



CARIBBEAN FIGURE PENDANTS: STYLE AND SUBJECT MATTER

ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURE PENDANTS OF THE LATE
CERAMIC AGE IN THE GREATER ANTILLES

VERNON JAMES KNIGHT

CARIBBEAN FIGURE PENDANTS:
STYLE AND SUBJECT MATTER

CARIBBEAN FIGURE PENDANTS: STYLE AND SUBJECT MATTER

ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURE PENDANTS OF THE
LATE CERAMIC AGE IN THE GREATER ANTILLES

VERNON JAMES KNIGHT

© 2020 Vernon James Knight

Published by Sidestone Press, Leiden
www.sidestone.com

Imprint: Sidestone Press Academics

Lay-out & cover design: Sidestone Press

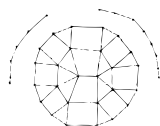
Photograph cover: background: East coast of Barbado by Simon Dannhauer | stock.
adobe.com; pendants L-R: U. S. National Museum of Natural
History, cat. no. A557216-0; U. S. National Museum of Natural
History, cat. no. A557015-0; Universidad de Puerto Rico, Recinto
Río Piedras, cat. no. 1.2008.0714 (all photos by the author).

ISBN 978-90-8890-870-5 (Softcover)

ISBN 978-90-8890-871-2 (Hardcover)

ISBN 978-90-8890-872-9 (E-book PDF)

This volume publication as been supported by the French Ministère de la Culture,
Direction des Affaires Culturelles de la Martinique



TABOUI NO. 7
COLLECTION D'ARCHÉOLOGIE CARAÏBE
DIRIGÉE PAR BENOÎT BÉRARD

Contents

Acknowledgments	19
Abbreviations	21
1 Orientation	23
The genre	23
Rationale	25
Cultural context	26
Settlement of the Antilles	26
Rise of Antillean political complexity	27
Ethnolinguistic diversity	28
Indigenous religion	29
Cults and religious specialists	30
Divinities	32
Prior considerations of the genre	36
Use and function	37
Style and iconography	41
Approach to the present study	43
The corpus	44
Style and styles	45
Configurational analysis	46
Ethnographic analogy	47
Nomenclature	48
2 The Puerto Plata Style	49
Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 1. Anthropomorph in prismatic composition	51
The head	52
The torso and arms	55
The legs and genitalia	56
The back	56
Further notes on Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 1	56

Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 2. Anthropomorph in cylindrical composition	57
The head	59
The torso and arms	60
The legs and genitalia	61
The back	61
Further notes on Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 2	61
Puerto Plata Twinned guise	61
The head	63
The torso and arms	64
The legs and genitalia	64
The back	64
Further notes on Puerto Plata Twinned guise	64
Puerto Plata Frog-form guise	64
The head	66
The torso and arms	67
The legs and genitalia	67
The back	67
Puerto Plata Arms Aloft guise	67
The head	69
The torso and arms	69
The legs and genitalia	70
The back	70
Further notes on Puerto Plata Arms Aloft guise	70
Puerto Plata oddities	71
IC355	71
IC187	71
IC397	72
Other Puerto Plata subjects	73
A second manifold being	73
FGA023	73
IC186	74
IC135	74
User modifications	74
Geographic distribution	75
Archaeological context and dating	77
Raw materials	77
Preliminary iconographic notes	77

3 Sequencing the Puerto Plata style	81
Analytical strategy	81
Nonmetric multidimensional scaling of the raw data	83
Interpretation of the output	85
4 The Yaguajay style	93
Details of execution	96
The head	96
The torso and upper limbs	98
The lower limbs and genitalia	99
The back	100
Further notes on the style	100
Geographic distribution	100
Archaeological context and dating	101
Raw materials	103
Preliminary iconographic notes	103
5 The Madre Vieja style	105
Details of execution	109
The head	109
The torso and arms	110
The legs and genitalia	111
The back	112
Further notes on the style	112
Madre Vieja marginalia	112
IC106	113
IC256	113
IC320	114
IC323	114
IC099	115
Madre Vieja-related oddities	115
FGA051	116
FGA060	116
FGA057	116
FGA056	116
SC024	116
FGA059	117
AM009	117

Geographic distribution	117
Archaeological context and dating	118
Raw material	118
Preliminary iconographic notes	118
6 The Comendador style	121
Comendador anthropomorph, Format 1	122
The head	123
The torso and arms	124
The legs and genitalia	125
The back	125
Comendador anthropomorph, Format 2	125
The head	126
The torso and arms	127
The legs and genitalia	128
The back	128
Further notes on the style	128
Another subject?	128
Comendador marginalia	129
FGA150	129
IC261	130
IC157	130
IC373	131
Geographic distribution	131
Archaeological contexts and dating	132
Raw materials	132
Preliminary iconographic notes	132
7 The Cibao style	135
Details of execution	139
The head	140
The torso and arms	142
The legs and genitalia	142
The back	143
Further notes on the style	143
Cibao oddities	144
IC264	144

IC062	145
IC145	145
IC366	145
IC093	145
User modifications	146
Geographic distribution	146
Archaeological contexts and dating	148
Raw materials	148
Preliminary iconographic notes	149
8 The Luquillo style	151
Luquillo frog-form hybrid	152
The head	153
The torso and limbs	154
The genitalia	154
The back	154
Further notes on the Luquillo frog-form hybrid	154
Luquillo snouted, armless hybrid	155
The head	156
The torso	156
The legs and genitalia	156
The back	157
Other subjects	157
IC272	157
IC335	158
IC268, IC337, and IC339	158
Geographic Distribution	158
Archaeological context and dating	159
Raw materials	160
Preliminary iconographic notes	160
9 Imbert and related styles	165
The Imbert style	165
The head	168
The torso and limbs	168
The genitalia	169
The back	169

Imbert-related marginalia and other subjects	169
IC043	169
Los Arabos	170
Further notes on the style	171
Style Group 1	171
Style Group 2	173
Another subject: anthropomorphic hybrids	174
Geographic distribution	175
Archaeological context and dating	175
Raw materials	176
Preliminary iconographic notes	176
10 Miniatures: La Caleta, Altagracia, and other styles	179
The La Caleta style	180
The head	181
The torso	182
The legs	182
The back	182
Geographic distribution	182
Raw materials	182
Preliminary iconographic notes	183
The Altagracia style	183
The head	183
The torso	184
The legs	184
The back	184
Geographic distribution	184
Raw materials	184
Preliminary iconographic notes	185
Miniature Style Group 3	185
Miniature Style Group 4	185
Miscellaneous miniatures	186
IC083	186
IC285	187
IC152	187
IC111	187
IC390	188
IC160	188

11 Same subjects, additional styles	189
Fully-fleshed anthropomorphs	190
IC044	190
IC354	192
IC191	192
IC159	192
IC367	192
IC173	193
IC244	193
IC219	194
IC257	194
Emaciated or partly skeletalized anthropomorphs	194
IC092	195
IC206	195
IC047	196
IC234	196
IC233	196
Snouted, armless hybrids	197
IC001 and IC301	197
IC107 and IC130	198
IC038	199
IC048	199
Frog-form hybrids	199
IC361	199
IC026	199
IC162	201
IC069	201
IC265	201
IC025	202
IC056	202
IC065	202
12 Comparisons	203
Connecting elements	203
Squatting and the frog-form base	203
Genital bulge and the faceted triangular wedge	206
Armlessness	206
Hemispherical eye concavities	207
Elliptical slotted eyes	208
Mask eye surround	208
Bird-form ears	208

