IMAGING ADORNOS: CLASSIFICATION AND ICONOGRAPHY OF SALADOID ADORNOS FROM ST. VINCENT, WEST INDIES

By

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A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to carry out a systematic study of Saladoid figurine-like artifacts, called 'adornos' (250 B.C. -A.D. 500), recovered from archaeological contexts on the island of St. Vincent, West Indies. Made out of clay, these adornos decorated the rims, handles, and exteriors of vessels, and depicted a variety of local and non-local animals that were not only a valuable subsistence resource but probably figured prominently in Saladoid cosmology.

This systematic study is conducted on 210 adornos and involves (1) a formal classification, and (2) iconography. The first step in both classification and iconography is the description and compilation of formal attributes for each adorno, such as shapes of eyes, pupils, noses, mouths, etc. Based on these formal attributes a formal classification is determined, from which types of images are identified for the iconographic analysis. These image types are then identified to specific animals by drawing analogies between formal attributes and anatomical features observed on animals available during Saladoid times. Further information related to identity is determined from a close inspection of Taino myths, which are used to draw inferences upon possible secondary meanings assigned to them by the Saladoid people. Lastly, the importance of these adorno images is ascertained by a close inspection of the frequency and extent to which these images are used within the Saladoid culture as determined from the archaeological context.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The World of Images

Humans have created and lived in a world of images for thousands of years. A broad range of phenomena may be classified as images; paintings, statues, figurines, dreams, hallucinations, optical illusions, memories, ideas, language, books, road signs, movies, and photos, as the major ones. For this reason, it is a difficult concept to define precisely (Mitchell 1986:9). Nonetheless, an image can be conceived as being synonymous with the ambiguous word "likeness" (Mitchell 1986:10).

Images may be divided more conveniently into five groups that include graphic, optical, perceptual, mental, and verbal (Mitchell 1986:10). Graphic, optical, and perceptual images are categorized as tangible, having both form and substance, as real, material pictures. In opposition to the tangible images are mental pictures and verbal imagery, which may have form but lack substance. These are categorized as intangible images, which in Mitchell's words (1986:13) are "...images in some doubtful metaphoric sense".

Graphic images in the form of figurines, statues, pictures, and design elements, are central to the discourse of art history and anthropology. Studies within these

disciplines have revealed an intricate relationship between graphic images and people that goes beyond aesthetics. It is a relationship marked by human attitudes towards a multitude of images that imply a perception of qualities associated with the concept of power. This is a theory promoted by art historian David Freedberg (1989:xxiii), who emphasizes that:

> "...we must consider not only beholders' symptoms and behaviour, but also the effectiveness, efficacy, and vitality of images themselves; not only what beholders do, but also what images appear to do; not only what people do as a result of their relationship with imaged form, but also what they expect imagined form to achieve, and why they have such expectations at all."

Human attitudes toward images can range from veneration to iconoclasm, in each instance connected to complex patterns of behaviour (Freedberg 1989). In ancient Egypt, the destruction of images and names of deceased individuals was an attempt to prevent people from returning from death, and more recently, deliberate destructions of museum art, such as Michelangelo's *Pieta*, damaged in 1972, or Rembrandt's *The Nightwatch*, slashed in 1975, attest to iconoclastic behaviours that are still experienced today (Freedberg 1989:389;408-410).

This concept of power is also connected to prehistoric figurative artifacts such as figurines, cave art, and elaborate pottery decorations. Interpreted as religious icons, many figurines have functioned as fertility charms attesting to their power to influence a specific outcome used in various ceremonies involving homeopathic and sympathetic forms of magic (Frazer 1987:12; Parsons 1919). This not only suggests a relationship between people and images, but also between images and the supernatural and between

people and the supernatural.

At the core of the relationship between graphic images and people is the image form, which is culture specific and the focus of archaeological and art historical studies (Talalay 1993; Donnan 1976; Ucko 1962, 1968; Grosscup 1961; Bennet 1937; Panofsky 1939, 1955). The form of an image refers to the 'mode of arrangement' of "...(a)... the elements, details, parts, materials, images, ideas, of other ingredients involved, and (b) of the ways in which these are interrelated, the brief or enduring structures and sequences into which they combine" (Munro 1970:3).

Images and Archaeology

St. Vincent's archaeological record is rich in images depicted by a variety of fired clay artifacts, many of which can be seen today in the island's museum in the Botanical Garden near its capital, Kingstown. Prominent among them are small modeled and incised zoomorphic heads known as "adornos" that decorated the rims, handles, and exteriors of pottery vessels made by the first agriculturalists on the island. Known archaeologically as the Saladoid people and culture, they had migrated from the east coast of Venezuela in South America by 250 B.C. (Rouse 1992). Their colourful and diverse adornos, which may be regarded as the best representative of their art, alongside their painted pottery, are the subject of this thesis, whose objectives are to contribute a systematic study consisting of both a formal and descriptive classification, as well as an iconographic analysis of the basic images that they represented.

Despite a substantial amount of prehistoric ceramic remains already recovered

on St. Vincent, very little has been subjected to professional investigations. J. Walter Fewkes (1922), working for the Smithsonian Institution, was the first researcher to describe artifacts he had examined on St. Vincent in the course of his 1913-1914 investigations. Research on the island since Fewkes has been sporadic, with a few exceptions. Only since the 1960's, that the isolated efforts and interest of Dr. Earle Kirby has been instrumental not only in the establishment of the St. Vincent Archaeological Museum, but also in the extensive recording of sites, collecting of artifacts, and publications (Kirby 1969, 1970).

Dr. Kirby has been involved with the St. Vincent Archaeological and Historical society, and offered valuable information to the next professional investigation, that of Ripley and Adelaide Bullen from the Florida State Museum in Gainesville, on their visit to St. Vincent in 1969. This visit resulted in the first publication of an archaeological field report, Archaeological Investigations on St. Vincent and the Grenadines, West Indies (Bullen and Bullen 1972), which is still today the major reference to the island's archaeology.

More recently, Dr. Kirby, as president of the St. Vincent National Trust, has contributed valuable support and assistance to a survey project carried out by Dr. Louis Allaire from this university, and his assistants, between 1993 and 1996 (Allaire and Duval 1995; Duval 1996). This thesis is part of the research involved in this project.

In Caribbean archaeology, the expression "adorno" (Spanish for "ornament") refers to small anthropomorphic or zoomorphic heads placed as appendages on the

rims, handles, lugs, or exterior walls of ceramic vessels. These adornos are attached to vessels as separate units in the manufacturing process; as a consequence, many break away from vessels and end up in the archaeological record as detached fragments (Bennet 1937:97).

Pottery adornos are a common form of pottery decoration in northern South America where modeled and incised appendages depicting humans and animals, from almost geometric to highly naturalistic styles, abound in numerous cultures spanning temporally from the time pottery was first introduced to the time Columbus arrived in the New World. This is the case, for instance, at Puerto Hormiga in Colombia, a shell mound dating as far back as 3000 B.C., having some of the earliest pottery in the world. Not only is there evidence of early pottery manufacture, but some vessels "...are adorned with modeled zoomorphic appendages which seem to represent frogs or small mammals climbing up to the rim of the bowl" (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971:344). It is also interesting to note that some of the earliest stone vessels also displayed sculpted adornos (Lathrap 1970:108), such as those recovered along the Maranon valley of the Upper Amazon.

Through migration and diffusion, the technique of decorating vessels with adornos spread from South America into the Caribbean. The first documented migration spread from the Orinoco valley to coastal areas of Venezuela and Guyana, and eventually into the West Indies before the Christian era with the Saladoid culture (Rouse 1992; Roosevelt 1980) which brought the first adornos to St. Vincent (Bullen and Bullen 1972). All cultures of the West Indies, spanning from nearly 2000 years

ago until historic times, decorated their vessels with adornos to some degree.

Although considerable work has been undertaken on the Caribbean Saladoid ceramic series (Rouse and Cruxent 1959; 1963), little has been accomplished in term of systematic research related to adornos with the notable exceptions of Henry Petitjean Roget (1975; 1976a; 1976b; 1976c). Peter Roe (1989) has analyzed the 'grammar' of Saladoid decorations and vessel forms, incorporating adornos as well in his study. Often, adornos are addressed briefly in discussion concerning ceramic studies, usually consisting of brief descriptions and intuitive identifications. Illustrations are frequently small and grainy, with out of focus photographs and few technical drawings. This lack of a clear and cohesive adorno database may have contributed to their neglect in the Caribbean archaeological literature, despite the fact that they are some of the most elaborate artifacts left by the Saladoids.

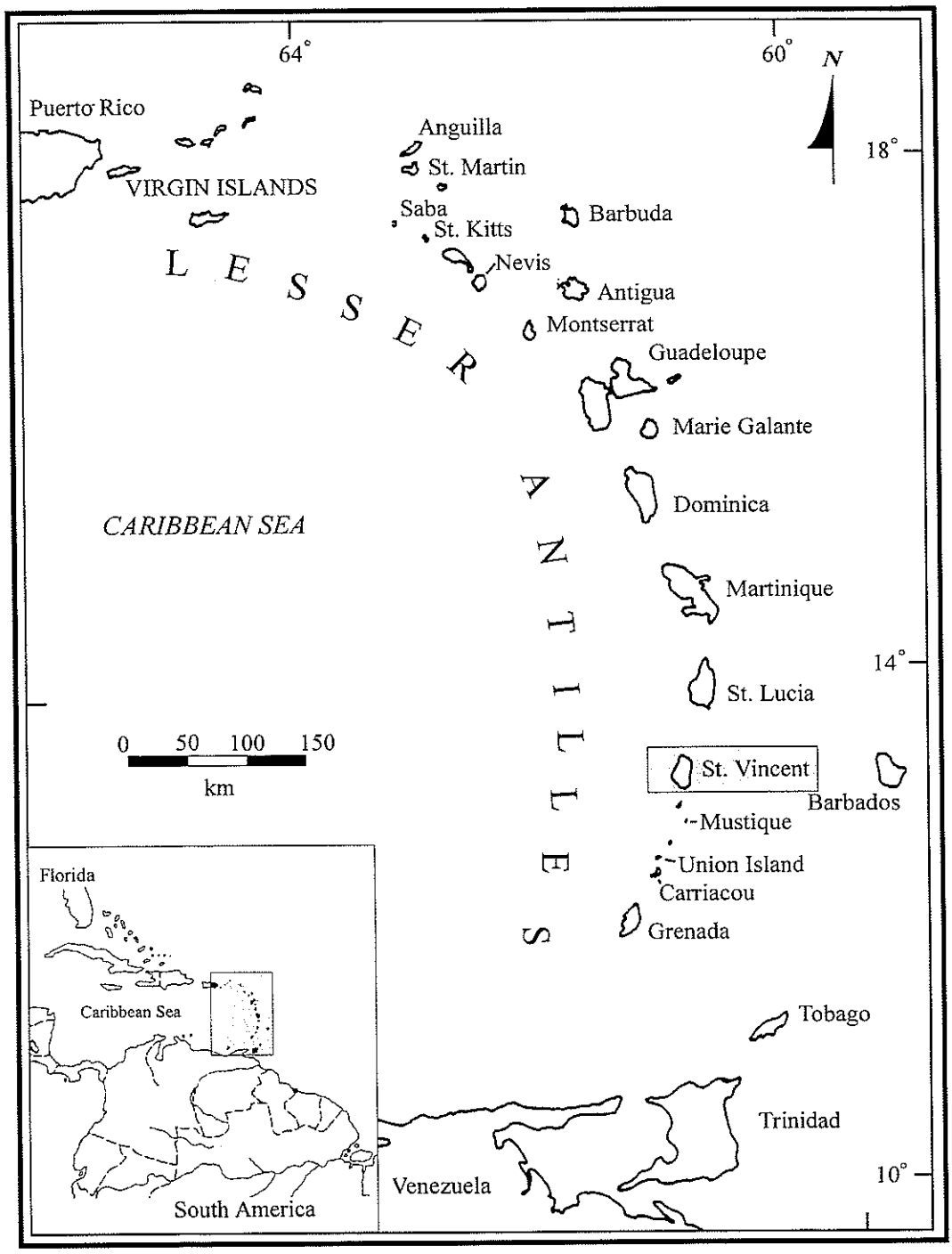
Studies which include adornos in their discussions seem to do so for purposes of communicating the ranges of representations used for decorating vessels. Concerned mainly with adorno identities, some researchers have distinguished adornos as either anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, or biomorphic (Duprat 1973; Allaire 1973; Vargas Arena 1978; 1983; Sutty 1978; 1987; Haviser 1991; and Richard 1991). Others have been identified at the zoological level as such animals as turtles, pelicans, bats, (Petitjean-Roget 1976a; Sutty 1975), frogs (Petitjean-Roget 1976b), armadillos, peccary, manatee, parrot, humans (Sutty 1987), and dogs (Mattioni and Bullen 1973). The greater majority of zoological identifications have been mostly intuitive, and depended on the researcher's background and knowledge of the local fauna.

Many adorno issues, including identification, classification, cultural relevance, and associations to particular vessel forms remain topics still unquestioned and open for future research. These issues are addressed in this thesis through an iconographic study and a formal classification of the St. Vincent adornos, which hopefully will offer a springboard for further adorno studies throughout the Caribbean.

The island of St. Vincent

The islands of the West Indies consist of three geographically distinct regions: (1) the Bahamian Archipelago; (2) the Greater Antilles; and (3) the Lesser Antilles; these islands arch across the Caribbean sea beginning just to the north of Venezuela and branching to the Yucatan and Florida peninsulas (Map 1). The Lesser Antilles, that stretch like stepping stones between Trinidad and Puerto Rico, are further subdivided into the Leeward Islands to the north and the Windward islands to the south (Blume 1974).

Located 34 km southwest of St. Lucia, 160 km west of Barbados, and 80 km north of Grenada, St. Vincent is a small mountainous island located within the Windward region of the Lesser Antilles (Richardson 1989), (Map 1). It is 29.2 km long, 17.8 km wide and, from Latitude 13° 7' to 13° 23' north; and from longitude 61° 7' to 61° 17' west (CCA 1991:6). Of the major Caribbean islands of volcanic origin, St. Vincent is one of the youngest (CCA, 1991:9). Volcanic activities have occasionally altered the geography of the island and terrorized its inhabitants as evidenced in the documented eruptions of 1718, 1812, 1902, 1971 and 1979 (CCA, 1991:9; Sigurdson 1982:61). The volcanic eruption of Soufriere on 7 May 1902,



Map 1. Location of St. Vincent in the Lesser Antilles.

killed some 2,000 people and caused extensive damage to one third of the island (Macpherson 1990:3). Soufriere's devastating effects in 1718 have also been described in an account written by Daniel Dafoe in Mist's Journal (Sigurdson 1982:61). Extinct volcanos such as Richmond Peak, Bonhomme Peaks, and Mt. St-Andrew, oriented almost in a straight north-south line running through the centre of the island, attest to past periods of volcanic activity (CCA, 1991:12).

A direct consequence of past and present volcanic turmoil is an extremely rugged terrain that is typical of St. Vincent. In fact "...50 percent of the island's total surface has slopes of 30 degrees or more, and only 20 percent has slopes less then 20 degrees." (CCA 1991:11). Deep and narrow valleys are created by actions of short rivers in the mountains, while in the lowlands they broaden into alluvial flats (CCA 1991:81). These alluvial flats are ideal for agriculture because of their high organic contents, providing high agricultural productivity year after year (Meggars 1971:31). These two factors, high productivity and permanent exploitation of the same area made alluvial plains a valuable location to the prehistoric Saladoid agriculturalists as revealed by the archaeological evidence, especially that of interior sites which are unique in the Lesser Antilles (Bullen and Bullen 1972).

A Humid Tropical Marine type climate is characteristic of Central America, coastal regions of northern South America and the West Indies, including St. Vincent (Wilson 1994:86, see Figure 7.12; CCA 1991:7). This type of climate is manifested by warm mean temperatures with slight fluctuations throughout the year, predictable trade winds, and associated wet and dry seasons (Wilson 1994:88).

On St. Vincent, the trade winds follow an east-to-west course, with occasional seasonal shifts (Sleight 1965:227). Between the months of June and December, southeasterly trade winds bring with them a substantial amount of precipitation that typify the wet seasons (CCA 1991:7). In December, trade winds change direction, approaching St. Vincent from the northeast. Known to sailors as the 'Christmas winds', they bring about the dry season lasting until early May (CCA 1991:8).

Variations in precipitation are therefore reliant upon the direction of trade winds, and as such, vary greatly between the two seasons of St. Vincent. In winter, while occasional precipitation does occur, there are low amounts of rainfall compared to those during the rainy seasons (see CCA 1991: Table 4.1(1)). Precipitation accumulated throughout the year revealed that highest rainfalls occur in the hills with the highest elevation, getting as much as 260-275 inches rainfall/year, whereas valleys and coastal plains received only 70-90 inches/year (CCA 1991:8).

Variation also exist in the mean temperatures of St. Vincent. It has been observed that elevation has a direct bearing upon mean temperatures, such that "...the temperature falls with altitude above sea level at a rate of one °C drop per 100 meters in elevation" (CCA 1991:7). The mean temperature of St. Vincent at sea level is 26.7 degrees C (CCA 1991:7).

Most species of plants and animals found on St. Vincent are similar to those found on continental South America. Simpson (1965:11) noted that "...the fauna of most of the Lesser Antilles is simply a highly attenuated extension of the recent fauna of Trinidad and eastern Venezuela". Two theories on the dispersal of the South

American flora and fauna have been proposed. The first addresses accidental dispersal over water on ocean currents and through air (Darlington 1938:274); the second theory proposes that in the past a number of islands in the Lesser Antilles may have connected, therefore, dispersal occurred over land. Today, the widest gap between the islands of the Lesser Antilles is only 90 miles (Darlington 1938:277).

A variety of invertebrates, fresh and salt water fishes, amphibians, reptiles, birds and mammals find refuge on St. Vincent and its surrounding waters. With the exception of some faunal species of more recent human introduction, most provided a subsistence base for the earliest Precolumbian migrants. There are fresh water shrimp and fish, including the mullet and the seasonally migrating tri-tri, terrestrial crabs, toads and frogs, three species of lizards,-- the gecko, anole, and ground lizard,-- a total of ninety-five species of birds that include the endemic St. Vincent parrot and the Whistling Warbler (CCA 1991). Land mammal species were all introduced with the exception of eight bat species and an extinct rice rat. Four species of sea turtles: the Hawksbill, Green, Loggerhead, and Leatherback turtles (CCA 1991:50-55, 98) were major elements of the marine fauna.

Diversified botanical species are distributed over a number of distinct vegetational areas; the major types of natural vegetation areas include Rain Forest, Secondary Rain Forest, Palm Brake, Elfin Woodland, Deciduous Seasonal Forest/Cactus Scrub, Littoral Woodland, and Mangrove Swamps (CCA 1991:18-21).

All in all, St. Vincent offered its earliest human inhabitants a diversified environment with a variety of small land animals, marine resources, fresh water, fertile

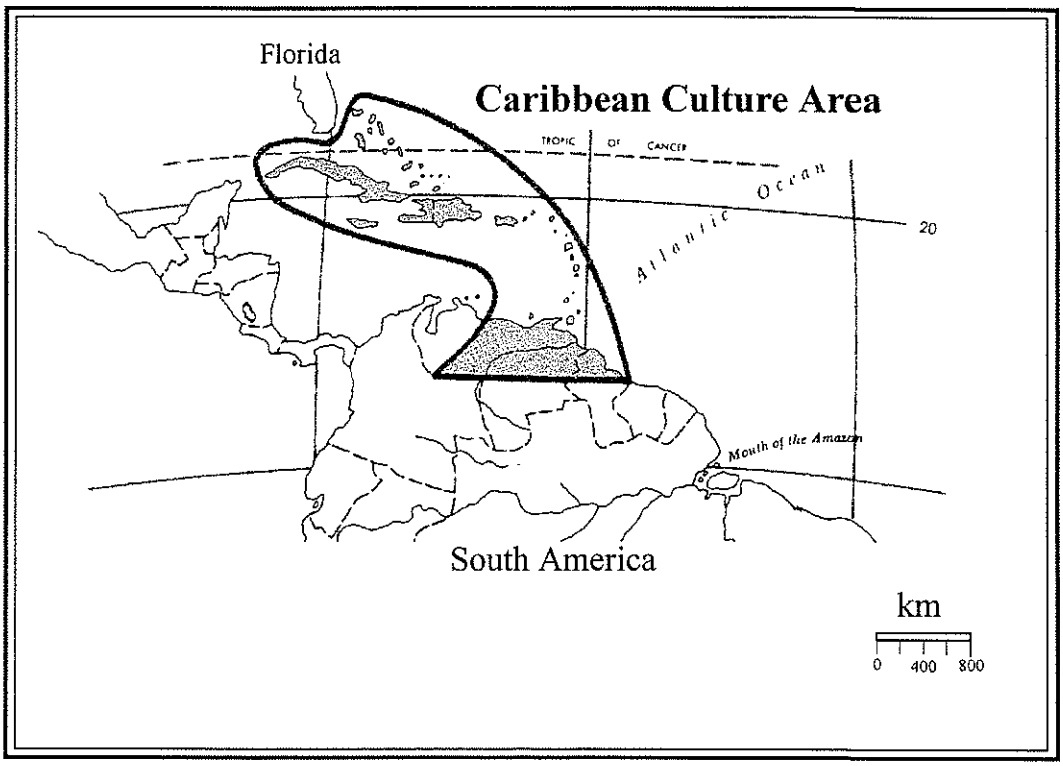
soils and favourable climatic conditions.

The Saladoid Culture and its People

Archaeological remains identified as Saladoid belong to the Caribbean area, a culture area defined geographically by Rouse (1982, 1992; Rouse and Allaire 1978) as including the regions of Northern Guyana, Eastern Venezuela, and the West Indies (Map 2), the latter being further divided between the Lesser Antilles and the Greater Antilles.

Archaeological research on the distribution and chronology of prehistoric peoples within the Caribbean culture area makes use of the concept of "series" (Cruxent and Rouse 1958; Rouse and Cruxent 1963) to organize the prehistory of the Caribbean region as a combination of two previous concepts, horizon and tradition. This approach considers "...each series to be the result of diffusion of ceramic traits from one area to another, and of persistence of traits from one period to another" (Cruxent and Rouse 1958:22). Series are discussed in terms of ceramic styles and complexes that share temporal and spatial characteristics that appear in a particular area as a result of migration or diffusion from one group of people to another. Further subdivisions of series based on shared trait similarities leads to the creation of subseries.

Series are named by adding the suffix 'oid' to the name of a typical style or site. Thus, the Saladoid series derives its nomenclature from the type site of Saladero, located on the Lower Orinoco (Rouse and Cruxent 1963:112; Allaire 1997:22). Subseries are named by adding the suffix 'an' to one of the series' complexes, or



Map 2. Caribbean cultural area.
(from Willey 1971:4 Figure 1-1).

adding the same suffix to an artifact type (Rouse 1986:10).

Pottery traits that characterize the Saladoid series include finely made open "bell-shaped" bowls with flat bases and flaring sides and a distinctive keeled profile, tapered and bevelled rims, vertical strap handles often decorated with lugs, including adornos, which are also attached to rims, as well as the diagnostic white-on-red painting and modelled and incised decoration (Rouse and Cruxent 1963:125; Cruxent and Rouse 1958:26; Rouse 1982:49). These traits persist throughout the entire duration of the Saladoid series and comprise the means by which new assemblages are identified.

Chronology and Distribution

The origins of Saladoid people still remain speculative, but the earliest evidence of Saladoid style pottery comes from the site of La Gruta in the Lower Orinoco valley, dated between 2100-1600 B.C. (Roosevelt 1980:195). Although other early Saladoid sites have been found along the Lower Orinoco valley, including the Saladero type-site, coastal areas of Eastern Venezuela, the Guyanas, and the islands of the West Indies, were occupied somewhat later (Rouse 1992). Radiocarbon dates (Rouse, Allaire, and Boomert 1992) point to the migration of Saladoid people down the Orinoco towards coastal areas between 2000 and 1000 B.C. People stopped briefly above the Orinoco delta, moved out onto the coastal areas of Venezuela and Guyana between 1000 and 200 B.C., and eventually settled in the West Indies between 200 B.C. and A.D. 600 -- even perhaps as early as 530 B.C. (Righter 1997:72) -- migrating all the way to Puerto Rico where they are already found in the last century B.C.

(Rouse 1986; 1992; Sanoja and Vargas; Roosevelt 1980; Wilson 1997:5; Allaire 1997).

Based on variations in pottery traits, Rouse (1992) divided the Saladoid series into three subseries that correspond with particular regions within the Caribbean culture area: (1) Ronquinan, on the mainland area; (2) Cedrosan, in the West Indies; and (3) Huecan, mainly in Puerto Rico and Vieques islands (Rouse 1992:74-90). Besides the typical ceramic traits of the Saladoid series, modeled-incised adornos placed on rims, strap handles, and bodies of vessels characterize the Ronquin Saladoid Subseries from the middle Orinoco area (Rouse 1992:75). On coastal Venezuela and West Indies zoned-incised crosshatched wares and specific modeled-incised adornos, as well as white-on-red painted decoration, define the Cedrosan Saladoid subseries (Rouse 1992:81-83). At La Hueca/Sorce site on Vieques, a distinctive form of decoration consisting of zoned-incised-crosshatching placed on vessels possibly dating back to fourth and fifth centuries B.C. and the lack of white-on-red painting, defines the Huecan ceramic style which has remained controversial as to its relation to the typical Saladoid style and its role in the initial agricultural colonization of the West Indies (Rouse 1992; Haviser 1997; Roe 1989).

Although ceramic styles and complexes within the Saladoid series are linked by trait similarities, there are regional variations that are a result of stylistic influences from other series or styles within or outside the Caribbean culture area. Of particular significance is the emergence of the Barrancoid series in Venezuela and adjacent areas, where it is associated with the displacement of the earlier Saladoid series on the Orinoco and the coast, but also with new stylistic manifestations within the Saladoid

series as well. Oddly enough, traits of this new Barrancoid series first appear in the middle Orinoco region at the same La Gruta site where the earliest Saladoid finds have been made (Roosevelt 1980; Rouse, Allaire and Boomert 1992), indicating the close relationship of the two styles during their early developments. At the Ronquin and Saladero sites, pottery assigned to the Barrancoid series was unearthed directly overlying Saladoid ceramics. "Annular-based, rim-flanged bowls with elaborate modeled-incised lugs and incision on the flanges..." are some of the manifestations of this new series (Cruxent and Rouse 1958:26).

The Saladoid in the Windward Islands

Archaeological evidence indicates a human occupation of the West Indies dating back on Cuba and Hispaniola to 4000 B.C. (Rouse 1992:51). The remains recovered from these early sites consisting mainly of lithic assemblages indicated people of a Lithic age that lacked pottery technology (Cruxent and Rouse 1969; Rouse 1992). Such Lithic age occupations have also been found in the Windward Islands on both Martinique and St. Vincent islands (Rouse 1992; figs. 14-15). The migration of the Saladoid people into the Windward islands is therefore the first introduction of pottery technology and an agricultural-based subsistence system.

Leaving aside the controversial Huecan style pottery from Puerto Rico and Vieques islands, (and likely all of the Leeward Islands), the first pottery making and agricultural people to populate the West Indies possessed pottery typical of Cedrosan Saladoid series (Rouse 1992). Based on stylistic differences of this pottery, two periods have been proposed for Lesser Antilles: an Early Saladoid period spanning

between 250 B.C. (perhaps as early as 400 B.C.), and A.D. 350, and a Late Saladoid Period ranging between A.D. 350 to A.D. 500/600 (Allaire 1997; Rouse 1986; 1992; Sanoja and Vargas; Roosevelt 1980). Time frames for the two periods are estimations and are not representative of all island in the West Indies (Rouse 1992; Allaire 1989).

The two periods that characterized the Cedrosan Saladoid subseries have been assigned different nomenclatures by different researchers. In the archaeological literature of the West Indies one encounters the terms Insular Saladoid and/or Horizon I for the Early period, and Modified Saladoid and/or Horizon II for the Late period (Mattioni 1968, 1970, 1979; Petitjean-Roget 1970; Mattioni and Bullen 1970; Bullen and Bullen 1972; Allaire 1989).

Rouse (1992) offers an alternate nomenclature of the Saladoid occupation of the West Indies which he divides instead into an early Cedrosan Saladoid, and later "Cedrosan Saladoid with Barrancoid influences" (Rouse 1992). The concept of Cedrosan Saladoid (from the Saladoid site and style of Cedros on Trinidad) has its limitations, and this may be especially true of St. Vincent where the early Kingstown Post Office Saladoid ceramics (Bullen and Bullen 1972) seem to differ from both typical Cedrosan wares and La Hueca style in the north, or with another possibly contemporaneous early Saladoid style more typical of the Cedrosan and represented at the Brighton and Escape sites as revealed in recent surveys by Allaire (pers. comm.; Duval 1996). In particular, sherds from the sites of Kingstown Post Office and Brighton possess distinct styles of decorations. Although Kingstown Post Office is one of the earliest Saladoid localities in St. Vincent, it fas few of the typical

white-on-red style of decoration which defines the Cedrosan Saladoid subseries. Instead typical decorations found at the Kingstown Post Office consist of fine angular incisions (Allaire pers. comm.; Allaire and Duval 1995). The Early Saladoid site at Brighton beach exhibits characteristic styles of decoration which are more in line with typical Cedrosan Saladoid style, with well made, thin vessels, and white-on-red painted designs (Duval 1996). These differences in decorative attributes at Kingstown Post Office and Brighton have led to a refinement of the Early Saladoid period on St. Vincent into two ceramic styles named after their type sites. For this reason, and while concerns regarding the proper nomenclature of the two Saladoid periods in the Lesser Antilles still persist, this thesis will simply use the terms Early and Late Saladoid to denote the two periods relevant to this study.

The Early period encompasses ceramic styles that incorporate typical Saladoid ceramic styles with stylistic traits believed to have diffused from Western Venezuela with the initial agricultural colonization. These traits include the typical thin and fine Saladoid pottery in the shape of everted bells and wide-mouthed bowls with flat bases decorated with white-on-red and zoned crosshatching designs and modeled-incisions, including simple and delicate adornos, all characteristic of the Early Saladoid (Allaire 1997:22). This is also true for Horizon I pottery in Martinique (Petitjean Roget 1975) and for the Pearls ware on Grenada (Bullen 1964).

Characteristic of the Late Saladoid period in the Lesser Antilles are ceramics possessing many Barrancoid attributes. Coarser and thicker pottery is manufactured, "[f]langes are added to the rims, modeled-incised lugs make their appearance, incised

designs become more complex, and punctuations are added" (Rouse and Cruxent 1963:117; Cruxent and Rouse 1958:244). These traits become incorporated in the ceramic assemblages belonging to the Saladoid series around A.D. 350, as seen at Palo Seco in Trinidad as well as on the east coast of Venezuela (Allaire 1997:24; Rouse and Allaire 1978:461; Rouse, Allaire and Boomert 1992:28). Indeed, according to Rouse and Cruxent (1963:117), "...the later the pottery, the more Barrancoid[1] traits it has." During this period of Barrancoid influences, turtle effigy bowls make an appearance represented with flippers on sides, and at times with modeled heads and attached to either end (Rouse 1986:139). The style has been qualified as the "Baroque" expression of the Saladoid (Allaire 1997:25); it is typical of Horizon II in Martinique and Guadeloupe (Petitjean Roget 1975) and synonymous with the Simon ware on Grenada (Bullen 1964; Bullen and Bullen 1972:9).

In St. Vincent, of all the Saladoid sites, Kingstown Post Office, Buccament West, and Arnos Vale have provided uncalibrated radiocarbon dates of A.D. 160, A.D. 285, and A.D. 410 respectively (Bullen and Bullen 1972:78; Haviser 1997:60). Accepting the A.D. 350 as the temporal division between the two Saladoid periods, as defined above, we see that the radiocarbon date from Kingstown Post Office falls within the Early Saladoid period while the remaining two sites may be considered Late Saladoid sites.

By the end of the Saladoid culture there is a marked decrease in the quality and decoration of pottery which characterises the subsequent eight-century Troumassoid culture, and eventually reaches its low point of ceramic decline in the thirteenth

century Suazey culture (Allaire 1997:26).

Saladoid Subsistence

Much of the evidence on Saladoid subsistence consists of usually abundant faunal remains that belong to terrestrial, fresh-water, and marine animals such as the agouti, rice rat, iguanas, fish, shellfish, crabs, sea turtles and birds (Wing and Reitz 1982:20-22). Saladoid subsistence strategies were initially oriented towards terrestrial resources possibly reflecting a system modeled after their original South American life (Petersen 1997; Wing 1989).

Archaeologists working in Puerto Rico had long noticed an unusual affinity of the Saladoid occupants towards land crabs which are found as thick layers in early sites, but shifted their preference to marine shellfish through time (Rainey 1940)[2]. A gradual shift in subsistence from terrestrial (land crab) to marine resources has also been reported for the Lesser Antilles (Wing 1989).

It has been inferred from ceramic remains that the major staple of the Saladoid diet consisted of bitter manioc (*Manihot esculenta*) produced by shifting cultivation (Rouse 1992), typical of tropical lowlands agriculture in South America[3]. In fact, these agriculturalists transferred a tropical forest economy "based on root crops like cassava..." from South America to the West Indies (Petersen 1997:124). While the direct archaeobotanical evidence for manioc cultivation in the West Indies is not available, its presence is suggested indirectly in the form of large clay griddles used for baking the manioc bread, or cassava (Rouse 1992), as is typical of the tropical lowlands of South America.

Settlement Patterns

Two theories concerning the insular settlement patterns of the Saladoid peoples have been proposed, each one being closely related to subsistence strategies. First, the conservative theory proposes that the majority of early Saladoid sites reflect a subsistence strategy similar to that observed on mainland South America. The selection of inland sites, usually along small rivers, is believed to indicate a lack of knowledge of local resources resulting in the adoption of familiar strategies as practised on the mainland (Roe, Pantel, and Hamilton 1990:356; Rouse 1986:155-156). The large amounts of land crab remains recovered from early Saladoid sites, as noted above, and proximity to fertile alluvial agricultural soils support an emphasis on terrestrial subsistence strategies which, however, does not account for the number of contemporaneous coastal sites where marine resources were exploited.

The second, or "opportunistic theory", contends that selection strategies were dictated more by opportunism and flexibility without any apparent pattern (Siegel 1991b:315); in other words, people selected areas which gave the most return in terms of subsistence resources in the least amount of time[4]. That appears to be the case at the Saladoid site of Golden Rock, St. Eustatius, which is "...located in the middle of the island from where all natural resources, such as cassava fields, wood, freshwater, and marine resources, were easily exploitable within a 4 km radius" (Versteeg and Schinkel 1992:212).

The most comprehensive work to date on the structure of a Saladoid settlement has been the excavation at the Golden Rock site, St. Eustatius (Versteeg and Schinkel

1992), dated between A.D. 300-700. Extensive recent excavations at Golden Rock have revealed two middens, three hearths, four caches, nine burials, 113 pits, and 14 structures of three forms: (1) round; (2) rectangular; and (3) linear (Versteeg and Schinkel 1992:180). These individual structures are located within a village/settlement that is circular in layout with the locations of middens usually in a specific area with relation to the living space or house, possibly structured by cosmology (Versteeg and Schinkel 1992:212).

The results of this extensive archaeological excavation provide, first, a glimpse of late Saladoid intrasite settlement patterns, at the household level, while also providing a model for other late and possibly early Saladoid sites in the Lesser Antilles, including St. Vincent.

Saladoid Ceremonialism

Unique to the Saladoid series in the Lesser Antilles are small triangular, or three-pointed, artifacts made of stone, coral, or shell, which are "...believed to be figures of gods known in the region as *zemis*..." (Righter 1997:78; Rouse 1992:83-84). A larger and more elaborately decorated version of this type of artifact was also made by the Tainos in the Greater Antilles, where the association with agricultural fertility has been documented by Europeans (Rouse 1992; Loven 1935; deHostos 1923). It has even been suggested that these objects can be identified to a specific Taino supreme deity known as Yúcahu (Olsen 1970; Arrom 1975).

Small tubes attached to a small clay vessel, interpreted as religious paraphernalia, were used to inhale snuff through the nostrils, a practice that dates to

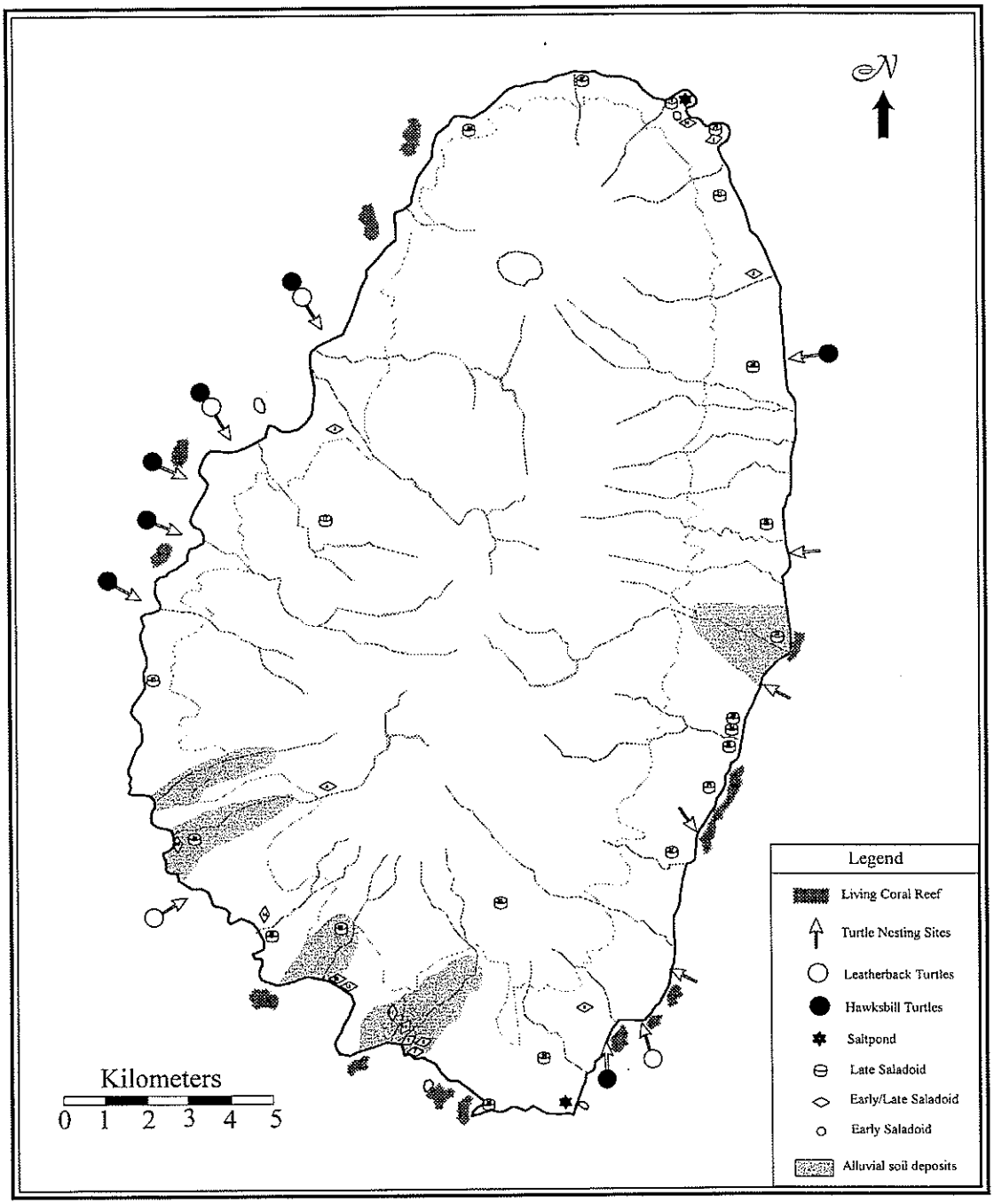
the Cedrosan Saladoid (Rouse 1992:119). Other artifacts with possible religious connotations include "incense burners", or hollow decorated cylinders whose functions are still a matter of debate (Rouse 1992:83); incense burners may have functioned in a variety of religious rituals as containers for fire and smoke, as well as aromatic substances, both being important elements in the communication with supernatural forces (Sutty 1980:569).

A variety of small artifacts of shell, stone, and bone were used as personal ornaments including pendants, small drilled rectangular shell pieces; more common are beads made from precious and semiprecious stones such as amethyst, quartz, calcite, turquoise, as well as jade and nephrite (Righter 1998:74), many of which been found in association with burials (Rodriguez 1997; Versteeg and Schinkel 1992; Mattioni 1979).

The origins of some stone materials, such as jade, are exclusively South American, and therefore their presence in the West Indies has been interpreted as evidence for trade between the two regions during Saladoid times (Watters 1997; Cody 1991).

Research concerning the distribution of sites has not yet been attempted for St. Vincent. However, there appears to be a correlation between site selection and availability to natural resources (Map 3). Assuming that the Saladoid people on St. Vincent obtained their subsistence through horticultural activities and supplemented their diet with meat derived from the sea and land, natural resources such as living coral reefs, saltponds, turtle nesting areas, rivers, and location of alluvial soil deposits,

would have been of prime importance. In all instances, it appears that the Saladoid sites are located within a 5 km distance from the above mentioned natural resources (Map 3).



Map 3. Locations of natural resources on St. Vincent (based on Eastern Caribbean Natural Area Management Program Survey of Conservation Priorities in the Lesser Antilles 1980).

Notes

(1) As with the Saladoid series, the origins of the Barrancoid series remains unknown (Rouse, Allaire and Boomert 1992:28), but speculations have been made with regards to several possible areas including the Middle and Upper Orinoco, Rio Negro, or the Amazon Basin (Lathrap 1970:117; Rouse 1992:75).

(2) This transition in subsistence from land to marine animals has been at the core much debate in Caribbean archaeology, some still accepting this abrupt replacement of one resource by the other (Carbone 1980; Goodwin 1979, 1980), others advocating a gradual shift in subsistence strategies (Waters and Rouse 1989; Petersen 1997).

(3) Ethnographic data from South America indicate that griddles, which are large ceramic pan-like cooking surfaces, have been used in the preparation and cooking of cassava bread made from the manioc tuber which is grated into a pulp, the poisonous juice extracted, placed on the griddle to dry and then the pulp patted into a thin layer and cooked on the griddle (Roosevelt 1980:119-139). Manioc leaves can be consumed by humans as observed in the Amazon where they are eaten both as condiments or as side dishes (Roosevelt 1980:129).

(4) Haviser (1997) also studied the locations of early Saladoid sites throughout the Caribbean with respect to cardinal and geomorphological position, and distribution by periods and regional locations. He concludes that the data seem to support both the conservative and opportunistic strategies in site selections (Haviser 1997:67).

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Iconography

Art represented by images belongs to a symbolic system very similar by analogy to language, where art is seen as a system of communication between artists and cultural ideas and the beholders. This type of communication, or method of expression, must conform to certain rules guided by the culture from which the images originate, and which in most instances, are transmitted at the subconscious level by both artists and viewers (Donnan 1976:5). As the expression of essential sociological and cosmological concepts (Helms 1995:5), figurative and particularly non-figurative art, such as among the Yolngu aborigines of Australia, may be meaningless to people outside the culture, but to its members, it communicates ideas and convey understanding of their Ancestral Past (Morphy 1989:145-147). By a combination of specific formal elements, information is encoded in both figurative and geometric representations that include people, animals, and geometric patterns such as the diamond design in Yolngu art (Morphy 1989:147-153).

To identify the messages conveyed by images in general, it is necessary to observe the associations of elements by which they are represented. As Donnan (1976:8) states,

> "...individuals can be identified by noting the consistent combination of features associated with them - their physical form, distinctive clothing, and objects being held...".

Details, or individual elements, used to represent images are also known as motifs, where the combination of motifs defines the natural subject of the representation (Panofsky 1939:3-5).

This is the role, in art history and anthropology, of iconographical analysis. According to Erwin Panofsky, the prominent art historian who has been the leading figure in iconographic studies for much of this century, iconography may be defined as:

> "...a description and classification of images much as ethnography is a description and classification of human races: it is a limited and, as it were, ancillary study which informs us as to when and where specific themes were visualized by which specific motifs.

Panofsky believed that an "intrinsic meaning", which reflects the symptoms of a specific nation, a time period, a class, or a religion, can be derived from works of art (Cassidy 1993:5). This new approach changed the research questions related to art from those concerned with classifications of "...artists, styles and periods, or with the social, religious, and political contexts in which art was produced...", to a focus on the meaning of art (Lavin 1993: 34). Art history today is no longer the only discipline to use iconography to learn about images. Iconography is expanding with "...ideas derived from anthropology, semiotics, and reception theory, iconography is refashioning itself" (Cassidy 1993:11). Today's iconography is more focused on new

research questions aimed at the context, history, and the politics of images and interpretation (Holly 1993:22).

Erwin Panofsky's (1955) methodology for interpreting the content of art works will be applied in this thesis to the study of prehistoric pottery adornos from the Saladoid culture of St. Vincent. As adapted to the analysis of archaeological art (Morphy 1989:3), it consists essentially of several phases that include:

> (a) identifying the images or components of the art, and determining what the images are and locating them in time and space;
> (b) determining how the images represent, i.e. how they encode meaning;
> (c) examining the relationships between images and composition;
> (d) discovering meaning behind the images and their components;
> (e) interpreting the images and compositions as part of a wider cultural system.

These phases correspond essentially to Panofsky's (1955:40) classic three levels in his approach to iconographical analysis, consisting of: (1) the pre-iconographic description (2) iconographic analysis proper, and (3) iconology.

Level One:Pre-Iconographic Description

The first level of Panofsky's iconographic method, the pre-iconographic description consists of two basic steps: (1) an identification and enumeration of motifs used in the representations of images; and (2) the identification of the "primary" or "natural" meaning of the represented images. In their enumeration, motifs used in depicting a particular image are presented "...as systematically as possible so that [the image] underlying meaning may be discerned as systematically as possible through

iconological study." (Lavin 1993:33).

Methodologically, the "preparatory equipment" necessary to identify the motifs inherent to a particular image is based on practical experience, or familiarity with objects and events relevant to the image (Panofsky 1955:41). For instance, everyone can easily identify human beings, animals, plants, and associated motifs, such as eyes, mouths, noses, leaves and stems, since much of this knowledge is gained at an early age, but it is more difficult to identify geometric motifs depicted in non-figurative art.

Proper identification of the images is very important in the iconographic process since all subsequent levels of analysis depend upon it. False identifications will lead to an erroneous analysis of meaning. This can result from a number of reasons, including the improper recording of the representations or its orientation, incorrect interpretation of motifs, or a lack of knowledge of the local fauna in cases where animals are represented (Morphy 1989:5; Clottes 1989:22-27).

This pre-iconographic level of analysis is basic to the archaeological study of figurines and ceramic decoration which depict both animals and humans. While not always explicit about it, archaeologists studying figurines, for instance, carry out a pre-iconographic description by enumerating formal attributes used in the identification process; these formal attributes are not different from Panofsky's concept of motifs. Recently, the influential (and controversial - see Meskell 1995) work of Marija Gimbutas (1974, 1981, 1982, 1989) on Neolithic and Palaeolithic figurines also includes a pre-iconographic description, consisting of an enumeration of motifs ranging in form from geometric shapes such as chevrons, V's, zig-zags, meanders, and nets, as

well as various shapes associated with the head and body on figurines. Talalay's more recent (1993) study of the Neolithic figurines from Franchthi Cave, in Greece, incorporates an inventory of attributes and identifications as part of the pre-iconographic analysis. Her classification is based on such formal attributes, or motifs, as incised eyes, modeled nose, various shapes of heads, and decorative designs (Talalay 1993:15-18). Peter Ucko (1968), working with figurines from the Near East, Mainland Greece, and Neolithic Crete, also based his pre-iconographic description on formal motifs that include facial and body features such as shapes of eyes, pupils, nose, mouth, nostrils, and hair style (Ucko, 1968:316-317).

In dealing with Saladoid adornos, which are very much like figurine heads, the pre-iconographic level of analysis will therefore closely follow the methods previously applied to figurine studies. This will consist of tallying the various formal motifs and combination of motifs, and facial features will obviously be emphasized since all adornos are depicted with human and/or animal faces. Only formal motifs that contribute to the identification of adorno representations will be presented in a systematic manner.

Because formal attributes are at the core of the identification of adornos as images, they will emphasize anatomical features that may be observed on the various animals species of the West Indies, specifically those of St. Vincent. This systematic approach will result into a master chart of formal attributes, as presented in Appendix B.

Level Two: Iconographic Analysis

The second major step in Panofsky's methodology consists of identifying the secondary, or the "conventional" subject by describing and interpreting the stories or allegories represented by images (Panofsky 1955). In effect, the analysis deals solely with themes represented by specific images. For instance, if an image was identified as a human in the pre-iconographic description step, the iconographic analysis aims to find out who that person might be. In art history, this level of interpretation relies heavily on textual documents to identify the themes or the images when dealing with historic subject, where the "preparatory equipment" needed for this interpretation is a knowledge of literary sources and a familiarity with concepts and specific themes (Panofsky 1955:40-41).

In prehistoric archaeology, however, the reliance on texts creates a problem when one deals with images that are not accompanied by any written documents, a problem with few solutions in archaeological methods. Some researchers have advocated a method which seeks to derive secondary meanings from the works of art themselves. In his studies of Maya art, for instance, Kubler (1969:2) stressed that "...the themes usually have to be read directly without external literary aids". Indeed, modern archaeologists have advocated that material culture is actually analogous to a particular form of text that can yield pertinent cultural information (Hodder 1989:250). Others have emphasized the use of analogy, "...seeking parallels in exegesis of ethnographically known art forms and design motifs of still-extant indigenous cultures.." (Helms 1995:6).

Certainly, the importance of a specific type of image can be appraised directly from the frequency of its representation in a variety of media within a culture; yet, without written documents, the theme itself remains elusive. This appears to be the case with respect to Saladoid images.

Taino Analogy

To circumvent this dilemma, it is necessary to use analogy with the distant Saladoid descendants, the Taino, from the Greater Antilles, analogies that may be extended to also include the tribal societies of South America.

Based on similarities in material culture, a connection between the Taino and Saladoid peoples cannot be ignored (Rouse 1992). Evidence of this connection is seen in (1) the manufacture of adorno decorated vessels depicting similar subjects, albeit stylistically different, and (2) obvious continuities in the manufacture of specific types of artifacts such as three-pointed-stones and items often associated with religious ceremonies, such as snuff inhaling devices (Rouse 1992). Spanish documents on the Caribbean towards the end of the fifteenth century contain many details of Taino culture and society, offering glimpses into Taino mythology and cosmology, with its personages, both animal and human, possessing supernatural powers (Petitjean Roget 1997:100; Stevens-Arroyo 1988; Arrom 1997; Oliver 1992; Arevalo 1977). It is hoped that the secondary identification of Saladoid adorno themes from St. Vincent will benefit from the relatively direct analogy derived from these written accounts.

Level three: Iconology

Iconology, the third level in the iconographic analysis remains the most difficult to define. Beyond description, it is more analytical, more "...concerned with the social, symbolic, ideological, and religious implications of the represented themes and depicts the deepest level of meaning that the visual arts can convey" (Lavin 1993:39). The aim is now to interpret the deeper "intrinsic" meaning or content of the image, "...apprehended by ascertaining those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitudes of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion..." (Bialostocki 1965:776).

The more challenging "preparatory equipment" necessary to accomplish this third level of analysis is what Panofsky (1955:41) calls "synthetic intuition", or general familiarity with the essential tendencies of the human mind. To Mary Helms (1995:103), in the context of her work on pottery decoration in Central America, these essential tendencies relate to

> "such universal concerns as immortality versus death, the place and role of human existence among the diversity of life forms of sky, earth, and sea, the origins of such diversity and of human life, the awesome power of the cosmic forces held responsible for original creations and their continued regeneration, the continued expression of these fundamental forces in the world of nature, and the dynamics and periodicities of the realms of the sky, earth and waters".

Iconology has been the subject of much debate, with one of the main criticisms being the risk of finding "...more symbolic meaning in a work of art than was put in, or even known, by the artist" (Bialostocki 1965:780). This is certainly well

exemplified by Gimbutas' (1982, 1989) now classic studies of Neolithic figurines which are based mainly on largely intuitive iconological interpretations. If one is to avoid these limitations, it is essential to examine art in its broader cultural context; this entails identification and comparison of motifs on a variety of artifacts and features, including burials and architecture, as well as a general familiarization with the archaeological knowledge about a particular area (Davis 1989:186; Talalay 1993).

In this thesis, the iconological level of analysis of Saladoid adornos from St. Vincent will address the relationships between the identified image types and aspects of Saladoid culture reconstructed today by archaeologists. This will include (1) other aspects of pottery analysis including shapes and functions, as well as decoration; (2) burial practices; and (3) architectural evidence.

Classification and Archaeology

A major consideration for archaeologists studying the remains of prehistoric cultures is artifact classification. The reasons for classification include (1) the reduction of a large database into manageable units subjected to organization, (2) the characteristics of many artifacts become apparent by exposing their shared elements, (3) a relationship between the types may be suggested by the comparative classification scheme, and (4) the types may reflect the importance of a particular type of artifact over others (Hill and Evans 1972).

Archaeologists Hill and Evans (1972:232), define classification as "...simply an extension of the recognition of differences and similarities among phenomena". This definition conveys the notion that a classification establishes a set of relationships

between and within types. In figurine studies, this can be a relationship of the elements used in the depiction of the images represented, better known in archaeology as attributes.

Identifying and recording elements that are observable characteristics on artifacts, is the first step in the process of archaeological classification. Any one artifact can contain an infinite number of observable characteristics, or attributes, (Ashby 1965:39), which may be either stylistic, formal, or technological. Since the selection of attributes is dependent upon the research questions and hypotheses posed by the researcher, numerous classification schemes are possible. As Rouse (1960:313), pointed out, classification "...is not an end in itself but a technique by means of which to attain specific objectives, and so it must be varied with the objective". Attributes may be recorded qualitatively, as present or absent, or they may be recorded as actual measurements, quantitatively. The focus of attribute analysis can be descriptive in nature, when based solely on qualitative data, or can rely only slightly on intricate statistical analysis.

Formal attributes can refer to observable elements of three-dimensional shapes and geometric figures of artifacts and their components (Shepard 1976:225-226). These types of attributes are important in figurine studies where the form is essential in the identification of images represented. It is only through formal attributes, such as shapes of bodies, heads, eyes, and other anatomical features of both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines that such identification is possible.

A formal attribute can also be considered a mode, defined as "...any standard,

concept or custom which governs the behaviour of the artisans of a community, which they hand down from generation to generation, and which may spread from community to community over considerable distances" (Rouse 1960:313). Two important points should be addressed when considering the concept of modes: (1) modes depict the standards used in representing artifacts characteristic to particular cultures, considered as markers of particular time periods which can be studied independently, and (2) not all attributes are modes, and therefore, only particular aspects of form can be subjected to modal studies. Modes derived from formal attributes are important in the classification of images into image-types for iconographic purposes.

Formal attributes have been successfully used by archaeologists to organize figurines into image-types (Black and Weer 1935; Bennet 1937; Grosscup 1961; Ucko 1968; Renfrew 1969; Talalay 1993). Peter Ucko (1962, 1968) was one of the first archaeologists to be concerned with the systematic study of figurines. Basing his classification on formal attributes, he was able to demonstrate the advantages of selecting formal attributes for studies that went beyond classification (Ucko 1968). Some of the formal attributes employed in his classification scheme were also used to address issues pertaining to inter-cultural relationships. Based on formal features, including gender depiction, arm position, and posture, Ucko classified the figurines recovered from different regions of the Near East, Crete, and Egypt, and used figurine types to draw parallels between the regions (Ucko 1968:390-401). His studies of the Near Eastern Neolithic figurines offered a fresh approach that incorporated not only

the figurines but their archaeological contexts, regional historical evidence where the figurines were recovered, and relevant anthropological data (Ucko 1962:38).

The second step in the classification process establishes the criteria for formulating types, and then assigns artifacts to those types. This implies a selection of diagnostic attributes, or modes, to create types. A "type" is defined as

> "...a group that has been formed on the basis of a consistent patterning of attributes of the materials or events, and is distinguished from other types, which are different patterns of attributes" (Hill and Evans 1972:233).

Any typological classification must invariably be based upon the inclusion of two or more attributes. The types can be morphological, taxonomic, or descriptive (Hill and Evans 1972:241). A taxonomic classification involves a series of decisions that reduce a collection of artifacts into smaller and smaller groups; each level of separation depends upon the selection of modes which are culturally significant (Rouse 1960:316-317). The number of selected modes used to determine the degree of separation of the data into types and subtypes indicates that a taxonomist is either a splitter or a lumper.

Statistics may be used in establishing a formal taxonomic classification. This is accomplished by sorting combinations of modes according to their frequencies and assigning them to classes or groups. One statistical method that may be helpful in organizing a collection of artifacts is cluster analysis. This is a method which groups objects into classes "...by some measurement, 'close' to each other..." (Christenson and Read 1977:163). Resistance to statistical methods, including cluster analysis (Read 1989; Shepard 1976:332-333), may be warranted since the methodology does not

always work (Talalay 1983).

Studies related to the formal classification of figurines are most important for this thesis. Like figurines, adornos are three-dimensional graphic images; they are similar to the study of figurine heads, especially with the recording of formal attributes and their classification. Renfrew (1969) offers one example of a taxonomic classification based on the form of figurines. In his classification system, Cycladic figurines were grouped according to several major overall forms of shape, including "violin", notched waisted, shouldered, and tripartite (Renfrew (1969:5). These forms are considered modes possessing chronological significance, as defined by Rouse (1960). This classification is taxonomic in nature because the figurine database is systematically divided according to outward shape modes with further subdivisions incorporating additional formal attributes, related to faces and bodies.

Other examples of archaeological classifications which may be considered essentially taxonomic and based on formal attributes include the works of Bennet (1937), Grosscup (1961), Ucko (1962, 1968), Gimbutas (1991), and Talalay (1983, 1993).

Iconography and Classification

The study of form in archaeology and art history involves an enumeration of elements, their arrangement resulting in a classification of specific form types, and the identifications and interpretations of images represented by these types (Talalay 1993; Ucko 1962; 1968); all of this is also an essential part of iconographical studies (Panofsky 1955). Therefore, a formal analysis is precursor to the establishment of

formal types, which are subjected to distributional and chronological investigations. Image types, which are derived from formal types, become the elements of iconographical analysis, consisting of (1) the "primary" identification of these image types based on such comparisons between formal attribute and anatomical features of humans and animals, for instance; (2) the "secondary" identification of image types determined from analogies and comparison with, in the case of this thesis, Taino mythology; and (3) the determination of the "intrinsic meaning" of adornos, or their significance to the Saladoid culture of St. Vincent and the Lesser Antilles in general.

A very important first step in prehistoric iconography is the classification of the images, since we are dealing essentially with archaeological artifacts. Accordingly, the reasons for iconographical classification are similar to those of artifact classification in archaeology: (1) to reduce a large database of images into manageable units; (2) to identify the characteristic motifs employed in the representation of images; and (3) to explore the relationship between images (Morphy 1989a).

A major component in classifying images for iconographic purposes is the identification of motifs, or design elements, which become our formal attributes. When dealing with heads, for instance, as is the case for adornos, the emphasis will be on such anatomical features such as eyes, noses, and mouths. The underlying principle in the classification process is the link between the subject and design, that is, between image and form, which is at the core of iconographical studies (Lavin 1993:40). The aim is to determine distinctive image types from the types of subjects represented in a more purely formal typology. It should be expected that more than one formal type

may have represented the same image, as a distinctive image type. These image types then become the units of analysis for iconographical interpretation in archaeology.

The typological approach developed in this thesis is based essentially on formal attributes, resulting in a classification based on form. By utilizing form, it becomes possible to identify types of subjects through a comparison between formal attributes and anatomical characteristics of natural models, such as particular animal species.

These formal attributes, analogous to motifs in iconography, will include overall geometric head shapes, facial features, and, when present, body features. Most such attributes are qualitative in nature and only their absence or presence on each specimen is recorded. Quantitative attributes, consisting of metric dimensions such as height, width, and length, will also be considered.

The second step in the classification process of adornos will divide the database on the basis of geometric shapes of the head, as the major formal attributes on which to base an adorno typology. The further subdivisions of each major adorno type will be the third step in the classification process. This will be attempted through statistical means, such as cluster analysis, carried out for each category of head forms using the SPSS computer software from the University of Manitoba mainframe. This form of classification is taxonomic in character creating subdivisions within major adorno types according to shapes of eyes, noses, and mouths.

CHAPTER III

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATABASE

This research is based on 248 pottery adornos from collections housed at the Kingstown Museum, St. Vincent, West Indies. It consists of specimens recovered from early excavations and surveys, including those recovered by Dr. Louis Allaire in the course of his archaeological surveys of St. Vincent between 1993 and 1995 (Allaire and Duval 1995). Dr. Earle Kirby, museum curator and chairman of the St. Vincent and the Grenadines National Trust, kindly extended permission to use the St. Vincent adornos for research purposes and provided all possible assistance and encouragement.

Recording Adornos

Different means of recording the database which could not be removed from St. Vincent for detailed study in Winnipeg, included video, as well as black and white, colour print, and slide photography, in order to document the artifacts as thoroughly as possible. The identification of the range of formal attributes for each adorno was compiled from photographs and videotapes at the University of Manitoba.

The videotaping process made use of a turntable which was constructed in Winnipeg to allow the videotaping of adornos as they slowly rotated. The turntable consisted of a modified record player functioning on both battery and regular 120 V

and 240 V, at a low speed of rotation. Adornos were placed on the turntable in front of an 8 MM Canon 310 videorecorder, mounted on a tripod at the Kingstown museum. Each adorno was videotaped in colour with a scale. This method of recording permitted all sides or angles of the adorno to be videotaped, allowing for a recording of all formal attributes. Most of the recording used natural light, both outdoors and indoors. As a consequence, the quality of the recording varied but did not detract from the sufficient documentation of attributes.

Back in Winnipeg, still digital images were captured in B/W from the videotapes using the ScreenPlay computer software on a Macintosh IIvi at the Faculty of Education computer laboratory, University of Manitoba. These images were then organized in the Adobe Photoshop program at the Department of Anthropology computer laboratory, and later printed on Epson high quality ink jet paper using an Epson colour stylist 740 printer. The types of computer software used to capture and manipulate still images and the types of papers and printers, all have a bearing upon the quality of the final prints.

In addition to the video and digital recording of the adorno collection, photographs were also taken with two types of cameras: (1) a Minolta with a 50 millimetre lens, and (2) a Pentax ME Super with a macro 50 millimetre lens. The film consisted of a 35 mm FP4 which was tested at the University of Manitoba to determine its quality and capabilities before going to the field. The films containing the adorno data were developed and processed in the photographic laboratory in the Department of Anthropology. Recording of the database also included photographing

with Kodak 200 ASA colour films, and Kodak Ectachrome 100 ASA colour slide film. The adornos were organized in arbitrary groups which were then photographed with a metric scale.

