

ANCIENT POTTERY OF THE MIDDLE CAUCA VALLEY, COLOMBIA

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The ancient remains of the central Cauca drainage, an area today formed by the departments of Caldas, Risaralda, Quindío, southern Antioquia and northern Valle, are commonly referred to as Quimbaya, after a small tribe which inhabited the area of Cartago at the time of the Spanish Conquest. There is little doubt that some of these antiquities must pertain to the historic Quimbaya and still less doubt that the majority of them do not. In 1966, as a doctoral thesis project at the University of California, Berkeley, I began a stylistic study of the Quimbaya ceramics in an attempt to define the several different cultural complexes which make up this heterogeneous group. This study was based only on already existing collections, both museum and private, and hence was made doubly difficult. First because there were few if any archeological associations preserved, the majority of pieces not even having sure provenience and second because any collection made for aesthetic reasons will be skewed in the direction of the more elaborate pieces. Although I was able to define five major styles (or complexes, a complex being the full range of vessel types in use at one time) I had very little information about distributions or interrelationship of these groups. In 1970 I led an archaeological survey project in the Depts. of Quindío and Valle. Over 60 sites were discovered and studied, and a number of tombs were excavated. This project confirmed the reality of the original stylistic groupings and amplified the range of ceramic types in the several complexes. Samples of organic material from the tombs were submitted for radiocarbon testing and, for the first time, absolute dates for the «Quimbaya culture» were obtained.

The following description of the ceramics of the middle Cauca regions is based both upon the earlier work done for my thesis and upon the work I did in 1969 and 1970. I would like to thank especially for their help Dr. John H. Rowe of the University of California, Berkeley, Dr. Francisco Marquez and Dr. Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, Dr. Luis Duque Gómez of the Instituto Colombiano de Cultura, Dr. Félix Henao Toro and Dr. Rafael Henao Toro of Manizales and Sr. Alejandro Arango and Dr. Euclides Jaramillo of Armenia. Their aid and suggestions in all of these projects is most gratefully acknowledged.

THE CERAMIC COMPLEXES

The archaeological ceramics of the Middle Cauca Valley fall into about eight groups on the basis of surface treatment and decoration. Archaeological evidence now enables us to compress this into four major ceramic complexes each representing the vessels made and in use within this area at one time. These complexes have different distributions in both time and space as far as is known. Two of them can be dated. Because all of the ceramics come from the group commonly called Quimbaya I have given the complexes different names based upon either their geographic distribution or decorative characteristics.

The Middle Cauca Complex.

Remains of the Middle Cauca complex are found in an area reaching from Buga in the south to somewhat north of Medellín and in such quantities as to suggest that this was the prevailing local style throughout this large area. There is little local variation in decoration or in shape. The one easily recognizable substyle (on the basis of decoration) is Bray and Moseley's Yotoco style which, despite its name, is found throughout the entire area. (Bray & Moseley, 1969-70). The most characteristic ware of this complex is a thin hard paste ceramic decorated in black resist over red and white slip. Both vessels and figurines are known in this style and there is a large variety of plastic decorated utilitarian pottery as well. The sites of the Middle Cauca culture (speaking only of Quindío and northern Valle) are large, often covering several hectares. There is no visible architecture, the sites consisting of a fairly thin scatter of broken pottery, ground and chipped stone tools, grinding implements and the like. The few known models of buildings (on effigy vessels) indicate that the houses were rectangular and had gabled thatched roofs. We cannot be sure if the sites consist of a single large house or of several smaller houses. Investigation of a number of sites in Quindío provided some evidence of both types of settlement and both are attested to in the documents from the time of the Spanish Conquest. All of the Middle Cauca sites investigated were located near running water and on fairly level ground. The sites do not seem to have been chosen for their defensibility, sites are located equally on ridge tops and on river terraces. The relative shallowness of the midden suggests that the villages were moved fairly frequently. Many of the village sites are associated with extensive ridged field systems.

This and the large number of grinding implements found in these sites suggests intensive agriculture based on maize, with perhaps, some secondary dependence on tuberous crops such as yuca (*Manihot esculenta* Krantz). The burial of the dead was in shaft and chamber tombs of varying depths and forms. The tombs are grouped together in cemeteries but it seems that the village and the cemetery were often coterminous.

There is no way of telling however, whether burials were made in the inhabited village or in an abandoned one. Sites of this period are so numerous (at least in

Quindío and Northern Valle) that it would be almost impossible to build anything in an area that was not at one time inhabited. From descriptions of these tombs in Arango (1923-24) and from other guaqueros it seems that multiple and retainer burial was common. The large tombs with multiple burials are the deepest (over 3-5 m. in depth) and are the ones which contain quantities of metal. As far as is known most burials were made with the body extended and the grave goods placed around the corpse. The chamber was then filled with clean earth. Only the largest and deepest tombs seem to have had an unfilled chamber.

There is good evidence that the People who made the Middle Cauca style pottery occupied much of the Cordillera Central and Middle Cauca Valley at one time in the past. There seem to be few local differences in the artifacts over this rather large area suggesting some sort of unified culture although, at the present time, there is no particular evidence of any political unity. Radiocarbon dates for the Middle Cauca ceramic indicate that they were quite late, falling around 1100 A.D. (see table I).

TABLE I: RADIOCARBON DATES PERTINENT TO THE MIDDLE CAUCA AND CALDAS COMPLEXES.

Middle Cauca

These dates are all from a single tomb in the municipio of Córdoba, Depto. de Quindío. The tomb is transitional between Middle Cauca and Caldas in terms of the ceramic decoration.

GaK-3323Charcoal from tomb C-LSi-I850-80 B.P.
 GaK-3324Charcoal from interior of a tioded cup same tomb.... 550-70

Caldas

GaK-3320Charcoal from lower fill of tomb T-LP-1 830-t90
 GaK-3322Charcoal from contents of a red cup and from
material seraped from exterior of a cooking pot,
same tomb900 - 120

All dates on Libby's half life of 5570 years, dates run by Gakushuin University Radiocarbon Laboratory in 1971.

THE CALDAS COMPLEX

Following the Middle Cauca Complex is a series of closely related styles which are broadly characterized by resist black painting on red slip. These styles date apparently a century or so later. The southern varieties of these ceramics are commonly called Sonso (Bray and Moseley, 1971) or Calima (in a very general sense), I am calling the northern styles Caldas since the most closely related variants occur in the area of what was formerly the department of Caldas. Both the Sonso and the Caldas complexes are clearly derived from the Middle Cauca complex both in terms of shapes and techniques, but there is much more diversity, especially in decorative motifs. There is also much more diversity in figurine forms ... the famous square «Quimbaya» figurines are associated with one subtype of the Caldas complex as are many types of painted hollow figurines.

Caldas sites (again in Quindío and northern Valle) are much rarer than those of the Middle Cauca culture. Usually they consist of a small number of Caldas sherds localized in one area of a Middle Cauca site. Both grave lots and the few absolute dates show that the two complexes are quite separate. Caldas cemeteries are again in villages but there is some indication that they are in old village sites. There is some mixture of tombs in a cemetery, but generally the majority of tombs will be either Caldas or Middle Cauca. Caldas tombs are also shaft and chamber tombs and, although the sites are small and many fewer in number than those of the Middle Cauca complex, many large rich burials have been reported. More common though seem to be smaller poor (in goods) burials. There is some indication that cremation or secondary burial gradually replaced inhumation during this period. Radiocarbon tests run on charcoal from a burial of this culture in Tebaida (Quindío) gave dates of 1200 ± 90 and 1050 ± 120 (GAK & GAK). Comparable material from Valle is dated approximately 12-1400 A.D.

Technical aspects of Middle Cauca and Caldas ceramics.

Technically speaking all of the ancient ceramics from this area are very similar although there are great differences in form and in style of decoration. Although an attempt was made to delineate further the ceramic groupings by color, paste and technique of construction none of these aspects show a distinctive clustering in a single group. Some groups of ceramics have a higher percentage of reduced or oxidized vessels than others, but all of the major ceramic groups contain all gradations between the two extremes.

The paste of Middle Cauca and Caldas ceramics is invariably tempered with sand. The types of sand used are the same for all subgroups. There is some evidence that specific types of sand might indicate specific localities but provenience information on the vast majority of vessels is too poor to permit much testing of this

sort of hypothesis. Types of sand temper observed were a white quartz sand, often mixed with brown and grey non-quartz particles, white quartz sand mixed with mica and/or obsidian, and a very micaceous sand which glitters slightly when there is a new break made in the paste. The only two types of temper which could be even provisionally associated with specific proveniences are the white quartz and black obsidian mixture which is most common in vessels from the area of Manizales (Caldas) and the very micaceous sand which occurs mainly in vessels said to be from the vicinity of Riosucio, also in Caldas. All of the sand used seems to be riverine in origin. The size of the sand particles used varies greatly. In most vessels specially slab constructed figurines, and certain large vessels of apparent domestic use have a very coarse temper which is almost a gravel. In a few vessels lumps of clay were observed in the paste as if these too were used for tempering material. This use of sherd temper is restricted to very large, carelessly made vessels which were apparently used for some domestic purpose.

The percentage of temper in paste is quite variable. Generally it seems to be quite heavy, approximately 15 to 20%. A few vessels, mainly belonging to the Applique-Incised group (a subdivision of the Caldas complex), have a much heavier temper, up to about 40%, and the paste is quite friable on this account. A very few pieces seem to have no temper at all. These are all spindle whorls and a type of miniature vessel which is related to the spindle whorls in decoration. The fineness and amount of temper seems to be more related to the size of the vessel than to any other variable such as ceramic complex or area of origin.

The color of the paste varies from dark red through the orange tones to tan and then to grey in a steady progression. All variations of color can be seen in any given ceramic group. The variation seems to be related to firing conditions since a single vessel will have areas of differently colored paste. Every complex has an occasional vessel with a very fine white or cream colored paste. This seems to be the same clay which is more commonly used (in the Middle Cauca complex and on some figurines of the Caldas complex) as a white slip. A very few vessels are totally reduced but, with the exception of a few vessels from an almost totally unknown style from the vicinity of Villa María and Manizales in Caldas, no vessel seems to have been intentionally smoked black.

Firing seems to have been done by the open pit or hearth method. One clue to the conditions of firing is the extreme variability of the color of the paste within a given ceramic complex. Control of oxygen was apparently not good since many vessels seem to have been unintentionally reduced and there is also a very high percentage of fire, eluded vessels. In fact the great majority of vessels, decorated or undecorated, have some degree of fire eluding. Many vessels also exhibit char marks where a piece of fuel fell upon them during the firing. Patterns of oxidation and reduction give some clues to «the method of stacking the vessels during firing. The interior of most anular bases is reduced suggesting that such vessels were

simply stood upright for firing. The location of other fire clouds and reduction marks suggests that open vessels were occasionally stacked (especially vessels which were destined for cooking or some other domestic purpose) and that larger vessels and jars were placed side by side, often touching slightly. The marks and reduction patterns are remarkably consistent throughout the various ceramic complexes and suggest that whatever cultural and stylistic changes were taking place, in terms of technology the pottery making tradition of this area was very stable. Firing seems to have been at relatively high temperatures and most of the thinner vessels «ring» when tapped. Only one type of pottery, Applique-Incised ware, shows an appreciable difference in temperature of firing ... the cooking and utility vessels of this group are much softer and more breakable than those of other complexes. In general, domestic vessels seem to have been fired at the same temperatures as the more finely decorated vessels. Temperature control during firing seems to have been quite good, even, if the oxygen control was not, since there is great uniformity of hardness within the various complexes. Presumably the fuel used was cane or wood since there were no large domestic animals to provide dung for fuel.

Construction techniques are again remarkably uniform over a large distance and through considerable periods of time. Well over 90% of all vessels of all complexes are coiled. The size of the coils used is quite variable, depending on the size, decoration, and presumably, ultimate use of the vessel being made. Often the coils appear to have been quite thin as if the coil were rolled and flattened before it was added to the vessel. Some of the smaller pieces appear to have been formed of very thin coils. When the coils were joined the vessels appear to have been thinned by scraping inside and out. Scrape marks are visible on many vessels, especially on the interior. This scraping was, even on the thinnest vessels, relatively superficial since most vessels show faint traces of the original coil construction. Slab construction was also quite important, especially as an auxiliary to coiling and in the construction of figurines. Many of the annular bases seem to have been formed from a single flattened coil or slab. The occasional rectangular or drum shaped vessels all seem to have been slab constructed. In general though the use of wide flattened coils seems to have been more common than the true slab method.

Pinch construction was not common and restricted mainly to the formation of heavy bases and perhaps to making the bottom section of open forms such as bowls and conical vases. A few small cups were formed entirely by pinching, but these are not at all common. The use of the pottery mould was apparently not known in this area. Some vessels show signs of having had their lower section formed by pressing a flat piece of clay into or over a finished vessel. This type of construction was especially common in the conical bodied forms of the Middle Cauca and Caldas complexes where a conical vase often seems to have been used as the base form for amphorae. Analogous to this rather obvious use of a base for supporting a large single piece of clay is the use of pieces of basketry as

supports for figurine bodies. Several broken figurines show that the body of the larger hollow figurines was formed around a tube of basketry, which burned out during firing. The use of moulds for decoration of any kind was apparently unknown or unused. All modeled decoration is done by hand upon a coiled base form. Stamps and cylinder seals are very common artifacts in both Middle Cauca and Caldas but these were not used for decorating ceramics. All impressed or incised decoration was likewise done by hand, using a stick or a piece of cane. Often the end of the implement seems to have been shaped to produce a specifically shaped indentation in the clay but no form of mechanical impression seems to have been used.

Finishing techniques include seraping, wiping, burnishing, polishing, and retouching of modeled features. All coiled vessels were seraped to obliterate the coil joins and then wiped, apparently (to judge from the marks) with a piece of cloth. In addition to the seraping and wiping most vessels were painted and burnished, even the cooking vessels having a small amount of decoration. Burnishing seems to have been done with a small stone or, perhaps, an animal tooth since the strokes are generally quite narrow. The burnishing strokes are usually quite visible and fairly regularly applied. There is no use of decorative pattern burnishing.

Most of the slip painted wares are polished on the decorated surface. The damp vessel was rubbed to a high gloss, probably with the same sort of tool used for burnishing. Generally only the decorated surface is polished. In open vessels with decorated exteriors usually the interior is simply slipped and given a low burnish. Polishing is found on the painted rims of some of the more elaborate utilitarian vessels too, although the rest of the vessel in this case is usually simply wiped. The polishing strokes were administered with a light hand and even the most highly polished vessels have a slightly lumpy surface showing where the coils join.

Slip painting in shades of red and orange and white is found throughout the Middle Cauca Valley. The exact shades of color vary, presumably with the source of the clay for slip, but in general painted vessels are given a coat of slip of a redder color than the paste. There was apparently little or no use of different red and oranges to give a multicolored effect save in one little known style from the area of Neira in Caldas. The only other painting technique in common use was that of negative or resist painting to give a black and red vessel without having to resort to double firing. Resist painting was the commonest form of decoration of the fine wares of both the Middle Cauca and Caldas complexes. This is a post firing technique in which the slip painted, polished and fired vessel is painted (on the areas which are to be black) with a plant resin. The portions of the vessel surface which are to remain the slip color are blanked out with, usually, clay slip. The vessel is then held over an open fire until the plant resin chars creating a black design which is somewhat permeated into the vessel body. The vessel is cooled

and brushed to remove the masking material and the result is a slightly shiny black on red design.

This black is quite permanent, surviving for hundreds of years under conditions which are not favorable. Even when it has been erased through time or chemical action there is usually a faint shiny cloud on the vessel surface showing where the resist design was used, Vessels with resist black decoration cannot however be fired again or the resist painting will burn out, leaving the plain slip once again.

MIDDLE CAUCA CERAMICS.

The ceramic complex which I have called Middle Cauca is one of the best known both archaeologically and in terms of art history. Originally identified on the basis of grave lots, as has been mentioned before, it is now validated by archaeological information from a number of sites in the Middle Cauca area.

The Middle Cauca complex consists of several sub-groups or ceramics divided into «wares» on the basis of surface treatment and decoration. These groups are Three Color Resist, Punctate Resist and Heavy White and Resist on Orange. These wares are the finely decorated ceramics of the complex. It has not been possible with the limited amount of associated material to separate the domestic pottery of Caldas and Middle Cauca.

Three Color Resist pottery is the most elaborate and best known of the group of archaeological ceramics popularly called «Quimbaya». The paste is usually oxidized, very thin and very hard. The color range is mainly in the orange tones, with a fair number of tan or tannish orange paste vessels. A very few specimens, usually larger pieces, have a grey core in the otherwise oxidized paste. However, most pieces have some fire eloudding. In this complex pieces that were badly fire eloudded or accidentally reduced enough to give the white slip more than a faint greyish tinge were not further decorated with negative painting but were used without further decoration. All of the plain red and white pieces seen have exactly the same arrangement of red and white slip as the resist painted vessels and most are marred by faulty firing.

The most common shape of vessel in the Middle Cauca complex is a footed cup. This is a vessel with a globular or hemispherical bowl and a low annular base. The bowl may have a narrow vertical or slightly flaring rim and many vessels have a pair of little modeled tabs, one on either side of the rim. Some examples also have a raised circular boss, formed of a piece of clay luted onto the vessel wall, on one side of the bowl. Most of these cups are rather small, the average range is from 7

to 9 cm. in height with the foot usually being about one quarter the total height. Some cups have a very narrow ring base made of a single coil of clay instead of the more common several coil annular base. There are a very few outside cups (10 to 25 cm. in height), these have a conical body and in terms of decoration, both painted and modeled, are closer to the cups of the Caldas complex.

Two other body shapes are known on footed CUDS, one a straight sided bowl with no inward curve at the top. The bowl is a bit deeper and usually these have the very narrow ring base but otherwise they are indistinguishable from the more common hemispherical bowled cups. The other form is very rare and consists of an oval bowl (and base). These have a face in applique on one or both exterior sides.

The faces are identical in style and construction to those more common laterally flattened face neck jars. These cups are usually a little larger than the others, about 12 cm. in height is average.

Bowls occur in a restricted number of shapes. The most common is a hemispherical bowl with a narrow flaring or vertical rim. These bowls are in form identical to the cup bowls but they have a flattened bottom and no ring base. Many are decorated with low applied band around the bowl just below its midpoint. This was formed of a single coil attached after the bowl had been formed and scraped. The size range of the bowls is restricted, most falling between 7 and 10 cm. in height and 12 to 18 cm. in diameter.

The other bowl shape is a slightly straighter sided version of the hemispherical bowl. This shape invariably has a heavy rolled rim. They are smaller and quite rare. Most bowls are decorated (painted and polished) on both exterior and interior surfaces.

More common (in total numbers) than bowls in Three Color Negative are conical vases. There is some variation in shape but all fall within the same size range, approximately 8 to 14 cm. in height. There seem to be few or no very large or small conical vases and no specific shape variety is associated with any more restricted size range. The most common of the conical vases is one which is truly conical but with a flat bottom. The rim is usually squared off slightly. This is the shape which is also commonest in the Caldas complex where it has more variation in size and shape. A variation on this form has a narrow outward flaring rim placed above the incurve at the top. The rim often extends slightly into the interior of the vase forming a slight ridge. These rimmed vases may have a raised circular boss such as are found more frequently on bowls.

The other most common variation of the conical vase has straight sided, outwards flaring walls without any curve at the top. The rim on these is usually squared off. The base of this type of conical vase is often quite broad and the flare of the wall is usually not pronounced. All conical vases may have a pair of tabs placed on the rim as on cups and may as well have the raised central band that is also seen on bowls. This is usually placed on the upper half of the vessels however. Another occasional modeled decoration is that of small vertical fillets attached to either side of the body.

The specific uses of these cups, bowls and vases are not known. All are found in midden associated with cooking vessels and various tools. Some ceremonial use for the conical vases is indicated by the existence of several examples which are attached to a modeled bench of the sort upon which figurines of the «cacique» type are shown seated.

The amphora is the most common type of jar in both Middle Cauca and Caldas. Like its Greek counterpart the Colombian amphora has a very elongated, conical body, a sharp break to the rounded shoulder, and a flaring neck. Amphorae may have either flattened or rounded bottoms. The body shape is much the same as that of the conical vase and some of the rare outside conical vases (found only in the Caldas complex) appear to be amphorae without the addition of the neck and shoulder. The amphora is the most popular jar form in the Middle Cauca complex and is much elaborated upon, both structurally and in the form of applied and modeled decoration. There are a great many variations in the bagie shape..many vessels, for example, have exaggeratedly flaring sides and a tiny base. Others are very tall and narrow. There is also a great deal of variation in neck form..although the relatively tall flaring neck of the illustrated example is the most common. Very tall straight necks, low flaring ones, bulbous necks with a little rim and composite silhouette necks of various forms are also common. Most amdhorae are quite large, the average size is between 20 and 30 cm. in height. There are a few under 20 cm. and a somewhat larger number over 35 cm. or so. Frequently small handles or other appendages are applied to the exterior surface of the vessel as supplementary decoration to the painting. The most common of these are small pierced tab handles or little squared tabs placed at the bodyshoulder join on either side of the amphora. These are sometimes modeled into the shape of frogs or lizards. An occasional vessel has two pairs of these handles, one pair on the shoulder joint, the other pair at mid-body or, as variant , the second pair may be placed on the neck. None of these handles seems to be funetional, since all are very small in relation to body size. Often the pierced handles have such small holes that only a rather fine thread could pass through. Other kinds of small adplied decoration such as fillets, bosses, or modeled adorns invariable frogs, lizards or monkeys) are also common. All of these decorations are located on the shoulder of the amphora. Another kind of fairly common decoration is a face neck. This type of

amphora has a bulbous neck upon which is applied a human face. The faces are all very similar and have tab ears, slit eyes with raised edges and a -simple slit for a mouth; often the mouth is absent. Usually these faces have a large modeled nose with a corkscrew type nose ornament. (These latter are, in gold or copper, common in the tombs of the Middle Cauca region.) The face neck amphorae, unlike other amphorae, often have large vertical handles in back which are large enough to be functional.