Coronet	209
Headpiece with side-by-side buns	209
Lines descending from eyes	209
Bared teeth in a wide band	210
Supranasal chevron element	210
"Reptilian roll" nose	211
Arm and hand positions	211
Plain necklace-like element	211
Navel	212
Exposed ribs	212
Constrictions at upper arms, lower legs	213
Modes of squatting	213
Ankle bumps	214
Downcurled toes and fingers	215
Excised palmar and plantar elements	216
Incised meander motif	216
Matters of iconography	216
Major figural characters	217
Minor figural characters	218
13 Conclusions	221
Styles and their subjects were not fully contemporaneous	222
Horizon I, channelback period. Suggested dates: 900-1200 AD.	222
Horizon II, period dominated by elbow-style perforation. Suggested dates:1200-1350 AD	223
Horizon III, period dominated by transverse perforation. Suggested dates:1350-1500 AD.	223
Discussion	223
Styles are geographically restricted	224
Styles are linked to subject matter in definite ways	225
Figure pendants occupy a middle ground of social exclusivity	226
Figure pendants could be modified and could reach distant places	227
Figure pendants were discarded as refuse	227
Disconnect with the cohoba rite	228
The nature of crafting communities	229
A cult institution	230

Bibliography	233
App. 1 Figure Pendants from the Database	249
App. 2 Figure Pendants from the Sala de Arte Prehispánico, Fundación García Arévalo	265

List of figures and tables

Figures

Figure 1.1.	Modes of suspension.	25
Figure 1.2.	Localities lending their names to styles in this work.	46
Figure 1.3.	Orientation terminology.	48
Figure 2.1.	Puerto Plata-style figure pendants, guises and formats.	50
Figure 2.2.	Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 1, prismatic composition.	52
Figure 2.3.	Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 1, prismatic composition.	54
Figure 2.4.	Prismatic compositional structure of Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 1 anthropomorphs.	55
Figure 2.5.	Forms of eye connectors and navels, Puerto Plata style.	55
Figure 2.6.	Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 2, cylindrical composition.	58
Figure 2.7.	Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 2, cylindrical composition.	59
Figure 2.8.	Puerto Plata Twinned guise.	63
Figure 2.9.	Puerto Plata, Frog-form guise.	65
Figure 2.10.	Puerto Plata, Arms Aloft guise.	69
Figure 2.11.	Puerto Plata oddities, and an effaced specimen.	72
Figure 2.12.	Puerto Plata, other subjects.	74
Figure 2.13.	Geographic distribution of Puerto Plata-style figure pendants.	77

Figure 3.1.	Scree plot showing decreasing stress with added dimensions.	85
Figure 3.2.	NMDS scatterplots and their interpretation.	86
Figure 3.3.	Puerto Plata style, Standard guise, Formats I-II: proposed chronology.	91
Figure 4.1.	Yaguajay-style figure pendants.	94
Figure 4.2.	Yaguajay-style figure pendants.	95
Figure 4.3.	Forms of eye concavities in the Yaguajay style.	98
Figure 4.4.	Geographic distribution of Yaguajay-style figure pendants.	100
Figure 4.5.	Small Yaguajay-related figure pendants of stone and shell.	102
Figure 5.1.	Madre Vieja-style figure pendants.	106
Figure 5.2.	Madre Vieja marginalia.	113
Figure 5.3.	Madre Vieja-related oddities.	115
Figure 6.1.	Comendador-style figure pendants, Format 1.	122
Figure 6.2.	Forms of eye concavities and mask-like surrounds in the Comendador style.	124
Figure 6.3.	Comendador-style figure pendants, Format 2, and a possible additional subject.	126
Figure 6.4.	Commendador marginalia.	130
Figure 6.5.	Geographic distribution of Comendador and Cibao-style figure pendants.	131
Figure 7.1.	Cibao-style figure pendants.	136
Figure 7.2.	Cibao-style figure pendants.	137
Figure 7.3.	Cibao-style figure pendants.	138
Figure 7.4.	FGA080, showing elaborated form of supranasal chevron element.	141
Figure 7.5.	Cibao oddities.	144

Figure 8.1.	Luquillo-style frog-form hybrids.	153
Figure 8.2.	Luquillo-style snouted, armless hybrids.	155
Figure 8.3.	Luquillo style, other subjects.	157
Figure 8.4.	Geographic distribution of Luquillo-style figure pendants.	159
Figure 9.1.	Imbert-style figure pendants.	166
Figure 9.2.	Imbert-style and related heads.	167
Figure 9.3.	Style Group 1, including miniatures, and Style Group 2.	172
Figure 9.4.	Imbert-related anthropomorphic hybrids.	174
Figure 10.1.	Uninventoried miniatures in the private collection of Mr. Isaac Rudman.	179
Figure 10.2.	La Caleta, Altagracia, Style Group 3, and Style Group 4 miniatures.	181
Figure 10.3.	Miniatures, miscellaneous styles.	186
Figure 11.1.	Fully-fleshed anthropomorphs, miscellaneous styles.	191
Figure 11.2.	Fully-fleshed anthropomorphs, miscellaneous styles.	191
Figure 11.3.	Emaciated or partly skeletalized anthropomorphs, miscellaneous styles.	195
Figure 11.4.	Snouted, armless hybrids, miscellaneous styles.	197
Figure 11.5.	Frog-form hybrids, various styles.	200
Figure 11.6.	Frog-form hybrids, various styles.	200
Figure 12.1.	Modes of squatting.	213
Tables		
Table 1.	Limb postures by sex and style.	205

Acknowledgments

I could not have completed this study without a great deal of help. Underlying this work is a wide-ranging project of data collection conducted between June, 2011 and March, 2018. That project documented items from 33 collections of Caribbean artifacts, a large part of which were figure pendants of the post-AD 600 period in the Greater Antilles. The work of data collection was carried out by a core team of collaborators consisting of the author, John W. O’Hear, Roberto Valcárcel Rojas, Jorge Ulloa Hung, Elena Guarch Rodríguez, and Racso Fernández Ortega. Others who participated in the project and contributed certain photographs that appear in this volume include Pedro Cruz Ramírez, Catarina Guzzo Falci, and Lino Valcárcel.

Funding for several data collection trips was provided by a stipend from the University of Alabama College of Arts and Sciences Leadership Board, for which I am grateful. I particularly want to thank Dean Robert F. Olin and Associate Dean Carmen Burkhalter of the College of Arts and Sciences for assisting my extensive work in Cuban institutions.

