Head	1	4.16
Subtotal	24	99.99
Cylindrical Body Oval Head	3	50
Cylindrical Body Rounded Head	3	50
Subtotal	6	100
Seated Spread Legs Rounded Head	3	75
Seated Spread Legs Oval Head	1	25
Subtotal	4	100
Seated Bent-knee Oval Head	2	66.66
Seated Bent-knee Rounded Head	1	33.33
Subtotal	3	99.99
Total	37	

These numbers do not match a total of 35 complete figurines, two headless figurines and four heads illustrated in Requena’s book. It seems that several footless and legless figurines were not depicted in the book. Three figurines which are of non-local origin (stylistically unrelated to the Valencia style) are not included in Table 100. The first is a typical representative of the late prehistoric seated figurines from the Venezuelan Andes (Requena 1932:59, the second specimen from the right in the lower row; see also drawing on page 63). One painted figurine (Requena 1932:131) is another typical Andean representation of a man sitting on a bench. The third specimen (Requena 1932:63, on the right), is related to the figurines from the Andean piedmont, from the Lara State. The Andean origin of some Requena’s figurines was also noted by Bennett (1937; see also Linné 1937:28).

Due to the overall deficiency and imprecision of Requena’s field documentation, as well as his ‘Atlantis bias’, I question the inclusion of these specimens in the collection of objects recovered in the Valencia region. Given the precedence of the ‘distortedly restored’ figurines, it would be expected that some of the non-Valencioid artefacts may have been casually or intentionally introduced to the Valencioid assemblage in order to emphasise its overall richness and diversity. The inclusion of painted Andean figurine could supplant the lack of painting of the Valencioid pottery and augment the richness of decorative techniques and motifs.

The occurrence of Andean figurines in Valencia contexts has not been reported thus far in published sources, even though trade networks between these two regions have been archaeologically

demonstrated (e.g. the presence of the bat-winged shell and stone pendants in both areas [A. Antczak 1999a]). The only possible evidence of the presence of the Andean figurines in Valencia region may be already described arm with a bowl in hand, recovered by Jahn in the El Zamuro mound.

The two ‘non-scientifically’ restored *Cylindrical Body* figurines (Requena 1932:71, 119) are excluded from Table 100 and included in the list of figurine heads (Table 101).

**TABLE 101.** Frequency of figurine head types from Requena’s excavations in the LVB (compiled from illustrations contained in Requena 1932; including heads of figurines listed in Table 20 as well as separated heads).

Figurine head type	Quantity	
	#	%
Oval	23	58.96
Rounded <sup>1</sup>	9	23.07
Canoe-shaped	6	15.38
Canoe-shaped Headdress <sup>1</sup>	1	2.56
Total	39	99.97

<sup>1</sup>One head with *Canoe-shaped Headdress* and one *Rounded* head pertain to the ‘restored’ specimens discussed in this section (see Requena 1932:71, 119).

The most numerous in the Requena’s collection are *Standing* figurines (N=24, 64.86%) followed by *Seated* (N=7, 18.91%) and *Cylindrical Body* specimens (N=6, 16.21%). The *Oval* (60%, N=21) is the most popular head type followed by the *Round* (22.85%, N=8). Two statistical occurrences should be emphasised. The high occurrence of *Oval* heads accounted for 71.42% (N=15) of heads that pertained to whole *Standing* specimens. It is also striking that only one head with *Canoe-shaped Headdress* was found in Requena’s collection (Table 101).

Further analysis of figurines and the interpretation of their statistical occurrences, based on the data provided in Requena’s book alone, are severely hampered. Requena did not provide data about the dimensions of the figurines, their solid-hollow condition, nor geographic/stratigraphic provenance. Figurines recovered from a number of sites are intermingled including those from such sites as Los Cerritos (La Mata), Los Tamarindos (La Cabrera) and Tocarón, on the eastern lake’s shore, and at El Cascabel and El Charral sites, on the western shore (A. Antczak 1999a). Osgood (1943:14) emphasised that “although the Requena collection is probably the largest from the [Lake Valencia region] mounds, detailed data on the provenience of specimens are lacking and the material has been mixed with that from the site as Tamarindos as well as other extraneous localities”.

## Contexts

Some figurines excavated by Requena were recovered from funerary contexts, mainly in large ceramic urns and/or outside them. Certainly these figurines may be interpreted as funerary furniture. Unfortunately, only few particular contexts are described by Requena so no one particular figurine can be ascribed to any particular context.

Requena (1932:112). observed that the major burial grounds that included funerary urns were located “south-east of Punta de La Palmita [Peninsula of La Cabrera], about 500m of the lake’s shore [and there] we began to find the Indian cemeteries or *cerritos* [mounds] [...and ] there we began the work, opening and exploring in trenches”. The urns found in these burial grounds had a conical form,

their heights varied from 0.2 to 1.3 meters, and they were buried at 1.5 metres below the surface. Inside the urns there were a significant number of human bones representing various skeletons, some in a good state of preservation (semi-fossilised), and others deteriorated. Figurines as well as “the ceramic cups and small bottles, stone axes, engraved necklaces made out of stone and bone, ceramic vessels of diverse forms and ceramic musical instruments were found together with human bones, inside the urns” (Requena 1932:116). In addition, clay pipes were found in some funerary contexts and gold earrings were recovered from one urn (Requena 1932: 128, 294).

According to Requena, the funerary furniture (especially in the Tamarindos site, Peninsula of La Cabrera) was found both within urns, and outside the urns. He said that “outside the urn ceramic vessels and figurines and the major part of domestic utensils of large size that probably pertained to the dead were found” (Requena 1932:272). From inside the ceramic vessels he also recovered bones of birds, mammals, fish and molluscs which he interpreted as remains of funerary food with which the dead was provided for his after death journey (Requena 1932:272). Some urns have not any artefacts associated with human remains (Requena 1932:299).

In his diary, Requena (1932:286) described the content of one particular urn as follows “among soil, bones and a lot of broken pottery [...we found] one bone flute [...], one pottery figurine [*idolo*], 23 necklace pieces, and one pottery musical instrument similar to *ocarina*...”. In another funerary context, he described as an area where six ‘tombs’ were found at the El Cerrito site, five lithic axes/knives, two broken figurines and fragments of marine shell necklaces were recovered (Requena 1932:299).

According to Requena’s diary, during the 18<sup>th</sup> day of an excavation carried out in 1930 at the site of Los Tamarindos, seven urns were recovered containing two small figurines and three knives of polished stone. All the associated pottery was broken (Requena 1932:299). On the 26<sup>th</sup> September of the same year Requena’s team recovered, at a depth of 1.5 metres, “two ceramic figurines [*idolos*], a series of [pottery] discs; four polished stone axes [...] and various lithic projectile points [...] a human decomposed skeleton [direct burial], some *adornos* that were necklaces and bracelets, one axe/knife of green-emerald jade colour ...” (Requena 1932:269).

On two occasions Requena made reference to two likely burial contexts but he did not provide precise indications of the spatial configuration of the associated artefacts. He mentioned that during one day of excavation at Los Cerritos site they found 14 skulls and one figurine adjacent to necklace fragments, two small vessels and five lithic beads (Requena 1932: 288). During another day of excavation at the same site, Requena’s team recovered 15 urns, one necklace with more than 200 beads, three lithic knives, three figurines, one small vessel and one necklace made out of marine shells (Requena 1932: 296). Unfortunately, not a single figurine illustrated by Requena can be ascribed to any of the above described context.

## Pottery

Apart from the figurines, Requena collected an extraordinarily large number of complete and semi-complete ceramic artefacts including vessels, zoomorphic figurines, griddles, musical

instruments (*ocarinas*), discs and beads. In general, all these artefacts accord with the Valencia style, as defined by Cruxent and Rouse in 1958. However, certain objects illustrated in Requena's book are clearly of non-Valencioid origin. Such anomalous artefacts as painted ware in two or three colours, tripod vessels, Antillean type 'gravy-boat' bowl and Andean-type figurines were already recorded by Bennett (1937). They appear to have been 'added' to the collection by Requena.

Requena noted that mounded sites were used as habitation and as burial grounds, but he did not provide evidence to prove the functional relationship between burials and habitation deposits. In consequence, temporal discontinuities might have well occurred between the periods of habitation of the mounds and their use as burial grounds.

Finally, it should be emphasised that according to Requena, the ceramic vessels that were placed either inside or outside the funerary urns often showed heavy use-attrition and some of them were found with food remains inside. Clearly, these vessels were not produced as funerary furniture unless they were otherwise used and re-used during the feasts related to burial and re-burial rituals. Some of the funerary urns also showed evidence of previous use. Were they used for preparation and/or storage of fermented beverages until they were finally used as funerary receptacles? Looking at the wider archaeological panorama, this is not an isolated case. Almost all burial urns of the Dabajurans (Valencioid's neighbours to the west) had been used previously as cooking/storage *ollas* (J. R. Oliver, personal communication 1999).

## Cornelius Osgood

To elaborate on how these Indians spent their days would carry us into realms of sheer imagination [...] Concerning their social organisation, it is likewise almost sheer fantasy to conjecture on the basis of the archaeological evidence. [...] The aspect of their non-material culture which we can infer with greatest assurance is [...] religion. Human figurines, all female or sexless [...] could not have been dolls, for only a people in wonderland would devote so much of their effort to making playthings. Neither is it likely that they were idols, in the sense of being objects set up and worshipped as goods controlling one's daily life. [...] We conceive these pieces to have been made in connection with fertility rites furthering an increase of population (Osgood 1943:50-51).

Cornelius Osgood from Yale University excavated in Venezuela in July-August 1933. At first he carried out small-scale excavations at the El Charral and San Mateo sites (to the west and east of the Lake Valencia). Later, he decided to excavate a mound situated about 200 meters south from the one previously excavated by Wendell Bennett (Pl.194, 196 E,F). It was situated on the southern bank of Caño Aparo and was named Mound Six among the total of eight surrounding mounds, known as the Tocarón Mound Complex (Osgood 1943:16, Figure 2). He also excavated an 32 m<sup>2</sup> trench in the adjacent Mound Seven (Osgood 1943:24). The collections from both excavations are deposited in the Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University, Connecticut.

Mound Six was oval shaped and measured about 20-24 metres in diameter. The deepest layer, counting from the bottom of the mound, was a 20 cm thick bed of white planorbis shells, which was an old Lake Valencia bed (Layer 4). From this bottom layer mound rose about 160 cm at the highest point. Above, the next layer was composed of five centimetres thick layer of reddish-brown clay (Layer 3). Both these layers were flat, water-lay, and archaeologically sterile (Osgood 1943:23).

Above these sterile layers a greyish-yellow clay deposit of about 25 cm thick contained some pottery of the Atypical Ware Group, including figurines (Layer 2). According to Osgood's interpretation of the mound structure, this layer held the remains of a dwelling site located directly over the lake's bed. He indicated that "no posts affording direct evidence of lacustrine life were found" (Osgood 1943: 43) and further, that "artefacts of various kinds [were recovered in this layer], but not in profuse quantities"; in total about 20% of all artefacts came from this layer (Osgood 1943:23).

Toward the centre of the mound a conspicuous dome of clay was found. From its centre it measured 11 metres in diameter and reached a height of 90 cm above the greyish-yellow clay level (Osgood 1943:23). This dome, otherwise archaeologically sterile, had buried fragments of a small skeleton in its centre. The skeleton had a necklace comprising more than a 1000 beads of shell. Unfortunately, the skeleton disintegrated before Osgood could identify it conclusively as the remains of either a child or a monkey.

Over the dome of clay rested the humus stratum (Layer 1), varying from 25-100 cm in thickness. This layer was black in colour and covered the whole mound. Patches of beds of mixed clays, shells and fragments of stone, some of them with signs of fire, appeared at various places within this layer. The lenses of clay were probably laid down to raise the surface of the mound. Except for the uppermost 10 cm, which was sterile, this level contained 80% of all cultural material including pottery, stone artefacts, bone tools and a few burials. A total of four or five fragmentary human skeletons were recovered. One was associated with the griddle (*budare* or *comal*); none was contained in the urn. In total, Osgood excavated about a half of Mound Six.

In summary, the mound area was firstly a place of surface dwelling, than the dome of clay was built around the child or monkey skeleton, as a burial mound. The people who lived on top of the mound did not bury their dead in urns. Osgood believed that the range of the material from the La Mata mound excavated by Bennett (1937) extends to a later point, while that from Tocarón starts at an earlier point in time; however, the greater part of the time ranges are overlapping (Osgood 1943:48).

The stratigraphic control over the sample did not work thoroughly well during the excavation of the Tocarón mound. Osgood recognised that "some error occurred through lack of precision in the technique of excavation and also in certain places the unit of measurement was forced to conform with the observable stratigraphy. The exact horizontal and vertical position of certain individual pieces arbitrarily selected as significant" was added (Osgood 1943:20).

About 3400 specimens from Osgood excavation were retained for analysis. However, plain sherds "by thousands" were discarded and "quantities" of broken *manos* (grinding stones) and fragmentary hammerstones were rejected (Osgood 1943:24; 20).

## Figurines

Osgood did not pay the same attention to figurine description and analysis as Bennett. His description of the figurine assemblage has numerous inconsistencies that are evident when comparing the data contained in the body text, tables and illustrations. From the percentage comparison of all pottery objects given in Table 1 of Osgood's (1943:59) excavation report it can be calculated that 88 or 89 figurines and their fragments were recovered in the mound. 24 figurines and their fragments are illustrated (Osgood 1943: Figures 12, 13 and Plates 3G, 8-11). However, these data do not match figurine quantities specified in Tables 5-7 of the same report (Osgood 1943:64-65). According to these tables 20 figurines, 45 figurine heads and 55 figurine legs were recovered. The total of 120 specimens listed in these tables does not match the total of 88 or 89 specimens that can be calculated from Table 1 (Osgood 1943: 59). Moreover, in Tables 5-7 Osgood gave percents of distribution between natural levels of 18 figurines, 39 heads and 50 legs, accounting to 107 specimens only.

Osgood noted that the "discrepancy in the total number of specimens between the two presentations results from the elimination of pieces of questionable origin in terms of the two strata" (Osgood 1943:59). From the analysis of the data contained in tables it may be inferred that two specimens were eliminated. These include the *Standing Hollow Oval Head* figurines (it can be one from 0-25 cm layer or any of three specimens from the 25-50 cm layer), and one of *Standing Solid* figurines (it can be one of three from 0-25 cm, only one from 50-75, or only one from the 75-100 cm layer).

According to the data I received from the Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University, New Haven, Osgood's collection contains 26 human figurines, 45 heads, 26 trunks and four other figurine fragments, that gives a total of 91 specimens.

TABLE 102. Quantitative distribution of figurine types from Tocarón Mound Six, according to natural strata of soil matrix (compiled from Osgood 1943).

**Image removed due to third party copyright**

Table 102 shows the distribution of figurine types between the natural layers in the Tocarón mound, compiled from Osgood's report (Osgood 1943). Comparing the total of 18 figurines listed in Table 102 with the 26 figurines deposited in the Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University, it is clear that the data on eight figurines cannot be included in this study.

The heights of nine *Standing* figurines from Tocarón vary from 9.5 to 24.5 cm averaging 16 cm (compiled from Osgood 1943, Plates 3G, 8-11). The dimensions of the remaining figurines are not given.

Osgood followed the figurine typology designed by Bennett (1937). The popularity of *Hollow* figurines in Tocarón increased from 25% (N=1) in the clay layer to 78.56% (N=11) in the top humus



layer, while the *Solid* figurines decrease their popularity from 75% (N=3) to 21% (N=3). The *Cylindrical Body Solid* figurines that accounted for 50% (N=2) in the clay layer disappeared in the humus layer, where two new types *Standing Hollow Oval* and *Rounded Heads* appeared. Can be the shift from *Solid* to *Hollow* considered indicative of manufacturing technique improvement?

**TABLE 103.** Quantitative distribution of figurine head and leg types between natural strata of soil matrix at Tocarón Mound Six (compiled from Osgood 1943).

Image removed due to third party copyright

It is remarkable that the poorly anatomised *Cylindrical Body* dominated in both layers. This may indicate that the shift in manufacturing technique was more rapid than the change of type (style), particularly visible in the case of *Cylindrical Body* specimens. Their ‘iconography’ might have been related to important aspects of the socio-ideological realms of the extinct society, and therefore, was less prone to change than the manufacturing technique. The data contained in Table 102 suggest that the replacement of solid by hollow figurines and overall proliferation of types were gradually evolving from lower to upper layers in the Tocarón Mound Six.

The absence of *Seated* figurines in Tocarón Mound Six is remarkable. At La Mata the *Seated* figurines occurred only in the top half of the mound (Bennett 1937). The lack of this figurine type in Tocarón may be explained if, as suggested by Osgood, the range of the material from La Mata extends to a later point in time than that from Tocarón (Osgood 1943:48). If so, then the *Seated* figurines may be considered as a later type than the *Standing* ones. Osgood (1943:57) has further suggested that *Seated* figurines might have been of the western influence (from Colombia and Central America) and elongated (*Canoe-shaped*) heads added locally. It is noteworthy, that the first of Osgood’s suggestions is not supported by the bulk of more recent evidence that indicate that the seats are characteristic feature of the tropical lowland cultures (J. R. Oliver, personal communication 1999).

The developmental tendency suggested for figurine types is confirmed by the stratigraphic distribution of figurine head and leg types, except for the overall absence of *Modelled* heads (Table 103). The popularity of *Oval* head type increased dramatically from 33% (N=3) in the clay to 60% (N=18) in the humus layer. Two new (for this site) head types *Rounded* and *Canoe-shaped* appeared in the upper layer, achieving together 23.33% (N=7) of popularity. At the same time the popularity of

*Rectangular* and *Triangular* heads decreased from 66.66% (N=6) to 16.66% (N=5). Nevertheless, the *Triangular* heads maintained high popularity across the sequence.

Regarding the figurine leg types, the tendency toward replacing *Solid* with *Hollow* is well exemplified by the decrease of *Plain Solid* (from 40% to 7.5%) and the increase of *Plain Hollow* legs from 20% (N=2) to 47.5% (N=19). Two new leg types *Solid with Hole* and *Modelled Foot* appeared in the upper section.

Finally, it should be noted that the overall number of figurines increased more than three times from the lower to upper strata, while the number of heads and legs remained relatively constant. This suggests that the latter occupants of the site produced a greater number of figurines and the activities related to their use/discard resulted in their lesser fragmentation.

Osgood (1943) provides scant information about the ware of figurines. He observed that the early figurines of the *Atypical Ware Group*, from the basal culture-bearing stratum (the greyish-yellow clay layer), were symmetrical, unlike the pots from this same stratum. He suggested that “whereas typical (or late Valencia) figurines from the mounds are symmetrical, the ordinary dishes and bowls are not” and that “in the case of these disharmonious figurines, the result seems conscious, but the pots of the *Atypical Ware* group suggest a deficiency in technique or materials” (Osgood 1943:23-24). If this is correct it reinforces the view that the overall improvement in manufacturing technique observed from the bottom to upper layers in Tocarón mound. However, Osgood provides one figurine as the example of symmetry in the bottom layer assemblage (see Pl.209: 462). From Table 22 we know that the bottom strata produced four figurines so it is not possible to visually corroborate whether Osgood’s statement relied on one or more examples. It should also be emphasised that, judging from the illustration of Osgood’s “disharmonious” figurine (Osgood 1943: 53, Figure 13, Plate 11, B; see also Pl.205: 461), it seems that the head had been fitted to the trunk in modern times. Moreover, it is likely that this head did not originally fit to that trunk or that this specimen been inadequately restored, casting doubt on the purported disharmony of the whole figurine. Therefore, until I can examine Osgood’s collection, I retain his distinction between the asymmetrical (at the bottom) and symmetrical vessels (in the top section of the mound), but refrain from accepting the symmetrical/asymmetrical figurines dichotomy between the two strata.

Among the assemblage of figurines from Tocarón and La Mata, Osgood (1943:55) observed a clear shift from realistic modelling to conventionalised form. He stated that the figurines from the lower strata “are more realistic in their modelling of human features than any known to be found previously” (Osgood 1943:47; see Pl. 209: 462). As an example of this statement he illustrates a single figurine from the lower strata (Osgood 1943: Fig.12, Pl. 3,G). I am not convinced by Osgood’s argument that the *Canoe-shaped* heads, one of the features of Osgood’s conventionalisation, do appear in the upper layer of the Tocarón mound. The remaining morphological attributes of the figurines with such heads are generally the same as those of the specimens with other head types, from both stratigraphic sequences. The modelled heads are absent in the Tocarón collection, and modelling is only present in the sample of *Modelled Foot* from the upper strata. These data cannot support to the postulated primacy of realistic modelling over stylisation in the lower strata of the mound.

Osgood (1943:69) stated that “much” of the *Standing Hollow* figurines (like the one illustrated in Plate 10 A of his report), were rattles. However, we do not know whether he refers to overall mound collections or to the Tocarón mound collection only. If so, we do not know how many of the five *Standing Hollow* figurines recovered in Tocarón were rattles.

Osgood, unlike Bennett, refers to the figurines without the scientific ‘stiffness’ and ‘reverence’. He takes off the ‘laboratory gloves’ and calls them “dolls”. Moreover, he considers them as “a peculiar art to which my greater reaction is humour” and suggested that the figurine production/use were related to the religious domains of Amerindian societies and specifically related them to the “notion of fertility” (Osgood 1943:57).

### **Distribution and context**

Unfortunately, nothing can be said about the specific contextual associations of Osgood’s figurines. In general terms they were not recovered directly associated with burials but pertained rather to ‘domestic’, refuse or other kinds of deposits.

Osgood described fragments of one female figurine, found spatially separated within the mound, as the “head having come to rest at a considerable distance from its trunk” (Osgood 1943:54). This type of scatter of artefacts may well be expected from habitation refuse deposits or post-depositional processes. It should be emphasised that, if Osgood’s figurines came from a domestic refuse context, then their considerable fragmentation is the result of their use related to domestic activities and/or further damage that they underwent in the dump.

### **Pottery**

Osgood described most of his pottery specimens as of “grey colour derived from natural clay”. The minority of pieces had “a red slip of about of intensity which one finds in cheap bricks” (Osgood 1943:54). The presence of a small percentage of ware with a weak yellow slip was also mentioned. He only occasionally observed combination of red and yellow slips on some of the figurines and decorated vessels (Osgood 1943:54) and this occurrence is not correlated with any particular figurine morphological type.

Osgood admitted that while studying the Tocarón pottery collection, he could not distinguish the Redware. He mentioned that Bennett while “on going over the Tocarón material, was able to select numerous pieces as Redware, but admits that they are relatively uncommon and that the material is definitely *greyer* than that from La Mata” (Osgood 1943:47). Osgood stated that Bennett (probably in personal communication with Osgood) tended to minimise the distinction between *Red* and *Grayware* from La Mata. In both collections, the associational relation between figurines and vessel types is not given, and the relation of vessels with the strata is not provided by Osgood.

## Alfred V. Kidder

In 1933 Alfred Kidder II, from Harvard University, surveyed various sites in the LVB, and concentrated on the Los Tamarindos site, in the Peninsula de La Cabrera. On his return to Venezuela in 1934, he continued the large scale excavations in this site (Los Tamarindos and La Ceiba trenches), in the same spot excavated by the team of Rafael Requena in 1930 (Kidder 1944: 29-30, Figures 4-6). The excavation of the West Trench and two pits, located in the vicinity of the main trench in Los Tamarindos, were supervised by Edward W. Berry, a palaeontologist from the John Hopkins University (Berry 1939).

Systematic excavations at La Cabrera yielded data qualitatively and quantitatively appropriate for the seriation of ceramic artefacts and thus to construct the first long cultural sequence in the region. Using the step-ladder system of excavation, Kidder reached the depth of four metres at the Los Tamarindos Trench, maintaining control over the natural stratigraphy of the matrix. Some sampling from even lower strata was taken in smaller areas (A. Antczak 1999a).

Kidder identified an earlier cultural component, present in deeper strata below a depth of ca. 1.8 metres from the surface, whose ceramics were stylistically related to the Barrancoid ceramic tradition from the Orinoco River region. This culture phase was called *La Cabrera*, since it was the first and only identified in La Cabrera Peninsula. The later component, with remains restricted to the top humus layer, was called *Valencia Phase* since it is widespread and better known all over the LVB (Kidder 1944: 81).

Neither house remains nor hearths were recovered in the lower strata. However, the undisturbed lake's bed was not reached in the Los Tamarindos trench so that the presence/absence of palafitte dwellings could not be determined. Even though several primary burials were found in the deposit of the La Cabrera Phase, Kidder maintained that the site was not used exclusively as burial ground (Kidder 1944:37). He argued that the presence of lenses of ash and charcoal, as well as frequently broken and burned animal remains, found scattered thorough the lower layers, suggest that it was a dwelling site with burials located within it (Kidder 1937: 37). The Barrancoid inhabitants of the site lived over or close to the water and their burials were also found close to the lake shore.

In the upper part of the deposit, house remains or hearths were not recovered. Kidder, however, believed that the upper layer encapsulated the remains of dwellings but that any direct evidence of habitation had been obliterated by natural agents. In the Los Tamarindos site Kidder recovered 85 burials. The lower deposit (the La Cabrera-Barrancoid Phase) yielded exclusively primary burials situated close to the ancient lake ridges. The upper layer (Valencia Phase) yielded mainly, though not exclusively, secondary burials in urns, largely concentrated toward the upper slopes of the bluff (Kidder 1944:81). A large but undetermined number of funerary urns were recovered by Requena's team from the areas between the Tamarindos, West and La Ceiba Trenches (Kidder 1944:37).

Kidder concluded that the site harboured indications of dwellings during both occupational phases. However, the fact that "in the humus a relatively few animal bones were found" (Kidder

1944:37) may indicate that during the Valencia Phase the site had been used largely, though not exclusively, as cemetery. Or it may have been used for short, intermittent periods of habitation only.

Fish remains were a common finding in Kidder's excavation at La Cabrera (Kidder 1944: 76). They were recovered from the inside of four urn burials of the Valencia Phase (burials #7,15,52 and 62), both simple and multiple. Kidder interpreted them as funerary offerings. All of these burials contained adult human skeletons, two identified as male (Kidder 1944:47, 49,51; see also Requena 1932: 269, 272, for data on fish remains associated with burials in urn). The data are scarce and fragmentary but if the association of burials of adult males with fish remains are confirmed in future excavations at this site, it would suggest a meaningful connection between male-fishery and its corresponding status within the society(ies) of the La Cabrera Valencioids.

It is important to emphasise that Kidder did not provide any conclusive statement about the nature of the change between the La Cabrera and Valencia Phases. In fact, he did not observe any clear geological lower limit of the 'upper layer' which ended in the sub-humus sand, gravel and clay stratum, into which secondary burials were intruded. He stated that "the first [La Cabrera Plain type] sherds were recovered in the lower half of the second meter of the Los Tamarindos trench; at about 1.40 metres the last sherds of the ware [Valencia Red] characteristic of the humus were found" (Kidder 1944: 54).

Even if Kidder considers that "most of these [La Cabrera/Valencia pottery admixtures] were probably the results of intrusions through burials" (Kidder 1944:54), in fact no sterile gap separated the pottery of the two phases and "in the second metre there are sherds of wares of both phases, as well as burials" (Kidder 1944:85). It is also worth noting that, according to Kidder, the wares of both phases were never recovered associated with the same burial.

For now, all these data seems to indicate that the Barrancoid/Valencioid cultures were separated in time or that the bearers of late Barrancoid and early Valencioid phases interacted weakly during a relatively short period of coexistence in La Cabrera. They would have maintained their cultural distinctiveness both in pottery style and in funerary customs for a certain period of time until the Valencioid culture prevailed. The later destiny of the La Cabrera Barrancoids is the matter of further controversy that will not be discussed here (see A. Antczak 1999a).

In conclusion, the question whether there was a socio-cultural continuity or discontinuity between the societies of the La Cabrera and Valencia Phases remains open to debate.

## **Figurines**

Kidder reported 12 complete or restorable human figurines, seven heads and two bodies without heads, as well as two animal figurines and one animal figurine head, that had been recovered in La Cabrera top humus layer (Kidder 1944:69). Two drawings and eight photographs in Kidder's excavation report illustrate a total of 10 complete figurines, one upper body part and one headless figurine (Kidder 1944: 70-71, Figures 32 and 33; Plate VII 20-31). The classification of La Cabrera figurines was based on typological criteria set down by Bennett, taking into account posture, body structure and style, especially of the heads (Kidder 1944:69).

Table 104 summarises the quantitative presence of specific figurine types in Kidder's collection; the discrepancy between the previously given total number of figurines and that given in the Table 104 stems from the inconsistencies of Kidder's report.

Before beginning the discussion on figurine statistical occurrences it should be emphasised that there are serious doubts about the correctness of Kidder's classification of the two *Seated Spread Legs Rounded Head* figurines (Table 104). In fact, the specimen depicted on the Plate VII, 30 (Kidder 1944), is a clear representation of a *Cylindrical Body* type figurine. The other specimen, depicted in Figure 32 (*ibid.*), is legless and its ascription to a category of *Seated Spread Legs* figurines must be entirely based on Kidder's assessment of the original piece, since it is not conclusive from the drawing provided. Until further examination of these specimens in the museum is possible, and to the extent it will resolve these doubts, I will tentatively maintain Kidder's distinctions, bearing in mind that the only securely typed *Seated Spread Legs* figurine in Kidder's collection is a headless specimen illustrated in Plate VII, 29 of his report (Kidder 1944).

TABLE 104. Frequency of human figurine types at the Los Tamarindos, West and La Ceiba Trenches, La Cabrera Peninsula (compiled from Kidder 1944).

Image removed due to third party copyright

As seen in Table 104, *Standing* are dominant (49.99%, N=7) followed by *Seated* (28.56%, N=4) and *Cylindrical Body* figurines (21.42%, N=3). The most frequent type is *Standing Hollow Oval Head* (28.57%; N=4); the height of these specimens ranges between 9.5 and 46 cm. Kidder considered the *Hollow Standing* figurines as the most recurrent type from the whole LVB and being 'exaggeratedly' female. He also noted that the *Oval* heads and *Hollow* bodies, primarily on standing specimens, were most frequently made in combination. Less popular were *Standing Solid Rounded Head* and *Seated Hollow Bent-knee Oval Head*. Only one specimen of each of these types were found.

*Hollow* figurines account for 57.13% (N=8), while *Solid* are represented by three specimens only (21.42%); the *Hollow/Solid* status of two *Cylindrical Body* figurines is unknown. *Oval* clearly dominate (N=7;70%) over *Rounded* heads (N=3;30%). The *Oval* heads are broad laterally, thin at the top. One *Oval* head with the upper part of a hollow figurine body is illustrated in Plate VII, 25-26 of Kidder's report (1944); this specimen is not listed in Table 104. The larger *Oval* head in the collection, that probably pertained to the standing specimen, was 25 cm wide. Kidder also mentioned, though did not illustrate, three fragmentary *Rectangular* heads with angular corners that pertained to hollow bodies. *Rounded* heads from La Cabrera are not compressed anteriorly-posteriorly.

Lacking in the La Cabrera site were the broad *Canoe-shaped* heads which occur in the sites on the eastern Lake Valencia shore, often supported by arms and hands and luted to large hollow bodies of seated or standing figurines (see Requena 1932: 39,41,57; Bennett 1937:114, Figure 12,13).

The tops of most figurine heads from La Cabrera were left smooth, the exception being the cross-incised and punctuated head on the specimen shown in Plate VII, 21 of Kidder's report. Decoration at the neck is not uncommon, the specimen in Plate VII, 21 shows incised chevrons and punctations. The pattern of short applied punctuate strips represented on the specimen in Plate VII, 25-26 was interpreted by Kidder as a necklace. The largest and best modelled head is illustrated in Plate VII, 25, 26. Its chin was incised with zigzag and straight lines, running horizontally on the sides, vertically in the centre. Kidder suggested that this was intended to represent tattooing.

Kidder noted that heads, bodies, arms and legs of figurines are never in anatomical proportion. Legs are short, thick and squat, round and flat bottomed. He observed modelling to depict feet in one specimen only. Hips are characterized by marked roundness and breadth. Arms present on the larger specimens are applied strips, usually clasped over the breasts. Fingers are indicated by three or four strips or incision. Those arms which stand away from the body are less common (Kidder 1944, Plate VII, 25, 26); however, they are common on specimens from other localities of the LVB (Requena 1932: 7, 59, 63). Navels are usually indicated by a simple depression, sometimes by a punctuated node (Kidder 1944: Plate VII, 22, 24).

All of Kidder's figurines are typical of the Valencia Red type. They were slipped in part, although the face was usually left unslipped under the eyebrows. The modelling of heads and faces is fairly uniform. There are some crude specimens on which the face is represented by eyes and nose only, flanked by pierced 'ears', but the remaining specimens are more fully modelled (Kidder 1944: Plate VII, 20). Without exception eyes are of the *coffee-bean* or double punch type. The figurine on Plate VII, 30, the only specimen which may not be a representation of a human being, has eyes that are double punched nodes set into circular depressions.

In most cases there are modelled eyebrows, sometimes marked with punctations that diverge from the roof of the nose. The noses are well modelled, sometimes with flaring alae and punctuate nostrils. The ears, usually pierced, are modelled projections, pierced from one to five times, often with cross-incised edges. The mouths are normally simple *coffee-bean* or double punched nodes.

### Distribution and Context

Regarding the stratigraphic distribution of Kidder's figurines, we know that all were recovered from the c.a. 50 cm thick layer of humus that covered the excavation area on the average from between 0.5 and one metre of depth (Kidder 1944:69). Kidder did not provide detailed figurine stratigraphy within this layer. It is noteworthy that all *Seated Spread Legs* figurines were recovered from the West and La Ceiba Trenches and not from the main trench at Los Tamarindos (Kidder 1944:70).

Kidder stated that "most of the finds [at the La Cabrera site as a whole] were made in connection with burials" (Kidder 1944:37). He further added that the "funeral furniture was present in many of

the graves, taking the form of pottery vessels and figurines, as well as pottery discs and decorations, stone tools and ornaments, shell beads, pendants and unworked shell, bone and antler tools and beads, and in some cases probably food offerings, in the shape of fish" (Kidder 1944:40). However, according to the detailed description of the funerary furniture of each burial, the majority of human figurines were clearly not associated with funerary contexts.

Eighty five burials were recovered by Kidder in the Los Tamarindos trench and 10-12 were recovered in the West Trench; they were secondary urn and secondary direct burials, but no further details are given. Thirty two of the Los Tamarindos burials were primary, 52 secondary and one cremation (secondary burial). A total of 39 (45.88%) were urn burials (Kidder 1944:40).

Only two (2.35%) burials included figurines as mortuary furniture. The first was recovered in a group of three infants in bowl-urns, in the Los Tamarindos Trench. One of these urns (# 22) was associated with small vessels, a human figurine and necklace, and was partially covered with large sherds. Two other infant burials had no associated grave offerings. The second burial was recovered in a row of four in urn burials in La Ceiba Trench. One very large urn contained remains of one adult and one human and one animal figurines (Kidder 1944:49).

If only two complete figurines were recovered in clearly funerary contexts, then the remaining 12 figurines, seven heads and two bodies without head must have come from the non-funerary contexts or refuse areas. It is noteworthy that according to Kidder the burial area within the humus layers at Los Tamarindos site contained large quantities of the debris of village life. If so, then a minority (14.28%) of Kidder's whole figurines came from the burial contexts, while the majority, together with all the figurine fragments, must have come from the refuse areas, domestic activity areas and some other unidentified kinds of contexts.

## Pottery

Kidder distinguished three types of wares at the Los Tamarindos site: La Cabrera Plain and Red and Valencia Red. The La Cabrera Plain type was restricted to lower layers of the deposit, specifically below a depth of approximately 1.80 m (Barrancoid strata). It was largely represented by shards, only one whole vessel was reconstructed. It is a grey pottery of coarse texture, dull, unevenly finished, unslipped and tempered with mineral and ground sherds. In this ware there are commonly large jars, spouted jars, and some bowls and griddles. Low 'leg-ring' bases are common, while annular bases are rare. Handles are shaped as a horizontal loops. Decoration is rare and is dominated by incision or punctuation on vessel walls, modelling on spouts and some *adornos* (Kidder 1944:61).

The La Cabrera Polished Gray sub-type is relatively rare (1/8 of all sherds recovered at the lower layers) and vessels are scarce, with about half of the fragments of this ware represented by elbow pipes. The La Cabrera Red type is a red slipped ware recovered in lower levels in the same quantity as Polished Gray sub-type. The vessels of this type were mainly jars and bowls decorated with simple incision of single encircling lines.

The Valencia Red ware was found exclusively in the upper or humus level at Los Tamarindos. Some sherds of this ware intruded into the upper part of the second meter of the deposit. It is a red



slipped ware of variable texture and mineral and/or sherd temper. Shapes include urns, jars (some spouted) bowls, griddles and figurines. Perforated and ordinary annular bases are present. Handles, except for *adornos*, are scarce. Decoration is limited to modelling, incision and punctation and applied body and rim *adornos* are common (Kidder 1944:61). Kidder considered that Bennett's Gray Ware was in fact a Valencia Redware that failed to become red due to lack of oxidation in firing (Kidder 1944:62).

The assemblage of Red Ware specimens is especially rich in whole vessels since urn burials "always yield at least one [whole] vessel" of this ware (Kidder 1944:61). This evidence contrasts with the rare use of pottery with the dead in earlier times.

Kidder stated that the Redware was closely associated with secondary urn burials at the Los Tamarindos site. Both Kidder and Bennett (1937) found Redware associated with burials in the upper top humus layers of their sites. However, curiously, Kidder found it associated with secondary urn burials (in Los Tamarindos) and Bennett (1937:136) with primary direct burials (at La Mata Mound Six). Future research may shed light of the question of whether both Kidder and Bennett's Redware were produced by the same society that operated in both sites within the same temporal frame, and also whether the differentiation in burial practice may be interpreted as a reflection of socio-ideological differences within the society, or whether both deposits were unrelated temporally and we may face the phenomenon of changes in funerary practice.

In Los Tamarindos humus layer there is only one type of ware (Red Ware) and the burial area was full of the debris of village life. Kidder stated that "many urns had seen long service before their final utilisation" while some other vessels found in burials "definitely show the marks of use as cooking vessels" (Kidder 1944:61). According to Kidder, approximately half of the burial furniture had been used only for a short time, if at all. Shards of the same vessels show long, hard usage which indicate that "the rubbish sherds are from exactly the same types of vessels found complete in graves" (*ibid.*). In consequence, the mortuary pottery is formally indistinguishable from the culinary and service wares used in daily life.

## **José M. Cruxent and Irving Rouse**

The interest of J. M. Cruxent in Venezuelan archaeology grew as a result of the surveys of the sites in the LVB he carried out in 1942-43 (Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol.1: 303). Even if he did not carry out any extensive, systematic excavations in the LVB, several of his publications cover a wide range of topics related to the archaeology of this region (Cruxent 1945a; 1946b; 1948; 1949; 1952; 1958; Cruxent *et. al* 1946).

### **Valencioid series and Valencia style**

The only figurine reported by Cruxent from the Valencia region is a small and rude *Seated* specimen recovered in the 1946 in Tocarón. At this site, Cruxent and the members of the Commission of Archaeology of the Natural Sciences Society of La Salle in Caracas performed a rescue excavation of

two sections, five square metres each, in two different mounds and collected the total of 654 artefacts (Cruxent *et al.* 1946). The stratigraphy of the excavations was similar to that observed by Osgood. Cruxent did not recover any bone artefacts but mentioned the presence of scarce mammal bone remains (Cruxent *et al.* 1946: 36).

Cruxent is mentioned here because of his overall contribution to the location of the Valencioid and Barrancoid series (Kidder's Valencia and La Cabrera phases respectively) within a wide geographical and chronological framework. In 1958, together with Irving Rouse, he published the monograph *An Archaeological Chronology of Venezuela* which achieved two important goals. First, it summarised the present state of the Venezuelan archaeology and second it set up an detailed and country-wide archaeological chronology of Venezuela, that incorporated the first radiocarbon dates (Cruxent and Rouse 1958; Rouse and Cruxent 1963).

During the 1940s and 1950s Cruxent found several new localities with pottery stylistically related to the Valencia and La Cabrera series and defined a number of styles pertaining to the Valencioid series were defined. Cruxent and his team located Valencia style pottery in the Valley of Caracas (El Pinar style), in the neighbouring mountains (Las Minas and El Topo styles), and along the coast from Tucacas to the west to Río Chico to the east (Cementerio Tucacas and Río Chico styles [Cruxent and Rouse 1958; Cruxent 1949; Rouse and Cruxent 1963]). The Valencia style pottery was described using Kidder's assemblage from Los Tamarindos site (La Cabrera Peninsula). However, two other sites La Mata and Tocarón excavated by Bennett (1937) and Osgood (1943) respectively, were also considered as type sites of this pottery.

During the later decades and up to the present, other archaeologists have confirmed the presence of Valencioid series pottery outside the LVB. It has been reported from the Valley of Caracas (Jam 1958) and two islands of the Los Roques Archipelago (Jam 1956). It was also found at the sites of Los Caracas, Osma, and Caruao, on the north-eastern coast, (A. Antczak 1999a); from the sites of Chirimena, Cúpira and in the Cueva Cruxent, toward the Barlovento plains (Cruxent and Rouse 1958; Nieves 1979, 1983, 1992). Farther to the east, some Valencioid shards were detected on the islands of Cubagua and Blanquilla (Cruxent and Rouse 1958; Rouse and Cruxent 1963; Antczak and Antczak 1991a,b, 1993). To the north and west of Lake Valencia, Valencioid pottery has been reported from a series of coastal bays, such as Puerto Maya, Chuao, Cata and Cepe (Alvarez and Casella 1983; Morales 1984; Martín 1995).

The spread of Valencioid pottery traits to the west was relatively minor (Sanoja 1969; Vargas 1990: 239; Wagner and Arvelo 1991; Arvelo and Wagner 1993; Arvelo 1995), since it seems to have been restrained by the presence of a Dabajuran chiefdom, located in the northern part of the Falcón State (Oliver 1989; 1997; Antczak 1999a).

### **Henriqueta Peñalver**

Since the early 1960s the *Fundación Lisandro Alvarado* (formerly the Institutes of Anthropology and History of Carabobo and Aragua States in Maracay and Valencia), directed by Henriqueta Peñalver Gómez, has been responsible for the excavations carried out in the LVB and the adjacent Caribbean

coast, as well as for the curatorship of the derived collections (Peñalver 1965; 1967; 1971; 1976; 1981; n.d. a, b, c).

### **Fieldwork through the region**

Since the beginning of Peñalver's activity in the LVB, she extensively excavated on the eastern shore of the Lake Valencia, at the mounded sites known as La Pica and Las Matas (or La Mata). According to Peñalver (1967:6, 9), more than 1000 m<sup>2</sup> were excavated in the La Pica site in four trenches and a total of 151 urned and 23 direct burials were recovered. The excavations were carried out in part of one of the six mounds located in the area (Peñalver 1965:14). The recovered artefacts were identified as related to funerary practices and the whole mound was considered as a part of larger burial ground (Peñalver 1967:6).

The site of Las Matas had been partly excavated by Marcano, Jahn, Requena, Bennett and others in the past. Peñalver excavated four of the seven remaining mounds (Peñalver 1965:17; 1967:15; 1976:10; 1981). Mound #1 was about 1.8 metres above the surrounding terrain and a half of it was previously destroyed by agricultural activities. One trench of 64 m<sup>2</sup> yielded large quantities of pottery and lithic artefacts, as well as hundreds of figurines and their fragments (Peñalver 1967:15). It may be inferred from the site report that the areas with the remains of houses and pottery workshop together with the burials were identified in the top layers of the mound (Peñalver 1967:14). The excavations continued down to the old lake bed, where "some post holes of the lake dwellers" (palafitte) houses were found (op.cit. 15). It is significant that the sequence of the mound excavated in La Mata by Peñalver resembles in general terms that of the mound excavated in the same area by Bennett (1937). Both mound structures suggest two periods of habitation, an earlier palafitte and a later mound dwelling (see Bennett 1937:133). Unfortunately, the detailed stratigraphic information of the mound excavated by Peñalver is unavailable.

At the Río Blanco site there was an extensive burial area located along the sandy beaches of the river, on the northern lake shore. Here Peñalver recovered some 17 urns with a total of 23 skulls and burial offerings. Figurines, beads, engraved deer bones and ceramic vessels were mentioned as grave furniture (Peñalver 1967:20-21).

Peñalver also excavated in El Morro de Guacara and La Culebra sites, both former islands and current peninsulas, on the north-western Lake Valencia shore. Six trenches of 6x110 metres each, and six trenches of varied dimensions, were excavated in these two sites respectively. Amerindian burials associated with hearths and clay pipes are recorded at both sites (Peñalver 1976:10, 44). Peñalver reported that the sites in Otama and Caigüire islands were exclusively burial grounds. Pottery pipes are also mentioned from these sites (*ibid.*).

Such sites as San Gean, La Iguana, Ocumare, and Cumboto, located close to the seashore, north-west of the LVB, were also excavated by Peñalver's team. However, the respective excavation reports include only scarce description of artefacts and their context, impeding any further comparative analysis and interpretations (Peñalver n.d. b, c).

Peñalver also carried out extensive excavations on the western shores of Lake Valencia, specifically in the Los Cerritos and El Roble sites. According to the published report (Peñalver n.d.b), the general stratigraphy and topographic characteristics of the Los Cerritos mounded complex seem to resemble the mounds from the eastern shore, specifically the sites of La Pica and La Mata. In one of the Los Cerritos mounds Peñalver excavated five large trenches of almost 100 x 5 metres, recovering a total of 380 urn and 287 direct burials, as well as bone, shell and stone artefacts interpreted as funerary furniture; the larger urns measured up to 1.2 meters in height and 0.8 meters in diameter. She concluded that the mound had an exclusively funerary function (:10,12).

Given that detailed descriptions of the recovered materials and their contextual associations are not provided, it may be assumed that the grinding and hammer-stones, stone axes, bone projectile points and unmodified shells listed among the material recovered in the Los Cerritos and El Roble sites are funerary furniture together with figurines, vessels, lithic beads and shellwork (see tables in Peñalver n.d.b:15 and n.d.c:8-9). One of the human bones from the Los Cerritos site was radiocarbon dated to 1025±115 b.p. (Geochron Laboratories Inc., Cambridge, Massachusetts [Peñalver 1969: 51]).