Another type of face neck jar is also relatively common in the Middle Cauca complex. This type has a carinated body and a wide flaring neck. The bottom is flat. The vessel has been flattened laterally to give the neck, and often the body as well, an oval profile. Often there is a flat strap handle placed inside the neck or a pair of horizontal strap handles along the keep on the side opposite the face or on either end. An occasional example has a raised basket handle issuing from the neck. The face (or faces, since many pieces have a face on either side) are formed of long slit eyes and mouth and a large nose, again often with a corkscrew ornament. There is some use of punctation and incision for further decoration and many have a necklace or collar modeled out of fillets and pellets of clay. These collars too are very similar to actual examples from tombs of the region, the real ones being made of stone, shell and metal beads. They often also wear «golf tee» ear plugs or multiple earrings in clay which are likewise similar of metal ornaments. In addition to these two common types of face neck jars there are a number of other uncommon types. These cannot be related to the major forms of the Middle Cauca complex but do resemble in their modeling some of the figurines from Middle Cauca burials so they may perhaps be considered as being local or temporal variants of the Middle Cauca style.

The Middle Cauca complex is unique in that, as a rare form, it has only stirrup bottles found in Colombia. Like the much more common and better known Peruvian stirrup bottles these combine a handle and a spout. Otherwise they form a group of vessels completely different from any other cultures, concept of the stirrup bottle. All of the known stirrup bottles are of the same basic shape. The body is conical with a sharp break between the shoulder and the body. The bottom is flat. Upon this basically amphora body a broad stirrup is placed. The spout is modeled in the form of a head, identical to those of the common figurine vases and the top opening, like the figurine vases, is an oval hole in the top of the head. An occasional stirrup bottle has small modeled arms applied to the stirrup (**Fig. 12**)

There are also as a rare form a few pot stands in the Middle Cauca complex. These are usually fairly tall (all examples are over 20 cm.) and flared at both ends. All are formed by coiling and one example was slipped and polished on both sides.

Alcarrazas and whistling bottles, seems to be quite common in the Middle Cauca complex. These are of both effigy and non-effigy forms. Most of the former are

usually classified as «Calima» in style but they are known to be as frequent in the «Quimbaya» area and, in fact, are known from as far north as Medellin. Both effigy and non-effigy forms are painted with the common Middle Cauca designs, variants on the Yotoco substyle being the most frequent. A fairly large percentage, especially of the modeled pieces, were apparently never painted with resist designs, but left plain red and white. Most non-effigy vessels are globular with a small, straight sided dome modeled on the top, out of the dome issue the spouts and handle. Plain globular pieces (without the dome on top) are also fairly common.

Effigy alcarrazas depict a number of different subjects: of these the most common are human heads, human figures, birds, frogs or toads, quadrupeds, and houses. All are in a peculiar style of modeling which is not at all similar to the modeling of the figurine vases but which bears a certain relationship to the modeling of the later fine line incised «Calima» pieces. This modeling is distinguished primarily by its roundness, figures have round heads, round bodies, and somewhat mammiform limbs. Usually features of clothing, pelts, and faces were painted in resist. All alcarrazas fall within a rather restricted size range, averaging about 15 cm. in height. Whistling jars are very similar to the alcarrazas both in modeling and in painted decoration. Most of these have two chambers with a hollow tube connecting the chambers.

The front chamber is usually in the form of a man or a bird, occasionally a toad, and the rear chamber in the form of a bottle with a somewhat globular body and a long tapering spout. A handle connects the two sections above the tube and the whistle tends to be in the heads of the front figure. Single chambered whistling bottles are much rarer and all known are effigies. The same figures are again depicted and, in fact, the effigy alcarrazas and whistling bottles are all so much alike that they could be the work of a single person. All whistling bottles seen were in perfect condition and there was no opportunity of examining the whistling mechanism. Whistling bottles are approximately the same size as the alcarrazas.

The most distinctive artifact of the Middle Cauca complex is the anthropomorphic vase: a vessel in the form of a seated (occasionally standing) male or female. These are all hollow with a hole in the top of the head. True figurines, that is without the opening in the head, are very rare. Anthropomorphic vases are the one class of Middle Cauca ceramics known to have been produced for purely funerary use. Out of nearly 60 Middle Cauca sites investigated by the author in Quindio and Valle only one yielded a fragment of a figurine. Since this site contained a looted cemetery there is some reason to think that the figurine fragment may well have come from a tomb. The one tomb excavated that the author has good information on (from having interviewed the guaqueros) contained approximately 12 anthropomorphic vases. These were lined up in two parallel rows facing each other, presumably flanking the body. The other funerary offerings, including about 30 pieces of Middle Cauca painted ceramics, were placed at either side of the tomb chamber behind the rows of anthropomorphic vases. These latter included

two figures seated on benches. The tomb, a cajón, or shaft tomb with rock fill and a rectangular chamber, was approximately 2.5 m. deep and had a chamber about 2 m. square. The tomb was located in the municipio of Buenavista in Quindío and the vessels, or many of them, were deposited in the Archaeological Museum in Armenia. Arango (1923-4) gives more general details of finding many of these figurines in various types of tombs throughout the Middle Cauca drainage and it is clear, from their abundance in museum and private collections, that they must have been quite common as funerary offerings.

The anthropomorphic vases show a rather wide variation in modeling, although not in what they depict. All are of nude males or females, seated cross legged or on a bench (males only) with the legs dangling. Occasionally one is represented as a standing figure, but this is relatively rare. The only clothing depicted is a modeled head band. The size is quite variable, although specimens of over 30 cm. in height are quite rare as are figures under 10 cm. These figures were coil or slab built, apparently commonly around a support of basketry. The head is a laterally flattened oval with the aforementioned headband being the only decoration. This seems to represent a cord tied around the head since on some examples the knot is shown. The eyes and mouth tend to be represented by slits with raised edges, occasionally these are of the coffee bean type. The nose is usually long, narrow, and realistically modeled and has either a clay nose ring or a hole where, presumably, a metal ring was once inserted.

Ears appear to be optional but when they exist are represented by tabs of clay with no earrings shown, sometimes the tabs are pierced, perhaps for metal earrings. The head and body are hollow. The limbs are usually formed of thin solid ropes of clay with the fingers and toes shown by simply incising lines in the end of the rope, flattening it somewhat. A common variant style has very short stubby legs which show a bit more modeling, but these are formed and attached the same way as the long ones. Usually arms are bent at the elbow with the hands placed on the legs. Body features, such as nipples and genitals, are shown with applied bits of clay. All figures, male or female, have prominent nipples. Male figures seem to be much more common than female figures. Guaqueros tend to knock the genitals off males because the statues are «immoral» but even with this there are more male than female statues. Other than the external genitalia there are no differences in depiction between male and female anthropomorphic vases. Only male figures, however, seem to be shown seated on benches. These benches are formed of coil and slab and are a flat section with four legs. These legs may be attached by a runner like arrangement. Occasionally a bench is shown with animal heads modeled on the ends. No animal figurines or anthropomorphic vases are known but there are some small, separate benches without a figure attached.

The painted decoration of Three Color Negative ceramics is purely geometric. All decoration consists of small black resist patterns placed on a ground of red and white slip. Most vessels are decorated on only one surface, the Yotoco bowls

being the main exception to this. The red and white slip ground is placed in a standard pattern which depends on the shape of the vessel. There is a certain amount of equivalence of shape and decoration in the choosing and orientation of design in Middle Cauca ceramics. For example, the conical shape of conical vases, amphora bodies, and the bodies of stirrup bottles is equated and the same designs in the same arrangements occur on these. Similarly the necks and the annular vases of different vessels is equated as are the hemispherical bodies of bowls, cups and, sometimes, amphora shoulders. On all of these equivalent, in the mind of the painter, shapes the placement of the red and white slips and the choice and arrangement of the negative motifs is the same.

However, in the Middle Cauca Complex a second range of choice, that of considering the several parts of the body of a vessel as a continuation of the other, is available and this too may influence the choice and placement of a series of patterns.

Footed bowls (**Fig. 1**) (**Fig. 2**) show a very standardized placement of slip and choice of resist patterns. Either the red or the white slip frequencies are about equal forms a wide band covering the rim and upper third or fourth of the vessel. This band may have two wide stripes of the same color placed perpendicular to it, dividing the vessel body into two design areas. The raised boss, if there be one, is invariably located within one of the vertical stripes. The rim band may have a continuous pattern painted on it or be divided into zones matching the lower ones. Many footed cups forego the zonal arrangement and simply have continuous pattern covering the entire cup (**Fig. 2**). Usually the inner rim on these vessels is painted black. The foot will either have a continuation of the body design or, if it is a narrow ring base, will also be painted solid black.

The resist painted motifs are numerous but usually consist of some arrangement of triangles with reserve dots. Triangles may be either equilateral or isosceles, large or small; generally a more or less balanced arrangement of these is placed in a single zone. The reserve dots within the triangles may take one of several arrangements. There may be several small dots fitted into the triangle or a single large one (common with small triangles) or the dots may be arranged into lines or rosettes. Occasionally a reserve circle, almost filling the triangle, is used instead of several dots. The dot arrangements seem to depend more on the size of the triangle than on another criterion, although on any given vessel there seems to be some attempt to repeat dot arrangements, that is to say, if one triangle has a rosette, several will and so on. These triangles are combined with wide stripes (often tapering towards the base of a vessel, forming a long trapezoid or an isosceles triangle), multiple narrow stripes and/or blocks of a negative lattice pattern (**Fig. 1**)

The triangles tend to be loosely fitted into one another to fill design zones while stripes, lattices and bands of solid black are used as band and pattern dividers. Most of these patterns are symmetrical although larger patterns formed of the

triangles on a design are not uncommon. Straight sided cups often have a pattern of parallel resist lines with reserve dots in the covering the entire body ... these lines are usually horizontal. Occasionally a footed cup will have an all over design of vertical solid and dotted stripes. Oval face cups have the same patterns in the same arrangements as other cups, although a separate design zone on their side contains the face. Usually the sides of the cup are striped and the face has dotted triangles on it; the arrangements of these are the same as on the faces of anthropomorphic vases and may represent face paint.

Hemispherical bowls may have one of two basic sets of decoration one is essentially painted the same as the footed cups. Often the upper and lower design areas are slipped different colors and the raised medial band emphasizes the division. The upper register will usually have one set of patterns, the lower register another, although the patterns may well be virtually identical. Very commonly the pattern continues over the entire vessel, including the base, either as a continuous pattern or as two design zones separated by a colored slip band (and resist stripes).

The other hemispherical (and straight sided) bowl pattern is the «Yotoco bowl» **(Fig. 3)** This is a specific pattern which is found mainly on bowls but does occasionally occur on globular jars and alcarrazas. Yotoco bowls are decorated on both the interior and exterior with a series of patterns consisting of alternating spiral with reserve dots bordering them and zigzag and reserve dot pattern in rectangular zones of black paint. Usually the interior is plain red and the exterior has the same arrangement of red and white slip as other bowls. Unlike other shapes the interior bottom has a specific circular area marked off and this usually contains three or four spirals or two spirals and two zigzags.

Conical vases usually have a narrow rim band, often a dotted stripe, circling the entire rim. Below this there is the common wide slip band with the two vertical bands descending from it to form two design areas, just as on cups and bowls **(Fig. 4)**

Many vases, again like cups and bowls, have a red top and side bands and a white body, although the reverse is by no means rare. An occasional vase or bowl will be all white too, usually with a red slipped interior. Otherwise interiors are simply self slipped and burnished. On many conical vases the two major design areas are further divided by heavy black stripes into four areas; these may then be divided horizontally by narrow multiple stripes and different designs will be placed in each of the resulting zones. Conical vases are usually very elaborately decorated. All of the decorative motifs of the Middle Cauca repertory, with the exception of the Yotoco spiral and zigzag patterns, are used on conical vases and, there are some patterns which are common on conical vases which are rarely or never found on any other shapes. One of these is the large reserve or resist circle. Other are broad dotted stripes arranged in L or half meander patterns or simply as broad dotted

rectangles. These motifs are combined with the more common dotted triangles to form patterns within design zones delineated by groups of stripes of varying widths. Patterns often, as with bowls, continue over the base. There seems to be more variability in the decoration of conical vases than there is with other shapes. This is both in numbers of designs used and their arrangement and in the basic color scheme. Black and white conical vases are more common than other shades with a two color arrangement. Moreover a significant number of conical vases are not decorated with resist patterns but were left red and white. With most other shapes this occurs mainly with badly fired pieces, but this is not the case with conical vases. There are two other variants of decoration which are restricted to conical vases: a very few specimens have modeled figures, usually lizards or monkeys on the interior of the vessel. This is almost nonexistent on other shapes. A number of other vases are attached to benches. The benches are red with red and black striped legs and are identical to the benches upon which cacique figures sit.

There are several common arrangements of slip on amphorae. The most common is a broad red stripe painted on either side of a white body from the neck to the base. A horizontal red stripe then encircles the body either just below the shoulder or halfway down the body. On some large amphorae there are two horizontal stripes, with the same placement. On most amphorae the neck is painted solid red inside and out. This may have black resist stripes or solid black paint applied over it on the exterior. The other standard slip arrangement is to paint the upper part of the amphora solid red or white and the lower body the contrasting color. Occasionally the neck and body will be red and the shoulder white. Amphorae with composite silhouette necks have the same slip arrangements save for more horizontal stripes around the various sections of the neck. There is a tendency to paint the several sections of the neck alternating colors. Occasionally the body of an amphora is divided into four design areas by four vertical red stripes. On many of these (as well as other amphorae) the lower body is painted solid black. Modeled adorns are quite common and tend to be located within the colored divider stripes, usually on the shoulder. The larger applique face adorns occupy a larger area and hence are located between the divider stripes.

The resist design are the same as on other shapes again excepting the spiral and zigzag. Because there is a greater surface area to be decorated several of the common design sets often occur on a single vessel. Usually each will be in its own design area separated from the others by arrangements of multiple stripes and lattice patterns. The larger surface area also permits the use of large single motifs. This is not common. These large motifs are usually very large triangles with reserve dots, large L shaped lines, again with reserve dots, or very large areas of lattice. Decoration rarely continues onto the small base.

Other jar forms show more variation in slip and pattern arrangement. This may be because, except for the amphorae, jars are neither particularly standardized (as to shape) nor are they very common. Some globular jars bear the Yotoco designs, placed on a wide white slip band around the widest part of the vessel. Some ovoid jars have all over designs, usually with the body and neck base colors being different. Face neck jars tend to have a red outer surface broken only by a large white rectangle on the face. Sometime there will be a second rectangle of white slip on the shoulder below the face or on the back. A variant is a wide white band around the upper body. **(Fig. 5)**

Often the lower portion of the face is painted solid black. The resist decoration on face neck jars covers the face and shoulder. Usually triangles and lattice work are used, the face being decorated like the faces of anthropomorphic vases. A large number of these face neck jars are plain red and white. There is also a very closely related group of large utilitarian face neck jars which are decorated with only a little red paint on the natural tan clay. These are virtually identical in shape and modeling to the painted ones, but are usually larger and less elaborately decorated. These face neck jars are rarely seen in museum collections but fragments of them are quite common in living sites and it seems that face neck jars and amphorae were likely utilitarian vessels, with only a small percentage receiving elaborate painted decoration.

Laterally flattened face neck jars exhibit some peculiarities in the placement of both slip and resist painting. These peculiarities seem to conform to the stylized representation of clothing or body painting and ornaments. Usually the upper and lower halves of the face are slipped different colors **(Fig. 6)**

This arrangement may be modified by placing contrasting squares under the eyes while leaving the rest of the face one color. The shoulder of the vessel usually has a rectangle of one color placed under the chin of the face, the rest of the shoulder being of the contrasting color. When there is a face on either side of the jar, as there is in about 50% of the sample, there is no particular tendency to make the faces contrast, usually they are identical save in small details: Often there are further rectangles of the contrasting color on the sides of the shoulder. The lower body of these jars is usually painted solid black over red slip, although I, very few have resist designs on this part too. The painted motifs on these vessels are rather simple. Faces tend to have alternating solid and dashed or dotted lines placed horizontally (the same arrangement is seen on some of the large anthropomorphic vases and on many figurines of the Caldas Complex). Occasionally there will be a triangle or two, usually near the eyes. The designs on the vessel shoulder are the common triangle and stride patterns with the same design being placed on either side of the «bib» of color under the chin. It is the modeled and applied decoration of these vessels that is elaborate and not the painting **(Fig. 6)**

The eyes and mouth, as mentioned, are usually simple horizontal slits. Often the eyes are elaborated by painting around them, either a broad band of black or the aforementioned triangles. The nose is large and has a carefully modeled nariguera,

usually of the torsal type. The ears, of which there is a single pair, regardless of the number of faces, are tabs or scalloped fillets.

These too show in clay the complete range of the common metal ear ornaments of this area: «golf tees», flat disks, ear spools, and multiple rings set at the edge of the ear, Occasionally the ear tabs are simply pierced, presumably for the attachment of metal ornaments. The bib under the chin is supposed to represent the necklace. Sometimes this is painted with resist lines, but more often it is modeled and the different parts of the neck lace are painted in different colors, both with slip and with resist. The necklaces shown all take the form of a rectangular bib of beads hanging from a narrow neck land. The beads are usually tubular with round cap pieces. Often the necklaces have punctate decoration all over them. The necklaces shown have close analogies to artifacts found in this area and are the more valuable since none of the necklaces has been excavated scientifically and it is only from the jars that we can tell what the original ornaments looked like. **(Fig. 7) (Fig. 8) (Fig. 9)**

Stirrup bottles seem to have their own arrangement of painted decoration. The body is usually divided by broad black horizontal stripes. The red areas in-between these bands then have a resist pattern painted on them. The top may be either red or white, often with a contrasting slita stripe running across it, and through the stirrup. The toy) too has the common triangle motifs painted on it in resist. In most examples known (this is a very rare shapa) the stirrup is white with a red stripe running up the side. The stirrup is painted horizontal black lines and diamonds with reserve dots, also oriented horizontally. The head is modeled and painted exactly as the heads of anthropomorphic vases.

The two potstands known from this complex are atypical in their decoration. One is plain red and white with a red interior. The other has the same arrangement as the slip on the Heavy White and Resist on Orange potstands and the same sorts of dashed line and crossed line patterns that are typical of that ware but not of the Middle Cauca vessels.

Alcarrazas and whistling bottles, having the same general forms, effigy or not, are decorated much alike. Non-effigy vessels tend to have a horizontal disposition of motifs: the center of the vessel usually has a wide band of white slip around it and on this are painted the Yotoco spiral motifs. Triangle and stripe patterns are much less common. The center band on both Yotoco and non-Yotoco painted vessels is flanked by multiple narrow black stripes and, usually, the top and bottom are painted solid black over the red slip. The only real difference in the decoration of many Middle Cauca and Caldas alcarrazas, in fact, is the addition of white slip and the shape (in cross section) of the handle which in Middle Cauca is crescent shaped.

The main emphasis in Middle Cauca alcarrazas and whistling bottles is on modeled rather than painted decoration and modeled pieces are much more common than simple painted ones. All alcarrazas do share a few features of spouts and handles. The spouts are usually painted solid black with the tips left red. The handle is likewise painted black over the red slip but may have large reserve dots left on it. Handle and spouts are always the same color: if the handle is left red, the spouts will be to and there will be no further decoration on them.

Effigy alcarrazas tend to have a rather standardized disposition of painted decoration on the. Human figures usually have a white headdress, the most common sort represented being a sort of pith helmet. The face is either red or white, usually the chest and the fronts of the legs are white. The resist decoration on these vessels for some reason seems to be much less well preserved than on other vessel forms but one can generally make out the traces of the resist decoration. The patterns are usually triangles with reserve dots, multiple horizontal stripes (especially on the faces of head shaped vessels) and a design which is very common on alcarrazas and whistling bottles, a sort of checkerboard pattern in which the black squares have a large reserve dot in the center (**Fig. 13**) (**Fig. 14**)

Animal form bottles and alcarrazas have approximately the same disposition of red and white slip as human figures. The face (the area under the bill on birds), the chest and occasionally the underbody and the fronts of the legs are white, the rest red. The chest is usually painted with the same designs as human figures: checkerboards and long dotted rectangles being the most common. The facial features are usually touched up with restraint on the low modeling although the black paint may loosely imitate facial markings of the animal rather than being simply arranged in stripes and triangles (**Fig. 13**)

The red part of the body, if it is painted further at all, tends to have one of two patterns. Either it is painted with elaborate spiral and stripe design, clearly derived from the Yotoco patterns (although somewhat modified because of body shape) or, more commonly, the back will be painted black with large reserve dots all over it. The bottle portion of double bodied whistling jars usually has the large dot pattern too. Other effigy forms: houses, fruits, and some rather enigmatic shapes, are so few in number and usually the paint is so badly preserved that it is impossible to see any regularities in either the slip or the resist painting. Once again it should be emphasized that although these relatively uncommon vessels are almost invariably classed as «Calima» in general and art works they are decorated with the common Middle Cauca designs and are found throughout the entire Middle Cauca cultural area. Indeed, they seem to be more common in the more northerly part, in Caldas and southern Antioquia. Therefore the attribution as Calima should be abandoned as a faulty guess.