Along the way, a large number of museum specialists and administrators in the Caribbean, Europe, and the United States provided access, facilities, and assistance that made the study possible. They include Arlene Álvarez, Sonia Árias Campusano, Sumru Aricanli, Roger Colton, Victoria Craner, L. Antonio Curet, Roger Arrazcaeta Delgado, André Delpuech, Carrie Beauchamp, María del Carmen Pérez Cernuda, Galia Castillo Martínez, Magdalena Chávez Sosa, Edwin Cruz Fumero, Beatriz Dávila, Niurka D. Fanego Alfonso, Raisa Fornaguera de la Peña, Manuel García Arévalo, Tamira González Jiménez, Estrella González Noriega, Catarina Guzzo Falci, Marisol Hernández, Iosvany Hernández Mora, Luis Alberto Hernández Pedroso, Corinne Hofman, Gerardo Izquierdo Díaz, Juan E. Jardines Macías, James J. Krakker, Nidia Leyva, Alina Lomba, Adolfo López Belando, Flavia Marichal Lugo, Analí Martínez, María Martínez, Silvia Alcina Martínez Alcalde, Grethel Martínez Silva, Christian Martínez Villanueva, Yamilka Matamoros Aguilera, Yanet Mateo, Maglys Moinier Delisle, Dany Morales Valdéz, Yvonne Narganes Storde, Doralis Nuez González, Laura del Olmo Frese, Joanna Ostapkowicz, Migdalia Palacios Sanchez, Alberto Peña, Nelida Peña, Lourdes Pérez Iglesias, Lester Puntonet Toledo, Antonio Quevedo Herrero, Veronica Quiquango, Luis Quiñones García, Armando Rangel Rivero, Betania Reyes Pérez, Rosabel Reyes Porteyes, Caridad Rodríguez Cullel, Ivalú Rodríguez Gil, Marcos Rodríguez

Matamoros, Ileana Rodríguez Pisonero, J. Daniel Rogers, Leudy Rosario, Isaac Rudman, Odalis Sanchez Cañete, Cándida Sánchez Villalobos, Chakira T. Santiago Gracia, Isaac St. John, Yordanka Tito Moreira, Neiser del Toro Brines, Ana Valdés Millan, Adelma Vargas, Aimeé Vázquez Silva, Iturbes Zaldivar, and Teresa Zaldívar. I express my sincere thanks to all for their time and interest in our work.

My incipient grasp of Greater Antillean art and archaeology (as well as current politics) has been shaped significantly by conversations with Marcos Rodríguez Matamoros, Roberto Valcárcel Rojas, Jorge Ulloa Hung, L. Antonio Curet, and Brooke Persons. For my understanding of archaeological style distinctions, I am indebted primarily to James A. Brown and Jon Muller.

Abbreviations

AC	Museo Arqueológico Regional Altos de Chavón
AMNH	Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, New York
BA	Museo de Bellas Artes, Havana
CL	Centro Cultural Eduardo León Jimenes, Santiago de los Caballeros
DCOA	Departamento Centro-Oriental de Arqueología, Holguín
FGA	Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico, Fundación García Arévalo, Santo Domingo; courtesy of Mr. Manuel García Arévalo
GA	Museo de Arqueología, Oficina del Historiador de La Habana, Havana
IA	Instituto de Arqueología, Universidad de Puerto Rico, San Juan
ICAN	Instituto Cubano de Antropología, Havana
ICP	Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, San Juan
LU	Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, Leiden; photos by Catarina Guzzo Falci
MHD	Museo del Hombre Dominicano, Santo Domingo
MIB	Museo Indocubano Baní, Banes
MON	Museo Antropológico “Montané,” Universidad de la Habana, Havana
MPC	Museo Provincial de Cienfuegos
MPCA	Museo Provincial de Ciego de Ávila
MPG	Museo Provincial de Guantánamo
MPH	Museo Provincial de Holguín “La Periquera”
NMAI	National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington
NMNH	Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington
QB	Musée du quai Branly, Paris
RUD	Isaac Rudman collection, Santo Domingo; courtesy of Mr. Isaac Rudman.
SMP	Museo Municipal San Miguel del Padrón.
UO	Museo de Arqueología, Universidad de Oriente, Santiago de Cuba
UPR	Universidad de Puerto Rico, Recinto Río Piedras, San Juan
YPM	Division of Anthropology, Yale Peabody Museum, New Haven; peabody.yale.edu

Orientation

These pages offer a window into a single domain of prehistoric indigenous art of the Greater Antilles. The genre is *figure pendants*, small representational carvings depicting what are presumed to be spirit beings that were envisioned as at least partly anthropomorphic. Primarily they are made of stone, but other materials include marine shell, and more rarely, bone. Such pendants are usually less than about 8 cm in greatest height.

The genre

What we might loosely call the indigenous “religious arts” of the late prehistoric Greater Antilles – skillfully crafted, portable artifacts used in ritual practice – exist in a variety of genres in a variety of media. Some of these genres have attracted considerable analytical attention by specialists: *dujos* (ceremonial stools), *cohoba* stands (for receiving a hallucinogenic powder), and reliquaries of wood (Ostapkowicz 1997, 2015; Ostapkowicz et al. 2011, 2012, 2013); stone collars and “elbow stones” (Fewkes 1907; Walker 1993, 1997); so-called “three-pointed” stones (Fewkes 1907; Veloz Maggiolo 1970; McGinnis 1997a, 1997b); figural effigies of pottery (Veloz Maggiolo 1972; Roe 1997); *cemí* (spirit) figures of beaded cotton (Taylor et al. 1977; Ostapkowicz and Newsom 2012; Ostapkowicz 2013); figural stone axes (Herrera Fritot 1964); and shell “masks” (Mol 2007, 2011). Other artistic genres have garnered far less systematic attention, including vomiting spatulas, figural centerpieces of shell necklaces, zoomorphic pendants, engraved olive shell pendants, ornamented shell plaques, and ear ornaments.

Among these, anthropomorphic figure pendants of the late Ceramic Age (ca. 600-1500 AD) are numerous and well known in Greater Antilles archaeology, if not particularly well understood. Examples of these small, three-dimensional carvings appear in virtually all large collections, public and private, and they have been featured in a number of exhibit catalogs. The majority are without archaeological context, but a few key specimens have been professionally excavated.

Examples carved from hard stone, which account for some 92 percent of the total, display a true mastery of lapidary work. It is clear from these that the genre is not merely a translation of carving from some other medium. Wooden examples of the same forms, at any scale, are unknown. Nor are the figure pendants miniaturizations of larger stone sculptures, as their iconography differs substantially from that of the other genres. Instead, these artifacts arise from an old Antillean lapidary tradition of bead and pendant carving, one perhaps originally of South American inspiration but one developed locally

in the Antilles over several centuries. Direct predecessors may be cited in the sophisticated pendant carving in jadeite, serpentine, and other semi-precious stones of the La Hueca and Saladoid cultures of the Antillean early Ceramic Age (ca. 400 BC – 600 AD) (Chanlatte Baik and Narganes Storde 2005; Narganes Storde 2016).