On the southern bank of the El Roble River and about one kilometre from the Los Cerritos site, Peñalver located another complex of funerary mounds (Peñalver n.d.b: 17, 19). There she recovered ceramic funerary urns from both primary and secondary burials (Peñalver n.d.b). She observed that the majority of the urns in this site had funerary offerings inside while in the Los Cerritos site the urn offerings were rare (Peñalver n.d. b:19). One probable habitation site was located close to the river, outside the mounded complex boundary. Unfortunately, the published data is insufficient and inadequate to elaborate dynamic models of the socio-economic integration of the Valencioid societies. For now, the temporal frame, occupational intensity, economy, and possible biological, socio-economic, political and ideological links of the inhabitants of these sites and other Valencioid sites in the region are matters of intuitive speculations.

TABLE 105. Quantitative distribution of figurines excavated by Peñalver in Valencia Basin (compiled from Peñalver 1965: 1967).

**Image removed due to third party copyright**

### **Figurines**

The figurines presented in Table 106 are only a small fraction of a large collection of specimens recovered during Peñalver's excavations (compare with Table 105). They are currently held at the museums and deposits in Valencia and Maracay (Henriqueta Peñalver, personal communication 1998). Therefore, it is fruitless to draw any interpretations beyond stating that the figurines from the western lake shores seem to share the formal characteristics with other Valencioid figurines found

within the region. However, some observations related to the distribution and contextual associations of figurines may be discussed.

It is noteworthy that, according to Peñalver (n.d.b:20), both human and zoomorphic figurines occur less frequently as funerary furniture in burial locus located on the western shores of Lake Valencia, than in any other funerary ground in the region. The report of the only figurine recovered from a burial context at Los Cerritos site (Peñalver n.d.b:23), where a total of 667 burials were excavated (of them 380 in urns), indicates an extremely low rate of occurrence (0.14%).

**TABLE 106.** Types and contextual association of figurines excavated by Peñalver in the Valencia region (the typology constructed exclusively on published figurine images).

Figurine type	La Pica	Las Matas	El Roble	Total	Contextual data	Reference
Seated Bent-knee Oval Head	-	3	-	3	-	Peñalver 1967:17-18, Photos 11 and 12
Seated Spread Legs Canoe-shaped Headdress	-	2	-	2	-	Peñalver 1965:15 Photo 4 <sup>1</sup>
Cylindrical Body Oval Head	-	1	-	1	-	Peñalver 1965:17, Photo 2
Cylindrical Body Rounded Head	-	1	-	1	-	Peñalver 1965:17, Photo 1
Seated Bent-knee Oval Head	1	-	-	1	Inside funerary urn	Peñalver 1967:11, Photo 6
Seated Spread Legs Oval Head	1	-	-	1	Inside funerary urn of an infant	Peñalver 1967:12, Photo 8
Seated Spread Legs Rounded Head	-	-	1	1	Funerary furniture	Peñalver n.d.b: 23, Photo 10
Standing Canoe-shaped Headdress	-	1	-	1	-	Peñalver 1965:15 Photo 1 <sup>2</sup>
Standing Oval Head	-	1	-	1	-	Peñalver 1967:16, Photo 10
Standing Rounded Head	1	-	-	1	Inside funerary urn	Peñalver 1967:11, Photo 5
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>13</b>		

The figurine described in the second row of this table has exaggeratedly large ears and atypical face features and was interpreted by Peñalver as an 'old woman'. The second row specimen is described as 'male' figurine though the sex presentation cannot be recognised on the provided photograph. The last row specimen shows backbone deformation or hunchback.

It also should be emphasised that the figurines found in the burial grounds at La Pica were less numerous and less fragmented than those recovered from the La Mata mound, where probably both domestic and funerary activities took place during the same occupational period. These data indicate that more figurines were recovered from mixed domestic/funerary contexts than in exclusively burial grounds, where the figurines were interpreted as funerary furniture. Further, these data suggest that the use of figurines in domestic/funerary contexts resulted in their greater fragmentation.

In 1976 Peñalver described a possible activity area identified in Mound #1 in La Mata. There she found several pottery pipes placed around a fireplace, together with remains of shells, animal bones, grinding stones and griddles. She interpreted this cluster as a household ritual context. In the same mound Peñalver found vessels and figurines associated with six incinerated burials (two women, two men and two children). She interpreted all these findings as evidence that after the funeral of the six family members the house was burnt and abandoned, and the pipes were used in mortuary rituals (Peñalver 1976:44-45). Unfortunately, she provides no precise contextual information to assess the plausibility of this interpretation.

There is no doubt that future systematic study of hundreds of figurines from Peñalver's collection will widen the range of currently known formal variability and spatial distribution. Possibly

some documentation of their contextual data may be still recovered. However, not much progress in our understanding of the meaning/function of the Valencioid figurines can be achieved without a tight chronological control over the particular figurines and their contextual association.

## **VALENCIOID FIGURINES FROM BEYOND THE VALENCIA BASIN**

In this section I discuss the morphology, chronology and contextual associations of Valencioid figurines recovered from the regions adjacent to the LVB. The first region in which these figurines were found comprises the mountains and intermontane valleys of the Cordillera de La Costa, stretching to the east and north-east of the LVB. The lower parts of the northern slopes of the Cordillera that fall directly toward the sea, and the narrow belt of the seashore, stretching to the north, north-east and north-west of the LVB, are considered as the Caribbean coast region.

**TABLE 107.** Radiocarbon and TL uncalibrated dates from the archaeological sites at the Valencia Basin, Valley of Caracas and the Central Coast of Venezuela (taken from A. Antczak 1999a).

**Image removed due to third party copyright**

### **Mountains and intermontane valleys**

The LVB is separated from the seashore by the Cordillera de La Costa mountain range which has peaks that reach the altitudes about 2000 m asl. To the north-east of Valencia, north of Caracas, the peaks of the Cordillera are even higher and reach altitude close to 2800 m asl (Pico Naiguatá [Schubert 1978]). A short distance from the northern shore of Lake Valencia, the savanna gives place to semideciduous and evergreen forest and the southern slopes of the Cordillera de la Costa begin to rise up. The higher slopes and peaks are covered by a pristine cloud forest characterised by an unsurpassed richness of taxonomic vegetation diversity (Vareschi 1986).

To the east of Lake Valencia are the fertile plains of the Valleys of Aragua. From archaeological point of view they are included within the LVB region. However, further to the east and north-east the mountains rise and surround the valleys of Caracas and of the Tuy River.

Even if, and perhaps because, this region encompasses the capital city of Caracas and has been populated by the Spaniards since the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, only a reduced number of archaeological sites are known, none of which have been excavated systematically. The archaeological pottery so far recovered in this region is stylistically entirely related to the Valencia style. Three Valencioid styles were defined in this region: El Pinar, Las Minas and El Topo (Cruxent and Rouse 1958).

The Valencioid pottery recovered in the mountains and intermontane valleys dates to only a few centuries before the Spanish Conquest; a good portion of it should be related to the early 16<sup>th</sup> century events of war between the *Caraca* Indians and Spanish Conquerors. One of the candidates for the proto-historic period is the Valencioid site at El Topo (Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol.1: 181). The only radiocarbon date known for the whole the region is close to the contact time (Table 107, El Cafetal).

**TABLE 108.** Valencioid figurines and their fragments recovered from the valleys and mountains east and north-east of the Valencia Basin.

Site	Description	Plate	Reference
Caracas area (El Paraiso)	One female figurine with Canoe-shaped Head	199: 748	Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol.1:323
La Silla de Caracas (2264 masl)	An unknown number of figurines (probably not more than five specimens)	Not illustr.	Jahn 1932:10-11
El Topo	Two solid legs of Standing figurines	Not illustr.	Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol.1:180; vol.2: Plate 36, 21 Dupouy and Cruxent 1946:138-9, Lámina X, NR 10781
Cueva Cruxent, Birongo	Five Solid figurines	199: 502	Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol.1:189; vol.2, Plate 38,3 <sup>1</sup>
Cueva Cruxent, Birongo	Two or three small (x<5 cm) figurines	Not illustr.	Miguel Angel Perera, personal communication 1995

<sup>1</sup> The specimen depicted in Plate 38, 3 in Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol.2 is 11 cm height, legless *Solid Rounded Head* female figurine.

Two points contained in Table 108 call my special attention. These are the reports on two clusters of figurines associated with special landscape phenomena: one is a natural water spring with a large rock situated near the highest peak in the region and the other is a cave.

Jahn (1931:10-11) reported that in 1896 a group of young excursionists found “some anthropomorphic figurines in terracotta that were carefully guarded beneath the rock, close to the spring” in the mountain north of Caracas. Even if no more details of the finding are provided, this is one of the most remarkable contexts in which Valencioid figurines were found. The site of the discovery, called La Cienaga, is a small valley among the secondary peaks of the Pico Occidental of the La Silla de Caracas, at an altitude of 2264 masl. At the spot of the find, the spring issues from beneath the large granite boulder. Jahn suggested that the rock might have been venerated as a spirit guardian of the spring and that the figurines were the votive offerings left to it.

Valencioid pottery and burials were reported from caves located in the Cordillera de La Costa mountain range (Perera and Martín 1982). However, the only report of pottery figurines recovered from cave sites comes from the Cueva Cruxent, located on the eastern flank of the Cordillera de La Costa, where the mountains begin to retreat from the coast, giving place to the Barlovento plains. According to Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol. 2: 189) this collection consists of two bowls of sinuous profile, three high-necked ‘bottles’, five female and two bird figurines; no contextual details of this find are known. The only representative of these five figurines illustrated by Cruxent and Rouse

(1958, vol.2, Plate 38, 1-3; Pl. 199: 502) is a coarsely made sexless, legless *Solid* figurine with *Rounded* head that is barely distinguished from the trunk. It has one breast and *coffee-bean* eyes and mouth, all of these features being obtained by means of simple appliqué and incision. A fragment of one arm is visible.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the report on a figurine fragment from Río Chico comes from the site in which urn burials were located (Acosta Saignes 1951). Cruxent and Rouse (1958, vol.1: 188) classified the pottery from the Cueva Cruxent and Río Chico within the Valencioid series, indicating a stylistic relationship with the El Topo and Las Minas assemblages.

## The Caribbean coast

The north-central Caribbean coast of Venezuela stretches from Cabo Codera in the east to Puerto Cabello in the west. This part is distinguished in geomorphological terms from the remainder of the coast, since it is dominated by the Cordillera de La Costa mountain range which extends parallel to the seashore with slopes that fall abruptly into the sea. The continental platform of this coast is narrow and small alluvial bays give the only shelter for fishing communities (Schubert 1977). To the east from Cabo Codera and west from Puerto Cabello the mountains retreat from the seashore and the coast opens in ample plains with sandy beaches.

The northern, lower parts of the Cordillera de la Costa slopes are arid and the vegetation is dominated by xeric species. Higher on the mountain slopes rain is frequent and cloud forest begins to stretch from the altitude of 800-1000 m asl (Vila 1968).

**TABLE 109.** Valencioid figurines and fragments recovered on the north-central coast of Venezuela. The dimensions have been calculated from provided photographs and/or illustrations (see Plate 199).

Figurine type/fragment description	Site	Height/length cm	Plate	Reference
Three Standing Hollow figurines <sup>1</sup>	Boca Tacagua	11.3	199: 500	Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol.1:177; vol.2, Plate 35, 20
Seated Solid Spread Legs Rounded Head	Puerto Carayaca	6	199: 582	Information and photograph provided by Alexi Rojas, 1999
Seated Solid Spread Legs Rounded Head	Boca Tacagua	6.75	199: 583	Collected by Pedro Luis Biers 1995; information and photograph provided by Alexi Rojas, 1996
Oval head of an Solid figurine	Carmen de Uria	6.0	199: 746	Information and photograph provided by Alexi Rojas, 1996
Leg of Solid Standing figurine	Boca Tacagua	4.0	199: 584	Information and photograph provided by Alexi Rojas, 1996
Leg of Seated Solid figurine	Boca Tacagua	4.8	199: 747a	Information and photograph provided by Alexi Rojas, 1996
Leg of Hollow Standing figurine	Boca Tacagua	-	199: 749	Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol.2, Plate 35, 7
Leg of figurine with four toes	Río Chico (San Antonio del Guapo)	-	Not illustr.	Acosta Saignes 1951: 24
Possible figurine leg fragment	Boca Tacagua	-	199: 742b	Information and photograph provided by Alexi Rojas, 1996

<sup>1</sup> These specimens were classified as Ocumaroid figurines (Cruxent and Rouse 1958); however, I included them in the table considering that they are the specimens of clearly Valencioid type (see below for further discussion). The illustrated specimen is *Hollow*, the *Hollow/Solid* condition of the remaining two figurines is unknown.

As it can be seen in Table 109, only a reduced number of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurines was found in the coastal region. All six Valencioid figurines (MNAF) come from the area of the La



Guaira port, north of Caracas, and only one figurine fragment has been reported from the outside of this area.

## FIGURINES FROM THE VALENCIA BASIN AND BEYOND

Table 110 shows the abysmal disproportion in abundance of Valencioid figurines between the LVB and the adjacent regions. It is striking that among the figurines (MNAF) from beyond the LVB, as much as 70% (N=14) were reported from the mountains and valleys situated east and north-east of LVB and only 30% (N=6) come from the coast. These data may suggest the route of the dispersion of the figurine phenomena from the LVB toward the east and north-east.

**TABLE 110.** Spatial distribution of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurines in north-central Venezuela (MNAF vs. MNAS<sup>1</sup>).

Region	MNAF		MNAS	
	#	%	#	%
Valencia Basin	1010	98.05	1300	98.03
Valleys and mountains east and north-east of Valencia Basin	14	1.35	16	1.2
North-central coast	6	0.58	10	0.75
Total	1030	99.98	1326	99.98

<sup>1</sup>Note that in cases when the precise quantity of figurines is not given the highest of suggested numbers are included in this table. In consequence, the quantity of figurines enumerated in the second and third row of this table may be lower than presented.

Both *Standing* and *Seated Spread Legs* figurines were found outside the LVB and the *Cylindrical Body* specimens are absent. The separated figurine legs pertained to both *Standing* and *Seated* specimens. The *Hollow* and *Solid* figurines were reported as well as both *Rounded* and *Canoe-shaped* heads. All figurines are female or sexless.

Let us now correlate the figurines from the Caribbean coast to those from the LVB. The three figurines from Boca Tacagua (Table 109) were classified by Cruxent and Rouse (1958) as pertaining to the Ocumaroid series. This series originated on the north-central coast several hundreds years earlier than the Valencioids appeared in the LVB. The Boca Tacagua Ocumaroid style was situated in the Period III of Cruxent and Rouse's relative chronology and enclosed within a temporal frame of between a.d. 350 and 1150 (Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol. 1:178). In consequence, the late Ocumaroid occupation of the Boca Tacagua was contemporaneous with the Valencioid occupation of the LVB. In fact, there is evidence that the bearers of Valencioid and Ocumaroid pottery maintained strong relationships of a multiple nature, during the late prehistoric period (A. Antczak 1999a).

According to Cruxent and Rouse the figurines from Boca Tacagua are the only known Ocumaroid figurines. However, the single illustrated figurine of this type (Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol.2, Plate 35; see Pl. 199: 500) bears striking formal Valencioid characteristics. The remaining two specimens are not illustrated but according to Cruxent and Rouse, they are similar to the illustrated figurine. Their bulging legs, arms akimbo, the head with plain headdress and three incised lines that enclose the pubic area resemble the LVB figurines. This evidence strongly suggests that these Boca Tacagua figurines were produced, or at least directly influenced, by the LVB Valencioids.

Cruxent and Rouse (1958) draw connections between the Boca Tacagua materials and the Barrancoid assemblage, from the El Palito site, north-west from the LVB. Both sites are assumed to be relatively contemporaneous. In fact they were contemporaneous during the first centuries AD.

However, according to Cruxent and Rouse's chronology of the Boca Tacagua site, this site also overlapped temporally with the Valencioid sites from the LVB, about the end of the first and the beginning of the second millennium AD. In consequence, the temporal coexistence of Boca Tacagua and Valencioid settlements from the LVB occurred by the time when the El Palito settlement was apparently already abandoned.

Cruxent and Rouse did not perform the comparative analysis of the Boca Tacagua figurines with those from the LVB. The presence of the Valencioid figurines within the Ocumaroid site, which was assumed to be contemporary to El Palito, was certainly a troublesome piece of evidence. It pointed out the multicomponential character of the Boca Tacagua site which had neither been accurately discriminated nor understood. It is surprising to note that while comparing the Boca Tacagua Ocumaroid collection with that from the El Palito Barranoid site, Cruxent and Rouse (1958:177) stated that "the figurines [from Boca Tacagua site] are less ornamented, as well as the rest of the pottery". However, we know from Cruxent and Rouse's contribution that figurines are absent from the Barranoid assemblage in the El Palito (Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol.1:156-164). In fact, they are very rare in the overall ceramic repertoire of all known Barranoid assemblages in Venezuela.

Five (62.5) out of eight Valencioid figurine from the north-central coast (Table 109) have been reported from the area of Boca Tacagua and all except one come from the Central Littoral, north of Caracas. Apart from the already discussed three *Standing* specimens one *Solid Spread Legs* figurine was also found in this site (Table 109, third row). This is atypical for the LVB figurines; by its round eyes and the way of representing breasts and sex or umbilicus, it more resembles the Valencioid zoomorphic *adornos* than figurines (Pl. 199:583a,b). This may be an atypical specimen imported from the LVB or, more probably, a product of local craft. Lastly, the separated legs found in the same site confirm the presence of more *Standing* and *Seated*, *Solid* and *Hollow* figurines (Pl.199:584; 747a,b).

There seems to be enough evidence to consider that the Boca Tacagua site encapsulated a multicomponent assemblage in which the different components were neither stratigraphically nor horizontally discriminated. On the other hand, the El Palito site also seems to have a multicomponent character (A. Antczak 1999a). Certain artefacts from the Boca Tacagua site, such as pipes, bone flute and pottery lids (Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol.1:177) are common artefacts in the LVB, and some of them were found in both Valencioid and Barranoid deposits.

The conspicuous spatial concentration of Valencia-related figurines in the Boca Tacagua site suggests that the inhabitants of this site were more strongly integrated into the sphere of interaction of the LVB Valencioids than with any other portion of the north-central coast. Whether they were strongly influenced by the Valencioids or they were Valencioids *in persona* cannot be determined. However, the evidence suggest that the relationships among the societies that inhabited the corners of the triangle that links the El Palito (the area of Puerto Cabello) and the Boca Tacagua (the Littoral Central) sites with the LVB can be dated back to the pre-Valencioid, and possibly Archaic times. Unfortunately, the Boca Tacagua site cannot yield new evidence to confirm or reject these hypotheses, since the site had been destroyed before any systematic excavation could take place.

The *Seated Spread Legs* figurine from Puerto Carayaca (Pl. 199: 582) and the head with *coffee-bean* eyes may be grossly compared to some specimens from the LVB which, however, are rare (e.g. Peñalver n.d. b: 23, Photo 10). The Puerto Carayaca specimen is coarser in both manufacture and decoration than Valencia counterparts. It has no visible division between head and trunk, the breasts and the umbilicus are exaggeratedly large, and the three-lined *guayuco* is visible around the pubic area (Pl.199:582).

To summarise, four general observations on the Caribbean coast figurines may be put forward: (1) their overall scarcity; (2) their spatial concentration in the central littoral; (3) their absence from the coast adjacent to the LVB; and (4) their small size (five specimens whose approximate sizes are known give an average height of maximum 9.33 cm, which is 'exceptionally small' in terms of the LVB figurines).

The analysis of the figurines from mountains and intermontane valleys is severely hampered by the lack of illustrations. Among the figurines whose images are known, those with the *Canoe-shaped Crest*, from the El Pinar in Caracas, show the closest stylistic affinity to the LVB counterparts (Requena 1946-47: Figs.18-21; see Pl.199:748). On the contrary, the morphology of the figurines found in the Cueva Cruxent has no direct stylistic counterparts in the LVB (Pl.199:502). Cruxent and Rouse (1958) included the finds from Cueva Cruxent in the Río Chico style and related it to the El Topo, Las Minas and Valencia styles. If these figurines are a distant echo of the LVB figurines, then they are the easternmost finds of this type. Further to the east, only one leg of a figurine has been found (last row, Table 109), while another solid leg comes from the La Tortuga Island, in front of the Río Chico area (A. Antczak 1999a). The Cueva Cruxent specimens were also compared by Cruxent and Rouse (1958, vol. 1:189) to one legless figurine from Krasky Island (Los Roques Archipelago) that is the only figurine that had been known from the insular area before the present project begun (Pl. 7).

In conclusion, none of the figurines recovered from beyond the LVB, and whose illustrations were available for analysis, may be compared to the typical Valencioid specimens from the mounded sites and/or the La Cabrera Peninsula, in terms of technological quality, overall design complexity and care of details. It may be suggested with caution that the overall impoverishment of the manufacture/representation of figurines is positively related to the increase in the distance from the LVB. Their spatial distribution marks a clear route that begins in the Caracas Valley, continues to the central littoral through the Cordillera de la Costa, and from there spread toward the east and north east, including the coast and two islands. Whether these figurines are the 'footprints' of Valencioid migrants or the result of cultural 'radiation' from the core is difficult to determine from the available evidence. The purported temporal span of these movements is discussed below, in the section dedicated to chronology.



## *Chapter Eight*

# Squeezing the Juice

Given the obvious deficiency of the data base, the interpretations of the statistical occurrences given below offer only a coarse grained picture of the Valencioid figurine phenomena. It may be argued that such heterogeneous data cannot give us any valid picture of the past. However, these are the only data we have.

To anchor the statistical occurrences of phenomena apparently isolated in time and space I created the chronological/cultural chart of the Valencia region. Nevertheless, until a more 'high resolution' archaeology enters the region and produces systematic and socially meaningful data, it is unreliable to ascribe any of the occurrences below discussed to any concrete Valencioid society at any particular point of time and space. All conclusions below should remain tentative and subject to future modifications. They are no more than a first attempt to reveal patterns in Valencioid figurines quantitative/qualitative and temporo/spatial occurrences in LVB and beyond.

## **HUMAN FIGURINES: MORPHOLOGY AND TYPE DISTRIBUTION**

The following sections discuss various aspects of the comparative morphology of the Valencioid anthropomorphic figurines. The first section is entirely devoted to the comparative analysis of the figurines from and from beyond the LVB, while all remaining sections are almost exclusively related to the figurines from the LVB.

## Figurine workmanship

The Valencioïd figurines show a wide range in the quality of workmanship. Some figurines, largely of the *Standing* type, are finely elaborated, indicating a high degree of workmanship in overall figure modelling and careful rendering of head and facial details. The breasts, navel, genitals, buttocks, fingers and toes are represented with different degrees of realism. In the same specimen the artisan may employ modelling, incised and punctated decoration, polishing, slipping and painting (see Pl.200:392, 579; Pl.201:419; Pl.207:507). A few specimens show features that to our own 'westernised' eyes appear as 'realistic' (see the modelling of the faces on Plate 526; 528 and whole Figure 613). The majority can be categorised as conventionalised.

Most figurines show careful modelling but such details of the anatomical body as fingers and toes are poorly distinguished or absent; slip and/or painting are rare or absent. A few specimens can be classified as crude with the main parts of the human body barely distinguished (Pl.213:518; Pl. 204:593; Pl.209:668, 659, 594, 686). It is possible that the latter are underrepresented in the sources (unrecovered, discarded, not illustrated), since they are not as aesthetically valuable as the other figurine categories.

The provenance data suggest that the majority of finely elaborated specimens were concentrated in the mounds in La Mata. However, the lack of contextual/stratigraphic data precludes our understanding of the social/ideological factors hidden behind this occurrence, e.g. whether the La Mata mounds (which of them, when and why) were or not the residence of specialists in figurine production. Nor is it possible to assess whether, in the majority of the cases, the well/poorly elaborated and realistic/conventionalised figurines coexisted in the same archaeological strata.

Within the same archaeological deposits, Bennett (1937), Osgood (1943) and Kidder (1944) recovered figurines of different types (*Standing, Seated, Cylindrical Body*), having either a more realistic or abstract depiction of the anatomical features and having diverse representation of the same decorative motifs and different kinds of accoutrements. This gives rise to questions concerning the possibility that the variety of forms and decoration coexisting in the same temporo-spatial frames possibly indicates that the figurines were not produced in mass by a reduced group of specialists, but rather by different people within households and villages. According to this scenario different representations would have existed at the same time conveying different meanings. Nevertheless, these statements should be treated as speculative since assuming that Bennett's and Osgood's mounds represent households, we may be seeing assemblages created by many generations, rather than the results of single events.

## Figurine sizes

The height of only 44 (12.68%) figurines can be calculated (Table 111). The heights of three exceptionally high *Standing* specimens range from 47.5 and 52.5 cm, i.e. they are about 20 cm higher than the highest of the remaining specimens (29.7 cm). The average height of *Standing* figurines, excluding these exceptionally large specimens, is 16.5 cm, and the average height of all figurines is

14.8 cm. The figurines of exceptionally small size, well under 10 cm in height, were also produced by the Valencioid artisans. The height of the smallest analysed figurine is 3.2 cm.

**TABLE 111.** Heights of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurines from Valencia Basin.

Figurine type	Maximum height	Minimum height	Average height	Number of specimens
Standing	52.5	3.2	21.04	23
Seated	20.3	8	14.2	13
Cylindrical Body	13	6.5	10	4
Standing Bent-Knee	16.5	13	14.75	2
Seated Bent-knee	13			1
Atypical	6.8			1
Total	52.5	3.2	17.31	44

## Figurine spatial distribution

The provenance of 67.84% (N=230) of figurines is known. One hundred and nine specimens (32.15%) are reported as recovered from the LVB or on the eastern shores of Lake Valencia, a more precise location is not given. Two hundred (86.58%) figurines come from the sites located on the eastern shores, 22 (9.52%) from the north-eastern shore (Peninsula La Cabrera), five (2.16%) come from various localities to the north of the lake and one (0.43%) from the western shore; two (0.86%) specimens come from the lake's present day or former islands (Table 112).

**TABLE 112.** Spatial distribution of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurines from Valencia Basin.

Locality	Complete or semi-complete figurines	
	#	%
La Mata	125	54.34
El Zamuro	42	18.26
La Cabrera	21	9.13
Tocorón	19	8.26
Camburito	6	2.60
La Pica	3	1.30
Camburito/Molino	2	0.86
Hacienda Mariara	2	0.86
Caña de Azucar	1	0.43
Chambergo	1	0.43
El Roble	1	0.43
La Palmita	1	0.43
Los Cerritos (eastern Lake Valencia shore)	1	0.43
Mariara	1	0.43
Guacara Island	1	0.43
Palo Negro	1	0.43
Río Blanco	1	0.43
San Joaquín	1	0.43
Subtotal	230	99.91
Eastern Lake Valencia shore	1	-
Valencia Basin	108	-
Total	339	-

## Frequency of figurine types

According to Table 113 the *Standing* figurines were the most popular in the LVB, accounting for as much as 45.72% of all analysed specimens. The *Cylindrical Body* and *Seated* figurines were notably less popular and together accounted 44.82%. The *Bent-knee* figurines that pertain to either *Standing*, *Seated* or *Cylindrical Body* categories, form the fourth consistent group, accounting for 6.46% (N=22) of relative popularity.

**TABLE 113. Quantitative distribution of anthropomorphic figurine from Valencia Basin.**

Figurine type	Total	
Standing	155	45.72
Cylindrical Body	80	23.59
Seated Spread Legs	72	21.23
Seated Bent-knee	14	4.12
Standing Bent-knee	6	1.76
Dwarfed Body	5	1.47
Atypical	3	0.88
Cylindrical Body Bent-knee	2	0.58
Kneeling	1	0.29
Cylindrical Form	1	0.29
<b>Total</b>	<b>339</b>	<b>99.93</b>

### Spatial occurrence of figurine types

In the column 'Mounded sites' of Table 114 are specified the types of figurines and figurine heads reported from La Mata (including El Zamuro site), Tocarón, La Pica and Camburito sites; the column 'La Cabrera' lists the figurines that were reported from an unspecified site in the Peninsula of La Cabrera and those found in such parts of the peninsula as Los Tamarindos and La Palmita.

The dominant popularity of *Standing* figurines and *Oval* heads in both areas is indisputable. The lower degree of type variability type in La Cabrera may be the result of sampling bias or some unknown specificity of the site. Significant here is the absence of the *Canoe-shaped heads* in La Cabrera and the low frequency of the *Canoe-shaped Headdresses*. One of the latter was reported from La Palmita (a part of the Peninsula of La Cabrera), and the other from an unknown site in the peninsula (Vellard 1938). Both occurrences may prove to be valuable chronological indicators.

**TABLE 114. Distribution of Valencioid anthropomorphic figurine types and attributes between mounded sites on the eastern Lake Valencia shore and the Peninsula La Cabrera.**

Specimen type	Mounded sites		La Cabrera	
	#	%	#	%
<b>Figurine type</b>				
Standing	87	44.84	8	36.36
Cylindrical	62	31.95	6	27.27
Seated	33	17.01	6	27.27
Seated Bent-knee	5	2.57	0	0
Dwarfed Body	5	2.57	0	0
Standing Bent-knee	1	0.51	2	9.09
Kneeling	1	0.51	0	0
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>194</b>	<b>99.96</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>99.99</b>
<b>Head type</b>				
Oval	83	61.02	11	61.11
Round	25	18.38	5	27.77
Canoe-shaped <i>Headdress</i>	10	7.35	2	11.11
Canoe-shaped	9	6.61	0	0
Rectangular	5	3.67	0	0
Plain <i>Headdress</i>	3	2.2	0	0
Triangular	1	0.73	0	0
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>99.96</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>99.99</b>
<b>Solid/Hollow status</b>				
Hollow	114	73.54	10	71.42
Solid	41	26.45	4	28.57
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>99.99</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>99.99</b>

## Figurine head type occurrence

Table 115 shows that the *Oval* heads were definitely the most frequently used by the Valencioid figurine-makers, while second place was shared by the *Rounded* and *Canoe-shaped* heads. The other three types are marginal and account for only 6.48% of overall popularity.

**TABLE 115.** Quantitative distribution of anthropomorphic figurine heads (from complete and semi-complete figurines) from Valencia Basin.

Head type	#	%
Oval	136	51.91
Rounded	57	21.75
Canoe-shaped	26	9.92
Canoe-shaped Headdress	26	9.92
Rectangular	7	2.67
Plain Headdress	7	2.67
Triangular	3	1.14
Subtotal	262	99.98
Undetermined	77	
Total	339	

## Fragmentation of the figurines

The first step in the study of the fragmentation of the figurine requires the differentiation between the breakage that occurred at a technologically weak point (potential breakage) and the intentional breakage that occurred at technologically strong parts of the figurine (see Biehl 1996:167).

The heads are the most frequently listed and illustrated parts of the Valencioid figurines. This occurrence may be largely a result of excavation bias (e.g. 'hunt' for aesthetically valuable representational material culture) and or incidental breaking in this technologically weak point rather than reflecting a Valencioid attitude toward the figurine. It is significant that the legless and headless figurines (i.e. trunks) are rarely mentioned and/or illustrated. The legs and arms are rarely reported or not mentioned at all.

**TABLE 116.** Quantitative comparison between the anthro- and zoomorphic Valencioid figurines.

Figurine category	Complete or semi-complete Listed		Illustrated		Fragments listed		Minimum Number of Figurines (listed)		Maximum Number of Specimens (listed)	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Anthropomorphic	465	87.24	214	95.11	264	83.01	1016	93.72	1306	91.45
Zoomorphic	68	12.75	11	4.88	54	16.98	68	6.27	122	8.54
Total	533	99.99	225	99.99	318	99.99	1084	99.99	1428	99.99

The proportion of complete and semi-complete anthropomorphs and zoomorphs and their fragments is dissimilar (Table 116). The relationship between complete human figurine specimens and fragments is 465:264, while the relationship between animal figurines and their fragments is 68:54. In several mounds the relation of complete figurines to fragments matches closely the average: Mound 1 at La Pica it is 7:6, and in Mound 1 at La Mata it is 37:34 (Peñalver 1967: 6, 20). Assuming that the postdepositional processes and the recovery bias affected human and animal figurines in like manner, this divergence indicates that human cultural behaviour caused much higher fragmentation of animal in comparison to the human figurines.



I have already suggested that the high number of broken figurines from the deposit of palafitte dwellers in La Mata Mound Six may be a result of Valencioid use/discard activities. However, Bennett's collection should be examined thoroughly before this matter can be discussed further. In the collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin there are several figurine heads as well as some legs, arms and headless specimens. Breakage at strong points is frequent, occurring above the figurine hips, which is one of the strongest places in the body. Given that the standards of Alfredo Jahn's excavations were far from meticulous it is difficult to evaluate which breakage may be the result of Amerindian attitude and which was due to untrained excavators.

In conclusion, the potential insights into the nature of the use of the Valencioid figurines through the analysis of their fragmentation must await future systematic research in the laboratory and in the field.

### Solid/Hollow status of figurine types

Table 117 indicates the overwhelming domination of *Hollow* (71.97%, N=131) over *Solid* (28.02%, N=51) figurines among those whose *Hollow/Solid* could be determined. The majority of *Standing* (75.58%, N=65), *Seated* (63.63%, N=21), and *Cylindrical Body* (80.39%, N=41) figurines were *Hollow*. The majority of *Seated* figurines were *Hollow* (63%); however, they were more often *Solid* than *Standing* and *Cylindrical Body* specimens, and accounted for only 16.03% of all *Hollow* specimens.

TABLE 117. Quantitative distribution of Valencioid figurine types according to the Hollow/Solid condition.

Figurine type	#	%
<b>Solid</b>		
Standing	21	41.17
Seated	12	23.52
Cylindrical Body	10	19.6
Dwarfed Body	5	9.8
Standing Bent-knee	1	1.96
Kneeling	1	1.96
Cylindrical Form	1	1.96
Subtotal	51	99.97
<b>Hollow</b>		
Standing	65	49.61
Cylindrical Body	41	31.29
Seated	21	16.03
Seated Bent-knee	2	1.52
Standing-Bent-knee	2	1.52
Subtotal	131	99.97
Undetermined	157	46.31
Total	339	

### Figurine types: Chronological considerations

Discussion of the chronology of the LVB Valencioid assemblages should start with the stratigraphic excavations carried out by Bennett (1937) and Osgood (1943). Table 118 aims to

facilitate the understanding of the correlation of natural layers, arbitrary levels and archaeological material from Tocarón Mound Six and La Mata Mound Six.

**TABLE 118.** Correlation of natural layers, arbitrary levels and archaeological material from Tocarón Mound Six and La Mata Mound Six (compiled from Bennett 1937 and Osgood 1943)

Image removed due to third party copyright

Table 119 displays the relative chronology of La Mata and Tocarón archaeological deposits as proposed by Osgood (1943), based on figurine attributes. The absence/presence of *Seated Spread Legs* figurines and *Canoe-shaped* heads are the key-diagnostic criteria used in the construction of this chart even though Osgood (1943:47-48) also used some other ceramic traits and also mound structure as discriminatory criteria.

**TABLE 119.** Relative chronology of La Mata and Tocarón archaeological deposits based on figurine attributes (compiled from Osgood 1943).

Image removed due to third party copyright

Kidder (1944:84-85) correlated the archaeological deposits from La Mata and Tocarón with his deposits from La Cabrera and these hypotheses were incorporated in a new cultural-chronological chart of the region elaborated by Osgood and Howard (1943:60-61). The new chart preserved the basic structure of the local relative chronology subdivided in three periods and two sub-periods, as made originally by Osgood (1943) (Table 120).

In the above discussed charts the *Seated Spread Legs* figurines and the *Canoe-shaped* heads were used as the diagnostic criteria. However, the diagnostic value of the head with *Canoe-shaped Headdress* was neglected. Figure 25 is the graphic representation of the data contained in Table 121 that integrates the basic structure of Osgood and Howard's model, the occurrence of figurine heads with *Canoe-shaped Headdress*, and the radiocarbon dating provided by Rouse and Crucent (1963).

**TABLE 120.** Relative chronology of La Mata, Tocarón and La Cabrera archaeological deposits with the earliest at the bottom (modified after Osgood and Howard 1943:60-61).

Period	La Mata (Bennett 1937)	Tocarón (Osgood 1943)	La Cabrera (Kidder 1944)	Series/style	Diagnostic phenomena
1a	Top half	-----	West and La Ceiba Trenches	Valencia style	Presence of <i>Seated Spread-legs</i> figurines in both sites; presence of <i>Canoe-shaped</i> heads in La Mata but absence in West and La Ceiba Trenches
1b	Top half	Humus layer	Los Tamarindos (top humus layer)	Valencia style	Los Tamarindos: absence of <i>Seated</i> figurines and <i>Canoe</i> heads;
2	Top half	Humus layer	Los Tamarindos (top humus layer)	Valencia style	
3a	Bottom half	-----	Los Tamarindos (top humus layer)	Valencia style	<i>Seated</i> figurine and <i>Canoe-shaped</i> heads absent or rare
3b	-----	Clay layer	Los Tamarindos (intermediate layers)	Valencioid and Barrancoid series respectively	Atypical Ware from Tocarón possibly contemporary to late Barrancoid assemblage from La Cabrera
4	-----	-----	Los Tamarindos (deepest layers)	La Cabrera Barrancoid style	Barrancoid pottery only

As shown in Table 107 there are three radiocarbon dates available for La Mata mounds; however, precise data on the nature of the dated samples are unknown. Being aware of the radiocarbon dating error margins and small sample size, I decided to cut arbitrarily in two halves (top and bottom) the graphic representation of Bennett's La Mata Mound Six with the line that represents the average of the three uncalibrated dates (Figure 25). The fourth radiocarbon date for Valencioid deposits from the LVB comes from Los Cerritos mound site on the western flank of the lake (Table 107). This date is consistent with the other three dates from the eastern shores, suggesting the relative contemporaneity of these mounded structures on both sides of the lake.

**TABLE 121.** Relative chronology of three stratigraphically excavated Valencioid sites at La Mata, Tocarón and La Cabrera, and El Zamuro site, according to the presence/absence and popularity of selected attributes of anthropomorphic figurine.

Period	Site/excavation unit	Seated Spread Legs figurine	Canoe-shaped head	Head with Canoe-shaped Headdress
5	La Mata, El Zamuro Mound 4	Relatively high popularity	Relatively high popularity	Relatively high popularity
4	La Mata Mound Six; Top half	Relatively high popularity	Relatively high popularity	Low popularity
3	La Mata Mound Six; Bottom half	Very low popularity	Very low popularity	Absent or low popularity <sup>1</sup>
2b	La Cabrera; West and La Ceiba Trenches	Present	Absent	Absent
2a	Tocarón Mound Six; Upper layer	Absent	Low popularity	Absent
1b	La Cabrera	Absent	Absent	Absent
1a	Los Tamarindos Trench; Tocarón Mound Six; Lower layer	Absent	Absent	Absent

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, Bennett did not provide information about the stratigraphic distribution of his two *Seated Spread Legs* figurines with *Canoe-shaped Headdress*. He stated that only one out of seven *Seated* figurines came from the bottom half of the mound (Bennett 1937:113), therefore, at least one specimen with *Canoe-shaped Headdress* must have come from the top half of the mound or, very probably, both.

At the bottom of the sequence shown in Figure 25 I added a fourth phase that is represented by the lower deposits in the Los Tamarindos site. This deposit contained the remains of the homogeneous, exclusively Barrancoid, occupation of the region which was deposited prior to any Valencioid intrusion. The lower limit of the Barrancoid presence in the region has been established by the extrapolation of the average of two uncalibrated radiocarbon dates obtained from Aserradero site,

north-west of LVB, where Barranoid deposits that were stylistically related to La Cabrera style were found (Cruxent and Rouse 1958; Rouse and Cruxent 1963).

Moving up the sequence represented in Figure 25 we come to the lower deposits of Tocarón Mound Six excavated by Osgood (1943). Osgood and Howard could not correlate conclusively the Atypical Ware from this bottom layer with the material from La Cabrera, excavated by Kidder. They frankly stated that it “possibly is the same [cultural assemblage] and possibly not” (Osgood and Howard 1943: 61). However, Cruxent and Rouse suggested that this atypical pottery from Tocarón probably pertains to the Valencia style but differs in the flaky (*escamosa*) fabric, rougher surfaces, asymmetrical forms and angular punctated ornamentation (Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol.1:316). Certainly there are little, if any, stylistic relationships between Tocarón’s Atypical Ware and the Barranoid pottery from La Cabrera; nor were pottery figurines used by the Barranoid people.

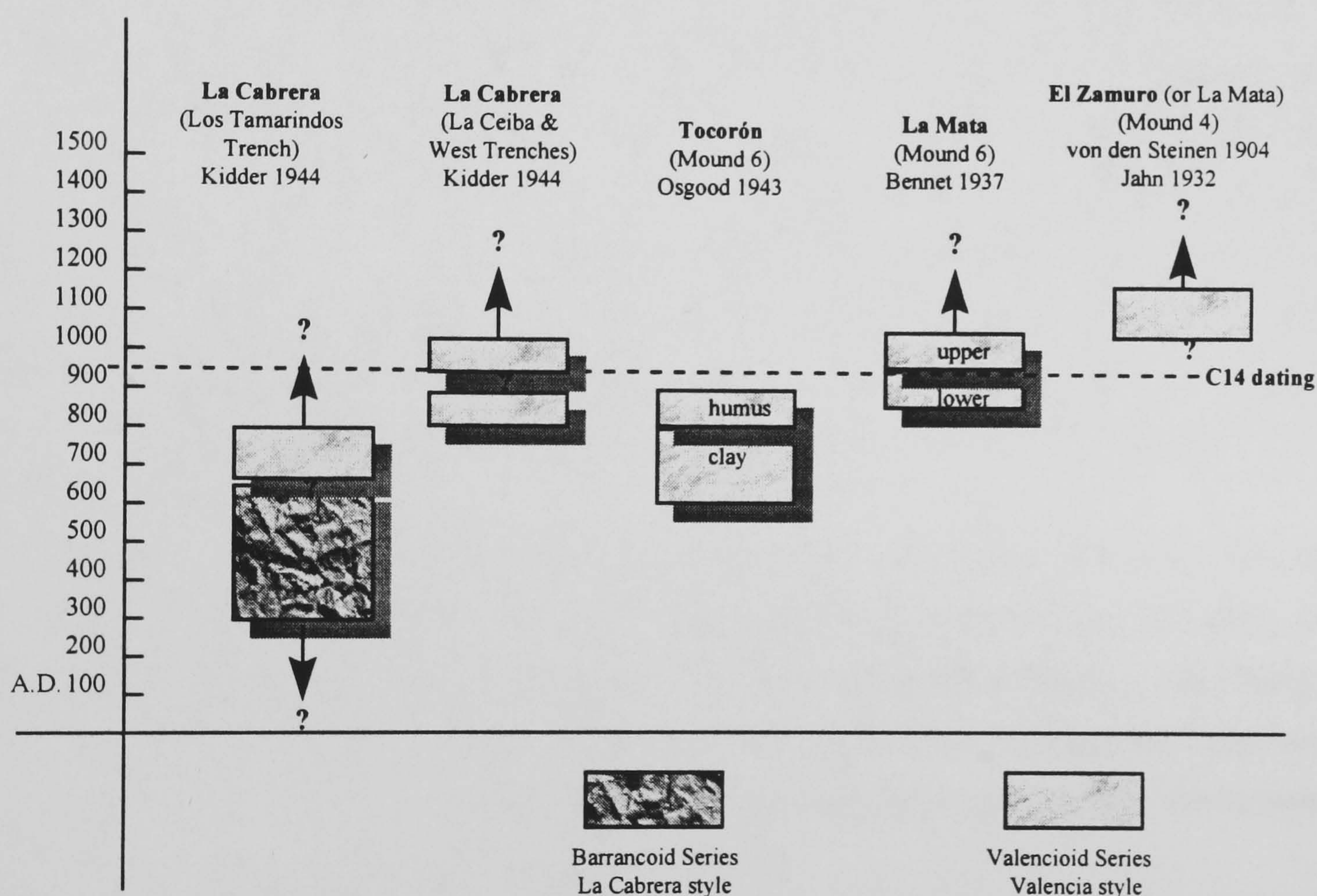


FIGURE 25. Cultural chronology of Valencia Basin region based on selected attributes of figurine and C14 dating (uncalibrated).

According to Cruxent and Rouse (*ibid.*) the nine trade shards from Tocarón (Osgood 1943:31-33, Figure 10) are related to the Taborda style of the Barranoid series from the Caribbean coast north-west of the LVB. These Barranoid sherds (see Osgood 1943:33, Figure 10, A-C) were recovered from the lowest stratum of the mound, suggesting that the early Valencioids might have coexisted in time and space with the late Barranoids. I further suggest that the Tocarón Grayware may be considered as one of the possible prototypes of the Valencioid ceramic tradition and therefore should be situated at the bottom of the developmental trajectory of the Valencia style. The lack of urn burials in Tocarón may also be indicative of its early origin since urn burials have been associated with the Valencioid deposits thorough the region. However, it is also probable that the lower layer of Tocarón

Mound Six shares its very early Valencioid origin with the lower layers of the Valencioid deposit from the Los Tamarindos Trench, in the Peninsula of La Cabrera, excavated by Kidder (1944).

The Los Tamarindos Trench deposit defies any clear-cut categorisation. The conspicuous absence of *Seated* figurines and *Canoe-shaped* heads may be explained by the excavation bias. Kidder's report suggests that the whole Peninsula of La Cabrera was literally sprinkled with archaeological remains and that the archaeological deposits exhibit complex and poorly understood patterns of distribution in time and space (Kidder 1944:28). Many types of excavation biases are possible when such a vast and archaeologically complex environment are not approached in a systematic way. In fact, Kidder recovered *Seated* figurines in the West and La Ceiba Trenches that were located about 150 metres to the south-west from the Los Tamarindos Trench (Kidder 1944, Figure 4).

However, several explanations other than excavation bias may also be put forward to explain the patterns in the deposits. The occupation of the area with these two trenches might have been contemporary with that of the Los Tamarindos Trench but unrelated functionally (differentiated activity areas of the same settlement) or, temporally unrelated. Following Kidder, I opt for the temporal differentiation of these two areas and consider the Los Tamarindos deposit as earlier in relation to those of the two other trenches. The West and La Ceiba Trenches were located toward the hills and situated on relatively higher ground than the Los Tamarindos Trench. This may relate to the movement of the habitation sites and burial grounds up the hill slopes with the rise of the Lake Valencia water level.