In summary, there were definite benefits in using these recording techniques. First, in the absence of the artifacts, the photographs, slides, and videos provided the means by which to record and study adornos. Second, the creation of a systematic database of adornos will be valuable to research concerned with comparative studies. Third, the creation of a digital database provides the first step in developing a computerized data bank of adornos for the Lesser Antilles, along the lines outlined by Stocker and Lamb (1991:139-140), who suggested the establishment of a central data bank utilizing computer graphics to describe and classify figurines.

There is certainly room for improvement on the methods used to record the adorno database. In retrospect, while the videotapes and photographs taken of the adornos are adequate, reliance on natural light provided variation in the quality of images. Definite improvements would have been made with photographic filters and artificial lighting. Image quality may have also been improved with the use of a digital videorecorder, at the same time reducing time and effort in capturing and converting still images to a digital format.

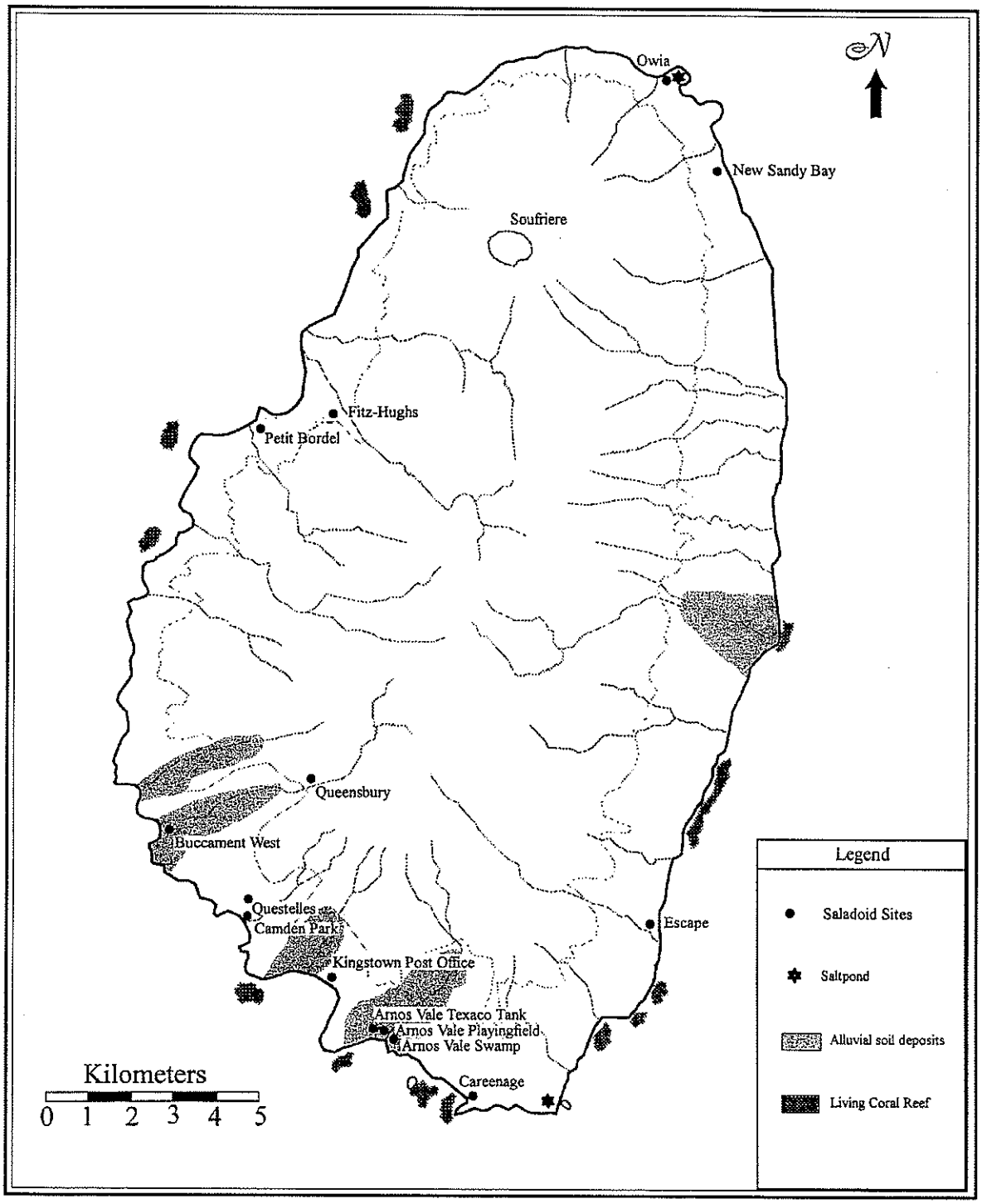
Adornos and their contexts

This collection of adornos under study was compiled from the Kingstown Museum's glass display cases, storage drawers, and back storage areas. In the majority of cases, the archaeological context of these St. Vincent adornos is unknown.

In fact, only 88 specimens have been identified to a specific Saladoid site on the island.

In 1996, old museum records were found that revealed the archaeological contexts of 49 of the 88 adornos, in the form of index cards (5x8 inches) containing such information as catalogue numbers, recovery locations, persons associated with the find, measurements, and possible identification of the adornos. In some cases the information on the card indicates a Barrancoid appearance, or influence, as described in Chapter I. At times the information includes the identification of the adorno to specific animals, such as bats, vultures, pelicans, turtles, parrots, hammer sharks, and manatees. Of all adornos, 78 were marked with the letters 'SVC' followed by catalog numbers that tied the adornos to the index cards. We include in Appendix A the complete information as found on the museum cards. Some adornos with 'SVC' numbers did not have a corresponding card; in this case an entry of 'no card' in the Museum Card Information column is recorded (Appendix A). The context of a number of adornos could also be substantiated from site descriptions and illustrations in Bullen and Bullen's (1972) Archaeological Investigations on St. Vincent and the Grenadines, West Indies.

This documentation indicates that the Saladoid adorno database in this thesis originates from 19 known Saladoid sites on St. Vincent (Map 4). It can only be assumed, for the purpose of this thesis, that the remaining specimens had also been recovered from the same or other St. Vincent Saladoid sites. This was corroborated by Dr. Kirby, as well as by Mrs. Janet Wall, a resident of the Grenadines, who has been



Map 4. Known archaeological contexts of adornos used in this study (based on Bullen and Bullen 1972).

associated through the years with the recovery of many specimens in the field. In fact, Mrs. Wall (pers. comm. 1997) has informed me that a large portion of the adornos on display in the museum are from the rich Arnos Vale site locality on the south coast of the island (Bullen and Bullen 1972).

Finally, a number of adornos from the Grenadines Islands, and possibly a few non-Saladoid adornos, have been incorporated into Appendix A; these four specimens were not relevant to the current study and were removed from the database. After removing non-local and non-Saladoid specimens, the remaining 244 adornos compose the main database for this thesis.

CHAPTER IV

FORMAL ANALYSIS AND TECHNOLOGY

Formal Attributes

Because Saladoid adornos consist essentially of small zoomorphic heads attached to the rims or appendages on clay vessels, formal attributes that are most relevant to the classification and iconographic analysis are those associated with heads. These attributes define the forms and image types, as well as being the means in the "primary" identification of the adornos. The face is particularly significant for its anatomical features, as well as for the depiction of a wide range of expressions (Peck 1987), that may have symbolic connotations; this is especially true with regards to the eyes (Huxley 1990).

A list of formal attributes has been established following a visual inspection of the collection. It consists of a catalogue number, condition, association, position, overall measurements, head, headgear, face, eyes, pupils, nose, nostrils, mouth, lips, forehead decoration, ears, neck, body, sides, front, arms, and vessel decoration, as in Table 1. With the exception of metric attributes, all information recorded for a particular adorno is based on presence/absence.

Metric attributes were obtained from a 5 cm scale on photographs and videotaped data, which provided a measurement accurate to the nearest 0.5 centimetre.

Table 1. Information recorded for each adorno.

Catalogue number _____;

Present Condition:

Partial; Complete;

Association:

Head and body; Adorno and rim; Adorno and handle; Adorno and vessel body;

Position:

Facing in; Facing out; Looking up;

Overall Measurements:

Overall height_____; Overall width_____; Overall thickness_____;

Head:

Height_____; Width_____; Spherical; Cylindrical; Conical; Rectangular; Oval; Other;

Headgear:

Present; Complete; Partial; Headgear-head separated by incision; One division; Two divisions; Three divisions; Divisions incised; Decorated headgear; Incised pupil; Punctate pupil; Incised motifs; Interrupted incisions; Extends along the back;

Face:

Complete; Partial; Height_____; Width_____;

Eyes:

Absent; Bulging; Incised; Flat; Complete circle; Partial circle; Spherical; Rectangular; Excised; Oval;

Pupils:

Absent; Damaged; Punctate; Bulging; Incised; Incised vertically; Incised horizontally; Circular with punctate in the middle;

Nose:

Absent; Broken; Ovoid; Spherical; Rectangular; Cylindrical; Triangular;

Table 1-continued

Nostrils:

Absent; Number____; Incised; Punctate; Indeterminable; Cylindrical tube connected to mouth;

Mouth:

Absent; Broken; Flat; Ovoid; Cylindrical beak; Rectangular; Conical beak; Excised; Opened; 'Hand in mouth';

Lips:

Incised; Punctate

Forehead Decoration:

Punctate; Incised; Pupils; Rectangular designs;

Ears:

Punctate; Spherical; Modelled; Spiral; Oval; Vertical incision; Horizontal incisions;

Neck:

Collar; Raised cylindrical band; Painted; Linear Incision; Interrupted line incised; Number of incisions _____; Continuous line incision;

Body:

Rectangular; Conic; Hollow back; Not decorated; Spherical; Width across shoulders_____; Width at bottom_____;

Sides:

Symmetrically decorated; Nubbin; Incised; Punctate; Undecorated pupil; Pupil on shoulder; Oval incision; Incision terminating in punctate;

Front:

Incised; Punctate; Painted; Rectangular design; Circle; Excised; Hollow with rattle; Bellybutton; Pupil as bellybutton; Hole;

Arms:

Cylindrical; From head to vessel rim; From head to mouth;

Vessel decoration:

Curvilinear designs; Rectilinear designs;

This accuracy was determined by taking the adorno measurements from the video recording of three adornos and comparing them to measurements taken from the actual specimens.

From the recorded information the attributes and their variations as well as some general information for each adorno was coded and placed into a table format (Appendix B). The coding system consists of capital letters and numbers; letters are assigned to attribute categories and other general information and numbers are assigned to variations within each attribute category. All the information given below concerning the definition of attributes and their variations, as well as other general information will be found in Appendix B.

A. Catalogue Number. It was necessary to assign new arbitrary catalogue numbers for this study since many specimens lacked identifying marks on both specimen and museum records. The newly assigned catalogue numbers consisted of letters Ad, for "adorno", and an arbitrary consecutive number (Appendix B). This numbering system reflects the order in which the adornos were analyzed.

B. Condition. The distinction between complete (B1) and incomplete (B2) adornos was required since only complete adornos (B1) are included in this analysis. In the context of this thesis, the minimum criterion for a complete adorno is an entire head displaying most facial features; consequently, a total of 38 specimens were removed from the analysis, leaving 210 complete adornos remaining as a database (Appendix B).

C. Component. There are two kinds of adornos in this collection: (C1)

adornos consisting of both a head and "torso"; and (C2) adornos consisting only of heads. An adorno torso is an appendage which is analogous to the human or animal torso, with the head placed on top, and with the bottom attached to the vessel rim. Some of the individual heads may have at one point been attached to torsos. However, in this collection, heads were also placed directly on rims, strap handles, or on the exterior walls of ceramic vessels (Appendix B).

D. Location. Different parts of Saladoid vessels may be decorated with adornos. The St. Vincent adornos are found on three major vessel parts: (D1) vessel rims, (D2) strap handles, and (D3) on the exterior vessel walls. When the actual location is not readily identifiable, it is entered as undetermined (D0) (Appendix B).

E. Orientation. The orientation of the adorno in relation to the vessel mouth has been recorded whenever possible. When the orientation was not obvious, it was entered as undetermined (E0). In general, adornos are either oriented horizontally, facing inward toward the vessel mouth (E1), facing outward (E2), or vertically, facing upward (E3) (Appendix B).

F. Height. This measurement consists of the maximum height of the adorno including, whenever present, the vessel fragment.

G. Width. This measurement consists of the maximum width of the adorno including, whenever present, the vessel fragment.

H. Height of the head. These are measurements taken of the heads alone from the bottom of the face to the top of the head, including tabular head extensions protruding above the face.

I. Width of the head. These measurements are taken at the widest section of the head, including head extensions or any additions that are ear-like in appearance.

J. Head shape. This is the most important category of formal attributes since head shapes will provide the basis for classifying the collection (fig. 1). In this collection, five basic head forms are identified, each described below.

(1) Semi-spherical. Viewed from the front, the first head form is semi-spherical with a flat back extending upwards beyond the head. In profile, it resembles the shape of the small letter 'b', and for this reason, adornos of this form will henceforth be referred to as b-shaped adornos (J1) (fig. 1). In this collection, b-shaped adornos are the most prevalent head shape, consisting of 100 specimens, or 47.1 percent, of the 210 Saladoid adornos. On 94 b-shaped adornos the heads are attached facing horizontally on either a torso or directly on the rims of vessels. The heads of the remaining six specimens are facing vertically, and located on torsos that are attached to the rims of vessels.

(2) Cylindrical. When viewed in profile, the second most prevalent head form is cylindrical in shape (J2), totalling 43 specimens, or 20.5 percent of the collection (fig. 1). These adornos tend to face both horizontally and away from the exterior of vessel walls, and less frequently on rims.

(3) Conical. The third distinguishing head form is conical in shape, when viewed from both front and profile (J3) (fig. 1). The conical shape is due to a beak-like feature, characteristic of the majority of adornos in this category, that gives them a bird, and more precisely pelican-like, appearance. In all, 39 specimens, or 18.6

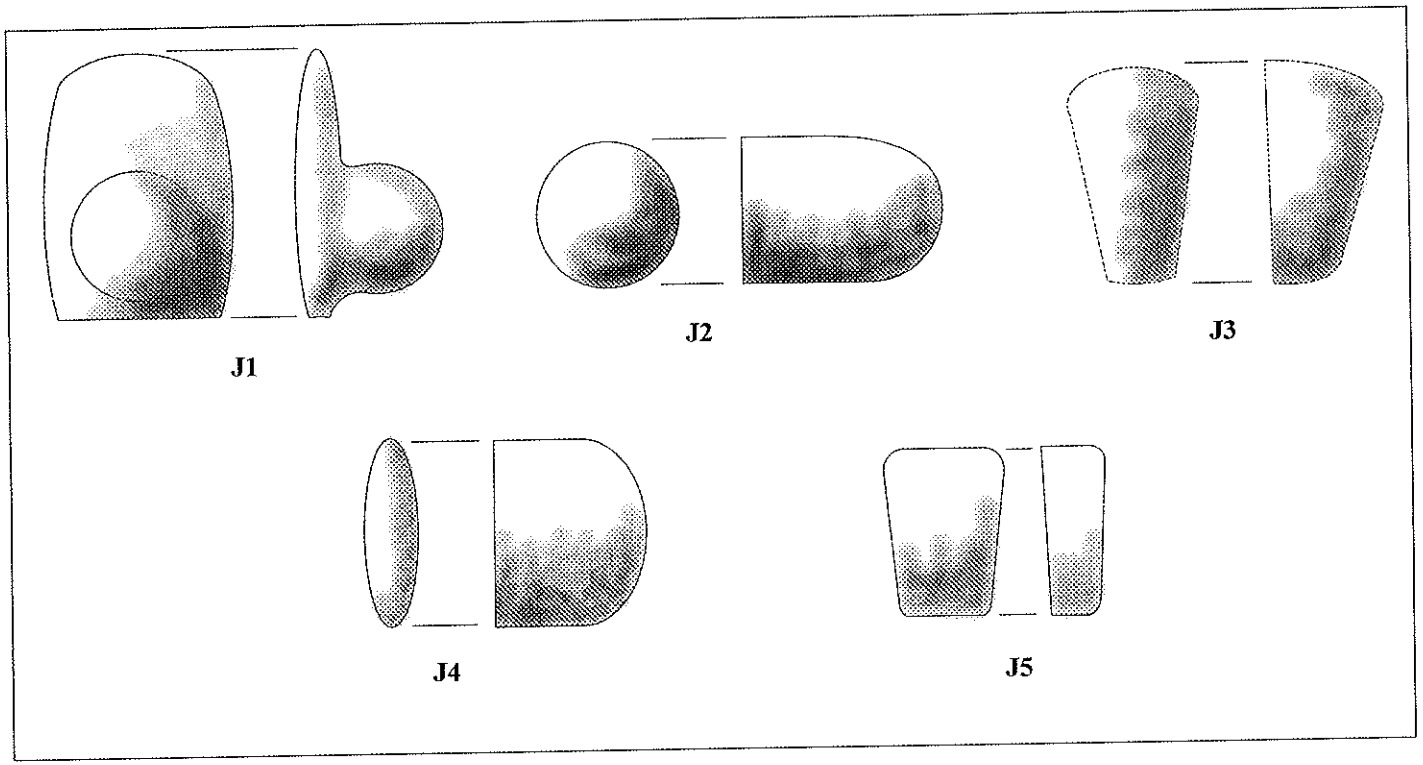


Figure 1: Adorno head forms: J1,b-shaped; J2, cylindrical; J3, conical; J4, oval; and J5,tabular.

percent, of the collection are identified as having conical-shaped heads. Although they are placed mostly on strap handles, a few specimens are also positioned on exteriors vessel walls, and more rarely on rims. Those placed on strap handles and on vessel exteriors, are always oriented vertically; the single exception of a horizontal positioning relates to a conical adorno placed on a vessel rim (Pl. 21a).

(4) Ovoid. The fourth adorno head form category is ovoid in shape, comprising 14 specimens (6.7 percent) (J4) (fig. 1). This category can be further divided according to form into two groups: (J4A) fully ovoid (9 specimens), and (J4B) semi-ovoid, or planoconvex (5 specimens) (fig. 2). Fully ovoid adornos (J4A) are placed vertically on strap handles and on the exteriors of vessel; the planoconvex (J4B) adornos are placed horizontally on the exterior wall of a vessel.

(5) Tabular. While all head shapes identified so far are rounded, this last shape is flat, or tabular (J5) in form, consisting of a variety of contours when viewed from the front (fig. 1). These tabular adornos are represented by 14 specimens, or 6.7 percent. Two examples (Pl. 26b, g) offer clues to both a horizontal and vertical placement of adornos on the rims of vessels.

It is interesting to note that the examination of the five head shapes reveal a number of characteristics with respects to orientation (Table 2). Of all 57 b-shaped adornos (J1), for which orientation could be determined, 40 face towards the interior of the vessel opening (E1). This stands in contrast to the cylindrical (J2), conical (J3), and oval (J4), shapes which almost always face away from the vessel (E2).

K. Tabular head extensions. This category relates solely to b-shaped adornos

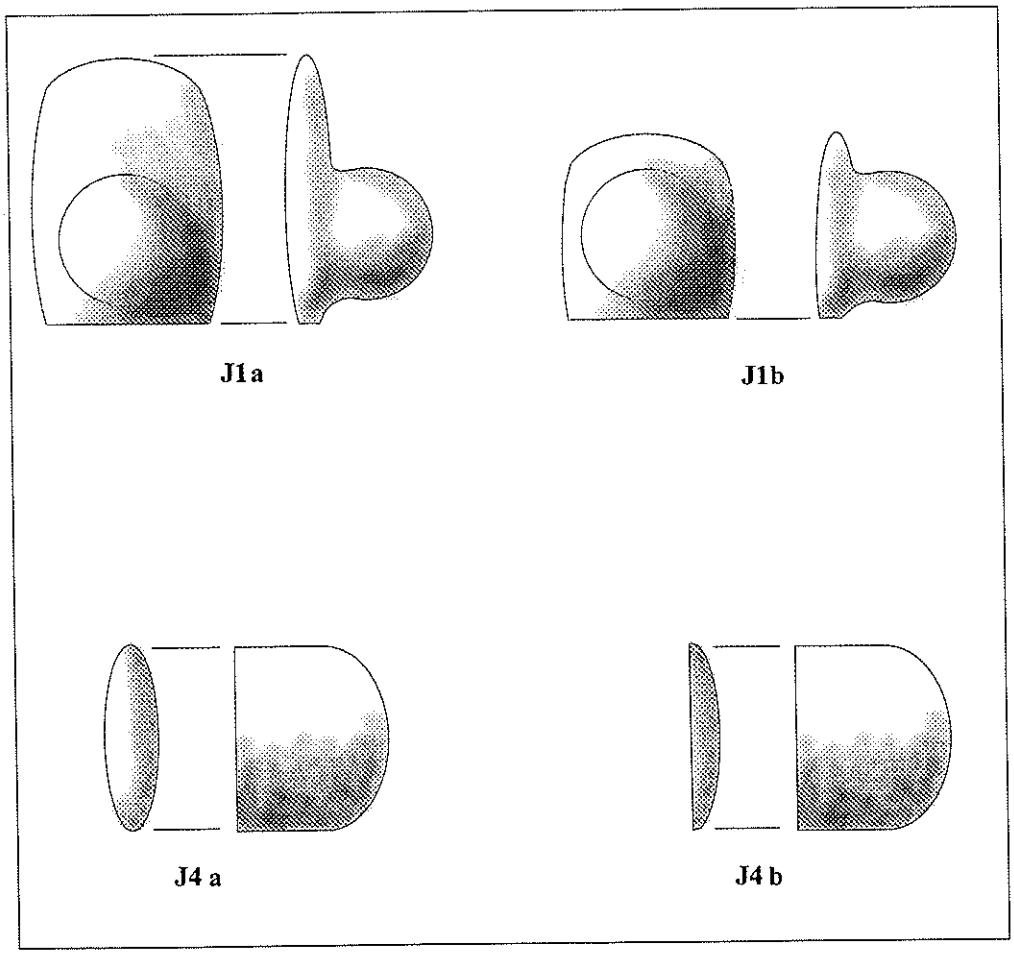


Figure 2. Variations in head shapes: J1a, b-shaped adorno with a long head extension; J1b, b-shaped adorno with a short head extension; J4a, true ovoid; J4b, semi-ovoid, or planoconvex.

Table 2. Orientation of adornos in relation to vessel openings.

Orientation	Head Shapes											
	J1		J2		J3		J4		J5		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
E0	53	53%	18	41.9%	9	23.1%	7	50%	12	85.8%	99	47.1%
E1	40	40%	4	9.3%	0	0	0	0	1	7.1%	45	21.4%
E2	1	1%	21	48.8%	29	74.4%	7	50%	0	0	58	27.7%
E3	6	6%	0	0	1	2.5%	0	0	1	7.1%	8	3.8%
Totals	**100**		**43**		**39**		**14**		**14**		**210**	

Table 3. Totals of eye forms associated with existing head shapes.

Eye Forms	Head Shapes											
	J1		J2		J3		J4		J5		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Q0	6	6%	4	9.3%	2	5.1%	0	0	3	21.5%	15	7.1%
Q1	79	79%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	79	37.6%
Q2	7	7%	4	9.3%	0	0	1	7.2%	0	0	12	5.7%
Q3	0	0	2	4.7%	0	0	0	0	1	7.1%	3	1.5%
Q4	6	6%	29	67.4%	36	92.3%	12	85.6%	9	64.3%	92	43.8%
Q5	1	1%	3	7%	0	0	1	7.2%	0	0	5	2.4%
Q6	1	1%	1	2.3%	1	2.6%	0	0	1	7.1%	4	1.9%
Totals	**100**		**43**		**39**		**14**		**14**		**210**	

(J1) which typically display a head extension above the face in the form of a "head band" or "headgear" of various dimensions which are often decorated. Since the size of the extension is basic to the classification, it is necessary to differentiate between complete (K1), and partial (K2) headgear. Although the height of partial head extensions can still be determined for most adornos where the sides are damaged, what cannot be determined for these specimens is the type of decoration.

L. Divisions of head extensions. Variations in the length of the tabular head extension stretching upward above the head, include the longer "pan-handle" extensions which are divided into sections, separated by an incision. The collection contains tabular head extensions with one (L1), two (L2), and even three such divisions (L3). A ratio between the height of the head to the height of the face provides an index of size, dividing the collection into two major groups: (1) short b-shaped adornos, and (2) tall b-shaped adornos (fig. 2). This ratio is presented in Appendix B, column AG, and will be discussed bellow.

M. Decorated head extensions. Head extensions are decorated by different techniques making use of both appliqué and incisions. Most of the decoration consists of small appliqué semi-spherical clay pellets. These buttons may symmetrically decorate three areas along both exterior sides of the head extensions: (1) near the top, at a level above the face; (2) in the middle, level with the top of the face; and (3) at the bottom, where the head extension terminates. Some head extensions are decorated with both pellets and incisions (M1), while more frequently, others consist only of pellet decorations (M2). Head extensions are also incised with curvilinear and

rectilinear designs (M3) which will be discussed below.

N. Face. Faces on the adornos can either be complete (N1) or partial (N2), if some appliqué facial features have broken off. A partial face may lack the nose, mouth, or be damaged to such a point as to make the recording of finer attributes such as nostrils, or pupils, indeterminable. Most of the facial attributes, however, can still be identified in the partial category by the breakage pattern.

O. Height of the face. An indication of size can be obtained by taking measurements of the face. These measurements exclude the head extensions of the b-shaped adornos. The height of all but six adorno faces has been measured revealing a distribution between 1.0 and 6.5 cm, averaging 3.18 cm. The distribution of face heights in relation to the different head shapes will be discussed with the description of types in the following chapter.

P. Width of the face. Facial widths for most adornos were also determined. Measurements range from 1.0 to 7.5 cm, averaging 3.51 cm. The relationship between the widths of adorno faces and the different head shapes will be addressed during the description of types in the following chapter.

Q. Eyes. The eyes on adornos are represented by various geometric shapes, either raised, flat and incised, or excised. A raised eye is one which has been created by an extra addition of a clay pellet so as to be raised from the surface of the head. Flat eyes are simply represented by an incision, either as a partial circle (Q1), complete circle (Q2), or oval (Q3). Raised incised eyes may be represented by semi-spheres (Q4), or semi-ovoids (Q5). There are also adornos on which the eyes are

represented by removing the clay, or excising; the limited excising seen in the collection is circular in form (Q6) (fig. 3). Not all adornos have been depicted with eyes; many eyes are simply not present (Q0). If imaginary longitudinal and latitudinal axes are drawn through the centre of an adorno face, the eyes will appear symmetrical in relation to both. The eyes are placed on either side of the longitudinal axis, at varying locations with respect to the latitudinal axis, depending on the head form. For instance, eyes that are flat, incised, partial circles (Q1), are larger in size, taking up more space on both sides of the face. Round, semi-spherical eyes (Q4), however, are smaller, and are seen to occupy only the areas above the longitudinal axis.

The number and frequency of eye shapes has been recorded for each of the head forms and presented in Table 3. There are again interesting correlations between eye and head forms; 79 percent of the eyes associated with b-shaped adornos (J1) are flat and incised in the form of a partial circle (Q1). Raised, semi-spherical eyes (Q4), are characteristic of the remaining head forms observed in 67.4 percent of cylindrical (J2), 92.3 percent of conical (J3), 85.6 percent of ovoid (J4), and 64.3 percent of the tabular adornos (J5) (Table 3).

R. Pupils. Each eye form defined above occurs in association with one of six forms of pupil. These include punctates (R1), horizontal incisions (R2), vertical incisions (R3), flat incised circle with a punctate in the middle (R4), raised semi-sphere (R5), and raised semi-sphere with a punctate in the middle (R6). When adornos have been represented without any pupils, an absent (R0) entry was recorded (fig. 4). Pupils are usually located within the eye outline, most often in a central

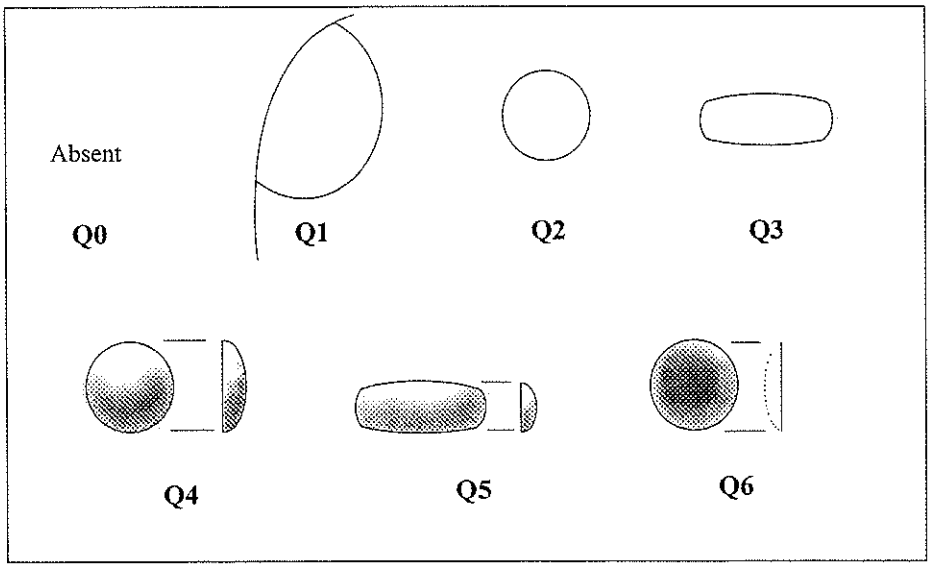


Figure 3. Adorno eye forms: Q0, absent; Q1, flat, incised, partial circle; Q2, flat, incised, complete circle; Q3, flat oval; Q4, raised semi-sphere; Q5, raised semi-ovoid; and Q6, excised circle.

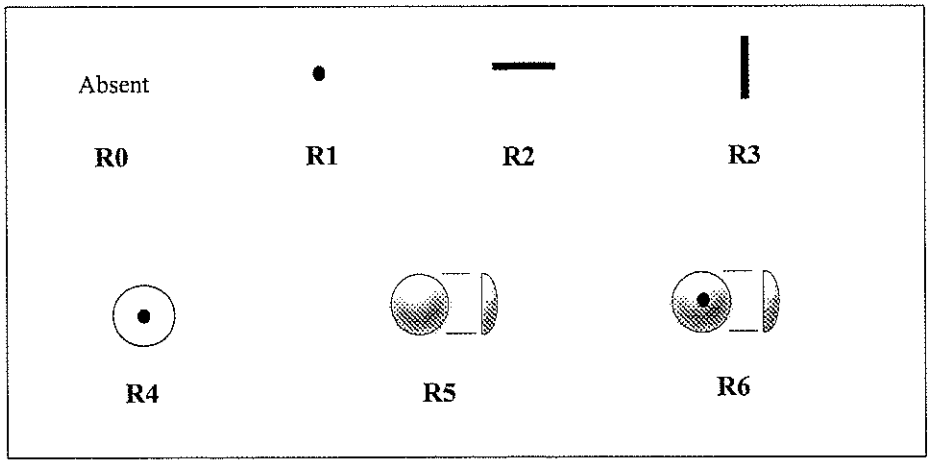


Figure 4. Adorno pupil forms: R0, absent; R1, punctate; R2, horizontal incision; R3, vertical incision; R4, flat incised circle with a punctate in the middle; R5, raised semi-sphere; R6, raised semi-sphere with a punctate in the middle.

Table 4. Totals of pupil forms associated with eye forms.

Pupil Forms	Eye Forms															
	Q0		Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5		Q6		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
R0	4	26.7%	1	1.3%	0	0	0	0	22	23.9%	2	40%	0	0	29	13.8%
R1	7	46.6%	68	86.1%	9	75%	0	0	63	68.5%	0	0	0	0	147	70%
R2	4	26.7%	4	5.1%	2	16.7%	0	0	2	2.2%	2	40%	0	0	14	6.7%
R3	0	0	6	7.5%	0	0	3	100%	0	0	1	20%	0	0	10	4.8%
R4	0	0	0	0	1	8.3%	0	0	1	1.1%	0	0	2	50%	4	1.9%
R5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2.2%	0	0	1	25%	3	1.4%
R6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2.2%	0	0	1	25%	3	1.4%
Total	**15**		**79**		**12**		**3**		**92**		**5**		**4**		**210**	

location. If adornos are represented with only pupils, their locations are symmetrically placed on either side of the face, usually above the imaginary latitudinal axis that divides the adorno face. Numbers and frequencies of different types of pupils associated with different eye forms point towards the punctate (R1) as the most popular pupil form, observed in 70 percent of the total collection (Table 4).

S. Nose. Although many adornos lack noses (S0), nose shapes include semi-ovoid (S1), rectangular (S2), conical (S3), cylindrical (S4), and triangular (S5). In situations where noses have broken off, they have been recorded as undetermined in shape (S6) (fig. 5). Noses are placed anywhere along the longitudinal axis of the face, varying in location along the latitudinal axis, most of them being placed high on the front of the face, often on the forehead. Their size never exceeds 2.0 cm. Frequencies reveal that 70.0 percent of noses belonging to b-shaped adornos (J1) are ovoid in shape (S1) (Table 5). For the remaining head shapes 46.5 percent of cylindrical, 76.9 percent of conical, 100 percent of the ovoid, and 35.7 percent of the tabular head forms lack all forms of nose (S0) (Table 5).

T. Nostrils. Associated with the various shapes of noses are a variety of nostril forms. There are many adornos on which nostrils are either indeterminable (T5) or are completely absent (T0). The techniques by which adorno nostrils were represented include one punctate (T1), two punctates (T2), one incision (T3), and two incisions (T4) (fig. 6). Nostrils are usually placed in a central location on the various nose forms described above. When represented without nose forms, nostrils occupy locations similar to those of the nose, except for conical (bird-like) adornos where

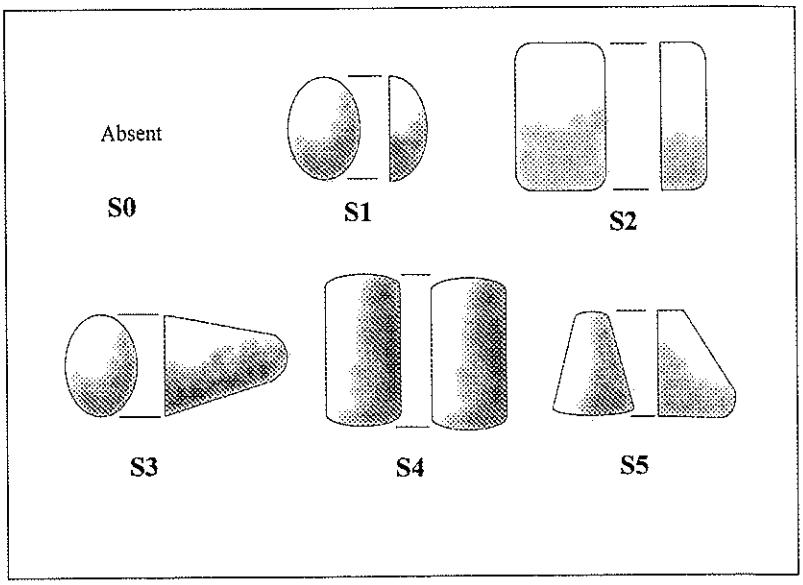


Figure 5. Adorno nose forms: S0, absent; S1, semi-ovoid; S2, rectangular; S3, conical; S4 cylindrical; and S5, triangular.

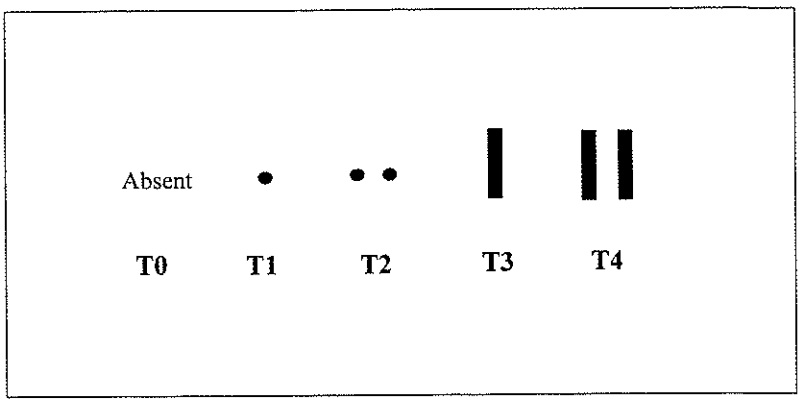


Figure 6: Adorno nostril forms: T0, absent; T1, one punctate; T2, two punctates; T3, one incision; T4, two incisions.

Table 5. Totals of nose forms associated with existing head shapes.

Nose Forms	Head Shapes											
	J1		J2		J3		J4		J5		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
S0	2	2%	20	46.5%	30	76.9%	14	100%	5	35.7%	71	33.8%
S1	70	70%	16	37.2%	0	0	0	0	2	14.3%	88	41.9%
S2	0	0	1	2.3%	0	0	0	0	2	14.3%	3	1.4%
S3	26	26%	2	4.7%	6	15.4%	0	0	0	0	34	16.2%
S4	0	0	1	2.3%	3	7.7%	0	0	0	0	4	1.9%
S5	1	1%	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	35.7%	6	2.9%
S6	1	1%	3	7%	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1.9%
Totals	**100**		**43**		**39**		**14**		**14**		**210**	

Table 6. Totals of nostril forms associated with nose forms.

Nostril Forms	Nose Forms													
	S0		S1		S2		S3		S4		S5		S6		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
T0	49	70%	33	37.5%	3	75%	11	32.4%	0	0	3	50%	0	0	99	47.1%
T1	0	0	10	11.4%	0	0	6	17.6%	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	7.6%
T2	13	18.6%	11	12.5%	0	0	0	0	2	50%	1	16.7%	0	0	27	12.9%
T3	1	1.4%	9	10.2%	0	0	10	29.4%	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	9.5%
T4	7	10%	3	3.4%	1	25%	7	20.6%	2	50%	0	0	0	0	20	9.5%
T5	0	0	22	25%	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	33.3%	4	100%	28	13.4%
Total	**70**		**88**		**4**		**34**		**4**		**6**		**4**		**210**	

nostrils are represented on the beak, below the head. Frequencies reveal that most adornos lack nostrils (T0), while many could not be determined due to damage to the nose (T5) (Table 6).

U. Mouth. Mouths on adornos are represented by various geometric forms that are either raised and incised or excised. The raised mouth forms include the semi-ovoid (U1), conical beak-like (U2), and rectangular (U3) (fig. 7). A distinction is observed with respect to the conical beak-like mouths (U2) when compared to the other mouth forms. All forms other than the conical beak-like mouths are located in the lower half and symmetrically placed over the longitudinal axis of the face; whereas the conical beaks extend to various lengths downward well beyond the face. Three variations are observed with respect to the sizes of conical beaks: (1) long, having a beak longer than the head; (2) short, the beak smaller or the same length as the head; and (3) conical stub, smaller than half the length of the head. The majority of the semi-ovoid mouths are outlined by a fine incision. Excised mouths (U4) are simply represented by a circular depression. On many other adornos, mouths are completely lacking (U0) (fig. 7).

Some interesting associations are seen between different mouth shapes and particular head form. For instance, 97 percent of all b-shaped adornos (J1), have ovoid mouths (U1); 72.1 percent of the cylindrical heads have no mouths (U0); 71.8 percent of conical heads (J3), have cylindrical beaks (U2); 64.3 percent of the ovoid heads (J4) have no mouths at all (U0); and 85.7 percent of tabular heads (J5), have ovoid mouths (U1) (Table 7).

V. Lips. Lips are depicted on different mouth shapes by an incised line across the mouth (V1); only one adorno lip is represented as a punctate (V2) (fig. 8; Pl. 26h). Although lips are frequently absent (V0/43.3 percent), they are still observed on 56.2 percent of all adornos in the collection, and only 0.5 percent, a single specimen, is punctated (V2) (Table 8). It must be noted that not one adorno specimen in the entire collection shows teeth, a feature common in Taino art (McGinnis 1997). Other interesting observations with respect to lips and associated mouth forms relate to expression. Specifically, the combination of incised lips (V1) with the raised, somewhat pouting, semi-ovoid mouth (U2), mostly associated with b-shaped adornos, depict a range of expressions which can be associated more with sadness than with a cheerful attitude, as will be discussed below.

W. Forehead decoration. A small number of adornos have been decorated in the forehead area, above the nose in the occipital area. One unique adorno (Pl. 23c) displays a punctate area outline by a triangular incision (W1), perhaps in an attempt at depicting a naturalistic anatomical feature of the head. The other form of decoration observed on foreheads consist of a semi-spherical clay pellet (W2), perhaps suggestive of a pineal eye (Allaire 1981). However, the majority of adornos lack any form of decoration on the forehead area (W0).

X. Ears. Some adornos have been decorated on the sides of the head, or on the sides of the head extensions, in the general location of ears, but are never true anatomical ears as represented in the subsequent Suazey culture (Allaire 1997). This type of added decoration incorporates modelling (X1), punctates (X2), and vertical

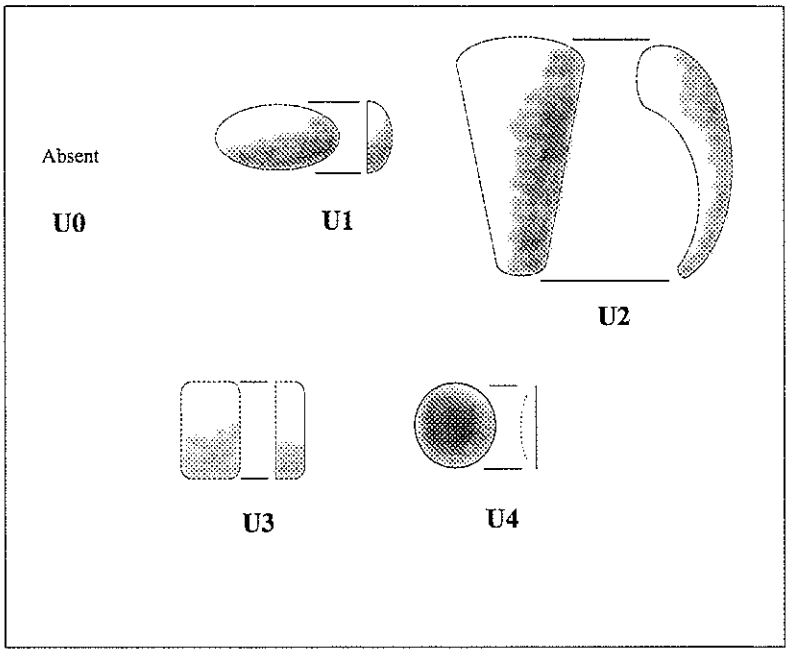


Figure 7. Adorno mouth forms: U0, absent; U1 semi-ovoid, U2, conical; U3, rectangular; and U4, excised circle.

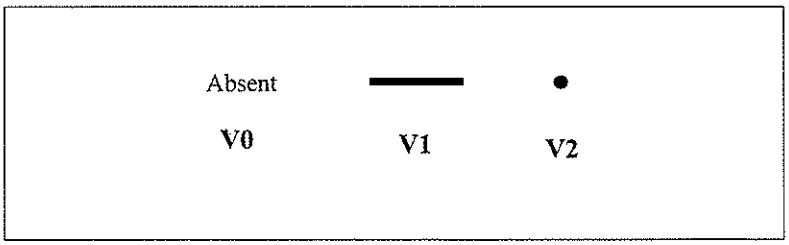


Figure 8: Adorno lip forms; V0, absent; V1, incised; V2, punctate.

Table7. Totals of mouth forms associated with existing head shapes.

Mouth Forms	Head Shapes											
	J1		J2		J3		J4		J5		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
U0	3	3%	31	72.1%	9	23%	9	64.3%	2	14.3%	54	25.7%
U1	97	97%	10	23.3%	0	0	2	14.3%	12	85.7%	121	57.6%
U2	0	0	1	2.3%	28	71.8%	1	7.1%	0	0	30	14.3%
U3	0	0	0	0	1	2.6%	0	0	0	0	1	0.5%
U4	0	0	1	2.3%	1	2.6%	2	14.3%	0	0	4	1.9%
Totals	**100**		**43**		**39**		**14**		**14**		**210**	

Table 8. Totals of lip forms associated with mouth forms.

Lip Forms	Mouth Forms											
	U0		U1		U2		U3		U4		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
V0	33	58.9%	35	28.9%	20	69%	0	0	3	100%	91	43.3%
V1	23	41.1%	85	70.3%	9	31%	1	100%	0	0	118	56.2%
V2	0	0	1	0.8%	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.5%
Total	**56**		**121**		**29**		**1**		**3**		**210**	

incisions (X3). Of all the adornos in the collection, 94.3 percent lack any form of decoration along the sides of the head (X0).

Y. Collars. A distinctive cylindrical clay band is often found around the neck of some adornos. Associated mainly with cylindrical shaped heads, collars are represented by a smooth raised cylindrical band (Y1), or with a distinctive series of short incisions on the collar (Y2); direct incisions of the neck without any clay band additions (Y3) are also encountered.

Z. Shape of torso. When not absent (Z0), the torsos which are large appendages attached to vessel rims consist of three forms. These included conical (Z1), round (Z2), and tabular (Z3) forms (fig. 9).

AA. Hollow-backed adornos. A common feature observed on many b-shaped adorno heads is a hollow back. The concave hollow depression appears to have been made with the thumb pressed inwards, since it is similar in size to a human thumb. On other specimens, this feature is more circular, as if the back was pushed in using a spherical object. Usually no special attention has been paid to decorating the hollow, but there is one example where it has been painted in a pale orange colour (Pl. 12f). On others the red paint that covers the adornos also extends into the hollowed back.

The feature, in various dimensions, is also found on the torsos of b-shaped adornos, where, in general, it is represented by an even depression across the back. In some cases, because of the hollowed back, flipper-like appendages are depicted on both sides of the torso. These torso-like appendages also function as handles, indicating perhaps a functional application, allowing for a better grip.

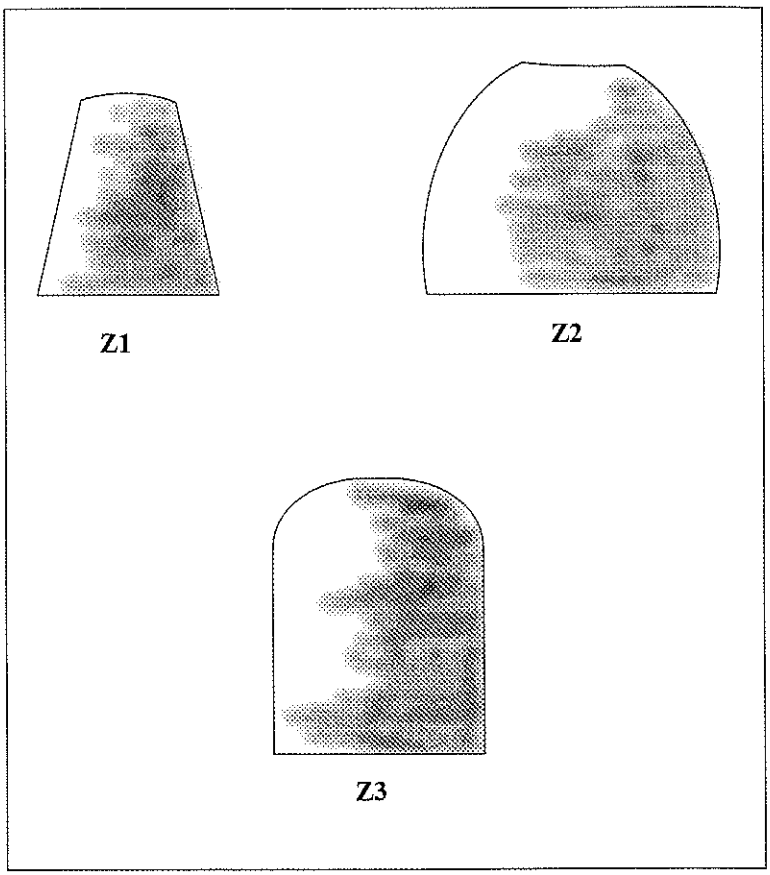


Figure 9: Adorno body forms: Z1, conical; Z2, round;
and Z3, tabular.

AB. Width across shoulders. Measurements were taken at the shoulder, or just bellow the head, on the adorno torsos, for complete specimens only. The 12 torsos that could be measured range in size from 3.0 cm to 8.5 cm.

AC. Width across base where it joins to the vessel. As with measurements taken of the width across the shoulders, measurements were also taken of the adorno torso where it is attached to the vessel rims. Because of the fragmentary nature of the collection, only 19 specimens allowed for this measurement to be taken. In some cases, the measurement was extrapolated from taking measurement readings on one half of the torso and then doubling it for the full measurement. The length at the base of the torso ranges from 4.0 cm to 16.0 cm.

AD. Decoration of torso sides. A number of decorative techniques placed along torso sides, resembling folded flippers, include incisions terminating in punctates (AD1), pupils placed on shoulders (AD2), punctates (AD3), and simple incisions (AD4). In one case, curvilinear incisions depicting flipper-like forms are placed on the sides of the torso. Torso decorations are always symmetrical, occurring in pairs on either side of the appendage (fig. 10).

AE. Decorations on the torso front. More variation is found in the decoration of torso fronts. The range of decorative techniques include incision (AE0), zone incised and painting (AE1), incised rectangular design (AE2), incised rectangular design with an incised circle with a punctate in the middle (AE3), punctated raised pellet (AE4), excised circle (AE5), simple raised pellets (AE6), perforation (AE7), and in one instance, an enclosed cavity containing a clay pebble or a small stone, as a

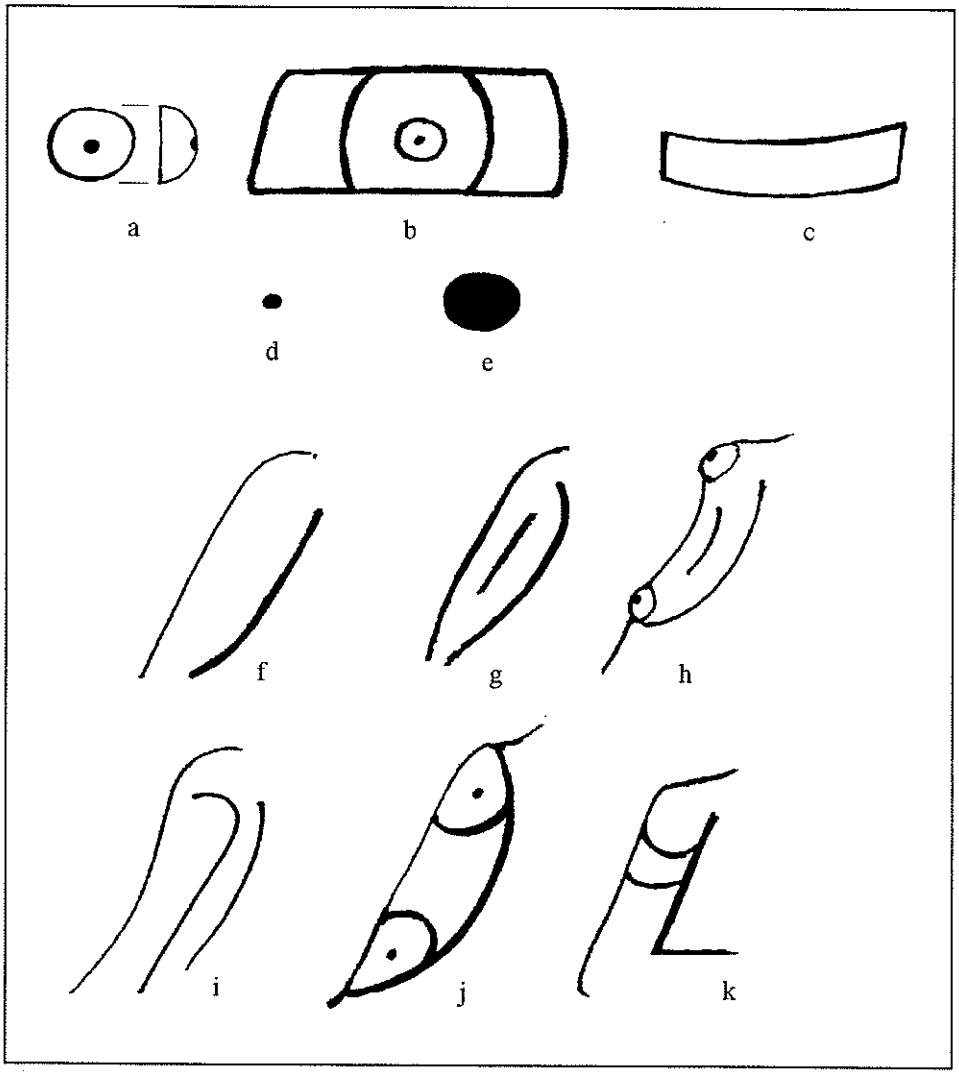


Figure 10. Decorations of adorno fronts, *a-e*, and adorno sides, *f-k*.

rattle (AE8). Interestingly, clay pellets, incised circles, and perforations are all placed near the bottom of the torso in the anatomical position of the navel, the significance of which will be discussed below.

AF. Vessel decoration. The decoration of the pottery vessel equipped with an adorno has been observed only on a small number of specimens due to the rarity of finds still attached to a vessel fragment. Two types of incised vessel decoration have nevertheless been observed: (1) those that are composed of curvilinear designs (AF1), and (2) those that have both curvilinear and rectangular designs (AF2). However, because of the lack of vessel fragments, the most common entry in this column of Appendix B is indeterminable (AF0).

AG. Head to face ratio. A head to face ratio is obtained by dividing the height of the head (H) by the height of the face (N). This ratio separates adornos with a short head extension from those with a long head extension. A face to head ratio of 1:1.4 has been arbitrarily chosen as the dividing line; as such, a long head extension (AG1) has a face to head ratio of 1:greater, or equal to 1.4, whereas one with a short head extension (AG2) has a ratio of 1:less than 1.4.

Technology

Despite formal variations in Saladoid adornos, some common techniques were shared in the manufacture, including modelling, and decoration such as incising, and appliqué. There is no evidence for moulding or coiling. Evidence indicates that adornos were manufactured separately before being attached to vessels; this was done when the clay was still wet enough so that it can bond by using a "slurry", e.g. a wet

clay with a viscosity just enough to impede flow, for "gluing" on vessel rims or other elements (Rye 1981:20). On b-shaped heads, which are round with hollow backs and tabular head extensions, the major features such as head, nose, mouths, and torsos were shaped through pinching, rolling, patting, or pulling the clay. First, the general shape of the head was formed by hand, after rolling the clay into a ball; the spherical head was then placed on a tabular head extension. This is well illustrated by one head extension recovered from St. Vincent that had detached (not broken) from the spherical head. Additional evidence of this second step may be inferred from the pressing together of the two components, with the thumb of one hand imprinted behind the head extension, while the other thumb was pressing on the spherical head, producing the hollow depression on the back. Facial features, including raised ovoid mouths, noses, ears, and clay pellets are added as appliqués to the semi-spherical head as the third step in the manufacturing process, as evidenced by adornos with detached facial attributes, such as noses, mouths and clay pellets (Pl. 1,c). The fourth step involves attaching the head either to a torso or directly to the rim, handle or body of a vessel that has not yet hardened. Several adorno specimens exhibit a characteristic break pattern that is reminiscent of detached coils on pottery vessels (Rye 1981:67-68), where one surface of the detachment is concave and the other convex, as illustrated on two adornos (Pl. 8,e; Pl. 3,a).

After all the appliqué components have been "glued" together, the eyes and pupils are produced by incisions, a technique also used in tracing the outlines of the raised, semi-ovoid mouths and noses, as well as in dividing the head extensions and

decorating torsos. Punctates are also used in this fashion. The final, and fifth step in the manufacturing process, is the decoration which is achieved at a leather hard-stage, or when the clay moisture is considerably reduced. At this stage, adornos may be painted or smoothed and polished.

It can be shown that with a simple tool kit, including items made from wood, stone, bone, thorns, and most importantly the hands, successful replication of b-shaped heads is possible.

Various techniques were also employed in the manufacture of two kinds of cylindrical heads. First, cylindrical bands were formed by rolling out clay to form a flat rectangle which was then looped in the shape of a bracelet and attached to a strap handle. In the case of solid cylindrical heads, the manufacturing process consisted of a relatively easy step of rolling out the clay into a cylindrical coil. The distinctive collar consisting of a raised bands just behind the head followed this initial modelling. The addition of facial attributes, such as raised semi-spherical eyes, and in some rare cases, semi-ovoid mouths along with incisions, punctates, and surface finish was accomplished in the same fashion as with b-shaped adornos.

Since heads are always intact, it is deduced that the manufacture of conical adornos includes shaping the head and beak from one piece of clay and attaching it to the strap handle or exterior wall of vessels. The shaping of the beak is made by modelling the clay from the round head, possibly after its attachment to the strap handle. One specimen (fig. 29d; Pl. 21d), consists of a hollow body within which a small object was inserted, making it rattle when shaken. The cavity for the object was

probably made by attaching two components (1) the exterior vessel wall, and (2) a thin concave slab of clay, making sure the object was inserted before the pieces were joined. Adding eyes, incisions, punctates, and surface finish is done in the same manner as with b-shaped adornos.

Oval heads were perhaps the easiest to manufacture. The possible process consists of shaping the clay into a ball and then pinching it to form an oval head, in a wedge-like shape. It was then attached to handles or exterior walls of vessels, followed by the placement of raised semi-spherical eyes on either side of the head. Finishing touches, such as incisions, punctates, and surface finish was the last step towards completion.

The last head shape, consisting mainly of a flat surface, was also relatively easy to manufacture. Rolling out the clay into a flat slab and forming the contour into desired shapes was the first, and most important step in the manufacture. This was followed by the addition of the head to either the vessel itself or some type of handle. Finally, facial attributes were added and incisions, punctates, and surface finish were applied.

CHAPTER V

CLASSIFICATION AND DESCRIPTION

The classification of Saladoid adornos from St. Vincent assembles together specimens into a typology based essentially on formal attributes, especially the shape of the head. This allows for the separation of the collection into five groups, or types, according to the basic geometrical head forms defined in the previous chapter. Further subdivisions will be based on other formal attributes which are representative of anatomical features usually prominent on human or animal heads and faces, such as eyes, noses, mouths, ears, or necks, as well as other accessories such as head extensions, collars, and decoration.

Cluster analysis had been considered as a tool in the classification of adornos. However, it was rejected when the clusters did not group together obviously similar forms. This problem was also encountered by Talalay (1983: 105-106) during her cluster analysis of the Neolithic figurines from Franchthi cave. In order to circumvent this dilemma, she had incorporated subjective means in order to make the clusters "look alike" (Talalay 1983:106). Since the data requires further subjective manipulation following the clustering analysis, it was decided to forego the method in favour of the sorting feature available in the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet program.

The filter feature in the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet program was used in the

classification of the Saladoid adornos from St. Vincent. It consists of selecting adorno specimens possessing specific combinations of attributes. This method allows for the selection of types based on the most prevalent facial attributes.

As discussed above in Chapter II, the classification is taxonomic in character because the adorno collection is reduced into smaller and smaller groups based upon the presence of particular formal attributes. For instance, the first subdivision of the b-shaped heads separates long versus short head extensions, while the second subdivision is created according to different nose forms. In the same manner, the third subdivision is based on eye shapes. This reduction of the collection into smaller and smaller groups based on the presence of formal attributes is at the core of the taxonomic classification (Rouse 1960), and can be carried out using the filter feature in the Excel program.

It must also be noted that this classification method is subjective in character. Visual similarity is an important aspect of this method and, as a result, some specimens have been grouped together based on the "look alike" principle. This is important because adornos must "look alike" if formal types are to reflect image types.

This classification differs from that of Bennett (1937) by its emphasis on form. The major types in the classification of the La Mata adornos are a reflection of the different locations adornos occupy on vessels. Therefore, Bennett's (1937:99), type A are 'body adornos' containing four subdivisions: A1, knob variants; A2, modelled; A3, double projections; and A4, rim types on body. It is obvious his classification does not take into account formal attributes used by the prehistoric artists to define the

subject, such as overall head shapes and facial attributes. While Bennet's classification is appropriate from a technological perspective, it fails to consider issues concerned with types of images and the identification of such images. Only by an emphasis on form can such issues be addressed.

Type I: Spherical or b-shaped

This group of 100, or 47.6 percent of the 210 specimens, consists of semi-spherical adornos which are all b-shaped in profile (J1), as defined in the previous chapter. What makes them distinct in appearance is the tabular head extensions attached to the semi-spherical adorno faces. Technologically, the surface finish on all specimens is smooth or polished, and 43 (43 percent) are painted red all over, ranging from a reddish brown to a dark red. These heads are typically attached to extensions which vary in size as reflected in the classification.

Facial measurements of all but two of the b-shaped adornos give an accurate indication of sizes associated with this group. Interestingly, the results show that most adornos fall within a consistent range between 2.5 and 4.0 cm for 86 percent of the specimens. Similarly, 81.4 percent of faces range between 3.0 and 4.5 cm in width, or 91.8 percent between 3.0 and 5.0 cm. In thickness, they range from 1.5 cm to 3.0 cm. The smallest face recorded is one specimen at 1.3 cm in length, while the largest face height is a 5.5 cm specimen. The specimen with the tallest face is also the widest at 7.5 cm. The narrowest face is recorded on one adorno at 2.0 cm. These measurements support the idea that despite some aberrant specimens having low and high face measurements, the overall sizes of most b-shaped adorno fall within a 1.5 to

2.0 cm range average.

Measurements associated with the overall heights and widths of the heads that includes the tabular head extensions reveal some interesting characteristics. Foremost, two distinct groupings of head heights are apparent in the b-shaped adornos. Out of the 97 measured heads, 56.7 percent are between 2.5 and 4.5 cm in height, and 43.3 percent between 5.0 and 8.0 cm. Because most faces fall within a specific range of dimensions, differences in head height are attributed to different extension heights. Consequently, a ratio between head and face measurement with respect to their heights establishes two distinct groups within the b-shaped adornos: (1) those with short head extension; and (2) those with a long head extension. A 1:1.4 head:face height ratio separates the short from the long head extension. This ratio coincides with the dividing mark between the two head height groups noted above. The b-shaped adornos can therefore be divided into two groups based on the sizes of the head extension; further subdivisions within these groups will be based on other distinctive facial attributes such as noses, eyes, and mouths.

IA. Short head extensions.