Anthropomorphic vases occur in two basic styles, with several variations of pose or redrepresentation of the limbs. A fair number of anthropomorphic vases are red and white without resist painting. These, however, in their form and style are certainly part of the Middle Cauca Complex. However, there are non resist painted solid red figurines and anthropomorphic vases associated with the Caldas Complex as well. Those which have archaeological associations (very few, alas) can be shown to be quite different in style from the common Middle Cauca types but it can be assumed that there is some overlap in style and time (this can be demonstrated archaeologically for the other ceramics) and that the transitional period is representad, although not now identifiable, in anthropomorphic vases as well.

The most commen sort of anthropomorphic vases is the kind which has a hollow body with an oval head and solid arms and legs. The legs, if long, are usually crossed , the figure being representad as sitting. A few of these vases have short legs or just feet, the latter being tabs attached to the lower end of the body **(Fig. 10)**

The arms are shown extended with the hands in the lap or resting on the thighs (the elbows being slightly bent) or bent sharply with the hands resting palm down on the upper chest. A few anthropomorphic vases are represented as seated on a bench with the legs dangling down and the feet resting on the ground or on the lower cross bar of the bench. These «cacique» vases are all male **(Fig. 11)**

As mentioned above most of the anthropomorphic vases are male. The externas genitals are always modeled, but are small in size and never further decorated with painted designs. Only one figure (a cacique) was observed to be shown with an erection..usually the genitals are very inconspicuos **(Fig. 11)**

The body and face of the vases is not much modeled and all representation of features is done with applique. All of the figures have the same headdress: an applique band about the forehead, either joined in back or shown with the ends hanging down the back of the head. The only variant to this headdress is that some figures have a chin strap too. Not all figures have a headband. There is no depietion of hair or other features of the head in either modelling or painting.

Usually the body and head of anthropomorphic vases is painted red with rectangular or triangular white areas on the face and chest. Resist black paint is often applied solidly over the limbs and head (with the exception of the face). Alternatively limbs may be painted with horizontal black stripes. Other resist painting is more or less confined to the white areas(although it may spill over onto adjacent areas of the body and limbs. The designs used are quite limited and usually consist of a combination of large and small triangles arranged in a bilaterally symmetrical pattern on the face and chest. These triangles usually have

reserve dots. The back may be decorated with the same design as the front or with a slightly different design of the same general type (usually only if the back has analogous areas of white slip). Sometimes a solid black triangle is painted under the nose. This is usually found on figures which do not have a modeled nose ornament and may represent a nariguera. There is some limited use of stripe patterns but most decoration on the head and body is of triangles. The Yotoco patterns are not used on anthropomorphic vases. Figures with short solid feet show more variety in the placement of the red and white slip although the resist designs and the orientation of these designs is much the same as on the more common long limbed vessels. **(Fig. 10)** Many of the short limbed figures are female.

Anthropomorphic vases with a rectangular body and a head shaped like a triangle, half circle or long oval form a second stylistic group. In modeling and decoration they show closer relationships to some rather strange vessels of the Caldas Complex and it is possible that they come from a transitional phase. They do not seem to come from any specific region and so cannot be considered (at least on the basis of present information) as a regional substyle. The arms on these vessels are thick coils bent at the elbow and with incised hands placed on the chest. There are often pierced tabs on the shoulders. The feet (which are usually broken off) seem to have been solid cone shapes projecting at right angles from the lower corners of the body. A second variant shows the figure standing with heavy hollow legs and feet. The arms are the same on all. The eyes and mouth are shown the same as on the other anthropomorphic vases although small slit features are fairly common. The nose is generally very large and runs from the opening in the top of the head to the center of the face. It may or may not have a modeled nose ornament. In place of a fillet, around the head most of these figures have a chin strap, modeled in clay, running below the mouth from ear to ear. They may also have a fillet. Often the top half of these vases is painted white and the bottom half red. Other have the same arrangement of slip as the more common style of anthropomorphic vases. Resist painted motifs show more variation than on the more common style and stripes and chekerboards are quite common. Another combination of motifs standard on this type of anthropomorphic vase is the use of several designs placed in horizontal bands around the body. The sex of these figures is usually not indicated.

As mentioned above, many anthropomorphic vases are red and white or red only. These include many of the types described above but also a fair number that are slightly different. Many of these have a triangular head and a cylindrical body. These then have very long coil arms and legs, the latter wrapped around the body above the base. Many of these vases are female. Another very common type has short heavy legs bent at the knee as if the figure were squatting. These figures may be either male or female and two grave groups are known which contain a pair: a man and a woman. Figures of this sort often have both a headband and a chin strap. The slip on all of these is applied in the same pattern as on the resist

painted anthropomorphic vases. There are also a number of vases which have an amphora body with the upper body and head of an anthropomorphic vase.

These composite shapes occur in both red and white and with resist painting. Some have only the head of the figure with the opening in the top of the head. The heads are always modeled like those on the more ordinary anthropomorphic vases.

Resist on Red with Punctate Decoration

A distinct sub group, both in form and in decoration, is formed by a series of vessels which have white filled punctation in addition to slip and resist painting. The slip is always red, but the white fill gives a three color effect. These vessels are known to be associated with the Middle Cauca Complex both from tomb groups and from refuse. Sherds of punctate decorated vessels are especially common in living refuse, more common than they are in tombs. This leads one to consider that they were probably more popular for daily than for funerary use. In the midden deposits they are often found with a thicker, un painted pottery which has only the punctation. This pottery is not found in tombs and no whole vessels are known, although it is clearly a more humble version of the red, resist and punctate decorated pottery.

The paste of this ware is usually well oxidized and the temper is commonly white quartz or white quartz with a high mica content. The vessel walls are usually thicker than on the corresponding three color resist decorated vessels of the Middle Cauca Complex. Fire clouding and partial reduction are common.

The shape categories seem to be much the same as in the three color resist ware, but there are distinct differences in the relative frequencies of the shapes. Also most vessels are quite small, no oversize or even fairly large vessels with this type of decoration are known. The bowls and amphorae are especially small and all shapes fall at the smaller end of the range of size variation of Middle Cauca Complex vessels in general. There do not, however, seem to be any genuinely miniature vessels with this type of decoration.

The footed cup is again the commonest shape. Usually these have a very low ring base and vertical to slightly incurving walls (**Fig. 15**) The body often has applied strips of clay on either side. These tend to be horizontally fluted. Rim tabs are not common. The cups may be relatively shallow or quite deep. The decoration is the same regardless of the depth of the bowl. There are a few cups with a more rounded bowl but these are definitely in the minority and tend to be plain red with a simple row or punctation around the rim. Oval face cups are much more common than they are in three color resist ware.

Round bottomed hemispherical bowls are another common shape. These generally have one to two pairs of pierced tab handles on the rim and on the vessel wall. The top tabs may be formed by an extension of the vessel wall with a hole pierced in it. Small ollas of the same rounded shape and with the same handle arrangement are also common (**Fig. 16**)

There are very few conical vases in this ware. These usually have straight sides and a wide base. They are not elaborately decorated. Amphorae, on the other hand, are most common. These tend to be small, 15 to 25 cm. in height is the maximum known range. The neck shape is quite variable, and flaring, bulbous, and face necks are equally common. Some amphorae have small, pierced tabs on the shoulder join and at midbody. Although smaller these amphorae do show the same range of neck and body shape and handle placement as the larger three color resist ones. There are a few laterally flattened face neck jars as well. These are indistinguishable from the three color resist ones. Most have a flat handle inside the neck. Other jar forms are uncommon although the tall ovoid amphora does occur as a rare shape. No other vessel forms are known in this ware.

The decoration on this group of vessels is clearly related to that of Three Color Resist in that it is linear and geometric. The individual motifs and their layout is somewhat different, however. The basic element in all designs is the use of white filled punctation placed over black resist. This is used both as a linear and as a filling device. The punctations seem to have been made with a piece of cane or grass. The impression left is a small circle or half circle. The punctations on a given vessel are usually either circular or half circular; the two are rarely combined.

The orientation of the designs is usually in one or more broad horizontal bands. These are often cut into two design zones by painted or applique dividers. The design zone then is usually internally divided into two or four more areas with the internal disposition of the painted and punctate motifs. The base on footed cups is always solid black.

The types of designs are the same on all vessels. They vary greatly in their elaboration, but the most simple and the most complex are found on all shapes. The simplest decorative motif is a band of punctation one or more rows wide. These bands may be arranged in simple horizontal stripes or the stripes may be connected by vertical bands at one or more places between the stripes. The next variant on this is to have several rows of unconnected stripes and then a band connected to the next by vertical stripes. The more elaborate patterns take the form of triangles and triangles within triangles placed in the boxes made by the

connected stripes. Semi-interlace pattern (guilloches) and diamond shapes may also be placed within the rectangular design zones. Usually part of the triangles or diamonds will be solidly filled with the white filled punctation on black, the rest will be plain red. A single large punctation may be placed in the open area of a triangle. Many designs have a little incision along with the painting and punctation. The disposition of slip and resist is the same: all are painted red all over, then the designs are marked out with resist and white fill.

Amphorae and deep vessels often have decoration over the entire surface. Often on amphorae the designs are vertically oriented. Interlace patterns are more commonly vertical than triangle or diamond ones. Bowls may have decoration on the bottom too although the more common bowl form is basically a cup without a foot and is only decorated on the sides. There are few modeled vessels in this ware and they are generally like those in Three Color Resist save for the decoration. Face neck amphorae, for example, are different only in the decoration and in that they tend to have a rather small oval opening in the top of the head, rather like that of an anthropomorphic vase. True anthropomorphic vases are not known in this ware. This too is consistent with its apparent major use as a popular domestic ware.

Heavy White Slip and Resist on Orange Ware

This group of vessels is very different from the preceding two groups and has not been found in refuse deposits. The shapes are very limited and it may have been a regional speciality ware. The only pieces with provenience are from Caldas. There are no known grave groups and this ware must be considered a part of the Middle Cauca Complex only on a provisional basis.

The Heavy White Slip and Resist on Orange ware represents a very singular type of a three color effect. The slip which distinguishes this ware is of a matte cream color and is applied very thickly so that the white areas are raised above the vessel wall. Resist black is used mainly to outline the white slip and is never painted over it. Many pieces have no resist black, but there is no difference in shapes or designs between those with and those without the black painting.

The paste is a very bright, usually light, orange and highly oxidized. There are a very few pieces with a tannish paste. The majority of the vessels have a white sand temper, a few have white sand and obsidian mixed, none have a micaceous quartz temper. The slip used to cover the body is the same as the paste, a very bright orange.

Occasionally the slip is darker than the paste, but usually vessels are self slipped. The orange slip is semi matte and is burnished. It never has a high polish. The white slip was applied after the orange was burnished since burnishing strikes

never touch or cross the white lines. Many pieces are slipped only on the exterior and the interior is simply lightly burnished with the individual strokes of the stone or tooth clearly visible.

The shape in which this ware occurs are very very limited. Variations on the footed cup are the most common and these include forms never found in other wares. There are very few bowls or amphorae and a sizeable number of pot stands. Pot stands, as mentioned above, are rare in other wares. Those of Heavy White and Resist on Orange differ in their proportions from the others as well as in their decoration.

The footed cup occurs most commonly in a variant which has a shallow hemispherical bowl on a narrow annular base which is quite high: usually half or more of the total height of the vessel. The base is either conical or very narrow with a flaring foot. **(Fig. 17) (Fig. 18)** Another footed cup has the same bowl shape but a low annular base which is itself hemispherical. There are a number of very large cups (usually called *compoteras* to distinguish them from the smaller examples). The *compoteras* of this ware (they exist in Three Color Resist but are very rare and of the same shape as the footed cups) usually have a bowl with straight, outwards flaring sides and a flattish bottom. The annular base is in the shape of a truncated cone. A sizeable percentage of the footed cups and *compoteras* have a diamond shaded bowl. The base on these is tall and narrow with a flaring bottom or is also diamond shaped with a narrow stem and a broad base. At least one example is known in which the bottom of the base is closed and contains rattling pellets. The diamond shaped cups and *compoteras* are usually decorated on the interior as well as on the exterior.

There are a few bowls in this ware. Some have a very low ring base. The body shape duplicates that of the cups but the proportions of the bowl and base are very different. Very rarely hemispherical bowls and large basins occur. One amphora is known.

The only other shape known is the pot stand **(Fig. 19)** Pot stands are made in an hour glass shape with flaring open ends. They usually are about 20 cm. in height. The formation of pot stands seems to have been careless, since most are uneven and a few are markedly lopsided. Only the exterior surface is slipped and decorated.

There is a characteristic group of designs and design arrangements which are characteristic only of this ware. These designs are unlike those of the other resist painted wares and, with the exception of the one amphora known, there is not much overlap in designs or shapes. Linear designs, not solid areas of pattern, are typical of Heavy White and Resist on Orange ware. The most common motifs are

cross hatched areas, lines which are ticked, broad and narrow stripes, and floating bars ending in a triangle. The hallmark design of this ware is the ladder stripe: two narrow parallel lines connected at irregular intervals by groups of two or three vertical lines. Another motif unique to Heavy White and Resist on Orange is a sort of basket weave design executed in bands flanked by groups of parallel stripes.

The arrangement of these motifs is likewise unusual. The annular bases tend to be embellished with parallel bands of decoration, often in a wide band around the foot and several narrower bands higher up the base. Alternatively the ornamentation may be distributed more or less evenly over the entire base. Pot stands, which offer much the same sort of ground for decoration as the annular bases, tend to have decoration over the entire exterior, usually oriented in a series of horizontal bands. Again the wider, more elaborate bands tend to occur at either end or in the center. There are also occasionally vertical bands of discontinuous ornament in between the horizontal bands.

The bowl portions of footed cups, bowls, compoteras, etc. often have their decoration arranged in two semicircular design areas set off by stripes of heavy white slip or white slip flanked by resist. Within these semicircular areas the patterns are arranged in a symmetrical manner. The same idea of a semicircular design area is occasionally repeated on the lower flaring portion of an annular base of a pot stand. Vessels with hemispherical bodies and compoteras with straight sides have the decoration arranged simply in horizontal bands encircling the body. The resist black painting is used mainly as a solid filler between areas of white cross hatching or as stripes flanking the white stripe designs.

As can be seen from the descriptions and the illustrations, this ware is very distinct in paste, color, shapes and decorative motifs. That the shapes are so limited may indicate that it was a special purpose ware. It is uncommon enough that it was almost certainly produced for only a short time and very likely only in a small area. Only archaeological investigation will show whether this is so. Currently there is no information of any kind concerning this very strange ware.

THE CALDAS COMPLEX

The Caldas Complex was originally defined as a separate group on the basis of internal stylistic relationships and upon Duque Gómez's 1941 excavations in Armenia, Quindío. In these excavations he uncovered a tomb with Caldas ceramics alone. Subsequently other grave lots which also contained only Caldas pottery came to light. In 1970 I excavated a Caldas tomb in La Tebaida, Quindío. Caldas sites, as mentioned above, are neither as numerous nor as large as sites of the Middle Cauca Complex. Rather they are found as small, usually localized,

scatters of Caldas material in the area of a larger Middle Cauca site. There is some evidence that the Caldas Complex is later than the Middle Cauca one. This is based on excavations, radiocarbon determinations, and stylistic analysis.

Caldas pottery is a two color resist style, basically red and black. White slip seems to have been known, but was used only occasionally on one style of figurines. There is a great deal of local variation in Caldas Complex pottery and a number of regional and perhaps temporal substyles can already be recognized. One of these which I am calling «Classic Caldas» seems to be localized in the Department of Quindío. That is, the largest number of pieces with known provenience come from that area and from adjacent Risaralda and Caldas. However, in all of this area there are sites with different styles of two color resist decoration and the relationship of these other wares with Classic Caldas is not known. All of the styles or substyles of the Caldas Complex are clearly either closely related and, until more archaeological fieldwork is done in the Cordillera Central they may be provisionally recognized as a single major group with a large number of subgroups.

Caldas pottery is, generally speaking, the best made of the ancient ceramics of this area. The fine ware pieces (the utilitarian pottery of Caldas cannot be separated from that of Middle Cauca with any certainty) has a very highly fired thin paste which is usually well oxidized throughout the vessel fabric. The paste color is usually a light bright orange, with some few pieces tending towards a tan or tannish orange paste color. A very few pieces are reduced enough to have a grey paste and the reduction is usually only partial and localized as with the Middle Cauca Complex ceramics. Fire clouding and char marks are just as common as in other complexes. The tempering agent is again sand. The only observation that can be made is that Caldas vessels seldom have obsidian bits in the temper, suggesting that there was no center of manufacture around Manizales. As mentioned above the main area of occurrence is in the old department of Caldas, now Quindío, Risaralda and Caldas. In northern Caldas and Antioquia the Classic Caldas group is replaced by a substyle which is associated with Applique-Incised ware while to the south in Valle the contemporary style is the Sonso or Calima style.

The Caldas Complex shares many features with the Middle Cauca Complex. Differences are not in shapes, but in varieties within a specific shape category and in the color and arrangement of motifs of painted decoration. Caldas also has some designs which are peculiar to it alone.

The most common shape in the Caldas Complex is again the footed cup (**Fig. 20**) (**Fig. 21**) This appears in a number of variants and in several different sizes. The Classic Caldas type has a conical body with an incurving to D and a slightly squared off rim. These vessels average about 10 cm. in height and the foot is seldom more than one quarter of the entire vessel height. The foot and body are

treated as separate design areas and only the exterior is slipped, polished and painted.

The other common form of cup is more or less identical in shape with the cups of the Middle Cauca Complex, having a hemispherical bowl. These also often have a narrow upright or flaring rim. These cups are somewhat smaller, averaging 7 to 8 cm. in height. The base is again about one quarter the total height. Like Middle Cauca vessels these cups often have a raised circular boss on one side of the bowl.

There are a number of rarer shapes of footed cups which tend to occur with different types of decoration on them and which may well be part of one or another as yet undefined substyle. These include very large (16 to 25 cm. in height) cups. These usually have Classic Caldas decoration. There are also what might better be called footed bowls, vessels with a more spherical body which curves in enough at the top to form a semi closed vessel. Footed bowls are about 12 to 15 cm. in height and often have modeled adorns on the upper body.

The rim form is usually narrow and upright. There are a few compoteras in the Caldas Complex. These usually have a body shaped like those of the Heavy White and Resist on Orange ware. The base, conical in shape, is more than one half the total height. The decoration is usually in one of the variant Caldas styles, not Classic Caldas.

Other footed forms include rattle footed cups (usually unpainted or slipped red), cups with carinated bowls, cups with very deep ovoid bodies, with square bodies, with vertical sided bodies and so on. Most of these shapes occur also with only variant decoration on them, but on the basis of present data no specific substyles can be identified.

Bowls are not as common in the Caldas Complex as they are in the Middle Cauca Complex. The most common shape is again a hemispherical bowl with a slightly incurved top and a flattened rim (**Fig. 22**) More rarely this shape has a narrow vertical rim like that seen on some footed cups. These bowls tend to have raised circular bossed or a small modeled adorno on the exterior body, although the raised median line is not seen. The bottom may or may not be slightly flattened, and decoration usually covers the entire exterior surface,

A second, rarer, type is apparently related to the Yotoco bowl, having the same slightly rounded vertical sides, flat bottom and rolled rim as on one common shape

of the Yotoco bowl. This bowl is slipped, polished, and resist painted inside and out in Yotoco designs in black on red.

There are a number of other, rarer bowl forms including flaring bowls, carinated bowls, and very shallow oval or hemispherical bowls. All of the bowls fall into about the same size range (except for the very shallow ones which might better be called plates), averaging about 7 to 9 cm. in height and 16 to 19 cm. in diameter. There are a few oversized bowls, all of the hemispherical shape, these have a height of up to 5 cm.

Conical vases are again fairly common, especially in the Classic Caldas subgroup. These have the same shape as the conical bodied cup, without the ring or annular base. Usually the bottom is small and flat. The average height is between 7 to 10 cm. with an occasional oversized specimen.

The most common jar form in the Caldas Complex is the amphora, but there is much less variation in neck and body form than in Middle Cauca. Usually Caldas amphorae have a conical body, rounded shoulder and a narrow flaring neck with an outwards sloping flattened rim. The majority of amphorae are quite large, from 20 to 30 cm. in height. There are a few smaller ones, all averaging about 12 cm. in height and a very few larger (over 50 cm.) examples. Amphorae often have a modeled adorno on the shoulder or a simple applique face on either side of the shoulder. The modeled decoration is neither so common nor so varied as in Middle Cauca, but is of the same sort. Most adorns are shaped like lizards or monkeys. Pierce tab handles are fairly common, usually occurring in double pairs, one pair at the shoulder join and one pair at mid-body. Again, these do not appear to have been particularly functional.

Aside from the amphorae there is a proliferation of jar forms in Caldas Complex. These jars are both large and small, but most are smaller than the amphorae. A common form has a bulbous neck on a globular or carinated body. Both body shapes generally have pierced tab handles, a pair on the shoulder and a pair at mid-body. Tall ovoid jars (25 to 30 cm. in height) are also quite common.

These usually have a very narrow flaring neck and some sort of handle. Many varieties of handles occur on all of these jars: pierced squarish or modeled lugs are the most common, followed by tab handles and vertical streap handles.

(Fig. 23) (Fig. 24)

Face neck jars **(Fig. 25)** are quite common. These usually have one of the common ovoid or carinated shapes. Laterally flattened face neck jars are especially common and are indistinguishable from those of Middle Cauca save in

that they have no white slip. The other common face neck form has an unflattened body and a face of the same style as the anthropomorphic vases. Most face neck jars fall into the 250 to 25 cm high size range.

There are a very few modeled jars. These are rare and tend to have rather unusual resist decoration on them. The commonest is of four spherical chambers or of rows of modeled fruits or breasts. Very occasionally a jar will be modeled into the form of a human being. The associations of these modeled jars are not known.