Unlike the *Seated* figurines the *Canoe-shaped* heads were absent from all Kidder's trenches in La Cabrera. Neither *Seated* figurines nor *Canoe-shaped* heads are reported from La Cabrera in any published source. Therefore Kidder's data and hypotheses are difficult to challenge. I also should note, at this juncture, that Cruxent and Rouse (1958, vol.1:315) erroneously stated that the *Canoe-shaped*, together with *Oval* heads, were the typical features of the Valencioid deposit at La Cabrera (compare the contrary original information given by Kidder 1944:70).

The Los Tamarindos deposit and the greyish-yellow clay layer in Tocarón Mound Six (the lower cultural layer in the mound), share a lack of *Seated* figurines and *Canoe-shaped* heads, which suggests that they are contemporary. Other evidence reinforces this hypothesis. Kidder did not find archaeologically sterile gap separating the Barranoid and Valencioid pottery. In the second metre of his excavation he recovered admixed sherds and burials characteristic of both cultures (Kidder 1944:85). It is possible that the early inhabitants of the Tocarón mound were representatives of the early Valencioid enclaves in the region, who co-existed with the late Barranoids from La Cabrera and maintained with them some kinds of relationships. If the Valencioid ancestors arrived from the south, from the Middle Orinoco area, as has been proposed (the spread of the Arauquinoid series, see Rouse and Cruxent 1963), then it may be not a coincidence that the mound complex in Tocarón is the southernmost mounded area in the region, and at the same time the most distant from La Cabrera. It seems probable that soon after their arrival, the early Valencioids 'took over' the La Cabrera Peninsula from the Barranoids with whom they possibly coexisted for a certain period of time. During this

period the cultural distinctiveness of the representatives of Valencioid and Barrancoid people was preserved. According to Kidder even if the Barrancoid and Valencioid shards were admixed, the wares of both series were never found associated with the same burial. Later, the Barrancoid pottery disappears from La Cabrera and can be found in an stylistically impoverished 'version', at the Taborda site, to the north-west. The nature and dynamic of the 'encounter' of the two cultures is difficult infer from the available data; however, the skeletal remains apparently did not reveal any evidence of conquest by force.

Returning to the Los Tamarindos Trench, except for the lack of *Seated* figurines and *Canoe-shaped* heads, the overall richness and diversity of the Valencioid material assemblage is comparable to those from the upper deposit of the La Mata Mound Six (excavated by Bennett) and the El Zamuro mounds (excavated by Jahn). Another link between the Los Tamarindos deposit with the upper layers of La Mata and Tocarón, as well as with the El Zamuro mounds, seems to be the pattern of spatial overlapping of the habitation areas and burials. In all three cases the inhabitants buried their dead within the residential area and not in distant cemeteries. Remarkably, the urn burials that were traditionally considered as one of the Valencioid hallmarks, are absent in Tocarón. Were the Tocarón people the 'poor' Valencioids? Were the urns a later addition to the Valencioid cultural repertoire? Were they not a part of the original cultural baggage brought by the Valencioid ancestors from the Middle Orinoco? It seems that the urns were later addition. It also seems that the Valencioid culture was not imported from the Orinoco area in the form known from the mounded areas, especially the later deposits in La Mata and El Zamuro. Rather, it was a product of local development that had never existed outside the LVB.

Another chronological indicator that should be considered is the lack of *Seated* figurines throughout all the deposits at the Tocarón Mound Six. Additionally, the *Canoe-shaped* heads account for only 6.25%(N=3) of all heads recovered in this mound, and were restricted to the humus layer (upper part of the mound [see Tables 102 and 103]). These data may chronologically connect this deposit with the bottom half of La Mata mound, where both *Seated* figurine and *Canoe-shaped* heads were rare (Tables 119 and 120, Figure 25). The rise of the popularity of the *Canoe-shaped* heads and *Canoe-shaped Headdresses* in La Mata was dramatic. Counting the heads of both complete and fragmented figurines, their quantity increased from three in the bottom half to 13 in the top half of the mound (Tables 85 and 86); the popularity of *Seated* figurines raised from 3.22% (N=1) in the bottom to 16.32% (N=8) in the top half (Table 86).

As already mentioned, the *Seated Spread-Legs* figurines were recovered only in the West and La Ceiba Trenches in La Cabrera Peninsula. Given that *Seated* figurines were abundant in the top half of La Mata mound, Kidder suggested that the West and La Ceiba Trenches correspond to the later period of the Valencioid occupation chronologically related to the upper deposit from La Mata (Kidder 1944:84). This suggests that the La Cabrera Peninsula was occupied continuously or intermittently since the beginning of the Valencioid presence in the region and that it was the activity areas, and the habitation and burial grounds that changed their position. If so, then the Valencioid sites in La Cabrera may encapsulate the unique data that can provide the insights into the overall history of the Valencioid

societies and their predecessors. This also suggests that this site might have had a special place within the history of the Valencioid people related to mythical times and ancestors.

There are also indicators that *Seated Spread Legs* figurines were a late addition to the Valencioid assemblage. Table 117 indicates that *Seated Spread Legs* figurines were more often made *Solid* than *Standing*. This is especially true of the *Cylindrical Body* specimens, which appear earlier in the archaeological record, and account for 23% of *Solid* and 16.03% of all *Hollow* specimens. Note that none of the *Cylindrical Body* specimens has *Canoe-shaped Headdress*. This is considered as a late phenomenon. If the technological evolution consisted of the replacement of *Solid* figurines by *Hollow* ones (as Osgood's data seem to suggest Table 102), then *Seated Solid* figurines might be considered as the typological 'new arrival'.

The El Zamuro (La Mata) Mound 4 excavated by Jahn (von den Steinen 1904) is also included in the Figure 25, given that it showed a whole range of figurine types recovered by Bennett from the upper layer in La Mata Mound Six. Also both mounds are located close together and they may in fact represent a part of a contemporary on-mound habitation system.

In general terms, my cultural/chronological chart constructed on the presence/absence of figurine characteristics accords with the hypotheses exposed by A. Antczak (1999a). He proposed that the 'golden age' of the Valencioid moundbuilders culture might have come to an end as a result of the unexpectedly large rise of the Lake Valencia water level and some unidentified internal and external socio-political tensions, anywhere between a.d. 800 and 1100. The Valencioid 'golden age' is best represented by the El Zamuro mound, in the upper layer in La Mata, and in some deposits at La Cabrera. A. Antczak (1999a) also suggested that after the peak period of mound-building and habitation, these structures may have been abandoned, 'but Valencioid occupation clearly continued until just before the Spanish Conquest'. He further proposed that during this post-golden age stage the bastion of the Valencioid culture concentrated in La Cabrera Peninsula, whose inhabitants might have gained importance on the regional socio-political scene.

Cruxent and Rouse related the position of the archaeological deposits with the terraces left by Lake Valencia's fluctuating water level (determined by Berry 1939) and suggested that the Valencioid sites must have been inhabited until immediately before the arrival of the Spaniards, and included them in the Period IV of their relative chronology (Cruxent and Rouse 1958: vol.1, 318). Their arguments for the late survival of the Valencioid culture are not discussed here but it should be noted that there is no agreement in the sources on whether the mounded sites bear signs of total or partial inundation by the lake's waters.

How do the Valencioid figurines from the outside the LVB fit the proposed temporal frames? The radiocarbon date associated with the Ocumaroid culture from Puerto Carayaca (Armand 1976) suggests that by a.d. 900±70 the Ocumaroids were still present in the portion of the coast close to the Boca Tacagua site. On the other hand, it appears that by a.d. 1206±98 (Morales 1984) fractions of the Valencioid people had established fishing camps on the coast north of the LVB (see A. Antczak 1999a).

These data fit the LVB chronology, suggesting that Valencioid influence or movement toward the areas outside LVB intensified somewhere between 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century a.d., after the collapse of the moundbuilder culture. Possibly, some bays situated along the coast north of the LVB, that lay within a day's walk of the lake, received the influx of groups of inland Valencioids. These migrants established there seasonal or semi-permanent camps for the exploitation of marine resources. If the LVB Valencioids could assure their access to the coast (resources, navigation, trade, information) that is situated so close to their ancestral settlements, why should they be interested in the distant north-eastern coast, separated from the Basin by dozens of kilometres of mountains?

I suggest that the presence of Valencioid material culture, including figurines, on the north-eastern coast is a late survival of Valencioid inheritance, related to the poorly known settlement at the El Topo site. Although I cannot connect the sparse evidence in a coherent picture, I cannot resist the temptation to point out the possible meaningful connection between the trail of Valencioid figurines to the north-east from LVB and the spread of the oligarchy of *Guaiquerí* Indians from Margarita, who seemed to control the coast from the Puerto Maya to Río Chico, during late prehistoric/protohistoric times (see A. Antczak 1999a). Furthermore, there may be meaningful connections between (1) the north-eastern trail of Valencioid traits, (2) the possible route by which the wave of immigrants related to the direct burials and thin Redware recovered at the top of Bennett's mound in La Mata, arrived in the LVB, and (3) the presence of the *Guaiquerí* oligarchy on the coast. I will return to these questions in the last chapter.

## **ANIMAL FIGURINES: MORPHOLOGY AND TYPE DISTRIBUTION**

Kidder (1944:71) considered that animal figurines are rare in the Valencia region and do not have the same uniformity exhibited by human types. Let us more closely examine Kidder's statements.

Appendix 1 contains the data on Valencioid animal figurines, compiled from the published sources. The list is dominated by the total of 45 complete and 40 fragments of animal figurines found by Peñalver in La Pica, La Mata and Río Blanco sites (Peñalver 1967). Unfortunately, Peñalver did not provide any detailed information nor illustrations of these figurines. Similarly, it cannot be determined how many of the 40 fragments of animal figurine found by Peñalver may represent a single figurine. Peñalver's fragmented specimens together with the complete figurines give a Maximum Number of 122 Zoomorphic Specimens (Table 116).

As shown in Table 116 the animal figurines account for 7.38% of all anthropo- and zoomorphic Valencioid specimens. This confirms the first of Kidder's statements, that animal figurines are rare in comparison to human ones.

Regarding the second of Kidder's statements, the animal figurines can be perceived as heterogeneous, since they cover a much richer repertoire of images than the human figurine's (see the discussion on the animal images in the next sections). However, the technique and decorative repertoire used in the production of animal figurines is generally the same as was used in human



figurine manufacture. The analysis of those particular attributes is beyond the scope of this study but I will discuss one of the main differences, i.e. the treatment of eyes.

Among 22 zoomorphic figurines whose eye shape could be determined, 14 (63.63%) are rounded, six (27.27%) are *coffee-bean* and two (9.09%) are punched, and one figure has no eyes. No particular eye form seems to be related to a particular animal class or taxon.

Comparatively, from 249 human figurines whose eye form could be determined, only five (3%) have rounded eyes. This evidence provides us an interesting insight into the world of cognition of the Valencioids; the form of eyes was one of the key-elements in the differentiation between the human beings and the animals.

The spatial distribution of animal figurines is highly uneven. As much as 62.83%(N=71) of those (MNAS, whose provenance is known, come from La Mata Mound 1; 95.5% (MNAS) were recovered from the mounded sites on the eastern shore of the Lake Valencia, while only 4.5%(N=5) come from La Cabrera.

Finally, I should explain some inconsistency regarding Osgood's animal figurine data. Osgood (1943:31) stated that "no complete specimens of animal figurine [in a sense of being independent pieces, such as figured by Requena 1932: 31] were found in Tocarón". From this statement it may be concluded that all Osgood's animal representations were *adornos*. However, in the inventory of Osgood's collection from Tocarón sent to me by the Yale Peabody Museum there are 10 items listed as animal figurines. Until I can examine Osgood's collection, I rely on his published data and consider these specimens as *adornos*.

## USE-RELATED VARIABLES OF THE FIGURINES

In the following two sections I will discuss the morphology and depositional data of those figurines whose morphology suggests their use/function. These are the figurines pierced for suspension or used as pendants and rattles.

### Figurines pierced for suspension

A total of 8.55%(N=29) of all analysed figurines were pierced for suspension. Their precise dimensions are largely unknown but judging from their descriptions and/or images they seem to be generally small specimens, with heights below 10 cm. As much as 93.1% (N=27) of pierced figurines come from La Mata Mound Six and were included by Bennett under the category of 'amulets' (Bennett 1937:117-118).

The majority of pierced specimens are *Cylindrical Body* figurines either with rounded or flat bottoms (Table 122). No *Seated* anthropomorphic nor animal figurine has been reported as pierced for suspension. One or two pierced figurines seem to bear zoo-anthropomorphic features.

I suspect that the experimental study combined with microscopic analysis of the use-wear attrition left by the string may prove that some figurines were suspended on a string passing through the opening between the trunk and the arms.

**TABLE 122.** Valencioid anthropomorphic figurines pierced for suspension, according to type.

Figurine type	#	%
Cylindrical Body	21	72.41
Dwarfed Body	5	17.24
Standing	2	6.89
Standing Bent-knee	1	3.44
Total	29	99.98

## Rattles

At least 13 (3.83%) of analysed figurines were rattles. Osgood stated that 'most' of his five *Standing Hollow* female figurines were rattles (1943:69). Another rattle is the *Cylindrical Body* sexless figurine from the bottom half of La Mata Mound Six (Bennett 1937:112). Kidder's *Seated Spread Legs* female figurine from La Cabrera (Tamarindos Trench) was also a rattle (Kidder 1944:70, Figure 32). Eight rattles were identified in the collection of Alfredo Jahn in the MFVB (Antczak and Antczak 1999b).

**TABLE 123.** Distribution of Valencioid figurine-rattles in Valencia Basin according to figurine type, images and sex representation.

Figurine type	Image	Sex	Figure	Site
Atypical Cylindrically-shaped specimen with a tripod base	Human head	sexless?	452	La Mata Mound Six
Cylindrical Body Flat Bottomed Oval Head	just human	sexless	647	El Zamuro
Cylindrical Body Flat Bottomed Rounded Head (zoo-anthropomorphic representation)	Owl?	male?	689	El Zamuro
Cylindrical Body Flat Bottomed Rounded Head (zoo-anthropomorphic representation)	Owl? Bat?	sexless	688	El Zamuro
Cylindrical Body Flat Bottomed Rounded Head (anthropo-zoomorph)	Human-bird?	sexless	710	La Cabrera
Cylindrical Form Flat Bottomed Rounded Head (zoo-anthropomorphic representation)	Bird zigzag	sexless	690	El Zamuro
Seated Spread Legs Canoe-shaped Headdress	Matron	female	651	El Zamuro
Seated Spread Legs Round Head	Matron-mask?	female	484	La Cabrera (West or La Ceiba Trench)
Standing (at least three specimens are rattles)	Adolescent	female	471	Tocorón Mound Six
Standing Bent-knee Rounded Head	Female adolescent?	female	384	Camburito
Standing Oval Head	Adorned female adolescent	female	383	El Zamuro

Alcina (1970:6, Table 6) reported that four of the Valencioid figurines in the Musée de l'Homme in Paris were rattles. Another eight figurines were considered as possible rattles, however, the criteria used by Alcina to identify these figurines as rattles are unacceptable, since these were incomplete hollow specimens.

The majority of rattles (85%, N=11) came from the mounded sites on the eastern shore of Lake Valencia; two from La Cabrera Peninsula. The El Zamuro mounds excavated by Jahn yielded as much as 46% of the rattles.

Seven (53.84%) figurine-rattles have female sex representations, five (38.46%) are sexless and one possibly represents a male (Table 123). The most popular are the figurines-rattles with *Cylindrical Body* (38.46%, N=5), three of these are zoo-anthropomorphic representations. Four (30.76%) rattles

are *Standing specimens*, two (15.38%) are *Seated Spread Legs*, and one is *Standing Bent-knee* specimen and one has atypical form. Six (46.15%) specimens have *Rounded* heads, two (15.38%) *Oval*, one *Canoe-shaped Headdress*; four (30.76%) head types are undetermined.

The figurines-rattles are predominantly, though not exclusively, associated with upper layers of the archaeological deposits. From the lower to the upper layers the *Cylindrical Bodied* rattles appear to have been gradually replaced by *Standing* and *Seated* figurines-rattles. However, this is a largely intuitive statement that requires further testing.

The quantity of Valencioid figurine-rattles cannot be accurately determined. Broken figurine-rattles lost forever the small pebbles or pottery balls that were the only material evidence of their function. On the other hand, dust and sand could penetrate into the interior of some other figurines through the openings in ears or nose, and prevent their rapid identification as hollow, and possible rattle specimens. An x-ray examination may prove efficient in the determination of some of these specimens as rattles. Finally it should be added that only three animal figurine-rattles were reported. Animal bodies were clearly less popular as vehicles for rattles and account for 23% of all figurine-rattles.

## HUMAN AND ANIMAL FIGURINES IN THEIR ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The LVB figurines were recovered in three types of contexts: (1) use-related primary contexts (funerary contexts); (2) transposed primary or secondary contexts (Bennett's palafitte dwelling refuse); and (3) possibly primary, but largely not discriminated habitational/domestic contexts (Kidder's, Osgood's, and Bennett's 'habitation' areas).

The widely spread notion about the association of the majority of the Valencioid figurines with human burials seems to be rather a long-lasting uncritically black-boxed 'truth' (Alcina 1970:7 Vellard 1938; Roosevelt 1988: 13). The origin of this notion may be traced to Marcano (1970[1889-1891]). When Marcano stated that the figurines were largely associated with burials this meant that this pattern was shown from the figurines he had recovered. Marcano's excavations were largely oriented toward the recovery of burials, since these features assured the finding of aesthetically valuable and entire objects. Such had been the experience of a chain of anonymous looters who plundered the archaeological sites of the Valencia region, probably since early colonial times. The burials and the objects were therefore the targets of all unsystematic excavations in the region.

On the other hand, it is doubtful that the overall methodology and theoretical apparatus applied by these unsystematic excavators was sufficient to discriminate between pure burial grounds and sites of multifunctional character, where burials were found within habitation and/or dwelling refuse areas. These mixed or overlapped contexts were identified by the later systematic excavators in the region, mainly by Bennett (1937), Osgood (1943), and Kidder (1944). In consequence, it is probable that some figurines were ascribed to burial contexts not only because these were the only targeted contexts, but because other contexts could not be identified. There is little problem with the contextual

association of a figurine that was found inside a funerary urn. However, when it was laying in the proximity of a direct burial, the sharpness of its contextual boundary fades away.

Let us examine the data on burial-associated figurines. Though the interpretations of the statistical correlation (Table 124) presented below should be treated very cautiously, I cannot refrain from pointing out some occurrences that may be followed up in future research. It is striking that two out of three known human figurines with male sexual organs, were recovered in funerary contexts, more precisely in urns.

The first of Kidder's burial-associated human figurines (burial #22) comes from the Los Tamarindos site. The burial was composed of the remains of an infant in bowl-urn with another inside in association with one figurine, smaller vessels, and a necklace. The second figurine was from an adult burial from La Ceiba Trench (#4). It was contained in very large urn, with one animal and one human figurines inside (Kidder 1944:49). The animal figurine is "a fat-bodied, short-Legs little animal, with protruding snout and large neatly made *coffee-bean* eyes, topped by brows...the mouths were set with quartz pebbles to represent teeth...tails are strips attached at both ends to the body...both bodies are rattles" (Kidder 1944:71, pl. VII, 32, 33; see Pl.222:494). Other identical zoomorph was found in the non-burial related context, in the same site.

The journal of Requena (1932) offers several other data regarding the funerary association of human figurines but unfortunately these data are imprecise. Two 'small' human figurines and three polished stone 'knives' were found in seven urns at La Mata. Two broken human figurines, five 'axes-knives', and fragments of collars of marine shells were found associated with six (probably direct) burials in the same site (Requena 1932: 299). Another urn from La Mata yielded one human figurine, a bone flute with ornamental engravings, one pottery *ocarina* and 23 fragments of collar (Requena 1932: 286). Lastly, two human figurines, four lithic axes, lithic projectile points, one 'axe-knife' and fragments of collars were associated with one direct burial that were probably recovered in La Mata (Requena 1932:269).

Table 124 includes also figurines associated with funerary contexts recovered by Peñalver, Jahn and Plock. Some details on the contextual association of the figurines recovered by the two latter excavators may be found in Tables 98 and 99.

In 1996, the collector whose figurines are enumerated in Table 124 gave me the following data on funerary contexts of some of his specimens. According to this informant, one male *Seated Spread Legs Canoe-shaped Headdress* figurine (Pl. 210: 591) was found inside a funerary urn in the Caña de Azucar site, at a depth of 1.5 metres. The urn contained bone remains of an adult associated with two microvessels, six stone beads of various colours, one of pink quartz, one of whitish quartz and four of greenish stone (serpentinite).

Another figurine came from multiple burial in an urn recovered from a depth of 1.8 metres at the Camburito site. This was a *Seated Spread Legs Solid Oval* head specimen. One *Standing Solid Canoe-shaped* head figurine came from a direct burial from the Los Tamarindos (La Cabrera) site. The figurine is pierced for suspension and was accompanied by two other unidentified figurines (one large

of about 30 cm in height and another missing one leg), lithic axes and beads, shell beads, pottery vessels and ocarinas and one pierced landshell that seems to be a pendant or penis sheath.

In general, between one and three human figurines were associated with other funerary offerings including (in order of popularity) ceramic vessels (often microvessels), lithic axes, pendants, shell, bone and stone beads and even whole necklaces made out of the same materials, pottery ocarinas, animal figurines and bone flutes. Given the fragmentary character of the data, any patterned correlation between figurines and the sex/age of the dead or single *versus* multiple burial cannot be established. It was also impossible to establish the nature of the relationship between the composition of the funerary furniture from burials with figurines and without figurines, nor relate this to the presence/absence of deformed skulls.

**TABLE 124.** Valencioid anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines associated with funerary contexts.

Figurine type	In urn	Direct	Unspecified burial	Other burial data	Site	Reference
<b>Human figurines</b>						
• Cylindrical Body Hollow Oval Head (anthropo-zoomorphic?)	1	-	-	-	La Mata (El Zamuro)	Antczak and Antczak 1999b
• Cylindrical Body Hollow Round Head (anthropo-zoomorphic?)	-	1?	-	-	Camburito	Antczak and Antczak 1999b
• Cylindrical Body Solid Oval Head	-	1	-	-	Camburito	Antczak and Antczak 1999b
• Seated Bent-knee Oval Head	1	-	-	-	La Pica	Peñalver 1967
• Seated Spread Legs Canoe-shaped Headdress	1	-	-	Adult burial	Caña de Azucar	Private collection data
• Seated Spread Legs Hollow Canoe-shaped Headdress	1	-	-	-	La Mata (El Zamuro)	Antczak and Antczak 1999b
• Seated Spread Legs Oval Head	1	-	-	Infant burial	La Pica	Peñalver 1967
• Seated Spread Legs Round Head	-	-	1	-	El Roble	Peñalver n.d. b,
• Seated Spread Legs Rounded Head	1	-	-	-	Hacienda Mariara	Antczak and Antczak 1999b
• Seated Spread Legs Rounded Head	1	-	-	-	Hacienda Mariara	Antczak and Antczak 1999b
• Seated Spread Legs Solid Oval Head	1	-	-	Multiple burial	Camburito	Private collection data
• Standing Bent-knee female Oval Head	1	-	-	-	La Pica	Peñalver 1967
• Standing Solid Canoe-shaped Head	1	-	-	Primary burial	La Cabrera (Los Tamarindos)	Private collection data
• Standing Solid Oval Head	-	1	-	-	Camburito	Antczak and Antczak 1999b
• Undetermined type of anthropomorphic figurine	1	-	-	Infant burial	La Cabrera (Los Tamarindos)	Kidder 1944
• Undetermined type of anthropomorphic figurine	1	-	-	Adult burial	La Cabrera (La Ceiba Trench)	Kidder 1944
• Undetermined type of anthropomorphic figurine	3	-	-	-	La Mata	Requena 1932
• Undetermined type of anthropomorphic figurine	-	2	-	-	La Mata	Requena 1932
• Undetermined type of anthropomorphic figurine	-	2	-	-	La Mata?	Requena 1932
• Undetermined type of anthropomorphic figurine	1?	-	-	-	Río Blanco	Peñalver 1967
<b>Animal figurine</b>						
• Animal figurine	1	-	-	Adult burial (Burial #4)	La Cabrera (La Ceiba)	Kidder 1944, pl. VII, 32,33
Total	13	7	1			

The statistics indicate that 66.66% (N=16) of burial-related human figurines were found in the mounded sites of La Mata, La Pica and Camburito. Only one came from the western Lake Valencia shores. A total of 16 (66.66%) figurines interpreted as funerary furniture were found inside urns. Eight (57.14%) out of 14 figurines whose types are known, are *Seated* specimens.

Were human figurines a common furniture of Valencioid burials? Given that several hundreds of urns were excavated in the LVB, I estimate the figurines were used in less than 5% of these burials. Note that in the first part of a decade of the 1960s Peñalver excavated as many as 531 in urns and 300 direct burials in Los Cerritos and La Pica sites, reporting only three burial-related figurines (see A. Antczak 1999a: 43).

Let us pose another question. If only 7.07% (N=24) of all analysed human figurines were found with burials, to what type of context do the overwhelming majority belong? I argue that even if there is a certain, undetermined number of figurines whose broad contextual association is unknown, there is strong evidence to support the view that the majority of specimens come from non-funerary contexts. Probably the best examples to support this hypothesis come from Bennett's excavations in La Mata where none of 86 figurines was associated with burials but rather to non-funerary, domestic refuse contexts. A similar pattern seems to be confirmed by the data given by Jahn (von den Steinen; Antczak and Antczak 1999b), Osgood (1943) and (Kidder 1944).

Only one animal figurine was found associated with burials. In the non-burial contexts the animal figurines were typically found associated with anthropomorphic specimens. However, their specific contextual associations are unknown. The only known instance is the association of one human and one animal figurines in an urn burial (Kidder 1944:49, burial #4).

## **HUMAN FIGURINES AND IMAGE RECOGNITION**

In the following sections I will discuss the connotative or representational aspects of figurines and identify some of the most recurrent images. I will also refer to the specific provenance of particular images. The overall positioning of the images in the archaeological context will be discussed in the next section.

### **Female, male and sexless figurines**

The presence or absence of the sexual organs was determined in 175 (51.63%) figurines. The overwhelming majority (74.28%) have female genitals; 24.57% are sexless (Table 125). The female genitals are usually represented by an incision or groove made in a centre of a pellet that represents the labia (Pl.201: 387; Pl.215). Sometimes the incision is made in the centre of a triangle of incised lines that enclose the pubic area. The triangle may represent a *guayuco* (loincloth [Pl.210: 382]), or it could also be the geometric convention to define the pubic area only. The sex may also be represented by two (Pl. 204: 649, 492) or even three notches or incisions (Pl. 200:392), Sometimes the sex representation seems to be overemphasised (Pl. 201: 387; Pl.203: 383).

Representations of male genitals are extremely rare (N=3; 1.7%). The most notable of these specimens was found by a non-professional archaeologist in a funerary context (Pl. 210: 591). It is a legless *Seated Spread Legs Hollow Canoe-shaped Headdress* specimen with a clear depiction of a penis and testicles; however, diminutive breasts are also present that may indicate the anatomical feature of the male body or may potentially suggest a 'third sex' (hermaphrodite or berdache). Except for the head, the body is red-slipped, giving the artisan the possibility to paint two diagonal lines that come down from the eyes toward the lower, external part of the chin (the 'crying' eyes). Interestingly, except for the genitals this specimen has all the attributes characteristic of the typical *Seated* specimens with feminine sex depiction.

The second specimen was interpreted as a male (Arroyo *et al.* 1970; see Figure 530). It is a *Seated Spread Legs Rounded Head* figurine with one hand touching the pubic area, while the other arm is absent (broken). The third male is a *Seated Bent-knee Oval Head* specimen found in a funerary urn of a child, at La Pica (Peñalver 1967:11; see Figure 739). The figure supports his head with both hands and his elbows rest on the knees. The poor quality of the illustrations of the last two specimens preclude the visual confirmation of the identification made by the respective authors. However, it seems that none of these specimens have breasts.

Two anthropo-zoomorphic figurines possibly represent males. The first, illustrated by Alcina (1970: Plate VIII, 11; see Pl. 223: 559), is a schematic drawing of a *Standing* legless figurine with rounded eyes shows a small pellet applied in the lower part of the abdomen. The second specimen is a *Cylindrical Body Flat Bottomed Rounded Head* zoo-anthropomorphic representation from the MFVB, in which small pellet applied to the body also seems to represent the penis; this specimen is a rattle (Pl. 223: 690a-b). Given that the sex identification of these two specimens is not conclusive they are not included in Table 125.

**TABLE 125.** Presence/absence of sexual organs and breasts in Valencia Basin figurines.

Category	#	%
<b>Sex representation</b>		
Female genitals	130	74.28
Sexless	43	24.57
Male genitals	3	1.7
Subtotal	175	100.55
<b>Breast depiction</b>		
Breastless	112	64
Breast	63	36
Subtotal	175	100
Undetermined	164	48.37
Total	339	

To explore whether the sex representation can shed light on the gender/age aspects of the images, I analysed the presence/absence of vulva and breasts on 131 specimens. Some figurines were examined directly, other through a visual inspection of the illustrations. The illustrations taken into account were only those where the breasts and genital zones were satisfactorily visible and did not look eroded.

**TABLE 126.** Frequency of breast and vulva depiction according to figurine type.

Figurine type	Breast		Vulva		Total breasts and/or vulva	
	Present	Absent	Present	Absent	Present	Absent
Standing	22	46	64	4	86	50
Seated	28	7	34	1	62	8
Cylindrical Body	3	19	6	16	9	35
Seated Bent-knee	4	0	4	0	8	0
Standing Bent-knee	2	0	2	0	4	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>169</b>	<b>93</b>

The results of the analyses are shown in Table 126. The depiction of the genitals and/or breasts was clearly less important in the *Cylindrical Body* figurines in which breasts were depicted in 13.63% and vulva in 27.27% of these specimens. The depiction of vulva was important in *Standing* specimens, occurring in 94.11% cases. However, here the breasts were much less significant, being depicted in 32.35% of the specimens only. The occurrence of both breasts and genitals was highest in *Seated* figurines, where breasts are present in 80% and vulva in 97.14% of cases. The potential inferential value of these data will be discussed later in this chapter.

### ***Seated Pregnant Women***

It may be argued that the depiction of genitals and breasts can be considered as allusion to either reproductive and/or erotic areas of the feminine body. Did the Valencioids mean to emphasise one or both aspects of these features, or simply wished to mark sex, i.e. that they are women?

The attributes of pregnancy are clearly recognisable in some of the figurines, possibly the most prominent being the specimens shown in Figures 470, 473 and 613. It may be argued that less bulging bellies, visible in several figurines, do not necessarily represent pregnancy. They may alternatively be interpreted as the representations of fat women. However, we may expect that fatty individuals would have the lower part of the belly prominent and hanging (Pl.213:519, 532). Using the same criteria for the assessment of the presence/absence of pregnancy in figurines, that have been discussed in the Chapter Five, I conclude that features of pregnancy are related largely to the *Seated* figurines. These images are distributed throughout different sites in the LVB, largely, in the mounded sites on the eastern Lake shore.

### ***Mothers with Babies***

Aside from the images of the seated pregnant women, three images seem to depict women-mothers. Two *Standing* figurines are carrying babies on their backs (Pl. 203:459 and 472) and one baby was sitting on the lap of a broken *Seated Bent-knee* female figurine (MFVB NR 15069; Pl. 220:650a,b). The circular groove around the flat belly of the specimen in Plate 203 (472a,b) suggests the abdomen of a women, who recently gave a birth. A similar feature may be seen in Plate 204 (617).

All three specimens have clear indications of female genitals, however, two are breastless while the third specimen lacks the upper part of the body. If the 'carrying babies' figurines are representing mothers or other adult females, then the absence of the breasts seem to indicate that the artisans considered that in these cases the depiction of the breasts was an excess of information. All three



specimens come from mounded sites. The two complete specimens come from the Tocarón, while the third is from El Zamuro.

### *Seated Matrons*

Let us examine more closely the depiction of breasts since the breasts in the figurines identified as pregnant women do not resemble the pregnant women's breasts. The breasts of the Valencioid figurines are almost invariably depicted as small conical pellets with a central punch. They are pointed and seem to be almost reduced to the nipple alone. They seem not to represent fully developed, large breasts of mothers but rather the undeveloped breasts of female adolescents (Pl. 207:527, 708). It may, also be argued that small breasts/nipples were used as signs of pregnancy for the Valencioid society, since they precisely emphasise the nipple or teat, through which the milk passes to the suckling young. If so why then were these small breasts-nipples applied to figurines identified as representing both pregnant (Pl.215:613; Pl.213:529; Pl. 210:531) and not-pregnant women (Pl.200:392; Pl.201:387)? Or do all Valencioid figurines with breast/nipples represent pregnant women except for the single image of an old/fatty women whose fully developed breasts are realistically modelled? (Pl. 213:532). Or is this image the only representation of a 'really' pregnant women?

It may be suggested that the breasts should be considered as a stylistic attribute, similar to the *coffee-bean* eyes and arched punctated eyebrows, and not necessarily a sex/age marker. This implies that, on the basis of breast absence/presence alone, we cannot distinguish between the pregnant and the non-pregnant, the adolescent and the adult, between the females of reproductive and the pre-reproductive age, and even between man and women.

However, the picture changes when the presence/absence of breasts is analysed in conjunction with the presence/absence of female genitals. The *Seated* figurines turned out to include both features far more frequently than *Standing* and *Cylindrical Body* specimens (Table 126). In consequence, it can be suggested that the connotation of the female sex in Valencioid figurines might have been objectified more in *Seated* than in any other figurine type. If the femaleness was so important for *Seated* figurines, of which several depict pregnant women, then we may assume that they depict an image of the women-*Matron*. Can we assume that the majority, if not all, of *Seated* figurines that share the general posture and other stylistic traits with the 'obviously' pregnant *Seated* specimens are also representing the category of women of reproductive and post-reproductive age (married women, old women or widows)? If so then the *Seated* figurines are imaging the broad category of *Matrons* that overlaps with the category of *Pregnant Women*.

### *Adorned Ladies and Female Adolescents*

Do the *Standing* figurines also represent matrons? We know that female genitals were an important feature for both *Standing* and *Seated* figurines. However, the depiction of breasts in *Standing* specimens was much less frequent than in the images of the *Seated* matrons (Table 126).

What other attributes differentiate *Standing* and *Seated* figurines? Did the figurines of the two types received similar or differentiated effort and workmanship?

There are four potential indicators of pregnancy in *Standing* specimens, apart from the prominent belly and hands resting on the abdomen (R. H. T. Ward, personal communication 1999). The first is the arched profile of the back which is created in order to put forward the abdomen. This feature can be observed on the profile of the figurine. The second is related to the position of the legs. The pregnant women are accustomed to stand with open legs and feet directed outwards. The next signs are wide hips and the slack waists.

All *Standing* specimens have legs separated at different angles. This separation provides the stability of the figurine, and it is therefore difficult use this feature as the sole indicator of pregnancy. Some figurines seem to represent pregnant women because of their prominent round bellies and/or arching backs (Pl.212:470; Pl.204:632; Pl.206:646). However, *Standing* figurines with convincing features of pregnancy are uncommon. The group of images that do not show signs of pregnancy is more numerous (e.g. Pl.201:391, 419, 394, 387; Pl. 204: 574, 572, 571, 664; Pl.205:413, 410, 714). Still other may represent fatter individuals (Pl.207: 507).

The 'non-pregnant' group of figurines shows a variety of positions of arms and hands, and they wear diverse personal adornments. Some figurines of this group represent richly decorated women. The effort and skilful workmanship was directed to the fine elaboration of the upper part of the bodies, especially the heads of these specimens.

Two large figurines (ca. 50 cm in height) wear nose rings, have the lower part of their faces decorated with incised zigzag lines, their foreheads are red painted, 'undulating crests' decorate their heads (possibly representing hair dressing) and their multiperforated ears might have originally had inserted earrings and/or feathers (Pl.200:392, 393). One of these figurines has a unique feature of small pellets applied below the eyes, its ears are especially multiperforated and its necklace is composed of rectangular beads (Pl.200:392). Both have female sex and breasts-nipples.

The third figurine is also large (ca. 35 cm in height). The top of its head and the trunk from below the chest down, are red slipped. It wears a necklace and its chest is covered by incised cross-hatching and punctate design suggesting body painting, tattooing, or clothing. The ears are multiperforated.

The fourth specimen shows a splendid and unique hair dressing and/or feather arrangements, a nose ring, a necklace, decoration on the lower part of the face, multiperforated ears and possibly artificially or naturally deformed legs (Pl.209:513). Another specimen gives an impression of an adolescent female with a nose ring, lower face decoration, necklace made possibly of bands of rounded beads, earrings in the form of rectangular plaques, and leg ligatures (Pl.204:571).

Some figurines have incised and punctate decoration around their necks, suggesting that they wear necklaces. The majority of these specimens are *Standing* (Pl.200:392; Pl.214:401; Pl.409, 410; Pl.202:437; Pl.216:474 [for the best example of a collar], Pl.214:486). Other figurines have necklaces that are not so tightly tied around the neck and hang down the chest (Pl.214:455).

At this juncture I should mention that the accoutrements depicted on the figurines (largely female) seem to represent the personal adornments used by real Valencioid women. The shell nose rings with punctated decoration (as depicted on some figurines, see Szabadics 1997:152 Photo 106), gold earrings (Marcano 1886; Requena 1932:128, 294), as well as diverse shell, bone and stone necklaces and pendants were found during the archaeological excavations thorough the region. Similarly, pieces of mineral ochre and small stone grinder used possibly to ground colorants were reported (Antczak and Antczak 1999b).

Red slip combined with incised lines covers the trunks of some specimens, suggesting possibly dress and/or body painting (Pl.201:391, 421). The tattoo, body painting or clothing on the trunk may also be represented by crossing incised lines (Pl.215:522). The specimen illustrated in Plate 207:578 shows a lateral band of incisions on the chest and possible arm bands. Plate 206:721 shows a specimen with punctate bands on the thighs that seem to represent leg bands.

Despite the differences in sizes and attention to the details, the heads of all the decorated specimens are *Oval*. The faces with nose ring have always zigzag/dots ornament incised/punctated on the lower part of the face. However this also occurs on specimens without nose rings but with necklace (Pl.205:454), and even in figurines that do not bear any personal adornment (Pl.201:387; Pl. 206:414; Pl.203:453, 499; Pl.204:632; Pl.205:714). In two cases the zigzag/dots ornament was applied to *Canoe-shaped* head individuals (Pl.205:714; Pl.206: 414). This ornament may represent painting or tattooing and unites the images of women that range from undecorated to highly adorned. Unifying the women of certain ethnic group, age and/or lineage, it simultaneously differentiates them through the variation in richness of personal adornments. In general, the *Standing* figurines, better than any other type, seem to convey information about the inequality of the Valencioid society in terms of wealth, social status and possibly age grade status.

The difference in complexity of design and variability of features between the images of the adorned *Standing* women and the *Seated* matrons is remarkable. Only one *Seated* figurine is depicted with a necklace (NR 596). None is depicted with nose-ring, leg or arm band, incised and punctated face decoration or fancy hair dressing.

An inverse occurrence may be noted with the 'crying eyes' or three red lines painted down the cheek from the lower parts of the eyes. They appear on two *Standing* specimen (Pl.207:507; Pl.208:656) but have been noted on several *Seated* figurines (Pl.213:529; Pl. 210:591; Pl.211:729). They can be observed on the specimens with the *Canoe-shaped Headdress* (Pl.207:507; Pl.210:591), and with *Oval* (Pl.211:729; Pl.203:722) and *Rounded* heads (Pl.213:529). However, I cannot evaluate the importance of the presence/absence of these painted lines without determining whether its presence/absence is due to the erosion or intention of Valencioid artisan.

The *Seated* figurines give an austere and static impression when compared to the adorned *Standing* specimens with the variety of gestures and potentiality of movement. Apart from the notions of motion and, possibly diversified wealth, some of the *Standing* images may communicate the idea of sensuality; however, the examples of such speculative messaging are rare. In some specimens the vulva is 'ostentatiously' displayed (Pl.201:387; Pl.204:571, 574) or overemphasised (Pl.203:383).

Some gestures (Pl. 209:462) may also be interpreted as sensual. However, these potential sensual messaging, and other embodied in the depiction of prominent buttocks or bulging legs, might have been also related to the original aesthetic connotation of the young femaleness, characteristic to the adolescents of pre-puberty age free for marital purposes.

For now, I have identified the images of *Seated Matrons*, *Standing Pregnant Women* and *Decorated Ladies* and *Female Adolescents*. However, the repertoire of the Valencioid images is still far from exhausted.

### ***Masked Individuals***

Some figurines appear to wear masks. The most obvious specimens within this category are two *Standing* figurines shown in Plate 205 (523a and 714). Both its hands hold a broad rectangular mask that depicts a human face. On the back of the figurine, on the lower part of its neck, is visible a groove that marks the place where the lower part of the mask ends (Pl.205:523b). The lower edge of the mask is also visible on the front. The chest, immediately below the mask proper is covered by cross-hatched and punctated ornament. This may be interpreted as an integral part of the mask made with basketry wicker or basketwork, complemented with palm bark (Pl. 205: 523; Pl.206:520; Pl.200:579). The belly and buttocks are rounded and the *umbilicus* is marked. The mouth is absent. The sex is marked but breasts are lacking, perhaps covered by the design. In fact the breasts of several *Standing* specimens seem to be simply 'covered' by hands, dress or body painting (Pl. 200:579; Pl.200:493; Pl.207:578).

One figurine from a private collection (not illustrated, NR 715) provides another accurate depiction of the mask. This specimen, from the mounded site of Tocarón, is not included in the overall statistics since I received its data and photograph in the last moment. The body of a young women is modelled with sculptural volumes of trunk, legs and buttocks and firm breasts that are larger than those of other figurines. The mask is held by both hands and its lower edge is clearly marked behind the neck of the figurine. The ornamental band or collar is wrapped around the neck, possibly in order to cover the 'real' neck of the person and to facilitate the visual 'transition' between the body and the mask. The central upper portion of the mask seem to depict a bundle of feathers. Some fragments of pottery feather crowns are known from the region. The legs of this specimen are much more separated than those of all other *Standing* figurines and the overall impression is of a 'display' in a movement suggesting dancing.

The masks seem to correspond with the *Canoe-shaped* heads. However, they are also used by individuals with the *Canoe Headdress* and even some *Oval Head* individuals seem to wear them (Pl.201:419; Pl.200:581; Pl.204:664). The masked individuals may or may not have decorated chests (Pl.205:410, 413, Pl.206:520, 648, 728, 597; Pl.207:643).

I suggest that real masks may have been originally made of wood or pottery. Alternatively the mask might have had a structure made out of woody strips woven together (basketwork) and

complemented with palm bark (see Hartmann 1967 for South American examples, especially Figure 91).

All masks of the *Standing* figurines represent human faces that were elaborated with the same technique and means of expression as the faces of the unmasked individuals, especially the *coffee-bean* eyes and large arches of punctated lines representing eyebrows. The fact that none of the 'masked' figurines has a nose-ring or crying-eyes painted on the face may suggest that these features were applied to the representation of 'real' faces. Many 'masked' specimens have multi-perforated ears, suggesting that the ears of the masks might have been richly decorated with feathers and other adornments. All anthropomorphic 'masked' figurines are *Standing* specimens. This position is certainly more naturally related to a real masked dancer performing during a particular feast than to the position of *Seated* figurines.

One of the features I considered diagnostic for the identification of masked individuals, apart from the visibility of mask's edge, is the positioning of the arms, directed toward the head with the hands supporting the mask. However, it is possible that other figurines with *Canoe-shaped* or *Oval* heads and with arms on hips also represent masked individuals (Pl.206:414; Pl.201:421). What other images may be recognised in *Standing* figurines?

## **The Canoe People**

The largest extra-somatic objects added to the Valencioid figurines are the representations of canoes. The only complete example of a figurine standing on top of a small canoe comes from the Punta Palmita site (La Cabrera Peninsula) (Pl.203:456). The figurine is sexless and may be represented just as a 'synthesis' of a human being; however, the thin legs, flat belly and lack of breasts may suggest that we are dealing with a man. This individual is wearing a headdress or a mask with incised and punctated patterns resembling a turtle carapace. The only headdress with a similar pattern is worn by the female figurine illustrated in Plate 210(531). These two figurines may represent a pair of male/female individuals related to canoeing and fishing activities. Unfortunately, the provenance of the second is unknown.

I examined four fragments of pottery canoes, with human figurines attached on top, in private collections in Caracas and Maracay. Two specimens show a pattern of cross-hatched incised lines, one of them with punctuation in free spaces. May this pattern be referred to the original paintings or carvings on the external canoe board sides? May be the cross hatching motif be the representation of waves or of a net?

All but one specimen suggest that the individual was standing on top of the canoe balanced on both legs. However, the specimen from the MFVB (museum NR 15312) suggests that each leg of the figurine was placed on top of a separate canoe-like 'shoe'. The decoration is cross-hatched with punctuation and the top of the stern has three circular pellets with a central perforation resembling the 'animal' eyes. Only the visible external sides of the canoe were decorated. All 'canoe-people' representations were found in the Peninsula of La Cabrera.

## *Naturally and Artificially Deformed Individuals*

Two specimens express an overall impression of ugliness, ferocity and/or malformation. One (Osgood 1943, Pl.8,C) has an enormous ear and an inserted stone teeth inlay possibly to emphasise the ferocity. The second (Peñalver 1965:17,1) is a *Cylindrical Body* figurine, also with one enormous ear and some unique facial features such as the eyes situated within circular concavities and punctation on cheeks that may suggest wrinkles or pocks. It bears the sign of a female sex and was interpreted by Peñalver as the representation of an old women (Peñalver 1965). Unfortunately we do not know whether the second ear in both figurines is broken off or was never made by the Valencioid artisans. Both specimens come from the mounded sites, the first from Tocarón and the second from Las Matas.

I have already referred to the prominent buttocks and bulbous thighs of some figurines that may represent the deposits of fat, characteristic of steatopygia. The thigh bands whose application artificially enhances the volume of thighs are represented in some figurines (Pl.206:721).