Figure pendants are perforated for suspension against the body. As Sven Lovén (1935:607) and many other others have supposed, their small size and fineness of detail suggest private paraphernalia, as contrasted to the larger carvings in similar materials whose use, in all probability, had to do with the more public spheres of ritual. However, their function in the context of religious ritual and their manner of wearing remain essentially unknown. Much has been made of a second-hand report by the chronicler Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (in Griswold 1997:172) saying that small images (stone is not specified) were tied to the foreheads of Hispaniolan warriors when going into battle. But that can hardly have been the normal mode of presentation; many are simply too large for such a use (see Chapter 5). Moreover, as will be seen, many figure pendants predate Martire's report by several centuries, casting some doubt on the relevance of that report. Certain styles feature longitudinal perforation in addition to, or instead of, the transverse, suggesting multiple modes of presentation, perhaps even situationally. The fact that figure pendants have never been found in mortuary contexts – surprising in itself – removes the possibility of using their placement in the grave as evidence of the manner of wearing. I will elaborate on this evidence in the final chapter of this volume.

From a frontal perspective, figure pendants are oriented upright, in bilaterally symmetrical poses. Subjects are displayed as motionless, doing nothing and holding nothing, nude except for regalia such as headgear, arm bands, and leg bands. Their rigidity of pose, in positions difficult to sustain naturally, has been characterized by Maciques Sánchez (2018:20) as “sacred immobilization.” Depictions are repetitious, tending toward the duplication of a limited number of idealized prototypes; there is no evidence of portraiture. Several scholars have noted a relative lack of sexual distinctiveness (Fewkes 1903a:682; Hostos 1923:554; Baztán Rodrigo 1971-72:221). Some are straightforward anthropomorphs, while many others are therianthrope to varying degrees. In this work I will use the term “hybrids” in reference to the more prominent forms of therianthropes.

Because, as will be seen, the mode of suspension plays a central role in organizing the figure pendant corpus, it will be helpful to review the matter here before proceeding any further. Drillings at the upper back fall into the three primary styles, shown in Figure 1.1. Least common is the paired flange style, which depends on concavities at the back that produce opposed flanges that can be drilled straight through, biconically. Next, the paired elbow style has short drillings that enter transversely from the upper margins, which are generally not visible from the front. These are met by corresponding drillings from the back of the piece, producing paired elbow-shaped perforations. Finally, there is through transverse perforation, produced by drilling fully through the piece, generally at the back of the neck or the back of the head. Ordinarily, the latter is accomplished by drilling from either side toward the center, the drillings meeting in the middle.

Of these, the paired elbow style of perforation shows a definite cultural connection to certain nephrite and greenstone frog pendants called *muiriquitas*, found archaeologically on tributaries of the lower Amazon and adjacent areas of northeastern Brazil.

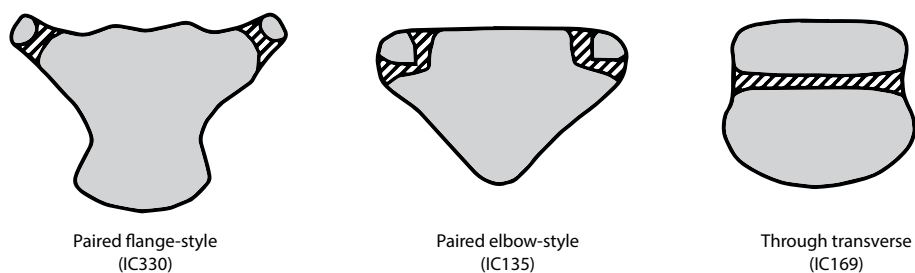


Figure 1.1. Modes of suspension.

Helen Palmatary's (1960:78) description of the mode of perforation in *muiriquitas* shows it to be identical to our paired elbow style. Arie Boomert (1987) has discussed the distribution and Antillean connections of *muiriquitas* at some length, particularly with Saladoid sites of the early Ceramic Age.

Rationale

This study addresses a domain of expressive culture whose significance is neither ethnographically known nor apparent from context or form. Consequently, distinctions can be built, so to speak, from the ground up. The accumulation of data in recent years is such that it allows an attempt at a stylistic classification. My chief purpose, then, is to organize a relatively large corpus of such pendants into useful stylistic categories. That work, whatever else it may accomplish, will serve as a preliminary catalog of figure pendant styles.

It will become rapidly apparent that Greater Antillean figure pendants of the late Ceramic Age are stylistically diverse. Documenting that diversity runs in a contrary direction to what I perceive to be a dominant opinion at present: that there is a "Taíno art style" that crosscuts artistic genres, and that can be found, with minor variations, across the whole geographic area. A statement by Shirley McGinnis (1997b:98) is representative. "Although the Taíno worked in a variety of artistic media, there was a coherent stylistic expression that cut across the materials selected for their work." Though there are certainly motifs that crosscut genres over wide geographic areas (see Chapter 12), I am suspicious of such "international" styles, as they are far more often assumed than demonstrated. As impressionistic constructs, "styles" at that level are seldom useful for any practical purpose.

In this work, styles will be defined by reference to explicit sets of canons, or "rules" if you prefer, that express a close consensus among the consumers of the genre as to what was visually appropriate. Defined in this way, styles are indexed to communities of consumers and to communities of artisans among whom such a consensus develops. This context limits their geographic reach. Also, because styles are constantly in flux, they occupy relatively brief spans of time. Styles, so conceived, are proven tools that can shed light on the communities that generated and used them. I will elaborate on this concept later in the present chapter.

Beyond any inherent interest the genre may have as a form of expressive culture, the study has relevance to certain current issues in Antillean prehistory. In the first place, I intend to demonstrate that Greater Antillean figure pendants not only are stylistically

diverse, but that the styles differ by region. Such observations find their place within recent efforts to better understand the cultural diversity of the Greater Antilles, and to underscore the importance of pluralism in local prehistoric culture sequences. At a more granular level, it is reasonable to expect that in late prehistoric times, the region was pluralistic not only socioethnically but also religiously, and that distributions of artistic representations are central to mapping interisland and intrainland differences in religious emphasis. Second, our data will make it possible to formulate new hypotheses about the social contexts of artistic production and use in a way not previously possible.

Cultural context

In broad strokes, let us briefly review the cultural context of the late prehistoric Greater Antilles, the context in which figure pendants were made and used. To do this requires a summary of the peopling of the Caribbean island chain, followed by an account of the rise of political complexity that formed the backdrop for the religious and artistic developments that are the focus of this volume.

Settlement of the Antilles

Caribbean island prehistory is a chronicle of repeated migrations from portions of the mainland, combined with recurrent hybridizations of dissimilar societies across a variety of cultural frontiers. The number of major migrations is debated among specialists, and some are better documented than others.

The earliest occupation of the region is not well understood. Initial colonization by groups of hunter-gatherers appears to have come from two directions, since the earliest well-dated human occupations are found, on the one hand, in Cuba and Hispaniola, and on the other, in Trinidad at the other end of the island chain. In the Greater Antilles to the north, such early occupations are dated between about 6500 and 5000 years BP, and are interpreted as peoples originating from the Caribbean coast of Central America (Kosłowski 1974; Wilson 2007; Ulloa Hung and Valcárcel Rojas 2013). In the Lesser Antilles to the south, peoples from the South American mainland had migrated to Trinidad by about 8000 BP (Harris 1973; Boomert 2013). For the next several thousand years, preceramic Archaic peoples spread and diversified across the full island chain. Generally, the initial period of Archaic settlement might be characterized as one of adapting mainland technologies and economies to the new island environments. By contrast, the later Archaic was a period of settling in, of local evolution of technologies, and of elaborated means of fishing and foraging (Veloz Magiolo 1976[I]:304). During the later Archaic, greater economic complexity is revealed in the manufacture of simple pottery vessels and the adoption of small-scale horticulture and plant food management (Chinique de Armas et al. 2015; Rodríguez Ramos et al. 2008; Ulloa Hung and Valcárcel Rojas 2002).