Bottles are occasionally seen in the Caldas complex. These have a long narrow neck and a carinated or bulbous body. Many have a handle connecting the top of the neck and the body and some have human faces or figurines applied to one side. These are in the style of the Caldas Complex figurines. All bottles are small, under 10 cm. in height.

A single potstand is known from the Caldas Complex. It is unique in shape, color, and decoration and its provenience is not known. It has been illustrated in numerous publications as typical of «Quimbaya» pottery.

Alcarrazas are fairly common in the Caldas Complex. Most are non-effigy and are globular or tetrapod (perhaps a stylized fruit shape). Most alcarrazas have a raised dome on top. This is often also found on Middle Cauca alcarrazas. On one example this dome is modeled into a house. Other effigy forms include animal and human figures. These are different in modeling that those of Middle Cauca and are very rare. Most are unusual in modeling and decoration and their assignment to the Caldas Complex can be only provisional. All alcarrazas are fairly small, averaging about 16-2 in total height. There are no whistling bottles known.

The major expression of Caldas effigy work is in anthropomorphic jars and they are invariably of human beings without any animal or supernatural (as far as can be told) attributes. Both males and females are represented, although, as in the Middle Cauca Complex, male figures are more common. This is rather interesting in view of the fact that Arango often mentions finding anthropomorphic vases and figurines in the tombs he opened and he usually says that there were more female than male figures. However, as the only difference between the sexes is the genitals and these are often not represented or hidden by the legs, he may well have been mistaken. Anthropomorphic vases in the Caldas Complex are almost identical to those of Middle Cauca. There is more variation in shape and in the formation and arrangement of the limbs, but these differences are minor in view of the similarities. The major difference seems to be that cacique figures, that is figures seated on a bench, are apparently lacking in the Caldas Complex and that some of the rarer types of limb depiction (of Middle Cauca) are common in the

Caldas Complex. Among these should be noted pierced tab shoulders and hands incised simply on the body. Figurines, that is human figures with no opening in the head, are as common, if not more so, than anthropomorphic vases. Like the vases they seem to have been manufactured only for funerary use. No fragments of either figurines or anthropomorphic vases were found in the refuse of Caldas sites. However, large pieces of a broken figurine were found in the fill of the Caldas Complex tomb that we excavated in La Tebaida. These fragments were carefully placed in a cache of very large pottery sherds laid in a group at the bottom of the shaft, just above the chamber opening. The arrangement of this cache suggests some deliberate, probably ceremonial, purpose.

There are many variations on figurines. Usually they are of standing people and are solid slab or only partly hollow. Often the head is made of a solid piece of clay and the body is coiled around a form and hence hollow. Many are rattles. With present knowledge it is not possible to separate out more than one definite substyle of figurine. This substyle, which is definitely associated with the Caldas Complex, is described separately.

Painted decoration on Caldas Complex pottery, especially the Classic Caldas motifs, is more limited and standardized than Middle Cauca decoration. The equation of design areas is much more common than in Middle Cauca so that all conical areas, cup bodies, conical vases, amphora bodies, etc., etc. are decorated with the same motifs in the same arrangements. Annular bases and amphora and jar necks are likewise equated. This equation of area and motif does not hold for a series of patterns which are more closely related to the Sonso style of Valle. These are larger, overall designs of crossed lines and spirals or triangles. This group also contains a few motifs such as interlocking spirals, large circles and crowns that are unknown in the Classic Caldas repertory.

The Classic Caldas decoration is the most distinctive substyle of the Caldas Complex. In this group necks and bases are painted solid black if low or narrow. If wider or taller they are invariably painted with vertical red and black stripes. Horizontal stripes on bases and necks occur, but are very rare. It is only occasionally that any sherds have reserve dots and the stripes are all of the same width unless they are carried onto the base as a continuation of a bowl design. Most forms do not have a special rim decoration. Sometimes a black band or black band with reserve dots will be painted around the rim interiors of necks are rarely painted, although usually polished. Handles and spouts are usually solid black with the tips of spouts left red.

The body designs are formed by combining a very few motifs. Although all motifs are found on all body shapes the combination of these is specific to shape. Classic Caldas motifs consist of wide solid stripes, often flanked by several thinner stripes, solid isosceles triangles, smaller equilateral and isosceles triangles, these are

combined to make both positive and negative designs, triangles with reserve dots, usually in a small pattern in the widest part of the triangle, and latticework. Latticework and fine multiple striping are more typical of other substyles of the Caldas Complex but do occur in Classie Caldas. The orientation of these motifs in Classie Caldas is in two (occasionally five) more or less identical design areas on the vessel. These design areas are separated by vertical stripes, usually a wide stripe flanked by several narrower ones. Often the wide stripe is in effect a triangle since it tapers with the vessel body. On hemispherical bodied vessels the dividing stripes are the same width their whole length. Elongated vessels, especially the larger amphorae, may have the main design areas broken into smaller zones by horizontal dividers. These are usually the same as the vertical dividers or a small group of narrow stripes. The other borders of the design areas are the component parts of the vessels (neck, base, shoulder join, etc.)

Forms that have no such structural divisions, such as globular jars or hemispherical bowls have two or five design areas bordered by stripes. Only rarely are there more or less. There is a strong tendency towards bilateral symmetry in designs. This does not take the form of opposition of design elements and when like designs are used in a fourpart combination the like elements are always placed side by side rather than on the diagonal or alternating with other elements. Again, this type of orientation applies only to the Classie Caldas subgroup. In other substyles the use of equivalent areas and symmetry of designs is much less pronounced. These other substyles make much more use of large or all over designs of spirals, latticework, multiple crossed lines, stripes, checker patterns and so on. Usually these are arranged into specific design areas only on the basis of body parts of the vessel. There are some pieces which show combinations of Classie Caldas and other motifs and there are obviously close relationships between all of the Caldas Complex substyles.

Alcarrazas and the various effigy vessels, anthropomorphic vases, and figurines have many of the same motifs painted on them but in rather different combinations and orientations as would be expected. Alcarrazas are quite common in the Caldas Complex and tend to have a rather restricted set of designs. Most are either globular or the tetrapod form shown in **Figs. 23, 24**. The few effigy alcarrazas known are mainly decorated with Sonso style resist painting and may well be imports. Alcarrazas, for some reason, tend to have the resist painting very badly preserved and a substantial percentage seem to have never been resist painted, being left plain red. On those which have resist painting there is a very standardized arrangement and set of designs. The dome on top of the vessel, the handle and the spouts are solid black as mentioned above, save for the tips of the spouts, which are left red. The vertical sides of the dome may be either red or black with reserve dots in a single row. Tetrapod alcarrazas usually have horizontal solid and dotted stripes encircling them and the body above the area on the legs or just above the legs has a single design repeated four times in a semicircular zone formed of multiple stripes. The body stripes may have reserve dots, usually a combination of wide and narrow stripes is found. The motif in the semicircular area

is usually a sort of butterfly formed of two tilianlles placed point to point (**Fig. 23**)
(**Fig. 24**)

This motif is not common in Caldas ceramics and occurs on no other shape but is very common in the Sonso style of adjacent Valle. Globular bodied alcarrazas have the same dome arrangement with the same patterns. One example with an annular base was noted. Most globular bodied alcarrazas are painted in three major design areas set off from one another by black stripes. The center band, which is the widest, is the focus of decoration. The top band, just below the dome, is almost always painted with a row of pendant half circles in black with reserve dots bordering their edges. There are four to eight of these half circles; six is the commonest.

The center band is set off by several narrow stripes on either side. The band is then painted with several motifs, usually placed in rectangular design zones formed by cutting the band with little vertical lines. The most common single motif is the spiral derived from Yotoco designs. The zigzag is not used. Very often two spirals are placed in triangles to form the rectangular subarea. Vertical stripes and rectangles with large reserve dots, circles or triangles separate the spiral motifs. Occasionally an alcarraza will be painted instead with the Classic Caldas large solid triangle and multiple stripe patterns, modified to fit into a wide band. The lower body of most alcarrazas is painted solid black. Laterally flattened face neck jars are painted exactly like the Middle Cauca save that no white paint is used. Usually the face is painted with black horizontal stripes of varying widths. Sometimes solid and dashed stripes are alternated.

The shoulder is usually painted with ordinary triangle and stripe designs and the lower body is painted solid black or left plain red. Very few of these jars have two faces and the decoration tends to be simpler than on the ones of the Middle Cauca Complex. The other face neck jars though are elaborately decorated. All have the same neck shape, slightly bulbous with an out turned rim (**Fig. 25**)

The designs may be in bands or all over. To some extent this is correlated with the shape of the body, carinated jars do tend, simply because of the shape, to have band designs. Band designs tend to be Classic Caldas or a variant thereof, that is triangles with reserve dots and groups of stripes. Modeling of the face on these jars is quite variable and a number of rather different styles are found. Again this may well represent either local or temporal variation. Most have slit eyes with a raised edge and a mouth of similar type. The nose is always large and carefully modeled but modeling on jars ranges from extremely life like to very stylized.

Anthropomorphic vases and the face neck jars show approximately the same range of styles. All of the anthropomorphic vessels have an opening in the top of the head. In the case of the very rare two headed examples, each head has its own opening. Caldas Complex anthropomorphic vases are relatively rare and are painted exactly as are the Middle Cauca ones, save that the decoration is in two

colors only. Vases with short thick legs are relatively more common. Many of the anthropomorphic vases are plain red or solid black or have only a few stripes painted on them. The type of anthropomorphic vases with a triangular or oval head, fillet arms and conical feet is very rare in Caldas. Most are plain red.

Because of the overlap stylistically speaking of Middle Cauca and Caldas it is impossible to attribute many of the plain anthropomorphic vases with certainty to either complex. There is one type of anthropomorphic vase which seems to occur only with two color resist decoration. This is a strange bulbous sort of vase with a fairly large head opening. The features are shown in the usual manner, the nose has a ring ornament, and the solid arms are bent at the elbow. They are painted solid black. The figures are seated with the large, bulbous hollow legs stretched out in front. The legs are finished with tiny solid feet. The painting on these figures is confined to parallel horizontal stripes. These are usually in some combination of very narrow stripes, wider stripes and dotted stripes. The shoulder where the arms connect is painted solid black and the semicircular face usually has a black chin and horizontal or vertical stripes under the lips. These pieces are all very similar and many virtually identical examples are known. A typical example is illustrated in Nachtigall (1961), figure 238.

True figurines, figures with no opening in the head, are more common than anthropomorphic vases in the Caldas Complex. Most represent standing figures, unlike anthropomorphic vases which are almost invariably of seated persons. Many of the figurines are rattles. Figurines may be either male or female, male ones again are more common. Most figurines have a hollow body, formed by either coil or slab, and a solid head. The limbs are generally solid too. A few figurines are entirely solid, being cut out of a flat piece of clay and having all details added by applique. Solid figurines tend to be smaller in size than the hollow ones but there is a fair range of size variation in figurines.

Most are between 15 and 25 cm. in height, but there are a few specimens that are smaller or larger. Most figurines have a square to triangular head. A few have oval heads and rarely a half circle shaped head will appear. Features are shown as slit or, occasionally, as coffee bean applique. The raised edge slit features of the anthropomorphic vases are not common. Ears, when shown, are tab like projections, usually pierced for metal ornaments. The nose tends to be large and well modeled; usually it too is pierced for a metal ornament. In some few examples the figurines still have their metal ornaments. Both gold and copper are known, although it is, of course, the copper ones that tend to get left on the figurines by the *guaqueros*. Many figurines have a group of holes punched through the lower lip. If the head is hollow these go through to the cavity. These holes could have been for the release of steam in firing, but more likely have some sort of decorative function. Not all hollow figurines have these holes while a number of solid ones do.

Further piercings, either functional or decorative are seen in both hollow and solid figurines. These include a hole pierced in either armpit, a hole for the navel, and a

hole between the legs. This latter is probably the one for steam release since all hollow figurines have this hole and no solid ones do. Most figurines are modeled so that they will stand alone; usually the heel of the foot is extended to provide a longer support.

The toes, if shown at all, are indicated by incision, as are the fingers. Arms are almost always solid thinnish coils and are usually bent at the elbows with the hands on the stomach or chest. Although most figurines have rather rudimentary incised digits, a few have well modeled hands with the thumb clearly shown. A few figurines simply have hands incised on the shoulder or have no arms at all, only pierced shoulder tabs. These latter might have been for the attachment of moveable arms but since no arms have survived this can only be a hypothesis. It has also been suggested that mutilated persons or persons suffering from some deformation such as phocomelia may be the subjects. This again can only be a hypothesis. The legs, which on most figurines are disproportionately short and thick, are usually not carefully modeled nor are ligatures shown. The most common decoration of figurines is simple slip painting with some polishing. A smaller number are painted with resist black. Many figurines seem to have had resist paint only on the face. This is usually applied in horizontal stripes of varying widths. There are figurines with elaborate resist painted designs of lattice works and dots, but these tend to be ones of unusual type. There is little use of the common triangle spiral dot or stripe designs found on other shapes of pottery and, generally speaking, the figurines can only be associated with the Caldas Complex on the basis of known grave associations, not because of similarities of modeling or of painted decoration.

(Fig. 26)

Square Figurines

Very square solid or hollow figurines representing male and occasionally female humans are one of the most unique and best known of the artifacts of the Middle Cauca drainage. Although it has been known for a long time that they were found in the general «Quimbaya» area, no further provenience information and no evidence of their cultural associations has been forthcoming. There is fairly good indirect evidence (none of these figurines has come from controlled excavations) that the figurines pertain to the Caldas Complex and are a rather localized style which seems to center in western Caldas. None of these figurines is known to have been found south of Quindío and, indeed, they are quite rare in Quindío. The vast majority come from northwest Risaralda and western Caldas and interviews with local collectors and with guaqueros seem to roughly establish their center in that area. There are two basic types of these figurines: a solid slab type which invariably represents a seated male and a hollow type, which although of slab construction and of much the same style as the solid ones, may be either male or female and is found in a variety of poses. Both types come in a wide range of sizes. Most are more than 15 cm. high and many are more than 20 cm. There are

also a fair number of very large figurines in this style although few are more than 50 cm. in height.

The paste of the slab figurines is usually oxidized, although the larger solid ones usually have a grey core. The color is usually a light orange or orangish tan with occasional dark orange or grey specimens. There is a tendency for one group of small standing male figures to be grey in color. None are smoked black. All are tempered with sand but the larger figures have particles so large that gravel temper would be a better description. Most of the figurines have some fire eluding and/or char marks. The finish is usually a self slip which is either wiped or given a low burnish. The burnishing is done with even es which are quite visible and are vertical on the body and horizontal on the head. A few pieces are painted with red slip. These are polished. The construction of all square figurines is slab. The solid figurines are formed of a single heavy rectangular slab for the head and body (Fig. 27)

The neck is marked with a deep groove but there is little further modeling. Arms and legs are heavy coils of clay firmly attached to the body. The legs are always attached just below the midpoint of the rectangle. All of the solid and many of the hollow figurines rest upon the two feet and the bottom of the rectangular body slab. Solid figurines all show seated males and the legs are bent at the knee with the feet placed squarely upon the ground. The arms usually curve slightly and the hands are placed on the knees. A few examples have one arm held in front of the body, raised with the palm up as if they were holding something. This latter pose is more common on hollow than solid square figurines. Fingers and toes are shown by deep triangular cuts in the hands and feet. Deep grooves show leg and arm ligatures, the only clothing ever indicated on these figurines. The face is flat and the eyes and mouth are shown by long slits. The nose is large and realistically modeled and is always pierced for the suspension of a metal nariguera. A series of deep punched holes are the only other ornamentation these figurines have. There is always a row of holes punched in the forehead above the eyes. The number varies: four is minimum, eight to ten maximum. There is a second set of holes punched in the flat top of the head. These too vary in number and the number is seldom the same as the number of forehead holes. Sometimes there are further holes punched in the side of the face.

Those in the top and bottom corners usually go through the slab and have copper rings in them. It has been suggested that the holes in the top of the head were for feathers or some other perishable decoration. There is no evidence that this was the case and no reasonable explanation for the forehead holes has ever been advanced. Holes are usually punched in the body too, but are limited to a pair in the armpit region, a navel (occasionally) and a pair of holes above the leg attachment.

The body and forehead holes, especially in the smaller figurines may be punched through the body slab. Larger figurines have a deep hole punched with a stick in

the damp clay . Some of the large figurines have a second set of holes punched in the bottom of the body slab. Again no function has been advanced for these holes. Many of the solid slab figurines were apparently left unpaired

Those which do have some painting have it only on the face. This decoration is invariably horizontal stripes of varying widths painted in resist black on the natural clay . Sometimes this black is combined with a heavy white matte slip, also arranged in stripes. The arrangement is always of a wider stripe flanked by one or more narrower stripes. The nose may or may not be covered by the stripes. No attempt is made to point up features with the paint.

The hollow slab figurines, while clearly very closely related to the solid ones show much more variation in pose, size and amount and elaboration of painted decoration. The figurines are formed of two thin slabs joined at the sides to form the body which, in cross section, is a pointed oval in shape. Sometimes the side joins are slightly squared off. The head is rectangular in shape and formed in one with the body, the neck being, as on solid figurines, indicated by a deep groove. The arms and legs are made separately, usually by a combination on slab and coiling. They are hollow and are joined to the body with a plug of clay placed in the end of the limb to make a broader base for attachment. The hands and feet are usually carefully modelled with separate solid fingers and toes which are bent and curled into lifelike positions (**Fig. 28**)

Arm and leg ligatures, again the only clothing worn, are shown by a wide shallow groove, often with incised designs in it. These incised patterns seem to imitate basketry or textiles and are occasionally filled with white pigment. The head and body holes are usually fewer in number than on the solid figurines.

They usually go through only the front body wall. They have the same arrangement on both types of figurine with the exception of some special vent holes in the hollow ones. Forehead holes are generally three in number and no specimen was seen with as many as eight. Often there are only two holes, one in each corner of the forehead. These are sometimes matched by holes in the lower corner of the face. These latter were evidently meant to represent the ear lobe since a pierced tab is often found in this position. The ear tab may be farther up the face though. It is always pierced. Sometimes there is a row of small holes under the mouth. There are also usually holes in the top of the head and often on the bottom of the body. Body holes have a different arrangement since there are seldom armpit holes. There are holes over the legs and these holes may go through both walls. Sometimes the holes are punched, but often they are carefully cut and are square or triangular in shape. The legs usually have an opening into the body cavity and have no further holes in them. The arms have no such opening and a steam release hole is usually placed in the palm of each hand. These holes are small and simply punched.

The eyes and mouth again are represented by long horizontal slits. These may be cut through the wall of the figurine. The pupil of the eyes is commonly represented only on one specific subtype and most figurines with a pierced pupil are modern fakes. (Fakes are very common in this style since it is a popular one with collectors). The nose is again large and well modeled and has a hole for a metal ring. Many figurines still preserve their nariguera. Both rings and long triangular forms are found. The arms and legs, especially on the larger figurines, are carefully and realistically modeled. In many cases, judging from the proportions, the positions and the plumpness of the limbs a baby or a small child was the subject of the figurines.

Hollow figurines occur in a large number of poses. The most common is the same pose seen in solid figurines, with one hand held in the air. These figurines, like their solid counterparts, are always male. Female figurines are usually shown seated with their legs extended in front. The position of the arms is variable. Female figurines holding infants are known and examples have been reported which show scenes of birth. Many figurines hold a large bowl.

Hollow slab figurines, as mentioned before, are much more elaborately painted than the solid ones. Painting is often found on the body as well as the face. Incised decoration is common too, although usually restricted to ligatures and the rare headband. The painting is usually black resist on either self or red slip. Sometimes a little white slip is used too and one example with red and white slip and resist painting is known.

The motifs used vary somewhat. The most common is simple horizontal stripes on the face identical to those on solid figurines. These are often then combined with a group of vertical stripes on either side of the nose. On more elaborate specimens the nose is painted with a separate set of vertical stripes. Sometimes rectangular areas of black paint with reserve dots are also used on the face, in combination with solid areas of black or stripes. Body paint seems to be largely limited to stripes, usually vertical ones, and to areas of red paint. The paint is often rather carelessly applied. One specimen with red slip and Classic Caldas resist motifs is known.

A subgroup of these hollow figurines which has a somewhat larger area of occurrence is a type which shows a standing male (**Fig. 26**) These are always rather small (rarely as much as 15 cm. in height) and some are solid or partly solid in construction. The hollow ones are usually rattles. These figurines are usually shown with a modeled headband projecting on either side of the rectangular head. The headband is decorated with incised braid or basketry patterns and the incisions are often filled with white pigment. The arms are solid and usually are bent at the elbow, resting on the hips or waist. Digits are incised. The legs, which

are short, are also usually solid. The features on these little figures are similar to those of other square figurines although they may have a pupil punched below the eye slit. There are generally no head or body holes. A peculiarity of these little male figures is that many are shown with a broad smile. They are self-slipped and a few have a little resist painting.

Incensarios

The group of ceramic commonly called incensarios forms a distinctive sub group of its own. Until recently there was little information on the associations of this peculiar group of ceramics. Duque Gómez reported finding incensarios associated with resist painted pottery in his excavations in Armenia in 1941. However, he did not describe the resist painted ceramics in sufficient detail to ascertain if they were Middle Cauca or Caldas. Luis Arango reported that in Machonegro near Montenegro in Quindío he found a tomb of a somewhat unusual type which contained sixteen bodies and sixteen incensarios. This was a shaft and chamber tomb and gold ornaments were found with the burials. In 1970 I excavated a shaft and chamber tomb in La Tebaida which contained several urn burials, Caldas Complex ceramics, and an incensario with shallow incised decoration

(Fig. 33)

Radiocarbon tests run on material from this tomb gave the dates mentioned above for the Caldas Complex. There are also several partial grave lots in private collections in Armenia and Pereira which have incensarios associated with Caldas Complex ceramics, so that their temporal placement seems relatively certain. To date though these vessels have not been found associated with Classic Caldas type decoration but rather with one or the other substyles which are not yet well defined either regionally or temporally. Incensarios are found throughout the entire Middle Cauca drainage and may well be associated with several different substyles.