Of all b-shaped adornos, 52, or 52 percent, have a short head extension. As mentioned above, this type of adorno has a head:face height ratio of 1: less than 1.4. All specimens in this group are represented with mouths that are raised and semi-ovoid in form, as well as outlined with a circular incision. Mouths range in length between 1.0 and 2.5 cm except one specimen (fig. 13f; Pl. 9f), which has a mouth that is 4.0 centimetre long. The average width of the mouths is approximately 1.2 cm. The lips,

depicted by incised lines dividing the mouth lengthwise, are represented on 34 out of the 52 specimens (65.4 percent). Ten mouths lack incisions, while five other are broken, and three are damaged. The short "hood like" or "head band like" extensions on these adornos are generally made from a strip of clay stretching around the top of the head; they are composed of either one (L1), or two sections (L2), separated by a horizontal incision above the forehead that often produces a knob or spoon shape feature (figs. 11-16; Pl. 1-6). From the 52 specimens, 43 (82.7 percent) have head extensions composed of one section; nine (17.3 percent) are composed of two sections. Decoration occurs on 26.9 percent of all short head extensions, consisting of raised pellets placed on the top or middle (N=2), and bottom sides (N=5) of the head extension (figs. 12f; 13c; Pl. 2f; 3e; 5a); curvilinear incisions (N=1), as well as incised tabular ear-like or bilateral "horn"-like attachments (N=3) (figs. 15 e, g; Pl. 5 e, g) are also common. On one specimen (fig. 17b; Pl. 7b), a small modelled bird-like figure has been placed at the top of the head extension which has a unique pattern of small incisions (see Type III below). Adornos of this type are also represented with two major kinds of noses: (1) semi-ovoid, and (2) conical. Consequently, two further subdivisions of type IA are generated by the different nose forms.

IA1. Semi-ovoid nose. A characterizing feature observed on 80.4 percent of b-shaped adornos with a short head extension is the semi-ovoid nose (S1). It is placed anywhere from the centre to the upper third region of the face, between the eyes. They range in width between 0.5 to 2.0 cm, with the average being near 1.0 cm. Average height of the ovoid nose is about 0.8 cm. Three form of nostrils are

represented on these ovoid noses. These include (1) single punctate (N=7), (2) double punctate (N=5), and (3) single vertical incision (N=6). Out of the 42 ovoid noses, nine lack nostrils altogether, and on 15 the nostril forms were undeterminable due to damaged surfaces.

This type can be further subdivided based on eye shapes and the orientation of the face. Eye shapes include (1) partial circle (Q1), and (2) complete circle (Q2).

IA1a Partial circular eyes looking forward. (Adornos 1, 8, 10, 28, 40, 41, 43, 75, 76, 80, 88, 89, 90, 92, 100, 103, 114, 117, 127, 129, 137, 142, 143, 194, 221, 231, 235, 248). The 28 adornos in this group have a short head extension, semi-ovoid nose, and flat eyes in the shape of a partial circle (Q1), (figs. 11-13; Pl. 1-3), similar to arc segments of a circle, anywhere from one third or two third of the circle being represented. These eyes are always placed on either side of the face against the incision which separates the head from the head extension and which also connects the two open ends of the arc. Measurements of the eyes are taken along this incision between the two ends of the arc. These measurement are all between 1.5 to 2.5 cm.

All of the flat, partial circular eyes have pupils. There are three types of pupils: (1) punctate, (2) vertical incision, and (3) horizontal incision. From the 28 adornos of Type IA1a, 25 have punctate pupils (R1), two have vertical incisions (R3), and one has a horizontal incision (R2). The pupils occupy central locations within the eye forms.

Another characteristic appearance of these adornos is their facial orientation with regards to the horizontal orifice axis of the vessel. From the torsos associated

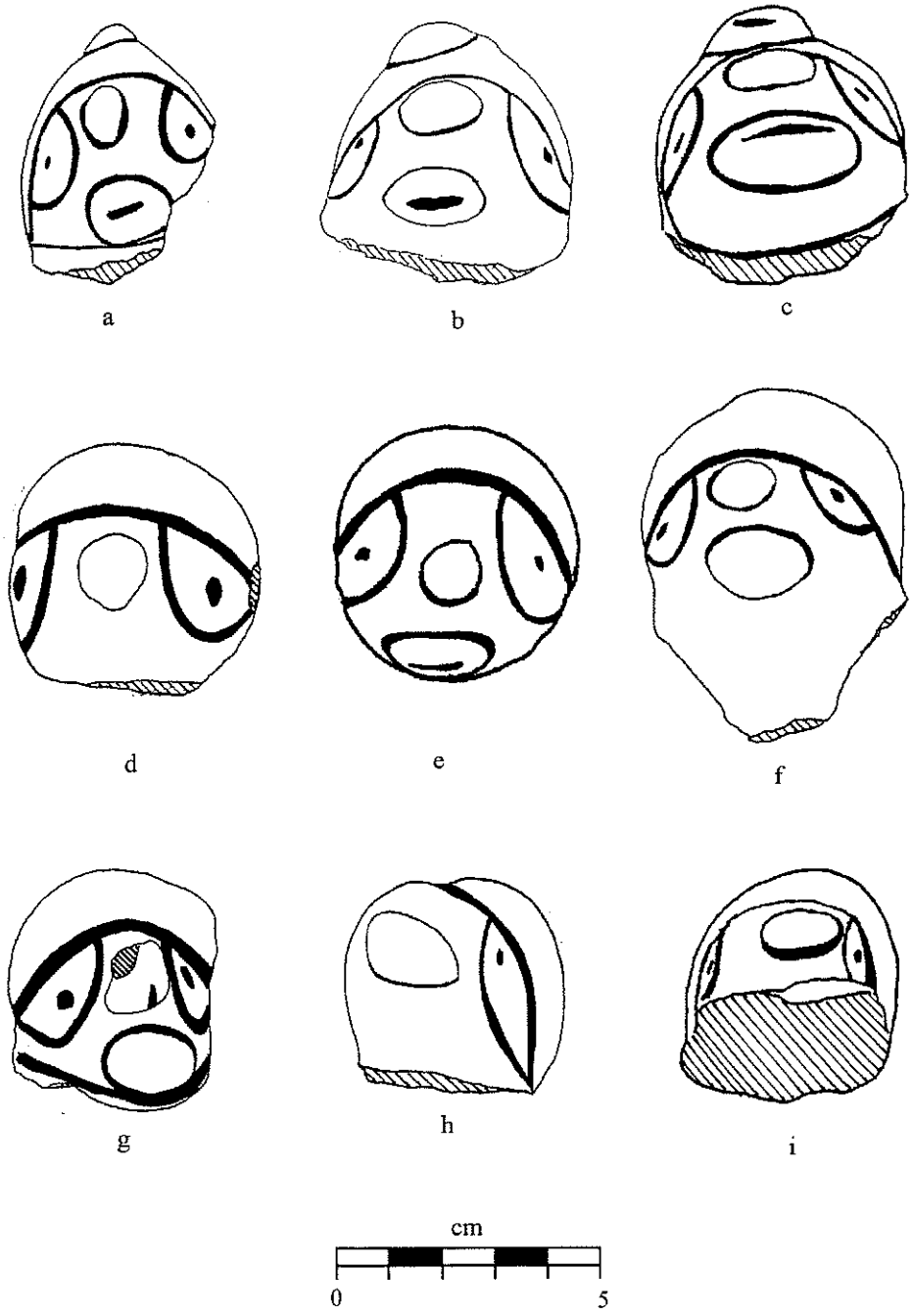


Figure 11. Type IA1 adornos. *a*, Arnos Vale Texaco Tank. *b-i*, unknown context.

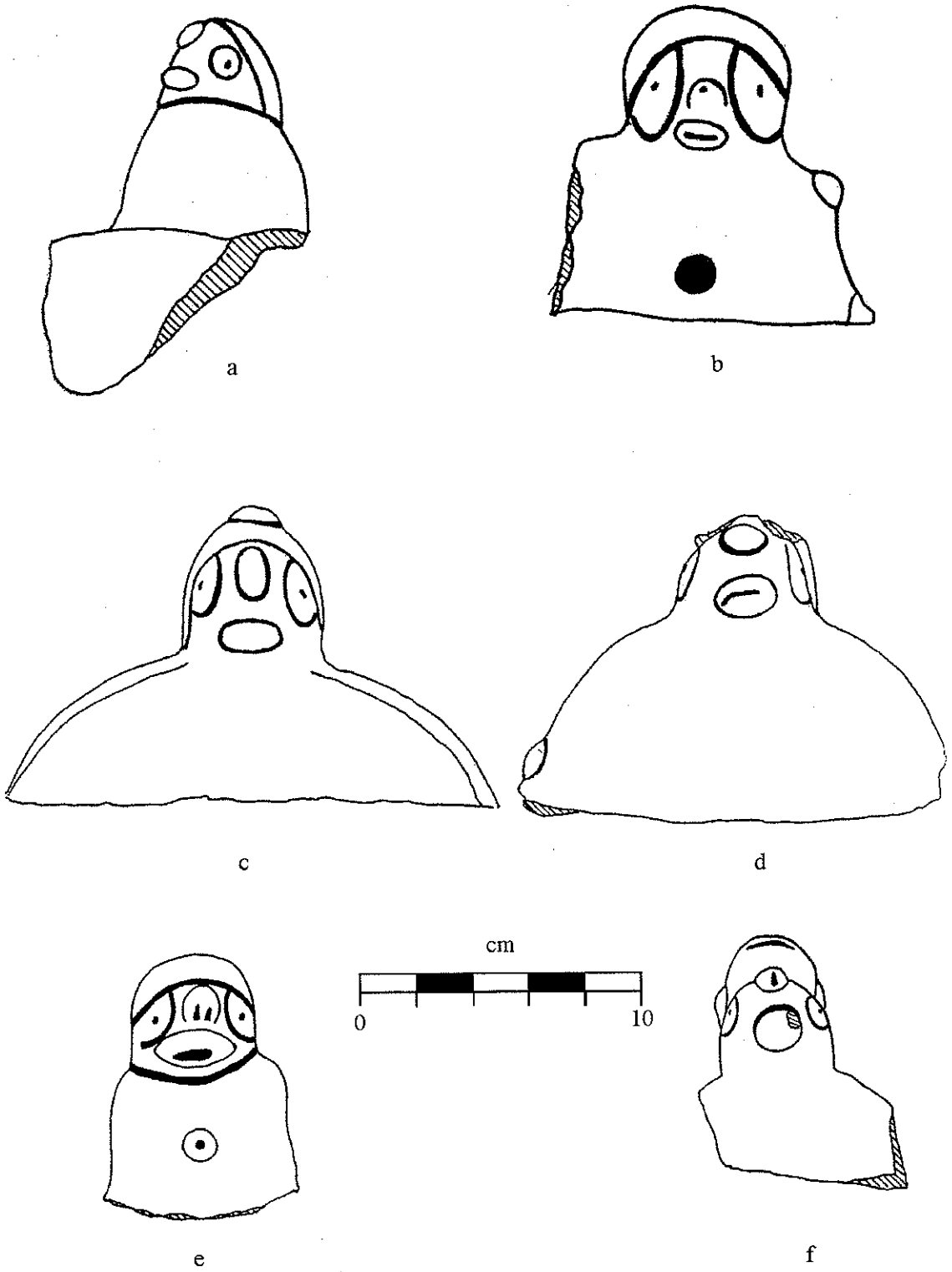


Figure 12. Type IA1a adornos. *a-b, d-e*, unknown context. *c*, New Sandy Bay. *f*, York Sugar-Loaf.

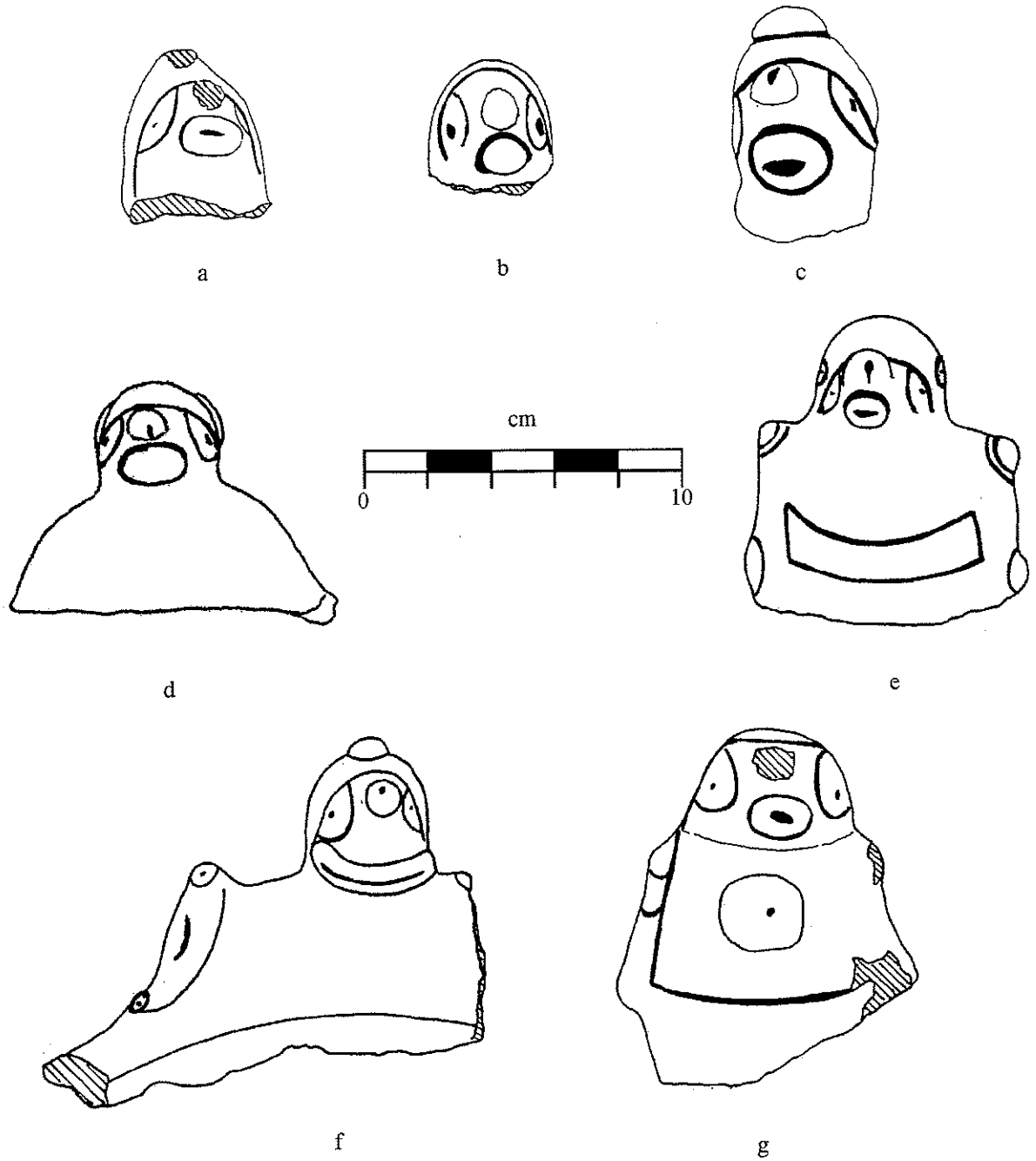


Figure 13. Type IA1a adornos. *a, c, e-g*, unknown context. *b*, Arnos Vale. *d*, Queensbury.

with 14 of the 28 specimens, it was determined that these faces were oriented facing inward towards the vessel mouth. Vessel fragments are recorded only on two specimens, in both cases indicating large open vessels.

As mentioned above, 50 percent of Type IA1a adornos are still attached to conical or tabular torso appendages, decorated (except for two specimens) on the front and sides. Decoration on the sides of the torsos consist of fine curvilinear incisions and appliqué pellets; a flipper-like pattern can also be seen on two specimens (figs. 13 f-g; Pl. 3 f-g). The fronts are decorated in the lower mid-section of the torso, consisting again of appliqué pellets, perforations; there is also a zoned painted and incised rectangular figure (figs. 12b, e; 13e; Pl. 2b, e; 3e).

IA1b Partial circular eyes looking up. (Adornos 14, 85, 118, 119, 135, 144). These adornos are similar in facial attributes to those of Type IA1a in all having short head extensions, semi-ovoid noses, and flat incised partial circular eyes (fig. 14; Pl. 4). The shapes and sizes of all facial attributes are also comparable to those of Type IA1a. The major difference lies in the orientation of the face, which in this case faces or looks upward from the vessel (instead of looking into the vessel) while being slightly bent backward. All six adornos of this type have hollow backed torsos with flipper-like sides (figs. 14a-b, e; Pl. 4 a, d). Decoration on torso sides includes appliqué pellets on shoulders, curvilinear incised designs (such as partial circles and ovals), and in one case a linear incision terminating in a punctate (Pl. 4d). The fronts on four torsos also display an appliqué pellet placed in the lower mid-section area, almost in the anatomical position of the navel (figs. 14 a, d, e).

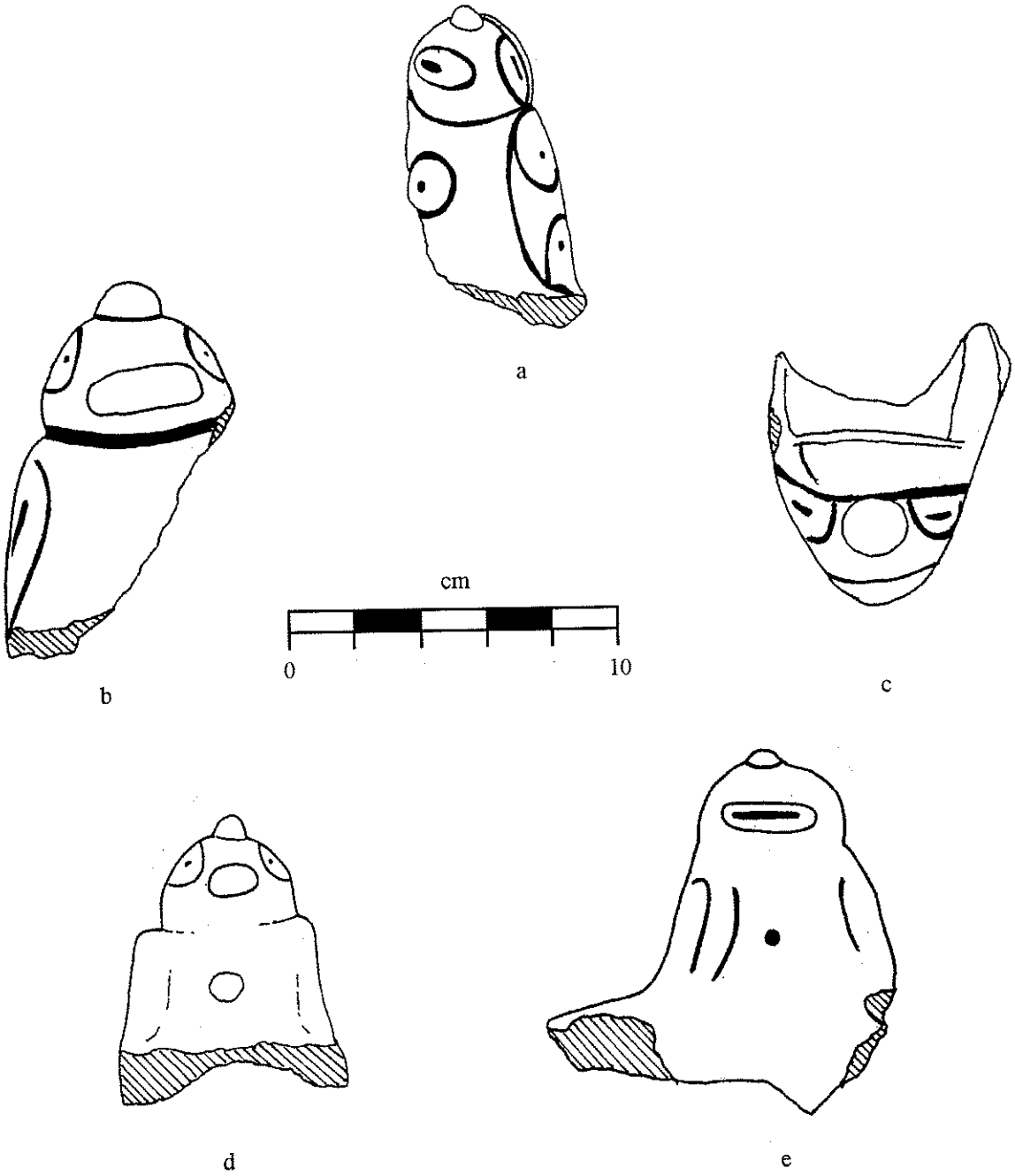


Figure 14. Type IA1b adornos. *a, c-e*, unknown context. *b*, Arnos Vale Swamp.

IA1c Complete circular eyes. (Adornos 25, 42, 60, 131, 153, 173, 182, 236). The adornos that make up this group have a short head extension, semi-ovoid mouth, semi-ovoid nose, and incised circular eyes, both flat and raised (fig. 15; Pl. 5). Since this group consists of only eight specimens, both the flat and raised circular eyes are included together until more adornos are found with these specific characteristics. Five of the eight specimens have raised circular eyes, while the remaining three are flat. They range in diameter between 1.2 and 1.5 cm, perhaps indicating a cultural affinity towards a specific size in the representation of these circular eyes.

Decoration on six head extensions includes pellets, incisions, and knob-like modelled additions. One adorno (fig. 15e; Pl. 5e) displays a punctated pellet underneath the chin, while another (fig. 15g; Pl. 5g) has the same pellet in the forehead area. Despite the common facial attributes that define this type, there are variations in the decoration observed on the heads from this group.

IA2 Conical nose. A second group within the short head extension adornos possess a conical nose. This attribute is different in form and placement from the ovoid nose. The conical nose, which is typically placed on the upper third of the face, has a distinctive upturned appearance which produces an unmistakable "haughty" or "disdainful" expression (fig. 16; Pl. 6). This nasal characteristic has also served as a feature to identify these adornos as representing the fruit eating bat by Henry Petitjean Roget (1975; 1976b). The diameters of conical noses range from 1.0 to 1.5 cm. According now to different eye forms, this group has been further subdivided into two classes: (1) those with partial circular eyes, and (2)

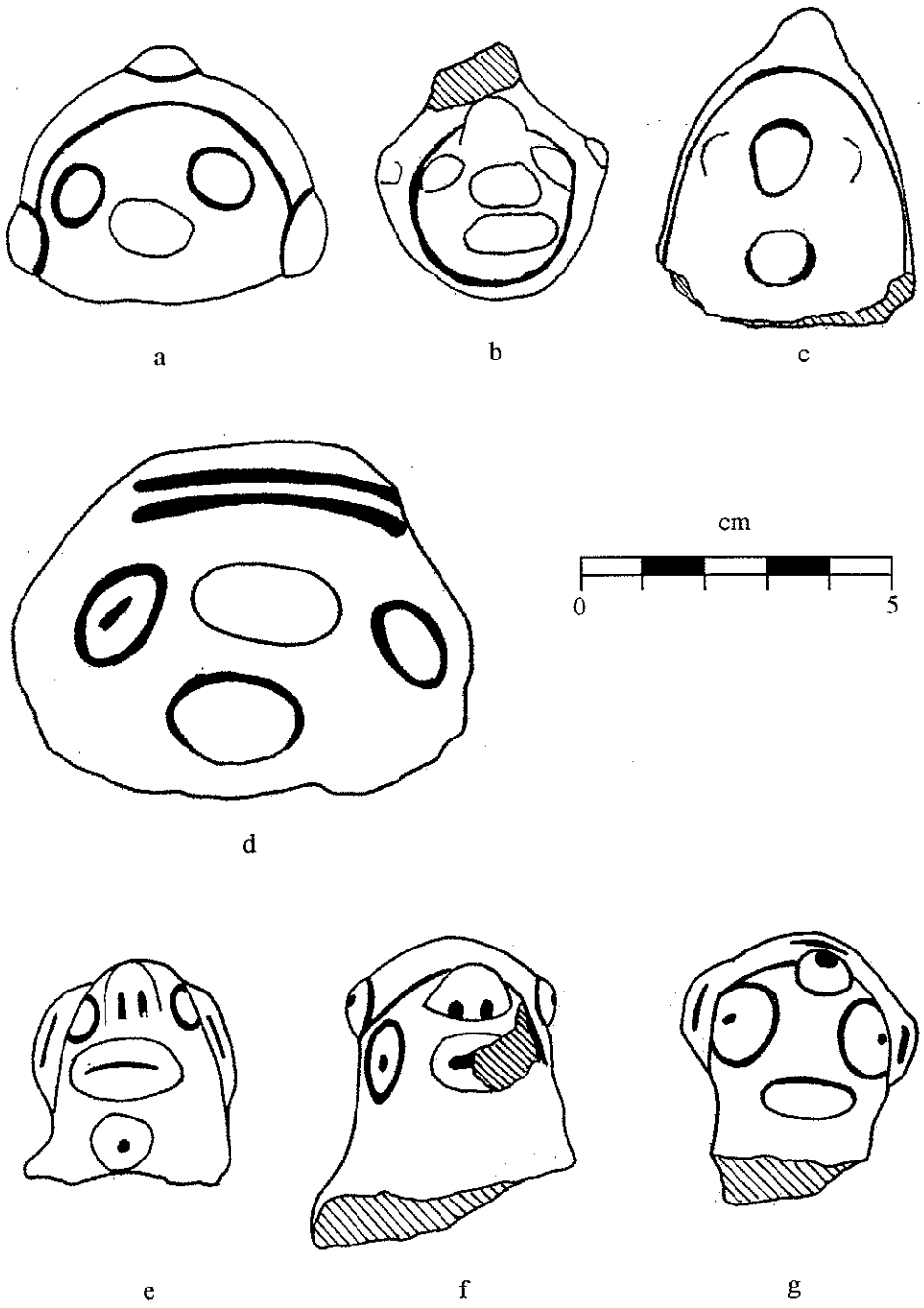


Figure 15. Type IA1c adornos. *a*, ArnosVale Swamp. *b, d-e, g*, unknown context. *c*, Arnos Vale. *f*, Escape.

those on which eyes are absent.

IA2a Partial circular eyes. (Adornos 9, 86, 115).

The placement and shape of the eyes are exactly the same as in Type IA1a described above (figs. 16 a-b; Pl 6 a-c). Measurements of the eyes on two specimens are 2.0 cm and 2.5 cm. Two adornos in this group still possess a torso; one is round and hollow backed, and the other is conical. Decoration on the round torso includes appliqué pellets on both shoulders, as well as one pellet at the mid-section on the front (fig. 16a; Pl. 6a). The conical torso lacks any form of decoration.

IA2b Eyes Absent. (Adornos 39, 93, 181). A second variation of adornos with short head extensions and conical noses are those that lack eyes (figs. 16 c-d; Pl. 6 d-e). However, on two specimens pupils are represented by horizontal incisions, while on the third they are punctates. Two specimens (figs. 16 c, d; Pl. 6 d, e) are placed directly on the rim of open vessels. In one case (fig. 16d; Pl. 6e), the vessel interior shows incised curvilinear designs. The head extension on this specimen, as well as on another one, is also decorated with incised pellets.

Other type IA adornos. (Adornos 44, 133, 160, 164). Four adornos with short head extensions possess unique facial attributes that makes them stand out from the rest (Pl. 7). Their only common characteristic is the short head extension, and they have been grouped together on that basis alone until more adornos with identical traits are found. The first adorno (fig. 17a; Pl. 7a) has two large partial circular eyes with incised vertical pupils, a semi-ovoid mouth with an incised lip, and a semi-ovid nose with a punctate nostril placed high on the forehead. The space between the eyes and

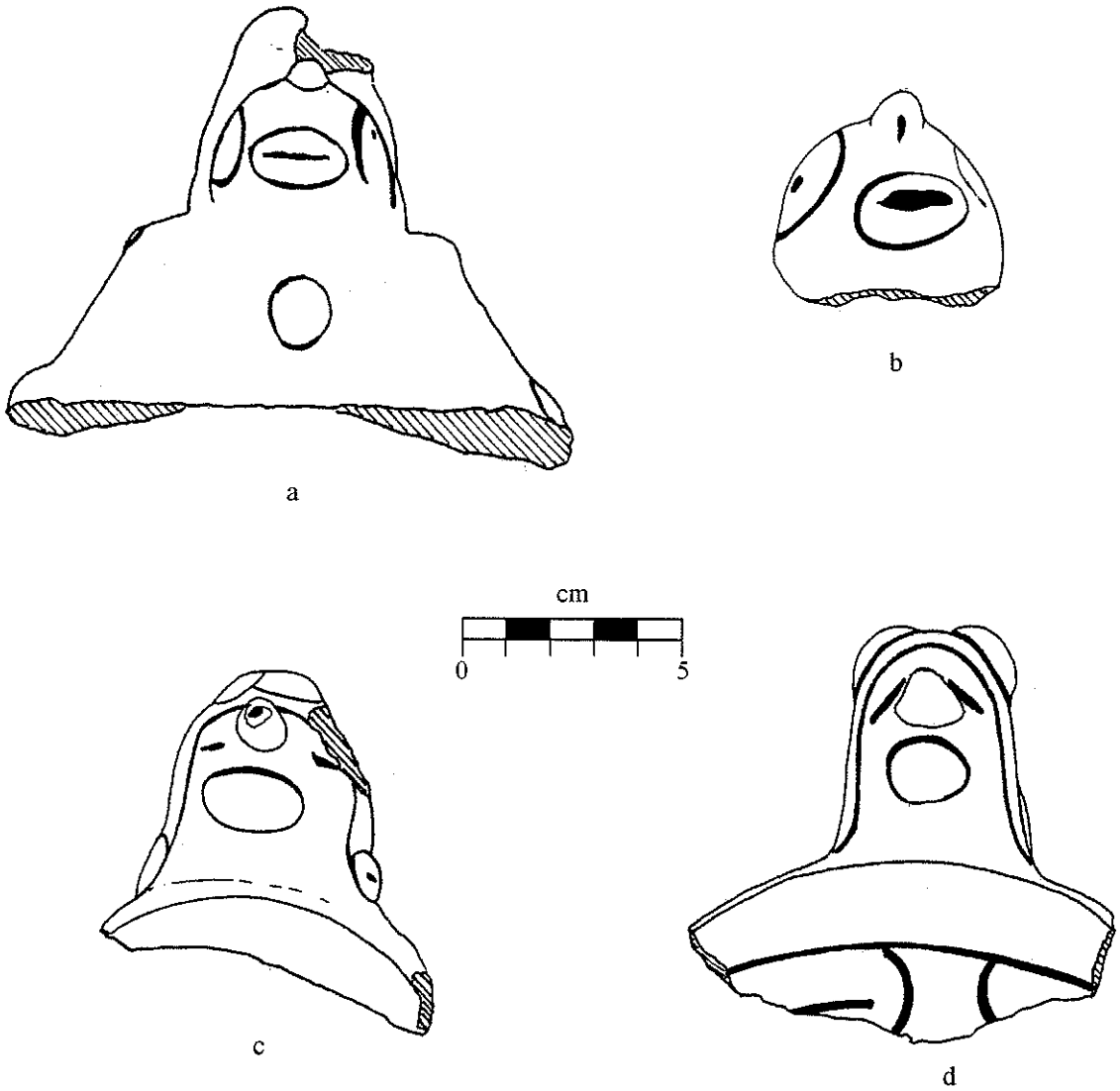


Figure 16. Type IA2a adornos. *a-b*, unknown context. Type IA2b. *c-d*, unknown context.

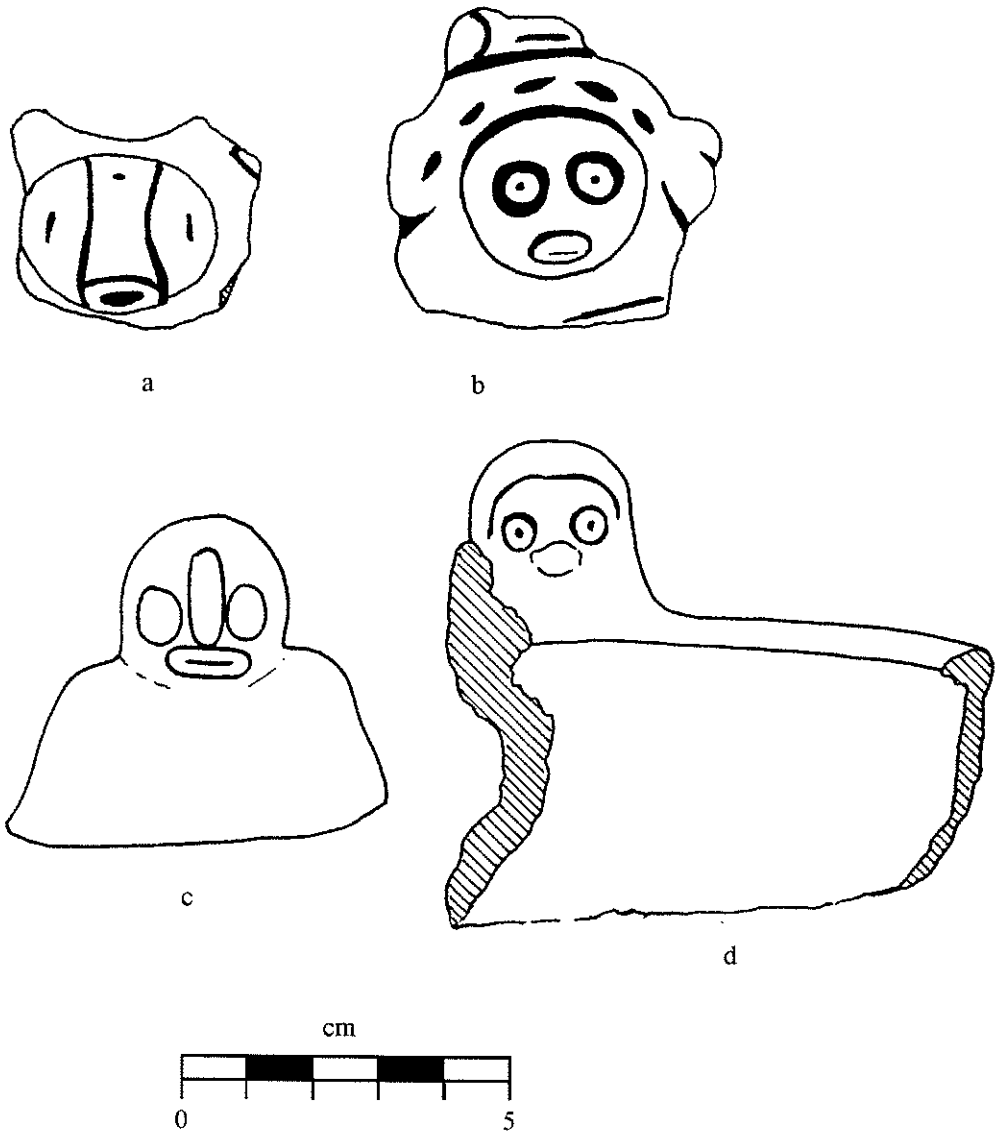


Figure 17. Other Type IA adornos. *a*, Escape. *b*, Arnos Vale Playingfield. *c-d*, unknown context.

around the semi-spherical head has been painted white. This specimen was placed on the exterior wall of a vessel. The second, well polished adorno (fig. 17b; Pl. 7b) has two flat circular eyes with punctate pupils and an incised semi-ovoid mouth. The tabular head extension is decorated with seven incisions all above the face with a conical modelled appliqué placed on top. The third adorno (fig. 17c; Pl. 7c) shows the small head extension, excised eyes with raised punctated spherical pupils, but lacks both a mouth and nose. The head is placed on a cylindrical torso which is attached to an open vessel. The fourth adorno (fig. 17d; Pl. 7d) has a short head extension, bulging circular eyes, a rectangular nose, and a semi-ovoid mouth. There are, however, no incisions outlining any of the facial features as is the case in Type I adornos. The head is attached to an non-decorated tabular torso.

IB. Long head extensions

The 48 adornos in this category have a head to face ratio of 1:greater or equal to 1.4. As in Type IA, all specimens in this group are represented with raised and semi-ovoid mouths, ranging in length between 1.5 and 2.5 cm, with one 3.0 cm specimen (fig. 19e; Pl. 9e). The average mouth width is approximately 1.3 cm. Lips are represented by incisions in 31 of the 48 specimens (64.6 percent). The long head extensions of these adornos are composed, as in Type I, of either one section (L1), two sections (L2), or three sections (L3), separated by incisions (figs. 18-21; Pl. 8-11). From the 48 specimens, 32 (66.7 percent) have head extensions composed of two section; 14 (29.2 percent) others are composed of one section; and two (4.1 percent) are composed of three sections. Decoration occurs on 47.9 percent of all long head

extensions, consisting of appliqué pellets placed mostly on the sides; three specimens, however, show the appliqué pellets in the front on the mid section of the head extension. Other forms of decoration include curvilinear incisions, and in one case, excision. As in Type IA, adornos in this group are represented by two nose shapes: (1) semi-ovoid, and (2) conical. Consequently, two subdivisions of type IB are generated according to different nose forms.

IB1 Semi-ovoid nose. A characteristic facial feature observed on 27 (56.2 percent) of b-shaped adornos with a long head extension is the semi-ovoid nose (S1). It is placed anywhere from the centre to the upper one third region of the face, between the eyes. They range in width between 0.8 to 2.5 cm with the average being 1.0 centimetre. Average height of the ovoid nose is placed near the 1.0 cm. Three form of nostrils are represented on these ovoid noses. These include: (1) single punctate (N=4), (1) double punctate (N=2), (3) and single vertical incision (N=2). Out of the 25 ovoid noses 13 lack nostrils altogether, and on six the nostril forms were undeterminable due to damaged surfaces. This type can be further subdivided by two eye shapes: (1) partial circle (Q1), and (2) lack of eyes (Q0).

IB1a Partial circular eyes (N=25). (Adornos 15, 19, 20, 24, 30, 34, 37, 77, 81, 94, 95, 96, 97, 130, 178, 179, 180, 193, 197, 227, 228, 230, 233, 234, 245). The adornos in this group have a long head extension, semi-ovoid nose, and flat, partial circular eyes (figs. 18-19, 20 a-c; Pl. 8-9, 10 a-c). The shapes and locations of the eyes are identical to those of Type IA1a. Measurements range between 1.0 and 2.5 cm. With one exception, all of the flat, partial circular eyes have pupils. There are

three types of pupils: (1) punctate, (2) vertical incision, and (3) a raised punctated semi-sphere. From the 25 adornos, 22 have punctate pupils (R1), one has a vertical incisions (R3), and one has a punctated raised semi-sphere (R6); pupils always occupy the centre of the eye.

Torsos are present on nine specimens, five being round in shape, while the remaining four are tabular. Decoration appears on the sides of one torso in the form of raised pellets on the shoulders. The same specimen is also decorated on the front with an incised rectilinear design (fig. 19c). One adorno (fig. 20a; Pl. 10a) is attached directly to the rim of an open vessel, the inside of which is incised with rectilinear designs. The front of the head extension on this specimen is also decorated with curvilinear designs, including two punctates placed in the top centre of the extension. Curvilinear designs are also observed on the head extensions of two other adornos. All these decorated specimens were recovered from the Arnos Vale Swamp site (figs. 20 b-c; Pl. 10 b-c).

IB1b Eyes Absent. (Adornos 29 and 79). The two adornos in this group are identical to those of Type IB1a with their long head extensions, semi-ovoid noses, and semi-ovoid mouths. Both, however, lack eye forms and pupils (figs. 20 d-e; Pl. 10 d-e).

IB2 Conical nose. (Adornos 2, 11, 12, 17, 18, 23, 26, 35, 36, 78, 83, 87, 98, 128, 174, 185, 195, 196). A second group within the long headgear adornos are those possessing a conical nose (figs. 21-22; Pl. 11-12). In terms of placement, shape, and expression, the type is identical to the conical noses of Type IA2 described above.

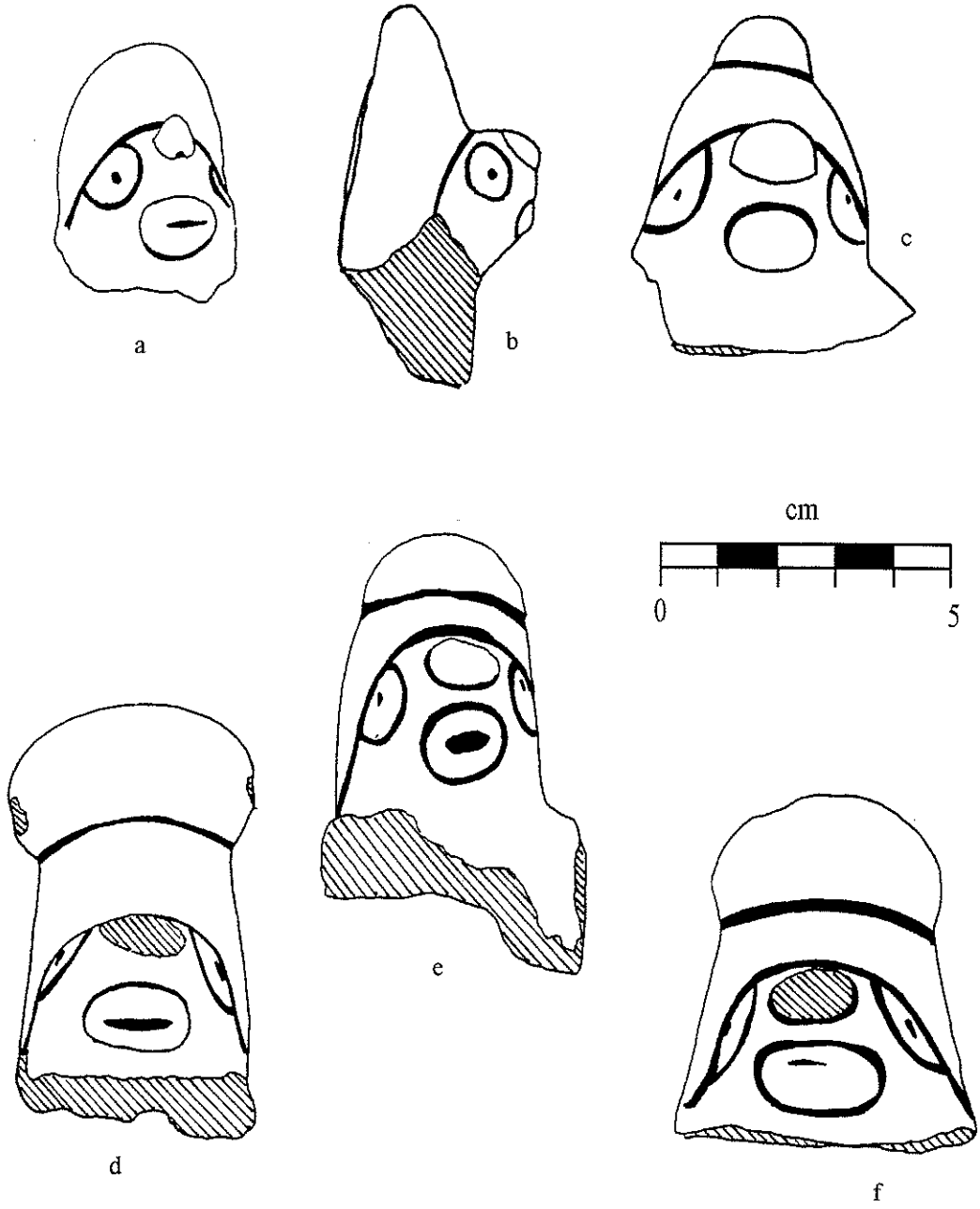


Figure 18. Type IB1a adornos. *a-c, e-f,* unknown context. *d,* Arnos Vale Swamp.

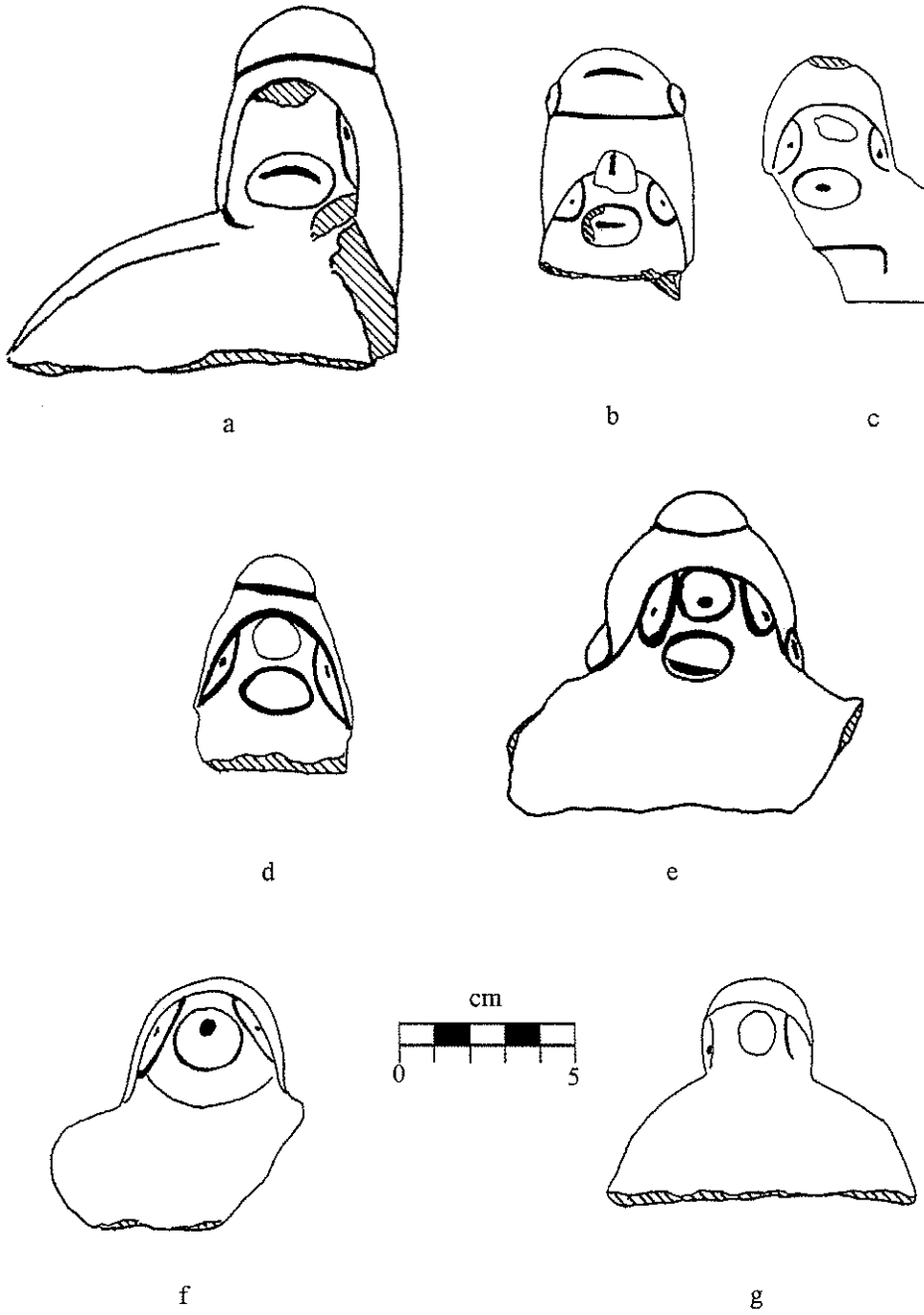


Figure 19. Type IB1a adornos. *a-g*, unknown context.

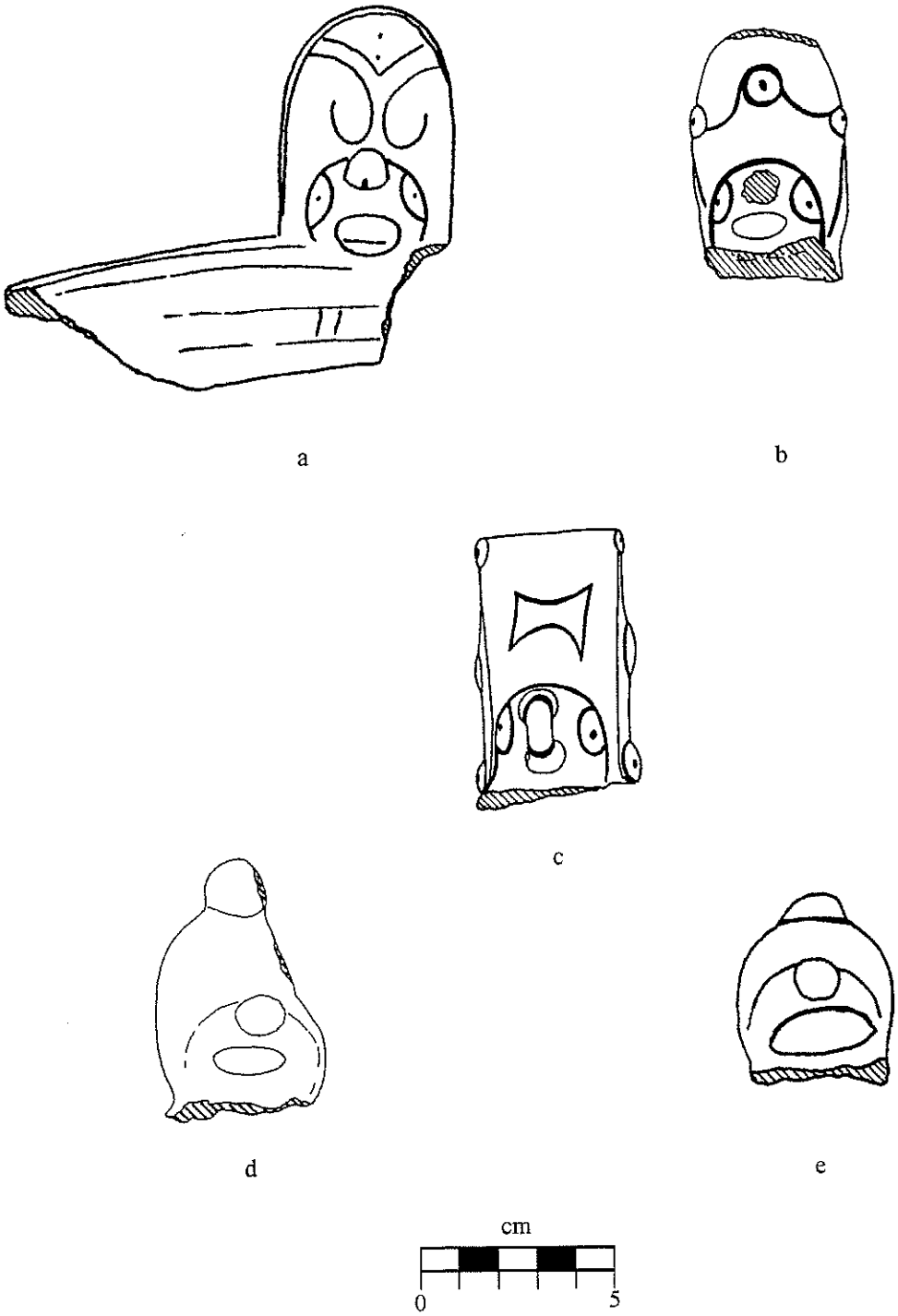


Figure 20. Type IB1a adornos. *a-c*, Arnos Vale Swamp. *d-e*, unknown context.

The noses are similar in size to the ovoid noses of the adornos with long head extensions. Nostrils are represented by either (1) one punctate, (2) one vertical incision, or (3) two vertical incisions. One nose lacks any form of nostrils, while another one is damaged; four are single punctates, six are a single vertical incision, and six are double vertical incisions.

This group has not been subdivided according to eye forms since all adornos possess the typical incised partial circular eyes. The sizes associated with these eyes are all within the range determined for Type IB1a, ranging between 1.0 and 2.5 cm. All of the eyes are represented with pupils, as either punctates, vertical incision, or horizontal incision. From a total of 18 adornos in this group, 16 (88.8 percent) are punctates, one is a vertical incision, and one is a horizontal incision. From the 18 specimens, eight still possess a torso. Of these, two are tabular in shape, with the remaining six being circular. Decoration consists of semi-spherical pellets placed on the sides of two torsos. On one specimen the same decoration is applied to the lower mid-section of the torso front.

Other type IB adornos. (Adornos 58, 163, 172). Three adornos with a long head extension possess unique facial attributes that justify a separate classification. The first specimen has a large head extension, an ovoid nose, and two large raised circular eyes, 2.5 cm in diameter, placed on either side of the face; pupils are represented by a semi-spherical clay pellet (fig. 23a; Pl. 13a). The second adorno consists of a large head extension and a relatively small face lacking eyes and nose, but with a semi-ovoid mouth with incised lip. Two punctate pupils are represented on

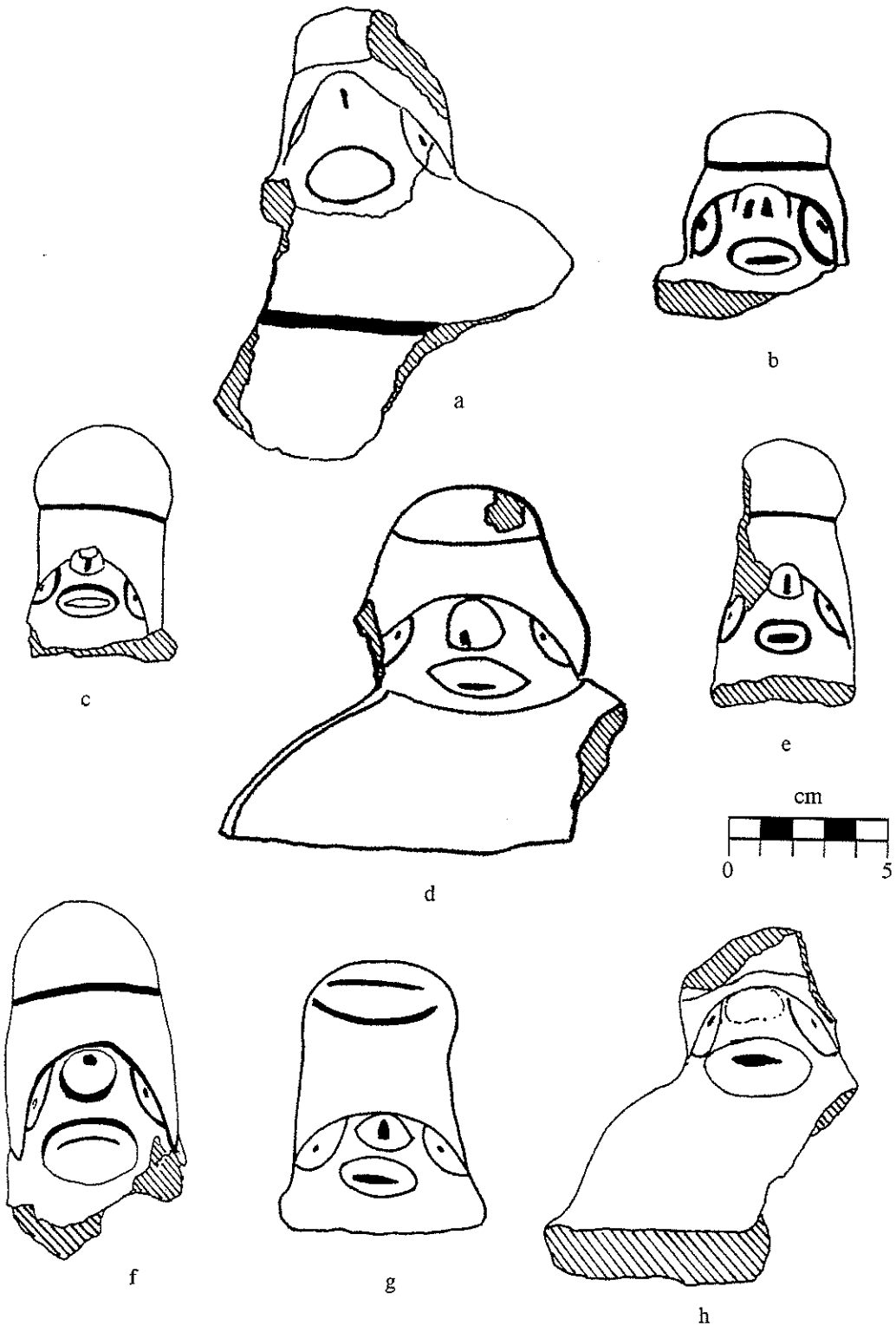


Figure 21. Type IB2 adornos. *a-b, e-f, h*, unknown context. *c-d*, Arnos Vale Swamp. *g*, Queensbury.

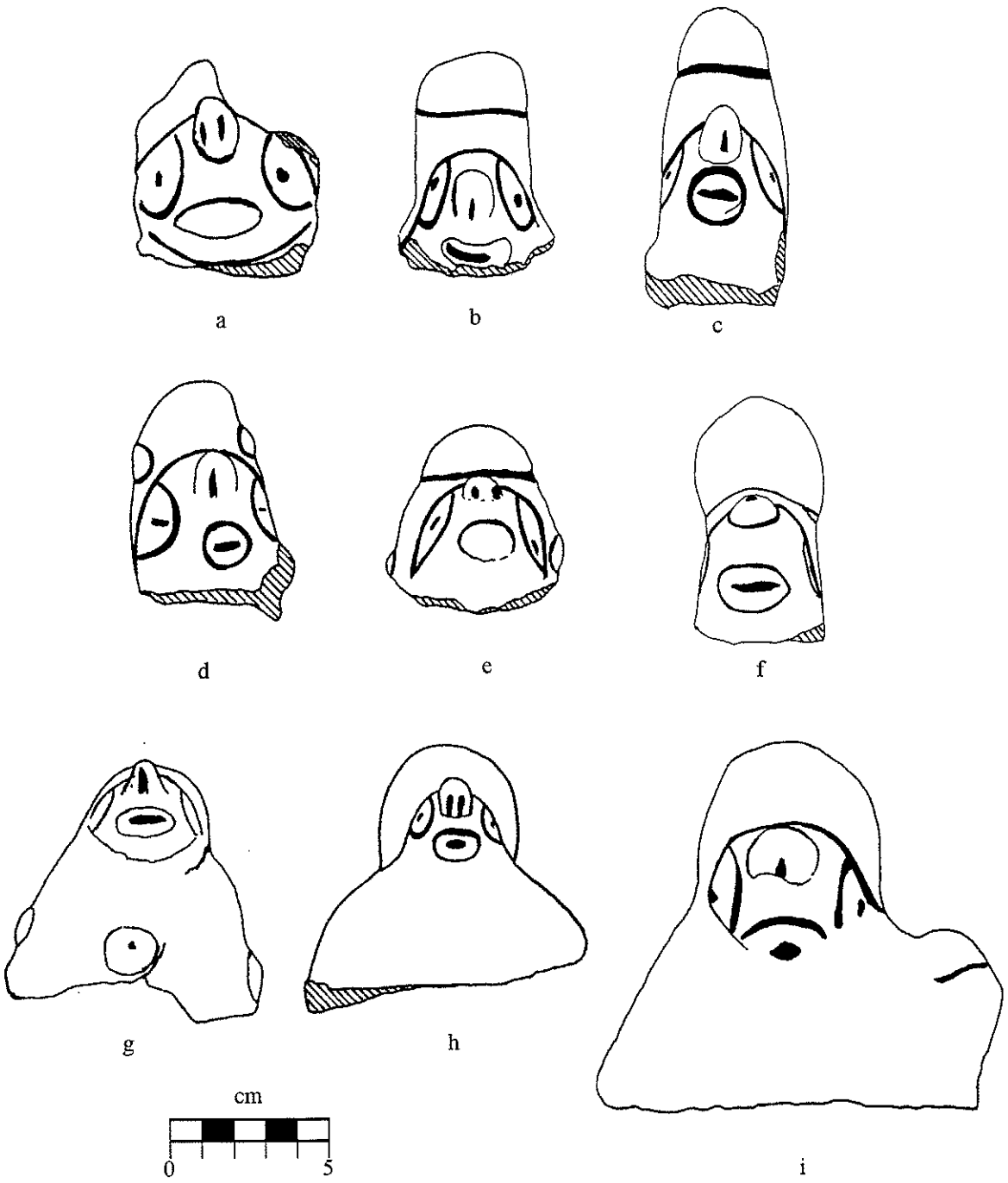


Figure 22. Type IB2 adornos. *a, e*, Arnos Vale Swamp. *b-d, f-g i*, unknown context. *h*, New Sandy Bay.

either side of the face. This unique specimen was placed on the end of a shallow boat-shaped double vessel containing two interior compartments separated by a clay ridge raising through the middle of the vessel (fig. 23c; Pl 13c). The third specimen has a large head extension, flat partial circular eyes with horizontally incised pupils, a semi-ovoid nose with two punctated nostrils, and no mouth. This specimen is atypical because of its placement on a strap handle, the only example of such a location for b-shaped adornos (fig. 23b; Pl. 13b).

Type II: Cylindrical Adornos

From the total of 210 adornos in the collection, 43 (20.5 percent) have cylindrical heads. There are, however, three major variations in the basic cylindrical shape: (1) hollow cylinders, much like a loop or bracelet in appearance; (2) stubby solid cylinders, almost spherical in appearance; and (3) long solid cylinders. These three groups, which vary in sizes and surface treatments, will be further subdivided according to other formal attributes.

IIA: Hollow Cylindrical Adornos

These adornos consist essentially of hollow cylinders, or loops, which are typically found attached across the top of another loop-shaped strap handle, as a double loop appendage (figs. 23 d, e; Pl. 13 d-h). Two variations are noted with regards to the eyes which may be either (1) raised, with or without incision, or (2) simply flat and incised. The placement of the loop usually occupies a horizontal position with the axis of the vessel as indicated by the eyes which are parallel with the orifice, and have the appearance of "looking up", as with the adornos of Type IAIb

described above.

IIA1 With Raised eyes. (Adornos 6, 126, 223, 244). One distinctive characteristic on four of the adornos is the presence of raised eyes (Pl. 13 d-e). In all cases, the eyes are semi-ovoid, one with a punctate pupil, another one with a horizontally incised pupil, while two lack pupils altogether. The eyes may also be outlined by a fine incision (Pl. 13d). Semi-ovoid noses are present on only three of the four adornos. Mouths are never represented; nostrils and lips are also lacking. The four adornos in this group range in height from 2.0 to 3.5 cm, and in width between 3.0 and 7.0 cm. Surface treatment is limited to smoothing, never polishing, with natural clay colours ranging from a light tan to a reddish brown. No evidence of painting has been observed in this group.

IIA2 Flat eyes. (Adornos 191, 203, 204). The second subdivision of Type IIA is characterized by flat, incised eyes; two are complete circles and one is oval (figs. 23 d-f; Pl. 13 f-h). Pupils include two horizontal incisions and one punctate. Measurements could only be obtained from one specimen, which is 4.25 cm in height, and 3.25 cm in width (fig. 23f; Pl. 13h). Semi-ovoid noses are represented on all three specimens, with only one double punctated nostrils. All adornos in this group have semi-ovoid mouths, yet only one specimen shows an incised lip on a considerably wider and narrower mouth in proportion to the face as opposed to the remaining two adornos (fig. 23f; Pl. 13h). One specimen is finely polished.

