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Islands at the Crossroads

Migration, Seafaring, and Interaction
in the Caribbean

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Good as Gold**The Aesthetic Brilliance of the Lucayans***Mary Jane Berman*

The Antillean world prior to A.D. 1492 consisted of overlapping webs of interaction where ideas, cultural practices, and biology met and intersected. As this volume demonstrates, exploration, migration, colonization, feuding, raiding, visiting, exchange, gift-giving, and tribute are a few of the diverse means by which people came into contact with distant and neighboring peoples. The earliest archaeological investigations to the Bahamas recognized obvious material connections between the islands and the Greater Antilles (de Booy 1912, 1913; Mason 1877). These were based on similarities in pottery designs and on the presence of non-local materials. The inclusion of these items in Lucayan sites was attributed to the migration of people from the Greater Antilles who brought these objects and decorative techniques with them.¹ Julian Granberry (1956) and William Sears and Shaun Sullivan (1978) argue that after A.D. 1200 similarities in ceramic designs and other items were due to the expanding influence of the Taíno from Hispaniola into the Bahama islands. Subsequently, Richard Daggett (1980), William Keegan (1992, 1997, 2007), Richard Rose (1987), and Sullivan (1981) argued that the occurrence of exotic items and similarities in the decorative treatments on pottery and other artifacts were due to inter-island trade, exchange, and tribute. In this essay, I examine the material evidence for interaction between the Lucayans of the Bahama archipelago and the native peoples of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Florida by focusing on the occurrence of non-local items in Lucayan contexts and the hypothetical export of materials from the Bahamas to Cuba, Hispaniola, and Florida. Through the study of these materials, it is evident that throughout their history, the Lucayans were active agents in the circulation of most of the same rare, exotic, and symbolically charged items as other indigenous Antillean peoples,

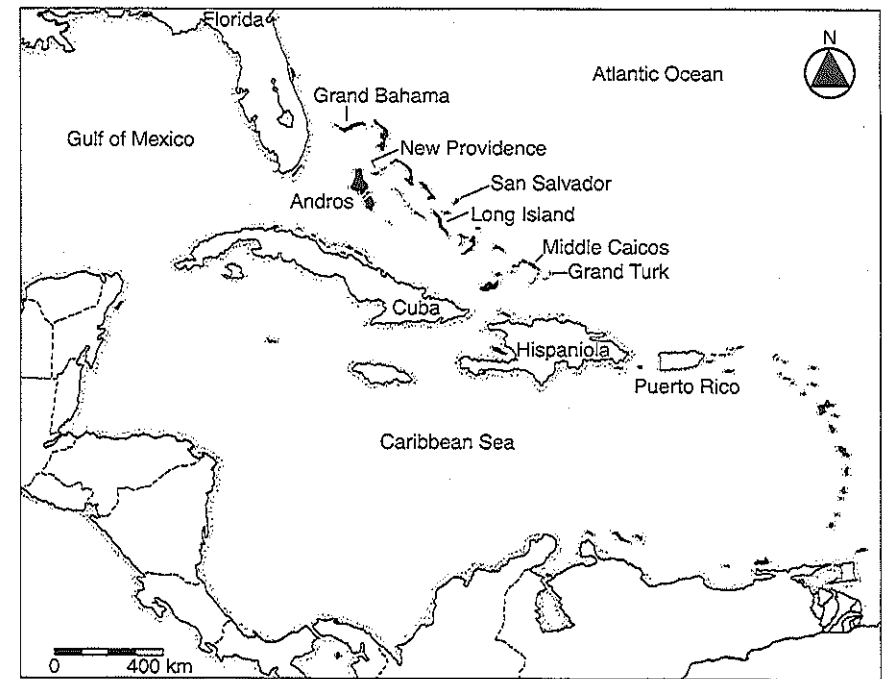


Figure 7.1. Map of the Bahama Archipelago.

and they embraced and participated in a pan-Antillean cosmivision. It can be argued that the shared cosmivision facilitated the flow of goods in a series of interaction zones.

Lucayan History before and at the European Encounter

Lying between 21°0' and 27°30' latitude and 69°0' to 80°30' longitude (Carew and Mylroie 1995), the Bahama archipelago (Figure 7.1) consists of small low-lying islands, islets, and cays composed of Pleistocene and Holocene carbonate formations.² These possess poorly developed, nutritionally deficient soils, no siliceous crypto- or microcrystalline rocks, few sources of naturally occurring fresh water, and a depauperate terrestrial fauna (Sealey 1994). The islands belong to three life zones: dry tropical, moist tropical, and moist sub-tropical (Sears and Sullivan 1978). The Bahamas and Florida are separated by the Gulf Stream. West End village on Grand Bahama is only about 100 km from Florida (Keegan 1997:44).

Early evidence for human presence in the Bahamas comes from two burials, one from Preacher's Cave on Eleuthera, dating to the A.D. 600s (Carr et al. 2006), and another from Sawmill Sink, a blue hole on Abaco, dating to B.P. 1040 ±40 (Stead-

Table 7.1. Sites and their island locations, as mentioned in the text

Site	Island	Cultural-temporal affiliation
AC-14	Acklins Island	Late Lucayan?
Alexandra site	New Providence	Mid- to late Lucayan
Clifton Pier site	New Providence	Mid- to late Lucayan
Coralie site	Grand Turk	Non-Lucayan
Deadman's Reef site	Grand Bahama	Late Lucayan
Flipper site	New Providence	Mid- to late Lucayan
Governor's Beach site	Grand Turk	Non-Lucayan
Kendrick site	Middle Caicos	Non-Lucayan
Long Bay site	San Salvador	Late Lucayan
McKay site	Crooked Island	Mid- to late Lucayan
MC-6	Middle Caicos	Late Lucayan
North Storr's Lake site	San Salvador	Late Lucayan
Palmetto Grove site	San Salvador	Late Lucayan
Pigeon Creek site (dune #1)	San Salvador	Late Lucayan
Pigeon Creek site (dune #2)	San Salvador	Early Lucayan
Pink Wall site	New Providence	Early Lucayan
Preacher's Cave site	Eleuthera	Early, unknown
Sawmill Sink	Abaco	Early, unknown
Three Dog site	San Salvador	Early Lucayan

man et al. 2007:19899) (see Table 7.1). We do not know if these remains reflect Lucayan or non-Lucayan colonizers, explorers, or visitors to the northern Bahamas since no residential sites with diagnostic artifacts from this time period have yet been reported. Evidence for the earliest open-air occupation of the archipelago comes from the Coralie site (GT-3) on Grand Turk (Carlson 1999; Carlson and Keegan 1997, 2004). The site, which dates to A.D. 705–1170 (Keegan 1997:21), appears to have been a seasonally occupied Ostionoid outpost whose inhabitants exploited the local fauna for export to Hispaniola. During the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, a second wave of people established sites on Grand Turk (GT-2, GT-4), on Middle Caicos (MC-8, MC-10), and on small off-shore cays (Carlson 1995; Carlson and Keegan 2004; Keegan et al. 2008:644; Sinelli 2001:142–143). These occupations represent an influx of Meillacan peoples from northern Hispaniola, and their sites, too, are considered outpost colonies whose inhabitants focused on the specialized production of shell beads and the exploitation of marine resources that were exported to Hispaniola. Some of the sites on the small cays were special purpose sites such as shrines and workshops (Keegan 2007:81; Keegan et al. 2008:647–650). After A.D. 1280, prehistoric occupation of Grand Turk appears to

have ceased, and people concentrated on Middle Caicos, which had begun to be settled around A.D. 1000 (Keegan 2007:90; Keegan et al. 2008:645). At around this time, interaction with and/or possible in-migration of Lucayans from other parts of the Bahama archipelago may have occurred, as evidenced by the appearance of locally produced Lucayan pottery (Keegan 2007:90).

Data from the central Bahamas suggest it was settled by people who made their way up the island chain from northern Cuba (Berman and Gnivecki 1995) or northern Hispaniola (Keegan 1992, 2007; Sinelli 2001:142) during a period of rapid, extensive expansion that occurred in the seventh through ninth centuries.³ Early Lucayan colonization of the Bahamas is known from three permanently and/or seasonally occupied open-air residential sites, the Three Dog site (Berman and Gnivecki 1995) and the Pigeon Creek site (dune #2) (Berman and Hutcheson 2000) on San Salvador and the Pink Wall site on New Providence (Bohon 1999). The limited number of highly portable artifacts at these sites suggests that they were established by small, highly mobile groups. The earliest evidence of permanent residential occupation of the northern islands is unknown.