Incensarios are very limited in shape categories and have rather different decoration from the more commonly painted fine wares. In color incensarios are almost invariably orange. Occasionally one is grey reduced and several made of white clay are known. The most common color is orange with an orange slip. Only occasionally are they slipped red. All pieces are coiled and coil marks are usually visible on the interior. Most specimens are well oxidized.

In shape well over 90% of the specimens known are carinated bowls **(Fig. 32)** **(Fig. 33)** These bowls normally have a narrow inwards sloping shoulder, straight flaring sides, and a small, flat bottom. A variant form has more rounded sides and an unflattened bottom. There are also a few shallower vessels that are unshouldered. One footed cup and one amphora are also known with incensario type decoration. All incensarios have vertically pierced tab or lug handles, one on

either side of the vessel. Connecting the handles longitudinally around the vessel is a deep incised or excised groove. The arrangement of the handles and the groove indicates that the vessels were probably suspended by a cord. That they were not usually meant to be placed on a flat surface is shown by the continuation of the design over the base on most examples. There is, despite the name, no evidence that these vessels were ever used for burning anything. None seen had any evidence of burning inside or out. It seems more likely that they were used for some specific purpose and hung from the rafters or the walls of a house. It is possible to hold one and swing it like a censer, but there is no reason for thinking that this is what the ancients did with these vessels.

The decorative techniques used on incensarios are incision, excision, punching and modeling. All pieces are self slipped and burnished on the exterior. Many are slipped and burnished on the interior too. Incensarios on the basis of shape differences and differences in decorative techniques fall into two distinct groups. It is not known if these groups are representative of regional or site differences, different times of manufacture, or different uses. Both types share certain features of shape and decoration. Among both the carinated bowl is the more common shape. The rounded variant is equally popular in both groups. Both shapes have the same rim treatment and handle placement. A flattened rim which slants inwards is typical. This is not flat but has one to three grooves in it. The grooved rim is typical of all the domestic or utilitarian pottery of the area too. All incensarios have four handles. These are placed in groups of two, one set on the rim and one on the shoulder edge on opposite sides of the vessel. The most common form these handles take is a semicircular tab with a hole pierced in it, presumably to hold a string. Sometimes the tabs are applied, others are formed by thickening the rim at the appropriate point and then punching a hole through their thickened portion. Often the second set of handles is a pair of rectangular or modeled lugs with a vertical hole through them. Modeled ones are commonly frogs, but small lizards, insects or humans are also found. More elaborate incensarios may have handles and figures, this time placed on the shoulder between the handle sets. Most of the figures are rather schematically modeled and it is hard to identify them. Human figures tend to peer over the edge and into the bowl interior. The placement of the handles and the figures affects the placement of the other decoration. In all vessels the shoulder and body are treated as separate design zones. These areas are further divided by the handles and the connecting groove. If modeled figures are used these further divide the shoulder and they too may be connected by grooves, dividing the body as well. Modeled figures are often set off by incised stripes which continue onto the body making the fourpart division even stronger. The designs used on the shoulder and body may be the same or different. Often only the shoulder is decorated.

Shoulder decoration is placed in horizontal bands while the body is cut into severaltriangular design zones by the grooves.

Two types of decoration, with largely exclusive patterns, can be distinguished. These two types are never combined on one vessel nor, although the designs are similar, are they exactly alike. The first type of decoration is deeply excised, incised and punched. Vessels with this type of decoration are frequently very elaborately decorated with modeled handles and sets of modeled figures. Vessels with excised decoration show more variety of body shape than the other type. All decorative motifs are geometric. The commonest designs are those made up of various arrangements of excised triangles and diamonds arranged into zones with incised lines used as dividers (**Fig. 32**)

Deeply punched circles are often used in conjunction with the excised patterns. The groove which runs from handle to handle is wide and deep and is usually flanked by several narrower deep incised lines. This second group of lines does not continue onto the shoulder. Many of these excised incensarios are decorated over the entire exterior surface.

The other type of decoration is different in its effect, being formed of shallow incision and impression (**Fig. 33**)

The decoration on these vessels seems to have been done when the vessel was leather hard since all incisions are semicircular in cross section. Almost all of the vessels with shallow incision are of one shape: a tallish carinated bowl with a comparatively deep body and narrow shoulder. Although this shape occurs with excised decoration, the proportions are somewhat different. Relatively few of the incised vessels have modeled handles. The few that have modeled decoration tend to have little half figures of people peering into the bowl (**Fig. 33**)

The groove that runs from handle to handle is deeper than the rest of the decoration but is comparatively shallow and is apparently more of a conventionalized part of the design than a practical feature. Design elements consist of shallow lines, used both to delineate design zones and as patterns themselves, impressed triangles, and impressed circles. All of these elements are small, especially in comparison with the excised patterns.

The design elements are arranged the same on both groups although combinations of vertical stripes and horizontal bands of triangles and circles are more common on the shallow incised vessels. Very few of these shallow incised vessels have the decoration covering the entire surface. Many are decorated only on the shoulder. There are also a number of undecorated incensarios (save for the grooved rim and tab handles) that by proportions seem to belong with this group.

There is a second group of vessels that, from their decoration, seem to be related to the incensarios. These vessels all have a line of modeled tabs along their shoulder body join. Most are small carinated bowls or ollas. Most have a hollow pierced in the vessels wall on either side just below the rim. The tabs below these

holes are also pierced, thus providing two handles for a cord just as on the incensarios. Some of these vessels also have a groove connecting the sets of handles. If there is any decoration beyond the tabs it is of the shallow impressed type, but many of these vessels are not decorated. Although they may have the typical orange color of the incensarios a large number have a thin red wash applied over the orange paste. No further decoration is applied over the wash. There are several other vessel forms which have the tab decoration. None of these occur with incensario type impression on it though. Most of these other vessels are cups with a high annular base. Some of them have the tabs pierced and there may be holes in the rim, but there is no groove connecting the tabs.

Most of these cups are either plain clay or have the thin red wash applied to the exterior. One of these cups was found in the tomb at La Tebaida in direct association with an incensario with incised decoration.

Almost all of the incensarios and incensario type vessels show signs of use in the form of scratches on the interior and exterior bottom. None shows signs of use in the fire. Whatever the function of incensarios it was something of everyday importance since incensario fragments are very common in living refuse. It may be significant that the majority of fragments from midden are of the shallow incised decorated type. The exact associations of the excised decorated Incensarios are not known and it is possible that they pertain to the Middle Cauca Complex. Because Caldas and Middle Cauca sites are mixed questions like this must be answered by controlled excavations of tombs.

Applique-Incised Ware

One of the more easily recognizable styles of decorated pottery can, on the basis of several fragmentary tomb lots, now be associated with the Caldas Complex. This is Applique-Incised Ware which is largely restricted to the northern part of the Middle Cauca drainage, being found mainly in northern Caldas and southern Antioquia. Here it is associated with black on red resist decorated vessels of a rather common variant of the Caldas Complex. Nothing more is known of the associations of this pottery. Shaft and chamber tombs are said to have been found with Applique Incised Ware in them and there is evidence of both extended and urn burial. There seems to be a fair amount of local diversity in Applique Incised Ware but provenience and association information are so scanty that all varieties are described together.

Applique Incised Ware is distinguished from the painted wares which are associated with it and from the other wares of the Middle Cauca drainage by surface treatment, shape, and to a lesser extent, by color. The paste is much the

same as in the other wares. There is a relatively greater proportion of reduced pieces in Applique Incised Ware but these seem to be at least partly a function of the fact that, with the exception of some alcarrazas from Antioquia which may pertain to this subgroup, all pieces were used in the fire. Applique Incised Ware is basically a domestic or utilitarian ware which is part of a larger group which includes painted vessels: cups, vases, amphorae the like. All pieces of Applique Incised Ware have grey smoke dges on the exterior and almost all have heavy carbon deposits on the lower portion of the exterior. In many cases this carbon has penetrated to the interior or vessels have deposits of carbon from meals burned in antiquity. Aside from the surface smudging and the carbon deposits most pieces are at least partly oxidized and the paste color in a new break is tan or orange. The temper is sand and is usually quite heavy, at least 30% of the vessel body or more. Often the temper is so heavy that the paste is friable. Larger vessels have very coarse sand temper and all vessels break quite easily. They seem to have been fired at somewhat lower temperatures than is the norm in this area. The associated painted pottery is highly fired.

The surface finish of Applique Incised Ware is uniform throughout all shapes. Vessels are not slipped and the areas which are decorated are wiped only. This was presumably done with a piece of cloth and wipe marks are clear on most pieces. The interior of the vessels is usually wiped also. The undecorated portions of the vessels, especially the lower part, is simply smoothed with the fingers. A few pieces have some burnishing on the rim but no pieces are well burnished and polishing is non-existent. None of these pieces has any colored slip although there are a few specimens with white pigment rubbed into the incisions.

The technique of decoration on all vessels is shallow incision, usually quite carelessly done, and applique. There is no real modeling, although the more elaborate pieces have applied adornments of a rudimentary sort. The incision seems to have been done with a pointed stick. Some vessels, especially those from Antioquia, have impression in place of incision. Here the end of a flat stick was pressed into the clay; the impressions overlap, forming a continuous line of slightly irregular shape. Some punctation is used with incision and impression. This varies from large deep gouges to small oval or triangular impressions. There is some limited use of circular punctation and a small amount of dashed line incision and impression as well. The decoration is almost without exception confined to the upper portion of the vessels. Since most shapes have a definite carination a clear design zone is thus marked off by the shape alone. The few shapes without carination are all tall narrow jars or ollas. These tend to be decorated only on the rim.

Decorative motifs are almost all stylized representations of the human face or body. These are reduced to their most elementary recognizable form (eyes, nose, arms with hands, and occasionally a mouth and/or genitals). This stylization is so

extreme as to appear grotesque. The body features are formed of bits of clay applied to the surface of the vessels. These applied features are then surrounded by incised or impressed lines arranged in simple geometric patterns, mainly diagonal or horizontal stripes. Elaborations of these designs are alternating solid and dashed lines and a basketry pattern formed of parallel diagonal lines. The corners of many vessels are further decorated with applied knobs of clay, applique fillets, usually simply little vertical strips of clay, and small, crudely modeled frog adornos.

Most vessels are decorated on both sides with identical patterns. A fair number of smaller vessels, mainly ollas and open dishes, have only a narrow band of incised decoration or a few applied knobs on the rim or the ends. A fairly large percentage of vessels have no decoration at all although they are of the distinctive shapes of this ware.

With few exceptions the shapes of Applique-Incised Ware are totally unlike the shapes of painted pottery of either the Middle Cauca or Caldas Complexes and totally unlike the shapes of the more common domestic pottery associated with these complexes in other parts of the Middle Cauca drainage. The unique features of the Applique Incised vessels are a generally oval body shape, often pointed at both ends to make a boat shaped vessel, and a narrow, heavy base. None of these vessels has an annular or a ring base. Instead most vessels taper at the bottom to a narrow, round foot. This foot is much thicker than the walls and is solid, the normal thickness being 2.5 to 4 cm. with much thicker bases being found on larger vessels. This base appears to be functional for, without a weighted bottom many of the vessels, whose tops flare exaggeratedly above the foot, would prove to be very unstable. The weighted base appears to have had another function as well: from the pattern of carbonization on the exterior of the vessels it appears that the foot was buried in the earth to where the vessel walls begin to flare and the fire was built around the vessels thus doing away with any need for fire stones or fire dogs. One of the more common shapes of Applique Incised Ware is an open dish whose body is either a pointed oval or a diamond shape.

These dishes occur in all sizes although quite large ones (30 to 40 cm. in length) are the more common. Often these dishes have a flat rim which is wide and overhangs the interior of the dish. Both the rim and the upper portion of the exterior are decorated. Usually the rim has small faces, frogs and fillets separated by areas of incised designs. Usually the walls of the vessel have applied knobs or little faces, especially on the points. These dishes are the most elaborately decorated of the Applique Incised vessels and, because of their large size, it is possible that they were used as serving dishes. There is a variety of dish of the same general type which has a flat arched handle like those often found on laundry baskets. The handle is attached to the rim. The handles are profusely decorated with adornos and faces. All of these basket handled dishes are very elaborately decorated and, alone of the Applique Incised vessels, do not usually have any signs of having been used in the fire.

A second more or less oden vessel is one which has the basic dish shape but in which the rim has been widened and slants upwards forming a semi-closed dish or a wide mouthed neckless olla. Decoration on this shape is confined to the upper, slanting portion and usually consists of horizontal fillets, narrow incised bands, and an applique face on either side. These semi-closed vessels are usually oval or diamond shaped, but an occasional one is triangular. Usually they too are quite large, the height averages 10 to 15 cm. and the length (the longer axis) of the mouth opening is at least 15 cm. and more often more than 20 cm.

A vessel which might be called an olla is another very common shape (**Fig. 31**). These vessels have a well marked neck, carinated body, and either a sharply incurving base of the kind that is characteristic of the ware or, less frequently, a broader, flatter one. Round, oval, diamond shaped and triangular ollas occur. They are generally fairly shallow (the average height is between 8 and 15 cm.), but their diameter or long axis is much greater (at least 20 cm.). There are a few very large ollas. Ollas are all decorated on the neck and shoulder and may have either relatively simple decoration of incised lines and applique filled and knobs or, more commonly, they are formed into grotesque effigies. In these applique and incision are combined on the neck and shoulder to form a face consisting of a nose, usually with a nariguera, eyes, ears (formed by placing tabs of clay on either end of the vessel), little arms, also made of rolls of clay, and so on.

A peculiar feature is the common practice of hanging further arms from the original arm coil. All of these arms have little incised hands. If there is only one set of forearms and hands these are usually applied to the join between the shoulder and the neck of the vessel. Larger sets of arms commonly are placed on the shoulder. Often the long or main set of arms will have several elbow joints, zigzagging along the vessels to the center front. The areas between the applique decoration are filled with incised straight and dotted lines, rows of small punctations, or areas of basketry pattern. Once in a while genitals are represented. These are usually placed in the center front on the keel of the vessel (the angle between the shoulder and the lower body). All ollas are females. Usually there is identical decoration on either side of the body. All ollas show signs of use in the fire.

There are also a number of very small vessels similar in form to the ollas. These are all under 7 cm. in height. The decoration is much simpler, usually consisting only of incision. Many are undecorated. The shapes are somewhat more variable than the larger ollas and there are more triangular and quadrilateral vessels. These are all very heavy for their size and most seem not to have been used in the fire.

A shape which is commonly found only in Applique Incised Ware is the shoe or duck pot (**Fig. 32**) (**Fig. 33**). These asymmetrical vessels are more or less oval in outline with a closed body and the neck placed at one end of the vessel. The average height of these shoe pots is about 10 cm. and most are no more than 15 cm. in length. Some have small strap handles connecting the neck and body. As would be expected with a vessel which is specifically designed for cooking, all shoe

pots show signs of having been used in the fire. The amount and type of decoration found on shoe pots is highly variable. Some have no decoration at all or only a line of fillets around the neck. The majority though are decorated on the neck and shoulder, very often as effigies (Fig. 32) (Fig. 33). A face, formed of bits of clay, is placed on the neck; the shoulder is then decorated with incision and arms. There is some tendency to decorate shoe pots with applique alone, leaving the incised filling ornament off.

Another shape which is primarily functional in use is what might be called a composite silhouette olla. There are fairly large, 15 to 20 cm. tall and are rarely decorated. All have a heavy deposit of carbon on the exterior. The rim form is variable, many have a grooved rim (which is fairly common in Applique Incised Ware). Low flaring rims and a beveled inturning rim are also quite common. The bottoms of these vessels are often slightly rounded and most of them are somewhat top heavy. It is likely that they were propped up with stones for cooking, since most will not stand alone. The silhouette is variable although most have a definite incurve near the center and often the top or bottom section, or both, is carinated. When they are decorated it is confined to a few applied knobs or a fillet or two. A few of these vessels also have pierced tab handles.

Jars, deep vessels whose neck opening is considerably less than their height, are also fairly common. Most of these have a carinated body with a narrow heavy base and a high flaring neck. The neck is often laterally flattened to give it an oval shape. The jars have a considerable size range, being from 10 to about 30 cm. in height. There are two basic shapes, one very elongated and somewhat ovoid, the other squatter with pronounced curves above and below the keel. The size range and decoration on both shades is much the same. Most jars have anthropomorphic decoration. Usually an applique and incised face is placed on the neck. Many have only applique and no incision. Faces may or may not be double, that is, one on either side of the vessel. The eyes are usually shown as slits with raised edges, the nose large and with a ring or studs. Ears are optional and few of these faces have a mouth. Fillet arms are usually placed on the jar shoulder. These may be of the multiple forearm type that is common on dishes or, more frequently, a single pair of arms is found. The single forearms are often zigzagged as if they had several elbows. Many jars have genitals applied to the keel; jars, like ollas, are always female. Jars with non-anthropomorphic decoration usually have sets of knobs applied along the keel and a little incision on the rim.

There are a variety of open dishes without decoration that, from their shapes, seem to belong with the Applique Incised Ware. Most are square or rectangular and are quite large, 15 cm. or more to a side is common. There are also many much smaller boat shaped dishes. None of these dishes has carbon deposits on it and they may well have been eating dishes of some sort.

One other form is typical of Applique Incised Ware. This is the urn, many of which are reported to have contained ashes or bones. Most of the urns are very large and either primary or secondary burial is a possibility, as is collective burial or cremation (always assuming that the ashes and bones were human, something which is not proven). Most of the urns are over 50 cm. in height. They tend not to be decorated and usually have a carinated body, narrow base and a tall, vertical neck. The rim form is variable: beveled flat and rolled rims are all quite common. The few that are decorated have simple applique fillets or knobs or rows of punctate circles around the top of the neck. None of the urns seems to have had any anthropomorphic decoration although it is possible that some of the larger anthropomorphic jars or ollas were also used as receptacles for the dead. Many of the urns have carbon deposits on the exterior. This could be a vestige of the funerary rites (e.g. boiling the bones to clean them for secondary burial) or may reflect that the urns had some utilitarian function besides disposal of the dead. Usually only the smaller urns have carbon deposits. This is very light, as if they were not used often.

The covers, if any, of these urns have not survived. There are some large shallow basins which could have served as urn lids and many of the open vessels could also have been so used. As no burial of Applique Incised Ware has been excavated by an archaeologist, the method of covering the urns, among many other things, is unknown.

Other Domestic or Utilitarian Pottery of the Middle Cauca Drainage Domestic or utilitarian vessels are among the commonest finds in the tombs and in the sites of both the Middle Cauca and Caldas Complexes. Because most tombs have been opened by *guaqueros* and hence no associations kept and because Caldas sites tend to occur within the boundaries of Middle Cauca sites it is almost impossible to separate the domestic pottery of the two complexes. The task is made even harder by the proliferation of forms and decoration of the domestic pottery and by the apparent fact that the two groups made many similar forms (surmised from existing grave lots). Consequently the domestic pottery of the two major complexes is described together. (Fig. 34

Most of these vessels have little stylistic connection with the painted wares of the Middle Cauca and Caldas Complexes. The shapes are different most have signs of having been used for cooking on the exterior (and sometimes the interior as well) and they have scratches and chips in the vessel fabric. There is hence little doubt that the vessels in the tombs were those in actual use, not special funerary vessels, and this is backed up by the broken vessels from living sites.

The decorative techniques utilized in all utilitarian pieces cover a wide range. Most pieces have a red slipped rim, this is burnished or polished. Some pieces have a bit more red slip on the decorated portion. This is seldom burnished. Most vessels

have some incised decoration and many have applique and modeled decoration as well. In all cases decoration is confined to the upper half of the vessel. Usually it is fairly simple and the main portions of any design are formed plastically. The paste and the construction techniques are the same as in the painted wares although some of the domestic pottery is a bit thicker. With the exception of a single group of composite silhouette ollas the frequency of reduced versus oxidized vessels is also the same. The smoke stains on many of the vessels gives them a greyish appearance, but the paste is usually well oxidized.

Because of the lack of provenience or complex association information and because certain «natural» groups, in terms of shape and decoration seem to emerge from the mass of material, the domestic pottery is described in groups based on these criteria. It should be remembered that no specific affiliation with a given complex is meant unless it is given in reference to a specific type. The arrangement is for convenience, not because of any implied associations.

One of the more numerous types of domestic pottery is a shouldered bowl with a conical body (**Fig. 34**). These bowls are all between 10 and 15 cm. high and generally have a mouth diameter of no more than 20 cm. Decoration is confined to the rim and shoulder. The bottoms are either rounded or flat and all of these vessels show signs of having been used in the fire. On most vessels the rim flares inwards and is either plain or has several longitudinal grooves in it. It is usually painted red. Most of these shouldered bowls have a pair of pierced tab or modeled lug handles on either side of the body-shoulder angle. Modeled lugs are commonly in the shape of frogs. The area between the handles tends to be decorated with vertical incised lines, either arranged continuously or in discrete groups. The areas between the incised lines may be filled with horizontal incised lines, cross-hatchure and/or red slip. Vertical fillets are often found along with the incision. Occasionally the shoulder will bear a little circular punctation and there is some use of incised basketry designs. The arrangement of the handles and the general shape of these vessels is reminiscent of incensarios. However, there is never a groove connecting the handles and the decoration is quite different.