The post-Archaic chronology of the Caribbean islands is known to specialists as the Ceramic Age, conventionally divided into early (ca. 400 BC. – 600 AD) and late (ca. 600 – 1500 AD) periods. During the early Ceramic Age, a new migration of fully agricultural peoples, called Saladoid, arrived from the South American mainland, populating the island chain as far north as Hispaniola. Saladoid peoples are widely assumed to have spoken an Arawakan language (Heckenberger 2013:118). The char-

acteristic pottery is hard, well-made, white-on-red painted ware. Luis Chanlatte Baik and Yvonne Narganes Storde (2005) identify, as a second migration, the contemporaneous La Hueca culture of Puerto Rico, a culture exemplified by crosshatched-incised pottery. La Hueca is justly celebrated for its sophisticated lapidary industry involving pendant-making in jadeite, serpentine, and other semiprecious stone. As already noted, this early lapidary industry lies at the root of figure pendant carving during the late Ceramic Age.

The arrival of pottery-making agriculturalists from the mainland set up significant interactions with already-resident Archaic peoples, both in the islands where agriculturalists settled and in the islands on their western periphery. These persistent, long-standing interactions contributed substantially to the formation of more diverse, culturally hybrid societies during the late Ceramic Age (Chanlatte Baik 2013).

Late Ceramic Age peoples of the Greater Antilles, especially on Hispaniola and Puerto Rico, are known by names (or derivations of names) originally assigned by Irving Rouse (1992) on the basis of pottery distinctions: Ostionoid, Meillacoid, and Chicoid. Of these, the Chicoid pottery series is most closely associated with what became known as “classic Taíno,” the people whom Columbus encountered on Hispaniola during his first voyage to the New World. All three cultural groups, as well as related peoples in neighboring places during the late Ceramic Age, are implicated in the production of the figure pendants covered in this volume.

Rise of Antillean political complexity

Forming a backdrop to the growth of Greater Antillean figure pendant carving was the rise of political complexity during the late Ceramic Age. The period was one of expansive demographic growth, supported by intensified root crop cultivation. Manioc and sweet potato were the main crops, grown year-round in large fields in which the soil was mounded up into small hillocks. At the time of European contact, the primary foodway centered on the preparation of manioc breadcakes baked on clay griddles, served with condiments alongside other foods prepared in stewpots. In general, this horticultural system was exceptionally productive and stable (Sturtevant 1961:73).

Ethnohistorical accounts indicate that villages in Hispaniola contained an average of two- to three-thousand individuals (although these numbers sound exaggerated), housed in multifamily pole-and-thatch buildings grouped around a central plaza which served as a dance ground. Embanked open courts were also constructed for inter-and intra-village ball games. Chiefs (*caciques*) lived in large rectangular houses facing the plaza, where they received visitors while seated on elaborately carved wooden stools called *dujos*. They wore insignia of rank, and enjoyed sumptuary privileges including the storage and dispersal of surplus food. Society was stratified, with the chief and his or her retinue constituting the nobility (*nitainos*), followed by the far more numerous commoners.

With these developments came political centralization. At the time of European contact, Hispaniola was divided into several large, territorial chiefdoms over each of which a paramount cacique held sway (Vega 1990; Wilson 1990). Such chiefdoms incorporated multiple communities, each governed by a lesser cacique. This rise of hereditary political leadership was accompanied by an artistic florescence, especially involving artifacts that connected that leadership to spiritual authority.

However, the territorial chiefdoms that developed in Hispaniola were unlike those of neighboring islands. Chiefdoms also arose in Puerto Rico, the Bahamas, Cuba, and Jamaica, but at a simpler scale, in smaller communities, and with somewhat different ideological orientations (Curet 2003). This variability in the degree of political centralization of the late prehistoric Greater Antilles has a decided bearing on how we interpret material ceremonial accompaniments in different settings.

Ethnolinguistic diversity

Traditionally, a number of scholars of Caribbean archaeology and history have emphasized a broad uniformity of language and culture across the late prehistoric Greater Antilles (e.g., Lovén 1935; Rouse 1948, 1992; Dominguez et al. 1994:30). That perceived unity is distilled in such generic terms as “Island Arawak” and “Taíno,” the latter more frequently in use today (Rouse 1992; Keegan 2013). For many decades, the term Taíno has been applied as a term of convenience, referring generically to the peoples of the Greater Antilles at the time of European contact.

In recent years, however, scholars have mounted a serious challenge to the validity of the concept of an ethnolinguistically uniform region. Samuel Wilson (1993) has pointed out that the indigenous Caribbean at the time of the European encounter was a “cultural mosaic” of peoples with different histories of origin, divergence, and comingling with their neighbors. In the Greater Antilles at least three, perhaps four mutually unintelligible languages were spoken. Some communities were evidently multiethnic, as is suggested by variable mixes of domestic pottery of distinct traditional origins found within settlements (Guarch Delmonte 1972; Ulloa Hung 2014). As a result of geographical differences in material culture, the larger islands necessitate multiple regional archaeological chronologies (Wilson 2001). Regional distinctions in ceremonialism have also been noted. For example, ceremonial ball courts are unevenly distributed, differently constructed, and are of different average sizes in Hispaniola and Puerto Rico (Wilson 1990:24-26; Curet 2003:19; 2014:485-486; Oliver 2009:24). Certain artifact forms associated with cacical trancing, such as cohoba stands, are found in Hispaniola and in Jamaica, but not in Puerto Rico or Cuba (Curet 2014:484). Finally, and of much significance to this study, scholars are beginning to appreciate regionally specific artistic zones, which differ in the genres they emphasize, their styles, and their subject matter (McGinnis 1997a; García Arévalo 2003).

In the face of growing acknowledgment of this cultural plurality, a seminal paper by Antonio Curet (2014) makes the case that continued use of the term Taíno as an ethnonym is unwarranted. Early Spanish chroniclers tended to oversimplify the ethnic makeup of the Caribbean islands. They did not, however, apply the term Taíno as an ethnonym to the people of the Greater Antilles. That appellation is secondary, dating only to the nineteenth century, amplified in the early twentieth by such influential scholars as Fewkes, Harrington, Lovén, and Rouse. Nonetheless, the phenomenon to which it refers, an ethnic group broadly similar in culture and language, never existed (ibid:471). The term Taíno, uncritically accepted by historians and archaeologists who commonly have been unaware of its history, is a usage fundamentally detached from the diverse cultural reality seen in both the ethnohistorical and archaeological records.