While much of their culture, subsistence, and technological practices resemble that of their homeland points of origin (and include items and cultigens that they brought with them), the early Lucayans developed a set of lifeways that reflected their localized adaptations to the Bahamas environment. These innovations include the development of a signature pottery manufactured from local clays and shell temper that drew primarily upon Meillacan Ostionoid and, to a lesser extent, Ostionan Ostionoid ceramic technology and decorative traditions (Berman 2009; Granberry 1955). The earliest appearance of this locally produced Lucayan pottery comes from the central Bahamas and is an early variant of Palmetto ware (Hoffman 1967, 1970; Sears and Sullivan 1978) (also known as Palmettan Ostionoid) (Rouse 1992:73), which occurs at sites dating to the mid-late eleventh century. Basketry-impressed pottery appears around the same time (Berman and Hutcheson 2000:419) and may be a defining feature of this later Palmetto ware.

Palmetto ware exhibits temporal and geographical differences in thickness, surface finish, firing, rim shape, and surface decoration (Berman 2009; Granberry 1955). At sites such as MC-6 and other sites in the Turks and Caicos, decorated Palmetto ware shares close similarities in surface decoration with Chican Ostionoid pottery, suggesting close interaction between the Turks and Caicos and Hispaniola (Sullivan 1981). In the central Bahamas, assemblages dating to this later period exhibit both Meillacoid and Chicoid ceramic design modes (Bate 2007; Granberry 1955, 1956). Meillacoid-like decorative treatments (primarily incision) are found in ceramic assemblages from the northern Bahamas, although occasionally Chicoid-inspired sherds are present (Aarons et al. 1992; Berman et al. 2006; Granberry 1955). Using pottery as the indicator, it appears that the central and north-

ern islands had close ties with northern Cuba; Granberry (1955, 1956) suggests it is with the Baní culture.

The small number and range of artifact types at non-Lucayan and early Lucayan sites are limited due to small population (community) size and the constraints of mobility and/or seasonal occupation. During the A.D. 1100s and 1200s, the volume of locally produced artifacts increases at Lucayan sites, reflecting population increase and full-time sedentism. Many categories of locally produced material culture resembling those characteristic of northern Cuba and Hispaniola appear, including wooden, shell, coral, and limestone *zemís*; shell inserts for *zemís*, *duhos* (ceremonial stools), or wooden figurines; and wooden *duhos*. Shared stylistic features are particularly evident at sites dating to the fifteenth century, the sites for which we have the most data. Local expressions of some of the items, such as ceramics, *duhos*, *zemís*, rock art, and miniature stone pestles, make them singularly and identifiably Lucayan, however (Berman 2000, 2009; Ostapkowicz 2008; Winter 2009:20). Imported exotic raw materials and finished items are found in greater numbers, too, than at early Lucayan sites.

The non-Lucayans and Lucayans were horticultural fisher-collectors whose diet consisted of a rich variety of reef and pelagic fishes, sea turtles, mollusks, and small terrestrial fauna; root, tuber, and seed crops; and wild plants, fruits, and tree crops (Berman and Pearsall 2000, 2008; Keegan 1992, 1997; Newsom and Wing 2004).⁴ Outdoor sites are typically located atop sand dunes in close proximity to the ocean, tidal creeks, freshwater seeps, and inland lakes with freshwater lenses. Lucayan petroglyphs and petrographs, which share similarities with those located elsewhere in the Antilles, are found in wide-mouth and narrow-mouth flank-margin caves (de Booy 1913; Winter 2009:14, 20). Human burials occur in caves and blue holes (Carr et al. 2006; Granberry 1955, 1956; Keegan 1997).

From the time of its earliest peopling, the Turks and Caicos served as a colonial enclave on the northern periphery of a Hispaniolan sphere of influence (Keegan 1992:58, 1997, 2007, Keegan et al. 1998). The physical resemblance of several sites on Middle Caicos, notably MC-6, replete with two plazas, ball court, astronomical alignments, earthen embankments, and a road system, and MC-12 (Keegan 1992, 1997:53, 2007; Sullivan 1981), speaks to the incorporation of Middle Caicos into one of the Hispaniolan Taíno polities (Keegan 1997, 2007:145–146). In contrast, sites with such features have not been reported for the central and northern Bahamas. Bartolomé de Las Casas notes that the Lucayans shared cultural similarities with Cuba, stating, “Lo mismo la gente de la isla de Cuba” (quoted in Granberry 1987:210).⁵ Yet, in spite of artifactual and linguistic resemblances to Cuba and to Hispaniola, the sociopolitical organization of the Bahama islands to the north and west of the Turks and Caicos is less well understood.

Disentangling the linguistic, ethnic, and political origins and identities of the

Lucayans is no easy task. The ethnohistoric accounts, which are incomplete and often contradictory, pay little attention to ethnographic and regional variation, and it is difficult to discern which group of Lucayans the authors are describing. In the area of language, though, the chroniclers are more precise. Written accounts indicate that during the fifteenth century, the Lucayans of the northern and central Bahamas spoke Ciboney Taíno, a Taíno dialect of northern Cuba and the northwest and western provinces of Marien and Xaragua in Hispaniola (Granberry and Vescelius 2004:15). In contrast, the Lucayans of the Turks and Caicos spoke Classic Taíno. Because of closeness in language and some aspects of material culture known from the archaeological record, it is suggested that the Lucayans of the central and northern islands were ethnically the same or similar to the native inhabitants of northern Cuba, as Las Casas noted, and the Lucayans who inhabited the Turks and Caicos were the same as the Hispaniolan Taíno, at least at the time of European contact.

Christopher Columbus, who only visited the central islands, portrayed the Lucayans as simple, materially and culturally impoverished people: “But it seemed to me that they were a people very poor in everything. All of them go around as naked as their mothers bore them” (quoted in Dunn and Kelley 1989:65). “They should be good and intelligent servants, for I see that they say very quickly everything that is said to them; and I believe that they would become Christians very easily, for it seemed to me that they had no religion” (Columbus, quoted in Dunn and Kelley 1989:67–69).

Las Casas and Pedro Martyr de Anglería depict the Lucayans in similar terms. Martyr de Anglería wrote, “[They] lived simply and innocently without enforcement of laws, without quarreling, judges, and libels, content only to satisfy nature” (1912). Las Casas likened them to an “earlier population of Cuba [that] was like that of the Lucayan Islands” (quoted in Granberry 1987:179).

While such simplistic statements were consistent with prevailing views of non-Europeans at the time they were written, the chroniclers also very likely wrote such statements to convince the Crown that the Lucayans were a ready and easily captured source of labor. Their portrayal of the Lucayans as primitive, unsophisticated, and passive made it easy then, as it does today, to regard them as peripheral to the Classic Taíno world. The archaeological literature, in contrast, argues that the Lucayans were organized into chiefdoms or *cacicazgos* that were integral to Taíno political economy (Keegan 1992, 1997, 2007; Rose 1987), a depiction that is supported archaeologically in the Turks and Caicos, but not so verifiably in the central and northern Bahamas. Nevertheless, in spite of their differences in political organization, both groups of Lucayans, those of the Turks and Caicos who participated in a chiefdom economy linked to the Taíno and those of the central and northern Bahamas whose fifteenth-century political affiliations and political sta-

tus are unclear, shared a cosmivision that connected communities throughout the Antilles into a larger whole.

Documenting Lucayan Interaction with the Antilles during the Colonial Encounter

Columbus's diary provides some insight into Lucayan relationships with other peoples. Most of the interactions with the Spanish take the form of commodities transactions (trade, barter, and stranger exchange) and gifts. The Lucayans exchanged balls of cotton thread, parrots, javelins, and unnamed items for Spanish objects; in two instances the Lucayans gave gold nose ornaments for hawks bells and glass beads; and on several occasions they offered food and water (Table 7.2). During this first voyage, the native peoples of Cuba and Hispaniola also exchanged many of these same items with the Spanish. On Cuba, the Indians exchanged cotton for Spanish trinkets (Dunn and Kelley 1989:127, 139), and throughout Hispaniola the Indians offered parrots, worked cotton, cotton balls, and food and water (Dunn and Kelley 1989:223, 255, 257, 259, 267). The Indians of Hispaniola also gave the Europeans pieces of hammered gold and gold-studded belts (Dunn and Kelley 1989:231, 237, 243, 255, 261, 263). It is assumed that they presented these items for exchange and as gifts to other visitors with whom they had routinized political and economic relations.

The first written inkling that the Bahamas may have been a source for birds (or their feathers) is when the Lucayans presented parrots to Columbus on San Salvador as items of exchange (Dunn and Kelley 1989:65). Tantalizing archaeological evidence for the antiquity of the procurement of birds for feathers exists from the Coralie site (Carlson 1999; Carlson and Keegan 2004). Here, bird bones representing ibis, thick-knee, a Cuban parrot, another species of parrot, and other birds were found, suggesting that the site served as a locus where the feathers from captured birds were processed for export to Hispaniola for use in elite or ceremonial paraphernalia.