Another group of utilitarian vessels is quite different, there being several related shapes. These vessels are all bowls or open vessels with a carinated or hemispherical body and a wide vertical or flaring neck. They are not really jars, since they are as wide or wider at the top than at the bottom. The bottom may be round or flat. All of these open vessels have multi-grooved red slipped rims. They are further decorated with applied fillets, many of which are ticked with a stick, making lines of small indentations on them. The decoration may be simple or quite elaborate but usually it includes some sort of fillet around the neck-body join as well as the decorated rim. Further fillets are often placed on the neck and there may be applique tabs below the fillets. All of the body fillets are ticked. If the vessel is carinated there is usually some sort of applied fillet design on the shoulder. This

may be accompanied by a little simple incision. However, incision is minor in importance as a decorative technique. Occasionally there are lines of ticks outlining fillets. The rims may have rudimentary adorns, usually simple clay pellets. Although the red slip may be extended to the upper neck, only the rim and rim decoration are burnished.

Similar decoration is found on a sort of hemispherical olla which is one of the commonest cooking vessels in the Middle Cauca Drainage. These vary somewhat in shape: some are rounded, others more ovoid or even conical. The rim form too is somewhat variable although rims are usually grooved and invariably painted red. A thin red wash may cover some of the decorated area too. Decoration is again confined to the upper body and usually consists of a ticked fillet running horizontally around the body. This may form scallops or zigzags and sometimes has further appendages. There is a little use of simple adorns, again usually frog shaped, although a pair of arms also occurs. A very few vessels have incised stripes above the fillet. These stripes are usually red slipped.

The above vessels all tend to have relatively simple decoration. However, there are also a fair number of elaborately decorated cooking pots too. These are all semi-closed in shape (ollas or neckless ollas) and all show signs of use in the fire. Most are rounded or carinated and have wide grooved rims. The rim may be flat or slant either in or out but it is always painted red and highly polished. These vessels then usually have a series of design areas on the shoulder bordered by a thick ticked or twisted fillet arranged in scallops, zigzags or horizontally looped up at the sides. This heavy fillet may be the only decoration but more commonly the area within the scallops or zigzags is filled with applique, incised and painted designs. The design is usually a face with raised edge, slit eyes and a modeled nose with a nose ring. The faces then have incised, cross-hatched and red slipped stripes on them. Occasionally there is some incised decoration on the vessel below the fillet, usually a very scratchy and carelessly incised basketry design pattern. There also are commonly rows of ticking below the rim. More elaborate vessels may have high relief modeled handles or adorns on the sides. The handles are usually in the form of a frog or lizard.

Some deeper vessels are also decorated with ticked fillets but in a much less elaborate manner. Most of these are deep, carinated vessels or deep vessels with a composite silhouette. All have a painted grooved rim and some simple decoration consisting of ticked fillets and incision, usually vertically oriented. A few of these deeper composited silhouette ollas have applied faces on them but these do not have the heavy encircling fillet, nor are they painted.

Another fairly common sort of cooking vessel is a composite silhouette ollas which has one or more shoulders built up on a conical or hemispherical base. These are

called by the guaqueros «sartenes». The «sartenes» are decorated on the shoulders, each one being treated as a separate design area. At the edge of each shoulder is placed a small coil to give it a raised edge and at either side is usually a pierced tab handle. If there is more than one shoulder the tab handles are arranged to form vertical rows. The shoulders themselves are usually decorated with incised basketry patterns or with vertical or slanting incised lines. Often a modeled adorno is placed on either side, between the rows of handles. Many of these adorns are large and are broken into section to correspond with the shoulders. The adorns represent lizards or insects. Sartenes tend to have very narrow grooved rims, although occasionally the rim is built up a bit into a low neck.

The rim is, of course, painted red and polished. Sartenes tend to be darker in color than the other cooking vessels, both because they are always covered with carbon but also because a large percentage has been reduced somewhat in firing.

Another group of vessels, united by the unusual decorative technique utilized to adorn them, I am calling «slurry ware». This group of ceramics is distinguished both by its paste and its decoration. The paste is tan to grey with a very heavy sand temper which makes the vessels rough to touch. The decoration is formed by scraping patterns in the sludge or slurry which is left on the vessel when the coils are smoothed out. Smoothing coils is a process which normally requires a fair amount of water. When the thinning and smoothing are completed a coat of very wet clay, the slurry, is left on the vessel walls.

Usually this is wiped off, the pot is left or dry for a while, and the vessel is then painted and burnished. In slurry ware a blade or thin stick was used to scrape a thin layer of the slurry into ridges forming patterns on the vessels. The designs are very distinctive with fine wiggly lines, triangular in cross section, forming the pattern. Scrape marks are often visible between these lines. Because of the nature of the decoration the vessels are not burnished. The rim is slipped red, polished and is usually grooved in shape. A few pieces have areas between the slurry ridges set off by deep incision and painted red and white. These painted areas are left matte too. Most vessels in the slurry ware group have a thin red wash applied to the interior.

Slurry decoration is found on neckless ollas, carinated ollas, a carinated or composite silhouette jar, a tall ovoid neckless jar and, most commonly of all, a shallow bowl with a rounded bottom and vertical sides. Decoration is confined to the upper part of all of these shapes. Most patterns consist of vertical, horizontal or slanting lines, simple meanders and a sort of basketry pattern. There is some use of ticking and filleting, especially around the rim, a few pieces have simple fillets and adorns applied over the slurry decoration.

Other than the vessels described above, most of which show signs of having been used for cooking, there are a large number of big jars, small olla type vessels, shoe pots and so on that cannot be tied to either the painted wares or any of the groups of decorated utilitarian wares. Most of these vessels are tan or tannish orange with a red slipped grooved rim. Some have some red slip or a red wash on the exterior. Usually these vessels are well smoothed or have a low, even burnish. Sherds from vessels such as these are common in sites of the Middle Cauca and Caldas Complexes. Any close identification is impossible.

OTHER CERAMIC COMPLEXES OF THE MIDDLE CAUCA DRAINAGE There are two other well defined ceramic complexes from the Middle Cauca Drainage. One of these, Brownware Incised, first described by Bennet (1944) has been published in detail elsewhere (Bruhns 1973). The other, Tricolor, is a three color ware completely unrelated in decoration or shapes to the resist painted complexes described here. Both of these complexes are unknown from controlled excavation. From the vessels with known provenience it seems that both occur in a very restricted area around Pereira and Manizales, that is in Risaralda and Caldas. No pieces are known from Valle. There is no information about the possible dates of these complexes although certain geological facts about the Cordillera Central, specifically the direction of fall of the ash plume from the eruptions of Cerro Bravo, Sta. Isabel, Cisne and Ruiz, makes it unlikely that they are very ancient. Indeed, there are no known ceramic styles which much antedate 1000 A. D. owing to the immense build up of soil due to volcanic ash fall in earlier centuries. Paleoindian sites are known and, of course, there are much earlier sites from much of the rest of Colombia, so sites dating from between the Paleoindian period and the late centuries before the Spanish Conquest must exist. The odds of finding them are not good.

Miniature Vessels, Animal Figurines, and Miscellaneous Small Ceramic Objects

Miniature vessels are quite common tomb artifacts in the Cordillera Central and environs. These are all tiny vessels, under 6 cm. in height, and often much smaller. They are generally very crudely made, often being formed solely by pinching. The paste and firing conditions are the same as all the other vessels however. Very few of the miniature vessels are carefully finished and most are not slipped. The exception to this are miniature incensarios, which are quite common, and a special type of miniature vessel which is akin in paste and decoration to spindle whorls and is described with those artifacts.

Shapes of miniature vessels are varied and include most of the shapes common in the Middle Cauca and Caldas Complexes except alcarrazas, whistling bottles and stirrup bottles. There are a great many footed vessels, which are in form a sort of

cross between a footed cup and a footed plate. These usually have a hole pierced in either side of the rim and either side of the foot as if they were meant to be suspended by a cord. There are some slightly larger versions of this shadel as well as some small (4-7 cm. high) ollas with the same arrangement of holes. These must have been made for a specific purpose since they are rather common. These seem to be associated with the Caldas Complex since there are some normal sized vessels of that complex with the same set of holes. No use for miniature vessels though is known. The fact that all miniature vessels are from tombs (none have been found in living refuse) may indicate that they had a ritual function.

The association of the other miniature vessels with any particular complex is difficult. The pierced rim cups and ollas seem to belong to the Caldas Complex and the miniature incensarios likewise may pertain to that group of ceramics. There are also some tiny boat shaped vessels and these, from their shape and from the decoration they occasionally bear, are certainly part of the Applique Incised Ware group, that is a sub group of the Caldas Complex. Most of the Applique Incised miniatures are somewhat larger than the other pieces classed as miniature vessels and, being mainly open dishes, might have had some function as serving dishes. No miniature vessels with resist painting are known to exist.

(Fig. 35) (Fig. 30) (Fig. 29)

One of the more interesting types of ceramic artifact in the Middle Cauca drainage is a type of figurine which has no immediate stylistic or decorative connections with any of the ceramic complexes. These figurines are all of animals, all solid, all unslipped and formed by pinching (**Fig. 36**) The paste on these is ordinary although most of these little animals tend towards the darker colors. Many are reduced and all have some fire clouding. The modeling is very crude and there is little attempt at finishing except for wiping the surface. Some of the animals are recognizable: ducks, caimanes, fish, and what may be a dog or bear occur. Most are just recognizable as a quadrupedal animal. One example has a human head on an animal body and the head resembles in its modeling the anthropomorphic vases of both Middle Cauca and Caldas Complexes. The function of these little figurines is unknown. They come from tombs; again none has been found in living refuse. They are much cruder than either the anthropomorphic vases or the figurines and are not very common. This may be sampling error since, because the animal figures are so crude, guaqueros tend to leave them or give them to their own children to play with and so they do not show up in collections.

Also from the tombs (and from the living refuse) of this region come a number of small clay artifacts which precise use or function is totally unknown. These vary in color, in workmanship and decoration. Most cannot be associated with either pottery complex.

One of the most common artifacts of this type is something the *guaqueros* refer to as a «head deformer». Head deformation was probably, however, not their function, since these strange objects range in size from approximately 8 to 70 or 80 cm. in length. They are fairly heavy, slightly curved, rectangular pieces of clay. Most have a hole pierced in each corner. The color and temper vary within the usual range, although none has a colored slip. The few that are decorated have incised designs, usually filled with a white pigment. The designs are linear and somewhat similar to those found on spindle whorls, although generally much simpler. Undecorated head deformers tend to have a slightly different shape: rounded projections on the corners make them more or less shaped like a bone. These «head deformers» are more common in stone than in clay. The stone ones are all finely polished but have no decoration. The size and shape of the head deformers, as well as the holes in the corners indicates that they were probably tied onto something. Since many are larger than the human head it is possible that they were belt ornaments. Until some of these objects are found *in situ* their precise function will remain a subject of idle speculation.

Rattles and small hollow objects are also quite common tomb finds. The rattles are small spherical or ovoid hollow objects with a few clay pellets inside that make a noise when the object is shaken. These are decorated much the same as spindle whorls or have modeled decoration. One particularly fine rattle is modeled in the form of a lizard clinging to a rock. Frogs and amphibians are common shapes too. The small hollow objects are similar to the rattles except that they do not have the rattling pellets. Since many are unbroken it is certain that they never did rattle. There are also some horn and cone shaped hollow objects. All of these are very well made and well polished and all have one to three holes in them, in different arrangements.

Another peculiar item is a type of small solid trapezoidal object. These are flat or curved and are slipped red. They have a rudimentary face at one end and some holes in the other.

Clay masks exist but are rare. They are small (smaller than a human face) and are crudely modeled in much the same manner than the anthropomorphic vases.

As can be seen the function of most of these miniatures and small clay objects is unknown. Without information on how they were placed in the tomb and what they were associated with we cannot securely date them. It seems likely that all these objects had some ritual or ceremonial use since they are frequent in tombs and not, as far as is known, found in living refuse. Some of the items, like the «head deformers» and the masks may have been cheap substitutes for more costly stone or metal items. But this too is merely surmise.

Spindle Whorls and Related Objects

Spindle whorls are a very common artifacts in the tombs and in the living sites of the Middle Cauca and Caldas Complexes. If Arango is to be trusted, spindle whorls are found in all the types of tombs known from this region. Several grave groups containing spindle whorls are known, one excavated by the author, and from these it seems that there is no basic difference between whorls of the Middle Cauca and whorls of the Caldas Complex.

Spindle whorls are usually dark in color, tan through brown to black. A large number of them appear to have been smoked black, a unique feature in this part of the world. This would have meant separate firing. As with all other forms of ceramic artifact a few with a chalky white paste are also known. The paste is generally very fine, occasionally there is a light fine sand temper. Constructed by cutting out of a thick slab of clay or by coiling. Most of the hollow whorls were coiled although some were made of slabs. Most whorls are slipped in the paste color and burnished or polished.

Spindle whorls from this area are generally quite large. Very few are under 2.5 cm. in diameter and most are 3 to 4 cm. There are some bigger ones, specimens up to 10 cm., have been seen. The shapes are divided between those with a simple silhouette and those with a composite silhouette. The simple whorls range in cross section from almost hemispherical to a very slightly rounded disk. The bottom is always flatter than the top. Composite silhouette spindle whorls consist of one of these lower elements with an upper element attached. The upper element is a globular or ovoid bead of clay modeled separately and attached when the pieces were leather hard (as the frequent breaks clearly show). The bottom element in both simple and composite whorls may be circular, square, hexagonal, octagonal or some other polygonal shape. Circular bottom elements are the most common, but the others are not rare. A number of the larger composite silhouette whorls are hollow and have clay pellets in them so that they rattle when spun.

The decoration of spindle whorls is most distinctive. Almost all whorls have very fine, often very elaborate, designs incised on the top (and sometimes the sides and bottom). The incision is often accompanied by small punctate circles or dots, especially as an edge element. A very few examples have an impressed design on the surface.

Most of the whorls have white pigment filling the incisions, Although Arango (1923-24) mentions several times that he found painted or black painted whorls no painted spindle whorls in a sample of whole specimens of more than 5000 pieces was observed. Perhaps Arango was referring to the dark color of the whorls and not the

technique of decoration. No effigy whorls were made in this area although they are known in other areas of Colombia.

The designs incised on the spindle whorls are totally unrelated to those on the painted vessels of any complex. Many are highly stylized animals, birds, reptiles, etc. A larger number are purely geometric: hexagons, stars, triangles, etc. Almost all designs are beautifully adapted to the shape of the whorl and even the simplest whorls show a highly developed sense of decoration. In an aesthetic sense the decoration of these simple domestic articles is one of the high points of ancient Colombian art.

Although the decoration on the spindle whorls bears no relationship to that on the major groups of decorated pottery, there are some miniature vessels which are decorated in the same technique and with designs similar to those of the spindle whorls. None of these miniature vessels has any archaeological association or anything more than regional provenience. Most seem to come from the area of Manizales and Chinchin. These vessels are all dark in color and decorated with fine white-filled geometric patterns. Two shapes occur: a footed cup (two variants) and a shallow hemispherical bowl. The most common shape is a tiny footed cup with a high base and a pointed oval bowl. These are usually less than 5 cm. high. The other cup has a square or diamond shaped bowl and a flat flange at the bottom. One specimen is known in which the foot is attached to a bench, also decorated with white-filled incision.

In addition to these miniature vessels a few miniature musical instruments with the same paste and decoration are known. These include tiny ocarinas and whistles. In general it seems that the use of a very fine paste with little or no sand temper, firing in a reducing atmosphere and decoration with very elaborate and fine white-filled incision was restricted to very small items: spindle whorls, miniature dishes and tiny musical instruments.

A last type of ceramic artifact related in function to the spindle whorls, but of a very different character are the stamps and rollers or cylinder seals. These are found in great numbers in the tombs and in the refuse of this area. In the La Tebaida tomb excavated by the author a roller was several spindle whorls were placed together in an incensario. The stamps are generally rectangular or circular with a projection on the back to hold onto. The cylinder seals are solid or hollow or may be of a «rolling pin» shape with side handles. Both are decorated with relief designs in various geometric patterns which bear little resemblance to those painted on pottery or incised on spindle whorls. There is a great variety of designs, but all are geometric and most are symmetrical. The subject of design in these artifacts has been treated exhaustively in a number of articles (e.g. Cerezo López, 1962) and does not merit further discussion. There is no evidence that seals and rollers were

used to decorate ceramics and their associations indicate that they must have been used to decorate textiles or to put on body paint. At present there is no way of distinguishing between which were used for what function, if indeed there was any distinction.

RELATIONSHIPS OF THE CALDAS AND MIDDLE CAUCA COMPLEXES WITH OTHER ANCIENT CERAMIC STYLES OF COLOMBIA.

The various Middle Cauca drainage styles show strong resemblances to other ancient ceramic styles of Colombia. These resemblances are purely stylistic, there being very little archaeological evidence concerning any given ancient culture of Colombia. The problem is further complicated by the lack of firm dating or of firm geographical boundaries for any of the Cauca Valley and Cordillera Central styles and by the large amounts of trade pottery found in all of these areas. This is especially a problem with the neighboring cultural areas. For example, we have seen that a fair amount of the ceramics traditionally called Calima might just as well belong to the Middle Cauca and Caldas Complexes and hence, in traditional terminology, be «Quimbaya». Even if both areas were better known the problem of definition of just what is what would be thorny simply because of what was undoubtedly a fluctuating cultural situation in the past. For example, Duque Gómez found «Calima» style pottery in one of the tombs he excavated in Montenegro with no definitely Caldas or Middle Cauca artifacts associated (Tomb 4, Montenegro). There is no way of explaining this at this time.

Material of the so-called Upper Cauca style (Ford 1944) is also found in quantity in the Cordillera Central and adjacent Cauca Valley. Again, there are no associations to show which complex they are associated with, but the number of Upper Cauca pieces and the variety of places they are known to have been found suggests close contact or a fair amount of moving around.

There are also evidences of trade to the far south with San Agustín. Pérez de Barradas illustrates a Middle Cauca alcarraza of unexceptional type which was found in a tomb at El Guineo on the right bank of the Magdalena River near Quinchana (1943; 132, fig. 17).

The San Agustín ceramic inventory, particularly that of the Isnos period shows some affinities with the Cordillera Central complexes, but the Isnos Period is centuries earlier and any resemblances must be either genetic or fortuitous (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1972).

Connections between the Cordillera Central and Tierradentro have been proposed for a long time, mainly on the basis of alleged similarity of tomb types. Arango (1923-24) reports having found painted chamber tombs in Quindío. There are other reports of painted tombs in that area, but those I was able to discover more about

simply had had red ochre or some other red pigment spread about the chamber of the tomb. Similarities in the ceramics between the two areas are not marked although resist painted, basically red, ceramics are common at Tierradentro. Shapes again show some similarity, but not a lot. Both areas produced alcarrazas but, as would be expected, those of Tierradentro show more similarity with alcarrazas of San Agustín than of the Middle Cauca area. A squash shaped jar is also found in both areas, but as this form is common through the Cauca Valley it is not definitive of any connection. There are large urns with incised decoration in both areas, but they are somewhat different in both shape and decoration. Annular base cups and compoteras are found in both areas but again have a very wide distribution throughout ancient Colombia. Basically there is, as yet, no really good evidence of contact between either the Middle Cauca or the Caldas complexes and the ancient culture (s) of Tierradentro. One would expect that there was some contact, but evidence is not forthcoming at this point in time.

There are strong resemblances between certain of the Magdalena Valley ceramic groups and the Applique Incised sub-group of the Caldas Complex. In both areas one has evidence of urn burial (secondary in the case of the Magdalena cultures). The Magdalena Valley urns are decorated with applique ornaments and usually have a modeled figure on the lid. These urns sometimes have impressed decoration on the vessel surface and the domestic pottery commonly has this type of decoration. Very few of the Applique incised urns are decorated at all; those which are have a little applique or some low relief adorns about the neck, much as do the Magdalena urns. The method of closing the Applique Incised urns is not known; the Magdalena ones have a special lid and are interred in a shallow pit very close to the surface.

One of the identifying marks of Magdalena pottery, especially that from Río de la Miel, is a design formed of simple frets and lines, often arranged in diagonal stripes along the vessel wall. There is also some use of applique faces on the vessel necks. The designs are formed by impressing a thin rectangular object, probably a stick, into the damp clay, forming a line with irregular outlines. This technique is not too common in the Applique Incised pottery, although it is found on related vessels from what may be a more northerly extension of his general ceramic style. There are enough pieces from the Middle Cauca drainage known with identical decoration though that it is tempting to see some sort of relationship between the Magdalena cultures and at least one part of the Caldas Complex. There is however no archaeological evidence for this connection and the stylistic resemblances, while closer than with any of the painted pottery groups, are rather general. They share the use of simple incised or impressed design although usually the Middle Cauca designs are simpler, the use of a dashed line between parallel incised lines as a common motif, the use of stylized human faces as neck ornament and a certain predilection for carinated olla shapes with a relatively narrow, vertical neck.

Río de la Miel style pottery is not the only Magdalena style represented in the Middle Cauca area. From some tombs near Manizales several pieces come that are very closely related to, if not imported from, the site of Arrancaplumas in the Depto. de Tolima. Especially conspicuous is an olla type vessels with applied nodules and a flanged rim decorated with dashed line incision. Several other pieces have the narrow deep incised decoration that is typical of Arrancaplumas style pottery. In any event, some sort of fairly close connection with the cultures of the Magdalena Valley, especially that part of it that was closest to the Middle Cauca cultures is certain. Its date, duration and type are, however, unknown.

Pieces coming from the Pijao region of Tolima are fairly numerous in the tombs of the Middle Cauca and/or Caldas complex. The Pijao style or styles is very poorly defined and, from pieces published and in collections, seems to be quite closely related to the various styles of the Middle Cauca drainage. Elements shared include (besides the trade pieces) clay masks and certain design elements, especially variants on the Yotoco patterns. However, the Pijao cultures are even less known than the «Calima» and «Quimbaya» ones so that any further speculation seems fruitless.