Other artificial deformities can be observed on figurine heads. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Gaspar Marcano (1971[1889-91]:108-9) noted difference between figurines with anteriorly-posteriorly flattened (deformed) and normal heads. The same difference was revealed among Amerindian skulls excavated in the Valencia region. Since that time the subject has been widely debated (Jahn 1932; Dupouy 1943; Cruxent 1945b, 1946a; Requena and Cruxent 1946; Requena 1946-47; Anuario 1964; Peñalver 1969; Arechabaleta 1979; Lagrange de Castillo 1979; Ortega de Mancera 1979; De Bellard 1982; Montcourt de Kosan 1983). However, the lack of contextual data on both figurines and burials, and lack of sex determination of the latter, preclude any correlation between the bio-physical and the cultural traits. As a result, the intriguing problem of the social significance of cranial deformations practised by Valencioid people is largely speculative. Additionally, only a fraction of figurines could be examined from both profile and back perspectives, which is vital to assessing the presence/absence and type of cranial deformation.

I am not going to embark onto the speculative debate on the social and/or symbolic meaning of cranial deformation, since there is insufficient and inadequate data to do so here. Rather I limit the description to those specimens with cranial deformation identified in the figurine sample. The anterior-posterior artificial flattening of the skull appears in one *Seated Spread-Legs* (Pl.213:519), one *Standing* (Pl.209:611) and three *Standing Bent-knee* hunchbacked figurines (Pl.209: 618, 611 and 528 and a specimen illustrated on page 11, in Peñalver 1967). Three of them have been identified as female (Pl.213:519 [Lapiner 1976:115, Cruxent *et al.* 1970:115, Bennett 1966: Fig.182], Pl.209:618 [Szabadics 1997:173]; see also Peñalver 1967:11). The sex of the fourth is unknown.

The abdomen of the *Seated* figurine seems fatty and droops (Pl.213:519). The legs are long, widely spread and bent. The knees are marked and the bases of the feet are bent. Arms are missing, possibly broken. The nose is prominent and the mouth has an atypical expression that may convey the feeling of pain or anger. Could this figurine represent a woman that just gave a birth, or rather an old, fat woman? This specimen comes from the La Mata mounds.

The *Standing* hunchbacked specimen has a voluminous trunk and tiny arms with hands resting on the abdomen (Pl.209: 611). The position of the arms and hands, prominent abdomen and bent back may suggest a pregnant women. Other iconographic details are unknown since only a poor profile photograph of the specimen is provided. It comes from the Palo Negro site, on the eastern shores of Lake Valencia (El Siglo 1997).

The second specimen has disproportionately large legs, prominent buttocks and small arms (Pl.209: 618). The abdomen is not prominent but the hands resting on its upper part and bent back may suggest a pregnant women. It comes from the Guacara Island (today a peninsula [Szabadics 1997: 173]). The third *Standing Bent-knee Hunchbacked* specimen is morphologically almost identical to the former. Its hunchback is slightly pointed and legs smaller. The top of its head is red slipped and the cranial flattening is not as visible as in the other specimen (Peñalver 1967:11). The fourth hunchbacked individual is *Standing Bent-knee Legs Rounded Head* figurine (Cruxent *et al.* 1970: 136, Fig. 106; see Pl. 209: 528).

The gallery of deformed specimens closes with the *Standing* figurine with female sex, tiny breasts and short curved legs (Pl. 204: 533). The nipples are emphasised. The head seems to represent an artificial cranial deformation. One ear is decorated, possibly with multiple earrings while the other, larger, is undecorated. A band of incised dots covers the neck/upper chest of the individual. The specimen comes from the La Mata mounds.

The two *Standing Bent-knee* specimens show a set of particular natural deformities (Pl.209:528, 612). The faces have a triangular shape with a prominent pointed nose and chin, and large ears. The curvature of the spine of the specimen 528 and its protuberances were interpreted as tuberculous caries of the vertebrae associated with Pott's disease (Cruxent *et al.* 1970:136). In fact both specimens have curved spine and possibly represent the effects of the same disease. The sex of all these specimens and the provenance of the figurines 528 and 612 are unknown.

### ***Seated Bent-knee Supplicants***

A series of *Seated Bent-knee* specimens I have classified as 'supplicants' (Pl.214: 515, 516; Pl.215: 457, 407, 408, 406, 514) because their faces are directed up as in a gesture of supplication and/or distress. In one specimen both hands support the lower part of the face as in masked individuals (Pl.215:514). However, the hands of the vast majority rest directly on the face (Pl. 215:407, 408, 457[?]; Pl.214:515, 516). The female sex is marked and displayed and large, rounded umbilicus is clearly marked in the majority of the specimens, although some are sexless. The position of elbows and hands varies. The elbows may be suspended in air (Pl.215:408), rest on the knee (Pl.214:515), or one elbow and one hand may rest on the knee (Pl.215:457). Both hands of one specimen rest on the knee; its sex is undetermined (Pl.215:406). The majority of these specimens come from the mounds of Las Matas and Tocarón; the provenance of two is unknown (Pl.215:407 and 408).

One of the *Supplicants* is a male figurine found in an funerary urn in the mounds of La Pica (Peñalver 1967:11). It is a *Seated Bent-knee* specimen, both of whose hands support the head, and the

elbows rest on the knees. Its face is looking upwards and the top of the head is red slipped. The eyes are circular, which is a rare feature in Valencioïd anthropomorphs.

## Human and animal depiction in *Cylindrical Bodies*

The *Cylindrical Body* figurines share several technological and stylistical attributes with other figurine types (Table 127). The main features of their faces, on which the Valencioïd artisan put his/her major attention, do not differ from those of the other types; the use of red slip is frequent. However, they clearly differentiate *Standing* from *Seated* figurines in both iconographical and functional aspects.

They are much less decorated than the *Standing* specimens and only few of them wear necklaces (Pl.214:401,455; Pl.216:403,436). The depiction of genitals and breasts is sporadic. It may be suggested that, based on their similarity with the *Standing* specimens wearing necklaces, they may also represent adolescent females. However, the *Cylindrical Body* specimens do not wear *Canoe-shaped Headdresses* nor have *Canoe-shaped Heads*. They are the only figurine type that includes zoomorphic representations (Pl.223:483, 690, 622). They also bear anthro-zoomorphic representations (Pl.223: 688, 689, 710 and 483), or depict individuals holding zoomorphic mask (Pl.223:676).

Even if their iconography is relatively poor, the *Cylindrical Body* figurines convey the richest functional (use-related) information: (1) they are usually flat bottomed, and therefore seem to have been designed to rest on a flat surface; (2) the round bottomed specimens, are pierced for suspension and might have been used as pendants; and (3) they were produced/used as rattles more often than any other figurine type.

**TABLE 127.** Comparative analysis of iconographical richness and use-related variables of Valencioïd figurine types from the Valencia Basin.

Iconographic features and use-related variables	Standing		Seated		Cylindrical Body	
	Occurrence	Score <sup>1</sup>	Occurrence	'Score'	Occurrence	'Score'
'Crying eyes'	Very rare	0.25	Rare	0.5	Absent	0
Anthropomorphic mask	Common	1	Absent	0	Absent	0
Breasts	Uncommon	0.75	Common	1	Rare	0.5
Canoe image adhered to the anthropomorphic figurine	Present	1	Absent	0	Absent	0
Canoe-shaped head	Present	1	Absent	0	Absent	0
Canoe-shaped headdress	Present	1	Present	1	Absent	0
Tops of the heads red painted	Uncommon	0.75	Uncommon	0.75	Rare	0.5
Female genitals	Common	1	Common	1	Rare	0.5
Male genitals	Absent	0	Present	1	Very rare	0.25
Personal adornments	Common	1	Very rare	0.25	Rare	0.5
Pregnant women	Uncommon	0.75	Common	1	Uncommon	0.75
Cranial deformation	Very rare	0.25	Very rare	0.25	Absent	0
Trunk decoration (painted and/or incised-punctated)	Rare	0.5	Very rare	0.25	Absent	0
Women with baby	Present	1	Absent	0	Absent	0
Zoo-anthropomorphic images	Absent	0	Absent	0	Rare	0.5
Zoomorphic mask	Absent	0	Absent	0	Very rare	0.25
Pierced for suspension	Rare	0.5	Rare	0.5	Common	1
Rattles	Rare	0.5	Rare	0.5	Uncommon	0.75
Total		11.25		8		5.5

<sup>1</sup>The 'score' is an arbitrary discrimination based on the judgement of figurine image's relative frequency of occurrence, where 0 = Absent, 0.25 = Very rare, 0.5 = Rare, 0.75 = Common and 1 = Present or Common.



## ANIMAL FIGURINES IMAGE RECOGNITION

Animal features are depicted on pottery animal figurines, anthropo-zoomorphic figurines, zoo-anthropomorphic figurines and on figurines that hold zoomorphic masks. The animal figurines are clear animal representations modelled with relative realism. The anthropo-zoomorphic representations use a dominant human body shape or human-like head, arms or legs, with the addition of animal feature such as beak, snout, teeth, ears, tail, or feathers. The zoo-anthropomorphic representations have dominant animal features with an addition of human elements. These categories were determined with varying degrees of certainty and should be treated as areas for further inquiry (when more specimens will be available for examination), rather than as a conclusive taxonomy. They offer a rich field for the examination of the aspects of liminality between the animal and the human that may be related to shamanistic transformations, mythological narration, totemism or other socio-cultural phenomena (see Mithen 1998:186-190 for the discussion on anthropomorphic vs. totemic thought).

Twenty animal figurines can be ascribed to four classes of creatures. The most popular are Mammalia (39.28%; N=11) and Reptilia (39.28%; N=11); Amphibians (10.71%; N=3) and Aves (10.71%; N=3) are significantly less common. The most popular animal representations within this category are turtles (32% of identified species; N=8), dogs (12%; N=3), felines (12%; N=3), and frogs (12%; N=3). There are single images of monkey, fox, owl, toucan and lizard. There are two images of lizards (or turtles?) and one of feline or dog. It is noteworthy that the figurines representing mammals are significantly more complete (70%) than those of reptiles (33%); this may be use-related phenomenon that requires future attention.

The zoo-anthropomorphic and anthropo-zoomorphic figurines depict mainly humans-birds (50%; N=7), and to a less extent humans-mammals, mainly bats (21.42%; N=3). At least four figurines seem to combine the features of humans with those of mammals and birds or reptiles (Pl.223:505,559, 678, 538).

Some images hardly match any concrete recognisable counterpart from the animal kingdom. One specimen represents a quadruped with wings; the Valencioid 'prototype' of Pegasus (Antczak and Antczak 1999b). Another interpretative challenge is the dinosaur-like quadruped with a long neck (Pl.222:432). These bizarre specimens seem to represent creatures related to the mythical world and/or shamanistic visions. Finally, one *Cylindrical Body Flat Bottomed* figurines seem to represent individuals supporting zoomorphic masks with both hands (Pl.223:676).

## THE POSITIONING OF HUMAN AND ANIMAL IMAGES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The process of positioning the images in the archaeological context is severely hampered by the lack of provenance and contextual data. Except for the discussion on burial contexts data on the positioning will be inevitably reduced to the indication of geographic and/or stratigraphic location.

In general, the mounded sites yielded 20 (74.07%) out of a total of 27 recognised images; La Cabrera yielded 10 (37.03%). Considering the different volumes of cultural strata excavated in both areas, the La Cabrera cultural deposits prove to be rich.

There are some differences in occurrence of images between the mounded sites and the Peninsula of La Cabrera (Table 128): (1) the *Canoe people* images are exclusively present in La Cabrera; (2) *Masked individuals* and *Seated matrons* are present but rare in La Cabrera; (3) *Deformed individuals*, *Women with babies*, and *Seated Bent-knee supplicants* are absent in La Cabrera; and (4) La Cabrera yielded only four (25%) out of 16 zoo- and zoo-anthropomorphic images. The question of whether these occurrences are the result of excavation bias should be addressed in future research.

The images on pottery figurines that are more widely spread thorough the LVB Valencioid sites are those of human-bird and turtles and/or lizards. Those of *Adorned Ladies*, *Masked Individuals*, *Pregnant Women*, *Seated Matrons* and *Deformed Individuals* seem to be also spread thoroughly in the region, though to a lesser extent than the former. All other images were even less common.

**TABLE 128.** Spatial distribution of images and use-related variables of the Valencioid anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines from the Valencia Basin.

Image and use-related variable	Mounded sites on the eastern Lake Valencia shore	Peninsula of La Cabrera	Other specified locality	Unspecified locality in the LVB
<b>Anthropomorphic figurines</b>				
Adorned Ladies and Adolescent Females	x	x	-	x
Male	x	-	Río Blanco	-
Masked individuals	x	x	-	x
Naturally and artificially deformed individuals	x	-	Palo Negro	x
Pregnant women	x	x	-	x
Seated Bent-knee supplicants	x	-	-	x
Seated matrons	x	x	-	x
Women with babies	x	-	-	-
Figurine holding a zoomorphic mask	x	x	-	-
Canoe-people	-	x	-	-
<b>Animal figurines</b>				
Frog	x	-	-	x
Owl	x	-	-	-
Toucan	x	-	-	-
Feline	x	-	-	x
Dog	x	-	-	-
Monkey	x	-	-	-
Dog or feline	x	-	-	-
Turtle	x	-	El Roble	x
Lizard (Iguana?)	x	-	-	-
Fox?	-	x	-	-
Turtle or lizard	-	x	-	x
<b>Zoo-anthropomorphic and anthropo-zoomorphic figurines</b>				
Human-bird	x	x	Mariara	x
Human-bat or caiman	x	-	-	-
Toucan-human	-	-	-	x
Beaked dog or feline-human	-	-	-	x
Human-bat	-	x	-	x
<b>Fantastic animals</b>				
Fantastic animals	-	-	-	x
<b>Use-related variables</b>				
Figurines pierced for suspension	x	x	-	-
Figurine-rattles	x	x	-	-

It seems possible that the relatively high popularity of human-bird and turtle images and the low occurrence of animal figurines in La Cabrera may reflect a cultural phenomenon rather than a recovery bias. However, we should be aware that the systematic excavation of any new mound may dramatically alter these data. It should be remembered that 93.1% (N=27) of pierced figurines come from La Mata Mound Six and 46%(N=6) of rattles from El Zamuro mound. Two (6.9%) figurines pierced for suspension and two rattles (15.38%) come from La Cabrera, the rest were recovered from the mounded sites.

As already pointed out, the figurines were found in (1) funerary contexts; (2) dwelling refuse; and (3) possibly primary, but undiscriminated, habitational/domestic contexts. Lacking adequate and sufficient contextual data, I should subsume the figurines from the second and third context categories in one broadly defined dwelling refuse context.

**TABLE 129.** Valencioid figurine images and use-related variables positioning in funerary contexts.

Image/use-related variable	Use-related variable	Sex	In urn	Direct	Unspecified burial	Other burial data	Site	Illustration
Female adolescent?	-	Female ?	-	1	-	-	Camburito	NR 630; Not illustrated
Frog	Rattle	Sexless	-	1?	-	-	Camburito	Pl.223:622
Human-bird	Rattle	Sexless	1	-	-	-	La Mata: El Zamuro	Pl.223:688
Human-bird	-	Female	1	-	-	Single burial	Mariara	Pl.223:707
Hunchbacked individual with cranial deformation	-	Female	1	-	-	-	La Pica	NR 738; Not illustrated
Masked individual?	Pierced	Female	1	-	-	Primary burial	La Cabrera: Los Tamarindos	Pl.206:597
Seated Bent-knee supplicant	-	Male	1	-	-	-	La Pica	NR 739; not illustrated
Seated male or male/female in the position of a 'matron'	-	Male	1	-	-	Adult burial	Caña de Azucar	Pl.210: 591
Seated matron	-	Female	1	-	-	Multiple burial	Camburito	NR 592; not illustrated
Seated matron	-	Female	-	-	1	-	El Roble	Pl.213:518
Seated matron	-	Female	1	-	-	-	Hacienda Mariara	NR 709; not illustrated
Seated matron	Rattle?	Female	1	-	-	-	La Mata: El Zamuro	Pl.210:651
Seated matron	-	Female	1	-	-	Infant burial	La Pica	Pl.213:512
Sexless human	-	Sexless	-	1	-	-	Camburito	NR 629; not illustrated
Turtle	-	?	-	-	1	?	El Roble	NR 752; not illustrated
Unidentified quadruped	Rattle	-	1	-	-	Adult burial	La Cabrera	Pl.222:494
Total			11	3	2			

## Burial contexts

Let us start with burial contexts. Table 129 contains data on 16 burials associated with pottery figurines; the morphology of six other figurines from burial contexts is unknown. As much as 68.75% (N=11) of burial figurines were associated with urn burials; three with direct burials and one with a

unspecified burial (Table 129). In general, the figurines were placed in either single or multiple burials, as well as in burials of adults and children.

A total of eleven human figurines with recognised images were associated with burials (Table 129). Eight of them are female. Two out of three known figurines with the depiction of male genitals were also placed in burials. The images of *Seated Matrons* are the most popular (45%, N=5 out of 11 human figurines with recognised images). Additionally one male/women is seated in a *Matron* position.

Five (31.25%) burial-figurines bear non-human images; two represent the human-bird, one turtle, one frog, and one an unidentified quadruped. The occurrence of figurine-rattles in burials is relatively high (25%). Three of them are animal representations. One figurine was pierced for suspension.

## Burial vs. non-burial contexts

Given the deficiency of the data, discussion of the positioning of the images in the non-burial, dwelling refuse context is rather fruitless. However, in broad terms, some similitude/differences in the occurrences between the burial and non-burial contexts are shown in Table 130. It is evident that all burial-associated figurines are complete or semi-complete, unlike the specimens from the non-burial contexts. This dichotomy may strengthen the already perceived association of fragmented figurines with non-burial contexts.

According to the available data, the images of *Adorned ladies*, *Pregnant women*, *Women with babies*, *Canoe-people* and *Female supplicants* were not placed in the burials. The presence of *Masked individuals* and *Female adolescents* in the burials is dubious. The *Cylindrical Body* figurine human representations are absent. Figurines representing human-bird, turtle, frog and an unidentified quadruped were also placed in burials.

**TABLE 130.** Images, use-related variables and physical integrity of figurines in burial and non-burial contexts.

Images, use-related variables and physical integrity	Burial contexts	Non-burial contexts
Adorned ladies and adolescent females	-	x
Canoe-people	-	x
Masked individuals	-	x
Women with babies	-	x
Seated Bent-knee supplicants (female)	-	x
Male	x	-
Naturally and artificially deformed individuals	x	x
Pregnant women	x	x
Seated Bent-knee supplicants (male)	x	x
Seated matrons	x	x
.....		
Frog	x	x
Turtle	x	x
Human bird	x	x
Other zoomorphic, anthro-zoo and zoo-anthropomorphic images	-	x
.....		
Pierced for suspension	x	x
Rattles	x	x
.....		
Physical integrity	Predominance of complete or semi-complete specimens	Predominance of fragmented specimens

## Images: chronological considerations

I have already explained that *Seated* figurines and those with the *Canoe-shaped Headdress* and *Canoe-shaped* head are a late addition to the Valencioïd figurine repertoire. If so, then these data should allow me to cautiously determine the temporal distribution of images, use-related variables and even of contextual associations of some figurines (Table 131). Three examples are discussed below.

We know that *Standing* figurines were produced from early Valencioïd times in the LVB. However, the *Canoe-shaped* heads that are intimately associated with *Standing* figurines are considered as a late stylistic development. If the *Canoe-shaped* heads are identified as representations of masks, then the *Standing Masked Individuals* may also be considered as late phenomena. The *Oval-headed* 'masked' specimens may be seen as intermediary while the roots of masked representations may perhaps be seen in the *Cylindrical Body* figurine that seem to hold a mask. If in fact we deal with the chronological sequence that illustrates the cultural shift that goes from the original use of the zoomorphic to the dominance of the anthropomorphic masks, then it may convey important messages about an intriguing cultural change.

The depiction of the male sexual organ on figurines may also be used cautiously as a chronological indicator. If the *Seated Spread Legs* figurines are a late phenomenon then the male representations (all three of them *Seated*) may also be a late phenomenon. One of male figurines has a *Headdress* that is also considered as a late stylistic trait. On the other hand, the *Seated Matrons* were the most popular representations placed in human burials. These data may suggest that the overall tendency of using figurines as grave furniture might have also been a relatively late trend. As noted earlier, while moving from lower to upper layers of archaeological deposits in the region (La Mata, Tocarón) the *Cylindrical Bodied* rattles were gradually replaced by *Standing* and *Seated* figurines-rattles. If so, than the presence of four rattles, but with predominantly zoomorphic images, may also be related to the late phenomena. We may suggest that, with the passage of time, the Valencioïds of the LVB increased or begin the use/production of *Seated Matrons* with *Headdresses*, *Standing Masked Individuals*, *Canoe-People*, zoomorphic rattles, male figurines and the placement of figurines in burials, largely in urn.

The *Canoe-shaped Headdresses* depicted on many *Seated* figurines are considered as late phenomena. They are uncommon on *Standing* and absent on *Cylindrical Body* specimens. The most common image associated with *Seated* figurines is that of *Matron*, and also more specifically of *Pregnant women* (many of them wear *Headdresses*). The image of *Matron* is also present in *Standing* and *Cylindrical Body* specimens that appear since the earliest phases; however, it is by far less popular than in *Seated* specimens and these specimens do not wear *Headdresses*. Therefore, the image of *Seated Matron* with *Headdress* may be a late phenomena.

The *Cylindrical Body* figurines seem to pertain to the early phase of the representational production and are often related to zoomorphic representations. If so, then their absence beyond the LVB may strengthen the previous assumption about the late 'spread' of *Standing* and *Seated* figurines

into these regions. Alternatively, they are possibly more place- or person-dependant than *Standing* or *Seated* figurines.

**TABLE 131.** Figurine types as vehicles for image and use-related variables.

Image and use-related variables	Standing	Seated Spread Legs	Cylindrical Body	Standing Bent-knee	Seated Bent-knee
Male	-	Present	-	-	-
Zoomorphic mask	-	-	Rare	-	-
Seated Bent-knee supplicants	-	-	-	-	Common
Seated matrons	-	Present	-	-	-
Adorned ladies and Adolescent females	Common	Very rare	Rare	-	-
Masked individuals	Common	-	-	-	-
Canoe-people	Present	-	-	-	-
Women with babies	Present	-	-	-	-
Pregnant women	Uncommon	Common	Rare	-	-
Zoomorphic representations	-	-	Present	-	-
Anthropo-zoomorphic representations	-	Very rare	Present	-	-
Naturally and artificially deformed individuals	Very rare	Very rare	-	Common	-
Pierced for suspension	-	Very rare	Common	Very rare	-
Rattles	Rare	Rare	Common	?	?

- Absent

## Non-figurine imagery: morphology, images, contexts

There are nine categories of non-figurine representational items that will be discussed in the next sections. The category of pottery *adornos* is discussed briefly due to the inaccessibility of the most relevant material for close examination.

### Pipes

Clay pipes have been found in several localities through the LVB. Their bowls are plain or decorated with modelled and incised human faces. Ernst reported the finding of a pottery pipe near Tocarón as early as in 1884 (Ernst 1884:73). C. Plock sent to the MFVB one plain pipe from an urn burial in Mariara, in 1894, and Jahn sent to the same museum one pipe with face decoration from El Burro Island, one plain example from La Cabrera and two decorated pipes with incised lines, from Caignüire Island and La Cabrera, in 1903. Requena illustrated four pipes with bowls decorated with human faces and one plain specimen (Requena 1932:51). One decorated with a face was also reported from La Cabrera (Vellard 1938: Fig.13).

Kidder excavated several pipes made of La Cabrera Polished Gray ware, in La Cabrera (Kidder 1944:56). All but one were found in deep layers associated with the Barrancoid occupation (La Cabrera Phase). Pipes with anthropomorphic decoration, and also plain pipes, often made in La Cabrera Polished Gray ware, may be considered as 'Barrancoid' artefacts (Pl.228:1-5). They were frequently found in post-Barrancoid (Valencioid), or in mixed contexts.

One pipe stem of La Cabrera Polished Gray ware was found in the top humus layer at La Cabrera (Valencia Phase), next to a Burial 62 (Kidder 1944: 61). Another pipe with a bowl decorated with a human face with round eyes came from the top layer in La Mata (Bennett 1937:120, Fig. 119). Osgood found numerous pipe stems in various levels of his excavation in Tocarón Mound Six

(Osgood 1943: 31). The already mentioned pipes found by Jahn, come from clearly Valencioid contexts.

Peñalver describes various pipes collected from five localities, including two islands (Otama and Caguire) and two former islands (La Culebra and El Morro de Guacara). In the Morro de Guacara Peñalver found pipes and other 'offerings' associated with direct burials (Peñalver n.d. c). We do not know whether they were associated with Valencioid or Barranoid deposits; however, I suspect that they mainly came from Valencioid sites (Henriqueta Peñalver, communication personal 1998). Some of them were found associated with the direct incinerated burials found in La Culebra (Peñalver 1976:10). Peñalver recognised images of *Seated Spread-Legs* women, birds (parrots) and unidentified anthropo- and zoomorphic images. Some pipes have incisions while other have a plain finish. Peñalver distinguished 13 types of pipes with their respective variants (Peñalver 1976:13).

Given the limitations imposed by the absence of contextual data I will not dwell on the pipes' issues, however, I will suggest that (1) some original Barranoid pipes with anthropomorphic decoration seem to have functioned in the Valencioid societies together with pipes of Valencioid manufacture (plain?); (2) some of the 'Barranoid' pipes represent *Seated Bent-knee* individuals (Pl.228:1a,b; see also Kidder 1944, pl. III, 12, 13); and (3) some of the pipe stems may be phallic representations (see especially Pl.228:5; see also Peñalver 1976: 17, 18; Cruxent 1946c).

### **Pottery phalluses**

Bennett (1937:120, Fig. 119, middle row, 3) reported two hollow clay pieces modelled like a phallus. He did not explain whether they were complete objects or fragments of a larger whole. They come from La Mata Mound Six; neither stratigraphic position nor contextual associations are provided.

### **Stools**

Three four-legged, miniature pottery stools were reported from the LVB sites (Pl.228:6, 7). The provenance of two of them is unknown (Requena 1932: 107; Szabadics 1997:174, Fig.137). The third comes from La Cabrera (West Trench [Kidder 1944:72]). All three are almost identical having a slightly concave slab of clay with rounded corners mounted on four solid round legs. They may have been used as a seats for figurines, however, none was found with a figurine sitting on top. Kidder's stool was made in Valencia Red ware that is considered as late in the sequence of La Cabrera pottery (Kidder 1944:72).

### **Flutes**

One fragment of a Valencioid anthropomorphic pottery vessel depicts an individual playing a flute or ocarina (Cruxent *et al.* 1970:116, Fig. 68). Four three-holed flutes illustrated by Requena (1932:149, 151) bear complex geometrical and anthropo-zoomorphic carvings (Pl.228:8,9). One of these specimens (Requena 1932: 149, second from the left) was sold by Mario del Castillo to the

Museu Nacional, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where it is labelled as coming from La Cabrera (Andrade Lima, personal communication 1999).

Two other specimens probably come from Los Cerritos (La Mata). According to Requena's diary the flute with geometric designs was recovered from inside a funerary urn. It was associated with one pottery anthropomorph, 23 beads, and one ocarina with orifices (Requena 1932: 286; it seems to be the flute in the centre pp. 149, 151). A second flute, decorated with "human faces with open mouth and animals stylised in form of batrachians" was also found inside an urn (Pl.228:8; Requena 1932: 290, probably the second flute from the right, pp.149, 151).

One three-hole flute from Requena's illustrations is undecorated. It is similar to the three-hole undecorated specimen from Tocarón (Osgood 1943: Pl.15 h) and to another specimen, identified as made from the deer radius, from the Los Tamarindos (Kidder 1944, pl. XII, 10).

The flute motifs of connected triangular and oval human faces and of a batrachian-like *Seated Bent-knee* individual may strongly suggest meaningful connection between the flute, ceremonial activity, batrachian and *Seated Bent-knee* individuals (Pl.228:8).

### Whistles and ocarinas

Bennett (1937:120) used the term *bola* whistles for pottery instruments made of two interconnected balls (see Pl. 228:13). He found three such whistles at La Mata, however, he did not provide illustration. Two possibly similar specimens are depicted by Requena (1932:147, Top row centre, bottom row first on the left). Another six specimens were found by Jahn in El Zamuro, mainly in Mound 1 (Antczak and Antczak 1999b).

Jahn's specimens have mouthpieces at the top of the figure from which two canals go diagonally to the openings on each side, above the 'bolas'. These instruments can be played by using the fingers to cover or uncover one of these openings. For this reason these artefacts may be better called ocarinas instead of whistles.

One of Jahn's specimens has a human face incised on a flat surface, suggesting that the 'bolas' might in fact represent exaggeratedly bulbous legs (MFVB NR 15374). The similarity of these objects to the standing and sitting pottery figurines made by the Carajá Indians from the Bananal Island in Central Brazil is striking (Hartmann 1973). Significantly, the centrally marked umbilicus is a prominent feature in both representations (see Hartmann 1973, Fig. 3, 6, 59b, and others). A potentially meaningful connection between these two representations may eventually require closer attention in future. The second decorated specimen has animal heads, possibly birds, depicted at the end of each *bola*. Other whistles are plain.

Another group of ocarinas are round potato-like hollow objects, with one central hole-opening and two smaller on one side. They usually depict modelled birds with wings-arms and tails (Marcano 1971[1898-91]; Requena 1932:145) (see Pl.228:12,13). One similar ocarina was found by Jahn at El Zamuro, Mound 1 (Antczak and Antczak 1999b), another by Bennett at La Mata (1937: 120; Fig 14, Middle row 1), and a few by Osgood at Tocarón (Osgood 1943: 31, pl. 6 k and l). Some of these



ocarinas depict human figures (Requena 1932:147; Bennett 1937, Fig.14, Top row 1 and 3) or human faces only (Cruxent *et al.* 118, fig.72, 73).

Some of the bird-shaped ocarinas with two perforations illustrated by Requena were found in urn burials of children, at the Los Cerritos site (Pl.228:12 and 13). According to his diary one of them was found in urn together with bone beads in the form of batrachians and with a microvessel (Requena 1932:301). Undecorated bone whistles were reported from Tocarón and La Cabrera (Osgood 1943, Pl.15 I; Kidder 1944: pl. XII, 11).

### **Rim, wall and handle *adornos***

Some types of Valencioid vessels show a great variety of *adornos* or modelled projections attached to their bodies (walls), rims and handles (Pl. 226; see Requena 1932:75, 77, 81, 87, 91, 95, 99, 121, 159, 163). The *adornos* were usually modelled separately during the manufacturing process and attached to the vessels. As a result, they become detached easily. Hundreds of separated Valencioid *adornos* are found in museums and private collections all over the world.

Identification of the original position the separated *adorno* might have had on a vessel becomes highly unreliable when based on illustrations alone. The poor quality of illustration often prevents the identification of the image. I am limited here to discuss the collection of *adornos* from La Mata Mound Six excavated and described by Bennett (1937:97-106), using his original classification and terminology (Table 132). Additionally, I refer to the *adornos* recovered by Jahn in the mounds of El Zamur and Camburito, that I analysed in the MFVB. Finally, references are also made to the reports by Osgood (1943) and Kidder (1944).

Bennett recovered 361 body and rim *adornos* of which 79(22%) were plain. The remaining 282(78%) specimens were anthropo- (N=38; 10%) and zoomorphic (N=244;68%) representations. The anthropomorphic representations were largely human heads (N=34) applied to wide rims or used as flat rim lugs. Four specimens represent complete human figures, two with *Canoe-shaped* and two with *Oval* heads. At least two of them can be compared to the images of *Seated Bent-knee Supplicants* depicted on figurines (Bennett 1937:104: Fig.10, third row, 3). Cruxent *et al.* (1971:125, 86) also illustrated a globular bowl with a human figure with a *Canoe-shaped* head attached to its body. These complete-figure *adornos* were exclusively attached on the walls of the vessels and, because of the *Canoe-shaped* heads, seem to be a relatively late phenomenon.

In general, the relative quantity of *adornos* increased from the bottom to the top half of La Mata Mound Six. The double projections of animal heads and human heads become less numerous. The modelled human figures on body and finished modelled heads were present in the top half of the mound exclusively.

Bennett's collection comprises 119 horizontal and multiple round three-four branched handles of which 25 (21%) have zoomorphic representations. No anthropomorphic representation on handles has been mentioned. The crested animals and modelled birds' heads and wings are often represented on the ends of horizontal handles attached to the body of the vessel, never to the rim (Bennett 1937:107). The changes in the frequency of handle decoration through time are insignificant.

TABLE 132. Location of anthropo- and zoomorphic *adornos* on Valencioid bowls (compiled from Bennett 1937).

Image removed due to third party copyright

Bennett left unidentified the images of the zoomorphic head *adornos*. However, almost all heads of crested animals from his collection seem to represent birds. I observed and/or examined dozens of similar crested bird images in Valencioid collections from public and private collections in Venezuela and elsewhere (see Pl. 226: J-M). At least 67.46% (N=85) of Bennett's rim *adornos* are probably bird representations. Among the animal figures used as *adornos* Bennett identified two felines, one deer-like, one alligator-like and two frog representations. The animal figures were modelled and applied almost exclusively as bowl body *adornos* (Table 132).

The collection from the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin confirms the high popularity of birds, especially crested specimens, as vessel *adornos* (see also Osgood 1943, pl.7; Kidder 1945, pl. X). The heads of harpy eagles, vultures and owls can be recognised. Mammals are rare, being largely represented by the images of bat (see also Kidder 1945, pl. X, 11-17). Two or three figures of felines, a few heads of dogs or foxes, and two probably representing the anteater (*Tamandua* spp.), are also recognised. The batrachians are represented by frogs and the reptiles by lizards, mainly iguana-like specimens. There are some outstanding animal representations, such as that of a large lizard climbing the neck of a jar, the extraordinarily realistic representation of an *armadillo* (Pl.222:683), a quadruped carrying a bowl-like object on its back, a sitting bent-knee dog or fox with arms supporting the head, and a feline with a cub on its back (Pl.222: 697). A combination of human and animal features is illustrated in stylised human heads with two bird head projections on top. There are also representations of two bird heads on top of an animal-like head (see Kidder 1945, pl. X, 15).

The human figures in Berlin's collection are represented by four complete and two legless specimens facing outward and one facing inward the vessel. They are standing female or sexless. The heads of three specimens are decorated with undulating crests, face and chest of other are also

decorated. The images of *Supplicants*, *Adorned Ladies*, *Female Adolescents* and *Pregnant Women* may be recognised in these *adornos*.

Depositional data on the vessels with anthropo- and zoomorphic *adornos* is extremely scarce. One red slipped open bowl with a pair of small human heads attached on top of the rim was found associated with an urn in Los Cerritos. It contained small, fine carvings (beads? pendants?) in form of caimans and turtles made out of *Strombus gigas* shell (taken from the description on the original fiche, catalogue NR VA 14008, Acten NR 1184/01, MFVB).

In summary, zoomorphic *adornos* outnumbered the anthropomorphic ones and both were primarily applied to incurved and outcurved bowls with or without pedestals, and to a lesser extent to containers for liquids (jars) and globular, possibly for storing/cooking *ollas*. The *adornos* seem to be principally attached to food serving ware that might have been used for non-daily consumption events. The human figures with *Canoe-shaped Head* attached to the vessel body seem to be a late addition to the stylistic repertoire.

### **Human faces on vessels' necks and spouts**

The bulging necks of jars were often decorated with human faces (Pl. 227: A-E; see Requena 1932:107; Kidder 1944: 66, pl. VI, 14-21; Cruxent *et al.* 1970:121, 77-79; 119:74). The specimens with hands supporting the head are relatively common (Pl. 227: A-D; see Requena 1932: 81, 85, 91, 103; Kidder 1944, pl. VI, 14, 18). The human face depiction ranges from very realistic to highly conventionalised, 'compressed' representations. The arms attached to the main body of the jar often stretch upward and touch the face modelled on the bulging neck. These representations may be related to those of the *Supplicants*, recognised in the figurines. Animal representations are absent on the bulging jars necks.

The modelled human faces were also applied to the extremities of flat handles that connect two spouts of globular jars or one spout with the body of the vessel (Pl. 226: F). They were also applied as 'collars' on the bases of the spouts (see Requena 1932:125; Kidder 1944:66-67; Cruxent *et al.* 1970:122-123, 80-83).

In summary, the human face motif was applied to small and medium-size containers for liquids, and the image that can be related to that of *Supplicants*, was recognised in some of them. The contextual data concerning the vessels discussed in this section is unknown.

### **Anthropo- and zoomorphic effigy vessels**

Apart from the human head represented on bulging-neck jars, the arms and a navel were also represented on the body of some of the globular jars (Requena 1932:61, 99; Kidder 1944, pl. VI, 18). The human figures depicted on these vessels lack legs and sex representation; however, they can be tentatively grouped together with the effigy vessels that clearly depict all main parts of human body. Effigy vessels are rare in the LVB and represent humans, animals or anthropo-zoomorphic images.

Six heads of possibly anthropomorphic vessels are known (Sanoja and Vargas 1974, pl. XXVI; Cruxent *et al.* 1970:116, Fig 68; 117, Fig.71; Alcina 1971, pl. VII, 4; and two specimens from the

MFVB). They are well elaborated, often slipped. The spout is generally located on top of a conical headdress (Pl.225: A, B). One specimen represents a personage playing a flute or ocarina, another seems to have a fancy hair dress (Pl. 225:A1,2). Two specimens come from El Zamuro but the specific provenances of the others are unknown.

Two vessels represent turtles (Requena 1932:55; Marcano 1971[1898-91:87-88]). One is an unidentified quadruped (Cruxent *et al.* 1970: 131, Fig. 97). Their specific locations are unknown. A magnificent zoo-anthropomorphic specimen represents a *Seated Bent-knee* women with a caiman-like jaw and teeth. The specific provenance of this specimen is unknown. It is probably one of the first Valencioid object that reached a European museum having been collected about 1851 and sent to Berlin (MFVB NR 244; see Pl. 225, C1 and C2).

### **Images on pendants, beads and amulets**

Bennett (1944:117) considered those small figurines pierced for suspension to be amulets. For the purpose of this study I classify as amulets the small representations of animals, made almost exclusively out of stone or shell that were not pierced for suspension and therefore were not pendants or parts of necklaces. The most popular image represented on Valencioid amulets is a frog (Table 133).

The beads that bear images were possibly used as parts of collars and made out of shell, less often bone. Representation of stylised human figures are common as well as those of frogs (Pl. 224:15-17); fish-shaped beads are mentioned

The pendants were pierced and made to be used individually rather than in the necklaces. They were often made of shell, mainly *Strombus* spp. and *Spondylus* spp., less frequently of stone or bone. The most common images are frogs, human figures or faces, birds and bat representations (Pl.224).

The bat representations need special attention. One spectacularly carved three-dimensional representation of bat was found in Caigüire Island (Pl. 224:11; Antczak and Antczak 1999b). Some bat-winged pendants made out of the outer lips of the *Strombus gigas* shell were also reported from the LVB (Pl.224: 12). Similar artefacts were popular in the prehispanic Venezuelan Andes and Andean piedmont (Lara State).

Beads are commonly mentioned as burial furniture and several whole necklaces were found lying on the necks of human skeletons excavated in the area (Henriqueta Peñalver, personal communication 1998). Some pendants were also found in burials, however, it is noteworthy that no bat-representation is known to have been found in burial.

**TABLE 133.** Images identified on shell, stone and bone Valencioid representational artefacts from the Valencia Basin.

Image	Artefact type	Material	#	Context	Site	Reference
Bird, crested	Amulet	Stone	1	Dwelling refuse?	La Mata	Bennett 1937, Fig. 17, Third row 3
Frog	Amulet	Stone	2	Dwelling refuse?	La Mata	Bennett 1937, Fig. 17, Third row 1-2
Frog	Amulet	Unspecified	2	Unknown	VLB	Marcano 1971[1898-91]: Fig. 22
Anthropomorph	Amulet?	Stone	1	Unknown	El Roble	Peñalver n.d. b, pp. 26, Phot. 14
Cayman	Amulet?	Shell	1	Unknown	Los Cerritos	Antczak and Antczak 1999b
	Pendant?	( <i>Strombus</i> spp.?)				
Turtle	Amulet?	Stone	1	Unknown	Los Cerritos	Marcano 1971[1898-91]: Fig. 23
	Pendant?					
Anthropomorph	Bead	Shell	Various	Unknown	VLB	Szabadics :171, Fig.132
Anthropomorph	Bead	Shell	4	Dwelling refuse?	La Mata	Bennett 1937, Fig. 15, Top row 5-8
Anthropomorph	Bead	Bone or shell?	Various	Dwelling refuse?	La Mata	Peñalver 1967:18, Phot. 13
Fish	Bead	Shell?	Various	Unknown	VLB	Requena 1932:320
Frog	Bead	Shell	Various	Dwelling refuse?	Tocorón	Osgood 1943, Fig. 11n; von den Steinen 1904:107, Fig. 27; Peñalver 1967:19, Phot. 14
Frog	Bead	Bone or shell?	Various	Dwelling refuse?	La Mata	
Frog	Bead	Shell	11	Unknown	Los Cerritos	Antczak and Antczak 1999b
		( <i>Spondylus</i> spp.)				
Frog	Bead	Bone	1	Unknown	VLB	Marcano 1971[1898-91]: Fig. 21
Anthropomorph	Bead?	Shell	1	Dwelling refuse?	Tocorón	Osgood 1943, Fig. 11,l
Frog	Beads	Shell?	Various	Unknown	VLB	Requena 1932:141
Anthropomorph	Body stamp	Pottery	4	Unknown	VLB	Requena 1932:43, 45
ic design (face)						
Anthropomorph	Pendant	Shell	1	Burial #26	La Cabrera	Kidder 1944, Pl., 42
Anthropo-zoomorph	Pendant	Shell	1	Unknown	Los Cerritos	Antczak and Antczak 1999b
		( <i>Spondylus</i> spp.)				
Anthropo-zoomorph	Pendant	Shell	1	Unknown	El Zamuro	Antczak and Antczak 1999b
		( <i>Strombus gigas</i> )				
Bat	Pendant	Stone	1	Unknown	Gigue	Antczak and Antczak 1999b
Bat	Pendant	Shell	1	Unknown	Miranda State	Oramas 1946:49
		( <i>Strombus gigas</i> )				
Bat wings	Pendant	Shell	1	Unknown	La Mata	Vellard 1938: Fig. 3
		( <i>Strombus gigas</i> )				
Bat wings	Pendant	Shell	1	Unknown	La Mata	Bennett 1937: 121, Fig. 15, Bottom row, 2
		( <i>Strombus gigas</i> )				
Bat wings	Pendant	Stone	4		VLB?	Requena 1932:157
Bird, aquatic	Pendant	Bone	1	Unknown	Los Cerritos	Marcano 1971[1898-91]: Fig. 18
Bird, beaked	Pendant	Shell?	1	Unknown	VLB	Requena 1932:143
Birds, joined	Pendant	Bone? Stone?	1	Unknown	Los Cerritos	Marcano 1971[1898-91]: Fig. 19
Frog	Pendant	Shell	2	Burial #22	La Cabrera	Kidder 1944, pl., 37, 38
		( <i>Spondylus</i> spp.)				
Frog	Pendant	Shell	2	Dwelling refuse?	La Mata	Bennett 1937, Fig. 15, Top row 9
Turtle	Pendant	Shell	2	Burial #22	La Cabrera	Kidder 1944, Pl., 39, 40
		( <i>Strombus gigas</i> )				
		( <i>Spondylus</i> spp.)				
Turtle	Pendant	Shell	1	Unknown	Los Cerritos	Antczak and Antczak 1999b
		( <i>Spondylus</i> spp.)				
Turtle	Pendant	Stone	1	Unknown	Los Cerritos	Antczak and Antczak 1999b
Anthropomorph	Pendant?	Shell	4	Dwelling refuse?	Tocorón	Osgood 1943, Fig. 11, G-J
Anthropomorph (female)	Pendant?	Bone	1	Unknown	El Zamuro	Antczak and Antczak 1999b
Bird, crested	Pendant	Stone	7	Burial #22	La Cabrera	Kidder 1944, pl., 43

## FIGURINE AND NON-FIGURINE IMAGES FROM BEYOND THE VALENCIA BASIN

The repertoire of the Valencioid images from beyond the LVB is impoverished. The human figurines seem to represent the *Female Adolescents* and *Matrons*; these images that were identified in the LVB (Pl.199: 500; 583a, b; 582; 509). Five bird figurines are known; they were found together with the tusk-shaped legless human figurines, in Cueva Cruxent, east of Caracas (Cruxent and Rouse 1958; see Pl.199:502, 503).

Moving east from the LVB, images of batrachian and human faces depicted on vessel *adornos* were found in the Las Minas site (Dupouy 1947; Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol.2: Figs. 146,37; 147, 10, 11). The same motifs were applied to the pots from El Topo, situated on the mountain slopes that descend toward the Central Littoral (Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol.2, Pl. 36; Alexi Rojas, personal communications 1996, 1998). The stylistically Valencioid batrachian-shaped shell pendant and human faces modelled and incised on bulbous vessel necks were reported from the Nueva Cádiz site, on Cubagua Island (Cruxent and Rouse 1998 vol.2, Plate 12, 10; 13, 17).

Moving to the coast north of the LVB, Martín (1995:90, 153) collected two zoomorphic figurines in Cepe bay, and a trunk of a legless female figurine at the El Paraiso site, located in the mountains, about five kilometres from the Chuao Bay. Unfortunately, neither the description nor stylistic affiliation of these objects are given. The human face and animal *adornos*, some of them possibly representing bats and reptiles, were recovered at the Playa Chuao site (Morales 1984: 72, 65a and 67; 66c and 65b; and 66b). Some of the animal *adornos* from the Puerto Maya site depict birds and possibly a reptile (Alvarez & Casella 1983, Plate 2,c;3,d-e; 6,b; 2,j; 6,b). A batrachian *adorno* on vessel body or neck was reported from the Cepe bay (Martin 1995, Figure 7) and a caiman head carved in bone from the Puerto Cabello area (Peñalver n.d. c:22). The stylistic traits of the majority of these representations are of Valencioid origin, while some show Barrancoid stylistic connections.

In conclusion, the Valencioid-related imagery from beyond the LVB is extremely poor in both qualitative and quantitative terms, compared to that from the LVB. Two general trends can be perceived: (1) animal *adornos* on the coast north of the LVB are more common than representations of human faces, while human and animal figurines are almost absent; (2) moving north-east from the Basin, the *adornos* with human face become more popular than the animal *adornos*, and human and animal figurines also appear.