Cotton played a significant role in the exchange system of the northern Greater Antilles (Wilson 1990), and the Lucayans exchanged spun cotton for European items. It is inferred that the Lucayans grew cotton, which they exchanged for other items (Rose 1987). Columbus briefly noted that the Lucayans possessed different kinds of textiles such as hammocks and skirts (Dunn and Kelley 1989), and it is highly probable that they also manufactured and even traded woven cotton items for goods and materials that they lacked, as was common among South American and Circum-Caribbean peoples (Steward 1948a, 1948b). Moreover, there is a brief mention by Las Casas (quoted in Granberry 1955:106) that the Lucayans traded woven cotton cloth. The Taíno produced woven fabrics made from a variety of natural materials, including cotton, henequen, maguey, and palm (Lovén 1935),

Table 7.2. Lucayan exchange items and gifts to Christopher Columbus and his crew

San Salvador (Guanahani)

Parrots, cotton thread in balls, javelins, and many other things (October 11) (Dunn and Kelley 1989:65)

Balls of spun cotton, parrots, and javelins, other, unnamed items (October 13) (Dunn and Kelley 1989:71)

"Everything they have they give for anything given to them" (October 13) (Columbus, quoted in Dunn and Kelley 1989:71)

"16 balls of cotton" that likely consisted of "more than an *arroba* of spun cotton" (October 13) (Columbus, quoted in Dunn and Kelley 1989:71)

Water, things to eat (October 14) (Dunn and Kelley 1989:73, 75)

Indians are instructed by fellow Indians to bring food and drink to the Spanish (October 14) (Dunn and Kelley 1989:75)

Rum Cay (Santa María de la Concepción)

They gave the Spaniards whatever they asked for (October 15) (Dunn and Kelley 1989:79)

An individual came to trade a ball of cotton (October 15) (Dunn and Kelley 1989:81)

Long Island (Fernandina)

Brought water to the crew (October 16) (Dunn and Kelley 1989:87)

The Lucayans showed the Spanish a water source, and they filled barrels with water and brought them to the boat (October 16) (Dunn and Kelley 1989:87)

Cotton and other things (October 16) (Dunn and Kelley 1989:89)

"And they gave what they had for anything the men gave them" (October 17) (Columbus, quoted in Dunn and Kelley 1989:93)

Traded javelins for small pieces of broken pottery and glass (October 17) (Dunn and Kelley 1989:93)

Crooked Island (Isabela)

Brought water in calabashes (October 21) (Dunn and Kelley 1989:107)

Javelins and balls of cotton for pieces of glass cups and pottery bowls (October 22) (Dunn and Kelley 1989:109)

Gold nose ornaments exchanged for hawk's bell and glass beads (October 22) (Dunn and Kelley 1989:109)

and the Lucayans may, too, have used these materials to weave textiles. An impression on a sherd from a fifteenth-century component of the Palmetto Grove site on San Salvador yielded an example of a compact counter-twined textile with S-spin and alternate S and Z twist rows, but the type of fibers are unknown (Hutcheson 2001:190; Hutcheson and McWeeney 2006).

In addition to the circulation of cotton and parrots, archaeologists have hypothesized that other materials, such as salt, salted conch, and salted fish, also moved from the Lucayans to Cuba and Hispaniola. From the seventeenth century onwards, salt, which occurs in crystalline form in the Bahama archipelago, was mined in the northern, central, and southern islands, including the Turks and Caicos, for export and local consumption (Cronon and Saunders 1992). By the 1820s, the Bahamian economy was based on salt export. Sullivan (1981) and Keegan (2007:130–135) proposed that salt, salted conch, and salted fish from MC-6 and other sites on Middle Caicos were exported to Hispaniola. Both authors suggest that the MC-6 served as a Taíno outpost or “gateway community” where locally procured and produced items were collected for export to Hispaniola as a form of staple finance to support the Hispaniolan elite.

Mary Jane Berman and Charlene Hutcheson (2000) and Keegan (1997) suggest that finely woven baskets may have been traded, exchanged, or given as tribute to Cuban and Hispaniolan caciques or elites. The complex geometric designs created by numerous intricate weave patterns, varying element widths and physical relief, and use of different plants can be observed on the bottoms and sides of basketry-impressed Palmetto ware in the central and southern Bahamas and to a lesser extent in the northern Bahamas.⁶

Interaction

From Columbus’s diary, we know that the Lucayans were knowledgeable of the islands beyond the Bahama archipelago and were apparently familiar with northern Cuba and Hispaniola. For example, the Lucayan captives, taken aboard by Columbus to serve as guides from Guanahani (San Salvador), knew how to direct Columbus to Cuba from Isabela, “and they showed me that [sailing] to the west-southwest, I would go to it” (quoted in Dunn and Kelley 1989:113). Then, after coming upon the Ragged Islands, “the Indians that he brought said that from the islands to Cuba was a journey of a day and a half in their dugouts” (Dunn and Kelley 1989:115). On Sunday, October 28, 1492, the log records the Lucayans’ acquaintance with the environment and geography of Cuba: “It is full of streams of water according to what he could understand from the Indians whom he took in the island of Guanahani and has with him. They tell him by signs that there are ten big rivers; and that with their canoes they cannot circle it in 20 days” (Dunn and Kelley 1989:119).

The Lucayan captives also conversed easily with the Cuban Indians and were understood by them. Their fluency with the route to Cuba, ability to give directions, and familiarity with Cuban coastal and interior geography suggest that interaction took place between the Lucayans and the Cuban Indians regularly.

As the diary suggests, the Lucayans were also aware of neighboring islands. Evidence for the movement of goods between Lucayan-occupied islands can be found in the October 15, 1492, entry of Columbus on his way from Santa María (Rum Cay) to Fernandina (Long Island):

I found a man who was passing alone in a dugout from the island of Santa María to Fernandina and who was bringing a small amount of their bread, which was about the size of a fist, and a calabash of water and a piece of red earth made into dust and then kneaded and some dry leaves, which must be something highly esteemed among them, because earlier, in San Salvador, they brought some of them to me as a present. And he was bringing a little native basket in which he had a string of small glass beads and two *blancas*, because of which I recognized that he was coming from the island of San Salvador and had passed to that of Santa María and was passing to Fernandina [Dunn and Kelley 1989:85].

Besides evidence for inter-island travel, the diary suggests hostile relations between the Lucayans and others. Columbus noted that some individuals on San Salvador had body wounds; they indicated that people from “other islands nearby came there and tried to take them” (quoted in Dunn and Kelley 1989:67). In his October 13 entry, Columbus notes that the offenders came from the northwest (Dunn and Kelley 1989:71). And finally, Columbus notes that the Lucayans “make war on one another” (quoted in Dunn and Kelley 1989:77), suggesting that hostile interactions such as raiding may have occurred. Antagonism may also have existed between the Lucayans and one of the Hispaniolan chiefdoms, for upon approaching Hispaniola, the Lucayan captives expressed fear and anxiety. Columbus notes, “They had the greatest fear in the world of the people of that island” (quoted in Dunn and Kelley 1989:207). Of course, this may be due to the fact that it became evident that the Spanish were taking the Lucayan captives further and further away from their homelands and did not have any intention of returning them.

Summary

Written sources indicate that the Lucayans from the central Bahamas interacted with the native peoples of northern Cuba and were knowledgeable of Hispaniola and may have also interacted with the peoples of Hispaniola. The ethnohistoric accounts also indicate that the Turks and Caicos had close political, kinship, and

economic ties to at least one Taíno chiefdom in Hispaniola. The texts report that the Lucayans of the central Bahamas offered parrots, skeins of cotton, javelins, gold nose ornaments, food, and water as gifts and trade items to the Spanish. Archaeologists hypothesize that salt, dried and salted conch and fish, baskets, feathers, and shell beads also served as gifts, trade, exchange, or tribute items at and before the European encounter. The archaeological evidence for the export of salt, salted conch and salted fish, feathers, and shell beads is greatest from the Turks and Caicos. The ethnohistoric record also provides evidence that the central Lucayans had both friendly and hostile relations with one another and with other peoples.

Interaction with Florida

Close proximity between Florida and the Bahamas has prompted numerous questions about interaction between the groups who lived there. In spite of attempts to find archaeological connections (Bullen 1974; Gower 1927; Rouse 1949; Sturtevant 1960), there is no material evidence that supports sustained cultural contact between Florida, the Antilles, and the Bahamas (Marquardt 1987). John Goggin (1948) and Irving Rouse (1948) reported the discovery of an igneous, eared ax characteristic of the Antilles at a prehistoric site in Florida. Since igneous materials are foreign to the Bahamas, the source of the artifact was likely one of the islands of the Greater or Lesser Antilles but may have been transported to Florida via the Bahamas. (The artifact may also be a local imitation of an Antillean form.) Two canoes and a wooden statue found in Florida, but manufactured from non-native trees, point to Antillean or possibly Bahamian contacts. The canoes, made from *Ceiba* sp. and *Phoebe* sp., and the figurine, made from *Peltophorum* sp. (probably *adnatum*, Brazilwood) (Purdy 1988:642), are endemic to both the Greater Antilles and the Bahamas, so the exact provenience cannot be identified.