IIB. Short cylinder

The second subdivision of type II adornos are those consisting of short,

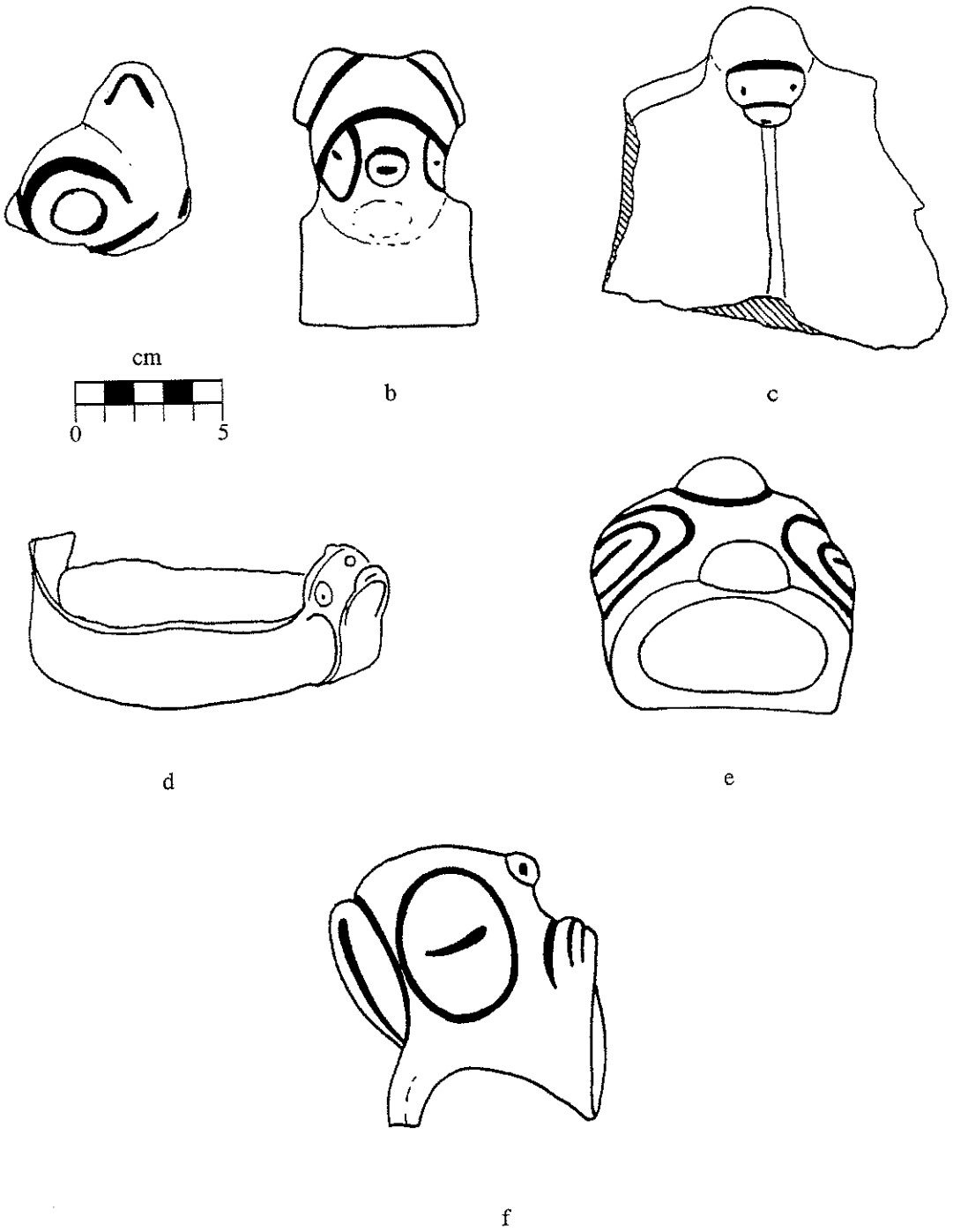


Figure 23. Other Type IB adornos. *a*, Yambou. *b*, Daphae School. *c*, Arnos Vale Swamp. Type IIA2 adornos. *d-e*, unknown context. *f*, Arnos Vale Swamp.

cylindrical bodies ending in almost rounded, spherical heads (figs. 24-25, 26 a-b; Pl. 14-15, 16 a-b). In all but two of these 22 adornos, the eyes are represented by raised spherical forms outlined with a fine incision, while the eyes on the remaining two specimens are represented only by pupils. This group is further subdivided according to the presence or absence of a distinctive collar.

IIB1 Collared. (Adornos 48, 50, 56, 62, 107, 113, 122, 150, 170, 187). These ten adornos are typically associated with a distinctive collar feature encircling the neck (fig. 24; Pl 14); the collar may be represented by either (a) the addition of a cylindrical clay band, as on six specimens, which is either left plain (N=1) (fig. 24h; Pl. 14h), marked by a row of short incised dashes (N=4), (figs. 24 c-d, g, j; Pl. 14 c-d, g, j), or simply painted black (N=1) (fig. 24a; Pl. 14a). Specimens without a clay band (b) may still display the collar feature represented by a row of punctates directly on the neck, as on four other specimens (fig. 24b; Pl. 14b). Head measurements range in height from 2.5 to 4.5 cm, with widths between 2.5 and 5.0 cm. Eye shapes include raised spherical forms on nine heads, with one having a unique excised eye form. Eye diameters range from 1.2 to 2.5 cm, for an average of 1.6 cm. The unique excised eye has a punctated and raised semi-spherical pupil, while the remaining pupils are depicted by punctates in eight cases; one adorno lacks pupils altogether. Mouths, as in nine out of ten cases, are typically absent, but incised lips are represented on six specimens. While shaped noses are also typically absent on these adornos, the common nostril forms are the double punctates, present on six specimens. Surface finish consists of smoothing on three adornos, while the remaining seven are polished

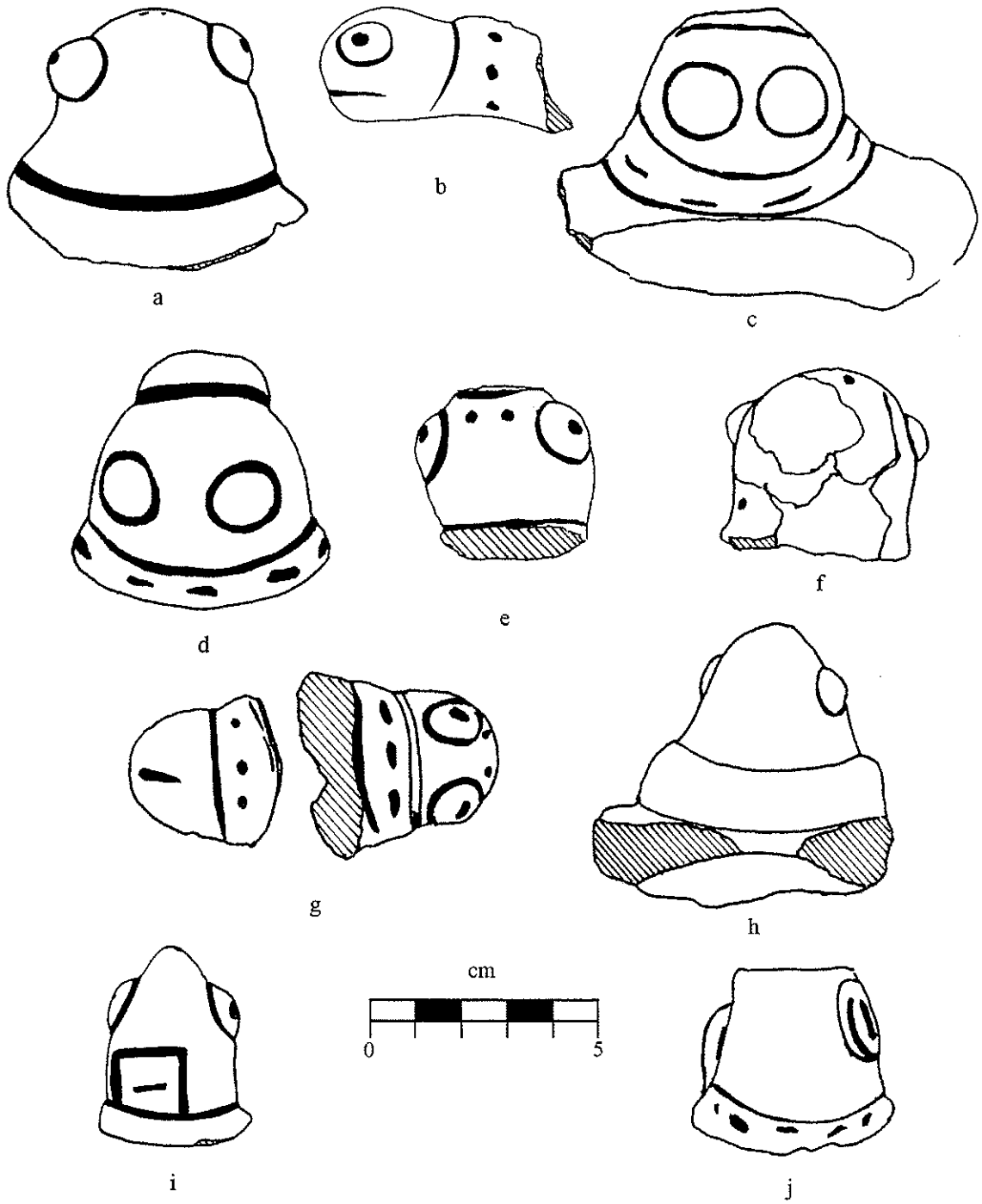


Figure 24. Type IIB1 adornos. *a*, Arnos Vale. *b-g, j*, unknown context. *h*, Escape. *i*, Arnos Vale Texaco Tank.

to a buff. Colours range from a light tan to a dark brick red.

These collared adornos appear to have all been placed facing outward on exterior vessel walls or on the rims. Two specimens in this group support such a placement and orientation (figs. 24 c, h; Pl. 14 c, h). This is also indicated by breakage patterns on other specimens, as well as by more complete museum specimens from other islands in the Lesser Antilles.

Representations on these adornos vary in their degree of naturalism. More naturalistic specimens have been generally identified with sea turtles (Reichlen and Barret 1941:108; Petitjean Roget 1975:180); others, however, are conventional and more geometric in appearance, and more difficult to identify (see figs. 24 b and h as opposed to figs. 24 i and j).

IIB2 Without collars. A second group of short, cylindrical adornos are similar in shape to that of Type IB1, except for the lack of a distinctive collar. These are further subdivided into those adornos possessing eyes and those that do not.

IIB2a Semi-spherical eyes. (Adornos 22, 51, 61, 63, 64, 65, 101, 112, 222, 242). These ten adornos all have semi-spherical eye forms measuring between 1.1 and 2.3 cm in diameter with the average of 1.5 cm (fig. 25; Pl. 15). Seven have punctated pupils, and one has a semi-spherical pupil; in one case, the eyes are painted red (fig. 25d; Pl. 15e). Heads range in height from 2.5 to 5.0 cm, and 3.0 to 5.0 cm in width. Noses may be absent (N=6), broken (N=1), ovoid (N=2), or triangular (N=1), with nostrils depicted as double punctates (N=3), double incisions (N=1), or missing altogether (N=6). On all but one, shaped mouths are lacking; the one exception has a

long, narrow, semi-ovoid mouth, which is unique in appearance. Despite the lack of mouths, however, incised lips are depicted on 50 percent of the adornos. A sooth surface finish is found on five of these adornos, which may be decorated with a light tan to a dark red paint.

There are two adornos in this category which are still attached to a vessel fragment; in both cases, the adorno is placed directly on the rim facing away from the orifice (figs. 25 a-b; Pl. 15 a-b). On a third specimen, the adorno was placed on the exterior wall (Pl. 15d). While the orientation and placement of the remaining seven adornos cannot be determined with certainty, it is assumed that they would be either one or the other.

IIB2b Eyes Absent. (Adornos 54 and 205). These two heads are in many ways similar to those of Type IIBa. However, eyes are absent, or only represented by punctate pupils (figs. 26 a-b; Pl. 16 a-b). On one specimen, two ear-like pellets are placed closely together on the top of the head; the semi-ovoid nose is damaged, and the unique eyes are depicted by drilling through the head. Both specimens are weathered, but evidence of smoothing on both is still visible.

IIC Long cylinder

The third variation of cylindrical heads are longer than those of Type IIB. Despite their small number, they may still be subdivided into those with a cylindrical clay collar and those without.

IIC1 Collared. (Adorno 188). This single adorno is characterized by a long cylindrical head with a white painted collar (fig. 26c; Pl. 16c). It is approximately 3.0

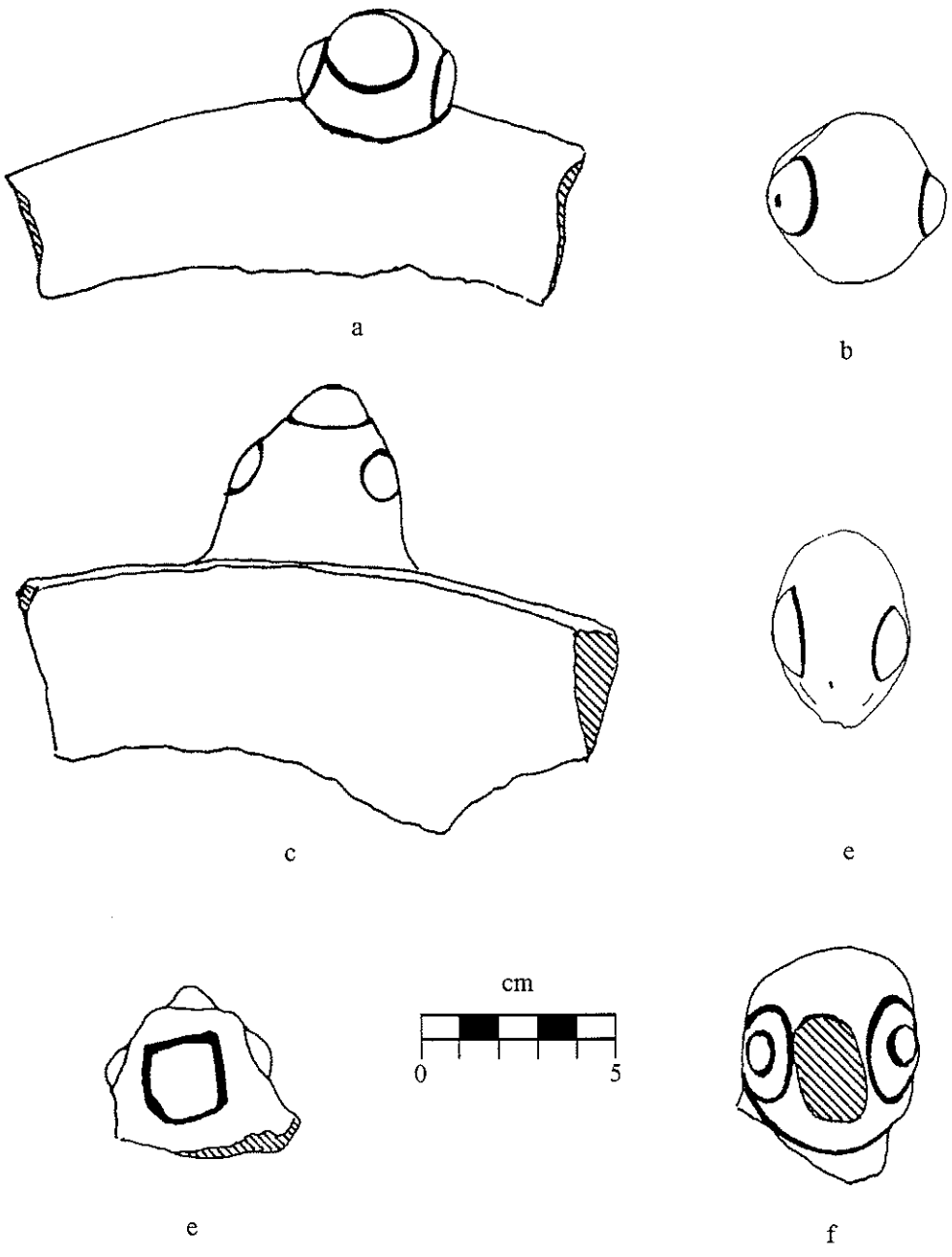


Figure 25. Type IIB2a adornos. *a-b*, Arnos Vale Swamp. *c-e*, unknown context. *f*, Fitz-Hughes.

cm in diameter and 6.5 cm long, with two semi-spherical eyes, 1.2 cm in diameters, placed on either side of the face and containing two horizontally incised pupils. The nose is semi-ovoid with two punctate nostrils. The top of the cylindrical head displays a rectangular incised design. This adorno has been polished and painted a dark red colour, aside from the collar which is white. Breakage indicates that this specimen was possibly attached to the exterior of a vessel wall, facing away from the pot.

IIC2 Without collar. (Adornos 49, 70, 72, 200). These four adornos have little in common besides their long and cylindrical head (figs. 26 d-g; Pl. 16 d-g), which has a distinctive, and naturalistic, lizard-like appearance. All four specimens are approximately 3.0 cm in diameter, ranging in lengths between 5.0 and 7.0 cm. Eyes are represented by semi-spheres on two adornos, a flat oval eye on another one; no eyes are depicted on the fourth specimen. Eye sizes are between 1.0 and 1.5 cm in diameter, with horizontal incisions (N=2) or punctates (N=1) for pupils. Variation is also observed with respect to nose forms; two lack noses altogether, one is semi-ovoid, and one is a flat oval with a horizontal incision. Nostrils are seen on a single adornos and consist of two punctates. Mouths on three adornos are lacking, but another specimen has a semi-ovoid shaped mouth. On the adornos without mouths, lips are nevertheless represented by incisions. All four adornos have been smoothed but not polished. There is no indication as to the placement or orientation of these adornos with respect to the vessel.

Other Type II adornos. (Adornos 3, 57, 67, 145, 147, 177, 184, 189). Eight unique specimens are left unclassifiable. The first adorno, placed on a strap handle

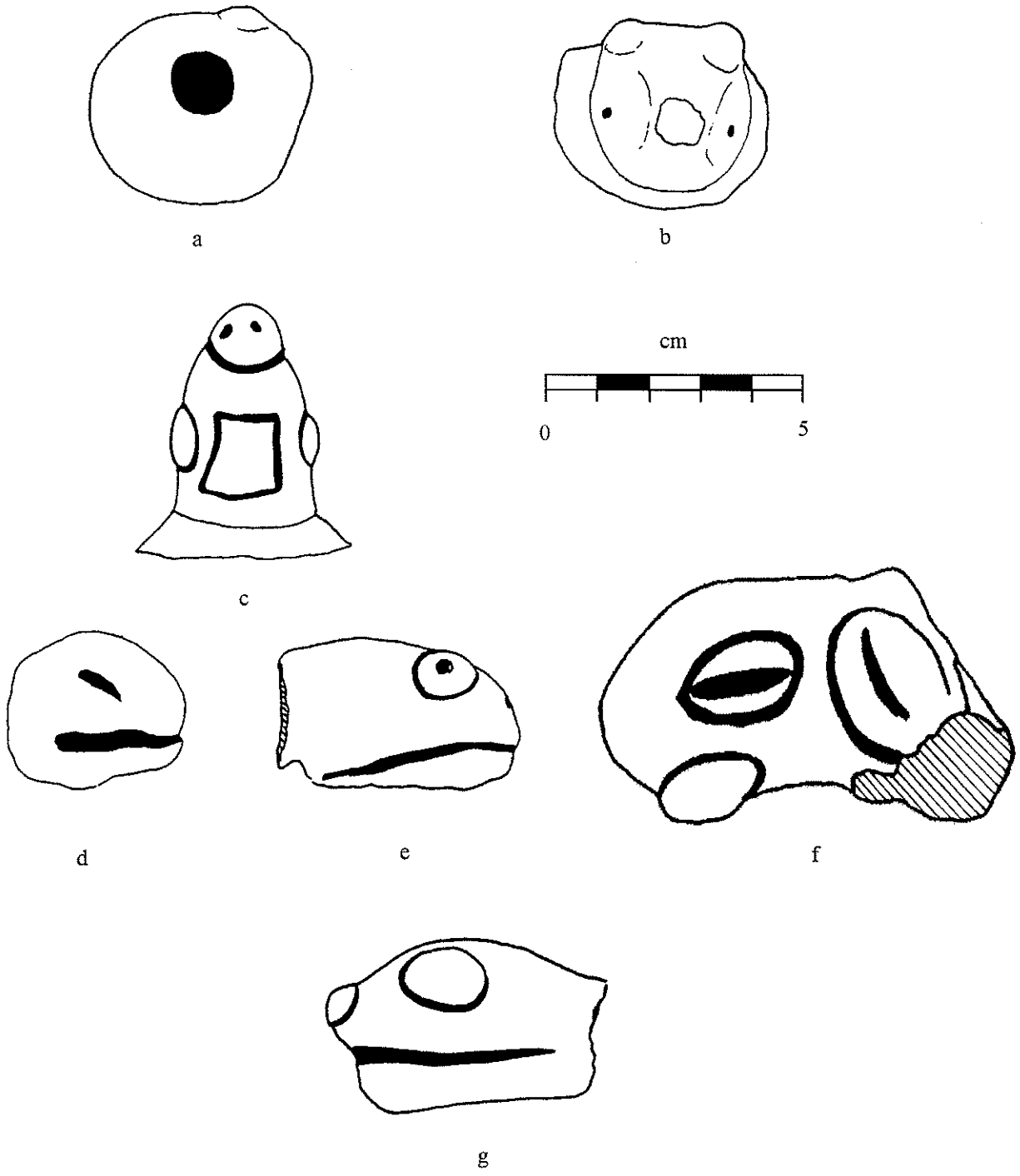


Figure 26. Type IIB2b adornos. *a*, unknown context. *b*, Arnos Vale Playingfield.
Type IIC1 adornos. *c*, Arnos Vale Swamp.
Type IIC2 adornos. *d*, Petit Bordel. *e*, Fitz-Hughes. *f-g*, unknown context.

(fig. 27e; Pl. 17f), is approximately 3.0 cm in diameter and 3.0 cm long with relatively large semi-spherical 2.5 cm eyes; pupils are semi-spherical with central punctates. The semi-ovoid mouth has an incised lip. The nose is missing but two vertically incised nostrils are placed above the eyes at one end of a cylinder which connects the top of the head to the strap handle. Another unique, well polished specimen (3.5 cm by 3.0 cm) is represented with two semi-spherical 1.2 cm eyes without pupils, placed on either side of the face (fig. 27f; Pl. 17g); the mouth is placed in front of the face between, and slightly lower, than the eyes, and is identical in shape and size to the eyes. This specimen lacks both nose and nostrils. There are two small spherical clay pellets on top of the head, placed side by side from which a clay band stretches towards the back all the way to the break. An incision runs parallel to this unique clay band, just above the eyes. The third adorno has suffered surface damage; it is still attached to a significant portion of the vessel including the base (fig. 27d; Pl. 17e). The head (3.5 cm by 3.0 cm) has relatively large semi-spherical eyes, with a diameter of 1.7 cm; despite some damage, there is still evidence of punctated pupils, and the mouth is semi-ovoid in shape without lips. The vessel on which this adorno is placed is a very shallow tray, not more than 4.0 cm in height. Protruding from the base of the vessel, below the head, tabular extensions may be construed as representing legs. The fourth adorno is approximately 4.5 cm in diameter, and is highly weathered (fig. 27a; Pl. 17b). Both mouth and nose are broken, but to judge from the breakage pattern, they were possibly semi-ovoid in shape. The 1.2 cm eyes are semi-spherical with punctated pupils. A unique feature of this specimen is a thin layer of clay

covering the entire top of the head, giving it a hair-like appearance. The fifth adorno (approximately 4.5 cm in diameter) has a conical nose with one vertical incision for nostril; it lacks a mouth, and the eyes (1.2 cm in diameter) are flat and circular with punctated pupils. Lips or the mouth are represented by an incised line placed bellow the eyes and the nose. On top of the head is a raised bun-like semi-spherical pellet (Pl. 17a). The sixth adorno (2.0 cm by 1.5 cm) shows semi-spherical, 0.8 cm, eyes and punctated pupils; it lacks a nose, and the mouth is semi-ovoid in form with a vertical incision through the middle front. It is a unique adorno because it is placed on a strap handle which is still attached to a keeled vessel. Both the strap handle and the exterior vessel body where the lower end of the handle is attached, are decorated with semi-spherical pellets. One is placed midway on the exterior of the handle, and two are placed on the vessel exterior on either side of the handle near the keel. Approximately 1.0 cm below the rim there is an incision decorating the buffed exterior of the vessel (fig. 27c; Pl. 17d). The seventh specimen (4.5 cm by 4.2 cm) has a snout-like protrusion on which both the plain conical nose and the semi-ovoid (1.5 cm) mouth are represented; the incised mouth, or lip, gives this adorno a distinctive pursing appearance. The eyes are represented by two long incised pupils. In addition, on either side of the head are two modelled ear-like additions, ovoid in shape; the top of the head also bears a semi-spherical bun-like pellet. This polished specimen is painted a dark brick red colour (fig. 27b; Pl. 17c). Interestingly, this adorno is very similar to a Barrancoid pottery "mask" from Puerto Santo in Venezuela (Vargas Arenas 1978:218, Lamina 2). The final, well polished and dark red painted,

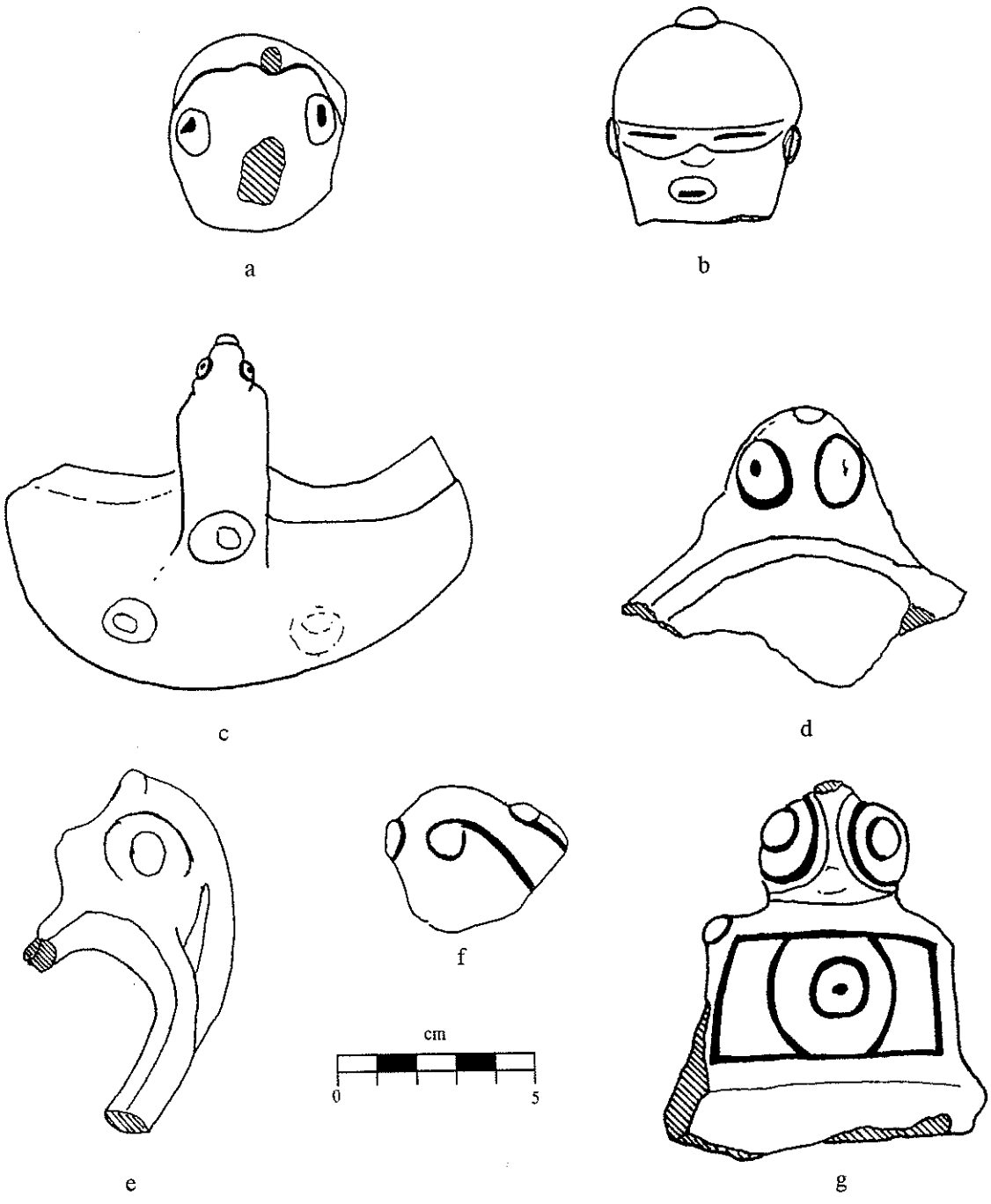


Figure 27. Other Type II adornos. *a*, Escape. *b*, Arnos Vale Swamp. *c*, Kingstown Post Office. *d-g*, unknown context.

adorno (3.2 cm high and 3.7 cm wide) is more conventional in appearance with two large semi-spherical eyes (2.5 cm) with semi-spherical pupils. The raised rectangular nose (3.5 cm) is placed directly between the eyes. The head is attached to a tabular torso which is decorated both on the sides with punctated semi-spherical pellets placed on the shoulders, and on the front with a rectangular incision that is nearly as wide as the torso. This rectangular motif encloses a circular incision, in the centre of which is a another punctated semi-spherical pellet. This torso is similar to those seen on Type I adornos (fig. 27g; Pl. 17h).

Type III. Conical heads

Of the total 210 adornos, 39 (18.6 percent) are basically conical in shape. Their conical appearance derives from the distinctive beak-like downward extension of the face. They are represented in three forms: (1) long beaks, (2) short beaks, and (3) beak stub. All appear naturalistic and bird-like in appearance.

IIIA. Long beaked conical head

There are 22 long beaked adornos (56.4 percent) of conical specimens in this group. The length of the head, including the beak, ranges from 3 to 10 cm. All have raised spherical eyes, with or without pupils (figs. 28; 29a-b; Pl. 18-20; 21a). Since all long beaked adornos share similar facial attributes, further subdivisions within this group are made according to the location they occupy on the vessels. From adornos and vessel remains, it was possible to determine that the long conical adornos were placed either on (1) strap handles, (2) rims, or (3) exterior walls of vessels. All specimens face away from the vessel opening.

IIIA1. Long beaks on handles. (Adornos 7, 68, 109, 123, 125, 136, 141, 198, 206, 207, 209, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217). This major group is composed of long beaked adornos placed on strap handles. facing away from the vessel (fig 28; Pl. 18-19, 20 a-c). Common facial attributes are the raised semi-spherical eye forms, as well as the long beaks, which range between 3 and 6 cm. The eyes range between 0.6 and 1.1 cm in diameter, with punctate pupils present on 83.3 percent of the specimens. While other noses are absent, nostrils are only represented in two cases, once by a single vertical incision, and once by double vertical incisions. Mouths are depicted by the conical beaks. Two kinds of incisions occur on 7 of the 18 beaks: (1) double incision placed on either side of the beak (N=5), and (2) single incisions placed along the central length of the beak (N=2). The incisions vary in length between one half to the full length of the beak. Despite poor surface preservation, 12 specimens show evidence of polishing, and possibly painting, from a dark red to a deep purple in colour.

IIIA2. Long beak on vessel walls. (Adornos 21, 102, 110). All three adornos have long conical beaks, raised semi-spherical eyes, and are located on the exterior of vessel walls (figs. 29 a-b; Pl. 20 d-f). The heads are between 3 and 3.5 cm in length, with raised semi-spherical eyes ranging in diameters between 0.9 and 1.2 cm and punctated pupils. Some decoration over the exterior of two vessels consists of incised curvilinear designs, in one case associated with red painting (Pl. 20f). All specimens have been polished, and two were painted, one in a dark blood red, and the other in a lighter brick red colour.

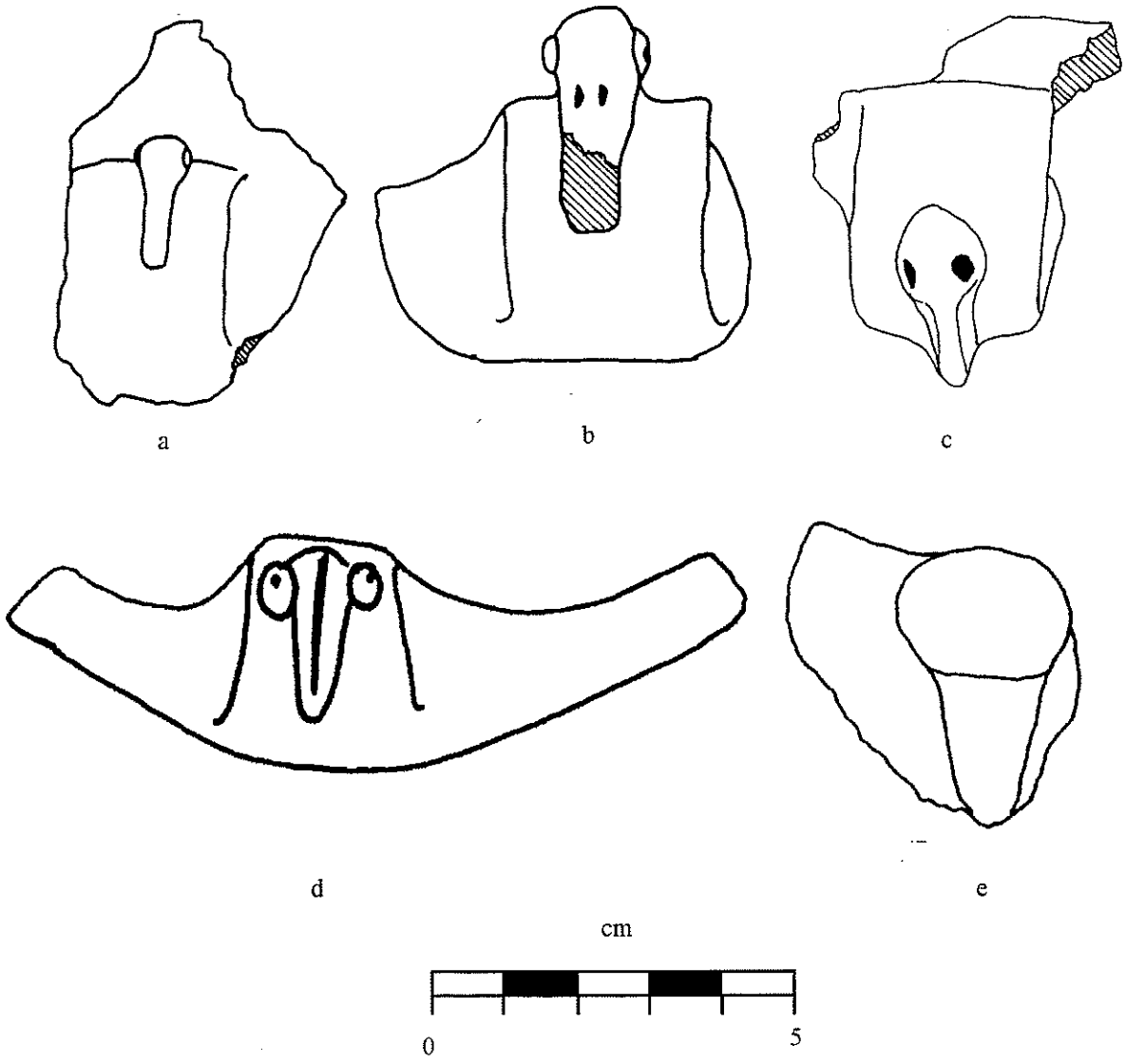


Figure 28. Type IIIA1 adornos. *a-e*, unknown context.

IIIA3. Long beaks on rim. (Adorno 138). This unique large specimen was placed on the rim of the vessel where it served as a grasping handle (Pl. 21a). It has the longest head (10 cm), along with the largest eyes of the long beaked adornos with their 2 cm diameter, where the pupil is represented by a punctate. Two incisions extend along the surface of the entire beak terminating in two punctates near the face. An open space between the long beak and the vessel rim allowed the vessel to be grasped by the hand. This specimen has been smoothed, polished, and has a light tan colour.

IIIB. Short beaked conical head

(Adornos 152, 120, 175, 55, 149, 226). There are six conical adornos (15.4 percent) in this group that have a short beak (figs. 29 c-f; Pl. 21 b-g). The length of the head, including the beak, ranges from 2 to 3.5 cm. All but one have raised semi-spherical eyes ranging in diameter between 1.2 and 2.2 cm, with or without pupils. Pupils on these specimens include two with punctates, and one with a punctated semi-spherical pellet. These naturalistic adornos may be representation of parrots. Noses are obviously absent for anatomical reasons, but one specimen, however, displays a unique punctated cylindrical ridge at the base of the curved beak, possibly representing nostrils (fig. 29f; Pl. 21g). On three specimens, double punctates are used to depict nostrils, while on the remaining three adornos nostrils are lacking altogether. Incisions placed on either side of the beaks are present on four adornos. In one instance, the beak is decorated with incised rectilinear designs (Pl. 21e); the same specimen also shows a rectangular incision on the top of the head, between the excised eyes.

Evidence of placement and orientation of these adornos comes from three specimens, two of which have been placed on strap handles, and face away from the vessel opening. The third adorno, placed on the rim and facing away, displays an unusual bulging belly which is part of the exterior wall of the small vessel (fig. 29d; Pl. 21d). This hollow belly feature contains one single small pebble, so that it rattles when shaken. This finely polished vessel was painted in two tones of red.

IIIC. Beak stubs

(Adornos 71, 108, 154, 190). These adornos possess the smallest conical beaks, which are snout-like in appearance (figs. 30 a-d; Pl. 22 a-d). A common characteristic on all specimens is this stub-like beak and raised semi-ovoid eyes. Heads range in height from 2.5 to 3.25 cm, and in width between 2.5 and 3.75 cm; semi-spherical eyes are between 1.0 and 1.7 cm in diameter, with the average eye diameter being 1.3 cm. Pupil forms include two punctates, and one horizontal incision; one adorno lacks pupils altogether. Another adorno has a unique horizontal incised decoration placed on the forehead, between and leveled with the top of the eyes. Slightly above it there are two additional perpendicular incisions separated from the forehead incision, but extending along the top and back of the adorno (fig. 30d; Pl. 22d). One specimen appears to have been placed on the exterior wall of a vessel, facing away (Fig. 30b; Pl. 22b). Surface finish includes smoothing and polishing. These adornos are quite naturalistic and may possibly represent manatees.

Other type III adornos. (Adornos 66, 151, 156, 220, 224, 237). These six unique adornos are classified in Type III because of their conical appearance of the

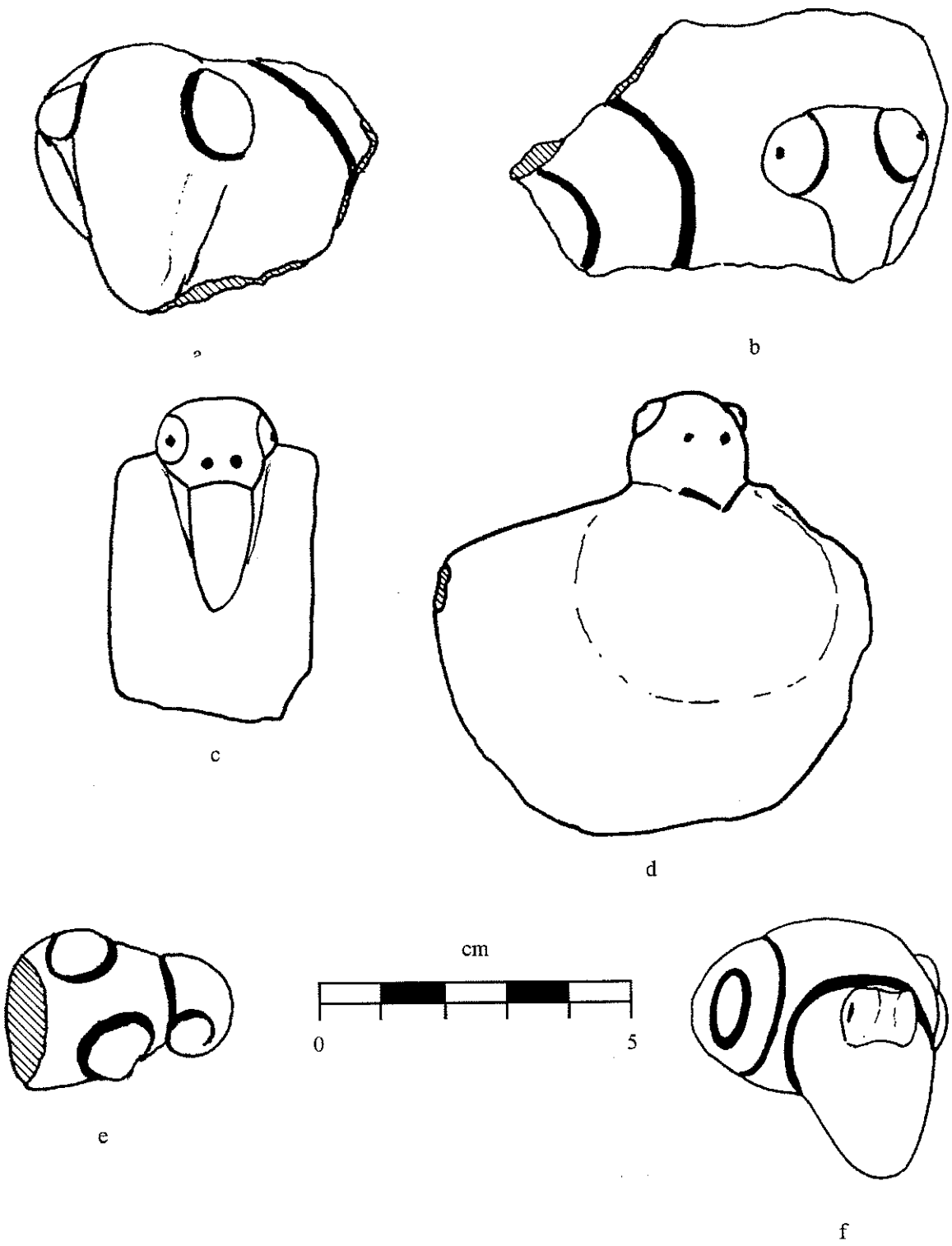


Figure 29. Type IIIA2 adornos. *a*, Fitz-Hughes. *b*, unknown context.
Type IIIB adornos. *c, f*, Arnos Vale Swamp. *d*, Owia. *e*, Arnos Vale Playingfield.

head (figs. 30 e-f, 31 a-d; Pl. 22 e-f, 23 a-d). The first adorno (3.5 cm by 4 cm) has a beak, which although conical in appearance, is a long tapering rectangle resembling the snout of a cayman. Eyes, pupils, nose, and nostrils are all lacking on this specimen. Two incisions along the outsides of the snout represent the lips, or the dividing line between the lower and upper jaws on this naturalistic representation (fig. 31d; Pl. 23d). A second, possibly red painted, conical head (3.5 cm by 3.0 cm) is an unusually naturalistic adorno with a conical snout terminated by two punctated nostrils. The raised semi-spherical eyes are 1.0 cm in diameter and include punctate pupils. A unique characteristic of this specimen is a triangular feature of the forehead consisting of 15 small punctations confined on either side of the face by two incised lines extending diagonally from near each nostril to above each eye, and by a curving, horizontally incised line just above the face (fig. 31c; Pl. 23c). The third head (2.0 cm by 3.0 cm) has circular somewhat damaged eyes that may have been possibly semi-spheres at one time. They are present on either sides of the conical mouth, possibly dividing the mouth into a lower and an upper jaw (fig. 31a; Pl. 23a). The fourth adorno (2.25 cm by 2.25 cm) lacks the conical beak, and consequently any forms of noses, nostrils, and lips are undetermined. The eyes are semi-spherical (1.1 cm) and contain punctated pupils. This adorno was placed on the exterior of a strap handle, facing away from the vessel mouth (fig. 30e; Pl. 22e). The fifth adorno (4.0 cm by 3.0 cm) has raised semi-spherical eyes (1.3 cm) with punctated pupils in their centres. It is placed on the exterior wall of a vessel, and oriented with the face pointing up. This unique adorno has a clay cylinder that connects the back of the head to the vessel

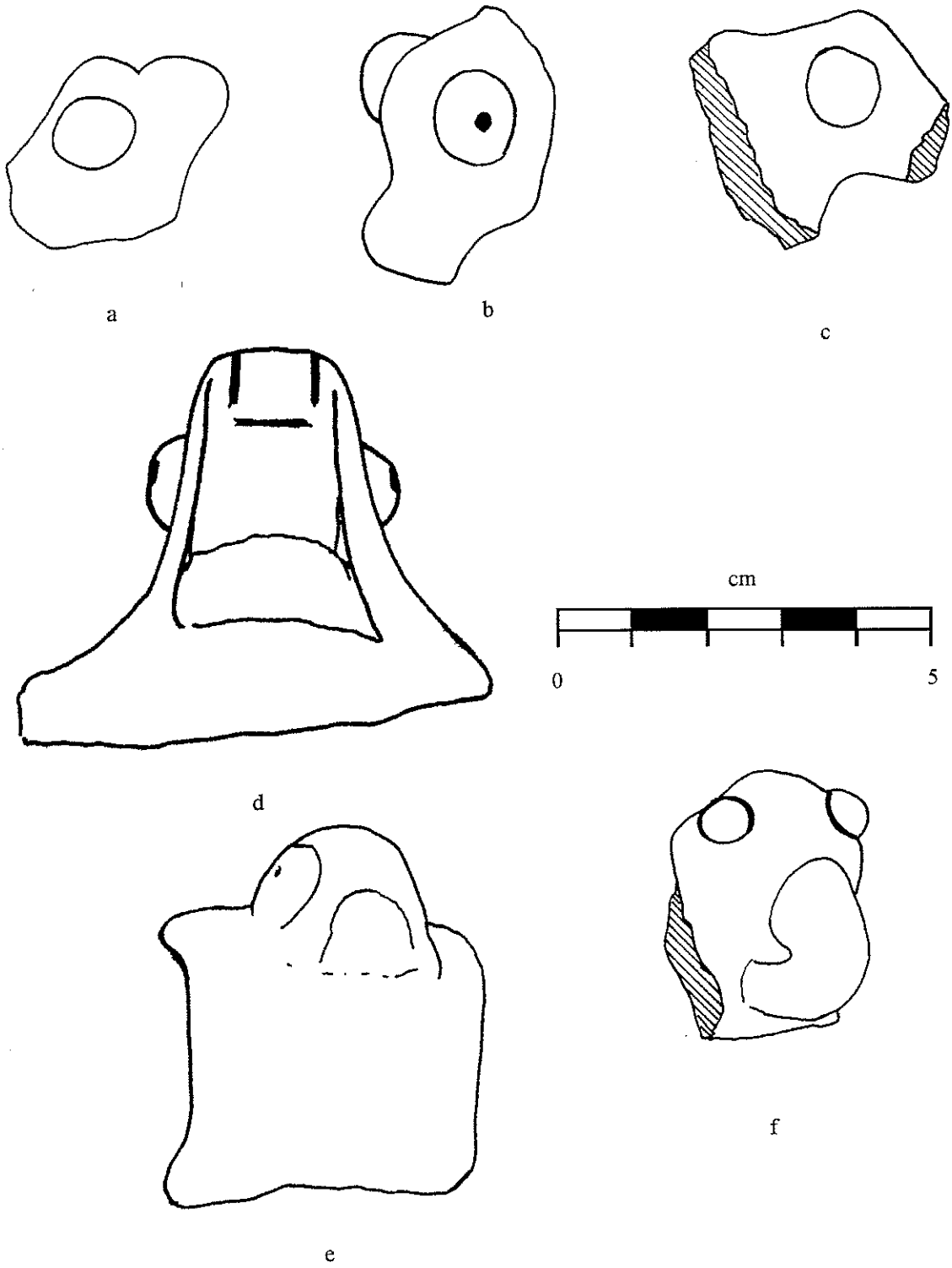


Figure 30. Type IIIC adornos. *a*, Fitz-Hughes. *b*, unknown context. *c*, Arnos Vale. *d*, Careenage. Other Type III adornos. *e-f*, unknown context.

exterior, creating a small loop handle. The forehead region is decorated with an S-shaped incision; its surface is weathered but evidence of red paint still remains (fig. 31b; Pl.23b). Finally, the sixth specimen has an almost perfectly spherical head (2.75 cm by 2.25 cm); it is included in Type III because of the clay cylinder, bent 90 degrees, connecting the head and the vessel exterior. The eyes are semi-spherical in shape (1.1 cm), and contain punctated pupils placed in their centres. No other facial attributes are observed on this specimen. This adorno is placed on the exterior wall of a vessel, facing away from the vessel opening. It has a smooth surface finish and is reddish in colour (fig. 30f; Pl. 22f).

Type IV. Ovoid heads

Of the 210 adornos in the collection, 14 (6.7 percent) are ovoid in shape (J4). Of these, seven are true ovoids, while the remaining seven are more plano-convex in form. These variations in head forms allow this group to be further subdivided in two classes.

IVA. True ovoids

This group includes adornos that are ovoid in shape, measuring between 1.5 and 3.0 cm in height, and between 1.25 and 2.0 cm in width. On all specimens the eyes are circular, and, in all cases but one, are represented by semi-spherical forms. This group has been further subdivided according to the location of the adorno on the vessel. This includes (1) adornos on strap handles, and (2) those on the exteriors of vessel walls. These adornos are always oriented vertically, with the eyes parallel with the vessel opening.

IVA1 True ovoids on handles. (Adornos 124, 166). These two fine, red painted adornos have ovoid heads attached to the exterior of strap handles (figs. 31 e, f; Pl. 23 e, f). In one case, the vessel fragment is still present indicating an open vessel, possibly a bowl (Pl. 23f). On both specimens, the eyes are semi-spherical in form, 0.8 and 1.3 cm in diameter, both having centred punctated pupils. A single mouth is represented by a semi-ovoid with traces of an incised lip. The handles on which these two adornos are placed vary in form. One is almost circular and close to 2.0 cm in diameter; the other is more rectangular with the adorno placed at one end and a small tabular tail-like appendage at the other. This produces a bird-like appearance, but the handle is also similar to those seen in Martinique, for instance, where they have been identified as dogs (Mattioni and Bullen 1974).

IVA2 True ovoids on vessel walls. (Adornos 52, 69, 104, 165, 219, 238, 243). In form and facial attributes, these adornos are similar to those of Type IVA2 (fig. 32; Pl. 24). In six of the seven specimens, the eyes are semi-spherical, ranging in diameter from 1.0 to 1.5 cm; all have punctated pupils placed in their centres. On one adorno, the eye is flat and circular (1.4 cm), also with a punctate pupil (fig. 32c; Pl. 24c). Noses are absent on all the adornos from this group, but nostrils are depicted on four specimens, two with double incisions and two with single incision, which are usually placed below the eyes. These specimens are naturalistic in character resembling some sort of bird-like animal. All adornos, except one, show evidence of red paint, and surfaces are smoothed and polished; in one unusual case, the adorno is placed on a flat vessel appendage which is finely incised with curvilinear motifs (fig.

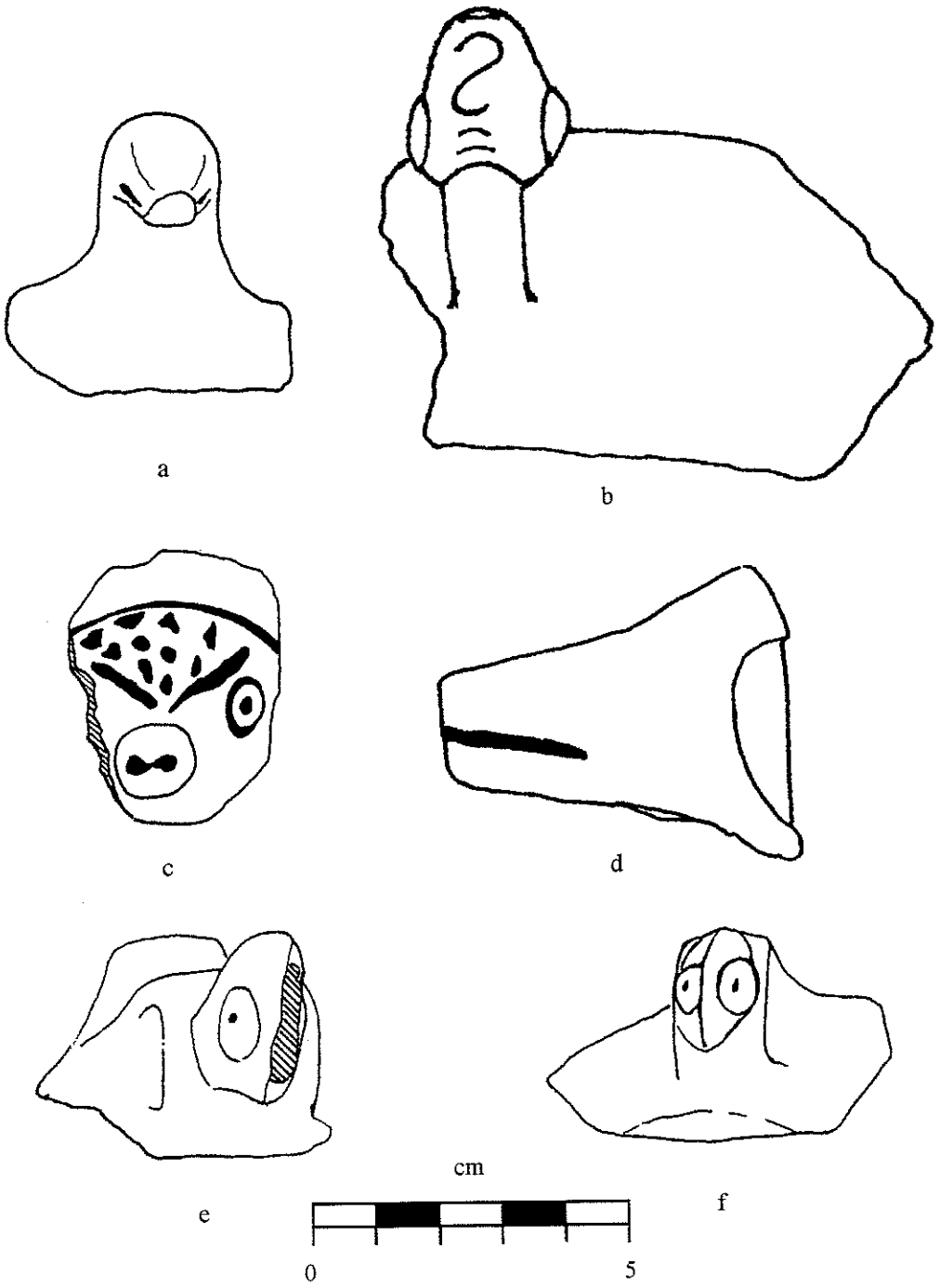


Figure 31. Other Type III adornos. *a*, New Sandy Bay. *b, d*, unknown context. *c*, Escape. Type IVA1 adornos. *e*, Escape. *f*, unknown context.

32g; Pl 24g). The design consists of a pair of "comma-like" incisions below a wavy rim incised with a fine line below the rim; six semi-circular concentric incisions are also found below the "commas". The decoration is reminiscent of the La Hueca style from the Leeward Islands (Chanlatte 1995).

IVB. Plano-convex heads

(Adornos 59, 139, 186, 202, 221). These five plano-convex naturalistic heads have a strong resemblance to frogs. They range in height from 2.0 to 3.0 cm, and in width between 3.5 and 7.0 cm (figs. 33 a-e; Pl. 25 a-e). All have semi-spherical eyes placed on either side of the face, ranging between 0.9 and 1.7 in diameter. and incised lips. In one case, the incision occurs on a flat oval mouth outlined by an incised line (fig. 33b; Pl. 25b). Noses are lacking but nostrils are represented on one adorno by double punctates placed midway between the eyes and the incised lip. An interesting unique red painted adorno consists of a whole body with four legs and a dorsal spine (fig. 33d; Pl 25d); the full legs are broken and what remains are four raised semi-ovoid pellets placed in the corners of the rectangular adorno body. Between both sets of legs are three semi-ovoid pellets that resemble a backbone on this unusual frog-like adorno. The surface finish on these adornos includes smoothing, polishing, and red painting.

Type V. Tabular heads

Fourteen specimens out of 210 adornos in the collection have tabular shaped heads. This group of predominantly flat adornos, as opposed to those of the other types which are round, is the most diversified in terms of overall contours.

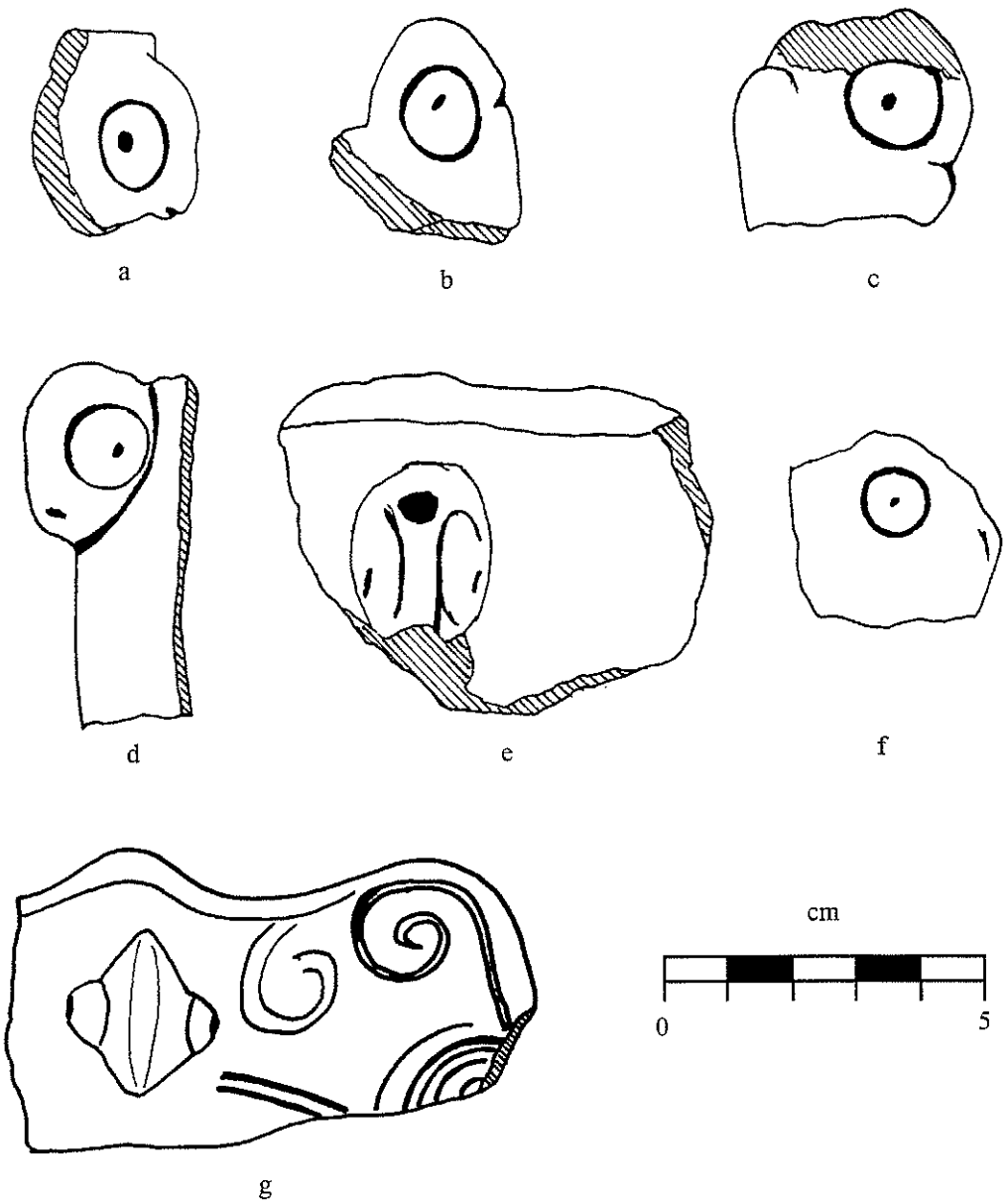


Figure 32. Type IVA2 adornos. *a-c, e-f,* unknown context. *d,* Fitz-Hughes. *g,* Questelles.

Subdivisions will be based on facial attributes, more specifically the eyes and mouths. Four types of eyes are represented in this group; this includes: raised, flat, excised, and absent.

VA. Semi-spherical eyes

The first subdivision of Type V groups together all adornos with raised eyes. From the 14 adornos, seven have semi-spherical eyes. Variations exist with respect to the sizes of mouths, and based on these variations, this group is further subdivided into two subgroups.

VA1. Large mouths. (Adornos 158, 159, 162). The heads range in height between 3.5 and 6.5 cm, and in width between 3.0 and 5.0 cm. These three adornos have semi-spherical eyes, 0.9 to 1.2 cm in diameter, with punctate pupils and relatively large semi-ovoid mouths between 2.0 to 4.0 cm wide (figs. 34 a-c; Pl. 26 a-c). A different nose form is represented on each of the three adornos, including triangular, semi-ovoid, and absent, as represented by two vertical incisions placed on the semi-ovoid nose as nostrils. One of the specimens has a tabular torso, decorated with a raised rectangular design in the chest area, which has been painted dark red, and two clay bands jutting out from either side of the face (fig. 34b; Pl. 26b). The head is placed on the rim with the torso of the adornos forming part of the vessel exterior. The adorno faces away from the vessel opening. All three adornos are vaguely naturalistic, and suggestive of an ape-like creature.