### VALENCIOID FIGURINES: SOCIAL CONTEXTS, HYPOTHETICAL SUBJECTS, AND SOCIAL REALITIES

The process of making sense of the Valencioid figurines from the LVB is hampered by the severe shortage of data. The lack of provenance and contextual data is notorious. Structures and features are largely unrecovered and/or unidentified. The zooarchaeological remains are neglected and the bioanthropological remains are left disconnected from the cultural connotations. The regional chronology is 'nebulous'. As a consequence, sequential (re)construction of the social contexts in which the figurines evolved and played their roles is speculative.

Despite these limitations, I attempted to 'squeeze the juice' from the available data, believing that I would be able to at least listen to the 'noise' that these north-central Venezuela figurines are making about what they might have been about. Even the most preliminary idea about the role the figurines might have played in the Valencioid societies is a *sine qua non* condition for further understanding of the Dos Mosquises Island specimens.

In the following sections I will tie together some meaningful strings that came out of the previous discussion. However, the integral multivariate analyses of the figurine and other representational material culture morphology can be performed when all figurines from the museums and private collections can be thoroughly examined using homogeneous criteria. Later, they can be plotted against the provenance or contextual data when it will eventually come out of new systematic excavations.

Before I turn to discuss what 'noise' the Valencioid figurines seem to echo I will briefly review the ethnohistoric data that may be potentially used as analogy for prehistoric phenomena.

## Ethnohistoric sources

The ethnohistoric data on the *Caraca* Indians is drawn mainly from the document that contains the responses to questions contained in the official questionnaire sent by Felipe II, the King of Spain, to Don Juan de Pimentel, who was the Governor and General Captain of the Province of Venezuela between 1576 and 1583 (1964[1578]). It is important to emphasise that Pimentel's *Relación* is based on his personal visits to *Caraca* Indian villages (Biord 1995:110). I also cite Oviedo y Baños (1982[1723]), who based his chronicle on first hand narration of the Spanish conquerors of the Province of Caracas (see Biord 1995). Lastly, given the 'Carib-link' I will also cite some 16<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> century ethnohistoric data on Carib-speaking *Cumanagoto* Indians from north-eastern Venezuela.

The ethnohistoric sources indicate that the coast, the mountains and intermontane valleys to the east and north-east of LVB were populated by the *Caraca* Indians at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Data regarding the Amerindian societies from the immediate Lake Valencia surroundings are virtually lacking. Scholars seem to agree that the *Caraca* were Carib-speakers divided into several partialities that spoke mutually intelligible dialects (Biord 1995: A. Antczak 1999a). The centralised political organisation, in which the *Caraca* partialities were subordinated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century to one paramount war-chief, is believed to be a dramatic response to the war-time reality of the Conquest period. Inter-group wars seem to be common phenomena among the historic *Caraca* and their neighbours. It is thought that in peacetime the socio-political organisation was rather loose.

The *Caraca* inhabited small, semi-independent villages, linked by exchange, intermarriage, ceremonial assistance, and war alliances. They were slash and burn horticulturists and their staple crops were maize (*Zea mays* L.), bitter manioc (*Manihot esculenta* C.) and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*). They produced black wax, basketry, hammocks and other cotton fabrics for exchange, and traded foodstuffs between the coast and inland. Pimentel (1964[1578]) reports that the coastal *Caraca* visited the islands situated off the central coast of Venezuela in order to provide turtle meat, oil and salt.

Several features of the 16<sup>th</sup> century material culture, shamanism and magical-religious practices of the *Caraca* are similar to those of their immediate Carib-speaking neighbours, namely the *Cumanagoto* to the east. Additionally, the striking similarity between the word *piache* (shaman) in *Caraca* and *piaza* in *Cumanagoto* [Civrieux 1980:193]) may indicate common linguistic backgrounds. Such characteristics as the polyvalent role of the shaman within society (medicine man, chief advisor, mediator with supernatural powers), his exclusivity to hallucinogenic trances and/or their interpretation, association to rattles, flutes, tobacco and burning resin smoke, certainly transcend the geographical, socio-political, linguistic and chronological boundaries of the 16<sup>th</sup> century societies of northern Venezuela. The same may be said about the reverence for the spirit-protectors of the animals and the feasting associated with tributes of gratitude for successfully accomplished subsistence activities.

The ethnohistoric data clearly indicate that the social, economic, political and ideological realms of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Amerindian societies are indissoluble parts of 'one whole'. The meaning of a separated socio-cultural phenomenon should be understood by the systematic search for meaningful links it might have had with all other phenomena, through a systematic connection of 'everything with everything'.

In summary, if so many fundamental sociocultural traits revealed by the ethnohistoric sources were common to the 16<sup>th</sup> century Carib-speaking *Caraca* and *Cumanagoto* societies, who inhabited the vast areas of the central and eastern coast of Venezuela, then it may be claimed that the late prehistoric Valencioids from, and especially beyond, the LVB, may have shared with them some common structural background.

A. Antczak (1999a) analysed the ethnohistoric, linguistic and archaeological evidence from north-central Venezuela and concluded that the existence of certain structural links between the prehistoric Valencia culture and the historic *Caraca* Indians may be claimed. However, he pointed out that there is a striking disproportion in settlement pattern and diversity, quality and complexity of the material culture left by the prehistoric Valencioids and counterpart phenomena documented for the historic *Caraca* Indians (in disfavour of the latter). The prehistoric bearers of the Valencia style pottery were the society(ies) characterised by the production/use of the greatest known diversity and quality of material culture in north-central Venezuela; this material culture shows highly distinctive stylistic homogeneity and conspicuous spatial concentration around the LVB. Due to the lack of sufficient and adequate archaeological data, the social, political, economic and ideological correlates hidden behind the observable material differences between the LVB societies and the *Caraca* Indians are largely unknown.

### **The *Caraca* man and woman**

Some of the accoutrements used by the *Caraca* and *Cumanagoto* men and women could echo those used by the prehistoric Valencioids. According to Pimentel, some *Caraca* men used feather crowns and wore feline heads and tails on their heads. They also used penis sheaths made out of bottle gourd fruit tied with a string around the waist. The *Cumanagoto* men were distinguished by using on their foreheads a woven cotton *maur* or *maure*, a head band dyed with purple colour (Civrieux 1980).



The *Caraca* women used a sort of loincloth (*guayuco*) woven of cotton and painted, of 2.5 *palmas* long and 1.5 *palmo* wide, supported by a string round the waist. Below the knee the women used ligatures made of thick dyed cotton strings that were toughly tightened to develop the calf muscles, a characteristic that according to Pimentel was highly appreciated (Pimentel 1964[1578]:340). Both men and women used thick coloured cotton string around the legs above the ankle. Partial body and face painting and the use of black and other undefined colours by the *Caraca* are mentioned.

The *Cumanagoto* also used ties (*pracon*) or braided cotton bands (*apueta*) that tightened their legs above and below the calf to develop the muscles. These bonds, called *puzun* and *tutanza* respectively are shown on the drawing by Loeffling from 1754, where a small triangular piece of fabric in the form of *guayuco* can also be seen (Civrieux 1980: 136). The women used collars, necklaces and bracelets.

### **Figurines and other representational material culture**

There are no ethnohistorical reports of the use of pottery human figurines by the Amerindian societies of north-central Venezuela. This suggests that the production/use of figurines was unrecorded because it was a rare, culturally secluded phenomenon, because it was restricted to prehistoric times only or, because the subject did not interest the Spanish. Certainly, if the Spaniards had ever encountered the Valencioid moundbuilders who produced and used the figurines by thousands, these could hardly have passed unobserved. It seems reasonable to argue that if the Valencioid moundbuilders were encountered by the Spaniards then some data related to the figurine production/use would have filtered into some ethnohistorical source.

Oviedo y Baños (1982, vol.2:439) gave conspicuous information about one gold anthropomorphic pendant (*idolillo*) reported in a dramatic event that took place in Caracas, in 1568. The *idolillo* was hung on the chest of *Tiuna*, one of the *Caraca* Indians. He single-handedly challenged several armoured and mounted Spaniards, hurt some of them, and finally died from the treacherous arrow of an Indian in Spanish service (Oviedo y Baños 1982, II:438-9). Apart from the *idolillo*, *Tiuna* had also gold bracelets that were taken as booty by the Spaniards. No other references to the historic use of the figurines in north-central Venezuela are known.

Wooden figures and carvings are often mentioned by the chroniclers of the *Cumanagoto* Indians. Ruíz Blanco (1965[1690]: 45-46) mentioned that the 'wooden idols' were placed on both sides of the musical instrument called *purma* that was made with two bottle gourds and a kind of drum, during the feast called *empoican*.

Ruíz Blanco (1965[1690]: 46) and Caulín (1966[1779]) described a specific feast celebrated at a determined time of the year and dedicated to the spirits of the fishes, in which wooden representations of fish were handled. Caulín says:

another dance, quite rare, practised in the woodland [the Spanish word *montes* refers to 'wild country' rather than to the woodlands] is holding fishes made out of wood in the hands [see also Ruíz Blanco 1965(1690): 46], and in response to the good luck that they have had in their fisheries that they carry out in rivers,

lagoons, and to which waters they tribute [a part of] the fishes they capture (Caulín 1966[1779], I:153).

Another interesting piece of information on figures carved in wood comes from Ruíz Blanco (1965[1690]: 41) who described certain distinctive accoutrements of the shamans (*piaches* called *piazamo*); these were

the bracelets made out of beads on their arms, and certain pendants on their chests made out of the shell that resembles a little canoe; two small calabashes, in one of them they have a toasted herb called *ayo* [or *coca*, *Erythroxylum* sp.] that [they] chew, and it is good for the teeth; and in the other [calabash] there is some lime with which they made their teeth black, and on top of a stick, with which they apply it [the lime] to the teeth, there is [carved?] a seated monkey-like idolillo, and they say this is their God.

Civrieux (1980:136) suggested that the shamans had the exclusive privilege to prepare and mix the *coca* with lime and to distribute it to the people who needed it. It is interesting to note that the seated, monkey-like, figure that was carved on top of the applicator was closely associated with shamans and hallucinogenic trances.

The above references give us only a fragmentary picture of a wide array of the Amerindian material culture made in wood, textile, skin, feather and gourd that have been erased from the archaeological record.

## Four hypothetical scenarios

### Figurines and women's discourse

Let us turn back to prehistory. Assuming that at the beginning of the occupational history of the LVB (c.a. ad 800-900, the pre-mound period), the Valencioids lived directly on the old lake beds and/or on palafitte dwellings, the large burial grounds must have been dissociated from the habitation areas, and placed somewhere beyond the reach of the lake. In fact, such cemeteries have been reported from the western (El Charral, El Roble) and eastern (Río Blanco, Jahn's Camburito 2) lake shores and from some of the islands (Caigüire, El Morro de Guacara [Henriqueta Peñalver, personal communication 1998]). Both direct and urn burials were reported from these sites. If, as the data indicate, the urn burials are a late phenomena, then some of the direct burials in these cemeteries may be linked with the early palafitte dwellers. It is probable that the existence of the common cemeteries could have eventually promoted, favoured and enhanced the interaction between the Valencioid households, while the custom of burying the dead under the house floor may be interpreted as a metaphor of atomisation of inter-household social relationships.

The data indicate that only 36% of all burial-associated human figurines were found in primary burials. However, due to the lack of adequate data I cannot determine whether the figurines were used or not as grave furniture by the palafitte dwellers. We do not know which of the direct burials can be associated with the period of the palafitte dwelling.

The *Cylindrical Body* figurines (Pl. 214 and 215) are among the older Valencioid representational material culture. They are legless; the sex is rarely depicted. Their flat bases seem to be designed to stand on a flat surface (perhaps in a special indoor holding place). They seem to be

ascribed to place. Their design implies stasis and passiveness. They do not express movement. They are motionless. However, on the other hand, many of them are rattles and therefore have to be vigorously shaken to fulfil their function, thus compelling the person holding them to be in motion.

Some of the *Cylindrical Body* figurines have rounded bottoms and are pierced for suspension. They were probably used as pendants. They seem to be ascribed to a particular person (individually possessed) and 'accompany' them in their quotidian or special activities, though in a different way they were also compelling their users to introduce them into motion.

The *Cylindrical Body* specimens are also the only figurine types with representations of human/animal images (see Pl. 223). This may suggest that they were the metaphor for shamanic transformation induced by hallucinogens; however, the inadequacy of the archaeological data constrains further discussion on this point. Although they were also found in burials, most were recovered in domestic refuse deposits. There is a clear contrast between the reduced iconographic richness and the multiple use of these figurines. There is also a dichotomy between the stasis and passiveness of the posture/gesture, iconographic austerity of the rattles and the motion required for their use.

In conclusion, the social reality of the *Cylindrical Body* figurines escapes any conclusive definition. They might have played truly a polyvalent role characterised by multiple use and meanings. I would suggest that they were grossly related to different kinds of 'ritual' activity carried out by members of the household. However, some of them might have been reserved for shamanistic practices.

During the pre-mound period the *Cylindrical Body* co-existed with *Standing* figurines. The latter seem to oppose the motionlessness and frequent sexlessness of the former specimens by depicting women or sexless individuals in potential motion. Some of the *Standing* specimens are visibly *Pregnant Women*, others possibly represent the *Female Adolescents* from the pre-reproductive pool of the household or village. The data are too scarce to continue this discussion. The *Standing* figurines were probably expressing concerns related to womanhood and motherhood; however, their social or symbolic meaning cannot be understood from the scarce and fragmentary data related to the pre-mound period of Valencioid history.

According to the evidence provided by Bennett (1937), some of the palafitte dwellings were succeeded by constructions erected on top of the artificial mounds that were built atop the heaps of debris accumulated below the palafittes. The dimensions of the majority of the artificial mounds (Osgood 1943, Fig.2) and of some archaeologically known habitation structures (Bennett 1937, Figs. 4 and 5), as well as the overall quantity and diversity of recovered artefacts, suggest that each of the mounds might have served as the habitation and/or burial ground for one extended family unit.

The disposition of posts and a cross beam recovered in La Mata Mound Six indicate the existence of four constructions. The most suggestive has an oval shape of about four metres in diameter. Two other structures may have been larger, and all three were located toward the outer edges of the mound. One rectangular construction of about five square metres was located at the centre (Bennett 1937:83; Figs. 4 and 5). The picture is incomplete, since Bennett excavated less than a half of

the mound. In consequence, still unrecovered data may indicate that an extended family lived on a mound, though we cannot take it for granted.

The shift from palafitte to mound dwelling may have been, at least in part, induced by the more permanent regression of the lake that facilitated the construction of the mounds. This shift might have been also sensitive to the development of the Valencioid/Barranoid interactions in La Cabrera. Certainly, not all palafittes were converted into mound dwellings at the same time. More numerous households and/or those who could rely on the support of other household members could erect their mound faster and more efficiently. This could open the arena for inter-household competition.

The erected mounds represent a wide range of sizes, suggesting the variability in the dimension of the houses and households. Public spaces, plazas or structures have not been reported. However, it should be noted that the largest of the mounds reported from the eastern shore is archaeologically unknown (see Osgood 1943, Fig.2 Mound 26). The La Mata mounds were significantly larger than those of Tocarón, which seem to be among the older mound complexes in the area. The shift in the habitation form was accompanied by the quantitative increase and diversification in the ceramic production, observable between the bottom and top halves of the La Mata Mound Six (Bennett 1937) and Tocarón Mound Six (Osgood 1943).

Once the artificial mounds had been erected, they provided more space for household quotidian and special activities than in palafitte. Some of the burials were placed beneath the surface of the mounds, close to or even beneath the habitations. However, according to unknown selective criteria, some deceased continued to be placed in special cemeteries. The introduction of the custom of burying the dead beneath the habitation instead of 'leaving' it in the distant cemeteries might have been accompanied by changes in mortuary practice (ritualism, symbolism). Burials in urns became frequent and their wide distribution in the region may be linked to both a change in mortuary practice and a shift from palafitte to mound dwelling. These changes in mortuary practices might have been related to dramatic reformulation of the meaning of the relationship of the dead to the living. However, these intriguing themes cannot be further discussed without sound control on the temporal/spatial frames of these changes (see Hodder 1999: 16-17).

Contemporaneous with the shift from palafitte to mound habitation, several important changes also occurred in the world of the representational material culture. The group of figurines representing *Masked Individuals* made their first clustered appearance in the mound complex in La Mata. The hands of these figurines support the rectangular mask with the same features as depicted on the faces of the unmasked figurines. Some of them are in full motion. Do they dance? The use of masks and dance may relate these representations to feasting.

The genitals and/or breasts are often not represented in *Masked Individuals*; when they are present they are feminine. I would suggest that sex representation might have not been so important for pre-reproductive age female adolescents (i.e. before the initiation or puberty rites) as it was after it. The society might have fully defined and sanctioned the gender of the adolescent females after the puberty rite was concluded. After the initiation the female adolescents are ready to be married. I would

therefore suggest that the *Masked Individuals* represent the category of pre-reproductive age female adolescents that participate in the female initiation ceremonies.

According to Pimentel, the culmination of the initiation of a future shaman among the *Caraca* took place during the large intercommunal feast called *ytanera*. Neighbouring communities were invited to this feast. The participants had their bodies covered with paint, wore a variety of masks, held representations of the spirits (carvings?), and colourful figures of birds and other animals made out of wood and strings, shown in naturalistic forms and positions. The guests entered the host's house playing musical instruments and dancing. In dance the Indians were reproducing either real or fictitious events, some imitating animal voices and behaviour, especially those of the birds (see A. Antczak 1999a).

The feasting, dancing, masks, and the imitation of the animals are interwoven and related to the initiation of a new shaman. Could we expect that similar feasts were carried out on the occasion of rites of passage of female adolescents? Could the *Female Adolescents* and *Masked Individuals* represent the female initiands that during the rites are so dramatically separated from their childhood existence?

The essence of the initiation is to enable women to pass from the position of children to the social status of a women. The initiation makes a transformational link between reproduction and production, between fertility and productivity (Butt Colson 1983-84:23). For women it may be a rite of solidarity. They may set themselves apart from men (they may dress and paint the initiand, bring her the food and keep vigil over her), "affirming themselves and their differentness from the males around them" in an act of unity, resistance and commiseration (Lincoln 1991:92). The femaleness of the Valencioid woman would have been publicly sanctioned during the act of the initiation, as it was in many Amerindian societies. The important role the initiated women will play in the society was publicly recognised during the initiation ceremony.

While the appearance of *Masked Individuals* has been related to an increase in feasting and, possibly, inter-household competition, the parallel appearance of the *Adorned Ladies* may be considered as a sign of the emergence of social inequality on the inter-household scale. They wore nose rings, earrings, necklaces, fancy hair-dresses, clothes, body painting or tattoos. Their gestures are diverse. The arms often change position: one arm may touch the genitals the other may be raised toward the face. Some of these specimens are the largest of all known Valencioid figurines. The images of *Adorned Ladies* are conspicuously concentrated in the mounds of La Mata. Were they representing the pool of the pre-puberty women of the most affluent households? Were the La Mata mounds the residence of the segments of the 'most affluent' Valencioid societies?

The sudden rise and spatial spread of the images of the *Adorned Ladies* and *Masked Individuals* seem to coincide with the appearance of the *Seated Matrons* in the LVB. The already discussed changes in the form of habitation, burial practice and figurine imagery echo a dramatic cultural change. Whatever the origins of these changes might have been, the possible competition for social power took place on an inter-household scenario. Domestic production, activity and ideology provided the basis for potential manipulation and development of social organisation on the supra-household level. Such dramatic culture changes that stemmed from and affected the domestic units had to provoke the re-definition of the social role of the women.

The artificial mounds became larger and more stable places than palafitte dwellings for the quotidian activities of both males (e.g. craft work) and females. The mounds could become the arena *par excellence* for the women's performance related to food preparation and the sustaining of life (e.g. small house gardens could be developed there). Even if the primary (*in situ* finds) and secondary (redeposited) refuse deposits were not distinguished by the mounds' excavators, most figurines were found in domestic debris, associated with broken pottery. However, thus far there is no direct evidence that permits us to associate Valencioid women with pottery production.

In burials Kidder (1944:16, 52, 74) found small polishing stones associated with pottery discs, identified as possible tournettes for manufacturing pottery. However, the associated human skeletons were not sexed. The close morphological similarities between the human and animal representations on pottery, and human and animal figurines, suggest that all these artefacts were made by the same group of potters. Women's activities within the household might have comprised childbearing and food processing alongside, possibly, weaving, spinning and pottery making. These practical activities may permit us to define some of the LVB mounds in Hodder's term of *domus*, associated with ideas of nurturing and caring. The Valencioid mound or *domus* could be the place where the 'wild' was brought in, controlled and dominated, and where culture was opposed to nature (or external 'agrios') (Hodder 1990:44-45). If the above assumptions are correct, then the figurines found in the habitation mounds may echo the women's rather than men's discourse. However, the gender-structured use of artefacts and space in Valencioid mounds is unknown. In consequence, the cognitive significance of the intuitively grounded link between the women, pots and figurines may only be evaluated in further research.

What hypothetical *subjects* can be 'hidden' behind the recognised figurine images? Let us first examine the *Seated Matrons*. The vast majority of them have carefully depicted genitals and breasts. These elements are related to the reproductive function, to motherhood and childbearing. Some of the specimens have fatty bellies, clearly suggesting the post-menopausal or post-reproductive age of the individuals they represent. If these are largely the images of old women, then the genitals and breasts might have been depicted carefully, because they fulfilled their natural role and 'thanks' to them these women attained the esteemed social status of *Matrons*. Personal adornments on *Seated Matrons* are scant or absent, perhaps, because they did not have to attract the male by showing fancy hair style or body adornments, so characteristic of some images of the premarital age adolescents. The *Seated Matrons* seem to represent the category of mothers, wives, grandmothers, aunts or widows; in general the elderly women, whose experience and practical and ritual knowledge maintained and reproduced the *domus*. I further suggest that the images of *Seated Bent-knee Supplicants* may be considered as the representations of elderly women engaged in shamanistic practices and/or funerary rites.

The static and austere images of *Seated Matrons* contrast with the standing group of the *Female Adolescents*. The latter, like the *Masked Individuals*, are depicted in motion or in potential motion. The depiction of genitals and breasts seem not to be vital to define the social category these figurines represent. I argue that they are depicted as sexless, since they are in the liminal status in the initiation ritual (Derevensky 1997:198). The genitals and breasts of these young females, although 'produced'

by the nature, must be (re)produced and recognised by the human action (Lincoln 1991: 94) or as it was put by Yates (1993:69) "their sexual identity is achieved through signification, not through natural or biological processes contained within the body itself" (see also Fulton and Anderson 1992: 607; Joyce and Claassen 1997). They may be 'moulded' attractive but their organs will be 'ready' to perform the socially sanctioned roles (birth giving and breast feeding) after the puberty rites are concluded. During the rites their gendered skills and the readiness to procreate will be tested and publicly recognised and they will be identified as members of their gender category. The woman will be 'constructed' (see Moogk 1991; Lincoln 1991: 17-33). The femaleness will be defined and socially sanctioned. Women will act in the ways prescribed by their gender role. The initiated women will be at the beginning of the way to attain in the future the social status of the *Matrons*.

The images of *Female Adolescents* are known from the beginning of the Valencioid history. However, it was during the 'golden age' of the moundbuilders, during their coexistence with *Masked Individuals*, *Adorned Ladies* and *Matrons*, when their 'message' was sharper and permits the above reading.

What may link the representations of the *Matrons* to the assumed inter-household competition and the emergence of inter-household inequality? Could we consider their appearance, spread and coexistence with other figurine images (*Masked Individuals*, *Female Adolescents*) as metaphors for the claim of the elder women to control the pool of the female adolescents? The scholars who studied the Carib-speaking societies agree about the pivotal role marriage had to both the economy and the continuity of power through building up the supra-community alliance structures (Butt Colson 1983-84:13; Rivière 1983-84: 357; Morton 1983-84). It was during the female initiation that the elders confirmed "their control of the productive labour of their junior kinswomen, serving to fix them in the domestic realm in their natal homes and as determining the direction of their sexual energies" (Butt Colson 1983-84:22). To take control over the productive and reproductive capacities of the young women was therefore the central concern of the elders (see Collier 1988; Lesure 1997). If the Valencioid nubile females were in fact a 'political commodity', what particular sex/age social category was controlling them? I interpret the static, explicitly female, images of *Matrons* as the metaphorical embodiment of the control of elder women over their young kinswomen.

During the feasts and ceremonial dances the sons-in law might have been attracted and the pre-marital arrangements discussed. The avenues for further cementing of the alliances and enhancement of the power of the household and village might have been open. The social and political power in the 'golden age' Valencioid societies might have then resided in the hands of the elder woman, who aimed to successfully manipulate their daughters, granddaughters and nieces in order to 'give' them as wives in the most convenient marriage exchange.

If these assumptions are correct, then the Valencioid *Matrons* might have effectively played an important role not only in the production and reproduction of the *domus*, but also in the engendered relations of power and dominance. However, even if I cannot demonstrate that the Valencioid matrons had real power (especially political), I can 'hear' about the importance of the women's role in building

up the socio-political alliances and, possibly the inter-household social inequality, during the 'golden age' of the Valencioid moundbuilders.

I cannot infer from the data whether the 'golden age' Valencioid societies were matrilineal, matrilocal or matriarchal. Pimentel (1964[1578]) may well have adopted the Europocentric 'patrifocal' and androcentric perspective while referring exclusively to the existence of male headmen among the *Caraca* Indians. This apparently indisputably male dominance might have been the result of the long-lasting effects of the Conquest, when the maleness was exceptionally heightened. Even so, some 16<sup>th</sup> century accounts refer to the Amerindian women of especially high social status.

From these accounts we know of *Apacuane*, the old mother of the chief *Guasema* of the *Quiriquire* Indians, the neighbours of the *Teques* Indians (*Caraca* group) to the south-east. She was described by Oviedo y Baños (1982[1723], vol.2: 547) as a great "hechicera and arbolaria" (a great sorcerer and herbalist). She had enough power and authority to incite the uprising of about 2000 Indians against the renowned Conqueror Garci-González de Silva, in 1567.

Another prominent Amerindian woman was Doña Isabel, the women-chief of the *Guaikeri* Indians from the Margarita Island (Oviedo y Baños 1982[1723]: vol.1: 220). She provided the means and assured full support of the *Guaikeri* to her son Francisco Fajardo, who attempted between 1555 and 1564 to conquer the Province of Caracas. The reverence of the *Caraca* chiefs for Doña Isabel was notable. Interestingly both examples refer to women-matrons.

There were probably more women 'leaders' in the north-central Venezuela Amerindian societies, however, the Spaniards did not encounter them or understand their sociopolitical role(s) (see Trocolli 1999:50). Whether women played socially prominent roles and attained real social-political power in north-central Venezuela beyond the threshold of the Conquest time is an intriguing theme for future research.

There are also no adequate archaeological data from the LVB to address the question of whether (and when?) the Valencioid societies might have achieved a chiefdom level of social-political integration, as has been proposed by some scholars (Sanoja and Vargas 1974; Vargas 1990). Any form of inter-household competition for social control in the LVB was grounded in *domus*' social composition, production and ideology which nature still remains unknown. However, the study of figurines may provide some insights into emerging social inequality at the levels of gender and households. The appearance of the *Masked* figurines seems to mark a dramatic increase in intra- and inter-household feasting. To engage competitively in feasting, the household units had to increase and intensify their production. One of the possible ways to attain this objective was by increasing the size of the households (Bender 1978; see also Hodder 1990:53).

A. Antczak (1999a) reviewed the *Caraca* Indians ethnohistory in search for concrete mechanisms that would have increased the household productivity. The most interesting information came from Pimentel (1964[1578]), who noted that the *Caraca* knew the institutions of marriage and divorce and practised polygamy. He noted that a man could have as many women as he could sustain but 'if the husband is not a good farmer' the wife would leave him easily (*op. cit.*, 124). Pimentel continued to say that if the husband was 'producing' much less foodstuffs than others, then he could not attract and sustain



enough women to have numerous offspring and, in consequence, he could not have a big household under his control. The social prestige of the *Caraca* village leader and of his household, as well as the number of its members, were directly tied to its productivity and *vice versa*. Pimentel was explicit in saying that the men aimed to have a great number of dependent members of the family, especially numerous sons and daughters-in law. Being a member of a household of one of these affluent and 'well related' men could be the aspiration of other household members which, in consequence, would have been conducive to parent-arranged marriages, promoted the socio-economical inequities between the *Caraca* households, and induced the origination of a few high-status households (see Arnold 1995: 97; Blanton 1995). Marriage was so important to the economy and the reproduction of the power structures within the Carib-speaking communities that marriage alliances could not be left to chance (Rivière 1983-84:357; Mentore 1983-84).

It may be inferred from Pimentel's account that certain household headmen could so successfully manage the family members who obeyed them that they could amass a surplus of production that permitted them to give feasts. These displays were oriented to attract more dependent sons and daughters-in-law in order to strengthen alliances and to raise the social status of the 'well related men' within and beyond the community (see Dreyfus 1983-4: 43-44). A. Antczak (1999a) compared these successful aggrandizers with a Polynesian 'Big Man'. He concluded that, to keep their authority and alliances, *Caraca* leaders could not retain economic wealth but redistributed it back to the community, during the communal feasts.

Let us examine whether the Valencioid burials were one of the venues through which the successful elite would advertise its wealth and power (see Hayden 1995). The Valencioid largely used deteriorated artefacts as burial furniture, which may indicate that we are dealing with a non-stratified society, in which the dead were buried with the everyday objects that pertained to the particular household, rather than with sumptuous, unused prestige items, manufactured by specialists or semi-specialists, attached to the elite patrons (see Earle 1996).

If, on the contrary, the Valencioid society was hierarchically structured, then we would expect that the elite would have promoted the production of objects exclusively destined to be burial furniture to continue the promotion of the wealth and power of its members in the afterlife. The Mariara burial (Table 99) certainly does not support this scenario, unless the fragment of coral placed in the urn is considered as a sumptuary good, in functional and/or symbolic terms. The presence of the corals in burials seems to indicate that these natural, unmodified objects linked to the marine environment were of equal socio-ideological importance as artefacts fabricated out of exotic materials (including marine shell).

On the other hand, the pyramid-like shell objects (Table 98), numerous necklaces carved in exotic shell and bone, gold adornments and special structures of some funerary mounds (stone enclosures) may be considered as indicators of social inequality. Other dichotomies, such as diversified mound sizes, urned vs. direct burials, burials with and without furniture, deformed vs. undeformed heads, imply the advertisement of the power groups/individuals and negotiation of their status.

Did the Valencioid aggrandizers surpass the levels of authority and power that have been traditionally attributed to 'Big Men' headmen? Roosevelt (1988:13) argued that the appearance of the Amazonian and Orinocan figurines (including the Valencioid assemblage) may have related to the development of the expansionist, often matrilineal, chiefdom (see also Sanoja and Vargas 1974; Vargas 1990). I consider that the available data do not support the claim for the existence of strong centralised power, a paramount chief and, in general, a so called chiefdom form of social organisation of the Valencioid societies. What it does suggest is the existence of some forms of socio-economic inequality. These however might have been well accommodated within the model of two or three villages, each of them composed by a group of confederated households, under the authority of a council of the elders and/or a 'Big Man' type authority. The emergence of socio-economic inequality in Valencioid societies seems to have taken place around ad 900-1100 or later, or in the upper part of what A. Antczak (1999a) called the 'golden age' of the Valencioid moundbuilders (between ad 800 and 1100).

It may be argued that the homogeneity of Valencioid figurines might derive from a shared iconographic system linked with centralised power of the paramount chief. However, such homogeneity might alternatively be interpreted as the objectification of a strong ethnic or socio-cultural identity and messaging directed toward the 'others', projected by a 'Big Man' authority. Given the shortage of data, any further hypothesising on the form and dynamics of the socio-economic and political organisation of the Valencioid societies is for now unreliable.

Were the figurines representing the social categories and/or the concrete social actors? Do the images of *Matrons* represent the concrete mothers, grandmothers and aunts of the particular households? Do the *Female Adolescents*, *Adorned Ladies* and *Masked Individuals* represent the concrete young women of the pre-reproductive or early reproductive age? Why did the Valencioid potters create and use the stereotyped cliché of the human face instead of the realistic depiction of individual features? Can we assume that if the appearance of the individualised images depicting the representatives of social or political offices is related to the emergence of the chiefdom type of societies, then the Valencioids were not organised in a chiefdom? Were the Valencioids technically unable to depict the individual characteristics, or is it that our eye cannot distinguish the particular character of every image? These questions cannot be answered in the light of available data but some further thoughts on this matter can be put forward.

Some representations of the Valencioid *Matrons* might have been made by the same artisan or a despite the fact that they were found in separate localities (see Figure 26). Does this phenomenon represent the movement of real persons in the physical and social worlds? If the *Standing* figurines represent real adolescents, then we may expect that they would be much more numerous than the *Seated* specimens. In fact, the *Seated* figurines account for 32% of a total of both *Standing* and *Seated* specimens, which grossly suggests the real proportion between the *Matrons* and female adolescents of puberty age in an average household, allowing for some distortion by recovery bias. By raising the above questions I have intended to stimulate further research rather than take any concrete position with respect to the problem, recognising the biases of the available figurine sample.

Image removed due to third party copyright

**FIGURE 26.** Stylistic unity of *Seated* figurines with *Canoe-shaped Crest*. A: Man/woman figurine, Agua Blanca, north of Maracay, private collection Maracay, height 11 cm; 9.b: B: eastern Lake Valencia shore, dimensions unknown, taken from Marcano 1971[1889-1891:110, Fig.56]; C: Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin Collection, Cat. NR 15040, height 11.55 cm; 9.d: D: one of the figurines from Dos Mosquises Island, Los Roques Archipelago, Collection Fundación Científica Los Roques, Caracas, Cat. NR 245, height 17.5 cm.

Finally, I argue that if my hypotheses are correct, then the wide distribution of the figurines representing *Matrons* and their co-presence with *Standing* images of *Female Adolescents* indicates that the young women were manipulated by their elder kinswomen not only in the households throughout the LVB, but also beyond it. The figurine types found in the Central Coast, north-east of the Valencia Basin are *Standing* and *Seated* specimens. On the coast, do they also represent images of the *Adolescent Females* under the control of the *Matrons*? I suggest that the strategy of alliance building by the control of nubile females by elderly women seems to spread through the Valley of Caracas to the Central Coast. However, was it the 'exportation' of the strategy or does it represent the spread of the real Valencioid alliances beyond the LVB?

I argue that the spread of figurines and pottery stylistically related to the Valencioid series through the Valley of Caracas, and the Central Coast toward the area of Río Chico (the Río Chico pottery style) may indicate a network of alliances established by the Valencioids from the LVB. It is noteworthy that Francisco Fajardo reached Valencia in 1559, crossing the mountains from the Central Coast to the south-west. He was well received by the *Arbaca* Indians and could speak with their chief *Terepaima* in his own language (Oviedo y Baños (1982[1723], vol.2: 248). The route taken by Fajardo from Margarita, through Chuspa, the central coast, and further through the mountains south-west to Valencia overlaps with the spread of the Valencioid figurines and pottery. This may suggest that Fajardo was following an ancestral route that connected the LVB with the central and eastern coasts, and with the Antilles. The discussion of the temporal depth and nature of these connections goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

In the above I have intentionally omitted discussion of the men. I have suggested that the human figurines were grossly linked to the ritual activity related to the discourse between the elder and young women but I do recognise that men shared the same households with the women and children. I argue that maleness might have been advertised elsewhere, through material culture that may be found beyond the area of the *domus*. It may have been outside the *domus*, outside those contexts that

involved the production and use of the figurines, in places where the male presence and social role might have been more defined and more sharply advertised (see Lesure 1997: 245). I further hypothesise that the arena for the definition of maleness was not as much in the safe and artificial 'world' of the *domus* but in the undomesticated wild, in the nature, or in what Hodder defined as the *agrios* (see Hodder 1990:69).

### **Man's space - man's advertisement**

If Valencioid women spent more time than the men in household affairs (child bearing, food preparing) then the men might have had more opportunities for canoeing, promoting supra-household ties and visiting other places, burial grounds and secluded spots. However, if the women were also engaged in caring for the crops (as the women in the majority of the South American Lowland Amerindian societies were), then they had to access (from the mounds) the cultivated fields situated beyond the reach of the lake, on an almost daily basis. Did the women depend on transportation by men, or did they operate the canoes by themselves? Regardless of whether the Valencioid women canoed by themselves or had to be transported to and from the fields by the men, their role and participation in subsistence activities might have been equal to that of the men or may even have surpassed it.

I argue that even if women manoeuvred canoes independently, their range of mobility was more restricted. To harvest and transport in the canoe the daily staple food and additionally fulfil their domestic duties, a woman had not as much time/opportunity for free-ranging as a man. I argue that the man could visit diverse, dispersed and distant spots in the course of fishing and hunting. He could visit natural monuments frequently, as well as places loaded with ancestral meanings and related to mythical events and personages. He may also have had more opportunities than the women to 'discover' and give meaning to the still 'undiscovered' natural phenomena that awe and places that might have been potentially inhabited or frequented by the spirits. These 'undomesticated' places and resources might have been the arena for the maleness to be defined, reinforced and reproduced.

Pottery pipes were often found in mounded sites associated with domestic refuse. Since their particular depositional data is unknown we cannot say much about their specific function/meaning. However, the most frequent, though isolated findings of the pipes, have been reported from the natural islands of the lake. Some of these islands contain large cemeteries where the remains of habitation were not recovered (Henriqueta Peñalver, personal communication 1998).

The pipes do not show the hallmark of the potters who produced the Valencioid figurines and human and animal *adornos*. The majority of the pipes are Barrancoid originals, that were probably appropriated by the Valencioids from earlier archaeological deposits or passed from hand to hand from the Barrancoid to the Valencioid ancestors. These pipes were "extending the past into the present"; the information attached to them was passing from generation to generation (see Clarkson 1998:124; Crumley 1999: 271). Other pipes seem to be extremely good Valencioid imitations, and still others are plain. Only a few pipes seem to show an 'admixture' of Barrancoid/Valencioid stylistic traits. If the majority of the pipes did not show stylistic affinity to the rest of the Valencioid pottery then they

might have not been produced by the Valencioid potters. I further argue that if the Valencioid potters were the women, then these pipes might have been produced by the men. The clearly phallic form of some of these pipes may be an imprint of their masculine association and use.

It may be argued that the three figurines with depicted masculine genitals are also clearly related to maleness. However, some of them also depict breasts. Whether the breasts may be considered as an excess of information or as representations of the 'man-woman' category (or concrete individuals) of the liminal or intermediate gender and status, cannot be determined. Given that two male-female representations were recovered in burials, these representations may be related to the individuals of intermediate gender who often played the sacerdotal roles and orchestrated such liminal events as birth, marriage and death, in the Amerindian societies (Fulton and Anderson 1992:609).

The natural islands of Lake Valencia yielded several lithic net-sinkers and the most elaborate bat pendant carved in stone. I would argue that a meaningful connection may exist between the pipes, their phallic shape, the lacustrine fishing, the cemeteries (without habitation), the representation of the bat, and the presence of the men and, possibly, their ritual performance on the natural islands of the lake.

Men may have frequented the islands during fishing trips and/or special occasions. These islands may also have been the place for the seclusion of the shaman apprentices and initiated male adolescents. Adolescent boys could not only learn on these islands about fishing and other male-related subsistence activities, but might have also been taught about their ancestry, the spirits of the animals, and the cultural landscape.

According to Pimentel (1964[1578]), the *Caraca* boys of between 14 and 15 years old were initiated to be future shamans. The long-term apprenticeship included seclusion, learning of sacred songs in which possible sacred language was used, and diverse forms of communicating with the spirits. I would suggest that part of this apprenticeship took place close to the ancestral grounds and places, in the *agrios* rather than in the *domus*. Civrieux (1980) mentioned that the adolescent boys of the *Cumanagoto* Indians were taken from their mothers (*domus*) by the men on fishing expeditions (*agrios*). There they were taught not only skills but in general about their maleness. Finally, I should also emphasise the connection between tobacco (pipes), hallucination and shamanism, that has been reported throughout the South American Lowlands (see Wilbert 1987).

If my assumptions are accurate, then the men may have been ritual specialists, who accumulated and controlled ritual knowledge, guarded clues for unlocking and understanding the symbolic landscape and had access to the spirits of ancestors and animals. Their power might have stemmed from their control over the knowledge vital for the reproduction of the social world of the community. Their power also came from their control over the future shamans. The natural islands and their surroundings were the arena *par excellence* for the production and reproduction of the maleness and men's social power.

If we could observe the Lake Valencia Basin some thousand years ago, looking down from the southern slopes of the Cordillera de La Costa, we would see the lake sprinkled with artificial (mounds) and natural islands. This was the cultural landscape of the Valencioid people, full of outstanding

topographic features, many of them with essential symbolic significance for the formation of individual and social identities.

The artificial islands or mounds may have been the arena for women's performance (*domus*), while the natural islands were the arena for the men's (*agrios*) performance. I argue that this might have been the basic categorisation of the Valencioid cultural landscape, which was structuring and structured by the social roles of the Valencioid male and female.

### **The ancestral and maritime connections of La Cabrera**

Archaeologically, the best known Valencioid island/peninsula site is that of La Cabrera. The Barranoid people, since at least the beginning of the Christian era, and the Valencioid people since about a.d. 700-800, used this site as a habitation and as an extensive burial ground. This was not only the natural strategic point and a special topographic feature but also the neuralgic spot in which the bearers of the Barranoid and ancestral Valencioid traditions met and began to interact. The nature and dynamics of these processes are unknown and there is still a lot of discussion about the temporal gap and historical discontinuity between the two traditions. However, I consider that two things are indisputable. Firstly, that the Barranoid/Valencioid continuity is palpable in the material culture and inferable on the socio-ideological level. Secondly, that the La Cabrera site was the most prominent place in the region for both the Barranoid and Valencioid people.

For the Valencioids, this site was loaded with meanings related to the distant past, to the intercultural encounter, and to the foundational events of the Valencioid culture, particularly the mythology and cosmogony. The 'strange' morphology of the Barranoid artefacts and features scattered throughout the site, as well as the bones from the pre-Valencioid burials, were vivid testimonies of the distant past in which the historic and mythical worlds melt together. I argue that because of these ancestral connections, the La Cabrera site probably played a primordial role in the reproduction of the socio-cultural structures of the Valencioid societies and in the creation of the group and individual self-identities. These characteristics of the site might also have been used for the structuring of power in the Valencioid societies.

The function of the La Cabrera Valencioid site(s) escapes any sharp categorisation. The artefacts and features are scattered throughout the whole peninsula. The use of the site as Barranoid and Valencioid burial grounds is indisputable. The artefacts traditionally associated with dwelling activities have also been recovered at the site, however, neither habitation floors, post-holes nor hearths were identified (Kidder 1944). Some of the 'domestic' artefacts may be the remains of funerary and other ceremonies while others may be the results of intermittent occupation. When the mounds were threatened by the unexpectedly high rise in the water level, La Cabrera might have served as a refuge for their inhabitants. In sum, La Cabrera may be interpreted as the most polyvalent settlement in the cultural and symbolic landscape of the Valencia Basin. As such, it might have played a prominent role as the arena for intra and inter-communal gathering and feasting, especially related to burials, ancestors, mythical beings and events.

The abundance of clay pipes and large quantities of unworked, whole and broken shell (possibly related to male shellworkers; see Kidder 1944:78) suggests that La Cabrera was among the favourite places for male activities. Both pipes and marine shells were in use in this place for more than a thousand years. Marine shells, however, were used in the Basin since the Archaic times. The skeleton of a person with a collar made of *Oliva* sp. shells around his neck, associated with engraved stone pendants, was found in the nearby El Morro de Guacara. The human bones were dated to 4400 b.p. (Peñalver n.d. c).

The quantity, type variety and image richness of human and animal figurines at La Cabrera are considerably lower than in the mounded sites and are not due to the vagaries of sampling. Significant differences can be seen when comparing the presence/absence of the images between both areas. The images of *Mother with Babies*, *Pregnant Women*, *Seated Matrons* depicting themes related to femaleness and motherhood are absent in La Cabrera. They might be expected within the permanent settlements, integrated villages or individual households (the *domus*). In fact, they are abundant in the mounded sites, such as La Mata and El Zamuro. The *Deformed Individuals*, *Female Supplicants*, *Masked Individuals*, *Adorned Ladies*, and *Female Adolescents* are absent or very rare at La Cabrera but relatively frequent in the mounds.

The only image that is present exclusively in La Cabrera is that of the *Canoe-people* or standing humans with both legs on top of a canoe. No fishing and/or hunting gear or weapons were depicted on the Valencioid figurines. Except for possible clothes and necklaces, the rest of the figurine accoutrements, such as personal adornments, masks and headdresses, are depicted on the figurine heads. The pottery stools might have been associated with the figurines; however, no figurine/stool contextual association is known. One anthropomorphic vessel represents an individual playing the flute or *ocarina* and another represents an individual holding a bowl (Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol.2: Plate 68, 1). In consequence, the image of the canoe is by far the largest extrasomatic object depicted with (i.e. attached to) any Valencioid figurine. Were the *Canoe-people* images related to the male specialised task group or whole lineage dedicated to freshwater and/or sea canoeing and fishing activities? Were they imaging a concrete ethnic group or newcomers to the region or rather the mythical seafarers or river navigators?

I cannot resist the temptation to point out another occurrence. The motif of the cross-hatched lines with punctuation in the free spaces was depicted on the canoes as well as on the headdresses of the *Seated Matrons* (there are few *Standing* figurines with the headdress). Were the *Canoe-people* the male counterparts of the *Seated Matrons* with the headdresses? In fact, the only whole figurine that depicts the *Canoe-people* is sexless (no breasts no genitals) and its slim shape, so different from the majority of corpulent *Standing* figurines suggests that it depicts a man rather than a woman (or a synthesis of a men). If these two groups of images were in fact contemporaneous but spatially dissociated, then the La Cabrera site might have been the place of pivotal importance for the Valencioid male performance and the definition and reproduction of maleness. The abundance of fish, marine shell and remains of coral in the upper deposits of the La Cabrera site may additionally relate the men to sea resources and marine symbolism.