On a clear night, the lights of Palm Beach and West Palm Beach are visible from West End, Grand Bahama; it is said that forest fires in the Everglades can be seen from there, too, making it likely that the Lucayans knew of Florida and of its people. Other phenomena such as bird migrations would have provided cues. Yet, as many authors have noted, the intensity of the water currents separating Florida and the Bahamas inhibited prehistoric Florida-Bahamas contact. Ryan Seidemann (2001) has argued that the Florida current (part of the Gulf Stream) would allow for Bahamas-Florida voyaging, but the strength of the current would have impeded successful Florida-Bahamas travel. Moreover, he argues that the Lucayans possessed the transport technology and navigational skills to successfully negotiate the water conditions, whereas the Florida Indians were accustomed to riverine, marsh, and near-shore waters, making it unlikely that they would or could make regular crossings to the Bahamas.

There is enticing evidence for Florida-Bahamas contact and interaction from

ethnohistoric sources. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas notes that the Lucayan name for Florida was *Cautio* and that its inhabitants "covered certain parts of their body with palm leaves woven as a plait" (1513:22). Martyr de Anglería (in Granberry 1956:130) states that Florida Indians hunted doves in the Bahamas, suggesting that at least some Florida Indians overcame the treacheries of the Florida current. Finally, the Lucayan reference to intruders from the northwest (Dunn and Kelley 1989:71) may be an allusion to Florida Indians. In summary, Lucayan contact with Florida and Florida Indian contact with the Lucayans likely occurred, but no archaeological residues exist to document it or attest to its regularity. As Mary Jane Berman and Perry Gnivecki (1995) and others have suggested, people are often aware of locales outside their regular interaction zones; and if explorations, stopovers, and brief visits occurred, they may not have necessarily left lasting material evidence.

Documenting Interaction with the Greater Antilles

The occurrence of non-local items in Lucayan sites indicates that interaction took place between the Lucayans and neighboring or distant peoples. Lucayan sites have yielded basalt, chert, gabbro, greenstone, jadeite, quartz, quartz crystal, quartz sandstone, diorite, copper, pottery, and miscellaneous rocks and minerals that are geologically foreign to the Bahama archipelago. Non-local materials have also been found in non-Lucayan sites. While their exact provenances have not been determined petrographically or chemically, we do know the general closest source locations for some of the non-local materials. Greenstone, a broad range of greenish rocks including serpentinite, serpentinite, and periodite, is found, for example, in several locations in northeastern and north-central Cuba (Draper and Barros 1994; García-Casco et al. 2009) and in belts throughout Hispaniola (Draper et al. 1994). Quartz is present in the Sierra del Convento mélange (García-Casco et al. 2009), and quartz pebbles occur in riverbeds throughout eastern Cuba. Chert, diorite, basalt, gabbro, and andesite also occur naturally throughout Cuba and Hispaniola, sometimes co-occurring with one another (Draper and Barros 1994; Draper et al. 1994). Copper is found in the area around Santiago de Cuba and in Pinar del Rio (Atlas de Cuba 1978:28-29) and northern Hispaniola (Draper and Barros 1994). Alfredo de Zayas y Alfonso (1914) suggests that pre-Columbian copper mining took place in San Ramón de Guaninao, a town located in Santiago de Cuba.

One of the more commonly occurring non-local materials is chert. The non-Lucayan Governor's Beach site located on Grand Turk yielded 567 pieces of white chert drills used to produce shell beads (Carlson 1995; Keegan 1991, 1997:82). Peter Sinelli (2001) found chert drill bits, debitage-like pieces, and a chert core at the Kendrick and Plantation sites, which, too, are linked to Meillacan Ostionoid

colonization of Middle Caicos. White chert artifacts have also been reported from sites spanning the early Lucayan occupation. At the Three Dog site, white fossiliferous chert microliths were used to process seed, root, and tuber crops (Berman and Pearsall 2008) and for engraving or incising (Berman et al. 1999). At the Pigeon Creek site (dune #2), also located on San Salvador, 35 white chert microliths, similar to those found at the Three Dog site, have been recovered. The dune #2 site is roughly contemporaneous with the Three Dog site. Kristine Bohon (1999:46) recovered a white chert flake at the Pink Wall site on New Providence. Chert flakes and microliths are also present at later Lucayan occupations, such as the North Storr's Lake (Fry and Delvaux 2007), Pigeon Creek (dune #1) (Berman and Gnivecki 1998), and Long Bay sites (Berman and Gnivecki 2000), all located on San Salvador. Unlike the white chert microliths recovered from the early Lucayan sites, these flakes are gray and yellow. Laurie Wilkie and Paul Farnsworth (1999) report chert flakes from the Clifton sites on New Providence, including one flake manufactured from brown chert; Farnsworth (personal communication 2006) reports that some of the chert is red, which may represent purposeful, accidental, or post-deposition exposure to heat or fire.

Greenstone objects were traded throughout the Caribbean and lowland South America prior to European contact and colonization (Boomert 1987a; Lovén 1935), and polished greenstone celts, axes, and flakes are ubiquitous throughout the Bahama archipelago (Granberry 1955). A number of greenstone objects—eg., a carved greenstone celt from Mayaguana (de Booy 1913:6–7) and a small carved greenstone *zemí* from Long Cay off of South Caicos (Keegan et al. 2008:649)—exhibit Classic Taíno characteristics (*sensu* Rouse 1992). Greenstone was transported to some sites as raw material. Partially shaped and unpolished greenstone preforms and flakes have been reported from throughout the archipelago: on Andros (Goggin 1939:24), the North Storr's Lake site (Fry and Delvaux 2007), and the Pigeon Creek site (dune #1) (Berman and Gnivecki 1994). Keegan (1995b) reports a rock with pyroxene crystals at the Governor's Beach site.

Jadeite is probably more widespread in Lucayan sites than the current data suggest since most of what we know comes primarily from San Salvador and the Turks and Caicos, the areas that have received the greatest archaeological attention. Specimens include a highly polished celt from the Pigeon Creek site (dune #1) (Rose 1987), a flake from the Governor's Beach site (Keegan 1995b), and celts, unfinished celts, a monolithic ax, and flakes from the Turks and Caicos (de Booy 1912:91, 96, 99, 105; Mason 1877). Unfortunately, the jadeite from the Turks and Caicos has not been sourced, but X-ray diffraction of the Pigeon Creek site celt yielded a chemical signature resembling that of the jadeite sourced to the Motagua Valley of Guatemala or the Nicoya region in Nicaragua (Rose 1987:328). At the time of the 1987 study, these were the only known sources of jadeite in the Americas, leading the investigator to argue for Mesoamerican-Antillean connections. Recent discoveries of jadeite originating in the Sierra del Convento mélange (southeastern Cuba)

(García-Casco et al. 2009), Escambray complex (western Cuba) (García-Casco et al. 2009), and the Rio San Juan complex (northern Dominican Republic) (Schertl et al. 2007) suggest possible Antillean origins for the materials found in the Bahama islands since these jadeites are analogous in both mineralogy and fabric to those occurring south of the Motagua Fault zone. X-ray fluorescence analyses of two Taíno objects residing in a Cuban museum, a jadeite ax and a jadeite figurine, have been found to have Cuban sources (Mendoza Cuevas et al. 2009) and underscore the importance of Cuba and/or Hispaniola as the highly probable source of the imported jadeite artifacts found in the Bahama archipelago.

Polished fine-grained black basalt petaloid axes and flakes have been found throughout the Bahamas (Berman and Gnivecki 1991), the Turks and Caicos (de Booy 1912), and on the surface at the Pigeon Creek site (dune #1) (Berman and Gnivecki 1994).

Barrel- or cylindrical-shaped diorite beads (finished and unfinished) have been recovered on Long Island and from the Pigeon Creek (dune #1) (Rose 1987), Palmetto Grove (Hoffman 1967, 1970), and North Storr's Lake (Fry and Delvaux 2007; Gnivecki 2008) sites on San Salvador and the Governor's Beach site on Grand Turk (Keegan 1995b). Diorite was also used to make beads in the Lesser Antilles (Watters 1997). The Taíno wore "stones like marble" on their arms and neck (Lovén 1935:477), a reference to the speckled quality of diorite. The most spectacular diorite find is a small carved ornamental figurine from North Caicos (de Booy 1912:Plate VI, 99). The individual, who is adorned with ears spools and a feather headdress, is believed to be a *zemí* (Granberry 1955:239).