Thus, Greater Antilles history and archaeology have only recently begun to emancipate themselves from the Taíno concept. As a modest contribution toward furthering this perspective, I will not use the term in this study except in its historical context.

Indigenous religion

Given the subject, I am obliged to offer some perspective on indigenous Greater Antillean religion at the time of European contact. In keeping with the preceding comments, the first thing that may be said is that scholars traditionally have tended to portray Antillean religion as a coherent whole, a uniform belief system without significant variation. Even those who, today, acknowledge linguistic, social, and political diversity in the region, and who decry the use of the term “classic Taíno” as too normative, still largely homogenize indigenous spirituality and characterize it using covering terms such as animism, shamanism, and cemísm.

Some of this homogenization can, perhaps, be laid at the feet of Bartolomé de Las Casas, a firsthand observer during the early sixteenth century. Las Casas is on record as saying that from the Bahamas to the Venezuelan mainland, “almost all the people had one kind of religion” (Serrano y Sanz 1909:321). But the *Apologetica Historia* from which this quote is extracted contains broad-reaching comparisons of many “gentile” religions, including those of the Aztec, Maya, and Inca civilizations. In its context, Las Casas in this passage is merely emphasizing, in broad strokes and in a comparative sense, certain ways in which Caribbean indigenous religion differed from those of the mainland. For example, Las Casas makes several generalized points: that Caribbean peoples understood that there was a high god without, however, making supplications or sacrifices to that deity; that formal temples were few; that they had few idols worshipped as gods; and that their ceremonies were relatively few (*ibid.*). Having “one kind” of religion, in other words, did not mean that Caribbean religious practice was everywhere the same. Indeed, in the same work, Las Casas points out differences in ceremonialism between Hispaniola, Cuba, and the Bahamas (*ibid.*: 447-448).

Our literary sources regarding these matters are mainly limited to the following: Ramón Pané, Christopher Columbus, Hernando Colón (Columbus’s son and biographer), Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, Pietro Martire d’Anghiera, Bartolomé de Las Casas, and Girolamo Benzoni. Of these, Colón, Martire, Las Casas (and evidently Benzoni as well) are not fully independent sources, as they all had access to Pané’s earlier work and incorporated its content into their own. To that extent, these sources are, to use Patricia Galloway’s (1997) colorful term, “incestuous.” As for Oviedo’s *Historia General de la Indias*, Las Casas was less than charitable regarding its veracity, proclaiming famously that it contained “almost as many lies as pages” (Hanke 1994:34). We can be far more generous than that today, but one has to wonder if the describer of indigenous Antillean carvings as having “many heads and tails, with deformities, and so scary, and with fierce fangs and dentures, and with large canine teeth, and disproportionate ears, with burning dragon eyes, and as a fierce serpent” (Oviedo y Valdés 1851-55:1:125) ever laid eyes on the real thing (No such artifacts are known to exist). My point is simply that these sources are often cited straightforwardly as factual, without taking fully into account the circumstances of their authorship. In brief, the sources are far fewer than are available for most comparable indigenous peoples of the

New World, most are unavailable in modern critical editions, and they leave us with a deficient picture. Caribbean specialists would do well to better acknowledge this.

Cults and religious specialists

First among the cults described for Hispaniola was that surrounding hereditary chiefship, a cult that established a sacred basis for political authority. This was the cult that most fascinated the colonizing Spaniards, whereby we have several accounts of its central rite, called *cohoba*. Caciques were owners of free-standing carved wooden and stone images called *cemí*, which functioned as oracles portending fortunes of war, weather, agricultural success, births, deaths, and so forth. Caciques accessed the spirit world by ingesting a hallucinogenic snuff, also called *cohoba*, while seated on their *duhos*, which, as we have said, were wooden stools. Messages from the beyond were transmitted by means of visions obtained in a trance state, with the *cemí* idol acting as intercessor and addressed as a living being.

These free-standing, oracular *cemí* idols, kept either in the house of the cacique or in dedicated temples, were of two main kinds. The first were carved in the likeness of supernatural beings, and possessed a small, integrated round table on a pedestal above the head, the whole serving as a canopied stand for the preparation or consumption of powdered *cohoba* snuff. Such carvings were considered the animate embodiments of named spirits, having multiple titles, specific biographies, qualities, and specialties (Pané 1999:21). Second were carved reliquaries containing the bones of deceased caciques (Serrano y Sanz 1909:321). Lovén (1935:583-584) astutely considers the integration of lineage ancestors, as *cemí* spirits, into the chiefly cult as the feature which sets that cult apart definitively from religious practices in more plebian contexts in the Antilles. It is likely correct that indigenous Antillean religion at the time of European contact was evolving (Roe 1997:157; Stevens-Arroyo 2006:62). From what we are told, this cult of chiefship has precisely the appearance of the adaptation, by an emerging political elite, of rites whose origins lay in more common circumstances. In this manner, chiefly lineages gained and maintained power by appropriating sacred authority.

Thus, Hispaniolan political leaders had become chief-priests, and could direct the *cohoba* rite before their assembled subordinates without the intercession of any priest. At the behest of a paramount cacique, nobles assembled in council might observe that cacique experiencing the *cohoba* trance, following which the oracular visions would be reported (Las Casas 1875:5:470-471; Pané 1999:26). At other times, an assembly of political leaders led by their paramount, might take the hallucinogenic drug collectively while seated on their *dujos*, an inebriated spectacle which must surely have been, as Las Casas recounts, “something to see” (Serrano y Sanz 1909:445-446).

Our sources do not add up to a clear picture of the religious specialists called *bohitos* (I use the spelling of Martire over that of Las Casas’s *behique*, as it is likely closer to the earlier usage of Friar Ramón Pané; for alternatives see Pané 1999:19, n. 88). *Bohitos* were subordinate to caciques, but they were clearly individuals of high social status (Benzoni 1857:82). Martire d’Anghiera (in Griswold 1997:174) describes them participating collectively, together with caciques and other nobles, in *cohoba* rites to which “no plebian [was] admitted.” In the context of the court of the cacique, *bohitos* were therefore fully integrated into the chiefly cult.

Aside from this integration, bohitos were also autonomous actors. They independently sought out cemí spirits and brought into being their physical idols, built and supervised temples for these idols, provided them with gardens (which, it is said, the spirits desired), and presided over public rites in their honor. They consulted their cemí spirits employing the visionary trance experience of cohoba, just as did the caciques. In this role, however, unlike the caciques, bohitos were spiritual intermediaries serving the populace in general (Serrano y Sanz 1909:322). Oviedo y Valdés (1851-55:1:126) remarks that each bohito was the possessor of a portable cemí idol, unfortunately undescribed, which “they always carried with them.”

For Cuba, Las Casas (Serrano y Sanz 1909:447) describes collective trancing by bohitos in assembly. Together, a group of bohitos underwent a prolonged fast of four months, consuming only a stimulant, leading them to emaciation and to the brink of death. At that moment they were “willing and worthy for the face of the cemí to appear,” to which the group would address their questions, afterward reporting the answers to their followers. In this practice, cohoba snuff was not used to induce the visions, nor was there any documented use of cemí idols.