A. Antczak (1999a) suggested that since at least the Archaic times the La Cabrera site was the southernmost corner of the triangle that connected the Central Coast (the area of Boca Tacagua) to the north-east and the area of Puerto Cabello to the north-west. The major flow of intercultural/interregional relationships in north-central Venezuela was conveyed along the sides of the triangle. If the La Cabrera site, more than any other Valencioid site in the region, was associated to the ancestors, than certain groups of individuals (possibly related to the *Canoe-people*) would have taken the advantage of these characteristics and retained control over the ancestor-related ritualism. In addition, these people may also have controlled the flow, elaboration and further redistribution of marine products within and beyond the LVB (see A. Antczak 1999a).

### **Animal-perception and use**

Animals are not merely composed of meat and/or raw material desirable to humans. They also have ritual and symbolic roles, a pivotal role in the creation of human and societal identities and are among the basic components of many kinds of social negotiations (see Willis 1990; Grant 1991; Zimmermann Holt 1996; Tilley 1999:49-57). Given that Valencioid animal figurines suffer from the same shortage of data as the human ones, the discussion below should be treated as the preliminary attempt at making sense of these representations, and as a stimulation and suggestions for future research.

Animal remains are often mentioned in the LVB archaeology sources; however, the only list of identified specimens of mammals was provided by Osgood (1943) and Berry (1939), who assisted Kidder in his excavations in La Cabrera. From the latter excavations come the list of identified bird bones by Wetmore (1935; see Table 134). Among the molluscs the most often mentioned species are *Strombus gigas* and *Spondylus* spp. (A. Antczak 1999a).

In Table 134 I compare the animal images recognised in Valencioid figurines and other representational material culture with the animal remains recovered during the excavations. Certainly, without sound contextual and temporal control over the sample, the identification of the prehistoric animal icons according to the modern animal morphology and taxonomy may lead to a series of pitfalls related to the interplay of the emic/etic perspectives (see Zimmermann Holt 1996; Benson 1997). Nevertheless, recognising the limitations of my data base, I will attempt a preliminary interpretation of how the Valencioids might categorise the animals that shared with them the natural environment of the LVB.

The representatives of the following natural domains are depicted in the animal figurines: the land (the feline and the dog), the air/land (the toucan and the bat), and the land/water (the frog and the turtle). The animal figurines depict only two recognisable mammals: felines (some of them are recognisably jaguars) and dogs. Their images can also be found in the non-figurine material culture. Mammals, such as monkey, armadillo and fox are represented only in the non-figurine imagery.

One burial in La Cabrera contained three teeth of a small rodent, probably agouti, and still another urn had an alligator tooth and a piece of deer antler. The antlers of two deer were found lying next to the head of one human skeleton (Kidder 1944:77). However, we do not know from Kidder's



report whether the jaguar bones come from ritual or domestic contexts (food remains) and, in general, neither the quantitative data nor the description of types of recovered/identified bones are provided. Remarkably, such animals as tapir, capybara, peccary and deer, whose bone remains were recovered archaeologically and which are renowned for their high contribution to the Amerindian diet, were not represented in figurines, nor in the rest of the material culture. This negative correlation suggests that the mammals that were most often pursued, hunted, butchered and eaten were not depicted by the Valencioid artisans on pottery, stone, bone and/or shell.

Without any doubt the monkey had the most privileged role among the mammals, its burials had often the same offerings as the human ones. Were they highly esteemed pets? Since they were treated as humans in the burials, these animals can be considered as a metaphor for humans and related to the mythological, or kin or descent group totemic ancestors. The lack of monkey bones in the non-burial contexts, despite their remarkable natural abundance in the region (see A. Antczak 1999a), suggests that a taboo might have been imposed on their hunting. The dogs were presumably kept as human companions and not eaten, however, no further insights on their role can be made.

Apart from the feline and dog, the images of turtle, frog and toucan are often represented in figurine and non-figurine imagery. Together with the images of the bat and crested birds these are the most commonly depicted animals. Many of these representations, especially those of feline, frog and turtle were also depicted by the Barrancoid artisans, though not as a figurine, but as *adornos* (see Kidder 1944: Plate III). These images were actively appropriated to create and sustain the Valencioid present. This potential structural continuity is certainly worth further research.

It may be expected that freshwater fish were certainly one of the Valencioids' primary foods. They were often mentioned (though taxonomically unidentified) in the excavation reports and were found within burials (they were found in four urn burials in La Cabrera). However, the images of fishes (beads, pendants) are mentioned in the literature only marginally and there are no illustrations of them available to evaluate the accuracy of the identification. Representations of other aquatic creatures, such as molluscs and crabs, are also absent.

It is noteworthy that the remains of such animals as fish (vertebrae), deer (antlers), agouti (teeth) and molluscs (whole shells), which were hunted and eaten but not depicted on the material culture, were often recovered from burial contexts. On the contrary, the figurines of the animals which were presumably not eaten (felines, dogs, the 'anomalous' birds, frogs) are absent from the burial contexts. This categorisation seem to offer another insight into the Valencioid animal taxonomy that should be examined in future research.

The Valencioids may have captured birds for their meat and/or feathers, or because they were considered as pests for the crops, or kept as pets. The avifauna from aquatic and marshy habitats of the lake, highly valuable for food, such as ducks, gallinule, currasow and doves, whose bones were recovered during the excavations are not depicted in the Valencioid imagery (Table 134). On the contrary, many of the depicted birds might have been avoided, considered non-edible or repugnant, or in general 'anomalous' by the Valencioids. These might have included the carrion eaters (vultures) or the sentient nocturnal watchers (the owls). The large exotic birds such as the harpy eagle and condor

may have been esteemed for being so mighty and rapacious. Certainly, many of these bird images may have been symbolically active, relating to mythology and ancestry.

Bats are often depicted on vessel *adornos*, as are other animals, mainly birds but unlike the other animals, they are also represented as large pendants. These pendants range from the three-dimensional bat representations carved in stone and/or shell to less elaborated bat-wings made out of the outer lips of *Strombus gigas*. Significantly, the carved bat pendants are among the most finely elaborated artefacts in all Valencioid material culture. They were found beyond the areas of households, and possibly were used in ceremonies that took place in secluded spots, that may have been inaccessible for the broad spectrum of the society.

The human/animal images depicted on the figurines, some of them rattles, suggest their involvement in shaman-related activities. They might have been his/her accessories necessary to their supernatural transformations. The most recurrent among them are the images of human-bird that might have been related to shamans flights to the outer worlds, or refer to mythical narratives. The association of human figurine with a figurine of an unidentified quadruped in one burial suggests the closeness of this quadruped to some human standards. It is remarkable that such eminently aquatic animals as fishes and crabs are absent from figurine iconography. On the contrary, those animals who shared the human domain, the land, were more often represented in figurines. The occurrences reversed in the non-figurine representations. Birds, frogs, turtles and bats are the most often depicted animals on vessel *adornos*, pendants, beads and amulets. This evidence offers a strand for later research about the potentially dichotomised production of animal images by the women (pottery) and the men (stone, bone, shell).

The presence of figurines of human-birds and human-mammals suggests that the shamans were not transforming themselves into batrachian, reptiles or fishes. If the terrestrial (surficial) and air environments were frequented by the shaman in his/her hallucinogenic 'travels', then the birds and mammals that lived there might have been considered as metaphors for humans and his allies more likely than the other classes of animals. If the water and underground were not environments penetrable or frequented by the shamans, then they might have been considered as inhabited by the animals of non-human characteristics, as well as by the spirits and creatures of negative power.

The fantastic animals may probably be 'closed in the drawer' of shaman-related activities. However, I dare to speculate that they might have alternatively been inspired in the palaeontological remains of large Pleistocene extinct animals whose remains could be easily found washed up on the banks of the Guacara River. The *Megatherium* remains from El Morro de Guacara were dated to 10,200 b.p. (Peñalver n.d. c: 13).

The early images of animal masks seen on *Cylindrical Body* figurines seem to be replaced by human face masks in later periods of Valencioid history. Can we hypothesise that concern with the human-human relationships supplanted the original focus on the human-animal relationships? Can this be related to the change from the original emphasis on the animal animism to the cult of personified spirits, human ancestors and mythical human beings? Were these processes the results or motives for the social complexization?

**TABLE 134. Animals represented in the Valencioid material culture vs. zooarchaeological remains<sup>1</sup>.**

Class/family	Figurines	Other representational material culture	Present/ Absent	Zooarchaeological remains
				Species
<b>Mammalia</b>				
Feline (jaguar?)	x	x	C	<i>Felis onca</i>
Dog	x	x	C, T	<i>Canis familiaris</i>
Bat (Chiroptera)	-	x	-	-
Monkey	-	x	T <sup>2</sup>	<i>Alouatta seniculus?</i>
Fox	-	x	C	<i>Cerdocyon thous</i>
Armadillo (Dasypodidae)	-	x	-	-
Deer	-	x?	C, T	<i>Odocoileus gymnotis</i> , <i>Blastocerus</i> sp., <i>Mazama</i> sp.
Bear	-	-	C	<i>Tremarctos ornatus</i>
Peccary	-	-	C	<i>Tayassu torvum</i>
Capybara	-	-	C	<i>Hydrochoreus hydrochoreus</i>
Tapir	-	-	C	<i>Tapirus terrestris</i>
Rice rat	-	-	C	<i>Oryzomys</i> sp.
Rodents	-	-	C	Cricetine rodents
<b>Reptilia</b>				
Alligator	-	x?	C, T	<i>Cayman sclerops</i>
Crocodile	-	x?	C	<i>Crocodylus acutus</i>
Turtle and tortoise	x	x	-	<i>Kinosternon</i> sp., <i>Podocnemis</i> sp., <i>Geomyda</i> ?; <i>Testudo tabulata</i>
Iguana	-	x	-	<i>Iguana iguana</i>
UID lizards	-	-	C	-
<b>Batrachian</b>				
Frog	x	x	-	-
<b>Pisces</b>				
Fishes	-	x	C, T	Unidentified
<b>Aves</b>				
Owl	-	x	C	<i>Rhinoptynx clamator</i>
Limpkon	-	-	T	<i>Aramus scolopaceus</i>
Toucan	x	x	-	-
Vulture	-	x?	-	-
Widgeon	-	-	T	<i>Mareca americana</i>
Harpy eagle	-	x?	-	-
Crested bird (parrot?)	-	x	C	<i>Ara</i> sp.; <i>Amazona</i> sp.; UID parroquet
Long-beaked (herons?)	-	x	C	<i>Ardea cocoi</i>
Condor?	-	x?	-	-
Gallinule	-	-	C, T	<i>Gallinula chloropus</i> ; <i>Ionornis martinicia</i>
Ducks	-	-	C, T	<i>Dendrocynga viduata</i> ; <i>Dendrocynga bicolor</i> ; <i>Dendrocynga autumnalis discolor</i>
Hawks	-	-	C	<i>Busarellus nigricollis</i> ; <i>Heterospixias meridionalis</i> ; Genus <i>Buteo</i>
Wood Ibis	-	-	C	<i>Mycteria americana</i>
Currasow	-	-	C	<i>Crax alberti</i>
Brazilian Cormorant	-	-	C, T	<i>Phalacrocorax olivaceus</i>
Muscovy duck	-	-	T	<i>Cairina moschata</i>
Rusty Dove	-	-	C	<i>Leptotila verreauxi</i>
Horned Screamer	-	-	C, T	<i>Anhima cornuta</i>
Pied-billed Grebe	-	-	C	<i>Podilymbus podiceps</i>
<b>Fantastic animals</b>				
UID	x	x		

<sup>1</sup>All Latin names are transcribed from Berry (1939), Osgood (1943), Kidder (1944), Wetmore (1935) and Kidder (1944). <sup>2</sup>One possible monkey skeleton was reported from Tocarón, some others were reported from other sites in the basin; all of them from burial contexts alone. C - reported from La Cabrera site; T - reported from Tocarón Mound Six.

Without addressing these questions I conclude that the symbolism of the Valencioid animal figurines seems to be polyvalent, hidden behind metaphor and anomaly, and grounded in the mythical 'truths'. The avoidance of the images of those animals that were pursued, hunted and/or eaten is clearly discernible. Drawing on an analogy from the ethnography of the lowland Amerindian societies, I suggest that some animal figurines, especially those of felines, and the human/animal representations,

may have been used in shamanistic activities, probably carried out, at the household level. They possibly served to evoke the allies of the shaman, the mediators in his communication with the supernatural powers. Possibly they were used especially to placate the spirit protectors of those animals which were hunted/eaten and not depicted by the Valencioid artisans. It cannot be determined whether the high fragmentation of the animal figurines was related to their ritual use or to discard activity once their role had been fulfilled.

Though fascinating, the discussions carried out in the last four sections can only be treated as the 'opening of *Pandora's box*'. I have grossly (re)constructed the social reality of certain types of human and animal figurines from the so called 'golden age' of the Valencioid moundbuilders; however, the hypotheses presented here cannot be further strengthened or refuted from the extremely fragmentary and decontextualised data.

**Part Three**

**Back and Forth From the Islands**



## *Chapter Nine*

# **‘Between Mainland and Islands’: Discussion**

The attempt to make sense of the DM figurines has led us from the islands to the north-central Venezuela mainland. While constrained by the overall contextual and chronological weaknesses of the data, I have been able to discuss the morphological variability and representational qualities of the LVB figurines. As well, I hypothesised about their roles in the social strategies employed by the LVB people in the negotiation of their social realities. I have also searched on the mainland for the data that may allow me to determine the socio-historical context in which might have born the habitus of using the pottery figurines on the islands and the practice of the spatial clustering of the figurines with selected artefacts for some purpose(s) that were possibly critical for the success of the island missions. As it will be discussed in this chapter, the last purpose proved largely unsuccessful.

In the first section of this Chapter I compare the figurine assemblages from the DM site and the mainland and discuss the resulting correlation. The second section is dedicated to the discussion of the foundations of the Valencioid and Ocumaroid insular enterprises. The delineation of the scenario that includes the off shore islands is vital for the positioning of the island artefacts, settlements and people in broader temporal-spatial frames. This section also aims to stimulate future research by addressing questions that have never or rarely been addressed in the archaeology of the region. Having outlined the hypothetical historical background for the island enterprise, the next two sections are dedicated to discussion of the contribution of the figurine study to our understanding of socio-cultural relationships on the mainland, between the mainland and the islands, and between the different islands.

## BETWEEN THE ISLANDS AND THE MAINLAND

The comparisons of the systematically recovered and relatively well dated DM figurines with largely decontextualised and poorly dated figurines from the Lake Valencia region is a hazardous exercise. However, despite its limitations, the mainland data is the only information we can use in order to bridge the island and the mainland figurine assemblages. The focus here is on the comparisons of Valencioid figurines (i.e. the *Standardised* and *Imitative*). The *Heterogeneous* figurines, considered as Ocumaroid products (see Chapter Six), are excluded from the major part of the following discussion, given their minimal presence on the mainland.

**TABLE 135.** Quantitative data on Valencioid human figurines from DM and LVB sites.

Figurine quantification standards	Dos Mosquises	Lake Valencia Basin
	#	#
Maximum Number of Anthropomorphic Specimens (MNAS)	371	1300
Minimum Number of Anthropomorphic Figurine (MNAF)	174	527
Specimens used for stylistic typology	166	333

Approximately 24% of all known DM and LVB figurines (MNAF) were deposited on Dos Mosquises Island (Table 135). The phrase 'all known LVB figurines' refers to the study sample which is not statistically random or necessarily representative. For example, it does not include few hundreds of figurine specimens held by the Museums in Valencia and Maracay and in the private collections. Consequently, the inclusion of these specimens may (or may not) change the statistics presented below.

To establish the relative chronology of the DM assemblage with respect to the LVB figurines let us examine the presence of *Headdresses* and *Spread Legs* posture among the figurines from both areas, given that these attributes proved diagnostic in the distinction between the earlier and later figurines categories in the LVB.

**TABLE 136.** Relative frequency of Headdresses in Valencioid human figurines from DM and LVB sites\*

Headdress type	Dos Mosquises	Lake Valencia Basin
	%	%
Figurines with Canoe-shaped and/or Plain Headdresses	59.71	12.59

\* (1) DM 100%=139 specimens with assessable presence/absence of the headdress. (2) LVB 100%=262 (see Table 114). Both samples include all stylistic groups figurines and atypical specimens.

**TABLE 137.** Relative frequency of figurines posture types from DM and LVB sites.\*

Posture type	Dos Mosquises	Lake Valencia Basin
	%	%
Standing	26.08	46.96
Seated Spread Legs	57.97	21.81
Standing Bent-knee	2.89	1.81
Seated Bent-knee	11.59	4.24
Cylindrical Body	1.44	24.84
Total %	99.97	99.66

\* (1) DM 100%=69 specimens (excluded *Heterogeneous* and 'undetermined', see Table 76). (2) LVB 100%=330 (excluded *Dwarfed body*, *Kneeling* and *Atypical forms*; see Table 113).

Table 136 shows that there are almost five times more figurines with *Headdresses* in the DM assemblage than in the LVB sites. Moreover, the *Seated Spread Legs* figurines, whose popularity increased during the climax of the 'golden age' of the Valencioid moundbuilders, are 2.6 times more

popular in DM than on the mainland (Table 137). These data indicate that the DM figurine assemblage is linked to the Valencioid deposits from the final period of the Valencioid 'golden age' or even later. Based upon the above data, the DM figurines should be compared to such LVB deposits as the 'upper' La Cabrera and El Zamuro, and the top half of the La Mata Mound Six. However, such comparison cannot be fruitful, since these deposits are barely distinguished from the preceding deposits and their social 'contents' are unknown. We do not know how they relate to the deposits which supposedly enclose the remains of the 'golden age' period, or whether or not they contain the material of this period. In this situation I continue the comparative analyses of the DM figurines with the LVB figurine assemblage as a whole.

In conclusion it can be said that the DM site comprises a considerable portion of figurines produced in the mainland by both Valencioid and Ocumaroid people during the last three to four hundreds years before the Contact Period, and that the DM figurines are linked to the latest period of figurine production in the LVB. It can also be said that the specific social roles determined for the Valencioid 'golden age' figurines (Chapter Eight) cannot be taken into account in the discussion of the roles of the figurines in the DM setting. This statement is based on striking differences in the social composition of the occupants of the island and mainland sites, the differences in the contextual association of the figurines, and the overall weaknesses of the contextual and chronological mainland data.

**TABLE 138.** Frequency of human figurine from different stylistic groups at DM and LVB sites\*.

Stylistic group	Dos Mosquises	Lake Valencia Basin
	%	%
Standardised	35.54	92.30
Imitative	19.87	6.07
Heterogeneous	44.57	1.61
Total %	99.98	99.98

\* (1) DM 100%=166 stylistically defined figurines (excluded one *Cylindrical Body* specimen). (2) LVB 100%=247 (including only *Standing*, *Seated* and *Bent-knee* figurines; see Table 113).

Table 138 shows the highly uneven distribution of the stylistically different figurines between the LVB and the DM site. Valencioid *Standardised* and *Imitative* figurines were indisputably dominant in the LVB area (98.37%). In the DM site, while also dominant (55.41%), they shared the popularity with *Heterogeneous* (Ocumaroid) figurines (44.57%). I interpret this occurrence as the reflection of the joined Valencioid/Ocumaroid occupation of the DM site.

**TABLE 139.** Dimensions of DM and LVB Valencioid human figurines\*

Dimension/posture	Dos Mosquises	Lake Valencia Basin
	cm	cm
Maximum height of Standing figurine	22.5	52.5
Minimum height of Standing figurine	8.8	3.2
Average height of Standing figurines	16.53	21.0
Maximum height of Seated figurine	19.1	20.3
Minimum height of Seated figurine	4.9	8.0
Average height of Seated figurines	11.54	14.2

\* The *Heterogeneous* and *Cylindrical Body* figurines are excluded from both DM and LVB samples

The DM Valencioid figurines were significantly smaller and, therefore, more portable than their LVB counterparts (Table 139). This is a result of an intentional selection or production of smaller



specimens for island purposes rather than of the overall trend toward the production of smaller figurines during the last centuries before the Contact Period.

**TABLE 140.** Frequency of Solid/Hollow Valencioid human figurines at DM and LVB sites\*

Solid/Hollow	Dos Mosquises	Lake Valencia Basin
	%	%
Solid	25.28	27.41
Hollow	74.71	72.58
Total %	99.99	99.99

\* (1) DM 100%=87 specimens, whose Solid/Hollow condition could be assessed (excluded one *Cylindrical Body* specimen). (2) LVB 100%=124 (excluded *Cylindrical Body* and *Cylindrical Form, Kneeling* and *Dwarfed Body* figurines; see Table 117)

There are relatively more *Hollow* Valencioid figurines in the DM than in the LVB sites (Table 140 and 141). Given that the DM figurines are considered as later production, the technological tendency towards the replacement of solid figurines by hollow, that was detected in the LVB assemblage (see Chapter Eight), was probably in augment by the time of the occupation of the DM site.

**TABLE 141.** Frequency of Solid/Hollow Valencioid human figurines according to posture type at DM and LVB sites\*.

Posture and Solid/Hollow status	Dos Mosquises	Lake Valencia Basin
	%	%
Standing Hollow	24.56	52.41
Seated Hollow	45.61	16.93
Standing Solid	7.01	16.93
Seated Solid	19.29	9.67
Seated Bent-knee Hollow	1.75	1.61
Standing Bent-knee Solid	0	0.80
Standing bent-knee Hollow	1.75	1.61
Total %	99.97	99.96

\* (1) DM 100%=57 specimens, whose posture and Solid/Hollow status could be assessed. (2) LVB 100%=124 assessable specimens (see Table 117)

**TABLE 142.** Relative frequency of posture/sex/breasts variables of Valencioid human figurines from DM and LVB sites\*

Posture/sex/breasts condition	Dos Mosquises	Lake Valencia Basin
	%	%
Standing with breasts	100	32.35
Standing without breast	0	67.64
Sub-total %	100	99.99
Standing with vulva	100	91.42
Standing without vulva	0	5.71
Sub-total %	100	97.13
Seated with breasts	88.88	80
Seated without breasts	11.11	20
Sub-total %	99.99	100
Seated with vulva	100	97.14
Seated without vulva	0	2.85
Sub-total %	100	99.99
Seated Bent-knee with breasts	100	100
Seated Bent-knee without breasts	0	0
Sub-total %	100	100
Seated Bent-knee with vulva	100	100
Seated Bent-knee without vulva	0	0
Sub-total %	100	100

\* DM 100%=85 (includes 48 figurines with assessable posture and presence/absence of breasts and 37 of sex). (2) LVB 100%=220 (includes 109 figurines with assessable posture and presence/absence of breasts and 111 of sex). (3) The *Heterogeneous* and *Cylindrical Body* figurines were excluded from the calculations of both DM and LVB samples.

Table 142 shows a strong emphasis in the depiction of female genitals and breasts in the DM Valencioid figurines. One of the differences between the DM and LVB figurines occurs in the frequency of the depiction of vulva and breasts in *Standing* figurines. Such a strong emphasis on

'femaleness' in the DM figurines may be intimately related to the role they played in the DM campsite. In other words, I suggest that the DM figurines might have been purposively selected to embody the notions of femaleness rather than taken haphazardly from the overall mainland assemblage.

**TABLE 143.** Relative frequency of use-related variables of DM and LVB Valencioid human figurines\*

Use-related variables	Dos Mosquises %	Lake Valencia Basin %
Pierced for suspension	0.6	1.21
Rattles	3.01	2.83

\* (1) DM 100%=166, what means MNAF (167), except for one *Cylindrical Body* specimen. Five rattles were identified in DM figurine assemblage. (2) LVB 100% = 247 (see Table 113); includes only *Standing*, *Seated* and *Bent-knee* figurines; seven rattles were identified among these figurines.

Figurines pierced for suspension, that might have been used as pendants were less popular in DM than in LVB. Nevertheless, in both areas their popularity was low. The figurines-rattles were slightly more popular in DM than in LVB. Taking into account the relatively small size and temporal character of the island site, in comparison to its larger and multiple residential counterparts in the LVB, this occurrence suggests that the rattles were used much more frequently on the island than on the mainland. If we assume that they might have been used in ritual activities, then the intensity of such activities in the DM site must have also be high. Small pottery balls recovered during sieving of the DM soil indicate that the overall number of figurines-rattles in this site might have been even higher. The frequent use of figurine-rattles, and their contextual association with pottery pipes, burners and anthropomorphic vessels, may strengthen the assumption of A. Antczak (1999a), who suggested that some ritual activities might have taken place in the DM site, based on the conspicuous clustering of the non-ceramic artefacts, such as bone flutes, shell whistles, oleoresin, allochthonous mammal bone trophies, and possibly feline skins.

**TABLE 144.** Relative frequency of the images of the Valencioid figurines at DM and LVB sites.

Image type	Dos Mosquises	Lake Valencia Basin
Seated Ladies	Common	Common
Standing Ladies	Common	Common
Pregnant Women	Common	Uncommon (?)
Masked Individuals	Absent	Common
Adorned Ladies	Absent	Uncommon
Seated Bent-knee Supplicants	Absent	Uncommon
Naturally and Artificially Deformed Individuals (with hunchback and cranial deformation)	Very rare	Rare
Mother with Baby	Absent	Rare
Canoe People	Absent	Rare

Comparative analysis of the images shows that *Seated* and *Standing Ladies* (including *Female Adolescents*) are the only images of comparable popularity in both samples (Table 144). The images of *Pregnant Women* are also present in both samples. However, their relative frequency in the LVB cannot be adequately assessed, since only a fraction of mainland figurines could be observed from the side. Taking into account only those figurines that could be properly assessed I suspect that the incidence of *Pregnant Women* images in DM site (27.5% of all female images) is significantly higher than on the mainland. If so, then the notions of 'fertility' may be added to those of 'femaleness' that were embodied in the images of the *Standing* and *Seated Ladies* that were dominant in the DM site.

The third image present in both sites is that of *Standing Bent-knee Individual* with hunchback and deformed head. This is not among the most popular mainland images. It was present in the island sites, whereas other more popular LVB images, such as *Adorned Ladies* and *Masked Individuals*, were absent. Each of the *Deformed Bent-knee Individuals* in the LVB was found in different site, including lake's islands. They were also dispersed on the off shore islands, since one was recovered in the DM and the other in the KR/A site. I suggest that these images may be considered as an iconographic type and that the role of these figurines might have been related to the supra-household ritual activities. They might have been representing a common ancestor or and/or mythical protagonist.

The 'absences' as well as the 'presences' of the images may shed light on the character of the social context of the DM campsite, in contraposition to the social contexts of the permanent LVB settlements. Especially significant may be the absence from DM of *Masked Individuals* and *Adorned Ladies* and the lack of clear sexual demarcation between the categories of *Female Adolescents* and *Matrons*. These images were crucial in the interpretation of the roles that the figurines had played in the negotiation of the social realities in the LVB. Their absence on the island may suggest that it was not an appropriate arena for the social strategies/negotiations, in which such images played integral roles, i.e. that site was occupied by fractions instead of all segments of the society.

At first glance, the absence of the *Mother with Baby* and the abundance of the *Pregnant Women* images in DM site may seem contradictory. Nevertheless, the absence of the first image can be 'read' as the confirmation of the temporary character of the DM site (i.e. it was a temporary campsite not suitable for childbirth or nursing), while the presence/abundance of the second image may be related to the spiritual necessity of emphasising the notions of fertility in the insular setting. At the same time the images of the *Pregnant Women* might have been representing the real pregnant women (e.g. wives, mothers), those who were left on the mainland by the male occupants of the site.

The absence of *Canoe-People* images in DM may put in doubt the previously assumed link of these images with seafaring. The virtual absence of *Cylindrical Body* figurines seems to confirm two other previous assumptions: (1) about the gradual decline of their popularity in the LVB, and (2) about their strong 'attachment' to places and/or persons in the core of the Valencia Basin.

The absence of the zoo-anthropomorphic figurines in DM site, especially of the 'bird-man' representation popular on the mainland, may be linked to the overall underrepresentation of animal figurines in this site. The animal figurines account for 6.24% of all human and animal figurines of the LVB assemblage (Table 116), and for 2.25% of the DM site figurines (including 173 [MNAF] human and four animal figurines). To explain the low proportion of animal figurines in the DM assemblage it may be suggested that the role(s) of the zoo- and zoo-anthropomorphic figurines might have been strongly dependant on terrestrial environment, and related to terrestrial hunting rituals. Interestingly, the DM site yielded several remains of mainland mammals that were interpreted as trophies of terrestrial hunters, possibly used as votive offerings. A. Antczak (1999a) interpreted this phenomenon as evidence of the unfamiliarity of the bearers of these trophies (the Valencioid terrestrial hunters) with, and their recent arrival in, the island environment. Unfortunately, the analysis of the imagery of the DM animal figurines does not shed light on their roles in the DM site. The images of two

'fantastic' animals, clustered in the cache-deposit of Trench B, certainly played an important role within the DM site, given that only two similar specimens are known from the mainland. However, the inferential value of this fact cannot be assessed.

Let us turn to the contextual association of the human figurines. The total of 2.4% (100%=166) of Valencioid (*Standardised* and *Imitative*) figurines were burial-associated in DM, and 4.45% (100%=247; see Table 124) in the LVB. Each of the mainland burials contained not more than two figurines, whereas the DM burial had four *Standardised* and *Imitative*, and seven *Heterogeneous* figurines placed within one metre of the human bones. Yet several other figurines, recovered at a distance of more than one metre from the skeleton, may also be considered as burial furniture. These data suggest that figurines were notably used as burial furniture in the DM site. However, we do not know why the small number of figurines per burial in the LVB was exceeded so dramatically in the DM site. This particular expression could depend on the specificity of the social context in which the DM burial was positioned. I will return to these questions in the last sections of this Chapter.

## POTSHERDS AND POLITICS: THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE INSULAR ENTERPRISE

Having discussed the relationships between the DM figurines and their mainland counterparts, this section aims to integrate the social actors of these island sites into a broader historical panorama of the north-central Venezuela. Socially meaningful comparisons of the insular and mainland data are severely hampered, given the incompatibility of the mainland and island data. There is a gap in quantity and quality of the data obtained as a result of a contextual archaeology practised on the islands, and (largely) 'artefact-oriented' studies on the mainland. In consequence, while moving from the islands to the mainland, the identities of the actors at the DM site 'hide' behind the archaeological 'series' and 'styles' set down by Cruxent and Rouse 1958 (see also Rouse and Cruxent 1963). This is a result of the conceptual incompatibility between the static and monolithic human groups 'hidden behind' the archaeological cultures and critically constructed active prehistoric people (see Bolen 1991:51).

The occupants of the DM site can be fitted into the cultural panorama of the mainland only in stylistic terms. However, given that the stylistic unity does not equate with any historically concrete, politically, socially or economically integrated human group we do not know what social/ethnic group the DM people belonged to. The normative concepts of 'style' and 'series', as set out by Cruxent and Rouse (1958), were not meant to represent social units, nor to distinguish among ethnic groups and polities (see also A. Antczak 1999a; 1999c). The concept of 'archaeological culture' cannot be equated with 'society' since it was explicitly dedicated to the analyses of the norms exhibited in material culture, chiefly in ceramic and lithic artefacts. Since 1974, Sanoja and Vargas have been discussing the impact of this conceptual dichotomy on the development of the Venezuelan archaeology, and have proposed a series of approaches to the interpretation of archaeological data using an historical materialist approach (Sanoja and Vargas 1974; Vargas 1990; Vargas and Sanoja

1999). However, it is noteworthy that Cruxent and Rouse (1958) were cognisant that their approach as well as the data base they used restrict access to sociological and/or behavioural realms.

The terms/concepts used here such as the 'LVB Valencioids', the 'Boca Tacagua Ocumaroids' or 'Dabajuroids', assume only cultural homogeneity of material traits (i.e. pottery, urn burials, mounds), and refer to the makers of the 'Valencia', 'Ocumare' or whatever styles of pottery, defined in Cruxent and Rouse's terms. I am aware that the people 'hidden' behind these monolithic concepts were a mosaic of diverse societies, each with its own, diachronically fluctuating, forms of economy, social organisation and ideology. Such societies should be considered as a dynamic social units, composed of living individuals capable of negotiating their social realities and identified in terms of their particular historical trajectories.

Regarding the formal similarity of the DM and mainland materials, it can be seen at first glance that the overall assemblage of the DM pottery, including figurines, has no known counterparts on the coast of Venezuela. The similarity of vessel forms, manufacturing technique and decorative motifs (and their diversity), not to mention close morphological similarity of several particular specimens, indicate that the vast majority of DM pottery is directly linked to the Valencioid pottery from the Lake Valencia Basin, and specifically to the upper deposits in La Mata, El Zamuro and La Cabrera. However, the DM pottery also contains some objects that are 'Valencioid' in general stylistic aspects, but have not known counterparts in the LVB Valencioid pottery. Some other artefacts are clearly non-Valencioid (e.g. Dabajuroid style). The stylistic relationships of the DM pottery with those from the mountains of Caracas (El Topo, Las Minas and El Pinar styles in Cruxent and Rouse 1958) are palpable in DM assemblage but less frequent. More fine-grained classifications and comparisons of the DM and mainland pottery may contribute to the evaluation of the above statements.

Archaeology indicates that some kinds of relationships between the inhabitants of the Lake Valencia Basin and the adjacent coast were already maintained during the Archaic times (since at least 4400 b.p. [Peñalver n.d. c]). The horticulturists and makers of the Barranoid pottery (Barranoid series of Cruxent and Rouse 1958), who arrived at this region during the first centuries a.d. and set down the settlements at La Cabrera (LVB) and El Palito (the coast), continued the relationships with the autochthonous populations they encountered on the coast. These 'coastal people' were subsumed under the typological label of the 'Ocumaroid series' (Cruxent and Rouse 1958). Archaeology suggests that these relationships were based on economic complementarity, while other forms of socio-cultural interaction are unknown. The archaeological sites in Patanemo, Turiamo and Ocumare bays, which have not yet been systematically excavated, may provide the information that would enable further (re)construction of the nature and dynamics of these early relationships.

Nothing is known about the causes and nature of the demise of the large Barranoid settlements at El Palito and La Cabrera that occurred somewhere between ad. 400 and 600. We also know nothing about the socio-cultural origins of the Valencioid culture that 'emerged' in the LVB somewhere between ad. 800-900. The sociocultural 'content' of the chronological gap between approximately ad. 600 and 800 has never been addressed in Venezuelan archaeology.

Since its beginnings until about ad. 1000, the Valencioid culture was apparently evolving in 'hermetic' conditions, since the houses that were first built on stilts and later erected on top of the artificial mounds, were clustered exclusively around the eastern and northern shores of the Lake Valencia. This assumption may be, however, a result of lack of research on the early contacts of the inhabitants of the Valencioid settlements at a regional scale.

The Valencioids, like their Barrancoid predecessors, maintained relationships with the Ocumaroids, who shared the coast adjacent to the LVB with the remnants of the El Palito Barrancoids (Taborda style of Cruxent and Rouse 1958). Two major Ocumaroid settlements were located in the Boca Tacagua site and in Ocumare bay. Their stratigraphy is unknown and chronology is obscure. We know that the Ocumaroids established campsites on the off shore islands, such as Domusky Norte (Los Roques Archipelago), and possibly, in Bonaire (see Havisser 1991 and A. Antczak 1999a:102-103), in the beginnings of the second millennium ad.

At the time when the Valencioid culture was at the final stage of its 'golden age' (a.d. 1000-1100), the direct ancestors of the 16<sup>th</sup> century *Caquetío* chiefdom inhabited the coast of the present-day Falcón State (north-west of the LVB). These people are concealed behind the Dabajuroid series (a.d. 800-1500), and most likely already had achieved the level of a chiefdom sociopolitical integration a few centuries before the Contact Period. By a.d. 1200 the Dabajuroids had already colonised the islands of Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire (Oliver 1989; 1997), set down few specialised fishing campsites in the Las Aves de Sotavento Archipelago, and sporadically frequented the Los Roques, La Orchila and La Tortuga Islands, to the east (M. Antczak 1993; A. Antczak 1999a).

The only people who could arrest their maritime expansion toward the east were the makers of the Ocumaroid pottery. However, any dispute over the control of the coast and islands of north-central and north-western Venezuela, at about a.d. 1200, had to have an asymmetrical character. The two disputing powers were highly unequal. On the one side, there were the Dabajuroid societies that tended toward the chiefly form of socio-political organisation, and on the other, there were the groups of the Ocumaroids. The latter seem to have been socio-politically decentralised societies of fishermen and horticulturists. A. Antczak (1999a) suggests that the Ocumaroid culture, whose stylistic definition and chronology is the weakest in Cruxent and Rouse's study (1958; Rouse and Cruxent 1963), may 'mask' a series of small, possibly multiethnic, mobile and decentralised groups of people, whose subsistence depended heavily, though not exclusively, on marine resources.

On this scenario the Valencioid pottery appeared in the Playa Chuao site, on the coast adjacent to the LVB, about a.d. 1206 (744±98 B.P., see Morales 1984). By the same time, or slightly later, it also appeared in other coastal bays, such as Puerto Maya, Tuja, Cepe, Cata and Patanemo [Alvarez and Casella 1983, Martín 1995]). The pottery assemblages from each of these sites are multi-stylistic admixtures. The 'Valencioid pottery' recovered in these sites is not the 'Valencia style' pottery produced in the LVB, as defined by Cruxent and Rouse (1958). Morphologically, only few pottery artefacts from the coastal sites (if any at all) might have been directly imported from the LVB. The vast majority seem to be an 'impoverished imitation' of Valencia style pottery, produced by the local

people. These Valencia-related materials were found in coastal sites mixed with different proportions of Dabajuroid, Ocumaroid and Barranoid potsherds.

I envisage two possible series of events of socio-political character that may be concealed behind the 'appearance' of the Valencioid pottery on the coast. According to the first, the inland Valencioid warriors might have appeared on the coast to subjugate the Ocumaroid/Barranoid people by force. Such an invasion could result in extermination of large segments of the coastal people, and subjugation and acculturation of the survivors.

However, the archaeological data, though weak, do not support this scenario. The interaction between the LVB Valencioid and the Ocumaroids had been long-lasting and manifold, including not only the exchange of commodities (e.g. pottery, marine shells, corals and possibly foodstuffs), but also ceremonial assistance, judging by the presence of flutes, pottery pipes and figurines in the Boca Tacagua site (see Cruxent and Rouse 1958, vol.1:177). The Valencioid/Ocumaroid relationships are also objectified in the presence of Valencioid potsherds scattered throughout the Ocumaroid deposit in Domusky Norte Island, dated to between ad. 1020 (B.P. 930±80) and 1330 (B.P. 620±80; see Table 81). These may indicate that the Valencioid/Ocumaroid liaison lasted at least until the demise of the DMN settlement, somewhere after ad. 1330.

I speculate that the eventual defeat of the Ocumaroid people would have proved counter-productive for the inland Valencioids, for whom they probably were the traditional providers of marine raw materials and products and expertise related to the maritime environment. Until the Valencioids could effectively dominate the technology/knowledge necessary to 'tame' the maritime domain on their own, and concurrently, to arrest the Dabajuroid expansion, the Ocumaroids were their only masters and guides to achieve it. Unfortunately, there are too few data to elaborate on the nature and dynamics of these relationships.

The second possible scenario will be examined in two slightly different variants. According to the first variant, some segments of the inland Valencioids may have migrated peacefully into the coastal belt, and begun to set down the settlements alongside the coastal Ocumaroid and Barranoid (Taborda style-related) people. However, the data do not support this proposition because no single site with pure Valencia style pottery has yet been detected on the coast.

The second and more likely variant assumes that the inland Valencioids neither conquered the autochthonous coastal populations nor settled the coastal belt, but instead 'negotiated' and 're-negotiated' with the coastal people, in peace and/or war, diverse forms of direct access to the marine environment. I argue that by the beginnings of the second millennium a.d. some groups of inland Valencioids would have set down a series of the settlements on the northern slopes of the Cordillera, at a distance of a few kilometres from the seashore. Settlements located there might have had several advantages. They were not exposed to unexpected attacks from the sea, as were the settlements situated on the proper coast. The inhabitants of these sites had an access to both inland and marine environments and could control trade and other forms of socio-cultural relationships on an interregional scale. It is noteworthy that for similar reasons this settlement pattern was reproduced by the early Spanish *colonos* in this region.

According to Martín (1995), and to my own surveys carried out in 1994 and 1996, there are several barely prospected archaeological sites located on the northern slopes of the Cordillera, some of them with considerable extent and complexity (see also A. Antczak 1999a). Martín (1995:222) located anthropogenic *mesetas* with Amerindian habitation sites in Sinamaica, and burial grounds (possibly linked to habitation) at the sites of La Cesiva and El Paraiso (Pl.2). Other possible coastal-Valencioid habitation sites are located several kilometres up the mountain from Patanemo (*Pueblos de los Indios*) and Ocumare bays (Enrique Pastor, personal communication 1998). Another strategically situated site is the El Topo, located in the mountains north of Caracas (Dupouy and Cruxent 1946, Cruxent and Rouse 1958). The inhabitants of the above mentioned settlements could control the flow of goods and information between the societies that inhabited the coast, the Cordillera and the LVB.

The close contact between two culturally distinct groups, such as the Valencioids from the northern slopes of the Cordillera (hereafter I will refer to them as 'coastal-Valencioids') and the Ocumaroids, could result in multifarious ways of 'accommodation' to each other's style of life. The coastal-Valencioids may have coexisted with the Ocumaroids without resolving the potential conflicts through war or use of the coercive power. In this process of mutual acculturation, some Ocumaroid groups could incorporate selected Valencioid sociocultural traits, while the Valencioids could absorb, among others, the maritime skills and knowledge of the Ocumaroid people.

In summary, I suggest that at the beginnings of the second millennium ad. some Valencioid settlements might have already been established at a distance of a few kilometres from the sea, on the northern slopes of the mountains, in the hinterland of the bays. These settlements were most likely the interface between the LVB Valencioids and the Ocumaroids, and might have had pivotal importance for the overall success of the LVB Valencioid maritime-oriented political economy.

What could be the causes of the growth of the Valencioid interest in the marine environment? I limit my examination to two factors external to the LVB societies since the data do not permit elaboration of the internal factors. The first factor is the Ocumaroid 'discovery' of copious natural resources of the Los Roques Archipelago, and the second, the eastward expansion of the Dabajuroid groups.

I argue that the Ocumaroid expeditions to the Los Roques Archipelago, carried out toward the end of the first millennium a.d., brought back to the mainland, and redistributed toward the LVB, exotic shells (mainly *Strombus gigas*, *Spondylus* spp. and *Cassis* spp.), dried *Strombus gigas*, fish and turtle meat, turtle oil and salt (see A. Antczak 1999a). All these resources were absent and/or extremely limited on the north-central coast of Venezuela. Such an influx of valuable resources must have had impact on the LVB economy. Moreover, I argue, that not only the goods *per se* but also the confirmation of the 'unlimited' supply of these goods in the islands might have had a profound consequence on the LVB societies.

The offshore islands are visible from the Cordillera de la Costa peaks and were certainly known to the Valencioids, who used the mountain paths. Therefore, the islands would have become part of the cultural landscape. They also might have been loaded with symbolic meanings and intertwined into the fabric of Valencioid folklore, a long time before the first Valencioid arrived on their beaches. In



consequence, I argue that the Ocumaroid 'voyages' to the Los Roques islands and the 'discovery' of their resources might have had either destabilising or catalytic effects of the inland Valencioid polity, questions that should be addressed in future research.

Turning to the second factor in the growth of the Valencioid interest in the marine environment, A. Antczak (1999a) suggested that reasons of political economy, specifically the necessity of arresting the Dabajuroid threat that could cut off the Ocumaroid supply of the newly available island resources toward the LVB, could have drawn the Valencioids away from their long-term territorial 'isolation' on the shores of the Lake Valencia. The strengthening of their interest in the coast might have been at the core of the political-economical interests of the inland people. It seems probable that they had to counterbalance the asymmetrical confrontation between the Ocumaroids and the Dabajuroid in order to maintain the supply of the island goods to the LVB and, perhaps, to defend an important constituent of their sacred landscape.

The archaeological data suggest that some Valencioid groups entered in direct contact and even came to co-operate with their Dabajuroid counterparts. I already pointed out that some coastal sites contain an admixture of Valencioid, Dabajuroid, Ocumaroid and Barranoid pottery. The pottery assemblage with Valencioid and Dabajuroid potsherds was also recovered in Cementerio Tucacas site, north-west of LVB (Cruxent and Rouse 1958). These data may suggest that once the inland Valencioids 'strengthened' their outposts on the northern slopes of the Cordillera and began to participate in common ventures with the Ocumaroid people, the Dabajuroid threat would have diminished. In consequence, the Valencioid relationships with the coastal populations involved both the Dabajuroid and the Ocumaroid groups.

A. Antczak (1999a) suggested that the admixture of pottery styles from island sites may mimic variable arrangements of joined multicultural specialised expeditions. The composition of the Cayo Sal (CS/D site) pottery assemblage suggests that this campsite was used by the coastal-Valencioid and, possibly, some Dabajuroid people, who participated in this enterprise as crew members, expert navigators and/or economic partners. The Ave Grande site assemblage (Las Aves de Sotavento Archipelago) may be a contrary example of an enterprise led by the Dabajuroid people in which some Valencioid individuals might have taken part. The pottery from the Ocumaroid site in the Domusky Norte Island suggests that some Valencioids may have been present in this site. Certainly it may be argued that the 'atypical' potsherds found in these sites are objects of trade. However, their presence may alternatively illustrate the potential variety of forms in which the Valencioids (LVB and coastal-Valencioids) were making diverse types of arrangements with the coastal populations in order to participate in the insular enterprises.

Can the 'introduction' of the Valencioid people into the marine environment through joint ventures with Ocumaroids and Dabajuroids, be considered as a result of well designed political strategy? Did the Valencioids aim to organise their 'own' expeditions to the Los Roques islands in order to affirm their rights over the natural resources of these islands? I should re-emphasise at this juncture that there is no adequate data to consider the LVB Valencioids as mono-ethnic, mono-cultural, or organised in a chiefdom society(ies). A. Antczak (1999a) argued that a headman of a LVB

Valencioid village, a 'Big Man' such as the historically known *cacique* Naiguatá, from the coast of Caracas, with the assistance of his kin followers or allies from the villages located on the northern slopes of the Cordillera, could have promoted and controlled the Valencioid activities in the Los Roques Archipelago and redistributed the goods toward the inland. However, neither the existence of a supreme chief nor of Big Man authorities in the LVB can be presently discussed given the shortage in quantity and quality of the archaeological data.