A variety of other non-local rocks and minerals have been found, and while the following is not an exhaustive list, it gives an idea of the diversity and widespread areal and distribution of such items. Keegan (1995b) reports a quartz pecking stone from the Governor's Beach site. Quartzite sandstone has been recovered at the Kendrick site (Sinelli 2001) and at the Three Dog site. These fragments were probably used to shape and smooth objects. Gary Fry and Thomas Delvaux (2007:24, 28) report a partially drilled quartz bead from the North Storr's Lake site, and John Winter (1978a:238) recovered an unfinished quartz bead from the McKay site. The North Storr's Lake site also yielded a transparent flaked rock crystal (quartz) (Fry and Delvaux 2007:24, 28). Charles Hoffman (1967, 1970) recovered several objects made from igneous rock at the Palmetto Grove site. Granberry (1955:237) reports a partially polished stone ball made from dark gray igneous rock from Andros. There is a polished example and an incompletely finished one from the Pigeon Creek site (dune #1). Berman and Gnivecki (1998) found a small polished pestle made from a medium-grained metamorphic rock at the Pigeon Creek site (dune #1). A partially polished gabbro fragment was found at the Three Dog site, and Hoffman (1970) reports a highly polished gabbro celt fragment at the Palmetto Grove site. Sinelli (2001) reports four pieces of vesicular basalt from the Kendrick site. More non-local items can be found in Granberry (1955:225–240).

Table 7.3. Christopher Columbus observes gold in the Bahamas.

Saturday, October 13, San Salvador (Guanahani)

"I was attentive and labored to find out if there was any gold; and I saw that some of them wore a little piece hung in a hole that they have in their noses. And by signs I was able to understand that, going to the south or rounding the island to the south, there was there a king who had large vessels of it and had very much gold" (quoted in Dunn and Kelley 1989:71).

Saturday, October 13, San Salvador (Guanahani)

"And also the gold that they wear hung in their noses" (quoted in Dunn and Kelley 1989:73).

Wednesday, October 17, Long Island (Fernandina)

"And there they found a man who had in his nose a piece of gold which was something like half of a *castellano*, on which they saw letters" (quoted in Dunn and Kelley 1989:95).

Monday, October 22, Crooked Island (Isabela)

"Some of them were wearing pieces of gold hanging from their noses, and they willingly gave it for a bell of the sort [put] on the foot of a sparrow hawk and for small glass beads; but it is so little that it is nothing" (quoted in Dunn and Kelley 1989:109).

Two copper artifacts, one measuring 3.5×1.8 cm. and another measuring 2.0×1.0 cm, were found at the North Storr's Lake site (Fry and Delvaux 2007:19). The copper has been confirmed by spectrographic analysis. During his travels, Columbus observed that the Lucayans wore small objects suspended from their noses, which he believed to have been made from gold (Table 7.3). Gold was referred to by numerous names: *nucay/noçay* (in the central Bahamas and northern Cuba), *caona* (in most of Hispaniola), and *tuob* (in eastern Hispaniola) (Dunn and Kelley 1989:127, 331). The use of different terms may have been due to linguistic variation or as references to materials other than gold. The Taíno valued "golden metals," which included gold, copper, and, guanín; but, as José Oliver (2000:198) notes, it is not known if the latter term was reserved solely for the gold-copper alloy or for all gold-like metals. In fact, Granberry (1987:190–191) notes that the Warao word, *naséi símo*, meaning "yellow or reddish-colored (*símo*) pebble (*naséi*)," sounds phonetically like *nucay/noçay*. Were the Lucayans really talking about copper?

During his first voyage to the Americas, Columbus notes that the Indians of Hispaniola possessed gold and copper (Dunn and Kelley 1989; Lovén 1935:473) but remarks that he had only seen a little of the latter. Copper may have been used more prevalently, valued more greatly, and been more economically and politically significant than previously recognized, however. For example, one of the many

honorific titles accorded Behecchio, the Taíno cacique of Xaraguá, was Teréigua Hobin, which has been translated as "prince resplendent as copper" (Lovén 1935:517).

Copper is also the major component of *guanín* and the source of its unique odor and reddish color, highly valued by the Taíno. Las Casas noted, "The [Taíno] smelled from [this metal] such an odor that they held it in great value, and so they made a kind of *oro de baja ley* (low-grade gold) that had a reddish-purplish color, which they called *guanín*" (quoted in Oliver 2000:198) Columbus inferred that the metal nose rings that the Lucayans wore were made out of gold, but it is possible that they were made from *guanín* or copper. Diego Álvarez Chanca (known as Dr. Chanca) believed (about the Taíno) that "these people put more value upon copper than gold" (2003:305), but he may have been referring to *guanín*.

Blunt, cone-shaped artifacts resembling small pestles, manufactured from aragonite and calcite, have been found at the Pigeon Creek (dune #1) (Berman and Hutcheson 2000; Rose 1982, 1987) and the Palmetto Grove sites (Hoffman 1970). These resemble the one made from metamorphic rock described above. The recovery of aragonite and calcite flakes and debitage at these sites and the North Storr's Lake site (Fry and Delvaux 2007) suggests that the materials were brought to the sites to be worked into artifacts. At the Palmetto Grove site, Hoffman (1970) also found a small strontianite pestle that contained crushed red powder on both ends. Strontianite (SrCO_3) and aragonite (CaCO_3) crystals are transparent to translucent, exhibit a vitreous luster, and possess pseudo-hexagonal orthorhombic crystalline structures (Chesterman and Lowe 1978:438, 440). It is possible the Lucayans viewed these and calcite in the same or similar ways as quartz, which is transparent to translucent and possesses a hexagonal structure. Similarly, the forms of aragonite and calcite found at these sites possess a golden hue, perhaps serving as an analogue to copper, gold, or *guanín*.

Non-local pottery made from non-local clays and tempered with metamorphic and igneous temper aplastics, materials that do not occur naturally in the Bahama archipelago, are present at many Lucayan sites. Using elemental chemical analysis of temper, John Winter and Mark Gilstrap (1991) found that the non-local pottery recovered from Great Inagua and several sites in the central Bahamas is chemically similar to pottery from the Maniabon Hills area of northeastern Cuba (Rouse 1942) and from sites located in northern Hispaniola.

The frequency of non-local sherds declines through time, as indicated by the excavation data (Table 7.4). Distance decay factors (*sensu* Renfrew 1975) were at work as well. The ceramic assemblages of the Coralie site, the earliest non-Lucayan non-Lucayan site in the Bahama archipelago, and those of the Meillacan outposts on Grand Turk, Middle Caicos, and their offshore cays consist entirely or almost entirely of non-local ceramics (Carlson 1995, 1999; Keegan et al. 2008; Sinelli 2001), whereas the proportion of local to non-local ceramics is greater at later sites. There is a south-to-north decline; sites located further away from Hispaniola and Cuba show lower percentages of non-local sherds in excavation data. We do not

Table 7.4. Non-local ceramic frequency by island

Period	Island group	Site number	Site name	Island	Radiocarbon date	References for radiocarbon dates	Percent non-local	References for sites
<i>Antillean expansion</i>								
	Turks and Caicos	GT-3	Coralie	Grand Turk	cal. A.D. 705-1170	Keegan 1997:21; Carlson and Keegan 2004:89	100(E) ¹	Carlson 1999
		MC-8	Plantation	Middle Caicos	No reliable radiocarbon dates were secured	Sinelli 2001	97.7(E)	Sinelli 2001:92
		MC-10	Kendrick	Middle Caicos	cal. A.D. 1020-1240 (two sigma) (cal. A.D. 1160 intercept)	Sinelli 2001:91-92, 164	98.5(E)	Sinelli 2001:87
		GT-2	Governor's Beach	Grand Turk	cal. A.D. 1020-1290 (cal. A.D. 1221 intercept), cal. A.D. 1047-1280 (cal. A.D. 1225 intercept), cal. A.D. 1120-1330 (cal. A.D. 1262 intercept), cal. A.D. 1250-1410 (cal. A.D. 1307 intercept) (two sigma)	Keegan 1991:14; Carlson and Keegan 2004:89	90(E)	Keegan 1991:28
<i>Early Lucayan</i>								
	Central Bahamas	SS-21	Three Dog	San Salvador	cal. A.D. 600-950 (cal. A.D. 685 intercept), cal. A.D. 650-1020 (cal. A.D. 812, 847, 852 intercept), cal. A.D. 680-1010 (cal. A.D. 883 intercept), cal. A.D. 790-1030 (cal. A.D. 972 intercept), cal. A.D. 828-1157 (cal. A.D. 991 intercept) (two sigma)	Berman and Gnivecki 1995:430; Berman and Hutcheson 2000:Table 2, 421	7.96(E)	Berman 2009
		SS-1	Pigeon Creek, (dune #2)	San Salvador	cal. A.D. 895-1170 (two sigma) (cal. A.D. 1015 intercept)	Berman and Hutcheson 2000:Table 2, 421	31(E)	Berman 2009
	Northern Bahamas	NP-12	Pink Wall	New Providence	cal. A.D. 850-1145 (two sigma)	Bohon 1999:33, 70	0(E)	Bohon 1999
<i>Late Lucayan</i>								
	Turks and Caicos	MC-12		Middle Caicos	cal. A.D. 1040; cal. A.D. 1230-1256; cal. A.D. 1282; cal. A.D. 1142-1422 (two sigma)	Keegan 1997:56, 2007:138	29(SC), 4.9(E)	Keegan 2007:139; Sullivan 1981:232
		MC-32		Middle Caicos	cal. A.D. 1284	Keegan 1997:56	23(SC), 8(E)	Keegan 2007:140; Sullivan 1981