The Nariño cultures are also represented by trade goods in the Cordillera Central and adjacent Cauca Valley. The resist painting tradition of Nariño may have had some connection with those of the Cauca area. Certainly the painting on the pottery called «Negativo del Carchi» is quite similar, the main differences being that the Nariño style used broad lines and several patterns which are not found in the Cauca area. Shapes are again roughly similar, but not identical. The figurines of the Nariño area are very different.

The obvious problem in trying to talk about intercultural relationships in Colombia is that very few of the ancient cultures have been adequately defined or dated. It is fairly obvious in studying the ancient ceramics of the Cordillera Central and the Cauca Valley that there are foreign stylistic influences at work, but it is impossible to pinpoint these in either time or space. There is good evidence that there was heavy trade, including ceramics, between the various ancient cultures but because none of the trade pieces known have any associations with Middle Cauca or Caldas pottery there is no way of even roughly placing them temporally. Until more controlled excavation is done, both in the Middle Cauca and Caldas areas and elsewhere in Colombia, the problem of intercultural relationships is unsolvable.

RELATIONSHIPS OF THE MIDDLE CAUCA AND CALDAS COMPLEXES WITH OTHER ANDEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICAN CULTURES

The question of outside influence on the various archaeological cultures of Colombia has received much attention in the literature. Many of the theories of

cultural contact or in-migration which have been proposed, especially those regarding derivation of American cultures from Africa, Europe, Asia, or the outer galaxies, may safely be discarded. Other theories, which concern contact between the cultures of Meso- and South America, cannot be so easily dismissed. It is becoming increasingly evident from the archaeological record that there were movements of ideas, if not of populations, over the Americas overland travel between South and Central America must, as a matter of geographic necessity, go through Colombia. The two great river valleys of central Colombia are then the logical routes for such travel to take, since overland travel in the coastal region of Colombia is difficult in the dense rain forest. Likewise north south travel in eastern Colombia is difficult because of the orientation of the mountain chains and the river valleys. Heavy trading up and down the Cauca Valley is amply attested to in early Spanish documents, as is trade across the cordilleras. The number of obviously foreign pieces found in archaeological contexts in the Cauca Valley shows that trade was probably as frequent in earlier periods. However, although trade pieces from adjacent areas of Colombia are found in the Cauca Valley and although one can make some inferences about foreign stylistic influence on the completes of the Middle Cauca, to date no undoubted trade pieces nor unambiguous influences of extra-Colombian origin have been detected. There are, however, a few suggestions in the ceramic record of farther flung connections of the various Middle Cauca Valley cultures. These are, admittedly, vague, but all the more interesting in view of the central position of the Cauca Valley in any postulated migration of ideas or peoples.

In tracing such influences of interconnections one is immediately hampered by the almost total lack of archaeological data on the cultures associated with the ceramics. From the reports of *guaqueros* and from the small amount of scientific investigation that has taken place in this area one gets a tantalizing glimpse of a well developed funerary cult of some sort. From the vague reports of the early Spaniards one also discovers that in parts of the Cauca Valley there was quite highly developed shamanism, that there were ceremonial battles and drinking bouts of various sorts, that cannibalism of both religious and secular types was widespread, that there were rudimentary hereditary social class systems, and so on. Unfortunately, there is little evidence that the observations of the Spanish are valid farther back in time than the immediate conquest period. There is likewise little evidence that they are not. What we are left with as secure knowledge of the ancient cultures is the evidence of their funerary practices with some less firm evidences of a stratified society and cannibalism. Elaborate funerary cults, retainer burial, class societies, and cannibalism are widely distributed throughout the Americas and without firmer knowledge of the forms they took in Central Colombia any discussions of origins or spread are somewhat premature.

Since the Colombian cultures can now be dated some discussion of cultural connections based on technology and on ceramic styles is possible. The known cultures of the Middle Cauca Valley are all late, corresponding in time to the Post-Classical or Toltec-Aztec period of Meso-America and the Later Intermediate Period and Late Horizon of Peru. In lower Central America the corresponding time period

would be the Late Polychrome of Costa Rica and Nicaragua and the Nicoya/Veraguas/Coclé cultures of Panama. There are several interesting features of this period of time in general in the New World. The use of metals, especially the making of finely worked gold and gold alloy ornaments, was widespread.

Polychrome and resist painted pottery were manufactured widely, especially in the Northern Andes and lower Central America. Elaborate funerary cults were also very common, coupled with retainer burial, large offerings of goods and sacrifices. Cannibalism, especially north of Peru, was widespread. Fragmented warring states interspersed with the rise and spread of large states or empires in the latter part of the period are noteworthy along with well documented hereditary social class (and even caste) systems and the high development of systematic long distance trade in both raw materials and manufactured goods.

When one tries to find specific points of connection between the Colombian cultures and those of Mesoamerica there are problems, not the least of which is the extreme faultiness of the data. Although it is increasingly evident that there must have been direct contact between West Mexico and South or Central America the evidence is ambiguous. It is known that metallurgy was introduced into West Mexico via (probably) trade from some point to the south. As to which point specifically an equally good case can be made for the Panama, Costa Rica area, Colombia and Ecuador (Easby 1962). The cultural impact of Mesoamerica on Colombia and Ecuador is likewise a point for more or less fruitless discussion, since little hard data can be brought to bear. In Central America there is some doubt if major Mesoamerican influences penetrated much south of the Ulua Valley of Honduras until the very late period migrations of the Pipil and the Nicarao. Certainly the lower Central American cultures seem to show more resemblances to each other and to those of the Northern Andes than they do to any specific Mesoamerican cultures (Bruhns 1974a).

In the Cauca Drainage we find almost no points of similarity between the later Mesoamerican cultures and the indigenous cultures. There are a very few points of resemblance with the late Preclassic cultures of West Mexico, specifically the practice of primary burial in shaft and chamber tombs, the placement of figurines with the body and the inclusion of vessels, tools, and jewelry with the burial(s). Although these resemblances have been made much of (Furst 1966), the mere time gap of approximately a thousand years between these cultures should be sufficient evidence of lack of direct contact. Moreover, it is evident that the postulated resemblances are very generalized. For example, the varieties of shaft and chamber tombs are quite different and the subjects of the pottery sculpture are so different as to be indicative of their different purposes (Furst 1965). Similarities between the late cultures of the Cauca area and of lower Central America are more pronounced. From Spanish accounts we know that social customs, religious beliefs and the economic bases of the various cultures of Costa Rica, Panama and the Cauca Valley were in many cases virtually identical. Division into noble and commoner classes with a graded nobility and paramount (if petty) chiefs was found

in both areas. Retainer burial, especially of favored women and of servants, was also common, as was the custom of placing great wealth with the corpse. Some contact between these two areas can be proven, as in the cases of Colombian goldwork and emeralds being found in late archeological contexts in Panama and Costa Rica. Such items as the «Veraguas eagle» are fairly well known in archaeological deposits in much of Colombia (Bruhns 1974b). In terms of ceramics there are some suggestive interconnections. Many of the resist painted vessels from Chiriquí in Panama are virtually identical in design (if not in shapes) to those of the Middle Cauca Complex. Even granting the rather limited range of possible expression in a three color resist technique using purely linear geometric patterns the resemblances are amazing. There are also some suggestive similarities between two of the late complexes of Caldas (Brownware Incised and Tricolor) and the polychrome vessels of the Coclé culture (Bruhns 1967).

Similarities of the Middle Cauca Valley cultures with other cultural groups of Central America are not great. Given the basic similarities of these cultures at the time of the arrival of the Spanish and for some time prior to that event, one might suspect that there was something more than a simple general resemblance. The elaboration of metallurgy along the same general stylistic lines, certain features of the ceramics such as an interest in high annular bases, in fillet applique, in polychromy, the common use of cylindrical and flat stamps with the same types of patterns, burial in shaft and chamber tombs and in stone cists, and so on are suggestive of some sort of close connection but point to nothing specific. As one moves north the points of similarity become fewer and fewer so that there are many rather specific resemblances between the Colombian cultures in question and those of Panama, fewer with Costa Rica, and almost none with Nicaragua. Such is the current state of the evidence that one cannot point to any conclusions from these similarities save to say that there seems to be more of a cultural bond between the Colombian and southern Central American cultures and any more northerly or southerly area.

When one turns south one finds much weaker evidence for any sort of contact or, indeed, any relationship at all. There are very few evidences of contact and these are quite diffuse. There are some slight resemblances between the resist painted styles of ceramics of the Middle Cauca Valley and those of Nariño and northern Ecuador (Carchi). The Nariño style, or some manifestations of it is in fact part of an extension of a culture which has its main sites in Carchi. The Ecuadorian styles used to be called loosely «Tuncahuan», and are now divided into Piartel, the three color resist style and Capulí, the two color resist one (Francisco 1969). Some pieces belonging to these styles have been found in the Cordillera Central, thus proving some sort of contact, but their archaeological associations are not known. A comparison of shapes between the main ceramic complexes of the Middle Cauca drainage and Piartel and Caduli shows little. Both share certain shapes, such as a globular bodied jar with a flaring neck, but this is a common form in many Colombian and Ecuadorian ceramic styles. The characteristic flat carinated

and egg shaped jars of Piartel are not found in either the Middle Cauca or Caldas completes. On the other hand, the footed cup is probably the single most common shape in both areas, although the proportions are somewhat different. There is a stronger resemblance in painted decoration between the Middle Cauca area and northern Ecuador. The Ecuadorian designs, like those of the Cauca area, tend to be negative, that is, the black is applied in such a manner that the designs is formed by the underpaint. However, Piartel and Caduli designs are formed with a relatively broad reserve line and large, irregularly shaped, dots whereas the Middle Cauca and Caldas patterns are usually of narrow reserve lines and small regular dots or circles. These differences in execution of the patterns give a very different effect when, in fact, many almost identical designs are used in the two ceramic traditions. It should be emphasized though that the actual motifs held in common consist of a very small part of the Piartel and Capuli repertory. The actual number of motifs in use in Middle

Cauca and Caldas is quite small and there are no representational designs such as are found on the Ecuadorian ceramics. There is also nowhere near the variety of combinations of motifs that is seen, especially in Piartel. The actual designs held in common are the spiral and dot design, although the Ecuadorian ones are somewhat different that the Yotoco arrangements combinations of crossed reserve lines, a circle, a flower motif made of dots which run together and which is used as a filler ornament in large solid black areas, and a general interest in reserve triangles. A number of these motifs are also found in the resist decorated pottery of southern Colombia, especially that of San Agustin and of Tierradentro. This does suggest that the appearance of «Ecuadorian» motifs in the Cauca drainage might well be due to influences from close r cultures. The fact that the number of shared motifs is so small and that their arrangement is different in the two areas suggests also that any contact was not particularly close or that it was of a type which was not reflected in the ceramics. That there was some sort of contact is evident in the trade pieces from Ecuador (or southern Colombia) found in the Cauca drainage. As the circumstances of their finding and their general associations are unknown though it is fruitless to try to delineate more closely the type of contact involved.

Resemblances with other archaeological cultures of Ecuador are even more vague. Some resemblance can be seen between the fine incised decoration on Caldas and Middle Cauca spindle whorls and several of the fine line incised wares of Ecuadorian cultures, especially those from Manta. General ties to Ecuador are seen in the emphasis on annular bases, in the use of cylinder seals and flat stamps, in the fairly frequent appearance of alcarrazas, tripod vases, human figurines, composite silhouette forms, etc. The elaboration of funerary rites as reflected in the multiplicity of tomb and burial types is characteristic of both areas. There are though no specific points that one can say show contact or interrelationships of other than an indirect sort. There is no Inca horizon in Colombia to even tie the two areas together on the terminal prehispanic time level

and the problems of cultural sequences and dating of ancient cultures in Colombia and Ecuador preclude any sorts of conclusions based on temporal proximity.

Relationships between the Middle Cauca area and Peru, on the basis of existing evidence, seem slight. The ceramic styles of northern Peru show little or no resemblance to those of the Middle Cauca save for a use of resist painting in both areas. There are no reflections of any of the shapes or design motifs of this part of Colombia in Peru nor do the Colombian cultures show the interest in elaborate modeling and painting that the northern Peruvian ones had from an early period. The ceramic mould, Dreivalent in northern Peru from the Early Intermediate Period (beginning ca. 250 B.C.) on, is not known in central Colombia. Although the hallmark shape of northern Peru, the stirrup bottle, is found in the Middle Cauca, it is a very rare form in Colombia and is of a form that is radically different from the Peruvian examples. The double spout and bridge bottle or alcarraza is also found in both areas but again takes very different forms in the Cauca area and in northern Peru. The Montaña area of Peru is so poorly known archaeologically that comparisons between its ancient cultures and those of outlying areas seem futile at the present date. There are few, if any, correspondences between the Colombian cultures and those of central and southern Peru on any time level. In considering the connections the Middle Cauca region might have had with cultures outside of Colombia one can only conclude that there is little proof but some reasonable suspicions that such contact must have existed. There seems to be especially good reason to assume particularly close connections with the cultures of Panama and Costa Rica. Not only is there evidence of trade goods from Colombia found in Central America. Central American pieces are commonly found in Colombia. It is unfortunate that all of these pieces were located by treasure hunters so that there is little further information beyond the pieces themselves. There is also some mention in the early historical record of trade between Colombia and lower Central America. However, such contacts, especially in the more remote time periods, may well have been indirect, pieces passing from group to group, and hence there would be little reflection of such contact in the ceramic decoration. Contact with the south is probable, again possibly through trade, since some trade goods have been found in archaeological contexts. Currently there is no good evidence of interconnections of the ancient cultures of Central Colombia with any regions farther to the north or to the south although indirect contact is again possible.

SUMMARY

This paper is intended as a definition of the known ceramic styles of the Middle Cauca Valley and adjacent Cordillera Central of Colombia. Although it has been possible, on the basis of grave lots, and the small amount of archaeological investigation done in this area, to sort the material in such a manner that temporal and probably cultural groups are represented more problems have been raised than answered.

Even the basic problem of the temporal relationships of the two major ceramic complexes has not been solved in a satisfactory manner, there not being enough archaeological control. Moreover there is every indication that these ceramic complexes are late. There is no reason to suppose that the very rich region of Central Colombia was uninhabited between the Paleoindian period (of which some evidences have come to light in Quindío) and the last centuries before the Spanish Conquest. There are a few enigmatic finds of ceramics from the region which fit into none of the above discussed categories and must pertain to these earlier cultures. The major source on the archaeology of the Middle Cauca, the memoirs of the gauquero Yuis Arango has little mention of the types of tombs which do not contain metal and no information on the types of ceramic or other artifacts which they contain. Since there is such a long gap in the available information on the ancient cultures of this region there is no possibility of constructing a developmental sequence for the Middle Cauca area. Although the available information suggests the temporal relationship of the Middle Cauca and Caldas complexes, this is by no means proven. Moreover, there is not even a sure identification of the Conquest period ceramics or other artifacts of the region. Bray has identified (this volume) what he thinks may be the terminal pre-conquest style of the «Calima» area immediately to the south. This style, while clearly related to none of the described complexes does have strong points of resemblance to many isolated pieces of ceramic from the Middle Cauca and to pieces from a rather large group of tombs excavated by Duque Gómez in El Oro, Riosucio «in the 1940's. In any case we are left with neither a beginning nor an end for the ceramic making peoples of the Middle Cauca drainage. It is not even possible to order the ceramic complexes in time with reference to other related cultures since the same situation pertains to most of Colombia.

Because of the central position the Middle Cauca cultures hold with regard to the movement of peoples and ideas north and south this is one of the potentially more important areas for archaeological research in South America. What is needed is more field archaeology aimed at solving problems of chronology and at delineating the several cultures and their interrelationships on a more secure basis than the resemblance of ceramic styles. Until such time as more serious investigation is carried out in Central Colombia all conclusions about the ancient cultures of that region must remain tentative.

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EXTRACTO

Las cerámicas arqueológicas del valle medio del Cauca, con base al tratamiento de la superficie y a la decoración, se dividen tentativamente en ocho grupos, que a su vez se pueden reducir a cuatro complejos mayores (P. 102).

El complejo del Cauca medio, ubicado desde Buga hasta cerca de Medellín fue predominante en el área, con un subestilo bien definido, llamado «Yotoco». **El complejo de Caldas**, que parece haberse derivado del anterior, tiene su límite sur en Sonso y abarca el área del antiguo departamento de Caldas en Colombia, especialmente el actual Quindío. Se hace un estudio Pormenorizado de las características de tales complejos y de sus grupos y subgrupos más o menos definidos. También se detallan los otros dos complejos, cerámicas cafés incisas y tricolor, ambos localizados en un sector geográfico restringido entre Pereira y Manizales (Pp. 102-177).

Se trata de establecer relaciones entre los cuatro complejos del Cauca con otros de Colombia. Las limitadas excavaciones realizadas permiten hallar afinidades con otras formas de la Cordillera Central (Tierradentro y San Agustín) y del valle del Magdalena (Pp. 177-180).

Asimismo se intenta rastrear relaciones cerámicas con áreas andinas y centroamericanas. Las conclusiones de las páginas 180-186 se traducen a continuación en su integridad: En la literatura aparece con frecuencia información sobre la influencia foránea en las culturas arqueológicas de Colombia. Se pueden descartar muchas de las teorías que tratan las relaciones culturales o las inmigraciones, especialmente las que consideran que las culturas americanas se derivaron del Africa, Europa, Asia o de galaxias exteriores. Otras teorías que tratan la relación entre las culturas de Meso y Sur América no se pueden descartar fácilmente. Se hace cada vez más evidente de los registros arqueológicos, que hubo movilización de ideas, si no de poblaciones, por las Américas.

Todo transporte terrestre entre Sur y Centroamérica debe pasar por Colombia, debido a su situación geográfica. Los dos grandes valles del centro de Colombia son la ruta más lógica por donde este transporte debió ocurrir, ya que viajar por la región costera colombiana es difícil, debido al tupido bosque lluvioso. Igualmente el transporte de norte a sur en el oriente colombiano es difícil, debido a la orientación de las cordilleras y de los valles. De acuerdo con documentos españoles antiguos, hubo bastante intercambio a lo largo del Valle del Cauca y entre las cordilleras. Los ejemplares extranjeros encontrados en los contextos arqueológicos en el Valle del Cauca, demuestran que el intercambio era igualmente frecuente en los períodos anteriores. Sin embargo, aunque se encuentran ejemplares de intercambio desde áreas adyacentes a Colombia hacia el Valle del Cauca, y aunque se pueda deducir influencia estilística extranjera en los complejos del Cauca Medio, hasta la fecha no se han detectado sin lugar a duda ejemplares de intercambio ni influencias no ambiguas de origen extracolombiano. Hay, sin embargo, unas pocas insinuaciones en los registros de cerámica, de conexiones lejanas de las distintas culturas del Valle del Cauca Medio. Estas relaciones están indefinidas pero son muy interesantes, debido a la posición central del Valle del Cauca para una migración de ideas o de gentes

La falta de información arqueológica sobre las culturas asociadas a la cerámica, obstaculiza la investigación de tales influencias e interconexiones. De los informes de guaqueros y de la poca investigación científica que se ha hecho en esta área, se obtiene la impresión de algún tipo de culto funerario. Los vagos informes de los primeros españoles, indican que en partes del Valle del Cauca hubo un shamanismo altamente desarrollado; que hubo batallas ceremoniales y jolgorios alcohólicos de diversos tipos; que había canibalismo de tipos religioso y secular ampliamente esparcidos; que había sistemas rudimentarios de clases sociales hereditarias etc. Desafortunadamente, hay poca evidencia de que las observaciones de los españoles sean válidas, para apreciar lo que existía inmediatamente antes de la época de la conquista. Igualmente hay poca evidencia de que las observaciones no fuesen válidas. De las culturas antiguas sabemos con certeza que tenían prácticas funerarias y menos evidencia acerca de la sociedad estratificada y del canibalismo. Los elaborados cultos funerarios, los sepelios con pertenencias, las sociedades clasistas y el canibalismo, se ven

ampliamente distribuidas por las Américas, y sin tener un conocimiento más firme acerca de las formas que estos tomaron en Colombia central, no se pueden analizar sus orígenes ni su distribución.

Debido a que a las culturas colombianas pueden ser fechadas, es posible discutir las conexiones o relaciones culturales, con base en la tecnología y en los estilos de cerámica. Las culturas conocidas del Valle del Cauca Medio son todas tardías, correspondiendo en el tiempo al Período Post-clásico o Tolteca- Azteca de Mesoamérica y al Período Tardío Intermedio y Horizonte Tardío del Perú. Hacia el sur de Centroamérica, el período de tiempo correspondiente sería el Policromado Tardío de Costa Rica y de Nicaragua, y las culturas Nicoya, Veraguas y Coclé de Panamá. Hay varias características interesantes en este lapso en el Nuevo Mundo en general. La utilización de metales, especialmente la fina elaboración de ornamentos de oro y aleaciones de oro, estaba generalizada. La alfarería polieromada y de pintura resistente, estaba elaborada extensamente en los Andes del norte y al sur de Centroamérica. Los cultos funerarios elaborados también eran comunes, además de los tierros con los servidores y los grandes ofrecimientos de bienes y sacrificios. El canibalismo estaba generalizado sobre todo al norte de Perú. Pequeños estados guerreros incrustados con el surgimiento y expansión de grandes imperios de la última parte del período, son notables, lo mismo que las clases sociales hereditarias (y aún sistemas de casta) y el alto desarrollo de intercambio sistemático sobre largas distancias, de materia prima y de bienes manufacturados.