Lacking any evidence to support the proposition of coercive subjugation of the coastal people by the LVB Valencioids, I reject the notion of Valencioid hegemonism (as described by Vargas 1990), and propose instead the consideration of multidimensional 'negotiations' that might have taken place between the diverse fractions of the LVB Valencioid societies and the inhabitants of different coastal bays, within variable temporal frames. I further argue that such negotiations of power might also have been oriented toward the reduction of potential animosity, disintegration avoidance, and the overall stress on the preservation of the inter-group harmony (see Smith and Bond 1998:225), as well as on occasional coercive actions. This approach opens a new avenue for future research into the material manifestations of the interactions, including the interpenetration of structures of thought, between the LVB and the coastal-Valencioids and the Ocumaroid people.

Having grossly outlined some possible socio-cultural and political-economical scenarios in which the foundations of the Ocumaroid and Valencioid insular enterprises might have taken place, I will now analyse how the stylistic typology of the Dos Mosquises Island figurines may shed light on the Valencioid/Ocumaroid interrelationships.

## FIGURINES AND INTERSOCIETAL RELATIONSHIPS

Comparing the Dos Mosquises figurine typology with that from the mainland it can be seen that the overwhelming majority of the LVB figurines are *Standardised*. No more than 15 specimens from the LVB may be considered *Imitative* (6.54% of 214 figurines whose images are available) (Pl.203:456; Pl.212:470; Pl.215:514; Pl.213:568, 577; Pl.204:70, 572, 574; Pl.206:597; NR 434, 585 727 not illustrated) and only four are *Heterogeneous* (e.g. Pl. 209: 668, 659, 686; Pl.204:593).

Regarding the spatial distribution of figurines on the mainland, it should be remembered that no figurine has been reported from the coast north of the LVB, and only a few largely *Heterogeneous* specimens were recovered on the coast, mountains and valleys north-east of the LVB (Pl.199:746, 383, 582, 502). The figurines from the Boca Tacagua site may be *Imitative* or *Standardised* (Pl.199:500). The only unquestionably *Standardised* specimen found outside the LVB is a figurine head from the area of Caracas (Pl.199:748).

The above data indicate that the *Standardised* figurines may be considered as genuine products of the LVB Valencioid societies. The very low frequency of the *Imitative* figurines in the Basin, and their absence outside this area, suggest that their production/use might have been restricted to certain groups (status, age, gender), or to a specific activity, place, and/or period of time in Valencioid history. Given that considerably more *Heterogeneous* figurines are known from outside than from within the

LVB, it may be suggested that they are the product of the inhabitants of the mountains and/or coast to north-east, rather than of the LVB. I suspect that the formal differences between the figurine types conceal differences in character and intensity of the socio-cultural ties that united/separated their producers/users. However, any further elaboration on the nature of these interrelations and, eventually, on the social complexity of their producers/users, is hampered by the overall shortage of data.

Moving back to the islands, where the data is systematically recorded, we know that the *Heterogeneous* figurines were present in the DMN (Ocumaroid) site, as the only stylistic group, from approximately ad. 1020 to 1330. This figurine group re-appeared in the DM site, about ad. 1430 (520 ±80 B.P., see Table 81). In this site they shared the same depositional contexts with *Standardised* and *Imitative* Valencioid figurines. The *Heterogeneous* were also recovered spatially associated with *Imitative* and *Standardised* figurines in Krasky Island, while they were absent from the Cayo Sal (CS/D) site, where only *Standardised* and *Imitative* were recovered.

I propose the following explanation of the 'movement' of the human figurines between the mainland and the islands. The Boca Tacagua Ocumaroids adopted from the Valencioids the 'idea' of the figurine as a representational material culture and endowed them with distinctive (*Heterogeneous*) morphology. The figurines were situated in different socio-cultural contexts, where they could eventually participate in ritual activities alongside bone flutes and pottery pipes (these artefacts were also reported from Boca Tacagua site).

As much as 97% of all *Heterogeneous* figurines studied here have been reported from the islands, 12 specimens come from the coast and four from the LVB. These numbers suggest that the *Heterogeneous* figurines were either (1) produced on the coast primarily for the use on the islands; or (2) were also used on the mainland, but the archaeological sites with such evidence has not been located yet.

Turning to the images of the *Heterogeneous* figurines. On the mainland they largely depict *Seated Ladies*; some figurines are sexless. On the islands, female representations are dominant. However, male, male/female and sexless specimens are present in the DMN and the DM sites. This suggests that the Ocumaroids embodied their own, particular set of meanings in the non-female figurines that might have been different from those embodied in the Valencioid *Standardised* and *Imitative* figurines. Moreover, these non-female *Heterogeneous* figurines played their roles exclusively in island contexts.

The territorial dispersion of the *Heterogeneous* figurines north-east of the LVB has been shown archaeologically. Following the interpretation of the LVB figurine imagery, we can assume that the *Seated Heterogeneous* figurines represent *Matrons* and the *Standing* depict *Female Adolescents*. If so, then perhaps the 'content meaning' of the LVB figurines embedded within the *Heterogeneous female* figurines had spread with their movement towards the north-east? The LVB figurines have been interpreted as being employed in social strategy in which the elder women controlled the pool of nubile kinswomen for alliance-building purposes. Could the dispersion of the *Heterogeneous* figurines suggest that the populations north-east of LVB employed the same form of alliance-building strategy?

I suspect that certain otherwise poorly known archaeological/ethnohistorical phenomena can be linked to the spatial distribution and use of the figurines, though the nature of these connections cannot be presently understood. On the one hand, there is the evidence of the proto-historic Valencia-related site in El Topo (El Topo style, see Dupouy and Cruxent 1946, Cruxent and Rouse 1958), north of Caracas, whose inhabitants were linked (in some yet undefined ways) with the occupants of the Boca Tacagua site (Ocumaroids and Ocumaroid-related), and with the LVB Valencioids. On the other hand, there is the evidence of the infiltration of the historically known *Guaikeri* Indians from Margarita Island into the coastal zone north of Caracas, a process that certainly began well before European Contact (see A. Antczak 1999a). Ethnohistory confirms that the relationships between the *Caraca* and the *Guaikeri* in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century were based on mutual respect and co-operation. There is no doubt that under the term coastal '*Caraca*' the chroniclers accommodated the coastal *Guaikeri*, the El Topo Valencia-related 'people', and the descendants of the Boca Tacagua Ocumaroids.

When did the first contacts of the *Guaikeri* with the societies of the north-central coast occur, and what was their nature? How was the presence of the *Guaikeri* on the coast related to the Los Roques enterprise? Was the Valencioid expansion toward the sea and islands accelerated by the Dabajuroid (from the west) and *Guaikeri* (from the east) threats? These questions cannot be answered at present, but the role of the *Guaikeri* should be taken into account in any future disentanglement of the origins and nature of the DM enterprise.

The above are followed by other sets of interrelated questions. Why should the LVB societies be more interested in strengthening their alliances with the populations toward the north-east than with their closest neighbours to the north (Ocumaroids, coastal Barrancoids)? Were the Ocumaroids from the coast north of the LVB not sufficiently 'desirable' as partners for large inter-regional alliance building? Perhaps, they did not represent either a real power (as powerful allies) or a real threat (as potential enemies) for the LVB Valencioids. Was the Valencioid 'dispersion' toward the north-east related to building up an anti-Dabajuroid coalition? Was the route from the LVB toward the coast of Caracas a section of a long route that for centuries would have had connected the Antilles, the north-eastern coast of Venezuela, the LVB, the Andean piedmont and the Andes? Even if these questions cannot be answered from the presently available data I anticipate expect that they will stimulate future research.

Turning back to the islands and taking into account (1) the quantitative proportion and spatial association of the figurines of all three stylistic groups within the same contexts, and (2) the overall dominance of decorated and 'special' Valencioid pottery (i.e. microvessels, anthropo- and zoomorphic vessels) within the non-plain pottery assemblage in the DM site, I interpret the Dos Mosquises enterprise as led by the LVB and coastal-Valencioids, makers of the *Standardised* and *Imitative* figurines, accompanied by Ocumaroids and related coastal people, makers of the *Heterogeneous* figurines. The DM enterprise might have been a joint, intercultural venture, led by the LVB Valencioids (possibly the occupants of La Cabrera site). I suggest that such socio-cultural composition of the DM enterprise was the result of 'negotiations' between the LVB Valencioids and the inhabitants of several particular coastal bays, mediated through the coastal-Valencioid societies. The presently

available data suggest that this 'negotiation' could be channelled through the 'corridor' that connects the LVB, El Topo and Boca Tacagua sites, north of Caracas. If these assumptions are correct, then the occupants of the DM site included LVB Valencioids, culturally related individuals from the El Topo site (coastal-Valencioids) and Boca Tacagua Ocumaroids.

This is the most likely scenario, given the presently available data. However, the already mentioned sites in the northern slopes of the Cordillera, especially at Patanemo, Ocumare, El Paraiso and La Cesiva, stand as potential candidates for complementary ports of departure toward the Los Roques Archipelago. Additionally, the possible participation of the *Guaiquerí* Indians in the DM enterprise cannot be dismissed. Future research should also address the role of the interactions between the Valencioid/Ocumaroid people and the populations of the present-day Yaracuy State, which, though currently unknown, could have significantly influenced the negotiations of power in the region.

Let us turn now to the chronological issues. According to the chronology discussed in Chapter Eight, the Valencioid societies in LVB had their cultural climax somewhere between ad. 900 and 1100. The climax was characterised among other by the production and use of large numbers of human and animal figurines. After ca. ad 1100, the destiny of the mounded platforms that were used by the 'golden age' Valencioids as sites for habitation and burials, is uncertain. There are some indications that the mounds were not inhabited by the time of the European Contact, and that by that time they might have even been completely covered by the rising lake water (A. Antczak 1999a). It has been suggested that the La Cabrera site could have been the core Valencioid settlement after the purported decline of the mounded platform habitation sites, and as the interface with Dos Mosquises site (A. Antczak 1999a). I am convinced that the untested parts of the La Cabrera site (rather than the parts excavated by Kidder [1944]), and the already mentioned unexcavated sites in the northern slopes of the Cordillera (including the El Topo), may enclose the responses to the chronological problems. It should be also taken into account that some mounded sites would have reminded inhabited later than expected, and that the whole temporal range of the 'golden age' should be extended or moved closer to the Contact time.

## **(RE)CONSTRUCTION OF THE SOCIAL REALITY OF THE DOS MOSQUISES FIGURINES**

In Chapter Eight I argued that the vast majority of the LVB figurines were associated to the *domus* as a place loaded with notions of nurturing and caring. The old name of Dos Mosquises Island, which is still in use among the older local fishermen is *Domusky Sur*, or just *Domusky*. Even if the fishermen are not aware of the etymology of the name *Domusky* (from Latin *domus*, house), nor its origin (a probable conjunction of Latin *domus* with English *key*), they emphasise the special character of this island for the fishermen and sailors. The Dos Mosquises Island is situated in the liminal position on the border between the calm, inner lagoons of the archipelago and the open pelagic domain (for detailed discussion of DM geographic position see A. Antczak 1999a). It is seen by the fishermen as the last safe port before navigating toward the mainland, and the first place to drop anchor after the

exhausting navigation from the mainland (Teobaldo Salazar, Felipe Narvaez, Loy Gómez, Amanda Marcano, personal communications 1983-86). The existence of small temporary shelters in the Dos Mosquises Islands goes back in time as far as the memory of the elder *Roqueños* can reach. Note that the 'twin' island of Domusky Norte, sometimes called Dos Mosquises Norte, has not similar meanings for the contemporary fishermen.

I argue that the above characteristics of the location of the Dos Mosquises Island within the archipelago, and its relation to the mainland, were acknowledged by the Amerindian people. Given that the DM archaeological site has been interpreted as the largest temporary campsite of multifunctional character in the whole Los Roques Archipelago, this island appears to have played a special role not only in economic, organisational and ritual aspects. Dos Mosquises Island was certainly an important place within the Valencioid/Ocumaroid cultural landscape and its 'exceptionality' has been additionally related to the burial of an Amerindian man deposited in it.

I further argue that the Valencioid/Ocumaroid sailors may have loaded this island/site with meanings related to *domus*, as opposed to those related to the surrounding pelagic domain, or *agrios*. Given that the occupants of the DM campsite were identified as mainly adult and adolescent males, the Dos Mosquises '*domus*' could have lost the relationship with childbearing that was essential for the mainland *domus*. However, it could retain the notion of safety and of the place in which the wild was brought in, controlled and dominated, and where culture was opposed to nature (or to the external '*agrios*', Hodder 1990).

The presence of the *Standing* and *Seated Female* figurines of in the DM site, many of them depicting *Pregnant Women*, may be seen metaphorically as an attempt at the re-creation of the 'wholeness' of the mainland *domus* on the island, despite the absence of the women (and children). The 'necessity' for such re-creation was apparently of such importance that large numbers of figurines were withdrawn from circulation in the mainland (or even especially produced for the island purposes) and transported to the island. Drawing from these premises, the Valencioid figurines from the DM site may be interpreted as representing the women who were left on the mainland. Does it mean that we have uncovered the 'hidden meaning' of the DM figurines and reached the third level of figurine expression? (see Figure 8). Certainly, the metaphorical embodiment of the real women in each figurine may be based on the figurine's capacity to express and possess the *subject*, discussed in Chapter 1. However, the relation of 'possessability' between the individuals and the figurines in the DM site cannot be disentangled. I intuitively favour the identification of the Valencioid figurines from the DM site as 'real' women. However, I contend that the eventual recognition of the individual figurines as the representations of the specific women requires vast and methodical testing against a new body of data that may be recovered from the mainland sites in future research.

I further argue that the DM figurines may not have exclusively embodied the real women of the DM occupants (wives, mothers, sisters, daughters, etc.) or even embody them at all. It may be expected that the presence of the women was not 'critical' for the functioning of a short-term specialised campsite on the DM Island, given that hunting and commercial parties of similar or longer duration were certainly undertaken by the men from the permanent settlements on the mainland. In

consequence, I argue that what might have had more far reaching consequences in the DM campsite was the absence of the women as a category of social actors rather than as physical individuals. Therefore, the DM figurines might have been metaphorically assuming the social roles which the women, as social category, used to play in the permanent settlements on the mainland. What social roles of the women might have been so instrumental for the overall success of the insular enterprise that can account for the quantity and contextual complexity of the DM figurines?

The mainland archaeology and marine ecology attest to two significant phenomena: (1) the importance and the continuous use of *Strombus gigas* mollusc as raw material and symbol (and probably as food) by the north-central Venezuela Amerindian societies, since at least the beginning of the Christian Era (A. Antczak 1999a); and (2) the virtual absence of the natural populations of this mollusc on the coast of the region (see Flores 1964; Almeida 1973). Consequently, I support those assumptions of A. Antczak (1999a), in which he demonstrated that the occupants of DM site were more intensely extracting and processing *Strombus gigas* for food and raw material than any other of the natural resources of the Los Roques Archipelago that are also absent from the coast (i.e. the turtles, the lobsters and the reef fishes).

A. Antczak (1999a: 237) argued that “the male of this [*Strombus gigas*] gastropod, unlike other molluscs, displays a prominent and 'humanlike' sexual organ that would not have gone unnoticed by the Amerindians”. This, and some other unusual characteristics of this mollusc morphology (i.e. the large eyes), and behaviour (i.e. the ‘mammal-like’ copulation behaviour), would have made it the most 'humanlike' of all molluscs. In terms of its physical configuration, reproductive behaviour and overall large size, the *Strombus gigas* might have been situated much closer to man than any other molluscs, in the Valencioid taxonomy. A. Antczak (*ibid.*) further argued, that while the molluscs from the lower grades of the taxonomy (those which were non- or less-‘anthropomorphised’) might have been ‘simply’ collected, and were usually eaten whole, the thousands of *Strombus gigas* molluscs (because of the above mentioned characteristics, including their large size) had to be ‘butchered’ before consumption.

If we assume the proximity of *Strombus gigas* to humans, in the Valencioid taxonomy than it its exploitation might have required intense ritual activities directed toward the spirit(s) protector(s) of these animals. A. Antczak (1999a) suggested that such ritual intensity in the islands could dramatically increase, when the original collection of this mollusc for immediate consumption changed toward the large production for delayed consumption and exchange. This change was probably accompanied by the concomitant changes in the social composition of crew members and organisational bases of whole enterprise. The archaeology suggests that the original expeditions, in which participated the representatives of the broad spectrum of the household, regardless of sex and age (the DMN campsite and the early DM deposit in Trench E), were later replaced by male dominated parties, largely specialised in *Strombus gigas* exploitation (DM site, Trenches A-C and E, F). The increase in the quantity of figurines and complexity of their depositional contexts, especially visible when moving from the DMN to the DM sites, may be directly related to the increase in the exploitation of the *Strombus gigas* mollusc. Were the increasing specialisation and overall intensification in the exploitation of this gastropod accompanied by the increase of the ritual activity that involved the use of the figurines?

There are two large natural *Strombus gigas* beds in the Los Roques Archipelago. The first is located in the waters among the Dos Mosquises, the Cayo Sal (CS/D site) and the Mosquitoquí islands. The heaps of processed *Strombus gigas* shells in the DM and CS/D sites have already been mentioned. The second largest beds concentrate around the islands of Rabusky, Isla de Loco, Isla Agustín, Sparky and Krasky (Antczak and Antczak 1991b). Several large middens are located in this area (IL/A, IL/B, RA/A) as small specialised 'satellite' campsites gravitated around the multifunctional settlement in the KR/A site. The overlapping of the multifunctional archaeological sites with the areas of major natural abundance of *Strombus gigas* seems to indicate that these sites were intentionally located near to this resource.

Beyond the Los Roques Archipelago, the Valencia style-related pottery was recovered in the group of the islands of La Orchila, however, the human pottery figurines were not found in these sites. Can we suggest that the pottery figurines were used in Los Roques islands because they sustain the greatest populations of this mollusc in Venezuela and its natural density in this archipelago is among the highest in the Caribbean? (Brownell 1977; Weil and Laughlin 1984; Laughlin and Hauschild 1985; Laughlin and Weil 1985; Antczak and Antczak 1987, 1991; Rodríguez and Posada 1994; Appeldoorn and Rodríguez 1994).

It is likely that the overall success of the mission carried out very far from the homeland, where the Amerindians were especially vulnerable and exposed to the benevolence of the supernatural powers governing the marine environment, could in great measure depend on their ritual efficiency with respect to the spirit-protectors of the marine animals, especially the *Strombus gigas*. To substantiate the above assumptions I closer examine the contextual data from the DM site.

The large clustering of adult and old shells of this mollusc that bear no signs of being processed for food or modified for shellwork, recovered from the area of Trench B, in the DM site, is a unique phenomenon within whole insular region. A. Antczak (1999a) argued that the spatial association of this cluster to the largest known cache-deposit in Trench B suggests that both assemblages are meaningfully related, and that the shells might have been directly involved in the ritual activities carried out in this place. It should be emphasised that the density of human figurines per cubic meter of excavated cultural deposit was considerably higher in Trench B than in any other DM trench. The absolute value of this density is higher than the total density values of all other trenches combined, and it is 6.4 : 4.6. In consequence, I argue for the meaningful connection between the spatial concentration of whole, non-perforated adult and old *Strombus gigas* shells, ritual activity and the Valencioid female figurines, in the DM site.

Outside the temporo-spatial frames of this study, the ethnographers of the historic Carib-speaking societies reported the instrumental role of women in the placation of the anger/sadness of the spirit-protectors of the animals, provoked by the activity of the hunters. Barandiarán (1979:98) emphasised the 'delicate' role of the women in (re)establishing the relationship with, and placating the, *suámo* or the Masters Protectors of the Animals, in the Ye'kuana Carib-speaking society, in southern Venezuela. The *suámo* are endowed with active powers and their anger may be placated through the intervention of feminine influence. The role of the female in the ritual conciliation of the spirits of hunted animals



was also reported for Carib groups from Guayana (for *Makushi* see Roth 1915; for *Kamarakoto* see Simpson 1944 in Barandiarán 1979). We do not know whether the ethnographically documented concepts existed or not among the DM Valencioids. However, the meaningful connection between the *Strombus gigas* mollusc, female figurines and ritual activity inferred from the archaeological contexts of the DM site suggests that some common structural principles underlaid the DM phenomena and the beliefs of the historic Caribs. Based on this assumption I make the following sense of the DM figurines.

As already suggested, the majority of the DM figurines might have metaphorically 'assumed' the ritual roles of the category of women left in the mainland. Some of these figurines were probably activated by the ritual specialists (shamans) and used as 'mediators' between the occupants of the DM site and the spirits protectors of marine animals, especially the *Strombus gigas*. Eventually, these petitionary and placatory rituals ended in the deposition of votive offerings that, among other artefacts, included the figurines.

This interpretation does not exhaust nor contradicts other parallel roles that the figurines might also have played in the DM or other island campsites. I have already mentioned that some of the figurines were added as the offerings to the DM dead, while in the CS/D site, the marine turtle and marlin remains rather than the *Strombus gigas* shells were recovered at the core of the 'offertory' cache deposit.

The DM Island figurines might have been also used to legitimate the 'rights' of the LVB Valencioid (and their followers) to the Los Roques Archipelago and its resources. Their overarching role might have laid in the transmission of a warning message: 'access rights-reserved space' (see A. Antczak 1999a). The DM site was the westernmost extension of the Valencioid insular domain and could have functioned as a Valencioid frontier outpost (the Dabajuroid maritime domain stretched westwards of the DM Island). The deposition in this outpost of a large number of artefacts with highly distinctive morphology (their producers/users were easy identified) may be interpreted as an act of legitimisation and warning against the infringement of the exclusive rights of the Valencioid (and Ocumaroid) people to these islands and their resources.

As a final remark, it should be also noted that the flesh of the *Strombus gigas* is considered as a most powerful aphrodisiac by the fishermen of Los Roques, and all Venezuelan fishermen. This notion may be related to its high protein content (60.8% in dry weight [A. Antczak 1999a]). However, it may also convey an old symbolic messaging that may be anchored in the Amerindian ideology. Even if such a question thus far, cannot be answered, the aphrodisiac power of the *Strombus gigas* comes immediately to mind while contemplating the DM cache-deposits replete with female figurines, a quarter of which are pregnant. I will not dwell in this speculation here. However, it is noteworthy that the origin of the notion of the aphrodisiacal power of the *Strombus gigas* goes back in time as far as the memory of the elder *Roqueños* can reach and, in consequence, the question on whether it may or not echo the pre-Hispanic preconceptions, remains open for research.

# Epilogue

## FROM DATA TO THEORY AND BACK AGAIN

The systematic recovery of hundreds of pottery figurines from the Amerindian campsite on the tiny Dos Mosquises Island is an unusual phenomenon in the archaeology of the Caribbean. They were largely found in primary archaeological contexts and accompanied by rich ceramic and non-ceramic artefacts. These conditions were promising for the (re)construction of the social contexts for human activities that involved the use of figurines and, in consequence, challenged me to search for a methodology that would go beyond the traditional epiphenomenal approaches to figurines. In this way uncovering and understanding the *social meanings* of the DM figurines became the overriding aim of this study (see Introductory Remarks and Chapters One and Two).

Exploration of cross-cultural literature dealing with the interpretation of figurines showed that existing studies based on the arbitrary assumption of religious-ceremonial meaning are methodologically simplistic and are an inadequate approach to the island figurines. Consequently, I opted for an approach that integrates contextual archaeology with social theory and material culture studies. In developing my research strategy, I emphasised the systematic and controlled ways in which diverse sources of data can be meaningfully connected within an overall humanistic approach (Chapters One and Two).

Once a research strategy was explicitly defined, the study began by recording the figurines and associated material from the island as well as mainland sites. This was the first step towards a comparative analysis of the insular data (including the typology, contexts and use of the figurines)

with the available information from the mainland (Chapters Three to Eight and the corpus of illustrations contained in Volume Two).

Given that the classifications of mainland figurines proved inadequate for the analysis of island specimens I developed a new, more detailed and fine-grained, system of classification. This enabled the recognition of patterns of use and distribution that would otherwise have been missed. The classification of the island figurines into stylistic groups, and their grammatical and contextual analyses, permitted to infer the multicultural character of the human groups that occupied the islands, and the detection of patterned clustering of figurines with other selected artefacts. This repetitive clustering was interpreted as reflecting a specific practice or *habitus* that involved the use of figurines and was reproduced by all the late prehistoric visitors to the islands. The contextual analysis of the figurines indicated that the ultimate hidden values behind this practice were connected with the notions of femaleness and female fertility (embodied within the figurines), with the natural resources of the island (especially the *Strombus gigas* mollusc), and with ritual activity (Chapters Five, Six and Nine).

My research strategy proved its value at the DM site, where the overall richness of the data allowed a deeper investigation. By systematic positioning of figurine types and images in the archaeological and social contexts of the DM site I uncovered how the figurines were employed in the social strategies used by the occupants of this site in the negotiation of their social reality. I concluded that the roles of the figurines were essential to sustaining everyday life at the DM camp by suppressing the threats of supernatural powers related to the marine environment and its creatures (Chapter Nine). These social strategies were reproduced on other Los Roques islands where they involved slightly different forms and actions.

In the practical application of my approach to mainland figurines the gulf between the theoretical ideal and praxis became apparent. It largely stemmed from the poor quality of the available data base in LVB. While the (re)construction of the social context of the DM figurines was supported by copious and systematically recovered evidence, the virtual lack of contextual and chronological information precluded the (re)construction of particular social contexts of mainland figurines. Amidst the weaknesses of the data I could suggest that specific representational categories of mainland figurine might have been employed in social strategies of alliance building through control of the pool of nubile females by their elder kinswomen for marriage purposes (see Chapter Eight). Though weak, the mainland data did reveal the polyvalent character of the Valencioid figurines between the islands and the mainland.

Morphological, representational and contextual data on island figurines was also used to develop a new model for the socio-cultural and political-economic relationships between the Amerindian groups of north-central Venezuela (see Chapter Nine). However, given that this model was largely based on potsherds data, I could not determine whether the *habitus* associated with the social use of the figurines on the islands was developed on the mainland or specific to the islands. The historical and social conditions that might have eventually set up such a *habitus* on the mainland remain largely unknown. It seems that it originated on the islands, or on the mainland, for insular purposes alone.

I anticipate that the difficulties in the application of my research strategy on the mainland will be resolved in future by better standards of excavation and recording, especially of non-ceramic and contextual data. Future research may also expand and improve the island data. However, it is unrealistic to expect that all questions contained in this study will eventually be answerable if we dig up 'enough' information.

My interpretative claims were as much as possible grounded in the 'reading' of the archaeological data, construed in quantifiable terms. However, they did not stem from the archaeological record alone. Once the archaeological data was 'exhausted', ethnographic analogies proved to be important devices in the completion of the (re)construction of the island social past and meaning of the figurines. On the other hand, the 'reading' of the archaeological record was inevitably mediated through my own experiences, and autobiographic elements may easily be traced in my interpretations. The open-endedness of this study aims to stimulate its re-interpretation. If new systematic investigations of figurines in north-central Venezuela challenge the interpretations proposed here, then the ancillary aim of this study will also have been achieved.

# Bibliography

- Absolon, K. 1949. The Diluvial Anthropomorphic Statuettes and Drawings, Especially the So-Called Venus Statuettes Discovered in Moravia. A Comparative Study. *Atribus Asiae* 12.
- Acosta Saignes, M. 1951. Noticia sobre la Arqueología de Río Chico. *Revista del Estado Miranda* 2. Caracas.
- Adams, W. Y. and E. W. Adams 1991. *Archaeological typology and practical reality. A Dialectical Approach to Artifact Classification and Sorting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alcina Franch, J. 1962. La Figura Femenina Preniabierta en el Viejo Mundo y en América. *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos* 8: 127-143.
- Alcina Franch, J. 1970. *La Plástica indígena de Venezuela en una colección del Musée de l'Homme de Paris*. Monografías, XXV, Diputación Provincial de Barcelona.
- Alcina Franch, J. 1983. *Pre-Columbian Art*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers.
- Almeida, A. 1989. *Jivikobee Kanali*. Cerámica Jivi. Editorial Tinta Papel y Vida.
- Almeida, P. 1973. Distribución de los moluscos de la costa centro-occidental (Patanemo-Punta Tucacas) de Venezuela. Comparación de los hábitats litorales. *Memorias de la Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle* 33(94):24-52.
- Alvarez, I. and J. Casella 1983. *Modo de Vida y Ambiente*. Unpublished *Tesis de grado*, Escuela de Sociología y Antropología, Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas.
- Antczak, A. 1991. La pesca marina prehispánica en el Archipiélago de Los Roques, Venezuela: El caso del yacimiento de la isla Dos Mosquises. *Proceedings of the 14<sup>th</sup> International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology*, pp. 504-519. Barbados.
- Antczak, A. 1995. Mammal bone remains from the late prehistoric Amerindian site on Dos Mosquises Island, Los Roques Archipelago, Venezuela: An interpretation. *Proceedings of the 16<sup>th</sup> International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology*, pp. 83-100. Basse Terre, Guadeloupe.

- Antczak, A. 1999a. *Late Prehistoric Economy and Society of the Islands off the Coast of Venezuela: A Contextual Interpretation of the Non-Ceramic Evidence*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Institute of Archaeology, University College London.
- Antczak, A. 1999b. *The Non-Ceramic Evidence and the Re(peopling) of the Dos Mosquises Island site, Venezuela*. Proceedings 18<sup>th</sup> International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology, 11<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> July 1999, St. George's, Grenada. In press.
- Antczak, 1999c. *Potsherds, Settlement Patterns, Subsistence Economy and the Re(construction of the Social Past*. Paper presented at the Seminar 'Social Organisation and the Inter-Insular Relationships on the Northern Lesser Antilles', 18<sup>th</sup> to 22<sup>nd</sup> July, 1999. Guadeloupe.
- Antczak, M. 1993. *Arqueología de la isla La Orchila*. Paper presented at the 15<sup>th</sup> International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology, Puerto Rico.
- Antczak, M. 1995. Insight on the Prehistoric Anthropomorphic Figurines of Los Roques Archipelago, Venezuela. Paper presented at the 16<sup>th</sup> International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology, July 24-28, 1995. Basse Terre, Guadeloupe.
- Antczak, M. 1999. *Between Theory and Data: 'Making Sense' of Prehistoric Figurines from Los Roques Archipelago, Venezuela*. Paper presented at the 18<sup>th</sup> International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology, St. George's, Grenada.
- Antczak, A. and M. Antczak 1991a. Distribution des établissements préhistoriques dans certaines îles du Vénézuéla. In *Civilisations Précolombiennes de la Caraïbe*, pp. 42-53. Presses Universitaires Créoles/L'Harmattan, Paris.
- Antczak, A. and M. Antczak 1991b. Análisis del sistema de los asentamientos prehistóricos en el Archipiélago de Los Roques. *Montalbán* 23:335-386. Universidad Andrés Bello, Venezuela.
- Antczak, A. and M. Antczak 1999a. La esfera de interacción Valencioide. In *El arte prehispánico de Venezuela*, edited by E. Wagner, L. Blanco and M. Arroyo. Galería de Arte Nacional. Caracas. In press.
- Antczak, A. and M. Antczak 1999b. 'Adding Flesh to Bones': Towards the Contextualisation of the Late Prehistoric Pottery Figurines from the Valencia Basin, Venezuela, in the Collection of the *Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin*. Manuscript on file, Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin.
- Antczak, M. and A. Antczak 1987. Algunas consideraciones sobre la identificación del material arqueológico de concha: El caso del *Strombus gigas* en el Archipiélago de Los Roques, Venezuela. *Boletín Asociación Venezolana de Arqueología* 4:28-37. Caracas.
- Antczak, M. and A. Antczak 1991. *Arqueología prehistórica del Archipiélago de Los Roques, Venezuela*. Proceedings of the 13<sup>th</sup> International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology, pp. 494-504. Curaçao 1989.
- Antczak, M. and A. Antczak 1993. Avances en arqueología de las islas venezolanas. In *Contribuciones a la arqueología regional de Venezuela*, edited by R. Gassón and F. Fernández, pp. 53-92. Fondo Editorial Acta Científica Venezolana, Caracas.
- Antolinez, G. 1940. El Arte Plástico Figurativo Mayoide de Barrancas. *Revista Nacional de Cultura* 20: 17-35, Caracas.
- Antolinez, G. 1941. Figuración del 'Otro Yo' en nuestro arte prehispánico. *Revista Nacional de Cultura*. Caracas.
- Anuario 1964. Restos humanos en la Urbanización Montalbán de La Vega. *Anuario del Instituto de Antropología e Historia 1*. Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas.

- Appeldoorn, R., S. and B. Rodríguez (editors) 1994. *Queen Conch Biology, Fisheries and Mariculture*. Fundación Científica Los Roques, Caracas.
- Arechabaleta, G. de, 1979. Cráneos deformados de La Pica. *Economía y Ciencias Sociales* 4: 29-56. Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas.
- Armand, J. 1976. Esqueletos de adulto e infante pertenecientes al siglo II D. C. descubiertos en Puerto Carayaca, Departamento Vargas, D. F. *Acta Científica Venezolana* 27 (Suplemento 1):6.
- Arnold, J. E. 1996. Social inequality, marginalization, and economic process. In *Foundations of Social Inequality*, edited by T. D. Price and G. M. Feinman, pp. 87-104. New York: Plenum Press.
- Arvelo, L. M. 1995. *The Evolution of Prehispanic Complex Social Systems in the Quibor Valley, North-western Venezuela*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh.
- Arvelo, L., M. and E. Wagner 1993. La Prehistoria y Etnohistoria de la Depresión del Yaracuy. In *Contribuciones a la Arqueología Regional de Venezuela*, edited by F. Fernández and R. Gassón, pp. 17-52. Caracas: Fondo Acta Científica Venezolana.
- Bahn, P. G. and J. Vertut 1988. *Images of the Ice Age*. Leicester: Windward.
- Bailey, D. W. 1991. *The Social Reality of Figurines from the Chalcolithic of North-eastern Bulgaria: the example of Ovcharovo*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Bailey, D. W. 1994. Reading Prehistoric Figurines as Individuals. *World Archaeology* 25(3).
- Bailey, D. W. 1995. The representation of gender: homology or propaganda. *Journal of European Archaeology* 2(2): 215-228.
- Bailey, D. W. 1996. The Interpretation of Figurines: the Emergence of Illusion and New Ways of Seeing. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6(2): 281-307.
- Barbour, W. T. D. 1976. *The Figurines and Figurine Chronology of Ancient Teotihuacan*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Rochester.
- Barrett, J. C. 1987. Contextual archaeology. *Antiquity* 62:473-4.
- Bartel, B. 1981. Cultural associations and mechanisms of change in anthropomorphic figurines during the Neolithic in the Eastern Mediterranean Basin. *World Archaeology* 13: 13-86.
- Barthes, R. 1967. *Elements of Semiology*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Beaudry, M. C., L. J. Cook and S. A. Mrozowski 1991. Artifacts as Active Voices: Material Culture as Social Discourse. In *The Archaeology of Inequality*, edited by R. H. McGuire and R. Paynter, pp. 150-191. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Bender, B. 1978. 'Gatherer-hunter to farmer.' *World Archaeology* 10: 203-222.
- Bennett, W. C. 1966. *Ancient Arts of the Andes*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art.
- Bennett, W. C. 1937. *Excavations at La Mata, Maracay, Venezuela*. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 36, part II. New York City.
- Benson, E. P. 1997. *Birds and Beasts of Ancient Latin America*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.
- Berger, P. 1967. *The Social Reality of Religion*. London: Faber and Faber.

- Berger, P. and T. Luckman 1991. *The Social Construction of Reality*. Reprinted by Penguin Books from the original edition in 1966. London.
- Berjounneau, G., E. Deletaille and J. L. Somery 1985. *Rediscovered Masterpieces of Mesoamerica: Mexico, Guatemala - Honduras*. Boulogne: Edition Arts 135.
- Berlo, J. C. 1985. *The art of pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica: an annotated bibliography*. Reference Publications in Art History/non-Western Arts. Boston, Mass.: G. K. Hall.
- Berrizbeitia, E., A. Antczak and M. Antczak 1991. *Amerindian Human Remains from Dos Mosquises Island, Los Roques Archipelago, Venezuela*. Manuscript on file, Department of Archaeology, Los Roques Scientific Foundation, Caracas.
- Berry, E. W. 1939. Geology and palaeontology of Lake Tacarigua, Venezuela. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 81(4):547-552.
- Biehl, P. F. 1994. *Studien zum Symbolgut der Kupferzeit und des Neolithikums in Südosteuropa*. PhD dissertation, Saarbrücken Universität. Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altermuskunde 64.
- Biehl, P. F. 1996. Symbolic Communication Systems: Symbols on Anthropomorphic Figurines on the Neolithic and Chalcolithic from South-Eastern Europe. *Journal of European Archaeology* 4: 153-176.
- Binford, L. R. 1982. Meaning, inference, and the material record. In *Ranking, Resource and Exchange: Aspects of the Archaeology of Early European Society*, edited by C. Renfrew and S. Shennan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bintliff, J. 1988. *Extracting Meaning from the Past*. Oxbow Books.
- Biord Castillo, H. 1995. Una Ponderación Etnohistórica de la Obra de Oviedo y Baños: Los Aborígenes de la Región Centro-Norte de Venezuela (1550-1600). Unpublished *Thesis de Maestría*, Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, caracas.
- Bishop, R. L., R. L. Rands and G. R. Holley 1982. Ceramic Compositional Analysis in Archaeological Perspective. In *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 5, edited by M. Schiffer, pp. 275-330. New York: Academic Press.
- Blanton, R. E. 1995. The Cultural Foundations of Inequality in Households. In *Foundations of Social Inequality*, edited by T. D. Price and G. M. Feinman, pp. 105-128. New York: Plenum Press.
- Bloch, M. 1995. Questions not to ask of Malagasy carvings. In *Interpreting Archaeology: Finding meaning in the past*, edited by I. Hodder, M. Shanks, A. Alexandri, V. Buchli, J. Carman, J. Last and G. Lucas, pp. 212-215. London and New York: Routledge.
- Bobrovsky, P. T. 1984. The History and Science of Gastropods in Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 49(1):77-93.
- Bolen, K. M. 1992. Prehistoric Construction of Mothering. In *Exploring Gender Through Archaeology*, edited by Ch. Claassen, pp. 49-62. Selected Papers from the 1991 Boone Conference, Monographs in World Archaeology 11. Madison, Wis.: Prehistory Press.
- Bolian, Ch. 1973. Seriation of the Darien Style Anthropomorphic Figure. In *Variation in Anthropology: essays in honor of John C. McGregor*, edited by D. W. Lathrap and J. Douglas. pp. 31-42. Urbana, Illinois: Illinois Archaeological Survey.
- Bond, G. C. and A. Gilliam 1994. *Social Construction of the Past: Representation as Power*. London and New York: Routledge.



- Boulton, A. 1978. *La cerámica en el arte prehispánico de Venezuela*. Milano.
- Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bradbury Platt, J., B. Leyden, M. Salgado-Laboriau, W. M. Lewis Jr., C. Schubert, M. W. Binford, D. G. Frey, D. R. Whitehead and F. H. Weibezahn 1981. Late Quaternary Environmental History of Lake Valencia, Venezuela. *Science* 214(4527):1299-1305.
- Bray, W. 1977. Maya Metalwork and its External Connections. In *Social Process in Maya Prehistory*, edited by N. Hammond, pp. 365-403. London: Academic Press.
- Bray, W. 1985. The Goldwork of Panama: An Iconographic and Chronological Perspective. In *The Art of Precolumbian Gold: The Jan Mitchell Collection*, edited by J. Jones, pp. 35-45. London: Wiedenfeld and Nicolson.
- Bray, W. 1988. Statues and Tombs of Southern Colombia. *The Quaternary Review of Archaeology*, pp. 13. Spring.
- Bray, W. 1999. *Gold, Stone and Ideology: Symbols of Power in the Tairona Tradition of Northern Colombia*. Paper presented at the Symposium Gold and Power in Ancient Costa Rica, Panama and Colombia. Dumbarton Oaks. Washington, 9-10 October 1999.
- Bray, W. and C. Dollery 1983. Coca Chewing and High-Altitude Stress: A Spurious Correlation. *Current Anthropology* 24(3): 269-282.
- Broman, V. L. 1958. *Jarmo Figurines*. Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Radcliffe College, Cambridge (MA).
- Brownell, W. N. 1977. Reproduction, laboratory culture and growth of *Strombus gigas*, *S. costatus* and *S. pugilis* in Los Roques, Venezuela. *Bulletin of Marine Science* 27: 668-680.
- Buitrago, J. 1982. Fitosinecología de Dos Mosquises Sur, Los Roques. *Boletín de la Sociedad Venezolana de Ciencias Naturales* 27(140): 313-340.
- Bunzel, R. L. 1972. *The Pueblo Potter: A Study of Creative Imagination in Primitive Art*. New York: Dover Publications (originally published in 1923).
- Bushnell, G. H. S. 1965. *Ancient Arts of the Americas*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Butt Colson, A. 1983-4. The spatial component in the political structure of the Carib speakers of the Guiana Highlands: Kapón and Pemón. *Antropológica* 59-62: 73-125.
- Camillo, F., R. Uribe, L. Centeno, I. Marcano, and E. Yanez 1995. *Caracterización de las cerámicas arqueológicas del Archipiélago de Los Roques*. Unpublished manuscript in the possession of the author.
- Carlson, R. L. 1976. Change and Continuity in Northwest Coast Art. In *Indian Art Traditions of the Northwest Coast*, edited by R. L. Carlson. Archaeology Press, Simon Frazer University, Burnaby B.C.
- Carr, Ch. And J. E. Neitzel (editors) 1995. *Style, Society and Person. Archaeological and Ethnological Perspectives*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Caulín, A. Fray 1966[1770]. *Historia de la Nueva Andalucía*. Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, vols. 81 and 82. Caracas.
- Chefs D'Oeuvre 1978. *Chefs D'Oeuvre Inconnus du Venezuela. Exhibition catalogue*, 17 Mai/17 Jullet. Musee de l'Homme, Palais de Chaillot.

- Chomsky, N. 1975. Syntactic Structures. *Janua Linguarum* 4. The Hague: Mouton.
- Civrieux, M. de, 1980. *Los Cumanagotos y sus vecinos*. In *Los Aborígenes de Venezuela*, vol. I, edited by A. Butt Colson, pp. 27-241. Fundación La Salle de Ciencias Naturales, Caracas.
- Claassen, Ch. 1994. Normative Thinking and Shell Bearing Sites. In *Archaeological Method and Theory*, vol. 3, edited by M. Schiffer, pp. 249-298. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Claassen, Ch. 1998. *Shells*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clarkson, P. B. 1998. Archaeological Imaginings: Contextualisation of Images. In *Reader in Archaeological Theory: Post-Processual and Cognitive Approaches*, edited by D. S. Whitley, pp. 119-133. London and New York: Routledge.
- Collier, J. F. 1988. *Marriage and Inequality in Classless Societies*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Collin, F. 1997. *Social Reality*. London: Routledge.
- Colmenares, G. 1990. *La Determinación de una Tradición Estilística: Estudios de la Cerámica Prehispánica de la isla Domusky Norte en el Archipiélago de Los Roques, Venezuela*. Unpublished *Tesis de grado*, Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas.
- Conkey, M. W. 1997. Beyond Art and Between the Caves: Thinking about Contexts in the Interpretative Process. In *Beyond Art: Pleistocene Image and Symbol*, edited by M. W. Conkey, O. Soffer, D. Stratman, and N. G. Jablonski, pp. 343-367. Proceedings of a Paul L. and Phyllis Wattis Foundation Endowment Symposium, Memoirs of the California Academy of Sciences Number 23. San Francisco, California.
- Conkey, M. W. and J. M. Gero 1991. Tensions, pluralities and engendering archaeology: an introduction to women and prehistory. In *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, edited by J. M. Gero and M. W. Conkey, pp. 3-30. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cooke, R. 1998. The Felidae in Pre-Columbian Panama: A thematic approach to their imagery and symbolism, pp. 77-121. In *Icons of power: Feline symbolism in the Americas*, edited by N. J. Saunders. London and New York: Routledge Publishers.
- Covarrubias, M. 1956. *Mexcala Ancient Mexican Sculpture*. New York: André Emmerich Gallery.
- Crawford, S. 1991. Iconography, sacred and secular: visions of the family. In *The Archaeology of Contextual Meanings*, edited by I. Hodder, pp. 20-31. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Criado, F. 1995. The visibility of the archaeological record and the interpretation of social reality. In *Interpreting Archaeology: Finding Meaning in the Past*, edited by I. Hodder, M. Shanks, A. Alexandri, V. Buchli, J. Carman, J. Last, and G. Lucas, pp. 194-204. London and New York: Routledge.
- Crumley, C. L. 1999. Sacred Landscapes: Constructed and Conceptualised. In *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspective*, edited by W. Ashmore and A. B. Knapp, pp. 269-276. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Cruxent, J. M. 1945a. Breve reconocimiento arqueológico en la zona de la Quebrada de Maletero (Edo. Aragua). *Acta Venezolana* 1(2):186-198.
- Cruxent, J. M. 1945b. Los cráneos tubulares-erectos de Venezuela. *Acta Venezolana* 2: 258-260. Caracas.