Continued on the next page

Table 7.4. *Continued*

Period	Island group	Site number	Site name	Island	Radiocarbon date	References for radiocarbon dates	Percent non-local	References for sites
<i>Late Lucayan continued</i>								
		MC-6	Ia góra	Middle Caicos	uncal. A.D. 1437±70	Keegan 2007:142	<10(SC), 6(E)	Keegan 2007:143, 177; Sullivan 1981
	Southern Bahamas	GI-3		Great Inagua	cal. A.D. 1320–1510 (two sigma) (cal. A.D. 1433 intercept)	Keegan 1993:34–35	93(SC,E)	Keegan 1993:31
	Central Bahamas		McKay	Crooked Island	A.D. 1240 ±65 (uncal. one sigma), A.D. 1260 +/-75 (uncal. one sigma)	Winter 1978a:238–239	<1(E)	Winter 1978a: 237–238
		AC-14	Delectable Bay	Acklins	no chronometric dates	Keegan 1984	27.3 (by weight)(E)	Keegan and Maclachlan 1989:627
		SS-4	North Storr's Lake	San Salvador	cal. A.D. 1065–1075 and cal. A.D.1155–1275 (cal. A.D.1220 intercept),	Delvaux (personal communication, 2009)	1.45(E)	Fry and Delvaux 2007:15
					cal. A.D. 1065–1075 and cal. A.D. 1155–1295 (cal. A.D. 1250 intercept), cal. A.D. 1400–1515 and cal. A.D. 1585–1625 (cal. A.D. 1435 intercept), cal. A.D. 1430–1670 (cal. A.D. 1515,1585, 1625 intercept) (two sigma) ²			
		SS-2	Palmetto Grove	San Salvador	cal. A.D. 1280–1460 (cal. A.D. 1410 intercept), cal. A.D. 1430–1654 (cal. A.D. 1483 intercept) (two sigma)	Berman and Gnivecki 1995:429	1.5(E)	Hoffman 1970:12
		SS-1	Pigeon Creek (dune #1)	San Salvador	cal. A.D. 1435–1635 (cal. A.D. 1480 intercept) (two sigma) ³	Berman and Hutcheson 2000:Table 3, 422	2(E)	Rose 1987:326
		SS-9	Long Bay	San Salvador	A.D. 1492	Hoffman 1987	2.4(E)	Bate (personal communication, 2009)
	Northern Bahamas		Clifton Pier	New Providence	uncal. A.D. 1090–1200, A.D. 1145±55	Winter 1978b	0(E)	Winter 1978b:45–46

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Table 7.4. *Continued*

Period	Island group	Site number	Site name	Island	Radiocarbon date	References for radiocarbon dates	Percent non-local	References for sites
		NP-13	Alexandra	New Providence	cal. A.D. 990-1270, cal. A.D. 1035-1305, cal. A.D. 1055-1300, cal. A.D. 1065-1305, cal. A.D. 1170-1405, cal. A.D. 1190-1395, cal. 1205-1400, cal. A.D. 1225-1425, cal. A.D. 1240-1420, cal. A.D. 1315-1450 (two sigma)	Vernon 2007:20	0(E)	Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999
		NP-14	Flipper	New Providence	cal. A.D. 805-1050, cal. A.D. 1040-1290, cal. A.D. 1160-1300, cal. A.D. 1215-1405, cal. A.D. 1250-1425, cal. A.D. 1280-1405, cal. A.D. 1325-1500, cal. A.D. 1335-1515 (two sigma)	Vernon 2007:20	0(E)	Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999
		NP-15	Clifton	New Providence	NP-13 and NP-14, one site	Vernon 2007	<1(E)	Vernon 2007: 29
		GB-4	Deadman's Reef	Grand Bahama	cal. A.D. 1400-1485 (two sigma) (cal. A.D. 1435 intercept)	Berman and Hutcheson 2000:Table 3, 422	<1(E)	Berman, Hess, and Kahle 2006

¹E=excavated, SC=surface collection

²The site also yielded earlier dates, cal. A.D.855-1000 (cal. A.D. 905, 920, 950 intercept) (two sigma)(Delvaux personal communication, 2009)

³Richard Rose (1987:331) has published uncalibrated dates from the Pigeon Creek site: A.D.1050-1170, A.D. 1090-1230, A.D. 1260-1400, A.D.1280-1460 , A.D. 1350-1470, A.D. 1400-1540 (two sigma)

know if the non-local pottery found in Lucayan sites can be attributed directly to exchange or gift-giving or contained the items that made up these transactions.

There is archaeological evidence for the widespread movement of materials such as chert, greenstone, and diorite throughout the Caribbean (Boomert 1987a; Hofman et al. 2007; Rodríguez Ramos 2007), and the Lucayans were clearly not exempt from participating in the transactions that moved these materials. Due to the lack of comprehensive coverage and limited excavations, only a partial picture for the movement of goods between the Bahama islands and elsewhere can be drawn, however. Nevertheless, a few tentative generalizations can be made from the available evidence, and some interesting patterns emerge. Later Lucayan sites (post A.D. 1100) possess a variety of non-local materials that are not present during earlier periods, and these are most evident in sites dating to the fifteenth century. Such items include black basalt, copper, diorite, rock crystal, and a variety of unidentified igneous or metamorphic rocks. On San Salvador, we also find aragonite, calcite, and strontianite, which may derive from local Bahamian sources. Foreign materials in the earlier sites, including the non-Lucayan occupations, include chert, gabbro, quartz sandstone, and vesicular basalt. Non-local pottery, chert, and jadeite are found at all sites spanning the occupation of the Bahama archipelago. The color of the chert at the later sites varies from that observed at the earlier sites, suggesting different sources. The non-local items at the non-Lucayan outpost sites on the Turks and Caicos partly make up the “toolkits” essential for the extraction and working of local resources and the maintenance of lifeways characteristic of the occupants’ homeland communities. The non-local items at the early Lucayan sites were used largely in utilitarian tasks. They were brought by the colonizers to help establish a foothold in their new locales or were traded in to maintain ties with kin groups in homeland and other areas. Many of the exotic materials from the later sites were likely associated with local and regional prestige economies, while some, like chert and gabbro, were used in utilitarian tasks.

Although numerous examples of non-local goods, which we believe to have originated in Cuba and Hispaniola, exist in non-Lucayan and Lucayan sites, there is no certain material evidence in Antillean sites of objects that come from the Bahamas. Jago Cooper (2008) recovered a handful of basketry-impressed sherds at Los Buchillones in northern Cuba, and Ramón Dacal Moure and Manuel Rivero de la Calle (1984:127–128) and Vernon J. Knight (personal communication 2009) and Rouse (1948:527) have reported a few examples for northern Cuba and northern Haiti, respectively. It has been determined that these sherds were non-Palmettan in origin.

Finally, spun cotton, cotton cloth, parrots, gold (or copper or guanín) objects, javelins, and food appear to have been common fifteenth-century gift, trade, exchange, and tribute items among the native peoples of the Bahamas, Cuba, and Hispaniola. Written accounts mention that Taíno caciques exchanged cotton, stone

beads, carved stone, shell items, tobacco, and pottery (Rouse 1948:530–531). Mary Helms (1987) suggests that highly polished objects such as wooden duhos and bowls also circulated over vast distances.

Theorizing Trade, Tribute, and Chiefdoms

From the eighth century onwards, the Turks and Caicos were politically and economically linked to Hispaniola. By the A.D. 1200s, they are believed to have been a provincial chiefdom to one of the larger Hispaniolan Taíno chiefdoms. The site plan and architectural features of MC-6 and MC-12 suggest that they were the seats of caciques (Keegan 1997:53). Caonabó, the fifteenth-century Taíno cacique of Maguana, was born in the Turks and Caicos, according to Las Casas; and Keegan has suggested he came from MC-6 (Keegan 1997:67, 2007). MC-6 functioned as a ceremonial center (Keegan 1997:87) and possibly as a “port-of-trade” or gateway community by which imported items entered the Bahama archipelago from Hispaniola to be distributed northwards via down-the-line trade (Keegan 2007:81).

Valuable goods are essential to the functioning of chiefdoms, and the exchange of non-local goods would have been used to forge alliances between chiefs (Dalton 1977). Gift giving was common among Taíno caciques (Lovén 1935; Wilson 1990) and was instrumental in the creation and maintenance of political coalitions. Political power would have been based partly on chiefly control and distribution of foreign goods (*sensu* Renfrew 1986 and others), and rank would have been signified through conspicuous possession, wearing, and display of such items. Such items also helped to legitimize and aggrandize the position, power, and prestige of the chiefs through ancestral connections with distant locales in the real and supernatural realms (*sensu* Helms 1987, 1988). The loyalty and cooperation of lower-ranked individuals and their constituents would have been obtained through gift giving and redistribution. The payment of goods (e.g., salt, salted foods, beads, feathers, and other locally procured and produced items) to higher-ranked chiefs from lesser-ranked chiefs of the Turks and Caicos as gifts, tribute, and other forms of staple finance and the payment of exotics by Hispaniolan chiefs to the Turks and Caicos elite would have helped to achieve these goals.