VA2 Small mouths. (Adornos 46, 47, 168, 171, 300). Facial attributes on these adornos are similar to those of Type VA1 (figs. 34 d-h; Pl. 26 d-h). Head

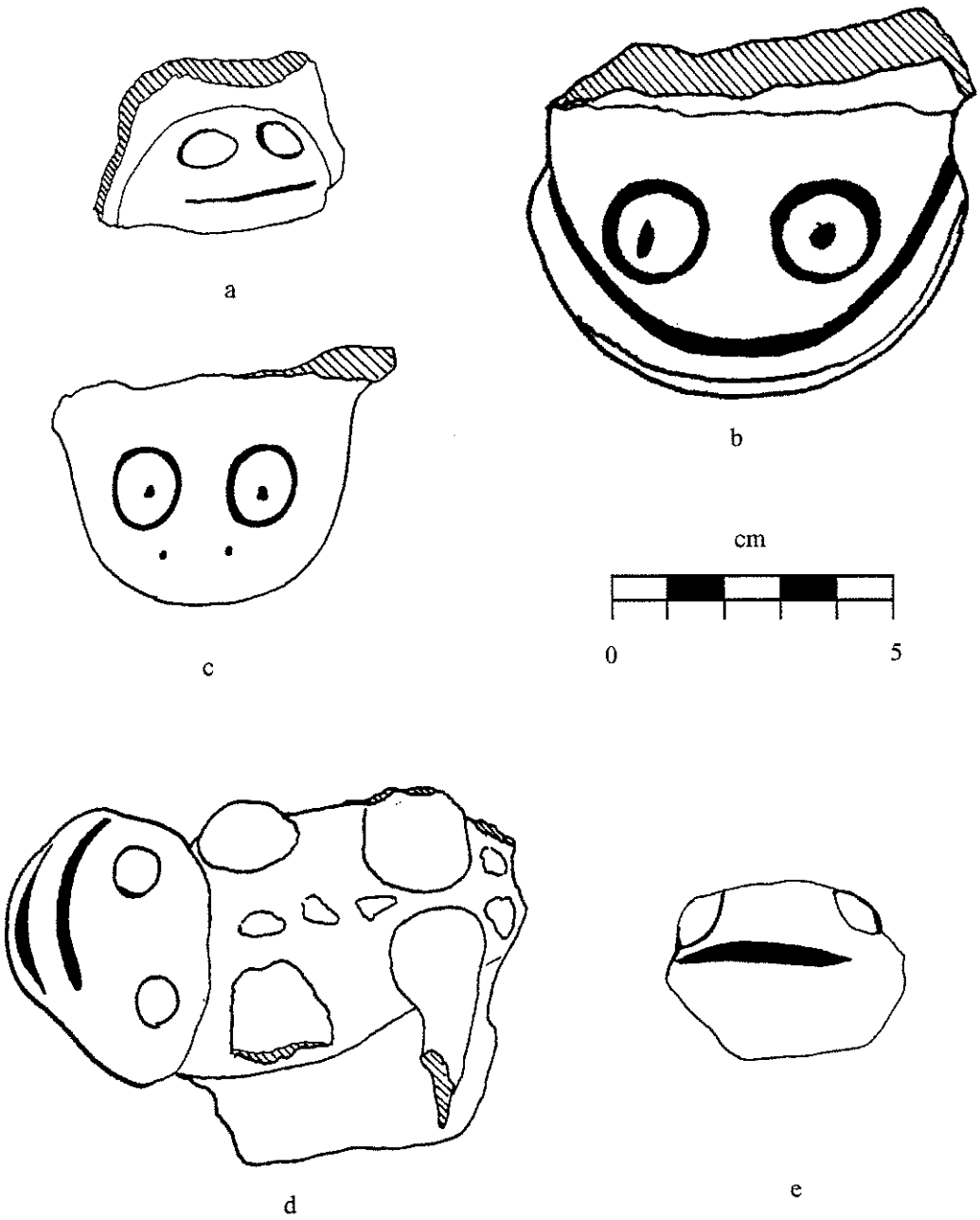


Figure 33. Type IVB adornos. *a-e*, unknown context.

measurements range from 3.5 to 6 cm in height and width, with relatively small mouths between 1.0 and 1.8 cm wide, which in all but one instance, are semi-ovoid in form with an incised lip. One adorno, however, has a semi-spherical mouth with a punctate for a lip (fig. 34h; Pl. 26h). Noses are present on only two specimens, and in both cases are modelled and triangular in shape. Unique features have been noted on three specimens: one has a headgear-like addition which is decorated on either side by circular incisions, and on top with a conical form (fig. 34g; Pl. 26g); another is depicted with two ear-like ovoid clay knobs on the sides of the head, (fig. 34h; Pl. 26h); and the third shows two sets of incised spirals on either side of the head at the end of the incised line across the forehead (fig. 34f; Pl. 26f). The surface finish on these adornos includes smoothing and polishing with traces of some dark red painting.

VB. Absent eyes

(Adornos 106, 155, 167, 169). These four adornos are tabular in form, and all have punctated pupils without eye outlines (figs. 35 a-c; Pl. 27 a-c). Heads vary in size from 2.5 to 4.0 cm in height, and from 2.5 to 5.0 cm in width. Noses are represented on three faces by a rectangle, a semi-ovoid, and a raised triangle; nostrils occur on only one specimen consisting of double vertical incisions (fig. 35b; Pl. 27b). Semi-ovoid mouths with incised lips are present on two of the four adornos. One specimen has been decorated with two semi-spherical clay pellets placed on the top sides of the head. A similar decoration is also found on two other adornos in this group. Surface finish on these specimens include smoothing and polishing.

Other type V adornos. (Adornos 157, 192). These tabular adornos are unique

in terms of their facial features (figs. 35 d, e; Pl. 27 d, e). The first adorno (3.0 cm by 3.5 cm) is flat, almost rectangular in shape, with circular excised eyes (1.2 cm) depicted with semi-spherical 0.4 cm pupils with punctates in the middle. A semi-ovoid nose, 0.7 cm long, with two punctates for nostrils, is placed high on the forehead above the eyes. The mouth (1.6 cm) is semi-ovoid in form, and has an incised lip. Additional features on this naturalistic head include two horizontally incised triangular clay tabs extending upwards from the head above the eyes, possibly representing ears on an owl (fig. 35e; Pl. 27e). The second adorno is also tabular and almost rectangular in outline. This distinctively anthropomorphic representation (4.0 cm by 4.0 cm) has flat 1.4 cm coffee bean-like oval eyes, and two horizontally incised pupils. The raised triangular nose, 2.3 cm long, is placed between the eyes and centred on the mouth, which although damaged, appears semi-ovoid in shape. On either sides of the head is a vertically incised ear-like appendage similar in shape and proportion to a human ear (fig. 35d; Pl. 27d).

This classification has produced a tentative typology of the St. Vincent adornos based on form. In the following chapter the image-types within these formal types will be identified. The image-types will then be interpreted and their cultural significance within the Saladoid culture will be addressed.

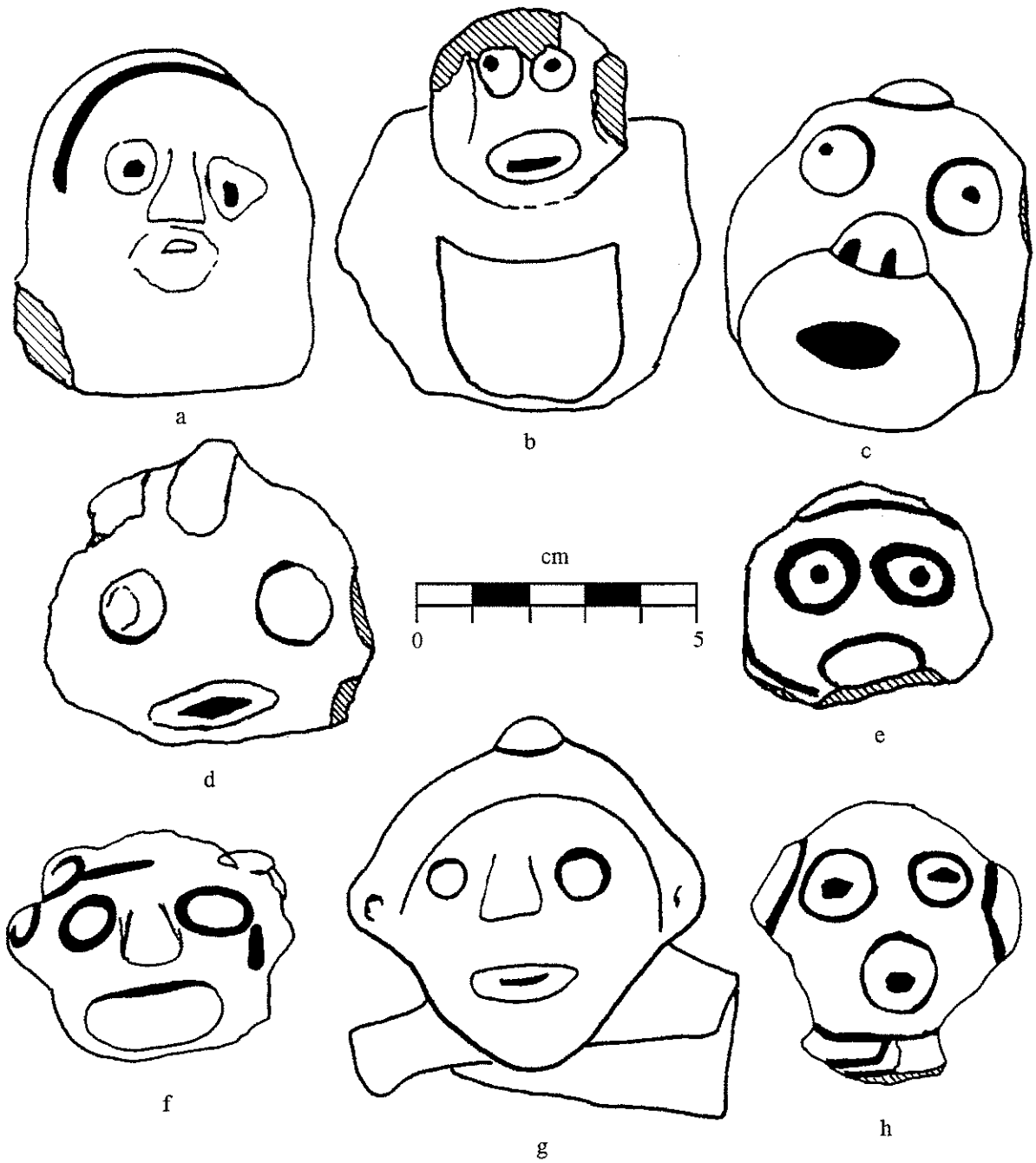


Figure 34. Type VA1 adornos. *a, c,* Camden Park. *b,* unknown context. Type VA2 adornos. *d-e, h,* unknown context. *f-g,* Arnos Vale Swamp.

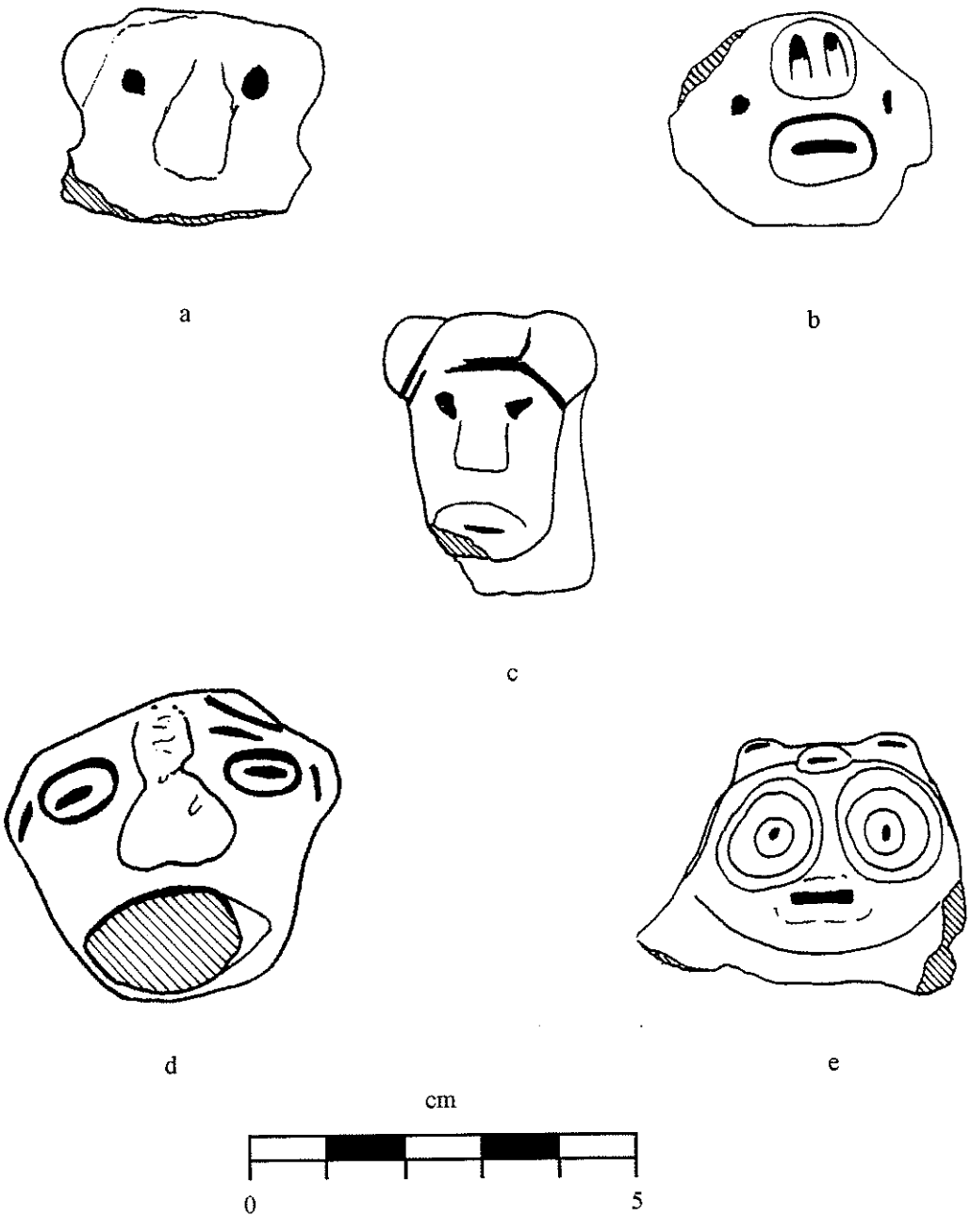


Figure 35. Type VB adornos. *a*, unknown context. *b*, Arnos Vale Texaco Tank. *c*, New Sandy Bay. Other Type V adornos. *d*, unknown context. *e*, Arnos Vale Playingfield.

CHAPTER VI

IMAGE TYPES AND THEIR PRIMARY MEANING

Formal Types vs. Image Types

In fashioning their pottery adornos, Saladoid artisans have depicted in various degrees of naturalism and detail a number of the animal species that inhabited their environment. While some representations bear a close resemblance to their natural models, others are conventionalized to such an extent as to make identification considerably more difficult. Observing the frequencies of specimens in each image type, it is obvious that some representations were favoured over others. Since the importance of a particular image type may be related to the frequency by which it is reproduced, inferences can be made regarding the importance of particular animals that may reflect on a symbolic level the nature of the Saladoid people's relationship with their environment and how they viewed the world in which they lived, that is, their cosmology. Only major image types consisting of more than one specimen are selected for the iconographic analysis.

Applying the iconological method to image types derived from the formal typology of St. Vincent adornos, the analysis must first be carried out on two levels: the pre-iconographic description and iconographic analysis (Panofsky 1955), basically

(1) identifying the images and (2) finding out the meaning of the images (Morphy 1989:3).

The process of identification at the pre-iconographical level, the subject of this chapter, consists of determining the primary, or natural, meaning of adorno images. Since most adornos in this study are zoomorphic, the process requires familiarity with the fauna of St. Vincent and the Lesser Antilles. Diagnostic anatomical features observed in animals help in the identification of the basic subject matter of the images depicted by the adornos. The difficulty at this level of identification lies with conventional images, in which a natural model is stylized according to some cultural pattern, and where the identification of formal attributes to specific anatomical features is more problematic.

Other aspects such as gender, expression, movement or action, or whether the subject is alive or dead, are also recorded at this level of interpretation.

Discovering secondary meanings from adorno image types is the second, or iconographic, level in the analysis. The aim is to determine the identity imposed by the Saladoid people on specific images, which may represent mythological, religious, or secular subjects or characters, as will be the subject of the next chapter. But first, let us begin with the definition and description of the image types.

Determining the image types from the formal typology developed in the preceding chapters, entails a great deal of intuition with the final purpose being that adornos representing a specific image "look alike". However, it would be erroneous to think that each formal type depicts a particular image type. While in some instances

that may be the case, there is strong evidence that several different formal types were used to represent the same image. For instance, Types IA1a and IB1a are different formal types, while in fact depicting the same image and the same subject.

For the St. Vincent adornos image types, which can be either naturalistic or conventional, subject identification can only be subjectively determined according to the "look alike" or resemblance principle. As a result of this approach, a total of 12 basic image types, described below, have been identified from all formal types. While some of these images are represented by as many as eight formal types, others are represented by one single formal type.

Defining Image Types

Image I. Image I consists of all b-shaped adornos, or all formal Type I variations, including Types IA1a, IA1b, IA1c, IA2a, IA2b, IB1a, IB1b, and IB2. This image is the most common in the collection, with 93 specimens. It is a highly stylized, conventional representation of a head which contains to a degree both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic features, and may be therefore more difficult to identify readily to a precise animal species. However, this thesis will seek to demonstrate that Type I adornos are actual representations of sea turtles. Distinctive features such as the head extension, the nose placed relatively high on the face, and typical semi-ovoid mouths, are all indications that will be discussed more fully below.

Image Type II. Image type II is represented by two formal types, IIA1 and IIA2. It is conventional in appearance and is associated with a wide range of facial attributes, including both flat and bulging eyes, and shapes. It is difficult again to

determine the precise animal identification of these highly stylized depictions.

Image Type III. Image type III is more naturalistic in appearance, actually resembling the head of the sea turtles. It is possible, but not certain, that the image may be representations of a different sea turtle species as those of image type I. One characteristic feature on many of these adornos is the presence of a collar on the neck, often with short incisions. This image is represented by the formal Types IIB1, IIB2a and IIC1.

Image Type IV. Only two naturalistic zoomorphic adornos representing animals of unknown species are part of image type IV. Both specimens are depicted with small semi-spherical clay decorations which are placed on top of their heads, possibly representing ears, as represented essentially by formal Type IIB2b.

Image Type V. Formal Type IIB2 represents image type V, which is naturalistic in appearance, consisting of long cylindrical heads with bulging eyes and long lip incisions, giving these adornos a reptilian or lizard-like appearance.

Image Type VI. This major image type in the St. Vincent collection is also quite naturalistic in appearance. It consists of formal Types IIIA1 and IIIA2. All adornos of image type VI have characteristically bird-like features with a distinctive long beak, which in almost every instance curves along the exterior of a strap handle and appears to faithfully portray the pelican.

Image Type VII. Image type VII, represented by formal type IIIB, also displays a characteristic bird-like beak which in this case is short. Based on the distinctive curving beak, this naturalistic image shows a close likeness to parrots.

Image Type VIII. Formal Type III consists of four naturalistic zoomorphic adornos. Image type VIII has bulging semi-spherical eyes, and a stubby snout which possibly resembles the snout of manatees.

Image Type IX. Image type IX is represented by formal Types IVA1 and IVA2; they are naturalistic in appearance and again display distinctive bird-like features in head shapes and facial attributes which may be assigned to a variety of animal species.

Image Type X. Formal type IVB depicts image type X, also naturalistic in appearance. The plano-convex shaped heads with the semi-spherical eyes and the long vertically incised lips are features commonly associated with the representation of the frog (Pettitjean Roget 1975; 1976a).

Image Type XI. Image type XI exhibits naturalistic features that are associated with anthropomorphic representations. While some specimens have a canny resemblance to apes, others appear more human-like in style, typically exhibiting triangular noses. The image is represented by formal Types VA1 and VA2.

Image Type XII. The final image type XII is represented by formal Type VB; it is conventional yet zoomorphic in appearance, depicting unknown animal species.

It must be noted that not all adornos in the study collection are included in the 12 image types described above. This is due to the fact that unique adorno specimens that are included in a catch all category of a major formal type represent individual images, not image types. These include an additional 14 individual images present in the database, possibly depicting animals, such as birds (Pl. 17 d-f; 22 e-f; 23 a-b; 27e),

fish (Pl. 17g), and possibly humans (Pl. 17c; 27d). The representation of a stylized image remains unidentifiable to any possible animal (Pl. 17h).

Primary Meanings

The guiding assumption behind the primary identification of the images represented by Saladoid adornos from St. Vincent is the notion that artists sought inspiration from the natural environment (see Green 1992:139; Munro 1970:216). In order to identify these natural models, it is not only necessary to have a general knowledge of the local fauna, but also to have some familiarity with their anatomical details, for it is often these details that are emphasized in the depictions and serve to identify the species more precisely (Green 1992:132-133).

In depicting animals, Saladoid artists used conventional rules of representation that grouped particular formal attributes and their combinations in order to create specific images. The manner in which formal attributes -- such as overall head shape, and the variety of forms associated with the eyes, noses, and mouths, as seen in previous chapters -- are combined and regulated by a visual "code" is image and culture specific (Morphy 1989b:4-8).

In "copying" the natural model, artists tend to distort some anatomical features while maintaining others to their true form (Morphy 1989c:146). The degree of distortion, or conventionalization, can only be perceived by relating the anatomical features of the natural model with the distorted attributes observed on adornos as the process of reduction (Green 1989c:155). The identification of the model is a major step in this process since similar anatomical features are often shared by more than one

species of animals, especially with respect to eye shape, for instance.

The distortion of anatomical formal attributes may be the result of the perspective from which the artist observes his models, that is by "... utilizing converging lines, overlapping forms, diminution according to distance, etc...." (Munro 1970:155). As a consequence, a variety of images can be depicted of the same model by simply "copying" it from different angles. For instance, the representation of a human or animal head in profile results in a different image than one depicted from the front, yet in both cases it is the same model. Many Saladoid adornos from St. Vincent are representation of animals from different perspectives, as will be seen in the following analysis which will proceed through major animal categories.

Analysis and Identification

(1) Sea Turtles

Slightly more than half of all adornos from the St. Vincent collection exhibit formal attributes which are representative of distinctive anatomical features observed on sea turtles. Although different in form, image types I and III are interpreted as turtle representations. Even the very conventional image type II, consisting of formal Types IIA1 and IIA2, with its flat two-dimensional representation on a double loop cylindrical handle, will be shown to depict a sea turtle. More specifically, when one looks at the vessels and adornos together to see the real appearance of turtles in a relatively normal posture (fig. 23d; Pl. 13f). This identification is substantiated by similarities in facial attributes with Type I adornos.

Four species of large sea turtles are found in the waters surrounding St.

Vincent; these include the green (*Chelonia mydas*), hawksbill (*Eretmochelys imbricata*), loggerhead (*Caretta caretta*), and the leatherback turtles (*Dermochelys coriacea*) (Marquez 1990) (figs. 36-37). Significant anatomical variations are observed between and within the four species of sea turtles with respect to head forms and carapace structures (Marquez 1990; Rebel 1974) (figs. 36-37). Differences are also found between juveniles and adult species with regards to facial features. In general, male sea turtles are larger than the females and are equipped with a larger tail and stronger claws used to hold the female during the mating process (Carr 1952:348). This array of distinctive facial and body characteristics inherent in the four species provide useful keys for the respective identification of image types I and III.

Image type I (represented by the formal types IA1a, IA1b, IA1c, IA2a, IA2b, IB1a, IB1b, IB2) consists primarily of a semi-spherical head and a tabular head extension resembling in profile the small letter b, a feature which has been strongly emphasized in the previous chapter as diagnostic of the type. It is interesting to note that this b-like silhouette may also be observed on sea turtles when viewed in profile. The feature is formed by the head which, when retracted, appears semi-spherical in shape, and by the neck which rises sharply from the head up to the precentral scute. Thus, in profile, the head and this sharp rise extending upward behind the head is clearly "b-shaped", and identical to the extensions observed on Type I adornos. While the overall head shape of this type appears to have represented turtle heads in profile, the shape of facial attributes such as eyes, noses, and mouths also indicates a turtle representation from the front. As seen in frontal view, the head of a sea turtle

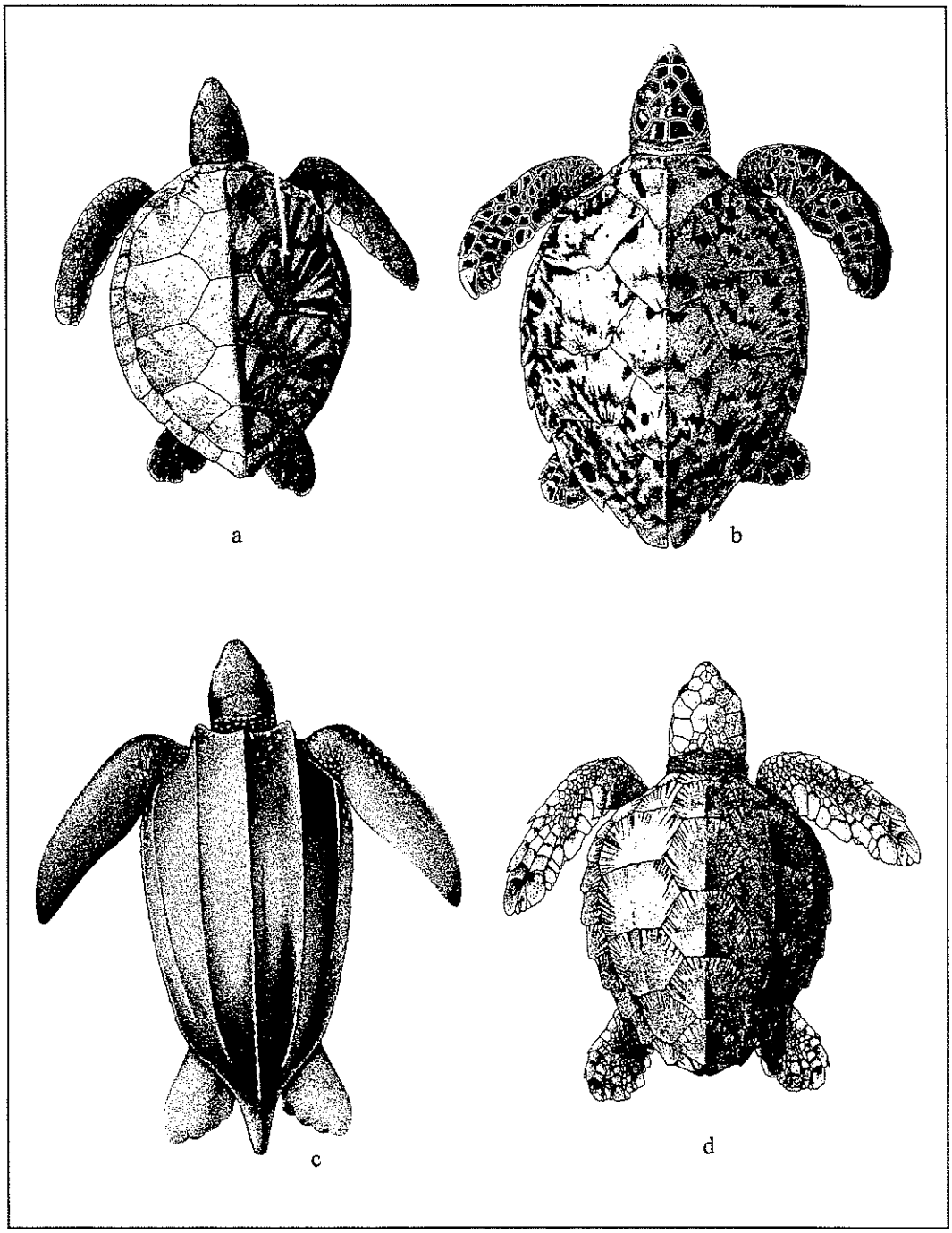


Figure 36. Caribbean sea turtles seen nesting and inhabiting the waters near St. Vincent: *a*, *Chelonia mydas* (Green turtle); *b*, *Eretmochelys imbricata* (Hawksbill turtle); *c*, *Dermochelys coriacea* (Leatherback turtle); and *d*, *Caretta caretta* (Loggerhead turtle), (from Rebel 1974:24-30).

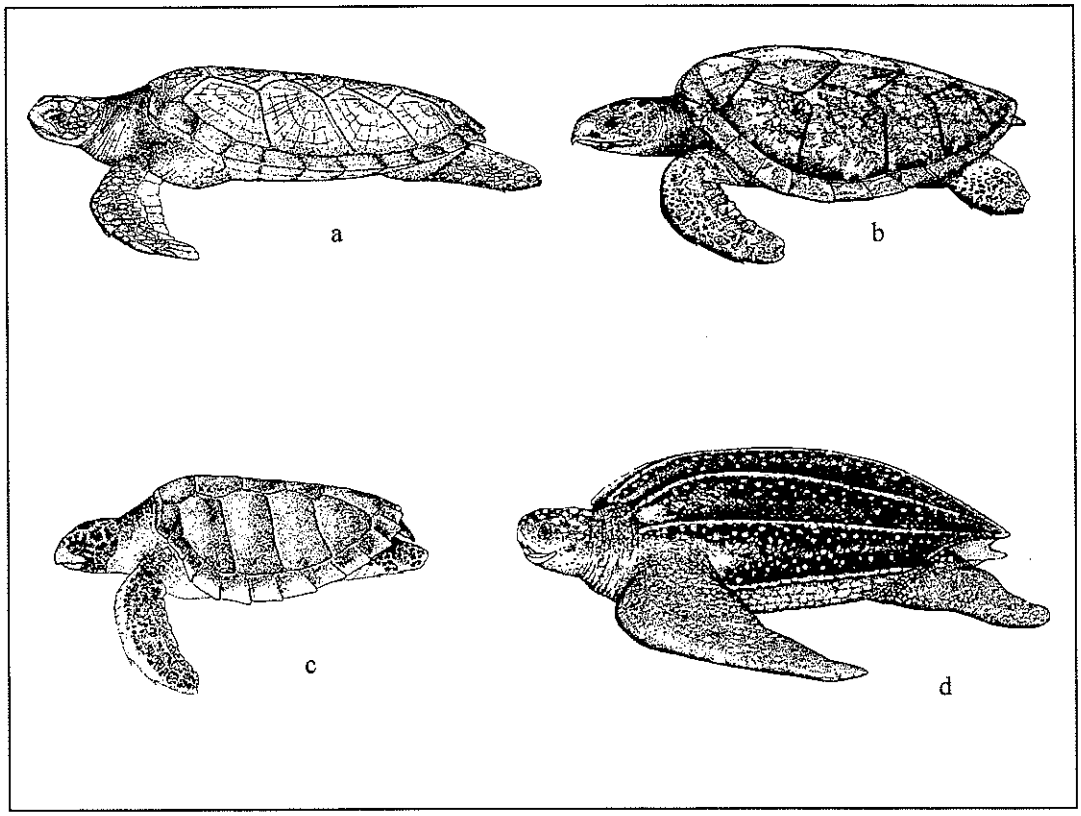


Figure 37. Profiles of sea turtles: *a*, *Chelonia mydas* (green turtle); *b*, *Eretmochelys imbricata* (hawksbill turtle); *c*, *Caretta caretta* (loggerhead turtle); and *d*, *Dermochelys coriacea* (leatherback turtle), (from Marquez 1990).

looks circular with what appears to be a head extension similar to those depicted on adornos; on live specimens, this extension is created by folds in the darker turtle skin of the neck just behind the head.

Whereas the eyes of sea turtles are always circular, on the adornos of image type I they are mostly depicted by a partial circle only. Yet, this eye form is perfectly consistent with a frontal view of the head, where because of optical distortions, the eyes "appear" to form a semicircle or a partial circle. Moreover, relatively small circular pupils appear also as vertical slits when the eyes are partially closed. For that reason, the pupils on adorno eyes are usually depicted by either punctates or vertical incisions.

The anatomical position of the nose on sea turtles is another key feature for identification. Turtle noses are placed relatively high on the face, giving it an "upturned" appearance; depending on age and species, noses can be either bulging or relatively flat, but they always display two distinctive nares or nostrils (Marquez 1990: Fig. 10 and Fig. 12). This particular nasal feature has been the subject of discussion in past attempts at the identification of Type I adornos. This is especially the case of Henry Petitjean Roget (1975; 1976b) who used this upturned nose feature to identify bats, especially the fruit eating variety. There is no doubt that this nose shape is also typical of sea turtles, where sometimes it develops a conical appearance very much like noses seen in bats (Rudloe 1994:116).

Turtle mouths show more variations in shape between species. Mouths on the hawksbill and loggerhead turtles, for instance, resemble bird beaks (figs. 37 b, c),

which on the green and leatherback turtles are not as pronounced and still retain a rounded shape (figs. 37 a, b). The lower beak of all sea turtles, however, is oval in shape when viewed from the front. It is interesting to note, moreover, that in juvenile sea turtles, these beaks are more pronounced, producing a semi-ovoid appearance (Rudloe 1994:102-103). In comparison, mouths on adornos of image type I are always represented by a semi-ovoid form, suggesting either juvenile turtle mouths, or the lower beaks on adult specimens.

When seen from the front, the neck skin on sea turtles, which is darker in colour, extends downward from the precentral scute to either side of the head in a conical shape (fig. 37). The neck contains concentric flaps of skin when the head is retracted back into the shell, and when the head hangs low, this skin gives the appearance of a headgear, which is precisely what is represented on adornos as the distinctive head extension.

These arguments are summarized in figure 38, which illustrates the degree of similarity between image type I adorno and an actual sea turtle, while also demonstrating the formal transformation by which the more conventional adorno was achieved. This is especially apparent when looking at the tracing of the photograph of a green turtle's face compared to an actual Saladoid adorno from St. Vincent; similarities more than outweigh the differences.

Similarities are also evident between turtle bodies, and various formal attributes also noted above on adorno torsos. This is the case for distinctive wing-like incised motifs found on torso sides where the symmetrical decorations of both sides of the

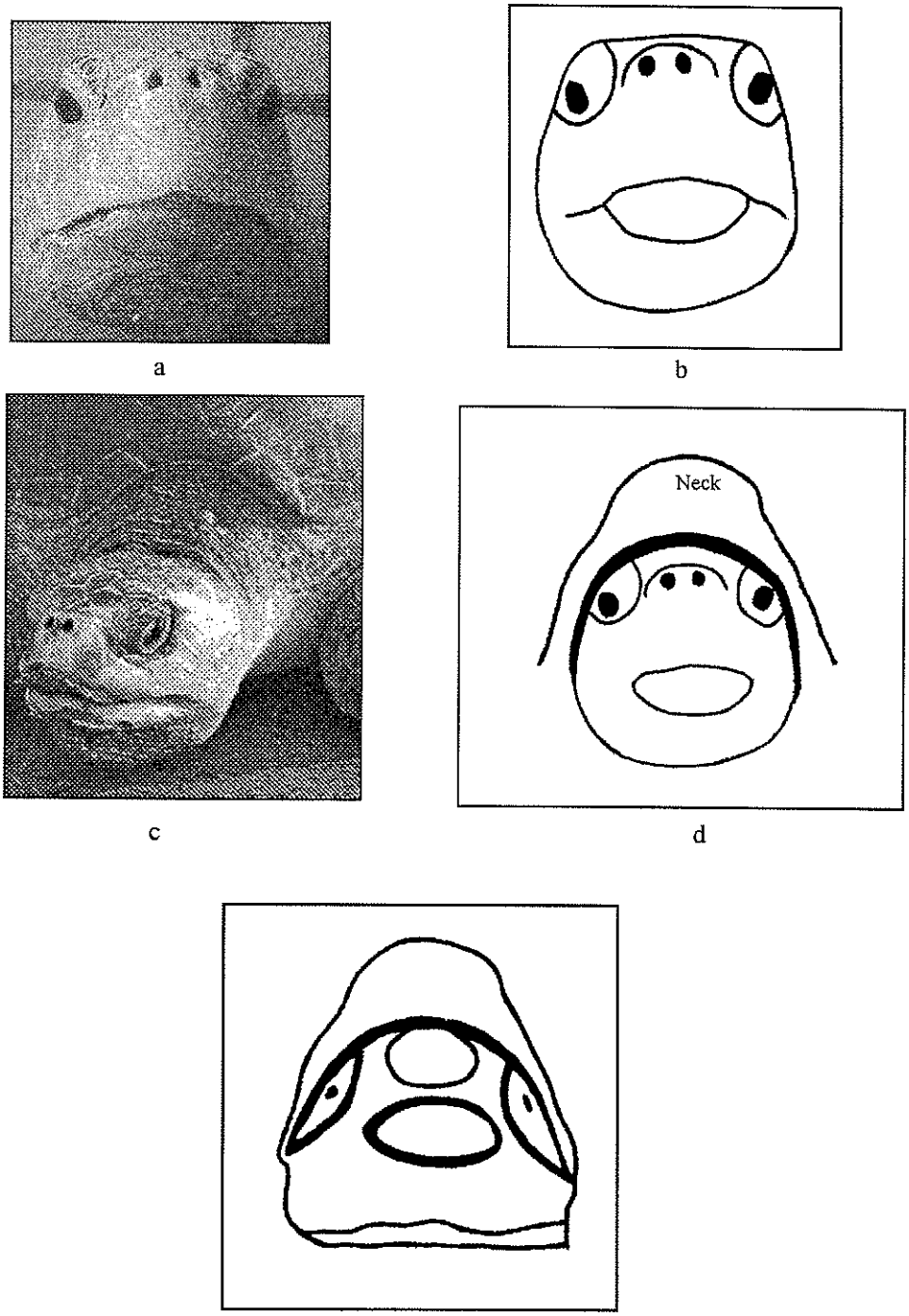


Figure 38. Representation of a turtle: *a, c*, actual pictures; *b*, tracing of the picture; *d*, tracing of neck added; and *e*, actual adorno from St. Vincent.

torsos consists of curvilinear incisions, or raised pellets (figs. 13 e-g; 14 a-b, e; Pl. 3 e-g; 4 a, c-d). These wing-like motifs, which are also observed on Martinique adornos, have been associated with the wings of bats, and the pellets with the first digits of the fruit eating bat (*Artibeus jamaicencis jamaicencis*) by Henry Petitjean Roget (1975, 1976b). But symmetrical designs placed on either side of adorno torsos should also be expected if sea turtles are the represented animals. Depictions of turtle limbs in Saladoid adornos often appear wing-like, because of the paddle-shaped flippers. Indeed, flippers also display a sharp, horny claw on the anterior margin, present in at least three of the four species of sea turtles found near St. Vincent (figs. 36 a, b, d). Flippers can even have one or two of these claws which in males are more strongly developed because of their functional role in holding the female during copulation (Marquez 1990:6). Looking now at the motifs found on the sides of torsos of image type I adornos (fig. 9), we find that they are similar to the paddle-like flippers and their claws as observed on most sea turtles of the Caribbean.

Decoration consisting of incised designs, clay pellets, excision, and perforations can also observed on the lower central area of the torsos (figs. 9, 12e, 13 c, g, 14 a, d-e, 16a; Pl. 2e; Pl. 2e, 3 e, g, 6a). The anatomy of the lower and central regions of the plastron in adult turtles offers little analogy with these decorative features. In young hatchlings, however, a distinctive spherical yolk sac remains in the lower central area of their plastron, very much in a navel position, to provide nourishment for a short time period after birth (Bustard 1972:107). After the yolk sac has disappeared, it leaves a small opening between the scutes, or horny shield covering the plastron

(Marquez 1990:9), which closes with age (fig. 39) (Carr 1952:386). It is therefore tempting to speculate that the perforations, excisions, and pellets observed on the torsos of St. Vincent adornos may be representations of this particular biological phenomenon in immature sea turtles, and that the adornos may be depictions of juvenile specimens.

The placement of the adorno on the vessel rim will also provide more evidence for the identification of the type as turtles. From fragments and more complete museum specimens, it is possible to determine that vessel shapes associated with Type I adornos are nearly always relatively large shallow open vessels. It has been noted that the orientation of the adorno on the rim always faces inward towards the orifice. This particularity gives the vessel the appearance of a turtle lying on its back, with the head raised to look across the inside of its plastron (H. Petitjean Roget 1975: Planche 30-32). Many Saladoid keeled vessels are unmistakably similar in appearance to turtle carapaces.

Just as different forms can represent the same image, different images can have the same identity. This appears to be the case with image type III, which is represented by formal Types IIB1, IIB2a and IIC1, and also represents a more naturalistic depiction of sea turtles. The most diagnostic formal feature supporting this identification is the collar, depicted by either a plain or punctated clay band placed on the neck, or simply by a row of dashes placed in the same general area of the neck.

This adorno type has long been associated with sea turtles in the literature (Reichlen and Barret 1941:108; H. Petitjean Roget 1975:180; Fewkes 1922:121), but

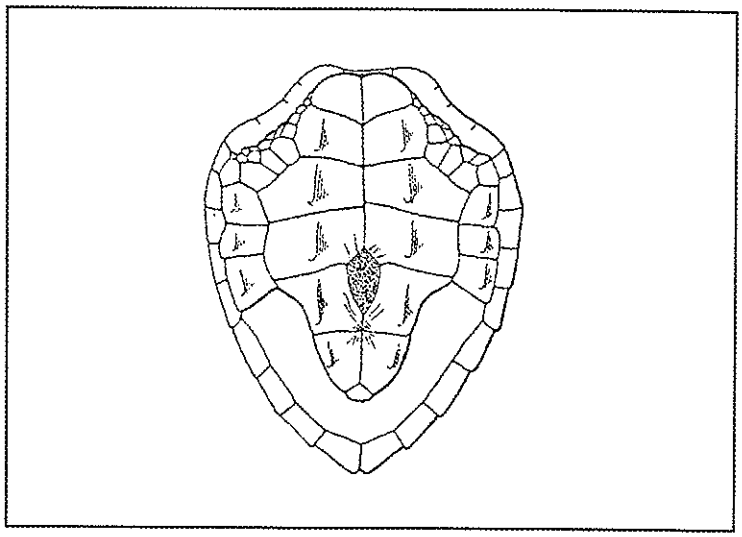


Figure 39. Plastron of immature loggerhead sea turtle showing the unfused scutes.

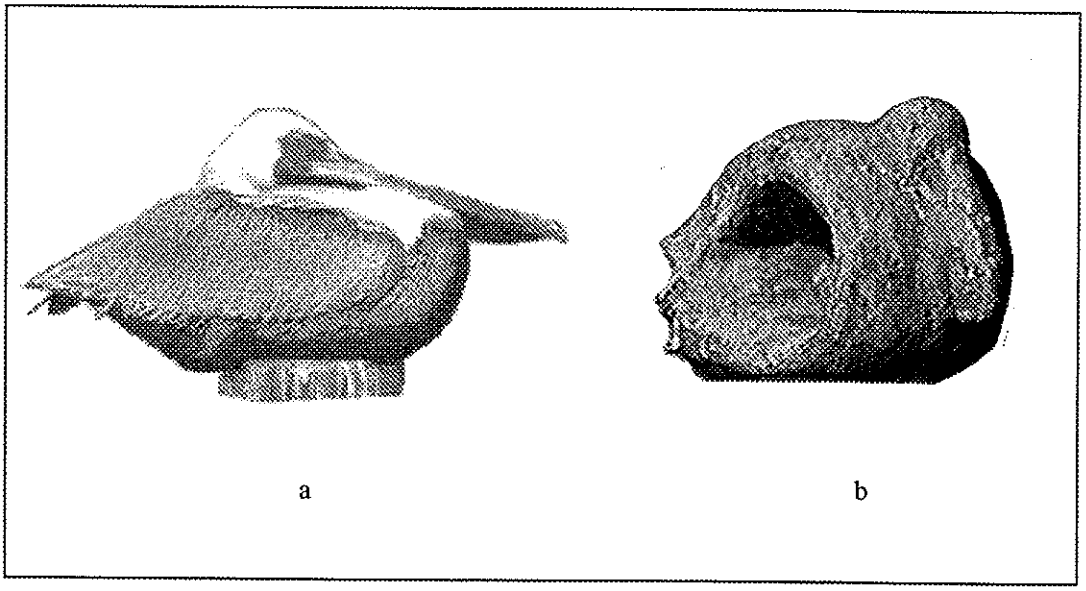


Figure 40. Similarity in form between a resting brown pelican,*Pelicanus occidentalis*, *a*, and an actual adorno from St. Vincent, *b*.

without proper justification. All sea turtles when viewed in profile show the neck below the precentral scute as thicker in diameter than the head; because the skin of the neck compacts when the head is retracted, it gives the appearance of concentric circle segments (figs. 36-37). It is therefore this same skin feature which is depicted on the neck area of image type III adornos, also observed on some image type I of the Early Saladoid period, in the Lesser Antilles. These representations consist of a combination of the head extension and the clay band, or flat decoration placed below the head, both depicting the thick skin of the neck, as exemplified by specimens from the Early Saladoid sites of Fond Brulé and Vivé In Martinique (MDM 1991:41 A12).

The eyes on image type III adornos are represented in all instances by bulging, semi-spherical shapes, with central punctated or horizontally incised pupils; raised mouths are nearly always lacking, or are represented by a long incision, also representing the lips and dividing the lower jaw from the mandible. Nostrils, when present, are simply depicted by two punctates, and noses are otherwise almost always absent. These traits show that sea turtle facial features are indeed very similar, albeit not always identical, to those seen on image type III. Few of these features have been conventionalized, possibly because the depictions of the model were done from the profile; only from such an angle do eyes retain their circular shapes and mouths appear as incised lines (fig. 37).

(2) Lizards

Two anoli lizard species of the Lesser Antilles are endemic to St. Vincent: the *Anolis trinitatus*, and the *Anolis griseus*, which is most common on coastal regions

(CCA 1991:55; Lazell 1972). Larger lizards such as the iguana (*Iguana delicatissima)* were also common in the Lesser Antilles before the coming of the Europeans (Pinchon 1971:118). Facial characteristics on images of type V are similar to those observed on these two lizards. This lizard image is represented by the formal Type IIC2, and consists of only four specimens (figs. d-g; Pl. 16 d-g). The most telling feature supporting a lizard identity is the shape of the head. Lizards have cylindrical heads that taper towards the snout, with almond-shaped eyes protruding slightly from the head. They also have large mouths and two nostrils located on the tip of the snout above the mouth (Pinchon 1971:Pl. XLI).

Formal features observed on adornos of image type V include a distinctive cylindrical head with a tapering snout, eyes represented by semi-spherical shapes with horizontally incised pupils, and punctates as nostrils. An additional characteristic attribute is the long incision representing the lips separating the mandible from the maxilla. The naturalistic adorno representing lizards is evident just by looking at figures 26 d-f and Plate 16 d-f. In ancient Panama cultures lizards were depicted with teeth, a feature that carried important connotations associated with chiefship (Helms 1977:96). No such evidence is present for the adornos from St. Vincent.

(3) Pelicans

Of the 210 adornos from St. Vincent in the study collection, 22 (10.4 percent) are readily identifiable as pelicans. This is especially true of the distinctive facial features and overall appearance of adornos of image type III, consisting of formal Types IIIA1 and IIIA2, with their long beaks on loop handles, long identified as

pelicans in the literature (Josselin de Jong 1947). The brown pelican (*Pelecanus occidentalis*) is the only pelican species found in the Lesser Antilles. Pelicans are large birds with long necks and bodies reaching lengths between 105 and 140 cm (Evans 1990:23; Bond 1983:23-24). Pelicans are migratory birds that can nest in any season, with the normal nesting period between March and July (Evans 1990:24). Spending most of their days on the water, eating, brown pelicans fly at sunset to islands where they spend the night (Stone 1989:14). Presently, their number in the Caribbean has diminished due to human activity and use of pesticides (Evans 1990:24), but the pelican population in the Lesser Antilles prior to 1656 must have been considerable. Even then, however, they experienced fluctuations as recorded by Southey (1827:10) who reports that "[t]here was a remarkable mortality, this year [1656], among the Gosiers or Pelicans: all the shores of the islands of St. Lucie, St. Vincent's, Bequia, and all the Grenadines, were edged with their bodies". The significance of this observation suggests that a large migratory pelican population was present during Saladoid times.

Distinctive anatomical features of the brown pelican include a long conical beak, curving slightly towards the body at the end, and round, somewhat bulging eyes; when resting or swimming, the beak lies along the curved neck giving it a rounded appearance (fig. 40a). Adornos of image type III are thus more or less naturalistic representations retaining both the form of eyes and beak. The adorno eyes are raised and semi-spherical, with punctates as pupils. The beak is conical in shape tapering from the head down towards the tip, and the separation between the lower and upper

beak depicted by an incision. The round appearance of resting pelicans is ingeniously reproduced by Saladoid artist through the placement of pelican adornos on loop handles (figs. 40 a, b), where the loop handle represents the body of the pelican with the head judiciously placed to create the pelican appearance. The resemblance is unmistakable. Unfortunately, the shape of the vessel on which pelican adornos have been placed is difficult to determine from the fragmentary nature of the data.

(4) Parrots

Another type of bird frequently represented on adornos by the Saladoid artists in the Lesser Antilles is the parrot. Indeed, St. Vincent is renowned for its unique parrot (*Amazona guildingii)* which still lives today on the island primarily in the undisturbed rain forest along the Buccament, Colonarie, and Cumberland rivers (CCA 1991:55), while it has long disappeared from most other islands. This distinctive endemic bird has "a mainly white or yellow head with patches of violet on the sides and back of the head, wings of mainly golden brown but edged with green, a yellow speculum and purplish primaries" (Evans 1990:77).

Facial features observed on the St. Vincent parrot consist of a relatively short curving beak typical of parrots in general, showing two distinctive nostrils placed at the top of the beak; lateral eyes are circular and bulging. Unlike the long beaks of pelicans that appear to blend with the head, parrot beaks are clearly demarcated between the head and the beak (Bond 1983:32).

Image type VII, consisting of formal Type IIIB, certainly displays the relatively naturalistic formal attributes similar to parrot facial features described above. Adornos

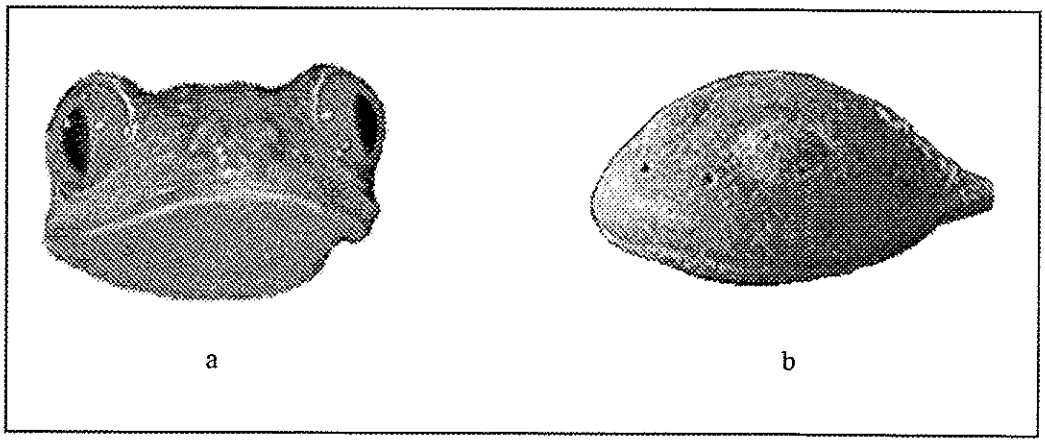


Figure 41. Picture of a frog, *a*, and an actual adorno from St. Vincent, *b*.

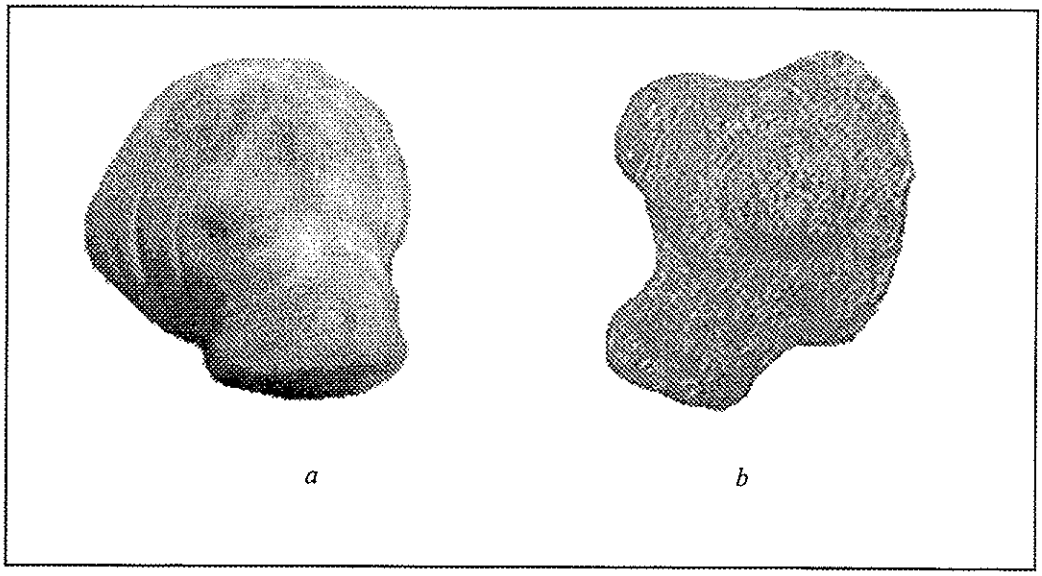


Figure 42. Picture of the West Indian manatee, *Trichechus manatus*, *a*, and an actural adorno from St. Vincent, *b*.

of this image type have small curving beaks, nostrils are depicted by two punctates placed near the top of the beak, and in most cases, an incision separates the beak from the head (figs. 29 c, e-f; Pl. 21 f-g). One adorno (fig. 29f; Pl. 21g) has a small punctated cylindrical appendage on either end of the top of the beak, which can be construed as an exaggerated representation of a parrot's nostrils, since slight bulges are observed around the nostrils of live specimens. Depictions of parrots are observed on other islands in the Lesser Antilles, including Trinidad, (Bulbrook 1953), Carriacou (Fewkes, 1922), Martinique (Petitjean Roget 1975), and Antigua (Nicholson 1974).

(5) Other birds

Adornos of image type IX appear to resemble a variety of birds with small beaks. Aside from parrots, there are many other bird species that inhabit St. Vincent (CCA 1991:55; Bond 1983:48), but it is more difficult to find similarities between facial attributes observed on these birds and the somewhat simplified adornos of image type V. The problem is that despite its bird-like appearance, image type V may still in fact be portraying turtles, more specifically hawksbills or loggerheads with their distinctive but ambiguous beak-like mouths that appear remarkably bird-like in shape (figs. 37 b, c).

In this context, it is interesting to note that one additional adorno image (fig. 35e; Pl. 27e) may possibly depict an owl, similar to an adorno found by Sutty (1976b) at the Miss Pierre site on Union Island in the Grenadines. The characteristic features noticeable on owls, more specifically the Stygian Owl (*Asio stygius)*, and Jamaican Owl (*Pseudoscops grammicus)* (Bond 1983:122-123), found in the West Indies, are the

large concentric depression surrounding each eye and the two small ears projecting upward from the head and placed relatively in front of the face, as seems to be the case for the adorno from St. Vincent. Adornos identified as owls can be seen on display at the Martinique archaeological museum, supporting a greater distribution of this image.

Three stylized adornos (figs. 27 c-d; Pl. 17 d-e) could also be considered to represent two different birds, although this interpretation is intuitive since there are no similarities with any of the actual birds of the Lesser Antilles or South America.

(6) Frogs

The importance of frogs and toads in prehistoric art, and especially pottery decoration, has been documented for both South America (Wassen 1934), and the Saladoid in the West Indies (H. Petitjean Roget 1975; 1976a). It might, therefore, be expected that some adornos from St. Vincent would be frog or toad representations, as both frogs and toads are common on the island, including the Marine Toad (*Bufo marinus*), the ubiquitous Tree Frog (*Eleutherodactylus jonstonei* and *E. urichi*), and the Pond Frog (*Leptodactylus wagneri*) (CCA 1991:50). Yet, only one image type unmistakably depicts frogs. Image type X is represented by formal Type IVB, and consists of five specimens. One identifying feature of frogs is the distinctive shape of the wide, short, and plano-convex head. Other characteristics include two bulging eyes located on the top of the head, two round nostrils placed slightly lower or on the same level with the eyes, and, perhaps more specifically, the unusually large and wide mouth. These features appear to have been well reproduced in the naturalistic-looking

image type X (fig. 41). The cultural significance of the frog theme is attested by its appearance in Taino myths, often associated with fertility (Stevens-Arroyo 1988:162).

(7) Small Mammals

There is no doubt that on St. Vincent, the most common mammal is the bat, and while it was represented in art, as evidenced by the mask-like appendage on the famous large Saladoid incense-burner from Arnos Vale, now housed in the St. Vincent museum (Kirby and Wall 1978), bats are not commonly represented as adornos on the island. Other small mammals present on St. Vincent and in the Lesser Antilles, including the rice rat, agouti and manicou, could not be associated with any of the Saladoid adornos from St. Vincent.

Another single adorno image that is not part of an image type as defined above, shows an unusual snout-like nose with two nares, as well as spherical eyes; it is unique for the incised triangular feature filled with punctations that covers its forehead above the eyes (fig. 31c; Pl. 23c). No animal on St. Vincent, or the Lesser Antilles, exhibits such facial characteristics. We have to look to the Amazonian area to find a species of porcupine, the Brown Dwarf Porcupine (*Coendou vestitus*) (Emmons 1990:201, Plate 28(6)) with such a triangular pattern of facial spines, likely represented as punctations on this unique adorno.

(8) Manatees

The manatee is a large Caribbean sea mammal that can measure between 2.5 to 4.5 m in length and weigh as much as 600 kg (Husar 1977:1). The West Indian manatee *(Trichecus manatus)* is found today from Florida to Central America and

South America, as well as the Greater Antilles. That it was also exploited for food may be deduced from its presence in the archaeological context at the Vive site on Martinique (Mattioni 1979:51). There is no record of manatees having been seen in the waters surrounding St. Vincent during historic times, but their presence in the Lesser Antilles is amply documented (Husar 1977:5, Figure 3).

The main characteristic feature of the West Indian manatee is its unique broad and short, cone-like head, ending with a stubby snout, very similar in form to sea lion heads. Facial characteristics include two small eyes placed on either side of the face, two round nostrils placed relatively close to one another at the end of the snout, which closes while the animal is submerged to prevent water from entering the lungs (Husar 1977).

Image type VIII, represented by formal type IIIC, is a naturalistic representation of a manatee. As seen in figure 42, the heads are depicted with the characteristic short stubby snout showing very close similarities with facial features noted on actual manatees, with the exception of the eyes which on adornos have large semi-spherical forms compared with the small eyes of the manatee. However, a close examination of the manatee face reveals that while the eyes are indeed small they are surrounded by a circular swellings that stands out from the face. These inflated circular forms are depicted as eyes on the adornos of image type VIII.

(9) Primates

Monkeys are common in the Amazonian area of South America, where they are often hunted for food. Although monkeys were absent from the prehistoric West

Indies, they may have been depicted on some Saladoid adornos from St. Vincent. For instance, image type XI represented by formal Type VA1 is more naturalistic, showing similarities to monkeys with its flat broad face, and the large mouth. In one case, two rectangular protrusions on either side of the face may tentatively be compared with the characteristic facial hair of the common howler monkey (Emmons 1990: Pl. 13) (fig. 34b; Pl. 26b). It is interesting to note that another adorno of image type XII (fig. 35c; Pl. 27c) may also exhibit similarities with the Amazonian Brown Bearded Saki Monkey (*Chiropotes satanus*), a formidable creature as its scientific name indicates, with its dark face, and horn-like "crown hair growing from a whorl forward and sideward into two large tufts with sharp part on midline; tufts much larger in males than females supported by enlarged mounds of muscle on temples" (Emmons 1991:121, Plate 12). These tufts, along with the triangular nose and small eyes, appear to be represented in this adorno with two lateral pellets on the top of the head. These features are also in evidence on the two remaining adornos of this image type, perhaps also depicting monkeys, albeit less naturalistically.

Because the degree of naturalism appears to vary from one representation to the next, it is difficult to make with certainty the distinction between humans and monkeys, especially in formal Type VA2. For instance, one more or less anthropomorphic adorno with an open mouth, in particular (fig. 34h; Pl. 26h), may be a depiction of either a human, or a monkey in the process of howling. Otherwise, there remains only one clear anthropomorphic depiction in the collection; it is portrayed with the characteristic triangular nose, almond-shaped eyes, and anatomically

correct human ears (fig. 35d; Pl. 27d). Naturalistic anthropomorphic representations are not common in Saladoid adornos of the Lesser Antilles; human face adornos will, however, later become more typical of the late prehistoric Suazey culture (Allaire 1997).

(10) Fish

Coral reef environments in tropical islands offer an extraordinary variety of fishes, with as much as 250 tons of fish per square kilometre (De Carli 1978:200). Many of these fishes share a common form when viewed from the front; two eyes placed on either side of a somewhat elongated face, an extended mouth, and two nares placed at the same level as the eyes (De Carli 1978:202-211). At least tentatively, one species in particular, the Powder-blue Surgeon fish (*Acanthurus leucosternon*), may be similar in profile and attributes to a unique adorno image (fig. 27e; Pl. 17f) which shows an extended mouth, two large eyes placed on either side of the face, highly placed external olfactory organs, and a cylindrical form extending from the top of the head and onto a handle, possibly depicting the dorsal fin which, in the surgeon fish, stands apart in its bright yellow colouring (De Carli 1978:207).

Gender and Age

The traditional search for primary meaning in iconographical analysis also addresses such issues as gender and age on human or animal representations. Animals represented on Saladoid adornos are difficult, if not impossible, to approach from these viewpoints. There is certainly no clear indication of gender, such as sexual organs, on any of the adornos from the St. Vincent collection, nor in Saladoid art in general.

In the case of turtle gender in adornos one may argue for the depiction of females; this interpretation is based upon their reproductive behaviour. As previously noted, only female sea turtles come ashore at night to lay their eggs; as a consequence, it is reasonable to assume that they were frequently and easily captured. As a consequence, females would have provided the main natural models for the Saladoid artists (who, based on contemporaneous analogies from the Amazon, are likely to have been women). As discussed above, one may also argue that turtle adornos depicted juvenile individuals, based on their decorated front resembling the unfused plastron observed on immature sea turtles (fig. 39) (Carr 1952:386). This would suggest that young turtles were captured while either feeding during the day, or sleeping at night in the shallow waters of the coral reefs, for their more tender meat. If this were indeed the case, we could not assume that turtle adornos are female representations because females would have had to be mature individuals of reproductive age.

Expression and Movement

Despite their conventional and minimal style of representation, Saladoid adornos nevertheless convey an amazing variety of expressions, which are also the subject of pre-iconographical analysis. Turtle adornos, especially, are depicted mostly with a raised semi-ovoid mouth which is divided longitudinally by an incision representing the mouth. This combination of features gives the adorno an undeniable individuality, often conveying expressions associated with sadness, or with a pouting or haughty appearance. Indeed, the distinctively pursed ovoid mouths of Type I adornos are suggestive of the typical "pouting, saturnine mouth, like a pessimistic

philosopher or a disgruntled politician" (Elkins 1996:170). In fact, a similar range of expressions is even also evident in pictures of live turtles (see Barbour 1976:12).

Any evidence suggestive of movement is absent in the Saladoid adornos of St. Vincent. There is, however, some indication of the anatomical position of some animals depicted by the adornos. For instance, the overall appearance of turtle adonrnos when attached to a vessel, is one in which the animal is depicted on its back, or carapace, a position which has implications with regards to possible human behaviour associated with methods of animal restraint. Pelican adornos appear to be depicted as motionless, perhaps in a position characteristic of night rest (fig. 40a).