- Cruxent, J. M. 1946a. Descubrimiento del primer cráneo con deformación tabular-erecta en la zona del Tacarigua (Aragua-Venezuela). *Boletín de la Sociedad Venezolana de Ciencias Naturales* 10(69):335-61. Caracas.
- Cruxent, J. M. 1946b. Reconocimiento arqueológico en los alrededores de los Saltos de Tacagua, Distrito Federal, Venezuela. *Acta Venezolana* 1(4):393-408. Caracas.
- Cruxent, J. M. 1946c. Pipas arqueológicas en el Museo de Ciencias Naturales de Caracas. *Acta Venezolana* 1(3): 298-318. Caracas.
- Cruxent, J. M. 1948. Hallazgo de vasijas funerarias en el Río Vigirimita (Guacara, Estado Carabobo) *Acta Venezolana* 3(1-4):138-141. Caracas.
- Cruxent, J. M. 1949. Noticia preliminar sobre arqueología del Río Guapo, Estado Miranda. *Memorias de la Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle* 9(24):145-170. Caracas.
- Cruxent, J. M. 1952. Notes on Venezuelan Archaeology. In *Indian Tribes of Aboriginal America*, Selected papers of the 13<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Americanists, pp. 280-294. Chicago.
- Cruxent, J. M. 1958. Montículos artificiales en el área de Valencia. Problemas estratigráficos. Territorio oriental del Lago de Valencia. *Acta Científica Venezolana* 9(5):115.
- Cruxent, J. M., T. Blohm, O. E. Pérez and L. Rivas 1946. Breve reconocimiento arqueológico en Tocorón, Estado Aragua. *Memoria de la Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle* 46(1):23-41.
- Cruxent, J. M. and I. Rouse 1958. Arqueología Cronológica de Venezuela. Ediciones Unidad Prehispánica de la Asociación "Juan Llovera" Caracas: Ernesto Armitano Editor.
- Cruxent, J. M., M. G. Arroyo, and S. Pérez Soto de Atencio 1970. *Arte Prehispánico de Venezuela*. Caracas: Fundación Mendoza.
- Curtis, J. H., M. Brenner, and D. A. Hodell n.d. *Climate change in the Lake Valencia Basin, Venezuela, ~ 12,600 yr. BP to present*. Manuscript submitted to *The Holocene*.
- Cyphers, G. A. 1988. Thematic and Contextual Analyses of Chalcatzingo Figurines. *Mexicon* 10: 98-102.
- Damerow, P. 1996. *Abstraction and Representation. Essays on the Cultural Evolution of Thinking*. Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science 175. Dordrecht/Boston/London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Damp, J. E. and L. P. Vargas S. 1995. The Many Contexts of Early Valdivia Ceramics. In *The Emergence of Pottery: Technology and Innovation in Prehistoric Societies*, edited by W. K. Barnett and J. W. Hoopes, pp. 157-168. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- De Barandiarán, D. 1979. *Introducción a la Cosmovisión de los Indios Ye'kuana - Makiritare*. Caracas: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello.
- De Bellard, E. 1982. Fechados y autenticados los primeros cráneos Indígenas recolectados con certeza en el Valle de Caracas. *Boletín de la Sociedad Venezolana de Ciencias Naturales* 37(140): 57-58. Caracas.
- De Booy, Y. 1915. Pottery from certain caves in Santo Domingo, West Indies. *American Anthropologist* 17:69-97.
- De Lavalley, J. A. (editor) 1992. *Oro del Antiguo Peru*. Banco de Crédito del Peru en La Cultura. Lima.

- DeBoer, W. R. 1995. *Figuring Figurines: The Case of the Chachi (Ecuador)*. Paper presented at the LX Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology; Symposium 'Northwestern South America Archaeology'. Papers in Memory of Dr. Gerardo Reichel Dolmatoff. Minneapolis, Minnesota.
- DeBoer, W. R. and D. W. Lathrap 1979. The making and breaking of Shipibo-Conibo ceramics. In *Ethnoarchaeology: implications of ethnography for archaeology*, edited by C. Kramer, pp. 102-138. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Delgado Pang, H. 1992. *Pre-Columbian Art: Investigations and Insights*. University of Oklahoma Press.
- Delgado, L. 1985. Las figurinas femeninas de la Cuenca del Lago de Valencia. Notas para una indagación iconográfica. *Gens* 1(1):22-36. Caracas.
- Delgado, L. 1989. Las figurinas femeninas de las sociedades Prehispánicas de Venezuela. In *Seis Ensayos sobre Estética Prehispánica en Venezuela*, pp. 119-135. Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia: Estudios, Monografías y Ensayos. Caracas.
- Derevensky, J. Solaer 1997. Engendering children, engendering archaeology. In *Invisible People and Processes: Writing Gender and Childhood into European Archaeology*, edited by J. Moore and E. Scott, pp. 192-202. London and New York: Leicester University Press.
- Dockstader, F. J. 1964. *Indian Art in Middle America*. Greenwich: New York Graphic Society.
- Dockstader, F. J. 1967. *South American Indian Art*. London: Studio Vista.
- Dreyfus, S. 1983-4. Historical and political anthropological inter-connections: The multilingual Indigenous polity of the 'Carib' Islands and mainland coast from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. *Antropológica* 59-62:39-57.
- Drucker, P. 1952. *La Venta, Tabasco: A study of Olmec ceramic and art*. Bulletin 153. Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution.
- Drucker, P., R. F. Heizer and R. J. Squier 1959. *Excavations at La Venta, Tabasco, 1955*. Bulletin 170. Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution.
- Druckman, D., R. Rozelle and J. C. Baxter 1982. *Non-verbal communication: survey, theory and research*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Duff, W. 1976. The World is as Sharp as a Knife: Meaning in Northwest Coast Art. In *Indian Art Traditions of the Northwest Coast*, edited by R. L. Carlson, pp. 47-66. Archaeology Press, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B. C.
- Dumitrescu, V. 1932-33. La Plastique Anthropomorphe en argile de la Civilisation Eneolitique Balkano-Danubienne de Type Gulmenita. *IPEK*, pp. 49-72.
- Dupouy, W. 1943. Un cráneo con extraordinaria deformación artificial. *Acta Americana* 1(1): 264-265.
- Dupouy, W. 1947. Reconocimiento arqueológico en Las Minas de Los Teques, Estado Miranda, Venezuela. *Acta Venezolana* 2(1-4): 29-62. Caracas.
- Dupouy, W. and J. M. Cruxent 1946. Reconocimiento arqueológico de El Topo de Tacagua, Distrito Federal, Venezuela. *Memorias de la Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle* 1: 121-152. Caracas.

- Earle, T. K. 1996. Specialization and the Production of Wealth: Hawaiian Chiefdoms and the Inka Empire. In *Contemporary Archaeology in Theory*, edited by R. Preucel and I. Hodder, pp. 165-188. Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.
- Earle, T. K. 1989. Style and iconography as Legitimation in Complex Chiefdoms. In *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, edited by M. W. Conkey and Ch. A. Hastorf. Series New Directions in Archaeology, pp. 73-81. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Easby, E. Kennedy 1996. *Ancient Art of Latin America. From the Collection of Jay C. Leff*. New York: Brooklyn Museum.
- El Siglo 1997. En torno a la cultura de los Tacarigua. Noveles investigadores de la UCV consolidan disciplina científica. *El Siglo*, 5 May.
- Ernst, A. 1884. Archaeologische Gegenstände namentlich 2 Nephritische aus Venezuela. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 16:453-458. Berlin.
- Ernst, A. 1946. Del uso de la coca en los países septentrionales de la América Meridional. *Acta Venezolana* 1(3):1-13.
- Estrada, E. 1962. *Arqueología de Manabí Central*. Publicación del Museo Victor Emilio Estrada 7. Guayaquil.
- Evans, A. J. 1921-7. *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, 2 vols. London.
- Ewel, J. J., A. Madríz and J. A. Tosi, Jr. 1976. *Zonas de Vida de Venezuela. Memoria Explicativa sobre el Mapa Ecológico*. Ministerio de Agricultura y Cría. Caracas: Editorial Sucre.
- Falchetti, A. M. 1995. *El Oro del Gran Zenu. Metalurgia prehispánica en las llanuras del Caribe colombiano*. Banco de la República, Museo del Oro, Bogotá.
- Feldman, R. A. 1991. Preceramic Unbaked Clay Figurines from Aspero, Peru. In *The New World Figurine Project 1*, edited by T. Stocker, pp. 5-20. Provo, Utah: Research Press.
- Flannery, K. V. and J. Marcus 1996. Cognitive Archaeology. In *Contemporary Archaeology in Theory*, edited by R. W. Preucel and I. Hodder, pp. 350-363. Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.
- Flannery, K. V. 1976. Contextual Analysis of Ritual Paraphernalia from Formative Oaxaca. In *The Early Mesoamerican Village*, edited by K. V. Flannery, pp. 333-345. Academic Press.
- Fletcher, R. 1989. The message of material behaviour: a preliminary discussion of non-verbal meaning. In *The Meaning of things: material culture and symbolic expression*, edited by I. Hodder, pp. 33-40. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Flores, C. C. 1964. Contribución al conocimiento del género *Strombus* Linnaeus 1758 (Mollusca: Mesogastropoda) en las aguas costaneras de Venezuela. *Memoria de la Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle* 24(69): 261-276.
- Foucault, M. 1979. *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books (originally published in 1975 by Editions Gallimard).
- Ford, J. A. 1969. *A Comparison of Form Cultures in the Americas. Diffusion or the Psychic Unity of the Man*. City of Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Fulton, R. and S. W. Anderson 1992. The Amerindian 'Man-Woman': Gender, Liminality, and Cultural Continuity. *Current Anthropology* 33(5):603-610.

- Gadamer, H. 1975. *Truth and Method*. London: Sheed and Ward.
- García-Payón, J. 1966. Prehistoria de Mesoamérica. Excavaciones en Trapiche y Chalahuites, Veracruz, Mexico, 1942, 1951 y 1959. *Cuadernos de la Facultad de Filosofía, Letras y Ciencias, Universidad Veracruzana* 31, Jalapa.
- Gibbon, G. 1989. *Explanation in Archaeology*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Giddens, A. 1984. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gimbutas, M. 1974. *The Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe: 7000 to 3500 BC: Myths, Legends, and Cult Images*. London: Thames and Hudson, and Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gimbutas, M. 1982. *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe, 6500-3500bc: Myths and Cult Images*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Gimbutas, M. 1989. *The Language of the Goddess: Unearthing Hidden Symbols of Western Civilisation*. London: Thames and Hudson; San Francisco (CA): Harper & Row.
- Gimbutas, M. 1991. *The Civilization of the Goddess: the World of Old Europe*. San Francisco (CA): Harper Collins.
- Goldstein, M. 1974. Maya Joined Figurines. *Ethnos* 39(1-4):135-58.
- Goldstein, M. 1978. *Relationships between the figurines of Jaina and Palenque*. Third Palenque Round Table, part 2, edited by M. G. Robertson, pp. 91-98. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Goldstein, M. 1979. *Maya Figurines from Campeche, Mexico. Classification on the bases of clay chemistry, style and iconography*. Unpublished PhD thesis, New York: Columbia University.
- Gombrich, E. H. 1977. *Art and Illusion: A study on the psychology of pictorial representation*. London: Phaidon (5<sup>th</sup> edition).
- Gopher, A. and E. Orrelle 1996. An Alternative Interpretation for the Material Imagery of the Yarmukian, a Neolithic Culture of the Sixth Millennium BC in the Southern Levant. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6(2):255-79.
- Grant, A. 1991. Economic or symbolic? Animals and Ritual Behaviour. In *Sacred and Profane Proceedings of a Conference on Archaeology, Ritual and Religion*, edited by P. Garwood, D. Jennings, R. Skeates and J. Toms, pp. 109-113. Oxford.
- Grosscup, G. L. 1961. A sequence of figurines from West Mexico. *American Antiquity* 26: 360-406.
- Grove, D. C. and S. D. Gillespie 1991. Chalcatzingo's Portrait Figurines and the Cult of the Ruler. In *The New World Figurine Project*, vol. 1, edited by T. Stocker. Provo, Utah: Research Press.
- Guss, D. 1989. *To Weave and Sing: Art, Symbol and Narrative in the South American Rain Forest*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Haaland, G. and R. Haaland 1996. Levels of Meaning in Symbolic Objects. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6(2):281-307.
- Hall, E. T. 1959. *The presentation of self in everyday life*. New York: Doubleday.
- Hall, E. T. 1966. *The hidden dimension: Man's Use of Space in Public and Private*. London: Bodley Head.

- Hall, E. T. 1974. *Studies in anthropology of visual communication. Handbook of proxemic research.* Special publication. Washington: Society for the Anthropology of Visual Communication.
- Hall, S. (editor) 1997. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices.* London: SAGE Publications.
- Hamilton, N. 1966. The Personal is Political. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6(2):281-307.
- Hartmann, G. 1973. *Litjoko: Puppen der Karaja, Brasilien.* Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin.
- Haviser, J. B. 1991. *The First Bonairens.* Reports of the Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles, No 10, Curaçao.
- Hawkes, J. 1961. The Mother Goddess. *The Observer*, 24 September.
- Hayden, B. 1995. Pathways to Power: Principles for Creating Socioeconomic Inequalities. In *Foundations of Social Inequality*, edited by T. D. Prince and G. H. Feinman, pp. 15-86. New York and London: Plenum Press.
- Hill, J. 1977. Individual variability in ceramics and the study of prehistoric social organization. In *The Individual in Prehistory*, edited by J. Hill and J. Gunn. Academic Press.
- Hill, J. 1978. Individuals and their artifacts: an experimental study in archaeology. *American Antiquity* 43: 245-57.
- Hill, J. and J. Gunn (editors) 1977. *The Individual in Prehistory.* Academic Press.
- Hodder, I. 1982. *Symbols in action. Ethnoarchaeological studies of material culture.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodder, I. 1985. Postprocessual archaeology. In *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 8, edited by M. B. Schiffer, pp. 1-26. Orlando: Academic Press.
- Hodder, I. 1986. *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodder, I. 1987. The contextual analysis of symbolic meanings. In *The archaeology of contextual meanings*, edited by I. Hodder, pp. 1-10. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodder, I. 1989. *The Meaning of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression.* London: Unwin and Hyman.
- Hodder, I. 1990. *The Domestication of Europe.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Hodder, I. 1991. Interpretative archaeology and its role. *American Antiquity* 56(1):7-18.
- Hodder, I. 1992. *Theory and Practice in Archaeology.* London: Routledge.
- Hodder, I. 1999. *The Archaeological Process: An Introduction.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Hodder, I. and W. Preucel (editors) 1996. *Contemporary Archaeology in Theory.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Hutchinson, R. W. 1938. Cretan Neolithic Figurines. *IPEK* 12.
- Jahn, A. 1927. *Los Aborígenes del Occidente de Venezuela: Su Historia, Etnografía y Afinidades Lingüísticas.* Caracas: Litografía y Tipografía del Comercio.

- Jahn, A. 1932. Los cráneos deformados de los aborígenes de los Valles de Aragua. *Actas y Trabajos Científicos del XXV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* 1: 59-68.
- Jahn, A. 1940. Estudio sobre el Lago de Valencia. *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* 33(91). Caracas.
- Jam, P. 1958. Una estación arqueológica en el Valle de Caracas. *Antropológica* 30: 44-49.
- Jam, P. 1956. Reconocimiento arqueológico de las islas Krasky y Domusky Sur, Archipiélago de Los Roques. En *El Archipiélago de Los Roques y La Orchila*, edited by Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle, pp. 169-171. Caracas: Editorial Sucre.
- Joyce, R. A. 1993. Women's Work: Images of Production and Reproduction in Pre-Hispanic Southern Central America. *Current Anthropology* 34(3):255-274.
- Joyce, R. A. and Ch. Claassen 1997. Women in Ancient Americas: Archaeologists, Gender, and the Making of Prehistory. In *Woman in Prehistory*, edited by Ch. Claassen and R. Joyce, pp. 1-14.
- Kalicz, N. 1970. *Clay Gods: The Neolithic Period and Cooper Age in Hungary*. Budapest: Corvina.
- Katz, L. (editor) 1983. *Art of the Andes: Pre-Columbian Sculptured and Painted Ceramics from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections*. Washington D.C.: The Arthur M. Sackler Foundation.
- Keegan, W. F. 1982. A biological introduction to the prehistoric procurement of the *Strombus gigas*. *Florida Anthropologist* 35(2):76-88.
- Kelemen, P. 1969. *Medieval American Art. Masterpieces of the New World before Columbus*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Kempton, W. 1981. *The Folk Classification of Ceramics: A Study of Cognitive Prototypes*. New York: Academic Press.
- Kidder, A. 1944. *Archaeology of Northwestern Venezuela*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 26(1). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University.
- Kidder, A. 1963. The Archaeology of Venezuela. In *Handbook of South American Indian, vol. 4, The Circum-Caribbean Tribes*, edited by J. Steward, pp. 413-438. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc.
- Knapp, A. B. and L. Meskell 1997. Bodies of Evidence on Prehistoric Cyprus. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 7(2): 205-224.
- Kopytoff, I. 1986. The cultural biography of things: commodization as a process. In *The Social Life of Things*, edited by A. Appadurai, pp. 64-94. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Krutt, M. 1975. *Les figurines en terre cuite du Mexique occidental*. Université de Bruxelles.
- Kubler, G. 1967. *The iconography of the art of Teotihuacán*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Trustees for Harvard University.
- Lacan, J. 1973. *Le séminaire de Jacques Lacan*, Livre 11. Paris: Seuil.
- Lagrange de Castillo, H. 1979. Cráneos no deformados de La Pica. *Economía y Ciencias Sociales* 4: 8-29. Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas.
- Lapiner, A. 1967. *Ancient Peruvian Sculpture*. New York: Arts of the Four Quarters.



- Lapiner, A. 1976. *Pre-Columbian Art of South America*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc. Publications.
- Lathrap, D. W. 1962. *Yarinacocha: Stratigraphic Excavation in the Peruvian Montaña*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- Lathrap, D. W. 1983. Recent Shipibo-Conibo ceramics and their implications for archaeological interpretation. In *Structure and Cognition in Art*, edited by K. D. Washburn, pp. 25-39. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lathrap, D. W., D. Collier and H. Chandra 1975. *Ancient Ecuador: Culture, Clay and Creativity 3000-33 B.C.* Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.
- Laughlin, R. and E. Weil 1985. *Ecología, Cultivo y Repoblación del botuto Strombus gigas L. en el Parque Nacional Archipiélago de Los Roques*. Final report Proyecto S#1182 CONICIT, Part 1 and 2. Fundación Científica Los Roques, Caracas.
- Laughlin, R. and M. Hauschild 1985. *La pesquería del botuto, Strombus gigas Linné, en el Parque Nacional Archipiélago de Los Roques*, Informe Técnico 15, Fundación Científica Los Roques, Caracas.
- Lavalle, J. A. de and W. Lang (editors) 1978. *Arte Precolombino*. Museo de Antropología y Arqueología. Lima. Segunda Parte: Escultura y Diseño. Colección Arte y Tesoros del Perú. Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú.
- Layton, R. 1978. Art and visual communication. In *Art in Society: Studies in style, culture and aesthetics*, edited by M. Greenhalgh and V. Megaw. pp. 21-29. London: Duckworth.
- Layton, R. 1981. *The Anthropology of Art*. Paul Elek, Granada Publishing.
- Leach, E. R. 1976. *Culture and Communication*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leavis, F. R. 1975. *The living principle: 'English' as a discipline of thought*. London: Chatto & Windus.
- Lesure, R.G. 1997. Figurines and Social Identities in Early Sedentary Societies of Coastal Chiapas, Mexico, 1550-800 b.c. In *Women in Prehistory: North America and Mesoamerica*, edited by Ch. Claassen and R. Joyce, pp. 227- 248. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Levi Strauss, C. 1966. *The Savage Mind*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson.
- Levy Bruhl, L. 1926. *How Natives Think*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Leyden, B. W. 1985. Late Quaternary aridity and Holocene moisture fluctuations in the Lake Valencia Basin, Venezuela. *Ecology* 66: 1279-1295.
- Lilien, R. M. 1956. *A Study of Central Andean Ceramic Figurines*. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Columbia University.
- Lincoln, B. 1991. *Emerging from the Chrysalis: Rituals of Women's Initiation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Linné, S. 1937. Notes on the archaeology of Venezuela. *Ethnos* 2(1):21-32. Stockholm.
- Lleras-Pérez, R. 1999. *Prehispanic metallurgy and votive offerings in the Eastern Cordillera, Colombia*. Oxford: BAR International Series 778, Archaeopress.

- López de Gómara, F. 1979[1552]. *Historia General de las Indias*. Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho.
- MacDonald, W. K. 1990. Investigating Style: An Explanatory Analysis of Some Plains Burials. In *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, edited by M. Conkey and Ch. Hastorf, pp.52-59. Cambridge.
- MacNeish, R. S. 1954. An early archaeological site near Panuco, Veracruz. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 44 (5): 539-641. Philadelphia.
- Maquet, J. 1993. Objects as Instruments, Objects as Signs. In *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, edited by S. Lubar and W. D. Kingery, pp. 30-40. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution.
- Marcano, G. 1971[1889-1891]. *Etnografía Precolombina de Venezuela*. Instituto de Antropología e Historia, Universidad Central de Venezuela. Caracas (Translation from the original published in French between 1889-1991 in Paris).
- Marchelli, H., Pérez 1971. Bibliografía de Gaspar Marcano. In *Etnografía precolombina de Venezuela by Gaspar Marcano*, pp. 11-26. Instituto de Antropología e Historia, Universidad Central de Venezuela. Caracas.
- Marcus, J. 1983. Rethinking the Zapotec urn. In *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations*, edited by K. V. Flannery and J. Marcus, pp. 144-8. New York (NY): Academic Press.
- Marcus, J. 1993. *Men's and Women's Ritual in Formative Oaxaca*. Paper presented in the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium "Ritual, Social Organisation and Sacred Geography in Preclassic Mesoamerica," organized by D. Grove and R. Joyce.
- Marcus, J. 1996. The Importance of Context in Interpreting Figurines. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6(2): 285-291.
- Marcus, J. 1998. *Women's Ritual in Formative Oaxaca. Figurine Making Divination, Death and Ancestors*. Memoir 33, University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology Publications, Ann Arbor.
- Martín, C. A. 1995. *El Método del Análisis Lítico Para Establecer Modelos Tecnoeconómicos en Poblaciones Prehispánicas*. Unpublished Trabajo de ascenso, Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas.
- McEwan, C. and M. I. Silva, I. 1989. Que fueron a hacer los Incas en la costa central del Ecuador? In *Relaciones interculturales en el área ecuatorial del Pacífico durante la época precolombina*. Oxford: BAR International Series 503.
- Meehan, B. M. 1982. *Shell Bed to Shell Midden*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Meggers, B. J., C. Evans and E. Estrada 1965. *Early Formative Period of Coastal Ecuador: The Valdivia and Machalilla Phases*. Washington. D. C: Smithsonian Institution.
- Mehrabian, A. 1972. *Non-verbal communication*. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton.
- Meighan, C. W. 1949. *Ancient Pottery Figurines and Their Significance in the Study of Prehistory*. Unpublished PhD dissertation. University of California.
- Méndez-Arocha, A. 1963. *La pesca en Margarita*. Estación de Investigaciones Marinas de Margarita. Fundación La Salle de Ciencias Naturales.

- Mentore, G., P. 1983-1984. Wai-Wai labour relations in the production of cassava. In *Themes in political organisation: the Caribs and their neighbours*, edited by A. Butt Colson and H. D. Heinen, pp. 199-223. *Antropológica* 59-62. Caracas.
- Menzel, D. 1964. Style and time in the Middle Horizon. *Ñawpa Pacha* 2: 1-106. Berkeley: Institute of Andean Studies.
- Melas, E.M. 1989. Etics, emics and empathy in archaeological theory. In *The Meaning of things: material culture and symbolic expression*, edited by I. Hodder, pp. 137-155. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Meskell, L. 1999. *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Miller, D. 1985. *Artefacts as Categories: A study of ceramic variability in Central India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, D. 1987. *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*. Blackwell: Oxford.
- Miller, V. E. 1988 (editor). *The Role of Gender in Precolumbian Art and Architecture*. University Press of America.
- Mithen, S. 1998. *The Prehistory of the Mind: A Search for the Origins of Art, Religion and Science*. London: Phoenix.
- Montcourt de Kosan, C. E. 1983. Características craneológicas de los Indígenas precolombinos de Caño Rico, Estado Aragua, Venezuela. *Proceedings 9<sup>th</sup> International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology*, pp.399-407. Montréal.
- Moogk, S. 1991. The construction of "women" in the Nuu-chah-nulth girls puberty ceremony in 1910. In *The Archaeology of Gender, Proceedings of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Annual Chacmool Conference*, edited by D. Walde and N. D. Willows. Calgary: The University of Calgary.
- Moore H. L. 1986. *Space text and gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morales, P. E. 1984. *Playa Chuao; Un Sitio Arqueológico Costero del Estado Aragua*. Unpublished Tesis de grado, Escuela de Sociología y Antropología, Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas.
- Morgan, A. 1988. The Master of Mother of Fishes: An Interpretation of Nasca Pottery Figurines and their Symbols. Oxford: *BAR International Series* 421.
- Morgan, A. 1989. Change and cultural interaction in the Middle Horizon: the evidence of the pottery figurines. Oxford: *BAR International Series* 525.
- Morgan, A. 1995. *The Pre-Columbian Pottery Figurines on the Central Coast of Peru*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Institute of Archaeology. University College London.
- Morris, Ch. 1993. Hands Up for the Individual! The Role of Attribution Studies in Aegean Prehistory. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 3(1): 41-96.
- Morris, Ch. 1938. *International Encyclopedia of Unified Science*, vol.1, Nr 2. University of Chicago Press.
- Morris, Ch. 1946. *Signs, language and behavior*. New York: Prentice-Hall.

- Morton, J. 1983-1984. Women as values, signs and power: aspects of the politics of ritual among the Waiwai. In *Themes in political organisation: the Caribs and their neighbours*, edited by A. Butt Colson and H. D. Heinen, pp. 223-263. *Antropológica* 59-62. Caracas.
- Musell Color Charts 1994. *Munsell Color*. New York: Gretag Macbeth. U.S. Dept. Agriculture Handbook 18-Soil Survey Manual (revised edition).
- Murray, A. 1934. Female Fertility Figures. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 64: 93- 107.
- Nelson, M. S. 1997. *Gender in Archaeology: Analyzing Power and Prestige*. Walnut Creec, California: AltaMira Press, A Division of Sage Publications, Inc.
- Nieves de Galicia, F. 1979. Población prehispánica de la región de Cúpira; Sector oriental de la Ensenada de Higuerote (Venezuela). *Economía y Ciencias Sociales* 4: 89-98, Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas.
- Nieves de Galicia, F. 1983. Ocupaciones ceramistas de la Llanada Barloventeña; Consideraciones en torno a la investigación arqueológica de la costa centro-oriental de Venezuela. *Actas del Noveno Congreso de Arqueología de las Antillas Menores*, Universidad de Montreal, Montreal.
- Nieves de Galicia, F. 1992. *Cúpira; Su Pasado y su Presente*. Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas.
- Oliver, J. R. 1989. *The Archaeological, Linguistic and Ethnohistorical Evidence for the Expansion of Arawakan into Northwestern Venezuela and Northeastern Colombia*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- Oliver, J. R. 1997. Dabajuroid Archaeology, Settlements and House Structures: An Overview from Mainland Western Venezuela. In *The Archaeology of Aruba: The Tanki Flip Site*, edited by A. H. Versteeg and S. Rostain, Publications of the Archaeological Museum Aruba 8, pp. 363-429. Aruba.
- Oliver, J. R. 1998. *El centro ceremonial de Caguana, Puerto Rico. Simbolismo iconográfico, cosmovisión y el poderío caciquil Taíno de Boriquén*. Oxford: BAR International Series 727.
- Oramas, L. R. 1942. Prehistoria y arqueología de Venezuela; Construcciones y petrografías artísticas en una región de Venezuela. *Actas de la Primera Sesión del 27<sup>th</sup> Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* 1: 277-302.
- Oramas, L. R. 1946. La elevada cultura artística que existió en Venezuela a la llegada de los primeros Conquistadores. *Acta Americana* 4(1): 45-63.
- Ortega de Mancera, A. 1979. Evaluación odontométrica y morfológica de la dentición de los antiguos habitantes del Lago de Valencia. *Economía y Ciencias Sociales* 4: 56-89. Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela.
- Orton, C., P. Tyers and A. Vince 1993. *Pottery in Archaeology*. Cambridge Manuals in Archaeology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Osgood, C. and G. D. Howard 1943. *An Archaeological Survey of Venezuela*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology 27. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Osgood, C. 1943. *Excavations at Tocorón, Venezuela*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology 29. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Oviedo y Baños, J. de 1982[1723]. *Historia de la Conquista y Población de la Provincia de Venezuela*, 2 vols. Caracas: Ediciones Fundación CADAFE.

- Palmatary, H.C. 1939. *Tapajó pottery*. Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag. Göteborg: Series Etnologiska Studier 8.
- Panofsky, E. 1955. *Meaning in the Visual Arts*. Garden City: Doubleday (Anchor).
- Parsons, L. A. 1980. *Pre-Columbian Art*. The Morton D. May and the Saint Louis Art Museum Collections. New York.
- Pasztory, E. 1985. Rediscovered Masterpieces. In *Rediscovered Masterpieces of Mesoamerica; Mexico Guatemala-Honduras*, edited by Berjounneau, G., E. Deletaille and J. L. Somery. Boulogne: Edition Arts 135.
- Patrik, L. E. 1985. Is there an Archaeological Record? In *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, edited by M. B. Schiffer, pp.27-62. London: Academic Press.
- Pearce, S. M. 1999. Objects as meaning; or narrating the past. In *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, edited by S. M. Pearce, pp. 19-29. Leicester Readers in Museum Studies. London: Routledge. (Third edition).
- Peeters, L. 1968. *Origen y Evolución de la Cuenca del Lago de Valencia*, Venezuela. Valencia: Instituto para la Conservación del Lago de Valencia.
- Peñalver Gómez, H. (editor) 1965. *Boletín del Instituto de Antropología e Historia del Estado Aragua* 1. Maracay.
- Peñalver Gómez, H. (editor) 1967. *Boletín del Instituto de Antropología e Historia del Estado Aragua* 2. Maracay.
- Peñalver Gómez, H. (editor) n.d.b. *Boletín del Instituto de Antropología e Historia del Estado Carabobo* 2. Caracas: Imprenta Nacional.
- Peñalver Gómez, H. (editor) n.d.c. *Boletín del Instituto de Antropología e Historia del Estado Carabobo* 3-4. (These numbers of *Bulletin* resume the activities that have been carried out at the Institute between 1968 and 1971).
- Peñalver Gómez, H. 1971. Areas arqueológicas de la Cuenca del Lago de Valencia. In *Arte prehispánico de Venezuela*, edited by M. G. Arroyo C., J. M. Cruxent and S. Pérez Soto de Atencio, pp: 258-259. Caracas: Fundación Eugenio Mendoza.
- Peñalver Gómez, H. 1976. *El uso del tabaco y la presencia de pipas en las culturas precolombinas de la Cuenca el Lago de Valencia o Tacarigua, Venezuela*. Paper presented at the XLII International Congress of Americanists, Paris.
- Peñalver Gómez, H. 1981. *Adornos y Atavios: Protectores Genitales de los Pobladores Precolombinos que Habitaron la Cuenca del Lago de Valencia, Venezuela*. Maracay: Grafindustrial.
- Peñalver Gómez, H. n.d.a Cultura precolombina de la Cuenca del Lago de Valencia. In *La Ciencia en Venezuela* vol. 2. Valencia: Universidad de Carabobo.
- Perera, M. A. 1972. Sobre Tres Colecciones de Cerámica Funeraria Venezolana. Museo del Hombre, Paris. *Boletín Sociedad Venezolana de Espeleología* 3(3):217-222.
- Perera, M. A., and C. A. Martín 1982. Notas sobre la arqueología de dos abrigos rocosos en la Sierra de la Costa Central. *Boletín de la Sociedad Venezolana de Espeleología* 10(19): 137-141. Caracas.

- Peterson, F. A. 1963. *Some ceramics from Mirador, Chiapas, Mexico*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University and New World Archaeological Foundation.
- Petrie, Sir Flinders, 1920. *Prehistoric Egypt*. London.
- Petrie, Sir Flinders, 1939. *The Making of Egypt*. London.
- Pimentel, J. de 1964[1578]. Relación de Nuestra Señora de Caraballeda y Santiago de León. In *Relaciones Geográficas de Venezuela*, compiled by A. Arellano Moreno, pp. 11-140. Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, Serie Fuentes para la Historia Colonial de Venezuela 70, Caracas.
- Plog, S. 1990. Sociopolitical Implications of Southwestern Stylistic Variation. In *The Use of Style in Archaeology*, edited by M. Conkey and Ch. Hastorf, pp. 73-81. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Politis, G. G. 1998. Arqueología de la Infancia: Una Perspectiva Etnoarqueológica. *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 55(2): 5-19.
- Raymond Scott, J. 1995. From potsherds to pots: a first step in constructing cultural context for tropical forest archaeology. In *Archaeology in the Lowland American Tropics: Current Analytical methods and applications*, edited by P. W. Stahl, pp. 224-242. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Raymond Scott, J., W. R. DeBoer and P. G. Roe 1975. *Cumancaya: A Peruvian Ceramic Tradition*. Occasional Papers No 2. Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary.
- Reichel-Dolmatoff, G. 1961. Anthropomorphic Figurines from Colombia: their magic and art. In *Essays in Pre-Columbian art and archaeology*, edited by S. K. Lothrop and others, pp. 229-241. Cambridge: Harvard University.
- Reichel-Dolmatoff, G. and A. Reichel-Dolmatoff 1956. Momíl: Excavaciones en el Sinú. *Revista Colombiana de Antropología* 5: 237-330. Bogotá.
- Renaud de Beaujeu 1929. *La bel inconnu: roman d'aventures* (edited by G. P. Williams). Paris: H. Champion.
- Renfrew, C 1986. *The mental map as a theoretical entity*. Theoretical Archaeology Group Conference, London, 15-17 December. *Review of Archaeology*.
- Renfrew, C. (editor) 1996. Can We Interpret Figurines? Viewpoint. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6(2): 281-307.
- Renfrew, C. 1982. *Towards an archaeology of mind: an inaugural lecture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Requena, A. 1945a. Arqueopatología Venezolana: Adenopatías inguinales en cerámica arqueológica venezolana. *Revista Venezolana de Urología*, vol. 3, Nr. 3.
- Requena, A. 1945b. Evidencia de Tuberculosis en la América Pre-colombina. *Acta Venezolana* 1(2).
- Requena, A. 1946-1947. Figuración en alfarería antropomorfa precolombina venezolana de aparatos de deformación craneana artificial e intencional. *Acta Venezolana* 2(1-4):24-35.
- Requena, A. and J. M. Cruxent 1946. *Cifras antropométricas de cráneos deformados artificial e intencionalmente en Venezuela*. Paper presented at the IV Asamblea Panamericana de Geografía e Historia. Caracas.

- Requena, R. 1932. *Vestigios de la Atlantida*. Caracas: Tipografía Americana.
- Rice, P. C. 1981. Prehistoric Venuses: Symbols of Motherhood or Womanhood. *Journal of the Anthropological Research* 37(4):402-414.
- Rice, P. M. 1987. *Pottery Analysis: A sourcebook*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago press.
- Rivière, P. 1983-84. Aspects of Carib Political Economy. *Antropológica* 59-62: 349-359.
- Rodríguez, B. and J. Posada 1994. Revisión histórica de la pesquería del *botuto* o *guarura* (*Strombus gigas* L.) y el alcance de su programa de manejo en el Parque Nacional Archipiélago de Los Roques, Venezuela. In *Queen Conch Biology, Fisheries and Mariculture*, edited by R. S. Appeldoorn and B. Rodríguez, pp. 13-24. Fundación Científica Los Roques, Caracas.
- Roe, P. G. 1975. *Comparing Panoan Art Styles Through Componential Analysis*. Paper presented at the 47<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco.
- Roe, P. G. 1980. Art and Residence Among the Shipibo Indians of Peru: A Study in Microacculturation. *American Anthropologist* 82:42-71.
- Roe, P. G. 1982. *Ethnoaesthetics and Design Grammars: Shipibo Perceptions of Cognate Styles*. Paper presented at the 81<sup>st</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, D. C.
- Roe, P. G. 1987. Review of The Folk Classification of Pottery by Willet Kempton. *North American Archaeologist* 8:343-356.
- Roe, P. G. 1989. A Grammatical Analysis of Cedrosan Saladoid Vessel Form Categories and Surface Decoration: Aesthetic and Technical Styles in Early Antillean Ceramics. In *Early Ceramic Population Lifeways and Adaptive Strategies in the Caribbean*, edited by P. E. Siegel, pp. 267-382. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports (B.A.R.), International Series.
- Roe, P. G. 1995a. *Arts of the Amazon*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Roe, P. G. 1995b. Style, Society, Myth and Structure. In *Style, Society and Person: Archaeological and Ethnological Perspectives*, edited by Ch. Carr and J. E. Neitzel, pp. 27-71. New York and London: Plenum Press.
- Roosevelt, A. C. 1988. Interpreting Certain Female Images. In *The Role of Gender in Precolumbian Art and Architecture*, edited by V. Miller, pp. 1-34. University Press of America.
- Roth, W. 1915. *An inquiry into the animism and folklore of the Guiana Indians*. Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology.
- Rouse, I. and J. M. Cruxent 1963. *Venezuelan Archaeology*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Rowe, J. H. 1959. Archaeological Dating and Cultural Process. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 5(4):317-324.
- Rowe, J. H. 1961. Stratigraphy and Seriation. *American Antiquity* 26:324-330.
- Rowe, J. H. 1962. *Chavín Art: An Inquiry into its Form and Meaning*. New York: The Museum of Primitive Art.
- Rowe, J. H. 1967. Form and Meaning in Chavín Art. In *Peruvian Archaeology: Selected Readings*, edited by J. H. Rowe and D. Menzel, pp. 72-103. Palo Alto: Peek Publications.

- Ruíz Blanco, M. P., O. F. M. 1965[1690]. *Conversión de Píritu*. Biblioteca Nacional de la Historia, vol. 78, Caracas.
- Sánchez Montañez, E. 1981. Las Figurillas de Esmeraldas: Tipología y Función. *Memorias de la Misión Arqueológica Española en el Ecuador 7*. Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales.
- Sanoja, M. and I. Vargas Arenas 1974. *Antiguos Modos de Producción y Formación Económico Social Venezolanos*. Caracas: Monte Avila Editores.
- Sanoja, M. 1969. *La Fase Zancudo. Investigaciones Arqueológicas en el Lago de Maracaibo*. Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas y Sociales. Caracas: Universidad Central.
- Saunders, N. J. 1998 (editor). *Icons of power: Feline symbolism in the Americas*. Routledge Publishers.
- Schneider, D. M., 1976. Notes toward a Theory of Culture. In *Meaning in Anthropology*. A School of American Research Book. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Schubert, C. 1977. Evidencias de levantamiento reciente de la costa norte-central (Cordillera de La Costa), Venezuela. *Acta Científica Venezolana* 28(6): 363-372.
- Schubert, C. 1978. Evolución del Lago de Valencia. *Líneas* 254: 8-13.
- Schubert, C. 1980. Contribution to the Palaeolimnology of Lake Valencia, Venezuela: Seismic Stratigraphy. *Catena* 7: 275-292. Brunschweig.
- Scott, S. 1994. *Terracotta Figurines from Ancient Teotihuacan: Typology and Iconographic Themes*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Institute of Archaeology, University College London.
- Searle, J. R. 1995. *The Construction of Social Reality*. Allen Lane: The Penguin Press.
- Shanks, M. and Ch. Tilley 1987. *Social theory and archaeology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Shanks, M. and Ch. Tilley 1992. *Re-constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*. London and New York: Routledge. (second edition).
- Sharer R. J. and W. Ashmore 1993. *Archaeology: Discovering Our Past*. Mayfield Publishing Company, California.
- Shepard, A. O. 1956. *Ceramics for the archaeologist*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.
- Simmel, G. 1900. *Philosophie des Geldes*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot. (English edition: 1978, *The Philosophy of Money*. London: Routledge).
- Simpson, G. G. 1944. Los Indios Kamarakotos de la Gran Sabana. *Revista de Fomento* 3. Caracas.
- Smith, P. B. and M. Harris Bond 1998. *Social Psychology Across Cultures*. Hertfordshire: Prentice Hall Europe (second edition).
- Sperber, D. 1995. *Rethinking Symbolism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Reprinted from first published in English translation in 1975).
- Stahl, P. W. 1986. Hallucinatory imagery and the origin of early South American figurine art. *World Archaeology* 18(1):133-149.



- Stocker, T. (editor) 1991. *The New World Figurine Project*. Provo, Utah: Research Press.
- Stocker, T. 1983 *Clay figurines from Tula, Hidalgo, Mexico*. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation. University of Illinois.
- Stocker, T. and M. Spence 1973. Trilobal Eccentrics at Teotihuacan and Tula. *American Antiquity* 38:195-199.
- Suárez, Ma. M. and C. Bethencourt 1994. *La Pesca Artesanal en la costa de Venezuela*. Caracas: Fundación Bigott.
- Szabadics, Roka, M. 1997. *Arqueología de la Prehistoria de Venezuela*. Maracay: Ediciones de la Gobernación del Estado Aragua.
- Talalay, L. E. 1987. Rethinking the Function of Clay Figurine Legs from Neolithic Greece: An Argument by Analogy. *American Journal of Archaeology* 91: 161-169.
- Taube, K. 1988. *The Albers Collection of Pre-Columbian Art*. New York: Hudson Hills Press.
- The Oxford English Dictionary 1961. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, XII vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press (first published 1933).
- Tilley, Ch. 1993. Writing and Authorship. Arts of the Self. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 3(1):109-128.
- Tilley, Ch. 1989. Interpreting material culture. In *The Meaning of things: material culture and symbolic expression*, edited by I. Hodder, pp.185-201. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Tilley, Ch. (editor) 1990. *Reading Material Culture: Structuralism, Hermeneutics and Post-Structuralism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Tilley, Ch. 1991. *Material Culture and Text: The Art of Ambiguity*. London: Routledge.
- Tilley, Ch. 1999. *Metaphor and Material Culture*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Tolstoy, P. 1958. Surface survey of the northern Valley of Mexico: The Classic and Post-Classic periods. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 48, part I. *American Antiquity* 23(4): 397-418.
- Torres de Arauz, R. 1979. *La cultura Chocó*. Centro de Investigaciones Antropológicas. Universidad de Panamá.
- Troccoli, R. 1999. Women leaders in native North American Societies: Invisible women of power. In *Manifesting Power: Gender and the interpretation of power in archaeology*, edited by T. L. Sweely, pp. 49-62. London and New York: Routledge.
- Troiike, N. 1968. A Study of Some Stylistic Elements in The Codex Colombino-Becker. *Verhandlungen des XXXVIII Internationalen Amerikanisten Kongressess*, vol. 1, pp. 167-171. Stuttgart-München.
- Tylor, T. 1987. Flying stags: icons and power in Thracian art. In *The Archaeology of Contextual Meanings*, edited by I. Hodder, pp.117-132. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ucko, P. 1962. The Interpretation of Prehistoric Anthropomorphic Figurines. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropologic Institute* 92:38-54. London.
- Ucko, P. 1968. *Anthropomorphic Figurines*. Royal Anthropological Institute Occasional Paper 24. London: Andrew Szmidla.

- Vaillant, G. C. 1934. Excavations at Gualupita. *Anthropological Papers* 35(1): 1-135. New York: American Museum of Natural History.
- Vareschi, V. 1986. Cinco breves ensayos ecológicos acerca de la selva nublada de Rancho Grande Parque Nacional 'Henri Pittier'. El ambiente físico, ecología vegetal y anatomía vegetal. Fondo Editorial *Acta Científica Venezolana*: 171-187. Caracas.
- Vargas Arenas, I. 1990. *Arqueología, Ciencia y Sociedad*. Editorial Abre Brecha, Caracas.
- Vargas Arenas, I. and M. Sanoja 1999. Archaeology as a social science: Its expression in Latin America. In *Archaeology in Latin America*, edited by G. G. Politis and B. Alberti, pp. 59-75. London and New York: Routledge.
- Vellard, J. 1938. Contributions a l'archéologie des Andes Vénézuéliennes. *Journal Société des Américanistes de Paris* 30 (1): 115-128.
- Vila, M. A. 1968. *La Zona Geoeconómica de Valencia-Maracay*. Corporación Venezolana de Fomento, División de Geoeconomía. Caracas.
- von den Steinen, K. 1904. Ausgrabungen am Valenciasee. *Globus* 86(7): 101-108. Braunschweig.
- von Winning, H. 1968. Pre-Columbian Art of Mexico. *Masterkey* 35(4): 140-146. Los Angeles.
- Wagner, E. and C. Schubert 1972. Pre-Hispanic workshop of serpentinite artefacts, Venezuelan Andes, and possible raw material source. *Science* 175.
- Waselkov, G. A. 1987. Shellfish Gathering and Shell Midden Archaeology. In *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 10, edited by M. B. Schiffer, pp.93-210.
- Washburn, D. K. 1995. Style, Perception and Geometry. In *Style, Society and Person. Archaeological and Ethnological Perspectives*, edited by Ch. Carr and J. E. Neitzel, pp. 101-120. New York: Plenum Press.
- Weil, E. and R. Laughlin 1984. The biology, population dynamics and reproduction of the queen conch, *Strombus gigas* L., in the Archipiélago de Los Roques National Park. *Journal Shellfish Research* 4: 45-62.
- Weinberg, S. S. 1951. Neolithic Figurines and Aegean Interrelations. *American Journal of Archaeology* 55.
- Weiner, A. 1985. 'Alienable Wealth'. *American Ethnologist* 12(2): 210-27.
- Wiessner, P. 1983. Style and Social Information in Kalahari San Projectile Points. *American Antiquity* 48 (2): 253-276.
- Wiessner, P. 1988. Style and Changing Relations between the Individual and Society. In *Meaning of Things*, edited by Ian Hodder, pp.56-63. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Wiessner, P. 1990. Is there a unity to style? In *The uses of style in archaeology*, edited by M. Conkey and Ch. Hastorf, pp.105-112. New Directions in Archaeology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wetmore, A. 1935. Pre-columbian bird remains from Venezuela. *The Auk* 52(3): 328-9.
- Whitehouse, R. D. 1992. *Underground Religion: Cult and Culture in Prehistoric Italy*. Accordia Research Centre, University of London. London.

- Wilbert, J. 1987. *Tobacco and Shamanism in South America*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press,
- Willey, G. R. and J. A. Sabloff 1974. *A History of American Archaeology*. Serie: The World of Archaeology, edited by G. Daniel. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Williams, E. 1992. *Las Piedras Sagradas. Escultura Prehispánica del Occidente de México*. Zamora, Mich: El Colegio de Michoacán.
- Willis, R. (editor) 1990. *Signifying Animals*. London: Unwin-Hyman.
- Wright, R.P. 1993. Technological Styles: Transforming a Natural Material Into a Cultural Object. In *History From Things: Essays on Material Culture*, edited by S. Lubar and W. D. Kingery, pp. 242-269. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Xirau, R. 1973. *Arte Prehispánico. Colección Rufino Tamayo*. México, Ediciones Galería de Arte Misrachi.
- Yates, T. 1993. Frameworks for an Archaeology of the Body. In *Interpretative Archaeology*, edited by Ch. Tilley, pp. 31-73. Oxford: Berg.
- Zimmermann Holt, J. 1996. Beyond optimization: alternative ways of examining animal exploitation. *World Archaeology* 28(1):89-109.