While the Turks and Caicos and eastern Cuba may have been composed of small, secondary *cacicazgos*, it is not clear what form of sociopolitical organization characterized the remainder of the Bahama islands. The Lucayans spoke of a “king” who lived on one of the islands to the south of San Salvador (Dunn and Kelley 1989), and according to Martyr de Anglería (in Granberry 1955:104), the Lucayans lived in “kinglets” that were subject to local “kings.” These kinglets may have been a reference to *cacicazgos*, and the kings may have been caciques.

William Keegan and Morgan Maclachlan believe that the “primary difference between the Lucayan and Classic Taíno” was that the Lucayans had a simpler po-

litical organization (1989:617). In such a view, a “chief” resided in the largest village in the area and came from a dominant lineage (Keegan 1992:109; Keegan and Maclachlan 1989:623, 624; Keegan et al. 1998:218).⁷ Keegan (1992:110, 2007:81) identified two sites (besides MC-6 and MC-12) that he believed were the seats of Lucayan caciques: AC-14, the largest site of the Delectable Bay site complex on Acklins Island, and the Pigeon Creek site (dune #1).⁸ While survey data speak to the areal extent of these sites and excavation to dense middens and the presence of non-local goods (Keegan 1997, 2007:81), other archaeological correlates for chiefdoms (*sensu* Creamer and Haas 1985; Earle 2002; Peebles and Kus 1977) have not been found at these sites or, for that matter, in the central and northern Bahamas. For example, there is no evidence for craft and labor specialization. Finally, too little is known about how the Lucayans buried their dead (Keegan 1997:61) to be able to differentiate achieved vs. inherited statuses.

Certain artifacts, like duhos, are found both in the Bahama archipelago and in the Greater Antilles, and they are used to argue for evidence of regional integration. Duhos are associated with Taíno chiefs and signified their ancestry and authority (Ostapkowicz 2008). It is argued that Lucayan chiefs possessed them (Keegan 1997:79). In many mainland South American societies, important men such as lineage heads and shamans possess duhos, too (Saunders 2005:105); and while this may have been true for the caciques of the Turks and Caicos, the presence of duhos in the central and northern Bahamas is not necessarily an indicator of caciques.

Limited knowledge of site size, architectural and burial variability, intra-site spatial distribution of artifacts, and regional integration make it difficult to argue unequivocally for the existence of chiefdoms outside of the Turks and Caicos. It is possible that Lucayans of the central and northern Bahamas lived in chiefdoms, uncentralized autonomous villages organized along egalitarian or ranked lineage lines akin to big men societies, where leadership, power, prestige, and authority were achieved, not inherited (Redmond 1998). In such societies, prestige and power can be accrued via the temporary ownership and distribution of exotic items (Sahlins 1963, 1972). In fact, big men or chieftains, not chiefs, may have been the local “kings” referred to by Martyr de Anglería (in Granberry 1955:104). The accumulation and competitive gifting of valuables by local Lucayan elites and emergent elites, who may have been members of higher-ranked lineages or senior members of such lineages, would have been the source of their prestige. Thus, the presence of exotics at many sites in the central and northern Bahamas may be attributed to the competition of individual “big men” to acquire, possess, accumulate, and distribute exotic items to each other and to their constituents. Exotics were not exclusively the domain of chiefs.

Lucayan social organization was assuredly more complicated than the ethno-historic accounts and current archaeological interpretations suggest. The differ-

entiation between chiefdom and chieftain or big men societies is a simplistic one. The issue was discussed to demonstrate that the possession and circulation of non-local items can be found in societies of varying sociopolitical types, including ones that lie along this spectrum. The presence of exotics does not lend itself to a simple explanation, and their role in Lucayan political economy needs to be investigated further.

Basking in the Aesthetic of Brilliance

The argument that non-local items obtained from faraway places were integral to the political economy of the region (the nature of which still remains poorly understood) has been made for the Lucayans of the central and northern Bahamas and the Turks and Caicos. Value was determined by rarity, distance, labor, and production and transportation costs. Value and meaning were also determined by other factors; many items were imbued with spiritual power, cosmological meaning, and sacredness, however. Nicholas Saunders has noted that “Amerindians inhabited a multisensory world, where olfactory, auditory, and tactile elements of sensory experience formed a holistic phenomenological unity” (2003:17). Objects or materials that exhibited shininess, brilliance, or luminescence were (and still are) highly valued and desired among the native peoples of the Americas (Quilter and Hoopes 2003; Saunders 2001, 2003); and Oliver (2000) has emphasized how the Taíno appreciated these properties. Numerous researchers (e.g., Helms 1988; Saunders 1999, 2001, 2003) argue that brightness signifies life-giving energies. By virtue of their shininess, translucence, and/or light-giving properties, most of the non-local or unusual materials or objects found at Antillean sites epitomize the “aesthetic of brilliance,” a concept that recognizes the “spiritual and creative power of light” (Saunders 2003:15). Oliver (2000) and Reniel Rodríguez Ramos (2007, this volume) note the widespread use of shiny items in gift giving, trade, exchange, and as signifiers of rank and prestige. Rodríguez Ramos refers to such objects as “objects that glow” and “objects that show.”

It appears that the Lucayans, too, subscribed to this concept as the imported materials and objects we find at their sites, along with their hypothetical exported materials, epitomize the aesthetic of brilliance. Viewing the Bahamian salt pans, one is struck by how they shine during the day and glow on a moonlit night; baskets of salt (Sullivan 1981) would have had the same effect. The Lucayans used locally procured materials such as aragonite, calcite, and strontianite, which mimicked quartz or metals in their luminescence or color. Pedro Martyr de Anglería (in Granberry 1955:105) states that the Lucayans wore “red, transparent, and shining” shell ornaments. The source of such items may have been locally procured shells.

Shininess and luminosity are visual characteristics accessible to the eye; other materials also share these qualities through a chain of analogical reasoning. Guanín,

for example, is analogous to items that are iridescent, a quality attributed to “a divine and remote origin: the sky and celestial bodies” (Oliver 2000:206). According to Oliver, “guanín is not merely an object of metal but a complex concept for the numinous, as all the feathers and all things iridescent and colourful also qualify as golden and celestial” (2000:214). Parrots, as we know, were given as gifts throughout the Bahamas and northern Antilles; and other birds, for example, some species of doves (perhaps those sought by Florida Indians), possess plumage that is highly iridescent. Oliver also states, “It is possible that green, red, and yellow parrot feathers also had a celestial origin, perhaps different from the guanín-related feathers of Yerétté, but nevertheless still a powerful element of chiefly regalia” (2000:213). Samuel Wilson believes that the Taíno valued parrots and parrot feathers because they possessed “special significance” (1990:61, 66). He notes that the Taíno word for parrot, *guacamayas*, contains the prefix *gua*, which appears in the word *guanín*; thus, its connection to this ultimate, shiny object. The intricate designs, colors, tightness of weave, and sheen of the fibers in Lucayan baskets (palm fibers are high in silica) may have rendered them “dazzling” to those who viewed them. Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff observed that for the Desana of the Northwest Amazon, certain mats possess magical properties “according to the density of their weave because it determines the kind and quality of light and color ‘energies’ which can penetrate the artifact” (1985:31). A similar perception may have existed for the Lucayans. Although little detail exists about the clothing that Columbus observed for the Lucayans, certain cotton weaves, such as the sateen weave, are woven in such a way as to produce a shiny surface. On special occasions, the Lucayans wore unique cotton cloths adorned with feathers (Gomara in Lovén 1935:519), which may have produced a shimmering effect both visually and analogically. Finally, the Lucayans may have produced a shiny cloth from agave fibers since, according to Lovén (1935:401), henequen, a form of agave, thrived in the same Bahamian black land soils that supported cotton.⁹ In the mid-nineteenth century, sisal, another member of the agave family, was introduced to the Bahamas from Mexico; it performed successfully as a cash crop until the 1940s (Craton and Saunders 1998).

Many non-local or rare items found in Lucayan sites arrived in unfinished form. These include basalt, diorite, gabbro, greenstone, quartz (rock) crystal, aragonite, and calcite. In their unworked states, some of these rocks and minerals are dull. Polishing adds luster and, in the case of the greenstone, releases its color. The technological processes of transforming objects from plain, dull forms to shiny states may have been regarded as important as the finished products themselves (Pfaffenberger 1992). The weaving of cloth and baskets may also be related to the transformation of dull to shiny and the associative meanings bestowed by production; such items were converted from their lackluster, incomplete, natural states to shiny, glimmering finished (“cultural”) states. As Nicholas Saunders has observed, “making shiny objects was an act of transformative creating, trapping, and

converting—in a sense recycling—the fertilizing energy of light into brilliant solid forms via technological choices whose efficacy stemmed from a synergy of myth, ritual knowledge, and individual ‘technical skill’” (2003:21). Alfred Gell points out that “the technology of enchantment is founded in the enchantment of technology” (quoted in Saunders 2001:222).