In sum, the pre-iconography of Saladoid adorno images from St. Vincent reveals a series of major image types, with the sea turtle as a dominant theme. Unique adorno images, also depicting a variety of land and sea animals, not only from the island's environment but possibly also from mainland South America. The fact that many adornos are observed to display a variety of expressions, and that their positioning on the vessel is an accurate replica of the natural model, suggest a cultural significance that goes beyond pure form and aesthetics. This level of analysis belongs to both Iconography proper, and Iconology, which will be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII

ICONOGRAPHY AND ICONOLOGY:

THE SEARCH FOR INTRINSIC MEANING

Conventional Meaning

Under ideal circumstances, determining the secondary or conventional meaning of an image in iconographic analysis (Panofsky 1955) involves the use of literary documents written by the people who created the images. However, this type of evidence is impossible to apply to most types of archaeological studies, including Saladoid images, since written records do not exist for such a distant prehistoric past. To circumvent this obstacle, secondary meanings may be determined indirectly from an archaeological viewpoint, by a method fundamental to archaeological interpretation, the use of analogy. In the context of Saladoid archaeology, analogy will involve the first eye-witness accounts concerning the historic peoples of the West Indies, essentially the Island Carib tribes who occupied the Lesser Antilles including St. Vincent, and the Tainos, a chiefdom level society that occupied the Greater Antilles. The Tainos may be the most significant because they may be considered to be more direct descendants of the Saladoid peoples based on archaeological evidence (Rouse 1992), whereas the Caribs were more likely recent intruders in the islands from South

America (Allaire 1997).

The cultural connection between the ancient Saladoid peoples (who did occupy the Greater Antilles as far as eastern Hispaniola) and the more recent Tainos is argued on the basis of similarities within the images depicted in their art. These basic themes may be traced back to a common mythological background involving similar characters, and having a comparable symbolic significance to original cultures in their common South American homeland (Roe 1997). Although temporally separated by nearly 1000 years, similarities have been observed between Saladoid and Taino archaeological remains. In both cultures, adornos remain an important element in pottery decoration, albeit of different style and representations, while still exhibiting some similarities to the animals identified for Saladoid adornos such as sea turtles, pelicans, and frogs (Arrom 1997:72; Roe 1997:128, 132, 136-137). Similarities are also observed in other artifacts, more especially in the unique Taino three-pointed stone carvings whose origins date to the Saladoid occupation of the Lesser Antilles (McGinnis 1997:98). These carved artifacts along with platform figurines, vomiting spatulas, and a diversified ceremonial paraphernalia endowed with supernatural powers (the latter lacking in Saladoid artifacts), were associated with the distinctive cult and worship among the Tainos of *zemis*, an expression assigned to the spirits of nature and their ancestors whom they represented in various images of wood, stone, shell, bone, or clay,-- including pottery adornos, -- and through which they gained supernatural power (Rouse 1948), and which characterized their religious practices and beliefs (Siegel 1997:106). Taino ceremonial activities of ritual clensing used the narcotic

cohoba powder which was inhaled with bone or shell tubes or ceramic vessels equipped with two hollow nostril spouts (Alegria 1997:24). Similar artifacts have also been recovered from Saladoid sites (Rouse 1992:118-119). In addition to these archaeological similarities between the Saladoid and the Taino, Rouse (1992) also advocates a common Arawakan language and a common biological ancestry for the two groups.

The Tainos' culture and society have been relatively well documented in the chronicles of the early Spanish exploration and colonization of the Greater Antilles, by Columbus' own accounts, or such authors as Bishop Las Casas and Oviedo (Rouse 1992:148-149; Rodriguez 1997:80; Petitjean Roget 1997:100). It is Friar Ramon Pane, however, a simple cleric whom Columbus himself instructed to record the Taino religious beliefs, who is the major source for Taino religion and mythology (Pane, in Keen 1959:153).

The original Taino mythological narratives recorded by Pane (in Keen 1959:153-165), as well as more recent interpretations by Arrom (1977; 1997), Loven (1935), Oliver (1992), and Stevens-Arroyo (1988), offer us a glimpse of Taino mythological characters which may have also been significant during Saladoid times. Turtle characters in Taino myths are certainly quite limited. The turtle is prominent, in the creation myth that explains the origins of the ocean, fish, and the turtle at the hands of twin brothers. As recorded by Pane (in Keen 1959:156-157), the myth recounts

> a story in which a son Yayel wished to kill his father Yaya, but

> when the later found out he banished Yayel for four months. Yaya killed Yayel upon his return and placed his bones in a calabash which he hung from the ceiling of his hut. One day while examining the calabash for her son's remains, Yaya's wife turned the container upside down and out came a large amount of fish which she and her husband consumed. While Yayel was working in his field one day, four twin sons visited the hut and wanted to take the calabash down from the ceiling but were afraid of it. Eventually one of the twins, Deminan Caracaracol, which means scabby, took down the container and all began eating the fish until they heard Yayel returning from the field. In their haste, the container was dropped, and as it broke, water came out in such a quantity that it filled the earth. Scared at this sight the twins ran away until they reached the house of a man called Basamanaco, who was in possession of cassava. Caracaracol entered the house and asked for the bread, but instead Basamanaco threw at Caracaracol a container of cohoba, a powder inhaled through the nose with hollow tubes for ritualistic purging. Upon rejoining his brothers, Caracaracol told them of the ordeal and complained of great pain where he was struck in the shoulder. As the brothers examined their brother's shoulder they noticed it had swollen a great deal and continued to grow in size to the point of almost killing Caracaracol. The brothers tried to cut it open without success until they used a stone hatchet to open the sore from which a female turtle emerged. They then built a hut and fed the female turtle.

Although turtles appear as characters in Taino myths, there is no mention of any names associated with them. Nonetheless, the emergence of a female turtle from the back of Caracaracol must invariably have a major cultural significance to the Taino people; some authors, among them Arrom (1997:68), and Stevens-Arroyo (1988:130), have characterized it as the "New Eve" in Taino cosmology.

The origin of the female turtle is vividly recaptured in a Taino effigy vessel depicting Caracaracol with a relatively large and decorated semi-spherical growth on his back resembling a turtle carapace (Stevens-Arroyo 1988:128, Figure 6; Arevalo 1977). Turtle images are present in Taino art, as a stone mortar (Roe 1997:132), stone

sculpture, stone ball game collar, wooden platform figurine, and ceramic effigy vessels (Arrom 1997:70-72). There are interesting similarities between certain motifs used in Saladoid turtle iconography and representations seen on many Taino three-pointed stone *zemis*. The most important similarity concerns the head extension and the sculpted fore-limbs which have often been identified as frog-like (Oliver 1992:25), but which may also resemble the neck and flippers of sea turtles. Indeed, one particular example of a reptilian three-pointed stone zemi has an uncanny resemblance to turtles (Fewkes 1970:118, Fig. 18).

Even more so than turtles, birds are another major theme in Taino art, in some instances occurring in conjunction with turtles (Pons de Alegria 1983:44). Long beaked marine birds are represented on different religious or ceremonial artifacts, such as platform figurines and vomiting sticks used in purging ceremonies (Pons De Alegria 1983:43, 44, and 82; Roe 1997:136-137), as well as three-pointed stone zemis (for instance, Fewkes 1970:PL XLIII b, c; PL XLIX; McGinnis 1997:97).

Iconology of the Turtle Images

Iconology, which is the third step in the iconographical analysis, will seek to interpret the intrinsic meaning or content of adornos revealing in the process the fundamental principles of Saladoid world view. As defined by Munro (1970:49), "*iconology* is the analysis and history of symbolism in art, including the identification of represented contents and the interpretation of general conceptions implied". In effect, the approach in archaeology is also essentially comparative, involving the discovery of similar images within other aspects of the culture, in this case examining

painted or incised pottery decorations, and the symbolic forms associated with other activities, such as burial practices and architecture from archaeological remains recovered from Saladoid sites in the Lesser Antilles.

As already established in the previous chapter, it is now apparent that sea turtles were the most popular and diverse animal theme represented in the Saladoid style. These animals must have had a considerable importance as symbolic representations and cultural significance among this prehistoric people. Image types identified with animals other than sea turtles cannot be totally ignored; to do so would lead to a failure to observe and understand the Saladoid culture as a whole. Based on the frequencies of turtle images represented by adornos and their occurrence in other cultural realms, it is apparent that Saladoid peoples gave more significance to sea turtles above all animals. Indeed, we will find that turtles, beyond religion and myths, were associated with all major spheres of human existence: food, shelter, and death.

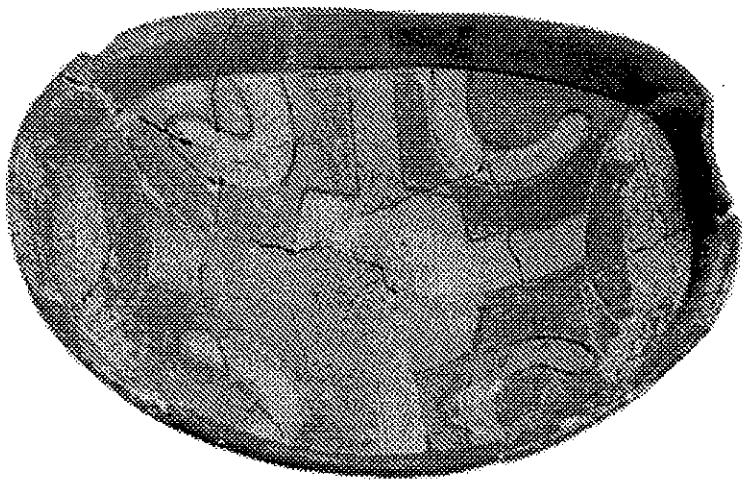
Saladoid turtle images, besides adornos, also occur frequently as two-dimensional painted and/or incised decoration, as well as complete effigy vessels. The main characteristics of these containers is that their shapes seem to depict the characteristic shape of the turtle carapace. The typical Saladoid ceramic style consists mostly of composite or "bell shaped" vessels (Rouse 1992; Allaire 1997:22), including deeper keeled cooking pots, and especially, in the Late Saladoid style, the "vasques", which are shallow circular basins (Mattioni 1979:24) (the word "vasque" in French designates a type of basin found on fountains where water flows around the curved edges). The upper part has a curved flange-like rim which in fact is the compressed

upper part of a keeled or bell-shaped vessel which is often associated with a turtle adorno. Typically, the surface of the convex flange displays a decoration consisting of a fine incised design of folded lines representative of the limbs of a turtle (Mattioni 1976:12; 1979:34 Figure 12; H. Petitjean Roget 1975: Planche 73, 77).

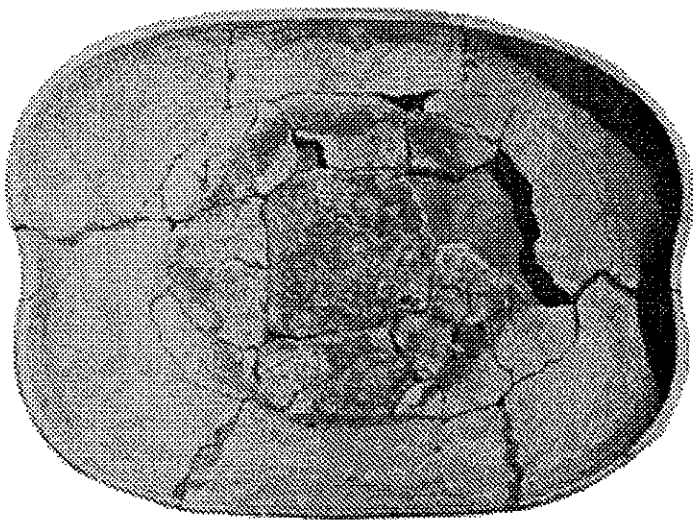
In overall appearance, carinated vessels strikingly resemble an upside down turtle carapace, as when turtles are turned on their backs, a position in which live turtles are rendered immobile after their capture while kept around before butchering following the removal of the plastron. This is especially true of the vasque basins (H. Petitjean Roget 1975:Planche 92) which placed upside down on the ground appears turtle-like with its flange resembling the slight outwardly curved shape of the carapace edge (Bustard 1972:Photographs 2/3 c and g).

Figure 43b, however, shows a simple oval shallow bowl from St. Vincent (Bullen and Bullen 1972:Pl. XXXII) illustrating its likeness to the turtle carapace, not only in its oval shape but also in its characteristic indentation of the rim at the shorter end which may be interpreted as the end of the precentral scute just above the turtle's head, observed in all species of sea turtles (figs. 36-37). Similar vessels are also found on Martinique (H. Petitjean Roget 1977:Pl. 29) (fig. 43a).

Painted and incised designs placed on both interior and exterior of Saladoid ceramic vessels, such as the incised vasques rims mentioned above, often bear a close resemblance to turtles (fig. 44). The general structure of these designs is made to look like turtles viewed from the front with the characteristic dome-like shape of the carapace. The diagnostic Saladoid white-on-red painted decoration often shows the



a



b

Figure 43. Unrestricted oval shallow bowl.
a, Musee Departemental D'archeologie 1991:74.
b, Bullen and Bullen 1972:119.

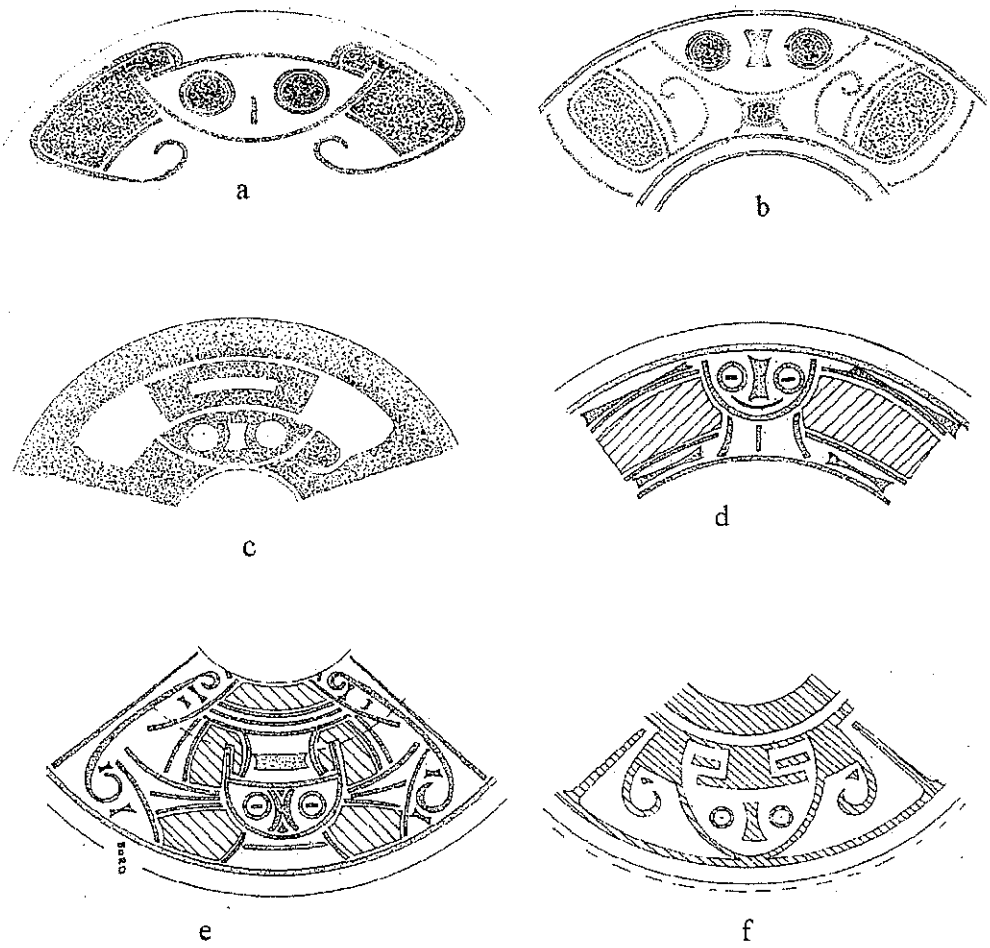


Figure 44. Painted and incised designs resembling turtles (from H. Petitjean Roget 1975: Planches 72-75, 78-79).

semi-circular and oval heads with large circular eyes and hourglass noses, centred in front of a carapace with scroll-like "hooks" or claws depicting either the turtle flippers or defining the turtle carapace (fig. 44) (H. Petitjean Roget 1975:Planches. 73-75). It is important to point out that although some depictions of turtles appear schematic they still retain some identifiable features; this is clear, for instance, on figure 44e where painting is used to depict the carapace and front flippers to give it the characteristic turtle shape.

Similar designs are also found incised on the exterior of the distinctive hollow cylindrical ceramic artifacts known as incense burners which are unique to Saladoid pottery (Allaire 1997:24), Such an incised ceramic cylinder from Fond Brulé in Martinique (MDD 1991:61, C17) displays a circular noseless head showing two circular eyes with punctates for pupils, and an ovoid mouth with an incised lip, similar in contour to the mouths on the adornos of formal Type I. The incised head is framed by another incised circle, creating a band around the head which may be interpreted as representing the collar depicted on type IIB1 adornos. Aside from painted designs, mention should be made of the common tabular handles often attached to early Saladoid vessels; they are also incised with designs identifiable as sea turtles (fig. 45).

Dwellings

Both rectangular and oval houses of wood and thatch were built by the Tainos (Versteeg and Schinkel 1992). Rectangular houses were occupied by commoners, whereas oval buildings were reserved for caciques, or chiefs, and considered spiritual houses. As Stevens-Arroyo (1988:129) interestingly remarks, the oval dwelling of a

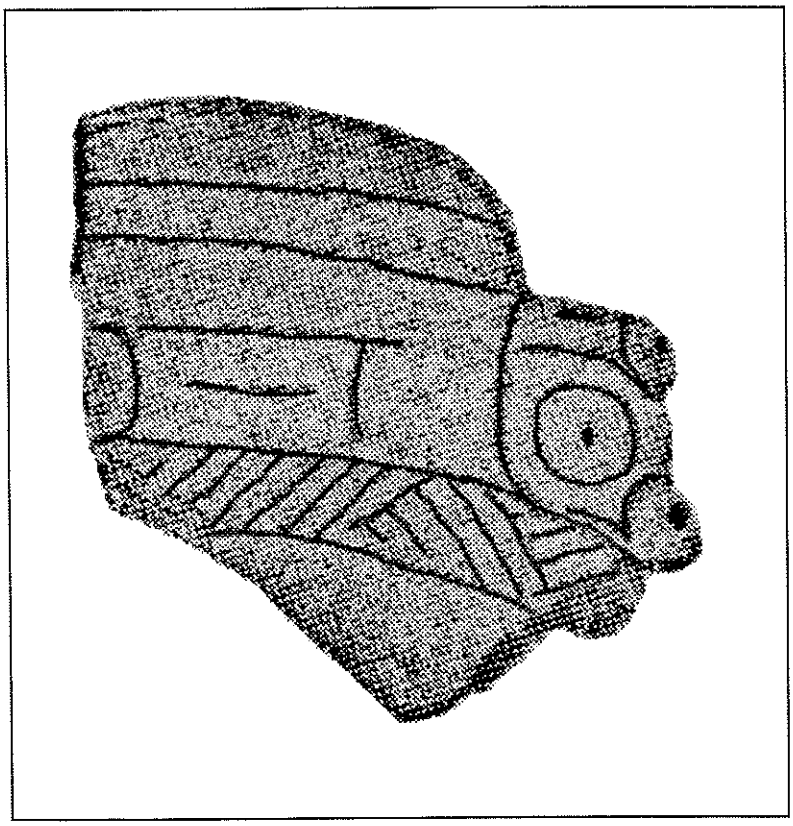


Figure 45. Flat tabular extension depicting a leatherback turtle (from d'Harcourt 1952 PL.XXXII, 12).

caciques "corresponds to the turtle shell, which is also oval". This is precisely what recent archaeological research at Golden Rock, a Saladoid site on St. Eustatius in the Leeward Islands, has revealed. There, a unique house floor suggesting in design a sea turtle carapace was reconstructed by Versteeg and Schinkel (1992:195-196) from posthole features. When mapped, the postholes of this particular structure outlined two concentric circles with additional five postholes placed radially from the main structure. In appearance, the structure has been compared by its excavators to the skeleton of a hawksbill turtle, with the five extra postholes depicting the four limbs and the head (fig. 46 a-d). While this interpretation is still a working hypothesis, it nevertheless suggests that sea turtles possessed a deeper symbolic significance than was previously considered. The idea is further reinforced by the discovery at Golden Rock of two caches containing the remains of Hawksbill turtles (Versteeg and Schinkel 1992).

Burials

Although outside the Caribbean area proper, early examples of turtle shells placed over buried human remains have been uncovered at the preceramic Malmok Cemetery site on the Dutch island of Aruba, 30 km off the coast of western Venezuela, where carapaces of the green turtle, one measuring approximately 80 x 100 cm, along with large stones had been placed over both male and female burials (Versteeg, Tacome and Van de Velde 1990).

This practice is also evident in Saladoid burials where the body is covered with shallow vessels resembling turtle carapaces (Versteeg 1991; Bullen 1970). There is

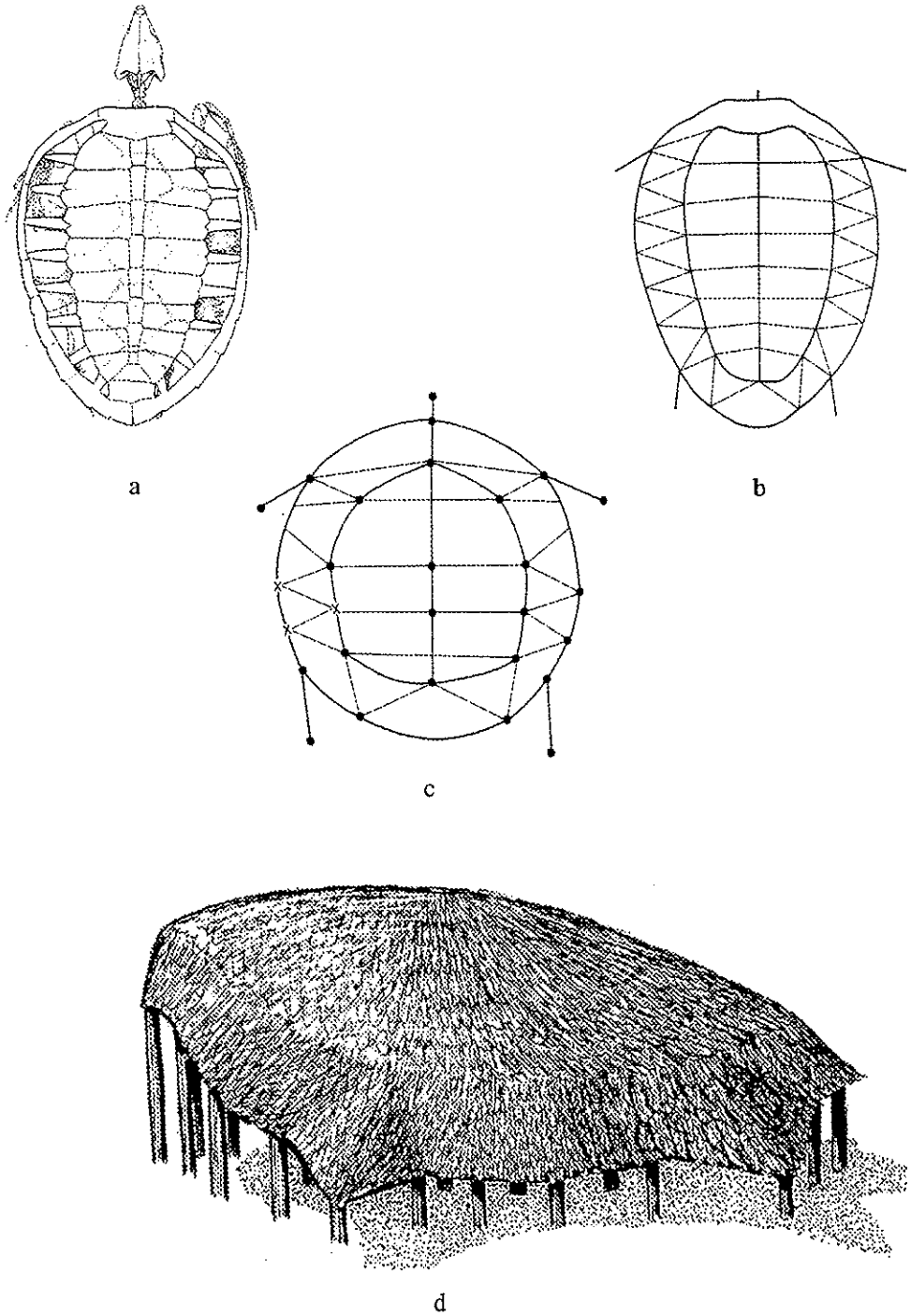


Figure 46. Reconstructed Saladoid house structure. *a*, Hawksbill turtle skeleton. *b*, simplified model of skeleton. *c*, floorplan of St. Eustatius Structure 6. *d*, reconstruction of Structure 6 (from Versteeg and Schinkel 1992:196-197).

even the interesting example of a fresh water turtle shell containing two small polished stones (a rattle?) that was placed between the legs and in the genital area of a middle-aged man, and was held in that position by the deceased's right hand (Rodriguez 1997:83). At the late Saladoid site of Punta Candelero in Puerto Rico, the Saladoid buried their dead with offerings that included personal objects made of stone, bone, shell, and fired clay (Rodriguez 1997). Among the 106 burials from that site, some "were accompanied by one or more clay vessels, generally placed upside down over the head or the legs, and on occasion, covering almost all of the body", suggesting a belief in afterlife. Almost two-thirds of the skeletons uncovered at Punta Candelero were oriented towards the east, a direction pointing towards the ocean, hinting at some parallels with characteristics of turtle behaviour that will addressed later in this chapter.

Versteeg (1991:36) uncovered the remains of a 14 year old Saladoid individual at the Golden Rock site on St. Eustatius; the body had been placed in a circular grave upon a hard tuff floor with a large bowl on the top of the skeleton, in the same fashion as in Punta Candelero, Puerto Rico. A similar discovery at the Saladoid site of Grande Anse on St. Lucia, involved a woman interred with a shallow bowl near the head, and a decorated vessel at her feet (Bullen 1970:45).

There is still no evidence of actual turtle carapaces being used in conjunction with Saladoid burials in the Lesser Antilles. However, shallow vessels, whose shapes are suggestive of sea turtle carapaces, placed over the dead reflect a close association between religious beliefs, burial practices, and symbolic world of the Saladoid people.

Food, shelter, life, and death.

Interpretations concerning prehistoric art must invariably take into account the cultural context in which it originated (Talalay 1993). Regarding the animals depicted by the Saladoid adornos from St. Vincent, it is apparent that the primary context consisted of utilitarian vessels associated with food preparation and presentation. Many possible reasons, as we have seen, could account for their placement on these vessels, including aesthetics, conveying information of economic resources, or religious beliefs.

From an economic point of view, as food, sea turtles can yield a substantial weight of meat per animal, nearly 50 percent of the overall body weight. A medium sized green turtle weighing 190 pounds (86 kg), for instance, can provide 84 pounds (38 kg) of pure meat (Nietschmann 1973:164). The amount of meat recovered is considerably greater for larger green turtles that can weigh up to 850 pounds (395 kg), or for the leatherback, recorded as the largest sea turtle with the heaviest specimens reaching 2015 pounds (916 kg) (Marquez 1990:29, 57).

Along the Miskito coast of eastern Nicaragua in Central America, sea turtles are the most important food source in the diet, supplemented by carbohydrates derived from manioc tubers (Nietschmann 1973). Despite the presence of other types of meat, such as white-tailed deer, paca, agouti, manatee, hicatee, fresh water turtles, and a variety of fish, the Miskito people unequivocally favour the green turtle above everything else (Nietschmann 1973:166). The Saladoid people in the Lesser Antilles, particularly on small islands like St. Vincent, faced an environment that offered little

in terms of animal protein, as compared to sea turtles. The ease of capture and the high meat yields would have made them ideal animals to hunt and eat, to complement their manioc diet. Actual sea turtle remains have been recovered from Saladoid sites (Wing and Reitz 1982), some exhibiting actual cut marks left in the process of butchering (Haywood 1985:6).

Thus, the style ceramic vessels brings into question the relationship between form, function and symbolic meaning. The keeled, composite shapes, such as vasques and shallow basins so closely associated with turtle adornos (H. Petitjean Roget 1975:Planches 29-32), suggest a function associated more with presentation than preparation of food. Since many Saladoid vessels depict turtles on their back, a position in which most are kept before being butchered, the representation is suggestive of a provider, as if the container itself offers the food to be consumed. As such, it is possible that these vessels were already regarded as possible *zemis* mediating the communication between people and their ancestors, establishing a connection between the natural and supernatural worlds.

Turtle Symbolism

Symbolic art in small-scale societies is often the means by which ideas and events may be preserved (Anderson 1989:53; Munro 1970:50). At the core of the definitions of both icons and symbols are signs, defined as "things [that] are commonly taken as indications of other things" (Anderson 1979:54). Peirce (1991:239-240), defined both icons and symbols as follows:

> An *icon* is a sign which would possess the character which renders it significant, even though its object had no existence....A *symbol* is a sign which would lose the character which renders it a sign if there were no interpretant.

By definition, since adornos are depicted with identifiable attributes, they are also icons; their style of representation is just as important as the subject they represent.

Throughout history, turtles have been assigned many symbolic properties, including strength, longevity, fertility, and protection (Biedermann 1992). For instance,

> In ancient Chinese cosmology we find mention of the primordial Ao, a sea-turtle of cosmic dimensions: it carries the world on its back...In European antiquity the turtle, because it produced so many eggs, was a symbol of fertility...In India the turtle was the second embodiment (*avatara*) of the god Vishnu (Biedermann 1992:358).

Turtles in Lakota art are considered to be closer to the supernatural, serving as intermediaries between humans and gods offering protection from evil influences, and the Lakota people used turtle images to retained this protective power (Gombert 1994:94).

Symbolical inferences can be made for the Saladoid adornos by comparing the life cycles of animals, Taino myths, archaeological remains, and the shared common world view from the tropical lowlands of South America. It is generally agreed that in tropical America unique units of space and time interrelate to form cosmologies that are culture specific (Helms 1977:53). Spatially, these units are represented by the sky, earth and the underground (including water), and are occupied by mythological, as

well as natural and cultural beings (Levi-Strauss 1969, Reichel-Dolmatoff 1975). The relationship between these units is best expressed by Helms (1977:54), where

> Interrelations and integration of the universal units or segments is achieved by recognition of transformational or meditating agents which 'go-between' the present and the past, link subterranean, terrestrial, and celestial phenomena, link man with the animals, fish, and plants of the wild, and relate and transform the world of nature into the world of human society.

Stories and myths within these cultures are reflections of this relationship, their function being to maintain stability within a particular culture (Helms 1977:54; Oliver 1992:14). In his iconography of Taino petroglyphs, José Oliver (1992) has made reference to the sacred ceremonies of the Tainos, in which communication takes place between the natural, cultural, and the supernatural domains. The Tainos conceived their cosmological domain as composed of these three units within which energy transfers took place, such that "[w]hen energy is transferred from one part of the system into another part, it must be done in such a way as to insure energy conservation [and] what is 'borrowed' from one part of the system must be restored" (Oliver 1992:14). Ceremonies were performed to predict, manipulate, maintain, restore, or check the energy balance of the Taino universe, often through animal actors and culture heroes (Helms 1977:55; Oliver 1992:15).

Because sea turtle images appear mainly on pottery vessels, some of which were used as Saladoid burial goods, and they may even be occasionally reproduced in architecture (Bullen 1970; Rodriguez 1997; Roe 1997; Versteeg 1991), it is likely these images figured prominently in ceremonies aimed at maintaining the energy

balance between the cultural, natural, and supernatural realms. The presence of Taino *zemis*, in the form of three-pointed stones, platform figurines, and other ceremonial or even utilitarian objects (McGinnis 1997), is evidence of natural objects being inhabited by powerful ancestor spirits whose assistance is enlisted in helping with curing diseases, ensuring a successful manioc crop, and many other daily activities (Rouse 1992).

For the Saladoid people, the turtle may have been significant as a mediating agent (Helms 1977:54) between the supernatural, natural, and cultural worlds, symbolizing cultural stability. This raises issues as to whether Saladoid adornos, and vessels they decorated, especially the turtles, were indeed early prototypes of the cult of *zemis* as the base of later religious developments in the Greater Antilles. Among the Tainos, communication between ancestral spirits and people involved elaborate ceremonies of human purification, which may also have been present during Saladoid occupation of the Lesser Antilles as indicated by archaeological evidence such as snuff inhaling nostril tubes and vessels (Alegria 1997:24), as well as the early presence of the three pointed stones, as noted above (Rouse 1982, 1992; Alvarez 1977a, 1977b; Arrom 1975; Loven 1935).

Above all, it is in the life cycle of a sea turtle that we may find the most inspiring symbolism. Turtles occupy through their lives three spatial realms: the underground, the earth, and the water, while also appearing in three existential temporal realms: the natural, cultural, and supernatural. Sea turtles emerge from the underground as hatchlings, enter the waters, and each year mature females return to

shore laying eggs into the ground to start the entire cycle again (Bustard 1972).

Taino myths discussed above certainly indicate that turtle symbolism may have had deeper meaning than previously believed when describing the origins of the people as taking place from the deep underground on islands without mountains or caves (Loven 1935:565). This particular myth symbolizes clearly the origins of people among the Tainos as being identical to the emergence of turtle hatchlings from the underground. A special relationship between humans and turtles, in which a female turtle had to lay eggs from which people emerged, is thus reinforced.

A second version of the same myth sees the emergence of the Taino people from the caves of mountainous islands (Keen 1959:153), where caves may have symbolized the holes dug by female turtles on sandy beaches prior to laying their eggs. In both versions, there is an obvious symbolic connection between sea turtles and the emergence of people in the Caribbean.

Another myth already mentioned above describes the origins of the female turtle from the shoulder of Deminan after he had been hit in the arm by a *guanguayo*, e.g. a gourd container filled with "cohoba" (Keen 1959:157). Cohoba was a an intoxicating substance which is believed to have been made from the crushed seeds of the *Piptadenia peregrina* plant that grows on both South America and in the Caribbean (Safford 1917:396-397). It was inhaled through a tube in order to induce communications with ancestors (Rouse 1992:14), the importance of which is well documented during Taino times (Alvarez 1977a, 1977b; Arrom 1977; Rouse 1992). The female turtle is thus directly the product of this spiritual cohoba powder.

This mythical female turtle is also responsible for the transformation of the twin brothers from wandering travellers to permanent homesteaders. As Stevens-Arroyo (1988:130) has noted,

> after being carried out of heaven with the primordial fish generated from Yayael's bones, the twins have finally come to dwell in a happy place. And although they have distanced from their celestial first home in their travels and can never again return, they have acquired social and cultural knowledge that has made them into human beings in the Taino civilization.

The female turtle is able to provide the brothers with a fertile home, because "her presence assures fertility and freedom from the fatal effects of syphilis" (Stevens-Arroyo 1988:131); she has, therefore, not only cured Deminan's syphilis and provided fertility, but has also been instrumental in the movement of the brothers from the mythical to the cultural realms, by building and sharing with her a permanent home, working the soil, and cooking with fire (Arrom 1997:68).

In light of these Taino myths, it is tempting to suggest that Saladoid house structures, resembling in form the anatomy of the sea turtle (Versteeg and Schinkel 1992:196), as seen above, may already have been symbolic of this mythical event in which people moved from the mythical to the cultural realm. If houses are symbolic of the cosmos, as anthropologists would argue (Trigger 1968), then during Saladoid times the sea turtle also provided architectural models symbolising the traits associated with the mythological female turtle, those of fertility, protection, and curing diseases such as syphilis.

A stronger association between turtles and humans is observed in death, especially in cases where the interment includes grave goods, and where rules prevail

in the orientation of the bodies (Bullen 1970; Rodriguez 1997; Versteeg 1991). As Siegel (1997:109) points out,

> In the Amazon, death, burial rites, and interment are strongly associated with rebirth, renewal, and propagation. Death is simply one phase in a continuous process, and thus burial rites and interment highlight important points in that process.

The placement of shallow vessels representing turtle carapaces over the dead is indicative of Saladoid belief in the afterlife, a rebirth which is itself associated with the 'birth' of sea turtles. This practice is symbolic of a turtle hatchling that is about to move between two cosmological realms, emerging from the underground onto the surface of the earth. In human burials, however, the spirit of the deceased moves from the underground into the supernatural domain. What is significant is this very movement between domains that becomes symbolized by the inclusion of turtle shell-like pottery over the deceased, and which is aimed at maintaining the balance of energy between the cosmological realms.

In this perspective, it is worth noting an interesting observation regarding the orientation of burials at the Saladoid site of Punta Candelero in Puerto Rico, where two-thirds of the 106 skeletons are oriented facing east, which is towards the ocean. This position reinforces the symbolic association between the human spiritual journey and turtle hatchlings' quest for survival. As soon as sea turtles emerge from the underground they instinctively head straight for the ocean reaching water in minutes after surfacing from the sand (Bustard 1972:110). The fact that so many skeletons at Punta Candelero face towards the ocean may have been meant to symbolize the start

of the journey from one realm to the next, a journey modeled after the sea turtle. Likewise, in the Lesser Antilles, a similar occurrence may be found at Mattioni's (1979) Vivé Early Saladoid site on Martinique, where four extended burials had their heads facing north, closest to the Atlantic ocean.

Additional support for this theory is the Taino belief in spirits who only associate with people at night (Keen 1959:157). It is noteworthy to mention that another characteristic trait associated with the emergence of new hatchlings from the sand is the time of day, which in 97 percent of the time is during the night, possibly as a result of cooler temperatures and reduced predation (Bustard 1972:107). It is also during the night that female sea turtles come ashore to lay their eggs in sandy beaches. These two biological events reinforce the notion of sea turtles transcending different cosmological domains, water-land-underground as mature female turtles, and underground-land-water, as hatchlings, in both cases occurring at the same time as spirits keep company with humans. According to Arevalo (1997:112), in his study of Taino art,

> Recurrent isomorphic images were meant simultaneously to evoke the human spirits of the dead and the animal species into which they would ultimately be transformed.

The Turtle's Acolytes

Having established the basic meaning of turtle images as represented on pottery adornos from St. Vincent, we may now reintroduce other themes also found on adornos. Next to turtles, the pelican is perhaps the most common animal represented on adornos. It is a bird symbolically associated with self-sacrifice (Chetwynd

1982:52), and "...selfless striving for purification" (Biedermann 1992:261).

The West Indian brown pelican is a migratory bird whose daily activities also involve different domains: in this case, sky, water, and land. The common association of turtles and long beaked birds in art and religious objects, suggests a mythological relationship of the two animals which is not apparent in Taino mythology, at least in Pane's account. In one Taino myth recorded by Pane (in Keen 1959:155-156), the *inriri* bird, or woodpecker, is responsible for creating women:

> one day the men of Hispaniola developed a great desire for women while bathing. Unable to find their wives they turned to unknown animals falling out of trees that were neither male nor females, and in trying to catch them, they slithered away like eels. Determined to get these animals, the cacique ordered four men who were *caracaracoles*, e.g. men infected with the scabby skin disease, in which the skin according to Loven (1935:569), '...becomes hard and rough, like the bark of trees", to catch the animals, since they had rough hands necessary for a good grip on the slithering creatures. Once four of these 'women' without male or female genitals were captured, their feet and hands were tied and an *inriri* bird was fastened to the body of each creature. The birds, instinctively started pecking thinking the creatures were trees, creating hollowings that became female genitalia.

While this particular myth does not mention birds and turtles together as in Taino and Saladoid art, they share a common element with the myth outlining the creation of the ocean and turtles, specifically with respect to caracaracoles, or the scabby skin disease. In both instances some of the mythological characters are afflicted with this particular skin condition, which may been seen as resembling the scaly skin of turtles and other reptilians.

Pelicans usually spend the days feeding on fish from the ocean, and the nights on land usually perched on high ground (Stone 1989:14). As with sea turtles, pelican

representations may also have been symbolic of the spirit world. This may have been inspired by the fact that they congregate in large numbers at night and on land. Turtles, pelicans, frogs, bats, and owls may in fact have been connected in Saladoid minds by their common nocturnal lives. Indeed, this association appears to have been depicted in both Saladoid and Taino art. One expressive example in our collection comes from Arnos Vale Playingfield; a turtle of formal Type I displays on the top of the head a figure which clearly represents the silhouette of a pelican (fig. 17b; Pl. 7b). In Taino art, the association has been found on platform figurines used in the ceremonial inhaling of cohoba, and subsequent cleansing before communicating with the ancestors (Alvarez 1977a; Roe 1997:136).

Animals other than those discussed above do not appear in any of Pane's myths, but inferences derived from South American ethnographic cultures believed to share a similar cosmology, suggest a variety of animals including bats, owls, lizards, frogs, parrots, and manatees, just to mention a few (Allaire 1981; H. Petitjean Roget 1975; 1976a; 1976b). Bats and owls, in particular, are believed to represent images associated with death (Arevalo 1997). They are also represented on Saladoid adornos in Martinique (H. Petitjean Roget 1975), as well as in St. Vincent in the form of the large bat effigy (Kirby and Wall 1978) housed in the St. Vincent museum. In almost all cases, animals are actually inhabited by spirits. For instance, Loven (1935:601) reports that "[I]n British Guyana the water spirits may assume the form of a *manatee*...this may also have been the case among the Haitians, who with the True Arawaks of British Guyana shared the conception of a 'water mama'". Likewise,

Stevens-Arroyo (1988:162-166) emphasizes the symbolic importance of frogs and their association with fertility among the Tainos by making reference to South American myths. Frogs, like bats, are also themes represented in Saladoid art and adornos as emphasized by H. Petitjean Roget (1975, 1976a). They are also ubiquitous nocturnal animals with a high potential for supernatural significance.

An interesting phenomenon is the overwhelmingly large number of depictions of animals which are either active or congregate on land at night. The connection of these animals with the spirit world has been addressed above for sea turtles and pelican. The same is true for other animals as well, including, owls, bats, frogs, and rats, all of which are nocturnal animals. For instance, owls and bats have been interpreted as being associated with death and spirits, helping "in the transition from a tangible and illusory to an illusory and invisible, but equally real, state" (Arevalo 1997:112; H. Petitjean Roget 1975; 1976b).

It is, therefore, possible to assume that most Saladoid adornos may have depicted the spirits of departed ancestors. It is also possible that the remaining animal depictions have similar symbolic significance.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

The Comparative Perspective

The Saladoid adornos from St. Vincent are not unique; they belong to a larger tradition observed throughout the West Indies and northern South America, and the formal typology presented in this thesis is also common to neighbouring islands in the Lesser Antilles.

A comparative database of adornos from these islands has been compiled from three major sources. First, from published reports on Saladoid pottery which have contributed most adornos used in the comparison; unfortunately, the quality for descriptions and illustrations in many publications varies greatly, at times being so poor as to render this comparison process ineffective. Second, from a file of published and unpublished adornos that was compiled by Dr. Louis Allaire in the course of his Caribbean research. Third, from specimens of both the Musée Départemental in Fort-de-France, and the Service des Antiquités, in Martinique, which were examined in April 1997.

In total, 85 adornos from the Lesser Antilles, including specimens examined in Martinique, were used for comparative purposes. They are represented by ten formal

types. Since much of this collection comes from published documents, it is necessary to point out that the frequencies of adorno types may not always be accurate representations of what actually is present in a particular region. As a consequence, we are more concerned with the presence or absence, and not necessarily the frequencies of adorno types within the Lesser Antilles.

The comparative data have been summarized in Table 9, which also includes such general information as number of specimens, region or island of origin, site provenience, typological similarity to our formal typology, the source of publication, and the date or period associated with each adornos. Included in this distribution are adornos without a known site of origin, but in every instance the island or region of origin is always known.

Results of this comparative overview indicate that adornos similar to those of Type I or "b-shaped" from St. Vincent are the most numerous in the data, as represented by 52 of the 85 comparative specimens (61.1 percent). They are found on nearly all major islands in the Lesser Antilles, as well as the eastern coast of Venezuela and eastern Puerto Rico. They have been recovered from sites on Grenada, Union Island and Carriacou of the Grenadines, St. Lucia, Martinique, Marie Gallante, St. Kitts, and Guadeloupe (Table 9). In particular, b-shaped adornos with short head extensions and semi-ovoid noses, or Type IA1 are most prevalent. There are also b-shaped adornos of Types IA2, IB1, and IB2. The similarities extend beyond head shape to include facial attributes such as eyes, noses, and mouths.

Type IIA adornos are only represented by a single specimen from the site of

Table 9. Adorno type distribution in the Lesser Antilles and coastal South America.

Number	Region	Site	Type	Source	Period
3	Eastern Venezuelan coast	N/A	IA1	Vargas Arenas 1980:287, Lamina 3B, 3C, and 3D	?
1	Grenada	Savonne Suazey	IA1	Bullen 1964:XXIIa	?
1	Caliviny Island, Grenada	N/A	IA1	Bullen and Bullen 1967:40, figure 2b.	?
1	Carriacou	N/A	IA1	Fewkes 1922, Plate 65, figure C	?
3	Union Island, Grenadines	Chatham Midden	IA1	Sutty 1976a:59, figure 4e, 4f and 4g	L
1	St. Lucia	Giraudy	IA1	Branford 1973:214, 7f	E/L
2	Martinique	Paquemar	IA1	Reichlen and Barret 1941, PL I, figures e and r	L
4	Martinique	La Salle	IA1	d'Harcourt 1952, PL XXXII figure 3, PL XXXV figures 6, 8, and 9	E
1	Martinique	Fond Brule	IA1	Petitjean Roget 1970:28, figure 19	E
2	Martinique	Fond Brule	IA1	Mattioni 1982:30	E
1	Martinique	Ste-Marie	IA1	Petitjean Roget 1975:30, k517	E
2	Martinique	Vive	IA1	Petitjen Roget 1975:57, 80	E
1	Marie Galante	Folle Anse	IA1	Petitjean Roget 1975:46	E/L
2	Marie Galante	Folle Anse	IA1	Barbotin 1970:43, figure 3	E/L
1	St. Kitts	N/A	IA1	Fewkes 1922, Plate 84, R	?
1	Martinique	La Salle	IA2	d'Harcourt 1952, PL XXXIV figure 8	E
1	Martinique	La Salle	IA2	d'Harcourt 1952, PL XXXVI figure 6	E
1	Grenada	N/A	IA2	Allaire's database	?
4	Martinique	Fond Brule	IA2	Mattioni 1982:28, 30	E
2	Union Island, Grenadines	Chatham Midden	IB1	Sutty 1976a:63, figure 8f and 8g	L
1	Union Island, Grenadines	Chatham Midden	IB1	Sutty 1975:6b	L
1	St. Lucia	Canelles	IB1	Friesinger 1986, Plate 13 figure 3	?
1	Martinique	Seguinau	IB1	Allaire's database	L

Number	Region	Site	Type	Source	Period
1	Eastern Venezuela coast	N/A	IB2	Vargas Arenas 1980:287, Lamina 3A	?
1	Carriacou	N/A	IB2	Fewkes 1922, Plate 66, figure A	?
1	Mustique	Rosemary	IB2	Bullen and Bullen 1972:44, XI	?
1	Union Island, Grenadines	Chatham Midden	IB2	Sutty 1976a:64, figure 9b	L
1	Union Island, Grenadines	Chatham Midden	IB2	Bullen and Bullen 1972:24	L
1	Union Island, Grenadines	Miss Pierre	IB2	Sutty 1976b:75, figure 6c	L
1	Martinique	La Salle	IB2	d'Harcourt 1952, PL XXXV figure 17	E
1	Martinique	Fond Brule	IB2	Mattioni 1982:30	E
1	Guadeloupe	Morel	IB2	Clerk 1970	E/L
1	Martinique	Fond Brule	IA	Petitjean Roget 1970:8, figure 3	E
2	Puerto Rico	Hacienda Grande	IA	Roe 1989:345, Figure 17a, c	E/L
1	Martinique	La Salle	I	d'Harcourt 1952, PL XXXV figure 5	E
1	St. Lucia	Canelles	I	Friesinger 1986, Plate 10 figure 5	L
1	Martinique	La Salle	IIA	d'Harcourt 1952, PL XXXIV figure 5	E
1	Trinidad	Erin Bay	IIB1	Fewkes 1914, PL XV, figure d	L
1	Trinidad	Palo Seco	IIB1	Bulbrook 1953:37, figure 7k	L
2	Carriacou	N/A	IIB1	Fewkes 1922, Plate 66D and Plate 67A	?
1	St. Lucia	Canelles	IIB1	Friesinger 1986, Plate 13 figure 3	?
5	Martinique	Paquemar	IIB1	Reichlen and Barret 1941: PL If, Ig, Ih, Ip, and Is	L
1	Martinique	Grande Anse	IIB1	Petitjean Roget 1970:26, figure 17; p.7	L
1	Martinique	La Salle	IIB1	d'Harcourt 1952, PL XXXVI figure 6	E
1	Martinique	Anse Mitau	IIB1	Petitjean Roget 1970:7	L
1	Montserrat	Trants	IIB1	Petersen 1996:341, figure 16 bottom right	E
1	Saint Martin	Hope Estate	IIB1	Henocq 1994:21, figure 4	E
1	Martinique	La Salle	IIIA	d'Harcourt 1952, PL XXXVI figure 20	E
1	Martinique	Diamant	IIIA	Allaire's database	E/L
1	Martinique	Paquemar	IIIA	Allaire's database	L
1	Martinique	Seguinau	IIIA	Allaire's database	L

Number	Region	Site	Type	Source	Period
1	Martinique	Diamant	IIIA	Petitjean Roget 1975:18	L
1	Antigua	Blackman's Point	IIIA	Nicholson 1974b:3	?
1	Trinidad	Palo Seco	IIIA	Bulbrook 1953:37, figure 7g	L
1	Trinidad	Palo Seco	IIIB	Bulbrook 1953:37, figure 7d	L
2	Carriacou	N/A	IIIB	Fewkes 1922, Plate 66B	?
1	Martinique	Fond Brule	IIIB	Mattioni 1982:414 Plate 30	E
1	Puerto Rico	N/A	IIIC	Roe 1989:354, Figure 26	?
1	Grenada	Pearls	V	Bullen 1964:XI h	?
1	Union Island, Grenadines	Miss Pierre	V	Sutty 1976b:73, figure 4a	L
1	Martinique	Paquemar	VA1	Reichlen and Barret 1941: PL Id	L
2	Martinique	Vive	VA1	Hemond/Vallee 1975	E

E - Early Saladoid Period
L - Late Saladoid Period

Lasalle in Martinique. Type IIB1, or short cylindrical heads with collars, is better represented, however, by finds from sites on Trinidad, Carriacou, St. Lucia, Martinique, Montserrat, and Saint Martin. In all, 15 specimens (18.3 percent) are of Type IIB (Table 9).

Conical adornos with long beaks on strap handles, or Type IIIA, are represented by six specimens (7.3 percent) from Martinique and Antigua. Four additional conical adornos with short beaks, similar to the adornos of Type IIIB from St. Vincent, have also been recovered from Trinidad, Carriacou, and Martinique (Table 9). Tabular adornos are represented by three specimens from Martinique similar in appearance to our Type VA1.

The Musée Départemental in Fort-de-France, Martinique, has revealed two additional adorno types not found in any of the available publications. The first, identified as an iguana, is identical in form to specimens of our Type IIC2, and the second specimen, similar to a unique Type III specimen from St. Vincent (fig. 31d; Pl. 23d), has a long tapering snout identified on museum display cards as a caiman.

Comparison of the St. Vincent adornos with those recovered from other islands in the Lesser Antilles reveals both similarities and regional variations with regards to methods of representation, specifically relating to the selection of formal attributes. All five major adorno types found on St. Vincent which are also represented in the comparative collection from the Lesser Antilles suggest that artisans followed strict cultural standards with respect to overall adorno style within their common Saladoid cultural background; these rules also extended to the use of specific forms of facial

features. A striking example of this situation must be the unique style of Type I adornos. Not only is the head unique in form, but so are the highly stylized representation of facial attributes, specifically the eyes, which stand apart from the other adorno types. While eye forms on Type I adornos are nearly always flat and incised, those of other types are always semi-spherical or raised and encircled by a fine incision.

Since the comparative collection is not exhaustive and may not be entirely representative, it is difficult to say with certainty that there are adornos unique to St. Vincent. There is a particular group of adornos from Martinique and Puerto Rico that have not yet been seen on St. Vincent. Identified as dog effigies, these adornos have been recovered from both Early and Late Saladoid contexts (Mattioni and Bullen 1974). Although stylistically different, dog effigy adornos are usually placed either on strap handles, or directly bellow the rim on the vessel exteriors (like a tea cup handle).

The discovery of different adorno types from those of St. Vincent suggests some degree of regional diversity in design and style, and the extent of these variations and choice of representations in the Lesser Antilles still remain to be determined more precisely.

The Chronological Perspective

As seen in Chapter I, stylistic differences in pottery decoration during the Saladoid occupation of the West Indies allow for a temporal division into two major periods: (1) an Early Saladoid period ranging from the earliest occupation, ca. 250 B.C. to ca. A.D. 350, and (2) a Late Saladoid period characterized by Barrancoid

influences manifested by the appearance of different pottery styles, dated between A.D. 350 to ca. A.D. 600 (Rouse 1992; Allaire 1989).

In dealing with St. Vincent, radiocarbon dates are only so far available for three Saladoid sites: Kingstown Post Office, Buccament West, and Arnos Vale, dated respectively to A.D. 160, A.D. 280, and A.D. 410 (Bullen and Bullen 1972:78). Ceramics from these sites in combination with the radiometric dates clearly place Buccament West and Arnos Vale within the Late period, while Kingstown Post Office is distinctively an Early Saladoid occupation, still so far earliest dated on St. Vincent (Bullen and Bullen 1972:94).

A relatively large number of adornos in the St. Vincent collection come from Arnos Vale, a major archaeological locality now occupied in part by the E.T. Joshua Airport and an athletic stadium (Bullen and Bullen 1972). This locality includes the sites of Arnos Vale Swamp, Arnos Vale Playingfield, Arnos Vale Texaco Tank, and the Coconut Oil Factory. The sites occupied a broad bay area south of Kingstown, along the Greathead River, whose periodic flooding during the rainy seasons created a fertile flat alluvial plain ideal for manioc cultivation (Map 4).

In all, the 31 adornos (14.76 percent) recovered from the Arnos Vale locality represent all but Type IV of the five major adorno types. The following types were identified at Arnos Vale: IA1a (N=2), IA1b (N=1), IA1c (N=1), IB1a (N=4), IB2 (N=4), IIA2 (N=1), IIB1 (N=2), IIB2a (N=2), IIB2b (N=1), IIC1 (N=1), IIIA1 (N=1), IIIB (N=3), IIIC (N=1), VA2 (N=1), and VB (N=1).

Five adornos come from the Buccament site, both from a road cut through the

site and from the surface near an open excavated depression, possibly the Bullens' 1970 stratigraphic test (Bullen 1972:104). This major Saladoid site is located south of the Buccament River, roughly 70 m from a sandy beach, adjacent to two large rock shelters, one of which being famous for its extensive petroglyphs (Huckerby 1914) (Map 4). The area of the site occupies a fertile alluvial plain that reaches several kilometres into the interior of the island. The following types are represented at this site: IA1a (N=1), IB1a (N=1), IIA1 (N=1), IIB1 (N=1), and IVA2 (N=1).

In contrast, only a single adorno in the collection is reported from the well dated Early Saladoid site of Kingstown Post Office; it is a unique adorno of type II (fig. 27c; Pl. 17d). The scarcity in the number of adornos from this site, as opposed to those recovered from Arnos Vale, was noted by the Bullens (Bullen and Bullen 1972:94), and may be typical of this Early Saladoid style, which also has components at Arnos Vale and Buccament. The site is situated within the Kingstown city limits, behind the present-day post office, along the fertile and slightly sloping terrain of Kingstown bay (Map 4).

To judge from the three radiometrically dated sites, it may be concluded that most adorno types from St Vincent belong to the Late Saladoid period. However, since ceramic fragments possessing the characteristically fine paste, with zone-incised-croshatchings (ZIC), and red-on-white painting, typical of the Early Saladoid period, have also been recovered from other sites on St. Vincent, including the multi-component sites of Buccament and Arnos Vale (Bullen and Bullen 1972; Allaire and Duval 1995; Duval 1996), it is possible that some specimens lacking contexts used in

this study had been recovered from such early sites.

Of the 85 adornos used in the comparative database from the Lesser Antilles, 26 are from Early Saladoid sites (Table 9), of which 23 specimens were recovered from such early Martinique sites as Fond Brulé, Vivé, and Lasalle (Haviser 1997:60, Table 7.1). Most of these early Martinique adornos are of Type I, and more specifically Types IA1 (N=9), 1A2, (N=6), and IB2 (N=2), and as a consequence are the most important from a chronological perspective. The remaining adornos at these three sites are of Types IIA (N=1), IIB1 (N=1), IIIA (N=1); IIIB (N=1), and VA1 (N=2).

Comparisons of Type I adornos manufactured during these two Saladoid periods reveal both continuity in style, as well as changes in facial attributes and surface treatment. The retention of the basic overall formal characteristics of Type I adorno during both periods also suggests a continuity in representations, possibly reinforcing cultural and stylistic patterns which were closely followed by Saladoid artisans.

While early Type I adornos from Martinique may be similar in form to the late specimens from St. Vincent, they appear to have different surface treatments and colours. Foremost, Late Saladoid adornos are painted in most cases with a deep, dark red paint, and generally appear smooth and polished; they are also larger. In comparison, the specimens from Martinique identified as belonging to the Early Saladoid period are almost always smoothed, hardly ever painted, with the natural fired clay being light tan in colours. They also tend to be smaller and more delicate.

Decoration of the torsos sometimes shows the diagnostic zoned-incised crosshatching (ZIC), and less often white-on-red painting. In addition, the clay consists of a typically fine grained light coloured paste in the earlier period, as opposed to coarser paste in the later period (Bullen and Bullen 1972:133, 135-137).

Differences are also noted with regards to formal attributes, such as the eyes and neck collars. Some early Type I adornos from Fond Brulé, Martinique, while retaining their diagnostic attributes, also possess neck collars, which are also present in the later period but are found only on Type III adornos. The significance of this occurrence on Type I adornos not only has implications with respect to identification, but also points to issues of chronology when considering that late period adornos of Type I lose these distinctive collars.

In almost all cases, the eyes on early adornos recovered from Vivé and Fond Brulé, are flat and circular with pupils represented by both incisions and punctates. In contrast, the form of the eyes on Late Saladoid adornos are more generally flat, rarely consisting of complete circles. In fact, 79 of the 100 type I adornos from St. Vincent have eyes that are flat and partially circular, while only seven are depicted with complete circles. Both types of eye forms may be seen on adornos from both periods, but there is a distinct affinity towards eyes that are complete circles in the Early period and eyes that are partial circles in the Late period.

The best description of Early Saladoid adornos was provided by the Bullens who characterized them as small, simple and seldom naturalistic, and represented by four major classes:

> "...1) thin, flattish, and made of a series of button-like modeled-incised clay increments to form curvilinear designs; 2) similar but more rectangular adornos representing animalistic forms frequently with the nose higher than the eyes and a concave but not a hollow back; 3) rounded, solid adornos representing an animal with apparently pouting lips; and 4) a slightly larger solid form with a round body with a protruding nose or bill representing a bird." (Bullen and Bullen 1972:133).

An additional characteristic of Early Saladoid adornos observed in the Martinique collections is the presence of double, or "alter ego" adornos; that is, an adorno head is placed on top of another adorno head (MDM 1991: A39, A42).

Based on the Bullens' (1972) description, and the number of double adornos from Martinique, it is apparent that the adornos from St. Vincent have little in common with specimens recovered from Early Saladoid sites in the Lesser Antilles. As a consequence, the St. Vincent database may not be the most useful for chronological purposes. Stylistically, most appear to belong to the Late Saladoid period, being typically "larger, more highly polished, more naturalistic, and much more often hollow backed" (Bullen and Bullen 1972:137). These attributes are also more closely associated with Barrancoid style adornos, especially the use of appliqué pellets with central punctations, a common Barrancoid design in the Lower Orinoco (Lathrap 1970:114). Yet, adornos identified as Barrancoid are often similar to those of the Late Saladoid period, such as at Arnos Vale (Appendix 1) (Bullen and Bullen 1972:158). In all cases, the adornos are of type I, and remain similar in form to the adornos of the Early Saladoid period. The exception is the deep painted colours, and the glossy appearance, typical of this period.

The Interpretive Perspective

The adornos from St. Vincent were manufactured nearly 2000 years ago by a culture now long gone, and any attempts to classify, identify and interpret the meanings of their representations must remain tentative. A formal analysis has exposed the range of formal components that make up each adorno, revealing in the process five major standardized adorno types. From these major types and their subsequent subtypes, 12 image types and 14 individual images were identified, and subjected to an iconographic analysis, revealing a variety of animals from both St. Vincent and mainland South America as adorno themes, that figured prominently in the Saladoid cosmology.

This systematic iconographical study of pottery adornos from St. Vincent has resulted in the reinterpretation of a common Saladoid image. Many adorno types previously identified as bats or frogs (H. Petitjean Roget 1975; 1976a; 1976b) have been shown instead to be depicting sea turtles, represented in different forms as seen by formal Types I, IIB1, and IIB2a (Pl. 1-12; 14-15), and perhaps even Type IVA2 (Pl. 24). Saladoid artists recreated sea turtle images from different perspectives, including both frontal and profile depictions, resulting in formal variations within a limited, culturally patterned stylistic inventory of standard representations of facial features, such as eyes, nose, and mouth.

That turtles may have had a major significance as a food source is to be expected from the small island of St. Vincent which is so much lacking in large game animals. The easily captured sea turtles were the largest animals on the island, and the

amount of animal protein derived from one specimen with the least amount of effort made them highly desirable from an economic viewpoint.

As symbols, however, and beyond their economic importance, sea turtles were correlated with such Saladoid universal concerns as human origins, beliefs in an afterlife, and biological need for shelter. The same concerns were shared by South American natives, having to do with:

> ...immortality versus death, the place and role of human existence among the diversity of life forms of the sky, earth and sea, the origins of such diversity and of human life, the awesome power of the cosmic forces held responsible for original creations and their continued regeneration, the continued expression of these fundamental forces in the world of nature, and the dynamics and periodicities of the realms of the sky, earth, and waters (Helms 1995:193).

This thesis was able to show that Saladoid turtle images occurred in different contexts suggesting its importance as a theme related to these universal concerns. Practices associated with human burials, including both a placement of vessels depicting turtle carapaces over the deceased and their orientation towards the ocean, symbolized the turtle's natural life, as transcending different realms, from the ground to the surface and into the water. This provided a model for the belief in an afterlife where spirits were seen to move between natural, cultural, and the supernatural realms. The movement of spirits was accomplished through animal agents, and what better animal than the sea turtle which already transcends these different realms?

The mythological evidence derived by analogy from Taino culture suggested that the female turtle had originated from the sacred cohoba narcotic snuff used in

ceremonies involving communication between humans and the supernatural, being also responsible for the creation of culture (Stevens-Arroyo 1988:130; Arrom 1997:68). This mythological female turtle was also instrumental in curing such an endemic disease as syphilis while being a source of fertility by her very presence (Steven-Arroyo 1988:131). Saladoid and Taino house structures, modelled after the physical characteristics of sea turtle shapes, may have been intended to capture the properties of this important mythical personage. Oval Saladoid structures may also be categorized as "vernacular architecture", being indicators of things appropriate, right, and useful (Deetz 1977:93-93; Shafer 1995:41).