Bohitos were healers as well as diviners. In attending to the sick, they fasted and purged themselves together with their patients, and partook of cohoba snuff, seeking visions of the cause of illness among the spirits. Pané (1999:22) describes the subterfuge of hiding “some little bones and a bit of meat” in the mouth, to be magically produced by sucking them from a part of the patient’s body. According to Benzoni (1857:82), bohitos generally attended “only the principal people” in this manner. Pané (1999:23) concurs: “Those who have little power do not dare to contend with these physicians.”

Two observations follow from these somewhat deficient descriptions. First, as many writers have emphasized, some such practices are, without question, inherited from lowland South American shamanism. Indeed, more often than not, bohitos have been described in modern scholarly writing as shamans (e.g., Arrom 1999:21, n. 92; Keegan 2007:116; Oliver 2009:50; Robiou Lamarche 2003:75; Roe 1997). However, Las Casas saw bohitos as priests (*sacerdotes*), which I think is the more accurate label. I realize that it has become commonplace in Americanist archaeology to characterize just about any activity that employs altered states of consciousness as shamanism, by which criterion indigenous chiefs and even kings are effortlessly called “shamans.” But to do so elides what I think are some central hallmarks of shamanism that it is better to respect. Conspicuously, South American shamans ordinarily work alone. In an astute discussion of shamanism as it is revealed in pre-Columbian art, Rebecca Stone (2011:55) describes the life of a traditional South American shaman as profoundly antisocial, antiseular, and detached. Institutionalization is antithetical to shamanic practice (ibid.:10). The traditional shaman’s “unscripted” (ibid.:65) approach to the supernatural is something that would not be easily tolerated by a nascent political elite intent on co-opting spiritual power, precisely by scripting it.

In the present case, we have historical accounts of bohitos acting as elites, often collectively, moving freely in the political arena, and engaging with a high-status clientele. It is true that their rites, including the visionary oracle they shared with the caciques, had unequivocally shamanic roots, but such practices were removed from those roots, having been translated and graduated into the domain of hierarchical institutions.

Second, the persistent accentuation in documentary sources of the rite of cohoba, the dramatic technique used by caciques and bohitos to induce communication with cemí spirits, has tended to obscure the fact that cohoba was just one of several means employed by Antillean religious practitioners for contacting the spirit world. A variety of different ecstatic techniques were employed in distinct social domains at different scales. Other documented techniques directed to that end were fasting, smoking tobacco in the form of cigars, drinking and eating stimulants, chanting, drumming, dancing, assuming rigid ritual postures, or some combination of these. Such techniques were often collectively done in groups of various sizes. I have already noted that Cuban bohitos fasted communally and used a stimulant other than cohoba snuff to make contact with cemí spirits, apparently without using idols. Similarly, Las Casas (Serrano y Sanz 1909:446-447) tells of a “great fast and abstinence,” six or seven days in length, undertaken by a cacique who would afterward relate his oracular message to his followers. In this cacical fast, there is neither mention of the use of cohoba snuff nor of a carved cemí idol. Further, Benzoni (1857:79-80) describes a feast given by a Hispaniolan cacique in honor of his principal cemí. It involved a public processional to the temple to the beat of a drum, in which each man and woman purged themselves with a vomiting spatula, “so that the idol might see they had nothing bad in their stomach or their breast.” Participants then squatted on their heels, sang songs and chants, and presented manioc breadcake to the cemí idol. Elsewhere, Benzoni (1857:82) tells of Hispaniolan bohitos curing sick patrons by administering intoxicating quantities of tobacco smoke rather than cohoba snuff, thereby producing visions leading to a cure.

From the documents of early European contact, we know essentially nothing of religious practices at village and household levels. One can speculate that within these everyday domains there were *curanderos*, herbalists, and bonesetters who operated well outside the sphere of the priests, and whose methods may well have been, in some cases, barely distinguishable from those of mainland shamans (Roe 1997:138).

Given the foregoing, I cannot join Veloz Maggiolo (1972:1972:228) in asserting that “Taíno art is a response to shamanism.” Nor am I confident that “nearly all Taíno ritual artifacts have some association with cohoba” (Roe 1997:146). As already noted, we have direct testimony that, for example, vomiting spatulas were used in a public purging rite having nothing to do with cohoba trancing. Even in the spotty written accounts that have come down to us, there is reason to suspect the existence of both socially variable and geographically unlike religious practices. Quite certainly, too, some village- and household-level practices escaped notice by the chroniclers.

In short, I find no basis for assuming a uniform, coherent religious system in the indigenous Greater Antilles based on the documentary evidence. There is no reason to think that Antillean religious practice was any more uniform than the plural picture and complex history currently accepted for ethnicity, language, and political practice in the region. Even if there were evidence of religious uniformity at Contact, there would be much reason to question its uncritical projection into the prehistoric past.

Divinities

To expand on Las Casas’s generalizations already cited, Greater Antillean indigenous peoples seem to have believed in a supreme being who was inactive (Lovén 1935:563). The invisible world was, however, replete with spirits who were considered active

sources of power, and who could be accessed by ecstatic techniques. These spirits were gendered and ranked relative to one another. They included a variety of weather divinities, others governing human health and childbirth, still others devoted to agricultural productivity, plus, importantly, human chiefly ancestors (Oliver 2009:73).

Our chief source for these beliefs is an extraordinary text titled *An Account of the Antiquities of the Indians*, written by Ramón Pané, a “humble friar of the order of Saint Jerome.” So outsized is the importance attributed to this manuscript that we need to specially attend to its critical use as a source. Pané arrived in Hispaniola with Christopher Columbus in 1494, and he was later commissioned by the Admiral to record the customs and religious beliefs of the inhabitants of that island. The manuscript, never formally published in its original form, was completed about 1498.

A recent transcription of Pané’s work (Oliver et al. 2008:263-275) comes to only 13 typeset pages. Its 26 brief chapters can be grouped into four main sections. The first and longest is a recounting of spiritual beliefs and myths – some eight myths, by my count – followed by a shorter section concerning the activities of bohitos. A third section concerns cemí idols, and a fourth is given over to certain historical particulars. Pané’s work can claim to be the earliest book in a European language to be written in the New World (Arrom 1999:xi). It is also, most certainly, the earliest collection of indigenous New World myths. It has classic ethnographic importance in that it was compiled while living among the author’s indigenous informants in which context the author learned two of the languages of the island (Bourne 1906).

More pertinent to the subject of this book, the study of Greater Antillean figure pendants, is what Pané’s book is *not*. In brief, it is not the comprehensive key to indigenous Antillean religious beliefs that it has too often been portrayed. This chapter is not an appropriate place for a thorough critique, so we must be content with a few synoptic paragraphs.