Besides the many meanings ascribed to the properties of brilliance, the colors, smells, shapes, and other physical properties also rendered these items valuable and “indicate[d] the presence of supernatural beings and essence” (Saunders 2003:17). Many Amerindians believe that cosmological and life-giving energies inhabit artifacts and natural materials, such as minerals (Saunders 2003:19). Among the Desana, the hexagonal shape of a crystal “represents an image of cosmic order related to concepts of energy transformation, and fertility, with the crystal regarded as concentrated semen” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1981:23; Saunders 2003:19). A crystal’s shape symbolizes energy, transformation, fertility, tribal territory, the night sky, social organization, and the built environment (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1981:23, 1985:27). For numerous North American Indian peoples, the quartz crystal was and is linked to shamanism, curing, divination, the human soul, clarity, and consciousness (Saunders 2003:20). The rock crystal found at the North Storr’s Lake site may, too, have held cosmological significance related to its light energies. The orthorhombic crystalline structure of aragonite and strontianite may have possessed similar meanings. In many lowland Amazonian cultures, concepts such as fertility are embodied in greenstone (Boomert 1987a). The Taíno also appreciated the redness and sweet smell of copper and guanín (Falchetti 2003; Oliver 2000), and so may have the Lucayans, who wore copper, guanín, or gold nose rings.

Summary

Both the archaeological and the ethnohistoric records provide ample evidence that the Lucayans interacted closely with the peoples of Cuba and Hispaniola, although the intensity, frequency, or reasons for such exchanges varied by geographical location. While there is no material evidence for contact with Florida, written accounts indicate that by at least the period of European colonization, interaction with the Lucayans existed. It is certain that some Lucayans and some Florida Indians were aware of the other, although no material evidence exists to support regularized relationships. In the case of the Florida Indians, we do not know which group was in contact with the Lucayans; and due to the dispersed pattern of Lucayan settlement over many islands, we do not know which islanders were in contact with Florida.

At the moment of the first European encounter, the Lucayans of the central Bahamas were knowledgeable of the routes, geography, and inhabitants of much of northern Cuba and were familiar with at least some of the people of Hispaniola.

The archaeological evidence suggests that interaction with these islands predates this period. From the early peopling of the Bahama archipelago to the arrival of the Europeans, the presence of non-local items in the archaeological record attests to sustained contact between the native peoples and the Antilles: the Turks and Caicos with Hispaniola, and the central and northern islands with northern Cuba and possibly with Hispaniola. The intensity of interaction decreased from south to north, suggesting that frequency and regularity of contact varied with distance. The nature of political relations was likely a contributing factor as well. During the early phases of colonization, it is hypothesized that people brought items that allowed them to reproduce their homeland lifeways in new settings and, in the case of the Turks and Caicos, to extract materials for export to Hispaniola. By the A.D. 1100s and 1200s, different exotics appeared in the archaeological record. While we do not know the exact sources of these non-local materials or the political economies that drove their acquisition, possession, use, and circulation (particularly in the central and northern Bahamas), the selection of certain materials appears to have been based on a shared set of phenomenological principles that resided in visual attributes of shininess and luminosity and other sensory characteristics. The inclusion of the Lucayans in a larger Caribbean interaction sphere was partially facilitated by a seemingly unified and consistent, overarching cosmivision that valued shininess and luminousness qualities. Finally, other evidence, derived from Columbus's diary, indicates that interaction among the Lucayans themselves took several forms that ranged from peaceful to hostile. The specific nature or causes are not known but serve as a basis for future research.

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Notes

1. The term *Lucayan* comes from the Taíno, *Lukku-Cairi*, which is translated to mean "island men" (Keegan 1992:11). It refers to the native peoples of the Bahama ar-

chipelago. The earliest dated evidence of permanent Lucayan occupation is found in the central Bahamas.

2. A list of the sites and their island locations can be found in Table 7.1. Their assignment as northern, central, or southern islands (Table 7.4) is derived from Granberry's (1956:figure 1, 129) division of the Bahama archipelago into ceramic zones.

3. As Berman and Gnivecki (1995) suggest, earlier Lucayan sites are to be found on islands closer to Cuba. At this date, such sites have not been found or excavated.

4. Berman and Pearsall (2000, 2008) have found evidence for maize (*Zea mays*), chili pepper (*Capsicum* sp.), possible cocoyams (c.f. *Xanthosoma* sp.), possible manioc (cf. *Manihot esculenta*), and other roots and tubers (unidentified) at the Three Dog site. We, therefore, know that the earliest occupants of the central Bahamas brought these items with them from the Greater Antilles. Moreover, because this is an early Lucayan site, it is assumed that these domesticates were present at later sites. Some of the entries in the Columbus diary suggest that the Lucayans grew these and other crops at the time of European contact; evidence from Hispaniola and other archaeological excavations confirms that the Taíno grew these crops (Berman and Pearsall 2008; Dunn and Kelley 1989; Newsom and Wing 2004).

5. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Cuba is believed to have been organized into political units of varying size, complexity, and autonomy (Rouse 1992; Valcárcel Rojas and Rodríguez Arce 2005). The evidence suggests that the level of complexity was simpler than that observed for Hispaniola, and archaeologists do not agree whether the societies were organized as fully formed *cacizagos*, one- or two-tiered chiefdoms, or emergent chiefdoms. Valcárcel Rojas and Rodríguez Arce (2005:127) argue that chiefdoms existed in Ciego de Avila and in the Yaguajay archaeological zone in the area of Banes in Holguín Province. Around A.D. 1450, a Taíno chiefdom was established in eastern Cuba with the chiefly expansion of one of the Hispaniolan Taíno chiefdoms (Rouse 1992).

6. Hutcheson (2001) notes that the Lucayans used *Coccothrinax argentea* (silver thatch), *Sabal palmetto* (palmetto), cattail (*Typha* sp.), and grasses (e.g., *Poacea* sp.) in basketry manufacture. This does not exhaust the inventory of plants they may have used, however.

7. The Lucayan captives whom Columbus picked up on San Salvador told him of a king who possessed much gold and was to have lived to the south in a locale called Samoet (Dunn and Kelley 1989). Keegan (1984, 1992:110) argues that this "king" was a paramount chief who lived at AC-14, one of the sites of the Delectable Bay complex on Acklins Island. He was to have ruled over the central Bahamas. Keegan also states "that a man who was simply head of a small village or of a large family could be regarded as a *cacique*" (1992:108).

8. Rose (1987) has reported that the Pigeon Creek site (SS-1) was situated on two sand dune ridges separated by a low-lying area. Keegan (1997:53, 2007:81) regards the site as having a central plaza and oval plan. The eastern ridge of the site has since been found to consist of an early Lucayan occupation dating to cal. A.D. 895-1170 (two sigma) (Berman and Hutcheson 2000:421), and the area believed to have been a plaza was simply an inter-dune swale. Thus, we distinguish between the earlier site (Pigeon

Creek site, dune #2) and the later site (Pigeon Creek site, dune #1), each confined to one dune.

9. Other groups were known to have made shiny cloth from maguey, a type of agave. Aztec nobles wore finely made, shiny maguey capes (Berdan 1987:245). Oviedo (in Lovén 1935:401) notes that the natives of Hispaniola grew and processed maguey.

III

Redefining Boundaries through Social Interaction

tured by each other. While most of this work is still in early stages, they have already been very productive, contributing to the creation of a clearer picture of the ancient history of the Caribbean, and are setting new baselines for future work.

Once the identification of interaction, and not of boundaries, becomes the focus of research, many of the issues related to the isolationism of scholars from different "cultural areas" is minimized. As we continue expanding our investigations on the evidence of interaction and the location of the parties interacting, the inter-regional communication between scholars is also going to increase. It is our hope that, eventually, this process will break the academic boundaries that concepts such as cultural area have imposed on the discipline.

Conclusion

The archaeology of interaction in the Caribbean is faced with numerous limitations. As a region of interaction, the Caribbean Basin is home to numerous linguistic and scholarly traditions which map, imperfectly, onto former and past colonial and national traditions. There are, by inference, boundaries which inhibit intellectual cross-pollination. While organizations and conferences like the International Association of Caribbean Archaeology make some headway in mitigating this very basic limitation in advancement in scholarship, many scholarly projects are left out of this synthesis due to a lack of familiarity or awareness. For example, while some authors are beginning to identify the interaction between the Caribbean islands and the Panamanian Isthmus and Yucatan Peninsula (see Berman this volume; Rodríguez Ramos this volume), few researchers have incorporated this new knowledge in their projects and modelings of past human behavior. It is not until we break these academic boundaries, produced in part by the cultural history perspective and in part by modern political and linguistic boundaries, that we will be able to re-create a more complete and realistic view of past non-local interaction in the Caribbean.

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