Because of its supremacy in Saladoid art, architecture, and burials, as well as in the myths of their Taino descendants, the theme of the sea turtle may be ultimately considered a "key symbol", as defined by Ortner, that is, as a symbol which "extensively and systematically formulates relationships...between a wide range of diverse cultural elements" (Ortner 1973:1343). As discussed by Ortner (1973:1340-41), in any culture, key symbols can be either summarizing, or elaborating, meaning that they can have either conceptual or action elaborating powers. A symbol with conceptual elaborating powers is one that offers "orientation" as well as cognitive and affective categories to a particular culture. The concept has been qualified as a "root metaphor" (Pepper 1942) because the symbol "provides a set of categories for conceptualizing ...aspects of experience..." (Ortner 1973:1340).

A key symbol or symbols of any culture can be ascertained from their cultural remains, specifically art, decorations on utilitarian objects, architecture, and religious

paraphernalia. Just as cattle is a key symbol to the African Dinka (Lienhardt 1967), and the iguana is a key symbol to pre-Columbian cultures in Central America (Helms 1977), we cannot avoid the conclusion that the sea turtle was such a key symbol, with conceptual elaborating powers, in the Saladoid cultures of the Lesser Antilles.

When people migrated from mainland South America into the Caribbean Islands, they faced an entirely new environment with its different animal resources necessary for their survival. Because many of the animals already figured prominently in the world view of many South American cultures (Helms 1977:54), these new animals would have become incorporated into the symbolic world of the new migrants, representing new characters in the culture's myths. This seems to be suggested by Roe (1997:124) who has defined three possible Saladoid cultural processes whereby their symbolic continuity from South America and the West Indies was maintained: (1) "mythic substitution", where one animal takes the place of another important animal character no longer available, for instance, the frog in the Caribbean over the caiman in South America; (2) "symbolic surrogates", when one animal is believed to embody another symbolically significant animal, such as introducing the dog into the West Indies, resulting in a dog-jaguar transposition; and (3) "symbolic creations", when entirely new animals become cultural symbols, as may be the case with the green turtle.

It is clear that to the Saladoid people in the West Indies, sea turtles were new cultural symbolic creations originating either on coastal South America or on insular settings with the first Saladoid migrants, persisting until the arrival of the Europeans.

As for other animals, including lizards, pelicans, parrots, owls, frogs, manatees, agoutis, and monkeys also depicted in Saladoid art, they were the means by which knowledge concerning the Saladoid world view was transmitted from generation to generation. The importance of these animals also extended to keeping a balance of cosmological forces mediating between the different Saladoid realms, the natural, cultural, and the supernatural.

Conclusion

In retrospect, we must acknowledge, at the conclusion of this study, that iconological interpretations on the intrinsic meanings of the turtle theme in Saladoid ceramic art, as represented by pottery adornos, may always remain elusive, speculative, and hypothetical at best, but we are certainly on more solid ground when dealing with purely iconographical interpretations that seek to determine the primary context, in this case the zoological identification of these adorno images.

As seen from the archaeological record, at no time during the prehistory of the West Indies is the modeled adorno tradition more developed than during Saladoid times. Although depicted in large numbers, adornos represented only a limited number of animals. As is also suggested by the early occurence of small prototypes of the Taino three-pointed stones, it is tempting to speculate that these Saladoid adornos may have indeed prefigured the Taino cult of *zemis* (Allaire 1997:24), also represented as pottery adornos, as part of a religion already based on a form of *zemiism* dominated by the spirits of the sea turtle.

The similarities between Late Saladoid adornos recovered from the Lesser

Antilles and the contemporaneous Barrancoid adornos on the mainland, which also extends to other forms of pottery decoration, have yet to be more fully addressed. Such a study might elucidate the relationships between the two regions, and especially the role of the mainland, such as the seemingly powerful and populous Barrancoid peoples of Venezuela, over the not too distant small Caribbean islands. Both Early Saladoid and Barrancoid-looking adornos of the Late Saladoid period appear to be depicting similar themes, and prominent among both periods are sea turtles.

The Saladoid period in the Lesser Antilles is marked by a sudden decline in ceramic quality and aesthetics, after A.D. 600. Likewise, pottery adornos seem to temporarily disappear from ceramic decoration. Already before A.D. 1000, however, with the new Troumassoid styles in the Windward Islands, adornos reappear but less frequently; they also become more naturalistic and lose the typical Saladoid stylistic elements. At the same time, a distinctive type of flat human head adornos, usually with perforated ears, becomes diagnostic of late prehistoric pottery decoration and art, well into the late Suazey culture, the last prehistoric manifestation in the Windward Islands of the Lesser Antilles (Allaire 1997:26). Despite this shift in depictions from animal to human, it is important to note that turtles are not abandoned, and continue to be represented, although in a different styles.

Future research will hopefully provide us with more systematic studies of Saladoid and later adorno collections from other islands of the Lesser Antilles, or even the Greater Antilles and the mainland, for better comparative and chronological evidence. The turtle theme in the adorno assemblages throughout northern South

America should also be addressed; indeed, the area may eventually reveal the origins of sea turtles as such an important symbol to the Saladoid peoples, while contributing to a better understanding of the role of the mainland and its Barrancoid influences, what art historians would call the process of "contamination", and which in itself is also one of the major aims of iconological research (Bialostocki 1965).

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APPENDIX A

Archaeological contexts of Saladoid adornos from St. Vincent

CAT #	*SITE*	*MUSEUM CARD INFORMATION*
	ARNOS VALE	
Ad 25	Museum drawers, Arnos Vale	SVC 21 Vertically placed facing inward 5x6 cm hollow back lug - Kirby
Ad 39	Museum drawers, Arnos Vale	N/A
Ad 41	Museum drawers, Arnos Vale	N/A
Ad 150	Saladoid display case	SVC 31 large turtle head lug; Arnos Vale (either Swamp or Playingfield), 7x6 cm, possibly horizontally placed on vessel below rim
Ad 154	Saladoid display case	SVC 4 Arnos Vale? Kirby; collector kirby, stylized animal effigy 4.5x5 cm
	ARNOS VALE PLAYINGFIELD	
Ad 55	Museum drawers, Arnos Vale Playingfield	SVC 6 Stylized toucan (?) Kirby 3x3 cm
Ad 95	Museum drawers - Arnos Vale, Playingfield	N/A
Ad 146	Saladoid display case	SVC 28 Arnos Vale Playing field: Kirby, horizontally placed, hollow interior 4x6.5 cm
Ad 157	Saladoid display case	SVC 1 bat faced adorno; Arnos Vale PLAYINGFIELD; Kirby Pearls type, 4x3 cm
Ad 164	Saladoid display case	SVC 12 Arnos Vale Playingfield(?); Kirby; red-slipped 6.5x6.5 cm
Ad 176	Saladoid display case	SVC 165 Arnos Vale Playingfield; hollow human face projecting from body of vessel; 'limb' looped from cheek to body with punct. papule at inflexion; red slipped nose, possibly white, 7x5.5 cm
Ad 205	Display case	SVC 2 bat faced adorno; Saladoid-early Arnos Vale playing field in swamp; Kirby; 4/5x4 cm; width of nose suggests vampire bat (in contrast to the nose leaf of fruit eating bat)

CAT #	*SITE*	*MUSEUM CARD INFORMATION*
	ARNOS VALE SWAMP	
Ad 26	Museum drawers, Arnos Vale Swamp	SVC 10 Bat nosed hollow backed lug 5x5.5 cm red slipped - Kirby
Ad 37	Museum drawers, Arnos Vale Swamp	N/A
Ad 42	Museum drawers, Arnos Vale Swamp	N/A
Ad 64	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 73	Museum drawers, Arnos Vale Swamp	N/A
Ad 96	Museum drawers - Arnos Swamp	N/A
Ad 97	Museum drawers - Arnos Swamp	N/A
Ad 98	Museum drawers - Arnos Swamp	N/A
Ad 99	Museum drawers - Arnos Swamp	N/A
Ad 100	Museum drawers - Arnos Swamp	N/A
Ad 101	Museum drawers - Arnos Swamp	N/A
Ad 118	Museum drawers - (A-10)	N/A
Ad 125	Museum drawers - (A-8)	N/A
Ad 149	Saladoid display case	SVC 33 vulture head -Arnos Vale Swamp, 4x6.5 cm Wall
Ad 152	Saladoid display case	SVC 34 macaw head, part of strap handle; Arnos Vale Swamp, Wall, 3.5x6 cm
Ad 163	Saladoid display case	SVC 25 Arnos Vale Swamp; Wall; inward facing in compartmentilized vessel. Adorno continues as interior ridge separating vessel into two areas. White painted on the outside; red painted on the inside; 8x9cm
Ad 168	Saladoid display case	SVC 35 Arnos Vale Swamp; Jim Phillips; anthropom horizontally placed on vertical stalk from outside rim of shallow vessel; when found it was covered liberally with red powdery pigment, 7x11 cm
Ad 171	Saladoid display case	no card
Ad 178	Barrancoid display case	SVC 127 Barrancoid; Arnos Vale Swamp; Wall?; hollow back vertical incised lug and cayman papules-central papules on upper head projection; broken nose; top broken; 5x7 cm

CAT #	*SITE*	*MUSEUM CARD INFORMATION*
Ad 179	Barrancoid display case	SVC 119 Early Barrancoid; Arnos Vale Swamp; Wall; cylindrical hollow back lug; vertical-looped nose symmetrical; rectangular head projection incised; 3 pairs of papules incised and punctuated- cayman; hammer shark; 5x7 cm
Ad 183	Barrancoid display case	SVC 142 Barrancoid; Arnos Vale Swamp; horizontally placed on the rim of small vessel ;loop nose; cayman punctated papules; color approximately 10R3/3 5.5x3.5 cm
Ad 184	Barrancoid display case	SVC 514 Barrancoid; Arnos Vale Swamp; Wall; hollow back lug vertical; modeled incised; stylized fruit eating bat mask; on top of bulbous forehead punctated papules; eyes parallel slits; ears ovoid hemispheres snout projecting and pointed; mouth small papule slit; 5x5x4
Ad 185	Barrancoid display case	SVC 581 no card
Ad 188	Barrancoid display case	SVC 589 no card
Ad 189	Barrancoid display case	SVC 123 barrancoid; Cope; and; Leeward; Kirby; applied vertically, hollow back; incised; owl shaped head on rectangular lug with the central papule 9x10 cm
Ad 191	Barrancoid display case	SVC 125 Barrancoid; Arnos Vale Swamp; hollow facing outward; from small loop handle; thin section; bird head? incised slit eyes, 3x6x4.5
Ad 196	Barrancoid display case	SVC 134 Barrancoid; Arnos Vale Swamp; vertical on large lug; head projection stylized shark; 2 pairs lower papules-Cayman antibeus nose; purple red 10R 4/3; 10x12 cm
Ad 197	Barrancoid display case	SVC 132 Arnos Vale Swamp; K&M collectors vertical lug hollow back; section even; modeled incised face and base form; head projection large and incised inner rim incised; red slip well burnished 10R 4/6 15x12.5 cm outer rim diameter 68 cm

CAT #	SITE	MUSEUM CARD INFORMATION
	ARNOS VALE TEXACO TANK	
Ad 27	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 103	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 167	Saladoid display case	SVC 14 naturalistic vampire bat; Arnos Vale Oil Factory; Kirby; deep hollow interior forming cylinder red on head, white pigment at point of attachment to vessel; 4x3.5 cm
Ad 170	Saladoid display case	SVC 16 Shark; Arnos Vale Oil Factory; Kirby; horizontally placed on vessel; later Saladoid suggested by dot rather than line in the eye; 3x5 cm
	BUCCAMENT	
Ad 6	Found in 1996 at Buccament , in the spoil near an old excavation pit	N/A
Ad 245	Allaire 1993-94 Survey cat # 2 BC4-0, surface find	N/A
Ad 246	Allaire 1993-94 Survey cat # 4 BC4-0, surface find	N/A
Ad 247	Allaire 1993-94 Survey cat # 59 BCC-0, surface find	N/A
	CAMDEN PARK	
Ad 155	Saladoid display case	SVC 7 adorno as handle; Camden Park-Madam Duke? Kirby, early Saladoid handle on exterior rim in horizontal plane. Unpainted
Ad 158	Saladoid display case	SVC 3 monkey faced adorno; Camden Park - Madam Duke; Kirby; Possible a stylized howler monkey; 5x6
Ad 159	Saladoid display case	SVC 19 monkey; Camden Park,-Madam Duke; Kirby; placed at an angle to vessel edge, faced upwards. Early Saladoid suggested by solid back - forerunner to hollow back lugs-compare with SVC21

CAT #	SITE	MUSEUM CARD INFORMATION
	CAREENAGE	
Ad 190	Barrancoid display case	SVC 124 Barrancoid; Careenage Cannouan; Kirby; horizontal? bird with beak broken off; solid; incised slit eyes; 6x5.5 cm
Ad 248	Allaire 1993-94 Survey cat # 59 CRN-0, surface find	N/A
	DAPHAE SCHOOL	
Ad 172	Saladoid display case	SVC 22 Daphae School Yard (Known as Gomal School) Kirby; on loop handle facing outwards? 4.5x7 cm
	ESCAPE	
Ad 34	Museum drawers, Escape	N/A
Ad 44	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 48	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 145	Early Saladoid display case	SVC 29 Argyle, Kirby & Baisden - horizontally placed on vessel just below the rim, 4x5 cm
Ad 147	Saladoid display case	SVC 30 Argyle; Kirby & Baisden - vertically placed on vessel rim; anthropomorphic, reversible face can be viewed from two angles, 5x5,5 cm
Ad 148	Saladoid display case	SVC 27 snake head? Argyle-western part; Kirby & Baisden, horizontally placed, facing outwards on short cylindrical pedestal, 4x5cm
Ad 151	Saladoid display case	SVC 32 Peccary head?, Argyle?, Kirby? 3.5x4.5 cm
Ad 166	Saladoid display case	SVC 8 adorno handle, loop; stylized "coch s'the rock; Escape; Hatton; put in brick-red series; slip reddish-brick; 4x9 cm
Ad 173	Saladoid display case	SVC 26 Argyle; Bob Shacochis;1976; anthro hollowback lug. Angular placement on vessel rim; eye painted white contains Caiman eyes and nose-the latter is also eye of hammerhead shark; vampire bat nose; mouth

CAT #	SITE	MUSEUM CARD INFORMATION
		of dolphin, 4.5x4.5 cm
Ad 207	Museum drawers	N/A
	FITZ-HUGHS	
Ad 21	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 63	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 70	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 71	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 219	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 240	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 227	Backroom storage	N/A
	GRENADINE ISLANDS	
Ad 38	Museum drawers, Chatham, Grenadines	N/A
Ad 153	Saladoid display case	SVC 510 Chatham, Wall, solid burnished all around (unpainted); Pearls type head
Ad 181	Barrancoid display case	SVC 120 early Barrancoid; Grenadines?; hollow back with deep finger hole; adorno horizontal from near vertical lug; nose truncated hollow cone; lower papules present; upper incised ovals-slit eyes; 8x6.5 cm
	KINGSTOWN POST OFFICE	
Ad 177	Saladoid display case	SVC 48 vessel fragment with annular base; KPO, level I; estimated internal diameter of vessel=18 cm; annular base=7.5 cm; height of base = 1.5 cm; height of vessel =5.2 cm; depth of center 3cm, red painted and excised interior line near rim

CAT #	*SITE*	*MUSEUM CARD INFORMATION*
	NEW SANDY BAY	
Ad 8	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 156	Saladoid display case	SVC 5 duck effigy, Sandy Bay (?); Kirby 5x5 cm
Ad 169	Saladoid display case	SVC 11 stylized Puma (naturalistic); Sandy Bay; Kirby; red-slipped, burnished , 2x4 cm
Ad 174	Saladoid display case	SVC 24 New Sandy Bay; Kirby; Very well made primitive anthropom hollow-back lug with vampire-type nose; 10x8.5 cm
	OWIA	
Ad 175	Saladoid display case	SVC 20 pelican effigy on rim of small vessel; 'Owia'; Kirby; faces outwards; chest of the pelican is hollow with tinkling bead inside; black paint, 8x8 cm
	PETIT BORDEL	
Ad 72	Museum drawers, Petit Bordel	N/A
	QUEENSBURY	
Ad 40	Museum drawers, Queensbury	N/A
Ad 115	Museum drawers - (A-10)	SVC 23 - Queensbury - found in riverbed surface weathered by water 6x7.5 cm Kirby - primitive anthro hollow-back
Ad 128	Display Cases - 'Q 92' Queensbury site	
	QUESTELLES (near old sugar works)	
Ad 165	Saladoid display case	SVC 9 stylized manatee; Questelles (near old Sugar Works); Kirby; typical Saladoid incised decoration. From brick red series 8.5x5 cm

CAT #	SITE	MUSEUM CARD INFORMATION
	YAMBOU	
Ad 58	Museum drawers, Y1- Yambou	N/A
	YORK SUGAR-LOAF	
Ad 194	Barrancoid display case-"YS"	SVC 121 early Barrancoid; York-sugar loaf; Kirby; hollow back diagonally incised; head projection lower papules Cayman upper hammer shark; nose fruit bat 7x8.5 cm
	UNKNOWN CONTEXTS	
Ad 1	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 2	Dr. Kirby's desk drawer	N/A
Ad 3	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 4	Dr. Kirby's desk drawer	N/A
Ad 5	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 7	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 9	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 10	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 11	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 12	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 13	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 14	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 15	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 16	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 17	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 18	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 19	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 20	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 22	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 23	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 24	Museum drawers	N/A

CAT #	*SITE*	*MUSEUM CARD INFORMATION*
Ad 28	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 29	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 30	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 31	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 32	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 33	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 35	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 36	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 43	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 45	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 46	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 47	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 49	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 50	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 51	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 52	Museum drawers	SVC 17 Stylized Bird excavated by Wall probably placed just below rim 2x3 cm
Ad 53	Museum drawers	SVC 44 no card
Ad 54	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 56	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 57	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 59	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 60	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 61	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 62	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 65	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 66	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 67	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 68	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 69	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 74	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A
Ad 75	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A
Ad 76	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A
Ad 77	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A

CAT #	*SITE*	*MUSEUM CARD INFORMATION*
Ad 78	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A
Ad 79	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A
Ad 80	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A
Ad 81	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A
Ad 82	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A
Ad 83	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A
Ad 84	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A
Ad 85	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A
Ad 86	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A
Ad 87	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A
Ad 88	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A
Ad 89	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A
Ad 90	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A
Ad 91	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A
Ad 92	Saladoid/Barrancoid display case drawers	N/A
Ad 93	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 94	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 102	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 104	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 105	Museum drawers	SVC 138 - no card
Ad 106	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 107	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 108	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 109	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 110	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 111	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 112	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 113	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 114	Museum drawers - (A-10)	N/A
Ad 116	Museum drawers - (A-10)	N/A
Ad 117	Museum drawers - (A-10)	N/A
Ad 119	Museum drawers - (A-10)	N/A
Ad 120	Museum drawers - (A-8)	N/A
Ad 121	Museum drawers - (A-8)	N/A

CAT #	*SITE*	*MUSEUM CARD INFORMATION*
Ad 122	Museum drawers - (A-8)	N/A
Ad 123	Museum drawers - (A-8)	N/A
Ad 124	Museum drawers - (A-8)	N/A
Ad 126	Museum drawers - (A-8)	N/A
Ad 127	Display Cases	SVC 464 no card
Ad 129	Display Cases	SVC 466 no card
Ad130	Display Cases	SVC 465 no card
Ad 131	Display Cases	SVC 462 no card
Ad 132	Display Cases	SVC 449 no card
Ad 133	Display Cases	SVC 454 no card
Ad 134	Display Cases	SVC 492 no card
Ad 135	Display Cases	SVC 445 no card
Ad 136	Display Cases	SVC 439 no card
Ad 137	Display Cases	SVC 438 no card
Ad 138	Display Cases	SVC 430 no card
Ad 139	Display Cases	SVC 434 no card
Ad 140	Display Cases	SVC 417 no card
Ad 141	Display Cases	N/A
Ad 142	Display Cases	SVC 421 no card
Ad 143	Display Cases	SVC 425 no card
Ad 144	Display Cases	SVC 424 no card
Ad 160	Saladoid display case	N/A
Ad 161	Saladoid display case	N/A
Ad 162	Saladoid display case	N/A
Ad 182	Barrancoid display case	SVC 580 no card
Ad 186	Barrancoid display case	SVC 579 no card
Ad 187	Barrancoid display case	SVC 583 no card
Ad 192	Barrancoid display case	SVC 582 no card
Ad 193	Barrancoid display case	SVC 130 Barrancoid; vertical lug slightly hollow; heavy base form segmented eyes; incised; head projection pointed; formalized shark
Ad 195	Barrancoid display case	SVC 131 Barrancoid; lot 14; Kirby?; hollow vertical lug; head projection stylized shark; incised; antibeus nose; 1 pair lower papules; eyes segmented punctated

CAT #	SITE	MUSEUM CARD INFORMATION
		4.5x8 cm
Ad 198	Barrancoid display cast	SVC 141 Barrancoid; Lot 14; hammock shape ending in loop handle with outward facing adorno-BBB outside (under); buff ochre; gable rim; pinky red; 18.5x12x5 cm
Ad 199	Other case	SVC 491 no card
Ad 200	Other case	SVC 487 no card
Ad 201	Other case	SVC 486 no card
Ad 202	Other case	SVC 713 no card
Ad 203	Other case	N/A
Ad 204	Other case	N/A
Ad 180	Barrancoid display case	SVC 122 hollow back; upper projection hammer shark; nose split - manatee?; 4.5x7 cm
Ad 206	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 208	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 209	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 210	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 211	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 212	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 213	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 214	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 215	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 216	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 217	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 218	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 220	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 221	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 222	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 223	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 224	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 225	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 226	Museum drawers	N/A
Ad 228	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 229	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 230	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 231	Backroom storage	N/A

CAT #	*SITE*	*MUSEUM CARD INFORMATION*
Ad 232	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 233	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 234	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 235	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 236	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 237	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 238	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 239	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 241	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 242	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 243	Backroom storage	N/A
Ad 244	Museum drawers	N/A

APPENDIX B

Attribute list of Saladoid
adornos from St. Vincent

ATTRIBUTE LIST OF SALADOID ADORNOS FROM ST. VINCENT

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	AG
Ad 173	1	2	0	0	4.5	4.5	3.5	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	3.5	2	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 44	1	2	0	0					1	3			1			1	3	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 9	1	1	2	1	7	12	4	4	1	1	2		1	3	4	1	3	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	1	7.5	12		6	0	1
Ad 10	1	1	2	1	8	12	3.5	4	1	2	1		1	3	4	1	1	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	2	1		12			0	1
Ad 12	1	1	2	1	7.5	5.5	4	4	1	1	2		1	2.5	3	1	1	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	1					0	2
Ad 1	1	2	0	0	4	4.5	4	4.5	1	1	2		1	3	4.5	1	1	1	3	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 14	1	1	2	3	9	7	4	4.5	1	1	1		1	3.5	4.5	1	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	1	6	7	4		0	1
Ad 15	1	1	2	1	6.5	7.5	7.5	5	1	1	1		1	3	5	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1					0	2
Ad 20	1	1	2	1	5	9	2.5	3	1	1	1		1	2	3	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1		9			0	2
Ad 29	1	2	0	0	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	1	1	2		1	2.5	4.5	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 30	1	2	0	0	5	3.5	5	4	1	1	2		1	3.5	4	1	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 34	1	2	0	0	5	4	5	4	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 40	1	1	2	1	6.5	9.5	3	3.5	1	1	2	2	1	2.5	3.5	1	1	1	3	1	1	0	0	0	2	1		9.5			0	1
Ad 43	1	2	0	0	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	1	1	1		1	4	4.5	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	1

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	AG
Ad 75	1	1	2	1	5	4	3	4	1	1	1		1	2.5	4	1	1	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 76	1	2	0	0	3.5	4	3	4	1	1	1		1	2.5	4	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 80	1	2	0	0	4	3.5	4	3.5	1	1	2		1	3.5	3.5	1	2	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 81	1	2	0	0	6	5	6	5	1	1	2	2	1	3.5	5	1	1	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 83	1	2	0	0	6.5	4	6.5	3.5	1	1	2	2	1	4	3.5	1	1	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 90	1	2	0	0	4.5	4	4.5	4	1	1	1		1	4	3.5	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 95	1	2	0	0	5.5	4.5	5.5	4.5	1	1	1		1	3.5	4.5	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 97	1	2	0	0	5	4.5	5	4.5	1	1	2	2	1	2.5	3.5	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 98	1	2	0	0	5	4.5	5	4.5	1	1	2	2	1	3.5	3.5	1	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 100	1	2	0	0	3	3.5	3	3.5	1	1	1		1	2.5	3	1	1	1	5	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 115	1	1	2	1	7	5	5	5.5	1	1	1		1	4	5.5	1	1	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 117	1	1	2	1	8	6	3	3	1	1	1		1	2.5	3	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	1	3.5	5			0	1
Ad 127	1	1	2	1	10	14	5	4	1	1	2		1	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	1			2		0	1
Ad 135	1	1	2	3	9.5	10	4	4	1	1	1		1	3	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1				4	4	0	1
Ad 143	1	1	2	1	7.5	6.5	3.5	4	1	1	1		1	2.75	4	1	1	1	3	1	1	0	0	0	3	1	5	6	3	4	0	1
Ad 144	1	1	2	3	6.5	6.5	4	4	1	1	1		1	2.5	4	1	1	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	3	1	5	6.5		5	0	2
Ad 185	1	2	0	0	6	3.75	6	3.75	1	1	2		1	2.25	3.25	1	1	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 196	1	1	2	1	10.75	10.5	6.5	5	1	1	2	2	1	3.5	4.25	1	1	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	1		14			0	2
Ad 228	1	1	2	1	9.5	8.5	6.25	6.75	1	1	2	2	1	3.5	4	1	1	1	3	1	1	0	0	0	2	1					0	2
Ad 229	1	1	2	1	10.5	10	3.75	5	1	1	1		1	2.75	5	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1		7			0	1
Ad 230	1	1	2	1	7.5	4.25	5	4.25	1	1	2	2	1	2.5	4.25	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 235	1	2	0	0	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	1	1	1	2	1	3.75	4.5	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 8	1	1	2	1	8.5	16	5	4.5	1	1	2	2	1	4	4.5	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	2						0	1

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	AG
Ad 17	1	1	2	1	5.5	8	3.5	3	1	1	1		1	2.5	3	1	1	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	3		5	8	2	6	0	2
Ad 18	1	1	2	1	7.5	8.5	4.5	4	1	1	2		1	3	4	1	1	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	2	1					0	2
Ad 19	1	1	2	1	9	11.5	5.5	4.5	1	1	2		1	3.5	3.5	1	1	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	2	1		16			0	2
Ad 23	1	1	2	1	5.5	5.5	4	4.5	1	1	2		1	2.5	4	1	1	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 24	1	1	2	1	9	11	5	6	1	1	2	2	1	3	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	1					0	2
Ad 25	1	2	0	0	5	5	5	5	1	1	2		1	3.5	5	4	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 28	1	1	2	1	4.5	4	2.5	3	1	1	1		1	2.3	3	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	4		6	0	1
Ad 36	1	2	0	0	6	5	6	5	1	1	2	2	1	4	4.5	1	2	3	4	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 37	1	2	0	0	6	4.5	6	4.5	1	1	2	2	1	3.5	4.5	2	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 39	1	1	2	1	6	4.5	3	3	1	1	1	2	1	2.5	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1		4			0	1
Ad 41	1	2	0	0	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	1	1	1		1	3	3.5	2	1	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 42	1	2	0	0	4	5.5	4	5.5	1	1	1	2	1	3	4	2	1	1	5	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 77	1	2	0	0	6	4.5	5	4	1	1	2		1	3	4	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 78	1	2	0	0	6	3.5	5	3	1	1	2		1	2.5	3	1	1	3	4	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 87	1	2	0	0	5.5	4	5.5	3	1	1	2	2	1	3.5	3	1	1	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 88	1	2	0	0	4	3.5	4	3.5	1	1	1		1	3.5	2.5	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 92	1	2	0	0	3	3.5	3	3.5	1	1	1		1	2.5	3.5	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 93	1	2	1	1	7.5	9	4	3.5	1	1	1	2	1	3.75	3.5	0	2	3	4	1	0	0	0	0	0						1	1
Ad 96	1	2	0	0	7	4.5	7	4.5	1	1	2		1	4	4.5	1	1	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 103	1	2	0	0	4	3.5	4	3.5	1	1	2		1	3	3.5	1	1	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 114	1	1	2	1	9	7.5	2.75	4	1	1	1		1	2.5	4	1	1	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	3	1	5.5	7.5	2	4	0	1
Ad 128	1	2	0	0	8	6	6	6	1	1	2	2	1	3.5	6	1	1	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0					2	0	2
Ad 129	1	1	2	1	8.25	8.5	3.5	3.5	1	1	1	2	1	2.5	3.5	1	1	1	3	1	1	0	0	0	3	1	8.5	8.5	2	1	0	1

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	AG
Ad 130	1	1	2	1	10	8.5	8	7.5	1	1	2	2	1	5.5	7.5	1	1	1	5	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 133	1	1	2	1	10	10	3	3	1	1	1		1	2.25	3	6	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1			4		0	1
Ad 137	1	1	2	1	6	13.5	4.5	5	1	1	1	2	1	3	4	2	1	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 142	1	1	2	1	11	10	4.5	5	1	1	1		1	4	5	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	1	8			7	0	1
Ad 163	1	2	1	1	7.5	7	3	2.5	1	1	1		1	1.3	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 172	1	2	2	0	6.5	4	4.5	4	1	1	1	2	1	3	2.5	1	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 174	1	1	2	1	7.5	8.5	3.5	4.25	1	1	1		1	2.5	3.5	1	1	3	4	1	1	0	0	0	2	1		8.5			0	2
Ad 179	1	2	0	0	6.5	4.5	6.5	4.5	1	1	1	2	1	3	3	1	1	1	5	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 180	1	2	0	0	6.5	4.5	6.5	4.5	1	1	2	2	1	3.25	4.5	1	3	1	3	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 193	1	2	0	0	7	6.5	6.25	5	1	1	2		1	4	5	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 194	1	1	2	1	7.5	6	4	3.5	1	1	1	2	1	3.25	3.5	1	2	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	1					0	1
Ad 195	1	2	0	0	7.25	4.25	7.25	4.25	1	1	2	2	1	3	4.25	1	1	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 197	1	2	1	1	11	16	8	5.5	1	1	1	2	1	3.5	3.5	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0						2	2
Ad 227	1	1	0	1	6	5.75	3.75	3.5	1	1	1		1	2.5	3.5	1	1	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	2	1			2	2	0	2
Ad 231	1	2	0	0	3.25	3.75	3.25	3.75	1	1	1		1	2.75	3.75	1	1	1	5	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 233	1	2	0	0	5.25	3.5	5.25	3.5	1	1	2		1	3	3.5	1	1	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 234	1	2	0	0	5	4.75	3.75	3.5	1	1	1		1	2.25	3.5	1	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 236	1	2	0	0	3	3	3	3	1	1	1		1	2.25	3	4	1	1	5	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 182	1	2	0	0	4	3	4	3	1	1	1	2	1	3	3	2	2	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	0						0	1
Ad 58	1	2	0	0	5	5	5	5	1	1	1		1	3.5	5	4	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 60	1	2	0	0	4.5	4	4.5	4	1	1	1	2	1	3.5	3	4	0	1	5	1	0	2	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 153	1	2	0	0	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	1	1	1	2	1	4.5	4.5	4	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 2	1	2	0	0	5.25	3.5	5.25	3.5	1	1	2	2	1	2.5	3.5	1	1	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	AG
Ad 160	1	1	2	1	7	8	3	3	1	1	1		1	3	3	4	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	1	6	8			0	1
Ad 164	1	2	0	0	5.5	6	5.5	6	1	1	1	2	1	3.5	3.5	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0						0	2
Ad 131	1	2	0	0	5.5	7.5	5.5	7.5	1	1	1	2	1	4.5	7.5	5	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 245	1	1	2	1	8.5	7	5.5	4.5	1	1	2	2	1	3	4.5	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	3						0	2
Ad 248	1	2	2	2	3.5	4	3	3.5	1	1	1	2	1	2.5	2.5	1	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 11	1	2	2	1	8	12	6	6	1	1	1		1	4	5	1	1	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	2						0	2
Ad 26	1	2	0	0	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	1	1	1		1	3	4.5	1	1	3	4	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 35	1	2	0	0	6.5	5	5	5	1	1	2		1	3.5	3.5	1	1	3	4	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 79	1	2	0	0	5	3.5	5	3.5	1	1	2		1	3	3.5	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 85	1	1	2	3	7.5	3.5	3	3.5	1	1	1		1	2.75	3.5	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1			3	0	0	1
Ad 86	1	2	0	0	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	1	2	1		1	3.5	3.5	1	3	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 89	1	2	0	0	6	3.5	6	3.5	1	1	2		1	4.5	3	1	1	1	3	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 94	1	1	0	1	7	4.5	5	3.5	1	1	2		1	3	3.5	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 118	1	1	2	3	9	4	4	4	1	1	1	2	1	3	4	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	1			1		0	1
Ad 119	1	1	2	3	7	6.5	2.5	2.5	1	1	1		1	2	2.5	1	1	6	5	1	0	0	0	0	3	1				4	0	1
Ad 178	1	2	0	0	6.5	4.25	6.5	4.25	1	1	3	2	1	2.5	3	1	1	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	2
Ad 181	1	2	1	1	5.5	7.5	4.5	5.5	1	1	2	2	1	4	5	0	2	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	1
Ad 3	1	2	2	1	7.5	3	3	3	2	3			1	3	3	4	6	4	4	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 145	1	2	0	0	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	2	3			1	4	4.5	4	1	6	5	1	0	0	2	0	0						0	
Ad 22	1	2	1	2	16	5	4.5	4.5	2	3			1	3	5.5	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 64	1	2	1	2	6	14	3	3.5	2	3			1	3	3.5	4	1	1	4	0	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 67	1	1	3	2	4	8	2.5	3	2	3			1	2.5	3	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 205	1	2	3	0	3.75	4	3.5	3.25	2	3			1	3.5	3.25	0	1	1	5	1	0	0	1	0	0						0	

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	AG
Ad 54	1	2	1	2	4.5	5	2.5	3	2	3			1	2.5	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 62	1	2	3	2	4	4	4	4	2	3			1	4	4	6	6	6	5	0	0	0	0	2	0						0	
Ad 63	1	2	3	2	4.5	3.5	4.5	3.5	2	3			1	3.5	4.5	4	5	6	5	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 101	1	2	0	0	3	3.5	3	3.5	2	3			1	3	3.5	4	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 112	1	2	3	2	3.5	3	3.5	3	2	3			1	3.5	3	4	1	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 113	1	2	0	0	4	3	4	3	2	3			1	4	3	4	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	3	0						0	
Ad 122	1	2	3	2	7	10.5	3	5	2	3			1	2.5	4	4	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0						0	
Ad 147	1	2	0	2	5	5.5	5	4.5	2	3			1	5	4.5	2	1	3	3	0	1	2	0	0	0						0	
Ad 177	1	2	2	1	8.5	12.5	2	1.5	2	3			1	2	1.5	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 184	1	2	0	0	4.5	4.25	4.5	4.25	2	3			1	4.5	4.25	0	2	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	0						0	
Ad 189	1	1	2	1	9	8.5	3.25	3.75	2	3			1			4	5	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	7.5	8.5	2	3	0	
Ad 220	1	2	2	2	5	4	2.25	2.25	3	3			1	2.25	2.25	4	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 222	1	2	3	2	3.25	3	3.25	3	2	3			1	3.25	3	4	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 237	1	2	3	2	3.25	2.25	2.25	2.25	3	3			1	2.75	2.25	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 203	1	2	2	2					2	3			1			2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 204	1	2	2	2					2	3			1			3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 57	1	2	0	0	3.5	3	3.5	3	2	3			1	3.5	3	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 200	1	2	0	0	3.25	5	3.25	5	2	3			1	3.25	5	4	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 244	1	2	2	1	3.25	6	3.25	6	2	3			1	3.25	6	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 6	1	2	2	2	7	6	4	6	2	3			1	4	6	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 48	1	2	3	2	7	7.5	4	4	2	3			1	4	4	4	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0						0	
Ad 49	1	2	0	0	7	3	3.5	3	2	3			1	3.5	3	3	2	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 50	1	2	0	2	5.5	5	5	5	2	3			1	5	5	4	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0						0	

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	AG
Ad 51	1	2	0	0	4.5	3	4.5	3	2	3			1	3	3	4	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 56	1	2	0	0	3.5	4	3.5	4	2	3			1	3.5	4	4	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 61	1	2	0	0	2.5	3.5	2.5	3.5	2	3			1	2.5	3.5	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 72	1	2	0	0	3	2	3	2	2	3			1	3	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 107	1	2	3	2	4	3.5	4	3.5	2	3			1	2.5	3.5	4	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	2	0						0	
Ad 126	1	2	2	0	4	10	2	3	2	3			1	2	3	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 150	1	2	0	2	3	6.5	3	4.5	2	3			1	3	4.5	4	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0						0	
Ad 187	1	2	0	0	2.5	2.75	2.5	2.75	2	3			1	2.5	2.75	4	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	3	0						0	
Ad 188	1	2	0	2	3.75	4.25	3	3	2	3			1	3	3	4	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0						0	
Ad 223	1	2	2	2	5.5	7	3.5	7	2	3			1	3.5	7	5	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 242	1	2	3	2	4.5	5	4.5	2.25	2	3			1	4.5	2.25	4	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 191	1	2	2	0	4.75	3.25	4.75	3.25	2	3			1	4.75	3.25	2	2	1	2	1	1	0	3	0	0						0	
Ad 247	1	2	0	2	3	6	3	4	2	3			1	3	4	4	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	0						0	
Ad 70	1	2	0	0	3	4.5	3		2	3			2	3		4	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 198	1	2	2	2	4.5	18.5	4	4	3	3			1	3	2.5	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 7	1	2	2	2	4.5	3.5	1	1.5	3	3			1	1	1.5	4	1	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 21	1	2	3	2	3.5	4.5	3.5	3	3	3			1	3.5	3	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0						1	
Ad 55	1	2	0	0	3	2.5	3	2.5	3	3			1	3	2.5	4	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0						0	
Ad 66	1	2	0	2	3.5	4	3.5	4	3	3			1	3.5	4	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 68	1	2	2	0	4.5	4	3.5	2.5	3	3			1	3.5	2.5	4	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 71	1	2	0	0	2.5	3.5	2.5	2.5	3	3			1	2.5	2.5	4	1	4	4	0	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 102	1	2	3	2	4	6.5	3	2.5	3	3			1	3	2.5	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0						1	
Ad 108	1	2	0	2	3	2.5	3	2.5	3	3			1	3	2.5	4	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	AG
Ad 109	1	2	2	2	3	2.5	3	1.5	3	3			1	3	1.5	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 110	1	2	3	2	3.5	4	3.5	2.5	3	3			1	3.5	2.5	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 120	1	2	2	2	6	5.5	3	2	3	3			1	3	2	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 123	1	2	2	2	6	4	4	2.5	3	3			1	4	2.5	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 125	1	2	2	2	5	3.5	3.5	2	3	3			1	3.5	2	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 136	1	2	2	2	7	8	5	2	3	3			1	5	2	4	1	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 138	1	2	2	0	7.5	11	3.5	10	3	3			1	3.5	10	4	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 141	1	2	2	2	8.5		3.5	1.5	3	3			1	3.5	1.5	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 149	1	2	0	0	3	4	3	4	3	3			1	3	4	4	6	4	2	2	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 151	1	2	0	0	3.5	3	3.5	3	3	3			1			4	1	4	2	0	0	1	0	0	0						0	
Ad 152	1	2	2	2	5.5	3.5	3.5	2.25	3	3			1	3.5	2.25	4	1	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 154	1	2	3	2	4	4	3	3	3	3			1	3	3	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 156	1	1	0	0	4.5	4.5	2	1.75	3	3			1	2	1.75	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 175	1	1	1	2	7	7.5	2	2	3	3			1	2	2	4	1	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	0					8	0	
Ad 190	1	2	0	0	5	5.5	3.25	3.75	3	3			1	3.25	3.25	4	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 206	1	2	2	2	4.75	5.25	3.5	2.5	3	3			1	3.5	2.5	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 207	1	2	2	2	5.75	4	4	1.5	3	3			1	4	1.5	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 209	1	2	2	2	6.5	4.25	6.5	2	3	3			1	6.5	2	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 211	1	2	2	2	6	6.25	3	2	3	3			1	3	2	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 212	1	2	2	2	7	4	2.25	1.5	3	3			1	2.25	1.5	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 213	1	2	2	2	6.5	4.25	3.25	2	3	3			1	3.25	2	4	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 214	1	2	2	2	10.75	4.25	4	1.5	3	3			1	4	1.5	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 215	1	2	2	2	9.25	4	3	1	3	3			1	3	1	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0						0	

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	AG
Ad 216	1	2	2	2	8.5	9	4	2	3	3			1	4	2	4	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 217	1	2	2	2	9.25	11.75	3.75	2.25	3	3			1	3.75	2.25	4	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0						0	
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Ad 226	1	2	0	0	2.5	3.5	2.5	3.5	3	3			1	2.5	3.5	6	5	3	4	0	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 246	1	2	0	2	2.5	4	2.5	4	3	3			1	2.5	4	4	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 158	1	2	0	0	5.5	5	6.5	5	5	3			1	5.5	5	4	1	5	0	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 46	1	2	0	0	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	5	3			1	3	3.5	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 168	1	2	1	3	10	6.5	6	6	5	1	1		1	4.5	4.5	4	0	5	2	1	1	0	1	0	0						0	
Ad 157	1	2	0	0	3.5	4.5	3	3.5	5	3			1	3	3.5	6	4	1	4	1	1	0	1	0	0						0	
Ad 300	1	2	0	0	4	4.5	4	4.5	5	3			1	4	4.5	4	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 47	1	2	0	0	4	4.5	4	4.5	5	3			1	4	4.5	4	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	3	0						0	
Ad 65	1	2	0	0	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	2	3			1	3.5	3.5	4	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 106	1	2	0	0	2.5	3.5	2.5	3.5	5	3			1	2.5	3.5	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0						0	
Ad 155	1	2	0	0	4	5	4	5	5	3			1	4	5	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 159	1	2	0	0	5.5	5	5.5	5	5	3			1	5.5	5	4	1	1	4	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 162	1	1	0	1	6.5	5.5	3.5	3	5	3			1	3.5	3	4	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0					2	0	
Ad 167	1	2	0	0	3	4	3	4	5	3			1	3	4	0	1	2	4	1	1	0	1	0	0						0	
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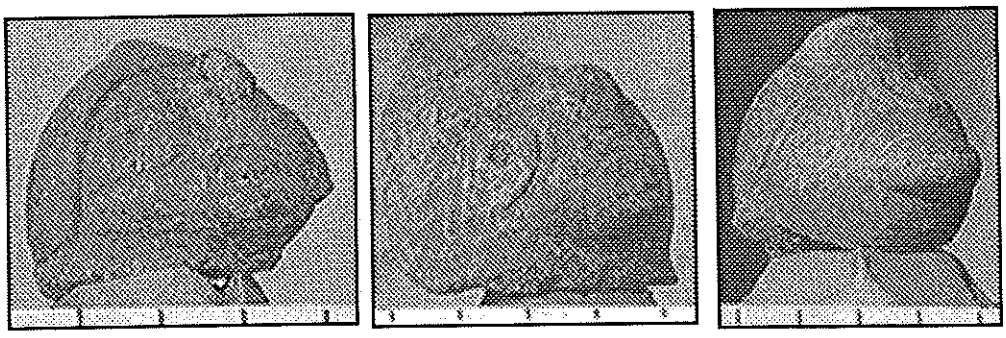
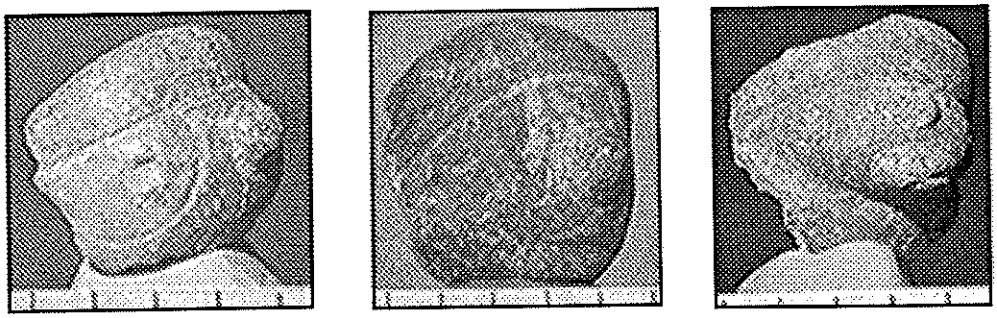
Ad 170	1	2	0	0	3.5	2.5	3.5	2.5	2	3			1	3.25	2.5	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0						0	
Ad 171	1	2	0	0	4	5	4	5	5	3			1	4	5	4	0	5	5	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 192	1	2	0	0	4	4	4	4	5	3			1			3	2	5	0	1	0	0	3	0	0						0	
Ad 52	1	2	3	2	2.5	2	1.5	1.5	4	3			1	1.5	1.5	4	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 59	1	2	3	2	2.5	4	2	3.5	4	3			1	2	3.5	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0						0	

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	AG
Ad 69	1	2	3	2	2.5	1.5	2.25	1.5	4	3			1	2.25	1.5	4	1	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 104	1	2	3	2	4.5	5.5	2.5	2	4	3			1	2.5	2	5	3	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 124	1	2	2	2	2.5	5	1.75	1.25	4	3			1	1.75	1.25	4	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 139	1	2	3	0	2.5	7.5	2.5	7	4	3			1	2.5	7	4	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 165	1	2	3	2	4.5	8	3	2	4	3			1	3	2	4	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0						1	
Ad 166	1	1	2	0	3.5	3.5	2.5	1.5	4	3			1	2.5	1.5	4	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	3						0	
Ad 186	1	2	0	0	2.5	6	2.5	5	4	3			1	2.5	5	4	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 202	1	1	0	0	3.5	6.25	2.25	5	4	3			1	3.25	5	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 219	1	2	0	0	5.5	4.5	2.5	1.5	4	3			1	2.5	1.5	4	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 221	1	2	0	0	3	4	3	4	4	3			1	3	4	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 238	1	2	3	2	3	2.25	3	2.75	4	3			1	3	2.75	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0						0	
Ad 243	1	2	0	0	2.5	1.75	2.5	1.75	4	3			1	2.5	1.75	4	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0						0	

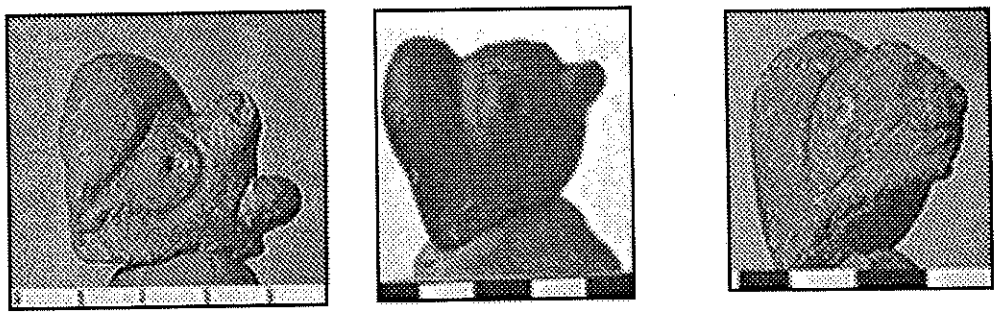
PLATES



a b c



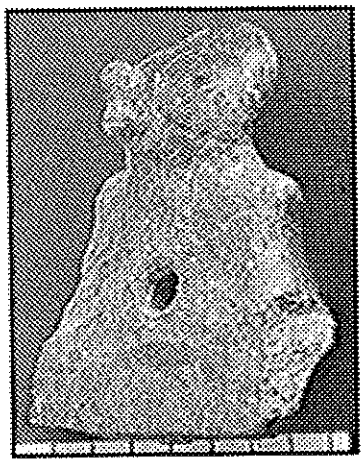
d e f



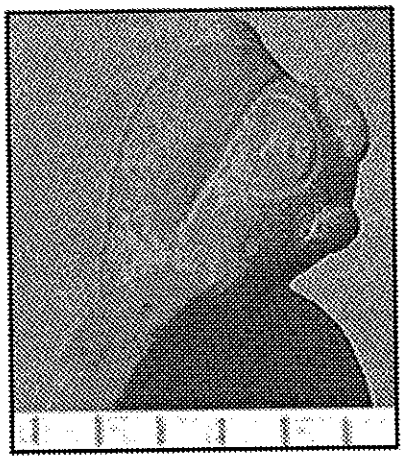
g h i

PLATE 1
Type IA1a adornos. *a*, Arnos Vale Texaco Tank.
b–i, unknown context.

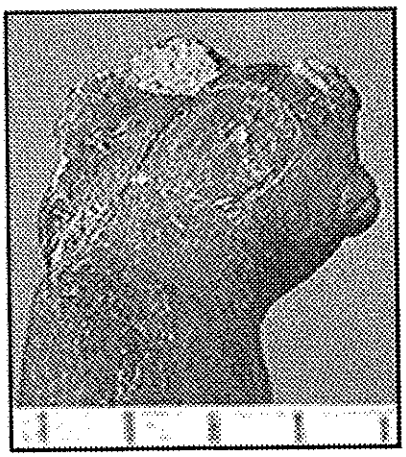
a



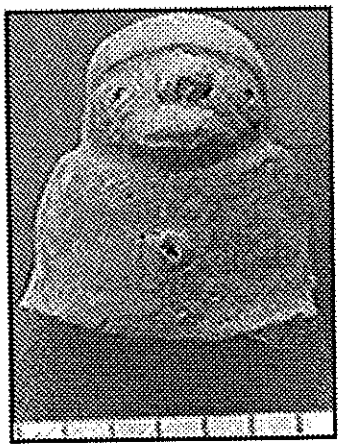
b



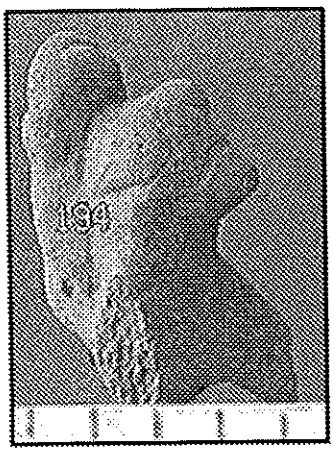
c



d



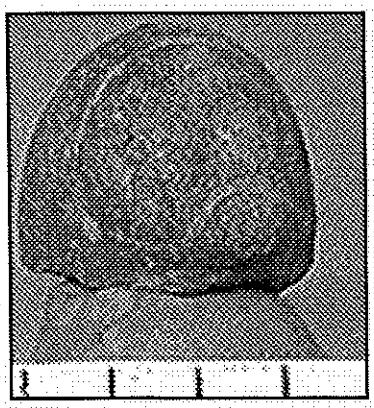
e



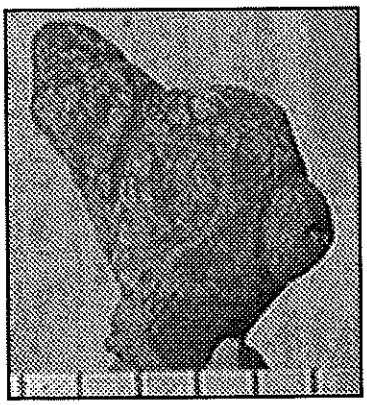
f

PLATE 2
Type IA1a adornos. *a-b, d-e*, unknown context.
c, New Sandy Bay. *f*, York Sugar-Loaf.

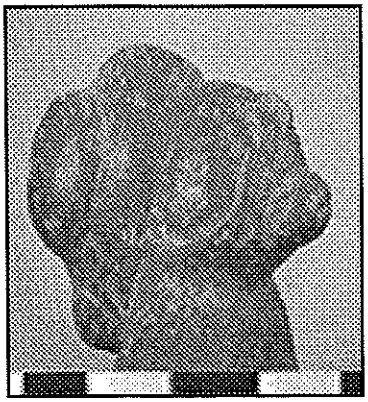
a



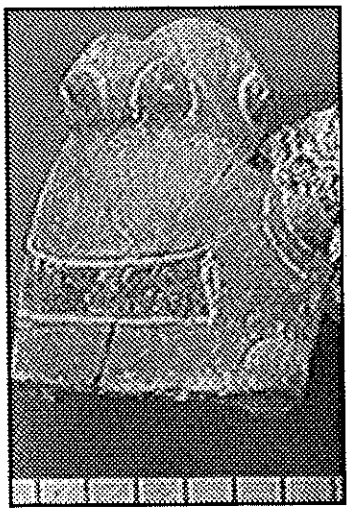
b



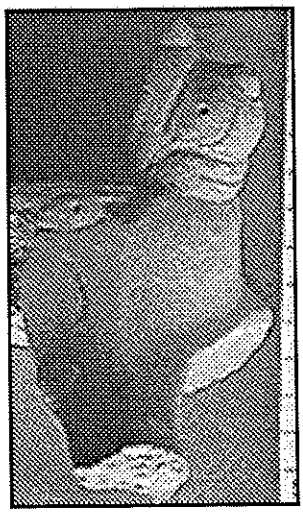
c



d



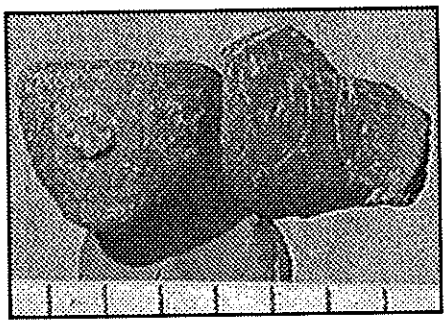
e



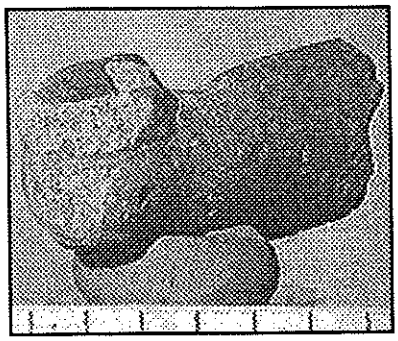
f

g

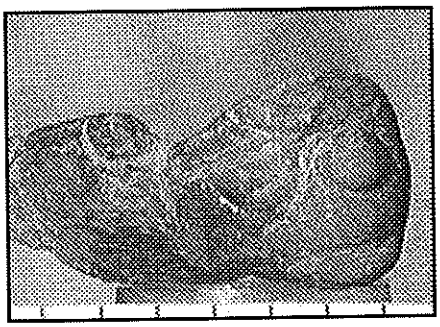
PLATE 3
Type IA1a adornos. *a, c, e-g*, unknown context. *b*, Arnos Vale.
d, Queensbury.



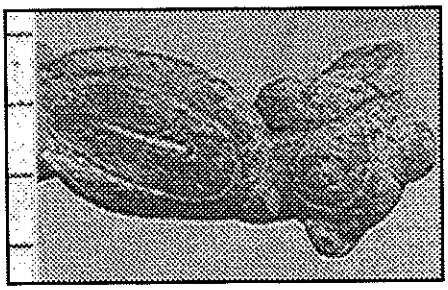
a



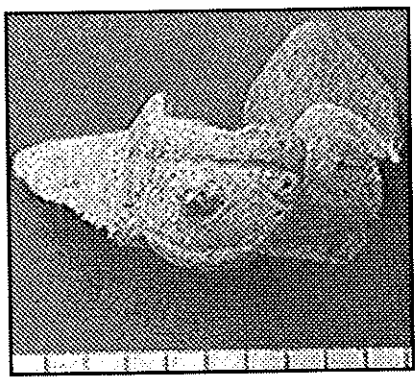
b



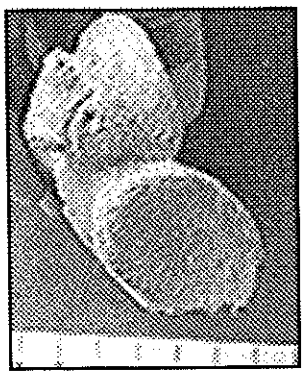
c



d

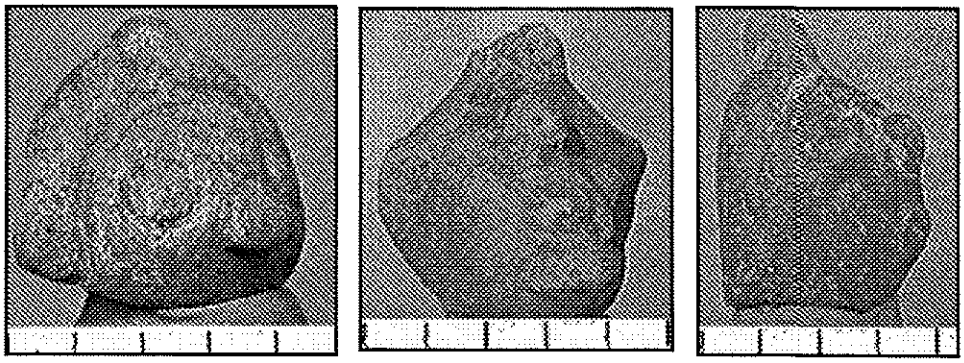


e

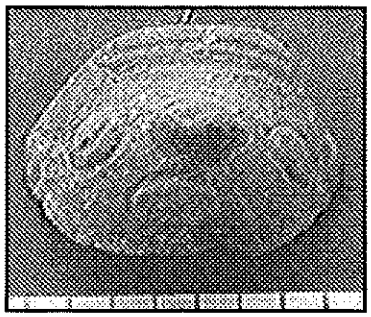


f

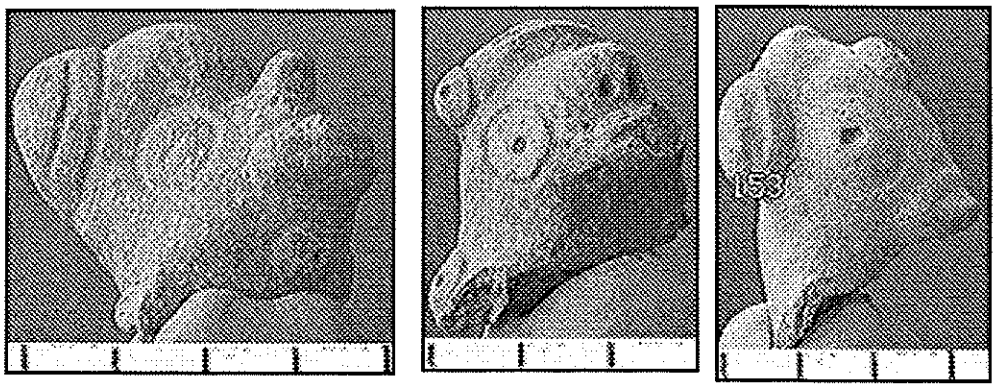
PLATE 4
Type IA1b adornos. *a-c, e-f*, unknown context.
d, Arnos Vale Swamp.



a b c

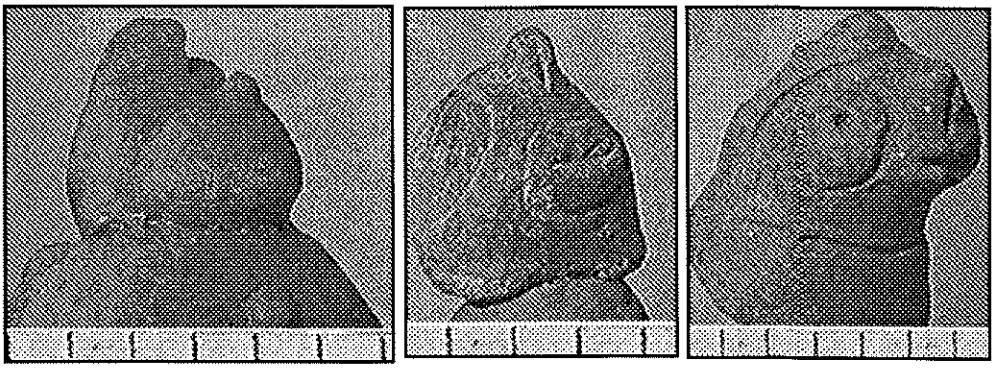


d

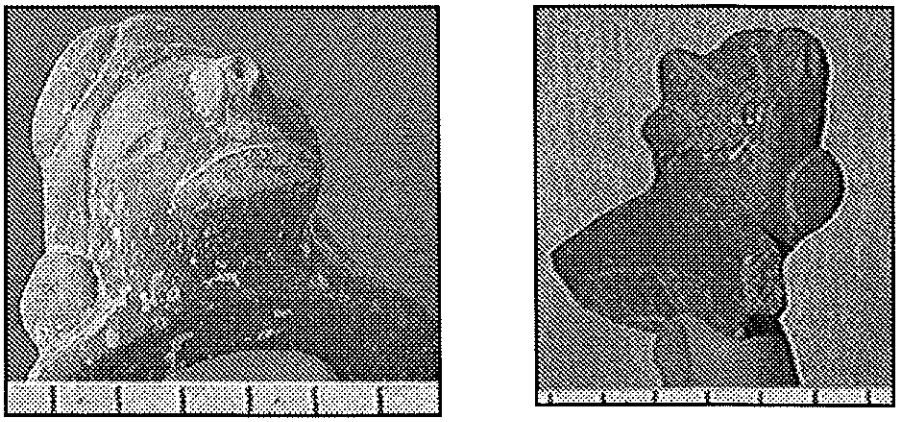


e f g

PLATE 5
Type IA1c adornos. *a*, Arnos Vale Swamp.
b, d-e, g, unknown context. *c*, Arnos Vale.
f, Escape.