Uno de los problemas que se presentan al tratar de encontrar los puntos específicos de conexión entre las culturas colombianas y las de Mesoamérica, es la falta de información. Aunque es bastante evidente que hubo contacto directo entre Méjico occidental con Sur o Centroamérica, esta evidencia es ambigua. Se sabe que la metalurgia se introdujo a Méjico probablemente por un intercambio con algún sitio hacia el sur. Ese sitio específico bien puede ser el área de Panamá-Costa Rica, como pueden serlo Colombia o el Ecuador (Easby 1962).

El impacto cultural de Mesoamérica sobre Colombia y el Ecuador es también un punto de discusión sin objeto, puesto que existe escasa información. Hay duda acerca de que en Centroamérica las influencias de Mesoamérica hayan penetrado hacia el sur del Valle de Ulúa de Honduras, hasta la época tardía de las migraciones de los Pipil y de los Nicaraos. Ciertamente las culturas del sur de Centroamérica tienen mayores semejanzas entre ellas y con las de las Andinas del norte, que con cualquiera de las culturas de Mesoamérica (Bruhns 1974a). En la cuenca del Cauca no hay puntos de similitud entre las culturas Mesoamericanas y las culturas indígenas. Hay algunas semejanzas con las culturas Preclásicas de Méjico occidental, como la práctica del entierro primario en bóvedas, la colocación de figuras con el cadáver y la inclusión de vasijas, herramientas y joyería. Aunque estas semejanzas son muy enfatizadas (Furst 1966), el período que separa a estas culturas -que es de unos mil años- debe de

ser suficiente evidencia de una falta de relación directa. Además, es evidente que las semejanzas postuladas son muy generalizadas. Por ejemplo, las variedades de bóvedas son muy diferentes y los temas de la alfarería difieren tanto, que son indicativos de sus distintas utilidades (Furst 1965). Las similitudes entre las culturas tardías del área del Cauca y del sur de Centroamérica son más pronunciadas. Según registros de los españoles, sabemos que las costumbres sociales, creencias religiosas y las bases económicas de las distintas culturas de Costa Rica, Panamá y Valle del Cauca eran idénticas. En ambas partes se encontraba una división de las clases entre clases nobles y clases comunes, con una nobleza estratificada y con jefes supremos (o subalternos). El entierro de servidores, especialmente de mujeres y de sirvientes, también era común, lo mismo que la costumbre de colocar grandes valores con el cadáver. Se puede comprobar una relación entre estas dos áreas, como lo es el caso de esmeraldas y orfebrería colombianas, encontradas en los últimos contextos arqueológicos en Panamá y en Costa Rica. Ejemplares como el «Aguila Veraguas» son muy conocidos en Colombia (Bruhns 1974b). En términos de cerámica, se insinúan algunas interconexiones. Muchas de las vasijas con pintura resistente de Chiriquí en Panamá son idénticas en diseño (si no en forma) a las del Complejo del Cauca Medio. Las semejanzas son sorprendentes, a pesar del rango tan limitado de expresión en una técnica de pintura resistente de tres colores que utiliza solamente patrones lineares geométricos. También se insinúan similitudes entre dos de los últimos complejos de Caldas (el de Objetos Cafés Incisos y el Tricolor), con las vasijas polieromadas de la cultura Coclé (Bruhns 1967).

No son muchas las similitudes entre las culturas del Valle del Cauca Medio con otros grupos culturales de Centroamérica. Dadas las similitudes básicas de estas culturas en la época de la llegada de los españoles y en épocas anteriores, se sospecha que hubiese más que simplemente semejanza general. La elaboración de la metalurgia bajo el mismo estilo en general; ciertas características de las cerámicas como las bases anulares altas, las aplicaciones en filete, la polieromía, la utilización de sellos cilíndricos y planos con los mismos tipos de patrones; entierros en túneles, en bóvedas y en cistas de piedra, indican un tipo de conexión más íntima, pero no especifican nada. A medida que se avanza hacia el norte escasean los puntos de similitud, de tal forma que hay similitudes específicas entre las culturas colombianas y las de Panamá; menos similitudes con las de Costa Rica, y casi ninguna con Nicaragua. Con la evidencia disponible, no se pueden sacar conclusiones sobre estas similitudes, salvo decir que hay más de un vínculo cultural entre las culturas de Colombia y del sur de Centroamérica, que con culturas más hacia el norte o hacia el sur. Hacia el sur se encuentra menos evidencia de relación o contacto. Hay muy pocas evidencias de contacto y estas son difusas. Existen algunas semejanzas entre los estilos de pintura resistente de cerámicas del Valle del Cauca Medio y los de Narifío y del norte de Ecuador -que es de unos mil años- debe de ser suficiente evidencia de una falta de relación directa. Además, es evidente que las semejanzas postuladas son muy generalizadas. Por ejemplo, las variedades de bóvedas son muy diferentes y los

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Las similitudes entre las culturas tardías del área del Cauca y del sur de Centroamérica son más pronunciadas. Según registros de los españoles, sabemos que las costumbres sociales, creencias religiosas y las bases económicas de las distintas culturas de Costa Rica, Panamá y Valle del Cauca eran idénticas. En ambas partes se encontraba una división de las clases entre clases nobles y clases comunes, con una nobleza estratificada y con jefes supremos (o subalternos). El entierro de servidores, especialmente de mujeres y de sirvientes, también era común, lo mismo que la costumbre de colocar grandes valores con el cadáver. Se puede comprobar una relación entre estas dos áreas, como lo es el caso de esmeraldas y orfebrería colombianas, encontradas en los últimos contextos arqueológicos en Panamá y en Costa Rica. Ejemplares como el «Aguila Veraguas» son muy conocidos en Colombia (Bruhns 1974b). En términos de cerámica, se insinúan algunas interconexiones. Muchas de las vasijas con pintura resistente de Chiriquí en Panamá son idénticas en diseño (si no en forma) a las del Complejo del Cauca Medio. Las semejanzas son sorprendentes, a pesar del rango tan limitado de expresión en una técnica de pintura resistente de tres colores que utiliza solamente patrones lineares geométricos. También se insinúan similitudes entre dos de los últimos complejos de Caldas (el de Objetos Cafés Incisos y el Tricolor), con las vasijas polieromadas de la cultura Coclé (Bruhns 1967).

No son muchas las similitudes entre las culturas del Valle del Cauca Medio con otros grupos culturales de Centroamérica. Dadas las similitudes básicas de estas culturas en la época de la llegada de los españoles y en épocas anteriores, se sospecha que hubiese más que simplemente semejanza general. La elaboración de la metalurgia bajo el mismo estilo en general; ciertas características de las cerámicas como las bases anulares altas, las aplicaciones en filete, la polieromía, la utilización de sellos cilíndricos y planos con los mismos tipos de patrones; entierros en túneles, en bóvedas y en cistas de piedra, indican un tipo de conexión más íntima, pero no especifican nada. A medida que se avanza hacia el norte escasean los puntos de similitud, de tal forma que hay similitudes específicas entre las culturas colombianas y las de Panamá; menos similitudes con las de Costa Rica, y casi ninguna con Nicaragua. Con la evidencia disponible, no se pueden sacar conclusiones sobre estas similitudes, salvo decir que hay más de un vínculo cultural entre las culturas de Colombia y del sur de Centroamérica, que con culturas más hacia el norte o hacia el sur.

Hacia el sur se encuentra menos evidencia de relación o contacto. Hay muy pocas evidencias de contacto y estas son difusas. Existen algunas semejanzas entre los estilos de pintura resistente de cerámicas del Valle del Cauca Medio y los de Narifío y del norte de Ecuador

(Carchi). El estilo de Nariño o algunas de sus manifestaciones, es de hecho parte de la extensión de una cultura que tiene su centro en Carchi. Los estilos ecuatorianos antes llamados «Tuncahuan», están divididos ahora en el estilo de Dintura resistente de tres colores, Piartel, y el estilo resistente de dos colores, Capulí (Francisco 1969). Se han encontrado algunos ejemplares de estos estilos en la Cordillera Central, que indican algún tipo de contacto, pero sus asociaciones arqueológicas no se conocen. No hay mucha diferencia entre las formas de las cerámicas de los Complejos de la cuenca del Cauca Medio con las del Piartel y Capulí. Ambas comparten ciertas formas, tales como una jarra globular con un cuello acampanado; pero esta es una forma común en muchos estilos de cerámica colombianos y ecuatorianos. Las jarras planas, carinadas y en forma de huevo, características del Piartel, no se encuentran en los Complejos del Cauca Medio ni de Caldas. Sin embargo, la copa con patas es probablemente la forma más común en ambas áreas, aunque las proporciones son diferentes. Hay una mayor semejanza en la decoración pintada del área del Cauca Medio con el norte del Ecuador. Los diseños ecuatorianos, igual que los del Cauca, tienden a ser negativos, o sea, el negro se aplica de tal manera que el diseño es formado por la pintura de base. Sin embargo, los diseños Piartel y Capulí se forman con una línea de reserva larga y relativamente ancha y puntos irregulares, mientras que los patrones del Cauca Medio y de Caldas tienen generalmente líneas de reserva angostas y pequeños puntos o círculos regulares. Estas diferencias en la ejecución de los patrones, dan efectos muy diferentes, a pesar de que se usan muchos diseños casi idénticos en las dos tradiciones ceramísticas. Debe tenerse en cuenta que los motivos que realmente tienen en común son una pequeña parte del repertorio Piartel y Capulí. El número real de motivos utilizados en el Cauca Medio y en el de Caldas es pequeño, y no hay diseños representativos como los que se encuentran en las cerámicas ecuatorianas. Tampoco presentan la variedad de combinaciones de motivos que se observan especialmente en Piartel. Los diseños que tienen en común son el diseño espiral o punteado, aunque los ecuatorianos son algo diferentes a los arreglos de Yotoco; combinaciones de líneas de reserva entrecruzadas; un círculo; un motivo floreado hecho de puntos seguidos, que se utiliza como ornamento de relleno en áreas grandes, sólidas y negras, y un interés general en triángulos de reserva. Varios de estos motivos se encuentran también en la alfarería decorada con pintura resistente del sur de Colombia, especialmente la de San Agustín y Tierradentro. Esto indica que la presencia de motivos ecuatorianos en la cuenca del Cauca puede deberse a influencias de culturas cercanas. El hecho de que el número de motivos que tienen en común sea tan pequeño y que los arreglos sean diferentes en las dos áreas, indica que el contacto no era especialmente cercano y que era del tipo que no se reflejó en las cerámicas. Las piezas de intercambio del Ecuador (o del sur de Colombia) que se encuentran en la cuenca del Cauca, dan evidencia de algún tipo de contacto. Debido a que se desconocen las asociaciones generales y las circunstancias bajo las cuales se encontraron estos ejemplares, es inútil tratar de delinear el tipo de contacto implicado.

Las semejanzas con otras culturas arqueológicas del Ecuador son todavía más vagas. Se observa algo de semejanza entre la fina decoración incisa en los volantes de Caldas y del Cauca Medio y varios objetos incisos con líneas finas de las culturas ecuatorianas, especialmente las de Manta. Vínculos con el Ecuador se observan por el énfasis en bases anulares, en la utilización de sellos cilíndricos, sellos planos, en la ausencia de alcarrazas, vasijas trípodes, figuras humanas, formas de silueta compuesta etc. La elaboración de ritos funerarios, reflejada en la multiplicidad de tipos de tumbas y de entierros, caracteriza ambas áreas. Sin embargo, no hay puntos específicos que demuestren contacto o interrelaciones que no sean indirectas. No hay horizonte Inca en Colombia para unir las dos áreas, hasta cuando terminó el período prehispánico. Los problemas de las secuencias culturales y de fechar las culturas antiguas en Colombia y el Ecuador, impiden sacar conclusiones basadas en proximidad temporal.

Con base en la evidencia existente sobre las relaciones entre el área del Cauca Medio y el Perú, estas parecen ser escasas. Los estilos de cerámica del norte de Perú muestran poca o ninguna semejanza con los del Cauca Medio, a excepción de la utilización de pintura resistente en ambas áreas. No se refleja ninguna de las formas ni motivos de diseños de esta parte de Colombia en el Perú, ni tampoco las culturas Colombianas muestran el interés en el modelado y pinturas elaboradas que tenían las del norte del Perú desde un lejano período. El molde de cerámica que prevalece en el norte del Perú desde el Período Intermedio Temprano (empezando en 250 A.C.) en adelante, no se conoce en el centro de Colombia. Aunque la forma típica del norte del Perú, que es la botella estribo, se encuentra en el Cauca Medio, es una forma muy rara en Colombia y es de forma radicalmente diferente a la de los ejemplares del Perú. La vasija de doble pico o la alcarraza también se encuentran en ambas áreas, pero tienen formas muy diferentes en el área del Cauca y en el norte del Perú. El área montañosa del Perú se conoce tan poco arqueológicamente, que comparaciones entre sus culturas antiguas y las de áreas foráneas parecen fútiles al presente. Hay pocas, si es que las hay, correspondencias entre las culturas colombianas y las del sur o centro del Perú en cualquier época.

Al considerar las conexiones que la región del Cauca Medio haya podido tener con culturas fuera de Colombia, se concluye que hay pocas pruebas; pero se sospecha que tal contacto pudo haber existido. Hay buena razón para suponer que hubo conexiones cercanas con las culturas de Panamá y Costa Rica. No solo hay evidencia de bienes intercambiados desde Colombia a Centroamérica. Ejemplares de Centroamérica se encuentran con frecuencia en Colombia. Desafortunadamente todos estos ejemplares fueron localizados por los cazadores de tesoros, de tal manera que fuera de los ejemplares mismos queda poca información. En el registro histórico de épocas anteriores también se hace mención de intercambio entre Colombia y el sur de Centroamérica. Sin embargo, esos contactos, especialmente en los períodos más remotos, han podido ser indirectos; los ejemplares pasaban de un grupo a otro y por esto había poco reflejo

de tal contacto en las decoraciones ceramísticas. El contacto con el sur es probable por medio de intercambio, ya que algunos bienes de intercambio se han encontrado en los contextos arqueológicos. Actualmente no hay buena evidencia de interconexiones de las culturas antiguas de Colombia central con cualquier región más hacia el norte o hacia el sur, aunque un contacto indirecto es posible.

RESUMEN

El objetivo de este trabajo es definir los estilos de cerámica conocidos del Valle del Cauca Medio y de la Cordillera Central de Colombia. Aunque en base a las tumbas y a la poca cantidad de investigación arqueológica hecha en esta área, haya sido posible ordenar el material de tal manera que los grupos culturales y temporales estén representados, han surgido más problemas que respuestas. Aun el problema básico de las relaciones temporales de los dos complejos de cerámica principales no se ha solucionado de manera satisfactoria, habiendo así poco control arqueológico. Por otra parte, se indica que estos complejos de cerámica son tardíos. No hay razón para suponer que toda región rica de Colombia central estuvo deshabitada entre el período Paleolítico (de lo cual algunas evidencias han salido a la luz en el Quindío) y los últimos siglos antes de la conquista española.

Ha habido algunos encuentros enigmáticos de cerámicas de la región que no cuadran en ninguna de las categorías descritas anteriormente y que deben pertenecer a estas culturas anteriores. Las memorias del guaquero Luis Arango, que son la fuente principal de la arqueología del Cauca Medio, mencionan muy poco los tipos de tumbas que no contenían metal, y no hay información sobre los tipos de cerámicas o de otros objetos que se encontraban en las tumbas. Debido al intervalo tan largo de información disponible sobre las culturas antiguas de esta región, no hay posibilidad de construir una secuencia de desarrollo para el área del Cauca Medio. Aunque la información disponible sugiere la relación temporal de los Complejos del Cauca Medio y de Caldas, esto no está probado. Además, no hay una identificación segura de las cerámicas del período de la Conquista o de otros artefactos de la región. Bray ha identificado lo que piensa puede ser el estilo terminal de la pre-conquista del área «Calima» inmediatamente hacia el sur. Aunque no esté claramente relacionado con ninguno de los complejos descritos, sí tiene unos puntos fuertes de semejanza con muchos ejemplares aislados del Cauca Medio y con ejemplares de un grupo grande de tumbas excavadas por Duque Gómez en El Oro, Riosucio, hacia 1940. En todo caso, quedamos sin principio ni fin para las gentes que hacían cerámica en la cuenca del Cauca Medio. No es posible ordenar a los complejos ceramísticos en el tiempo con referencia a otras culturas relacionadas, ya que la misma situación es común a la mayor parte de Colombia.

Debido a la posición central que tienen las culturas del Cauca Medio respecto al movimiento de gentes y de ideas hacia el norte y hacia el sur, esta es una de las áreas potencialmente más importantes para la investigación arqueológica en Sur América. Lo que se necesita es más arqueología de campo, que aspire a

solucionar los problemas de cronología y a delinear las distintas culturas y sus interrelaciones con una base más segura, en vez de hacerlo por las semejanzas de los estilos ceramísticos. Mientras no se hagan investigaciones más serias en el centro de Colombia, todas las conclusiones sobre las culturas antiguas de esa región deben permanecer tentativas.

FIGURA 43. Middle Cauca footed cup. No provenience; height 13 cm. Museo Arqueológico de Quindío, Armenia.

FIGURA 44. Middle Cauca footed cup. No provenience, height 10.5 cm. Museo del Oro CQ532.

FIGURA 45. Middle Cauca hemispherical bowl with Yotoco type decoration. No provenience, height: 8.5 cm. Museo del Oro CC1.152.

FIGURA 46. Middle Cauca conical vase. No provenience, height? Museo Nacional, Bogotá.

FIGURA 47. Middle Cauca amphora with a small frog or insect adorno. Museo del Oro.

FIGURA 48. Middle Cauca laterally flattened face neck jar. No provenience, height 23 cm. Private collection, Manizales.

FIGURA 49 and 50. Two views of a Middle Cauca globular necked amphora. No provenience, height 44 cm. Museo Nacional, Bogotá. 38-I-1064.

FIGURA 51. Middle Cauca anthropomorphic vase. No provenience, height? Museo del Oro CQ 55.

FIGURA 52. Middle Cauca anthropomorphic vase. No provenience, height 25 cm. Museo del Oro CQ 545

FIGURA 53. Middle Cauca anthropomorphic vase of the «cacique» type. The expression and the depiction of the genitals are unusual. No provenience; height 29 cm. Private collection, Pereira.

FIGURA 54. Middle Cauca stirrup bottle.

This example has the globular body which is common on this form.
No provenience, height 24.1 cm.
Private collection, Armenia.

FIGURA 55 and 56.
Middle Cauca alcarraza in the form of a toad.
No provenience; height 15.5 cm.
Private collection, Pereira.

FIGURA 57. Punctate and resist on red cup of the Middle Cauca Complex.
No provenience, height 7 cm. Museo del Oro
CQ 537.

FIGURA 58. Punctate and resist on red small olla.
The double handles and rim tabs are typical of this shape. No provenience, height 11.2 cm.
Museo del Oro
CQ 520.

FIGURA 59 and 60. Side and bottom views of a Heavy White and Resist on Orange footed cup.
No provenience; height 11.5 cm. diameter 21 cm.
Private collection, Cali.

FIGURA 61. Heavy White and Resist on Orange pot stand.
The irregular form is typical.
No provenience, height 21 cm.
Museo Nacional, Bogotá 31-I-1076.

FIGURA 62. Caldas footed cup. The conical bowl is typical of the «Classic Caldas» type of decoration.
No provenience, height 11.8 cm.
Museo del Oro CQ 25.

FIGURA 63. Footed cup, Caldas Complex. No provenience, height 10 cm. Museo Arqueológico del Quindío.

FIGURA 64. Hemispherical bowl with «Classic Caldas» decoration.
No provenience (La Tebaida?).
Museo Nacional, Bogotá,
42-IV-3740.

FIGURA 65 and 66. Front and side views of a Caldas tetrapod alcarraza. The handle is broken and the wear pattern and position of the fire cloud (9A) are typical.

No provenience, height 19 cm. Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago N° 6512.

FIGURA 67. Caldas Complex face neck jar.

The multiple line decoration is a common variant style in the Caldas Complex. No provenience, height 58 cm.

Museo Arqueológico, Cali.

FIGURA 68. Hollow slab constructed figurine.

No provenience, height 30.5 cm.

Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago N° 65132.

FIGURA 69. Solid slab square figurine.

No provenience, height 15 cm.

Private collection, Manizales.

FIGURA 70. Hollow slab figurine with resist and white slip paint on face.

No provenience, height 45 cm.

Private collection, Pereira.

FIGURA 71 and 72. Front and side of Applique Incised shoe pot. The side view clearly shows the typical carbonization pattern on vessels of this ware.

No provenience, height 15 cm.

Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago N° 65492.

FIGURA. 73. Two small ollas of applique incised ware. Left: height 6 cm, right: height 6.5 cm. Both no provenience. Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago Nos. 65503 and 65499.

FIGURA 74. Incensario with deeply excised decoration (bottom view).

No provenience, height 7 cm. Museo Arqueológico, Quindío.

FIGURA 75. Incensario with lightly incised decoration and an animal adorno.

Tomb T-LP-1, La Tebaida, Quindío. Height 11 cm. Museo Nacional, Bogotá.

FIGURA 76. Small cooking olla of a common type.

Note the punctation on the rim. Tomb T-LP-1, La Tebaida, Quindío, height 13 cm.

Museo Nacional, Bogotá.

FIGURA 77. An olla of utilitarian or domestic ware.

The ticked fillet decoration is the most common adornment of these cooking vessels. No provenience, height 22 cm. Museo Arqueológico, Quindío.

FIGURA 78. A solid figurine representing an anthropomorphized bear or dog (?), Pacura, Quindío, height 15 cm. Private collection, Armenia. (All photographs by the author).