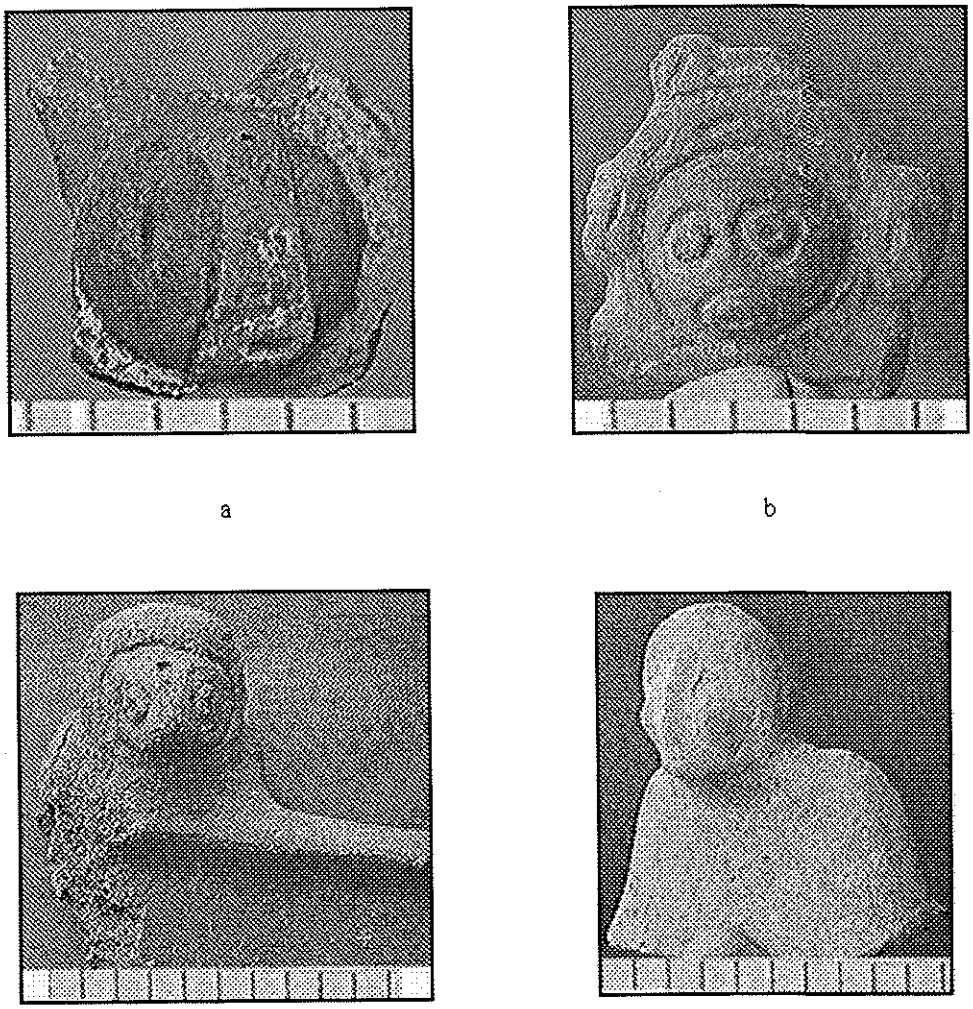


a b c



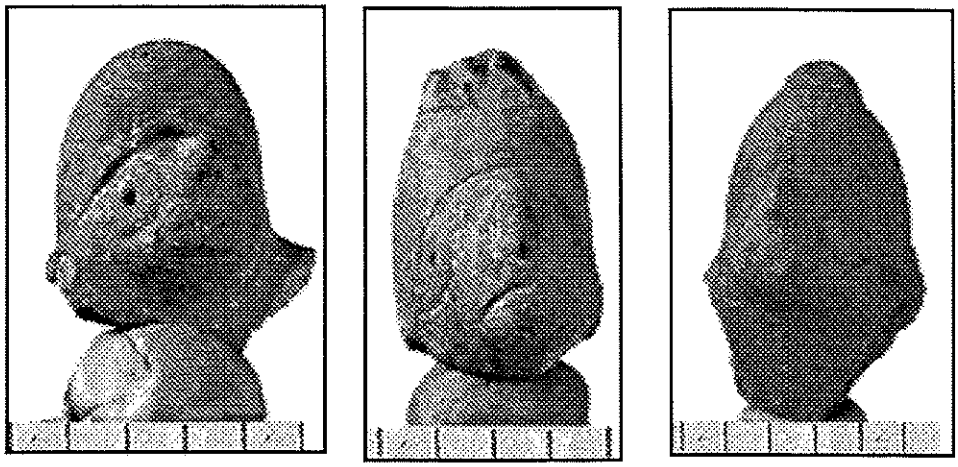
d e

PLATE 6
Type IA2a adornos. *a-c*, unknown context.
Type IA2b adornos. *d-e*, unknown context.

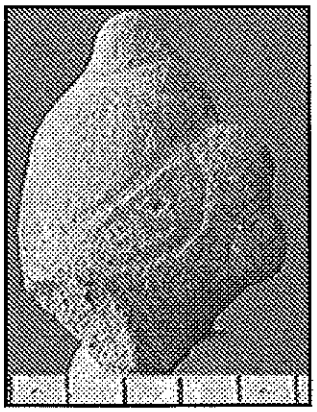


a b c d

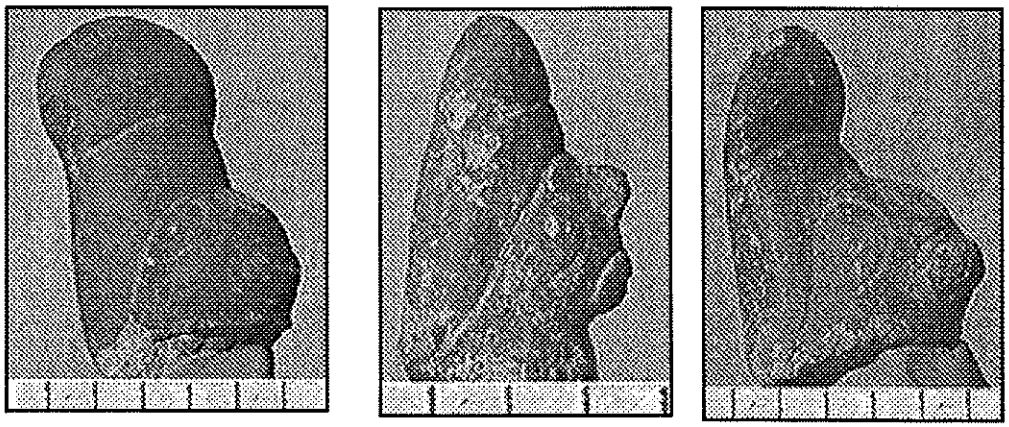
PLATE 7
Other Type IA adornos. *a*, Escape. *b*, Arnos Vale Playingfield. *c-d*, unknown context.



a b c

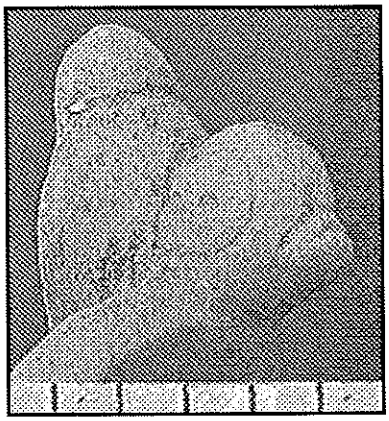


d

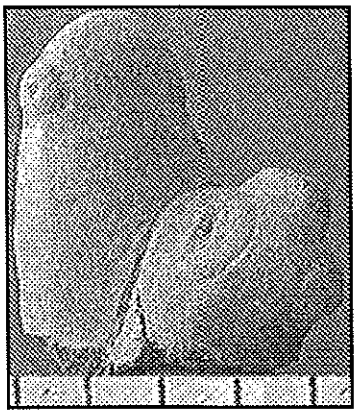


e f g

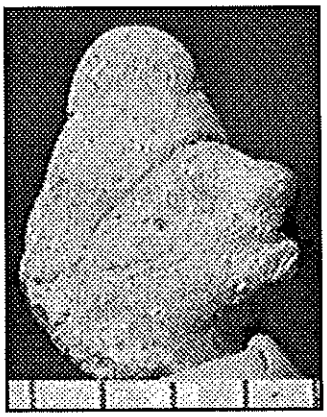
PLATE 8
Type IB1a adornos. *a–d, f–g*, unknown context.
e, Arnos Vale Swamp.



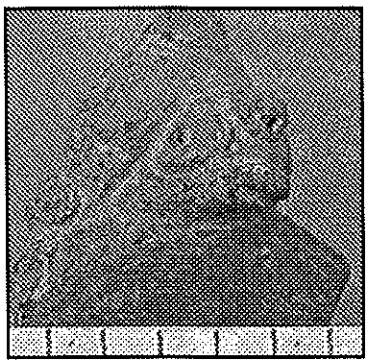
a



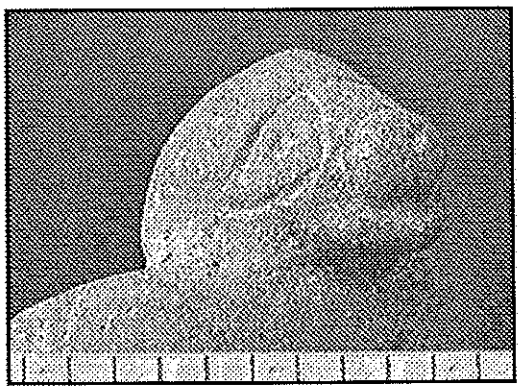
b



c



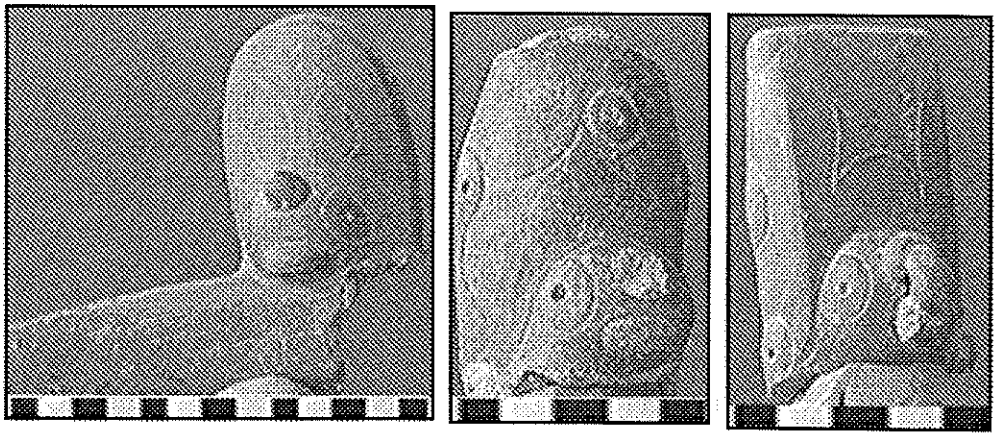
d



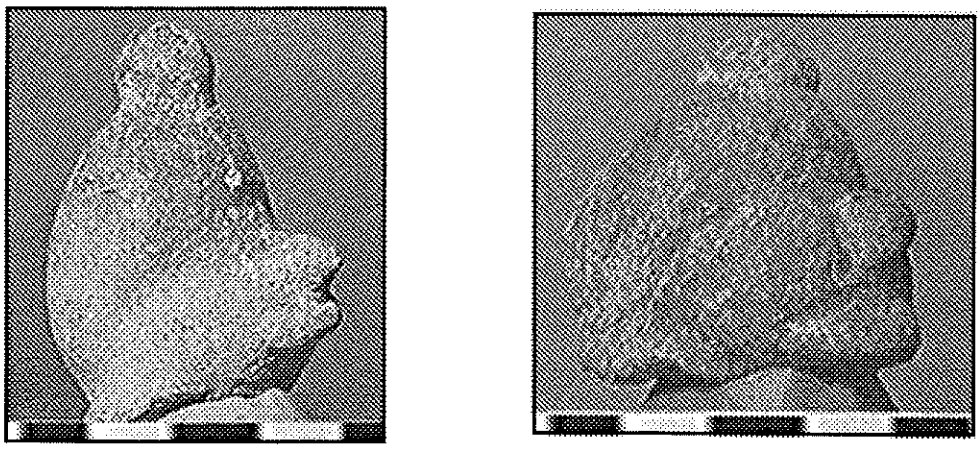
e

f

PLATE 9
Type IB1a adornos. *a-f*, unknown context.



a b c



d e

PLATE 10
Type IB1a adornos. *a-c*, Arnos Vale Swamp.
d-e, unknown context.

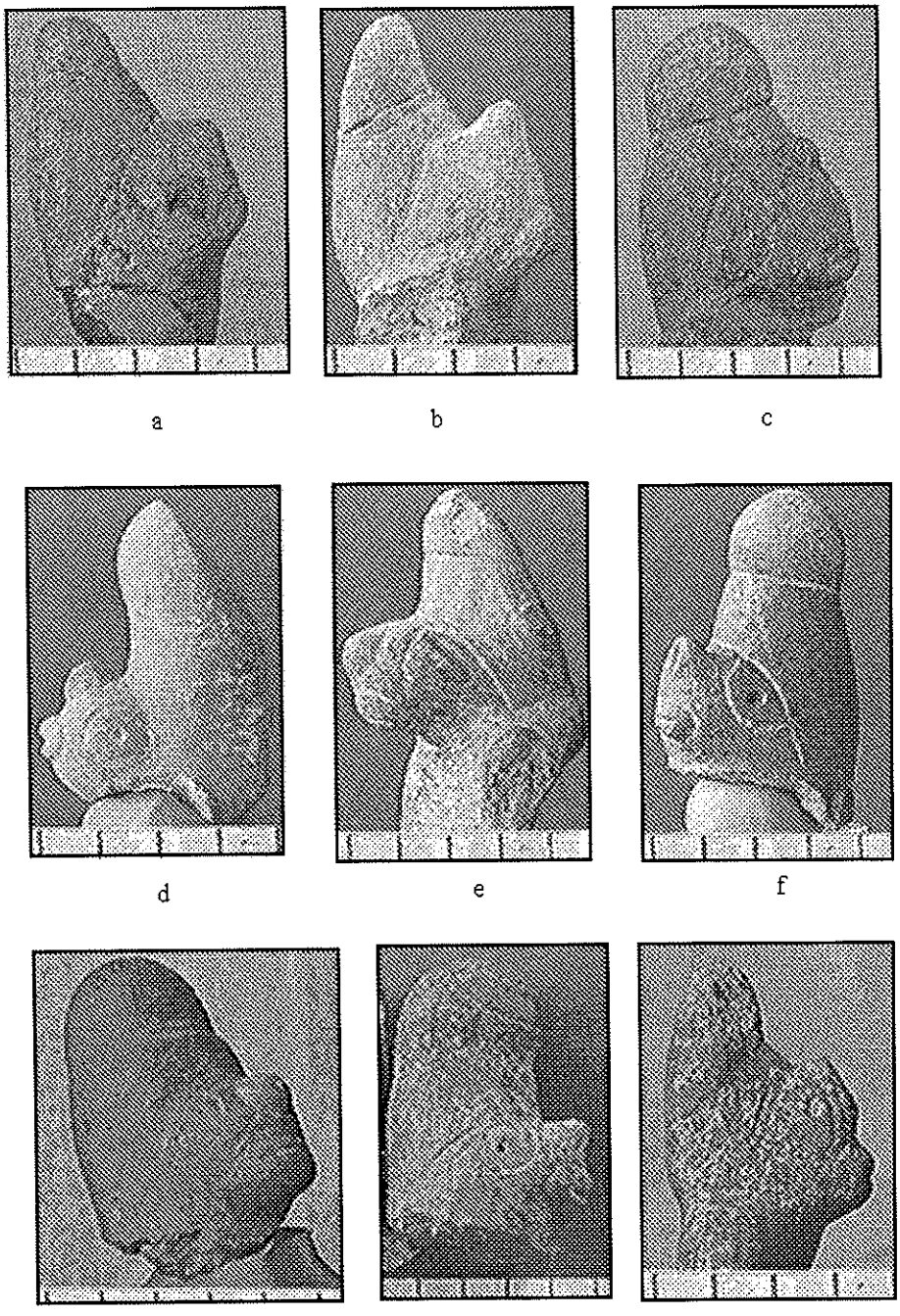


PLATE 11
Type IB2 adornos. *a-c, f-g, i,* unknown context.
d-e, Arnos Vale Swamp. *h,* Queensbury

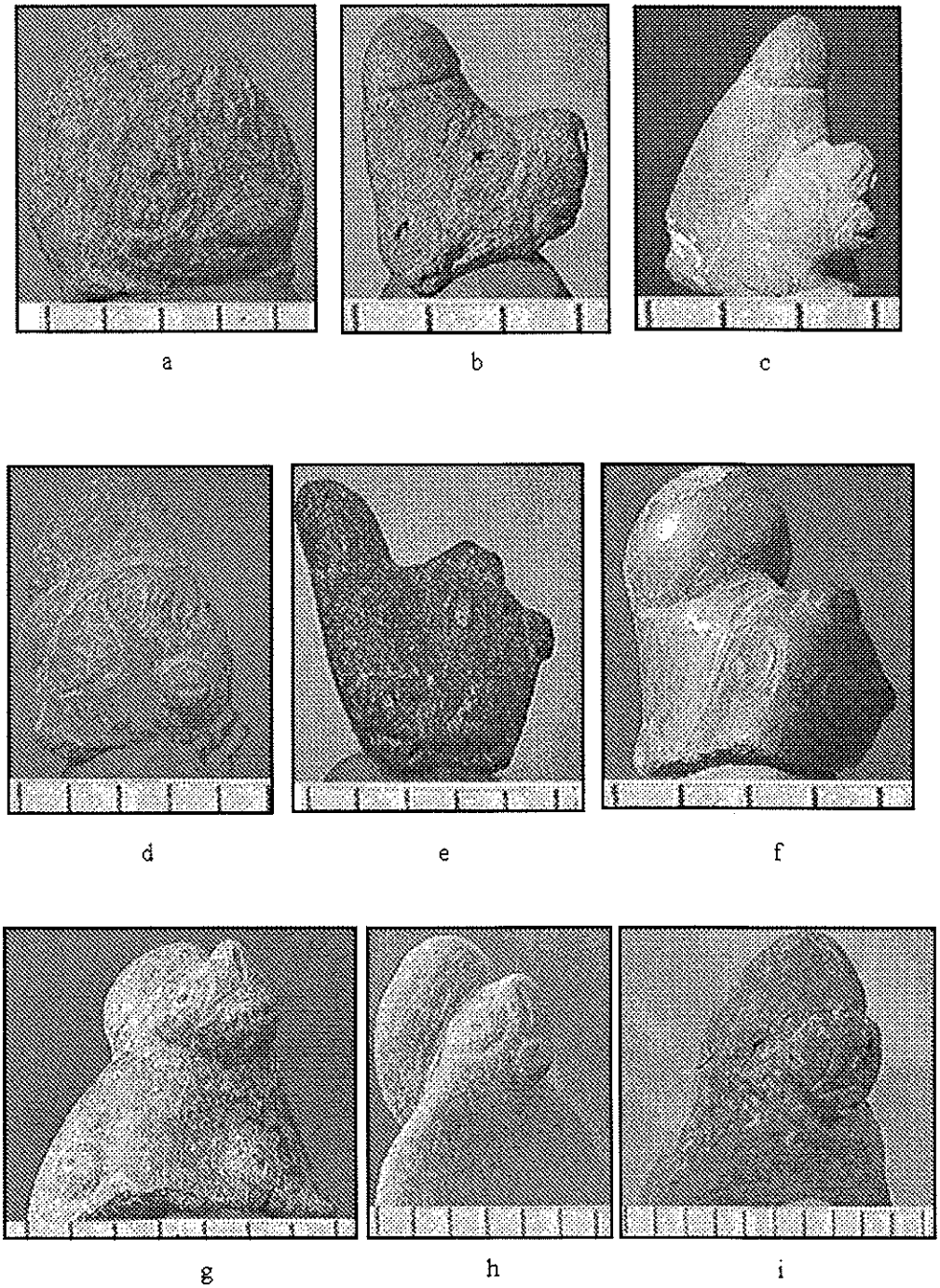
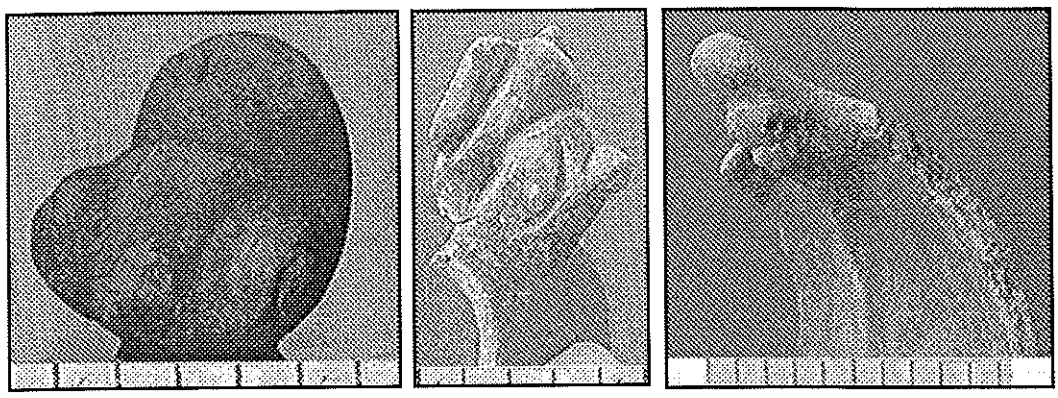
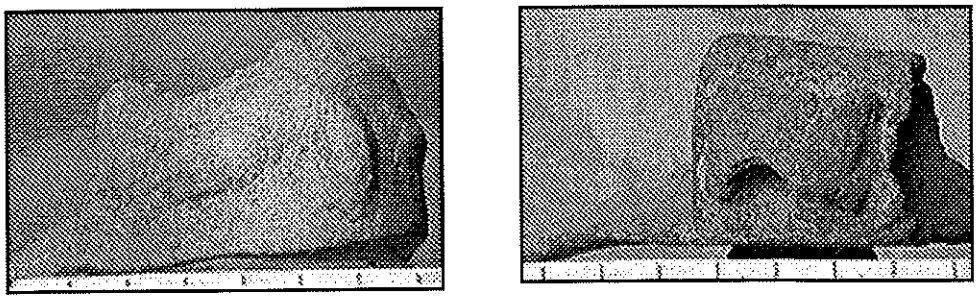


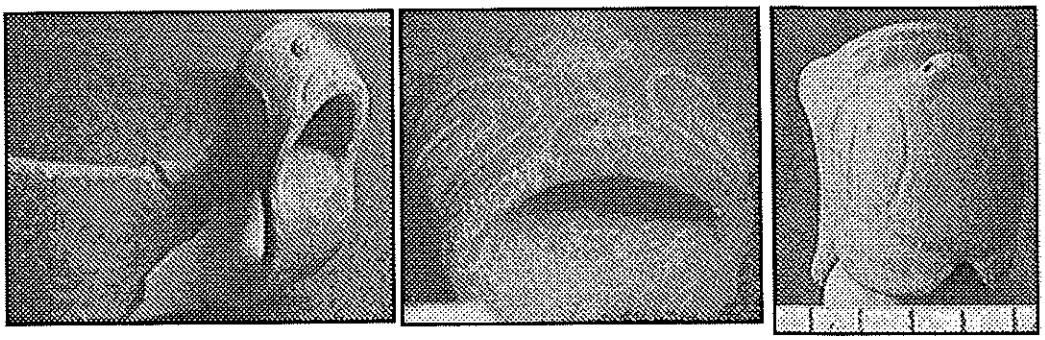
PLATE 12
Type IB2 adornos. *a, e*, Arnos Vale Swamp.
b-d, f-g, i, unknown context. *h*, New Sandy Bay.



a b c



d e



f g h

PLATE 13

Other Type IB adornos. *a*, Yambou. *b*, Daphae School. *c*, Arnos Vale Swamp.
Type IIA1 adornos. *d*, Buccament Shelter. *e*, unknown context.
Type IIA2 adornos. *f-g*, unknown context. *h*, Arnos Vale Swamp.

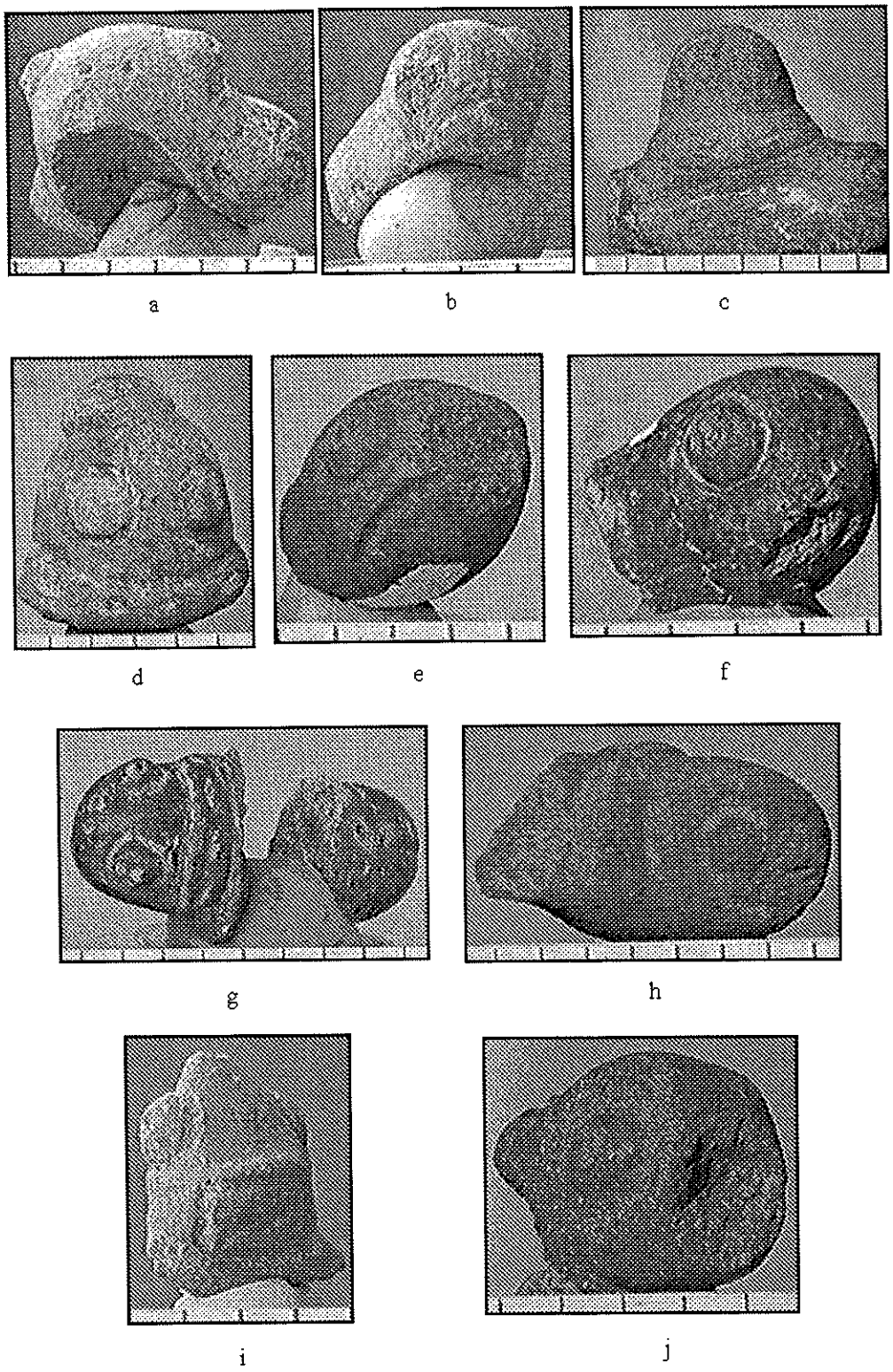


PLATE 14
Type IIB1 adornos. *a*, Arnos Vale.
b-g, j, unknown context. *h*, Escape. *i*, Arnos Vale Texaco Tank.

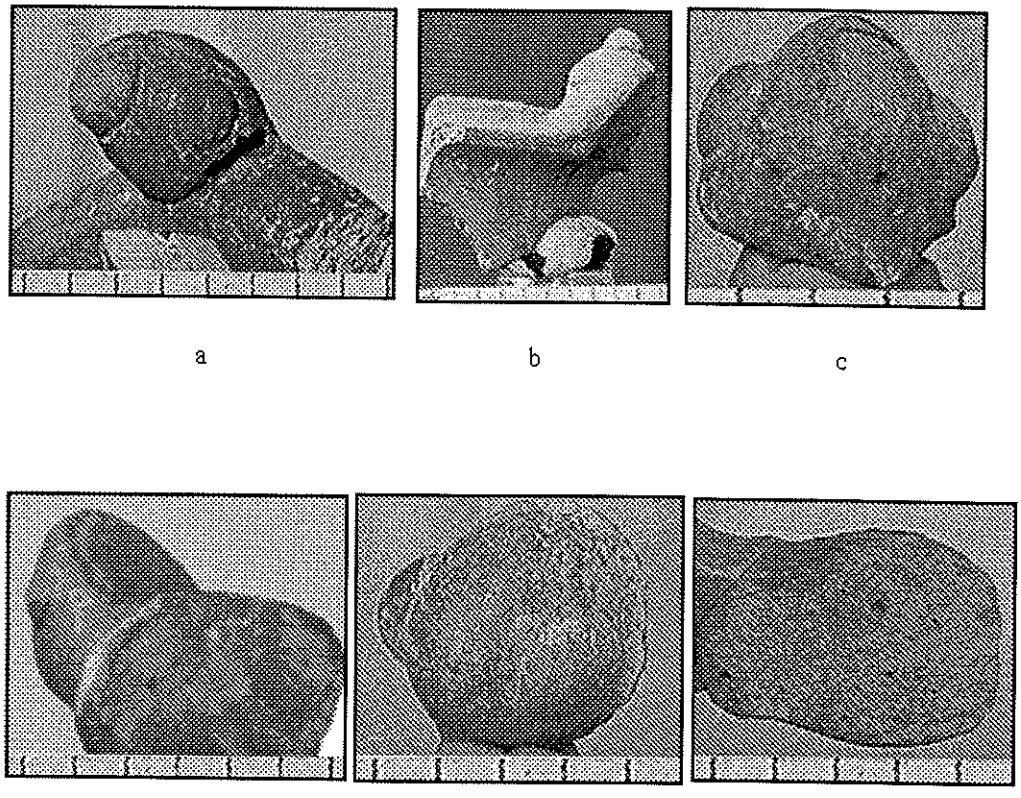
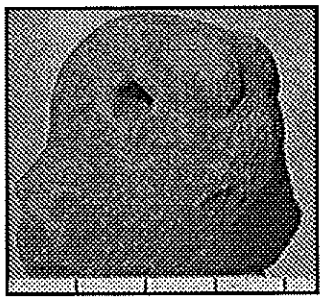
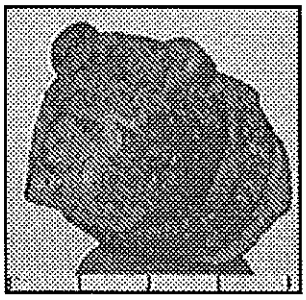


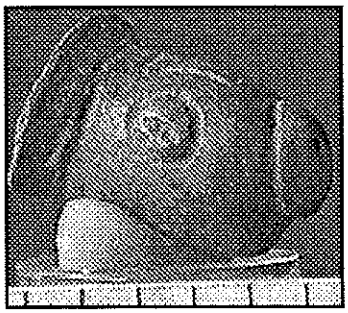
PLATE 15
Type IIB2a adornos. *a, c*, Arnos Vale Swamp.
b, d-h, unknown context. *i*, Fitz-Hughes.



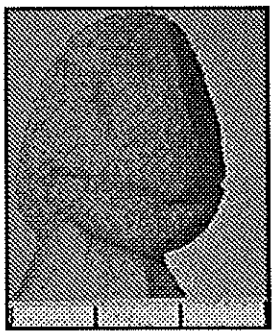
a



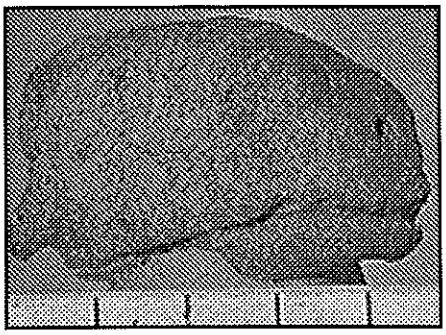
b



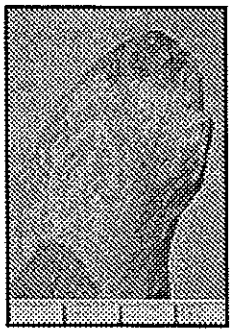
c



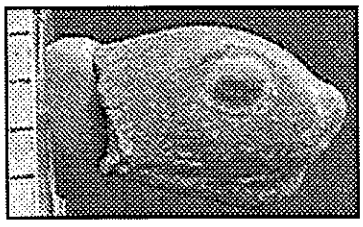
d



e



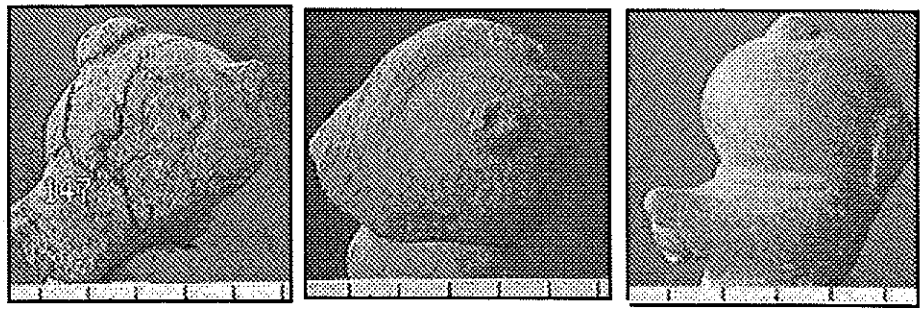
f



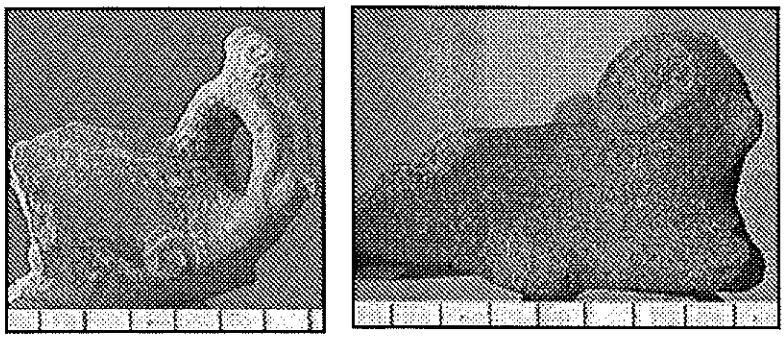
g

PLATE 16

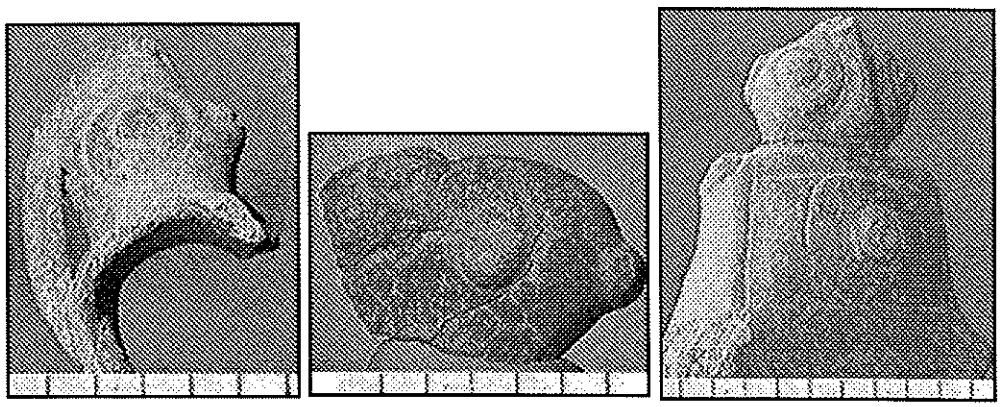
Type IIB2b adornos. *a*, unknown context. *b*, Arnos Vale Playingfield.
Type IIC1 adornos. *c*, Arnos Vale Swamp.
Type IIC2 adornos. *d*, Petit Bordel. *e*, Fitz-Hughes. *f-g*, unknown context.



a b c

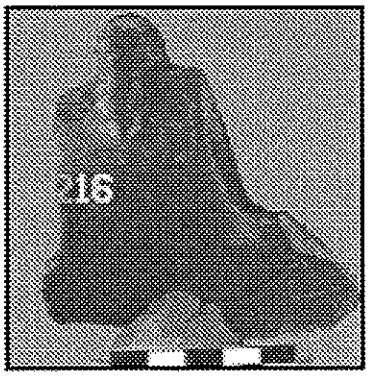


d e

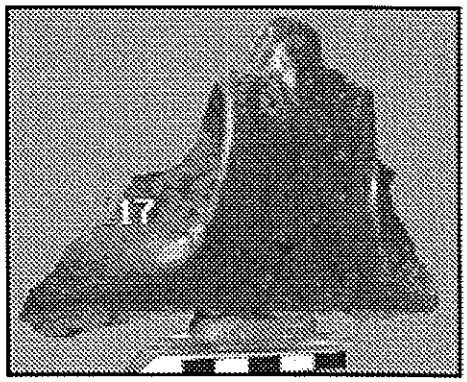


f g h

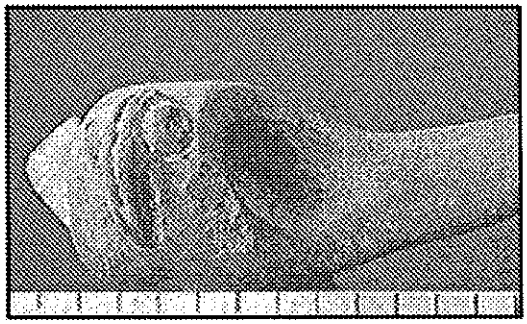
PLATE 17
Other Type II adornos. *a-b*, Escape. *c, h*, Arnos Vale Swamp. *d*, Kingstown Post Office. *e-g*, unknown context.



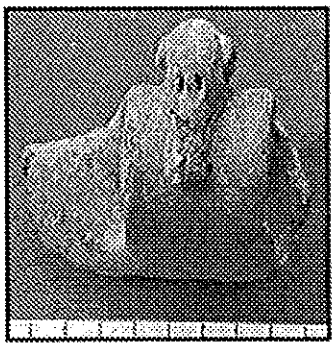
a



b

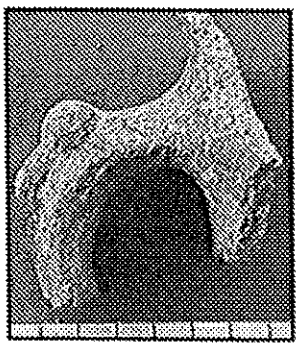


c



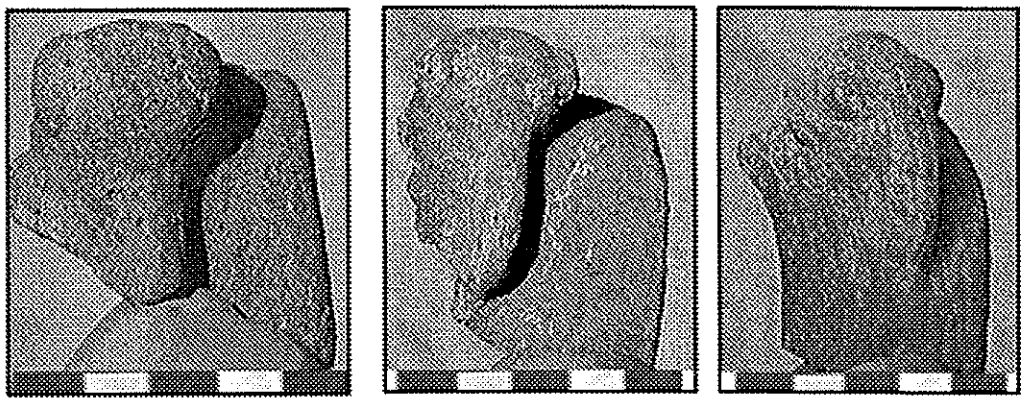
d

e

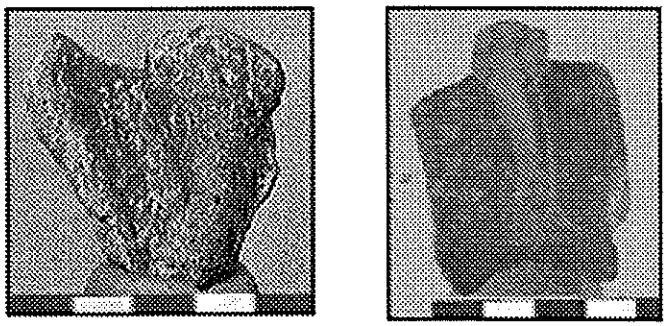


f

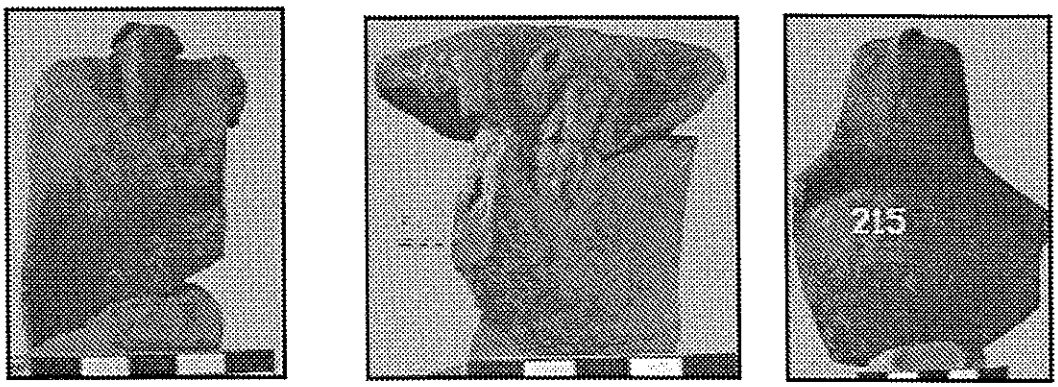
PLATE 18
Type IIIA1 adornos. *a-f*, unknown context.



a b c

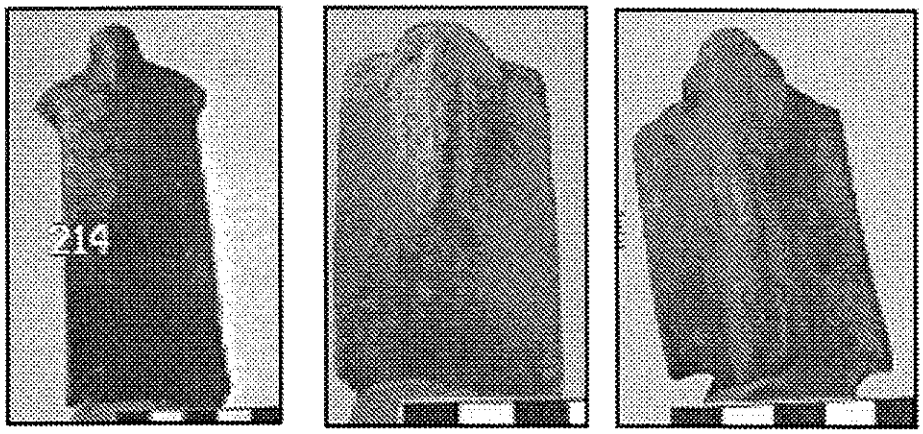


d e

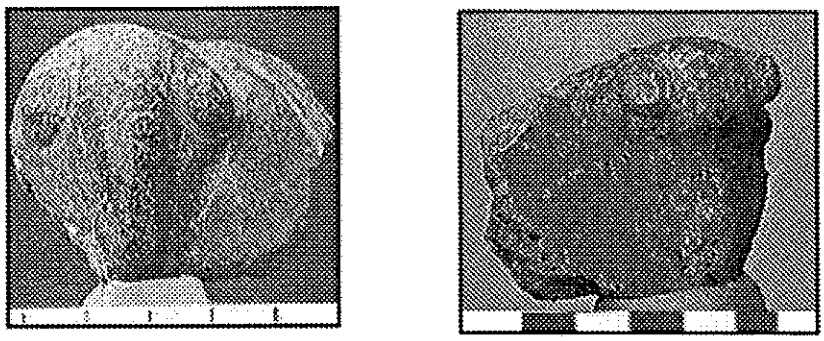


f g h

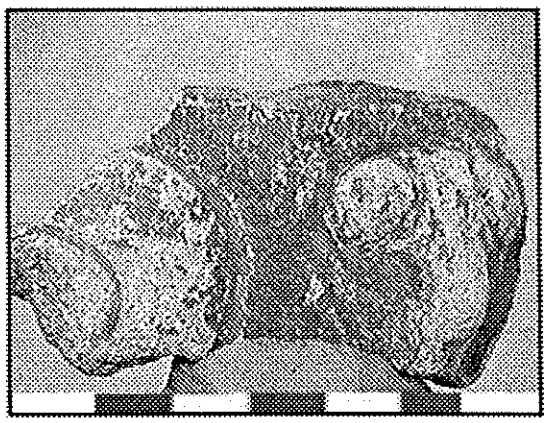
PLATE 19
Type IIIA1 adornos. *a-b, d, f-h*, unknown context.
c, Arnos Vale Swamp. *e*, Escape.



a b c

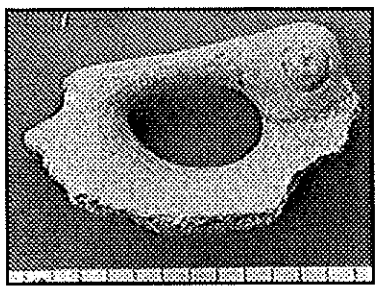


d e

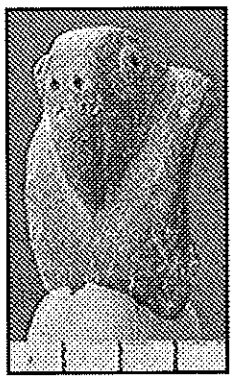


f

PLATE 20
Type IIIA1 adornos. *a-c*, unknown context.
Type IIIA2 adornos. *d*, Fitz-Hughes. *e-f*, unknown context.

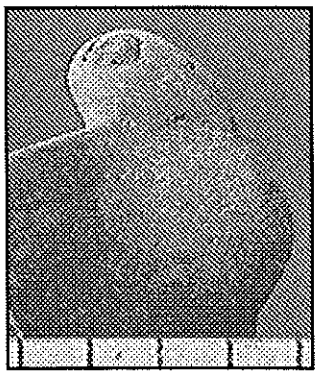


a



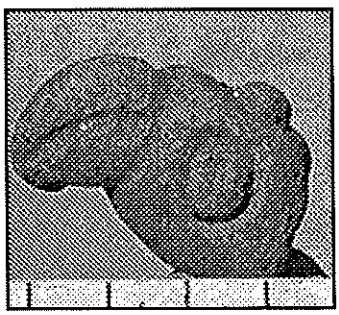
b

c



d

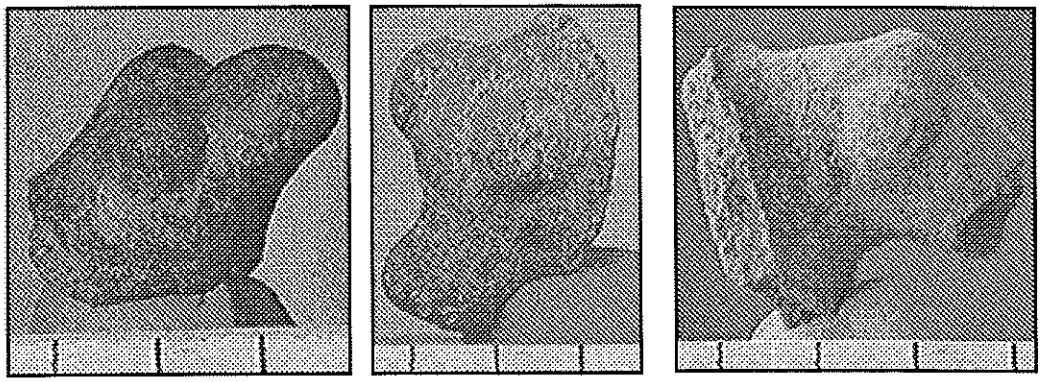
e



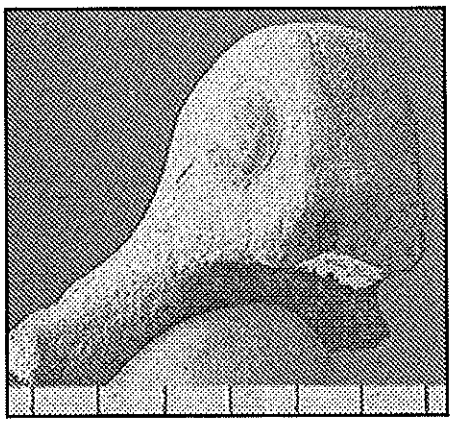
f

g

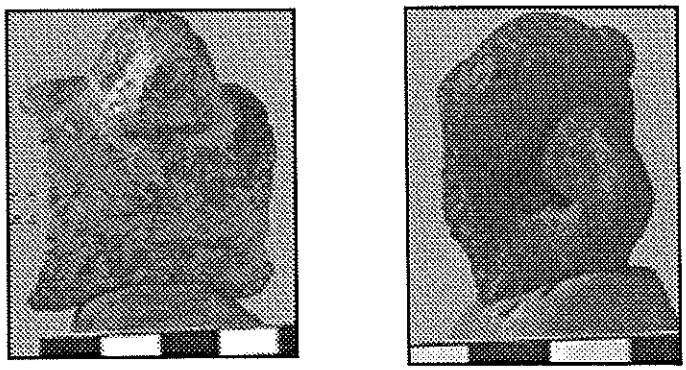
PLATE 21
Type IIIA3 adorno. *a*, unknown context.
Type IIIB adornos. *b*, *f-g*, Arnos Vale Swamp. *c*, *e*, unknown context.
d, Owia. *f*, Arnos Vale Playingfield.



a b c



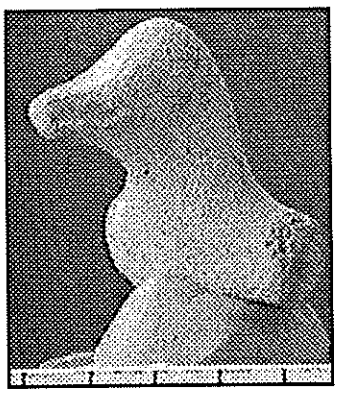
d



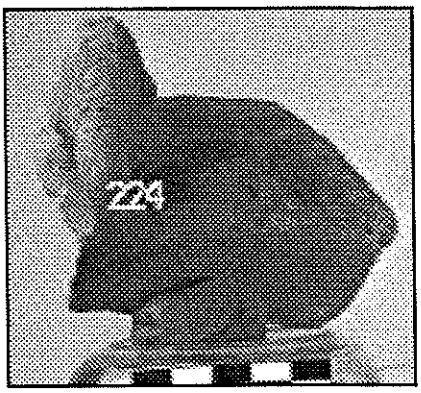
e f

PLATE 22

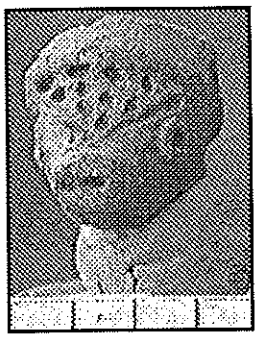
Type IIIC adornos. *a*, Fitz-Hughes. *b*, unknown context. *c*, Arnos Vale. *d*, Careenage. Other Type III adornos. *e-f*, unknown context.



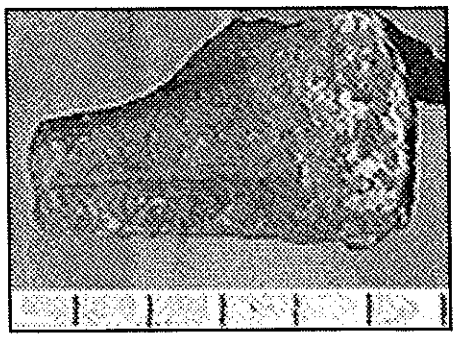
a



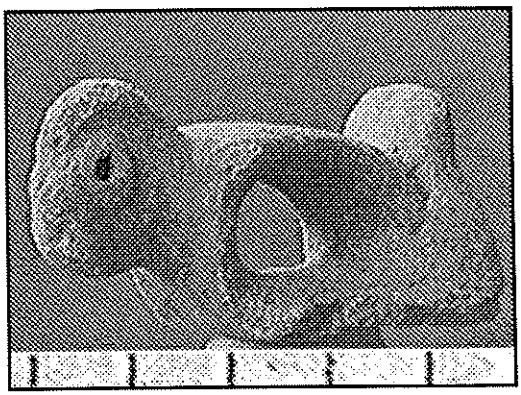
b



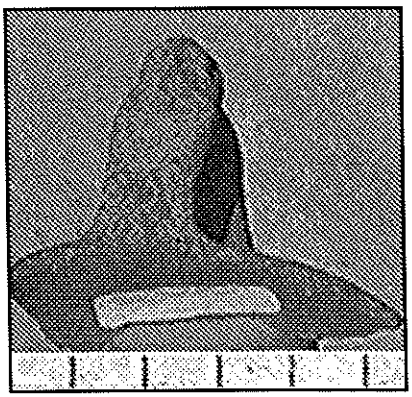
c



d

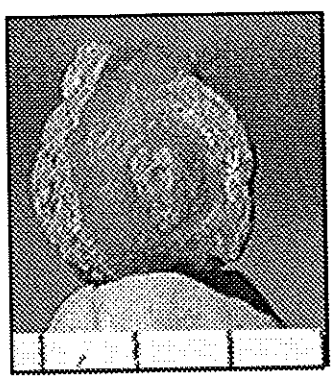


e

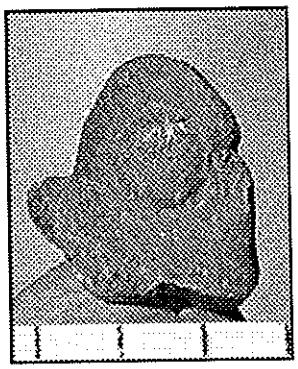


f

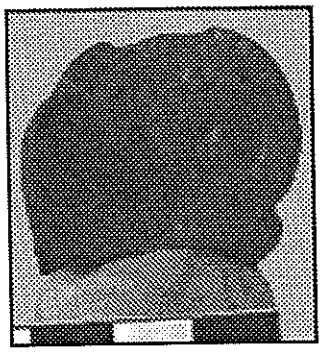
PLATE 23
Other Type III adornos. *a*, New Sandy Bay.
b, *d*, unknown context. *c*, Escape.
Type IVA1 adornos. *e*, Escape. *f*, unknown context.



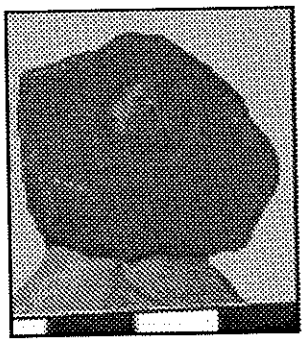
a



b

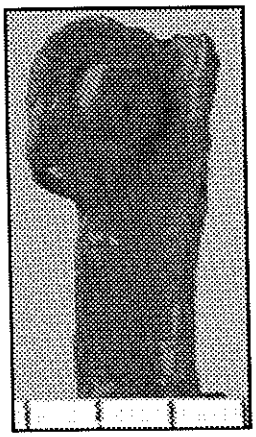


c

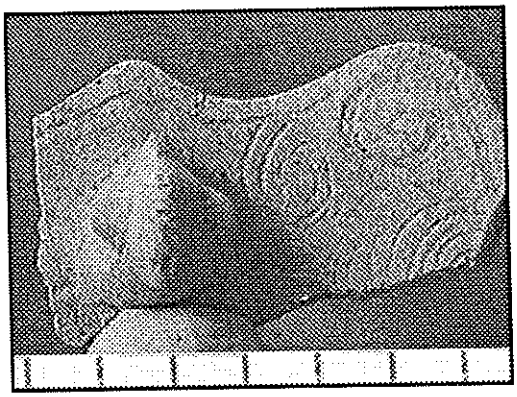


d

e

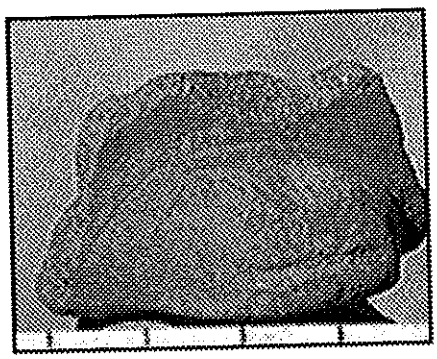


f

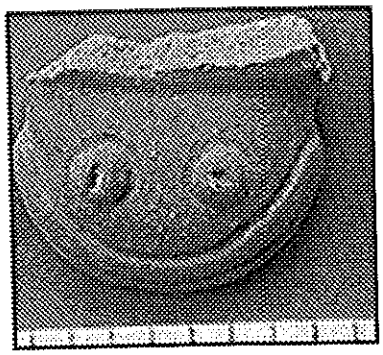


g

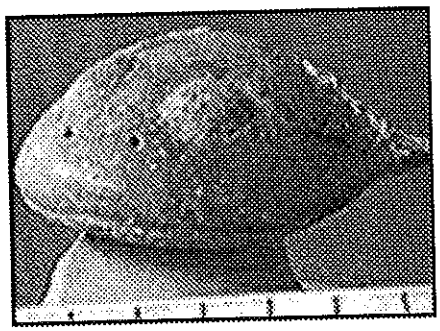
PLATE 24
Type IVA2 adornos. *a–e*, unknown context.
f, Fitz-Hughes. *g*, Questelles.



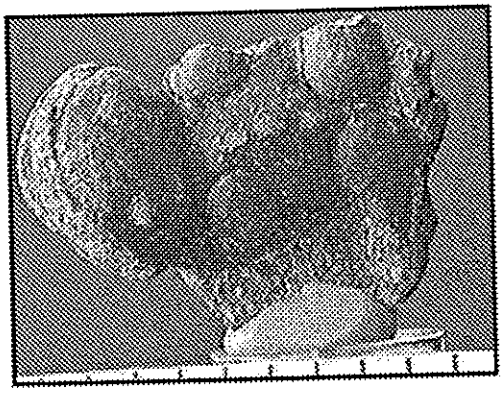
a



b



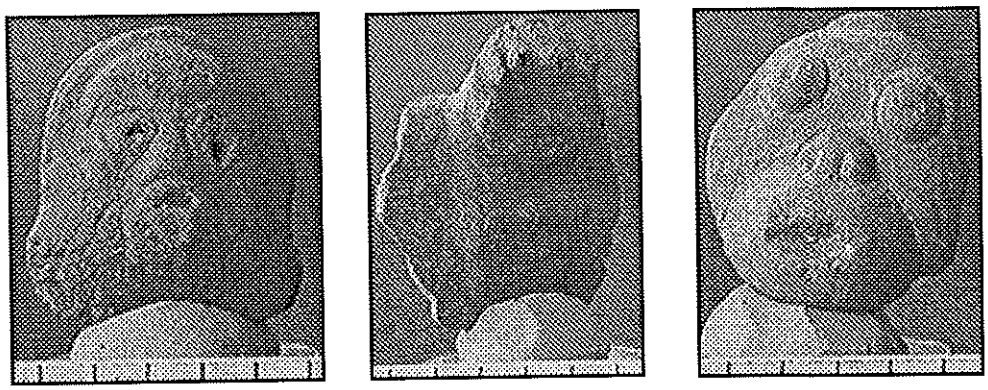
c



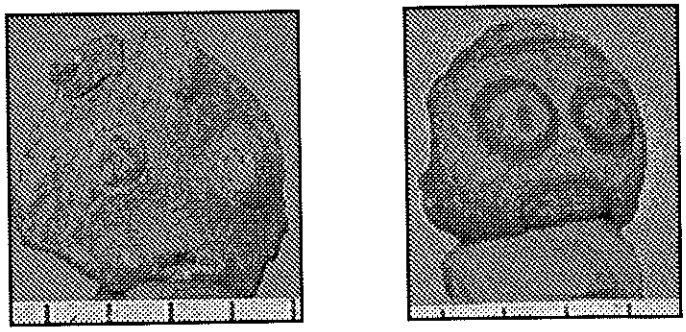
d

e

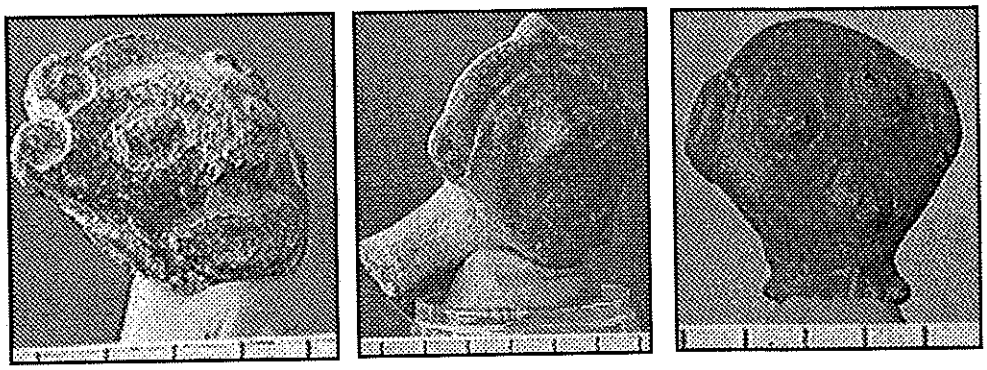
PLATE 25
Type IVB adornos. *a-e*, unknown context.



a b c

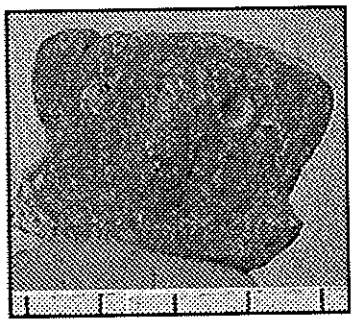


d e

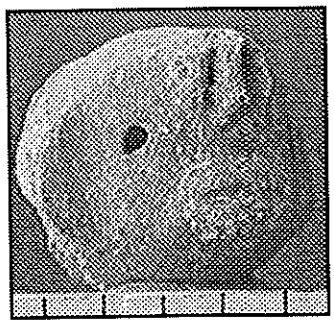


f g h

PLATE 26
Type VA1 adornos. *a, c*, Camden Park. *b*, unknown context.
Type VA2 adornos. *d-e, h*, unknown context. *f-g*, Arnos Vale Swamp.

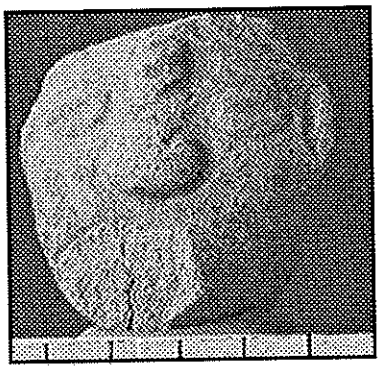


a



b

c



d

e

PLATE 27

Type VB adornos. *a*, unknown context. *b*, Arnos Vale Texaco Tank. *c*, New Sandy Bay. Other Type V adornos. *d*, unknown context. *e*, Arnos Vale Playingfield.