To begin, neither the original nor any copy in the original Spanish exists. We have it only by way of a 1571 Italian translation by Alfonso de Ulloa of Columbus’s son Hernando’s biography of his father, a biography in which a copy of Pané’s text was included. We know that Ulloa’s translation, done while in prison, was left as an unfinished, incomplete draft, with lacunae, “numerous errors and incongruencies,” and “violent Italianizations” of proper names (Arrom 1999:xxv, xxvii). Some of Ulloa’s omissions are apparent by comparison to certain paraphrased extracts of Pané’s work in the writings of Christopher Columbus, Pietro Martire d’Anghiera, and Bartolomé de Las Casas. As for Pané’s command of Spanish, the language of the missing manuscript, Las Casas (Serrano y Sanz 1909:447), who knew Pané, says it was poor, as he was “a simple person who did not speak our Castilian tongue altogether well, since he was a Catalan by birth” (For the tortured history of the Pané manuscript and a valiant attempt to reconstitute it, see Arrom 1999). What comes down to us is a set of mythic renderings that are, as Lovén (1935:560) remarks, “very abrupt and all too condensed,” the understanding of which requires comparative knowledge of South American indigenous mythology and perhaps a willingness to “read and re-read between the lines” (Robiou Lamarche 2003:80).

While Las Casas (Serrano y Sanz 1909:447) judged some of Pané’s material to be “confused and of little substance,” Pané himself practically begs his readers not to fully trust his information. In comments that presage a modern ethnographic dilemma,

Pané (1999:8, 11) complained that his informants were inconsistent in what they told him. Because of that, he says he was unable to present his material in a coherent way, correctly ordered. Thus, he wrote, "I believe that I put first what ought to be last and the last first" (ibid.:11). In telling the myth of the origin of women, Pané (ibid. 12) admits having written it hastily and without sufficient paper, apologizing that what he had previously copied was "by mistake." In relating part of the twins myth, he apologized for not learning more, and fretted that what he did obtain was "of little help" (ibid. 16). In relating the story of the cemí Opiyelguobirán, he ends by saying "As I buy, so also do I sell" (ibid.: 29). It is what it is.

Most of Pané's observations appear to have come from his two-year residence with the cacique Guarionex, in the Vega Real (Arrom 1999:xxii). Thus, to the extent that the material may be socially biased, the bias is that of the nobility resident in a chiefly court (Oliver 2008a:87-88). Lovén (1935:560) surmises that "particularly in [Pané's] mythological notes no doubt are found many things with which the common people were not acquainted." What is perhaps more telling is the evident geographic constraint: Pané's tenure on Hispaniola was spent almost entirely in the Cibao Valley in the northern Dominican Republic (Oliver 2008a:Fig. 5). To what degree his account may be applicable more broadly than that is entirely unknown.

A number of successful efforts have been made to connect Pané's mythic and linguistic material to mainland South American cognates (Lovén 1935:560-573; Lopez Baralt 1977, 1985; Alegria 1978; Arrom 1999). Less frequently discussed is what is no doubt missing from the small collection. Some sense of this may be had by comparing Pané's 13 pages with the large volume of mythic material known from the Guianas (e.g., Roth 1915). Lovén (1935:567), for example, has pointed out the deficit in Pané's collection of creation mythology. The sun and moon are said to have emerged from a cave, humans are likewise attributed a beneath-world emergence, and the origin of fish and the sea are recounted. However, compared to mainland Arawakan, Carib, and Warao texts, certain dominant creation themes are absent in Pané. These include the Sun in the role of creator, or as a culture hero; a Great Tree as a focal motif; or the tradition of a "first man." In Pané, such things as the earth, tobacco, and yuca (manioc) preexist, with no obvious original source for them, nor spirits specially dedicated to them (the purported role of the deity Atabey as an Earth Mother is entirely conjectural, as is the purported connection between the deity Yocahu and the agricultural crop yuca). Culture heroes in general are also missing in Pané, in the conventional sense that they undergo trials and deliberately contrive means for acquiring useful things (Lovén 1935:567). Such culture heroes do play prominent roles in mainland South American mythology.

Taking into account the precis given above, it is my opinion that Pané's deficient mythic corpus has been dramatically overextended and overinterpreted. It has been common to treat Pané's list of deities and cemí spirits as though it were authoritative and generalizable, applying its geographic reach to the whole of the Greater Antilles and Bahamas. To this geographic generalization may be added the assumption that the roster can be reliably projected into the distant past. A common iconographic strategy has been to use Pané's text as a guide in the search for archaeological exemplars, regardless of place and time, of each being described (Godo 2003:135). Thus, Herrera Fritot (1952) reviews the catalog of animals that appear in the text and identifies Cuban

artifacts that seem to illustrate them. Arrom (1989) does the same for the major deities and cemí spirits featured by Pané, using archaeological objects from throughout the Greater Antilles and the Bahamas. Guarch Delmonte and Querejeta Barceló (1992, 1993) extend the strategy in greater detail, finding specific Cuban artifactual exemplars corresponding to the full catalog of divinities that appear in Pané's account. Despite an insightful critique by Godo (2003), this approach is still widely accepted. But in this mode of iconographic understanding, artifacts are cherry-picked to illustrate the ethnographic concepts, with little regard to whether those forms are common, rare, or even unique within the scope of late prehistoric art.

A different, equally worrisome trend is the unwarranted elaboration of what Pané's text says about each divinity, in the interest of filling out a more satisfying, coherent cosmological picture. For our purposes here, a single example will suffice. One of twelve cemí idols mentioned by Pané is Opiyelguobirán (here using the reconstituted spelling given by Arrom, which appears in no original source). Everything that is known about this cemí is contained in three sentences (Pané 1999:28-29). In Arrom's (1989:61-62) hands, this is the Taíno Dog God, who has dominion over the behavior of the souls of the deceased. Or, as Olsen (1974:109) relates it in a passage attributed to Arrom, "the dog deity who takes care of the souls of the immediately deceased and is the son of the spirit of darkness." Stevens-Arroyo elaborates that in the dualistic pantheon of Taíno cemí spirits, Opiyelguobirán, who represents "privacy and felicity," in his role as a daylight soul guardian, is the masculine twin of the "picaresque spirit" Corocote, both being offspring of the Lord of the Dead, Maquetaurie Guayaba, the three of whom are members of the spirit "moiety" he calls the "Order of Inversion." The trouble is that Pané says precisely none of this. He provides no hint that Opiyelguobirán was a generalized Hispaniolan supernatural. What he actually says is that it was a unique wooden cemí idol, extant at the time of European first contact, one with a unique history, and owned by a specific, named person. Moreover, Pané nowhere says that it was a dog spirit, but merely that the carving had "four feet, like a dog." Nor does he say or imply that it was a guardian of the dead, or that it had any relation to Corocote or to Maquetaurie Guayaba. Nonetheless, the notion that Opiyelguobirán was the Taíno dog guardian of souls has been uncritically repeated by several scholars (e.g., Rouse 1992:119; Guarch Delmonte and Querejeta Barceló 1993:45; McGinnis 1997a:250-251, n. 12; Keegan 2007:38; Waldron 2016:77), which in turn has affected the iconographic interpretation of various alleged dog images in Antillean archaeology.

On the matter of overinterpreting Pané, the most excessive example, surely, is Antonio Stevens-Arroyo's book *Cave of the Jagua: The Mythological World of the Taínos* (2006, revised from a 1988 edition). This is a point worth noting here only because the book's influence has been substantial, lauded in the frontmatter of the newer edition (2006:ix) as the "Taíno Bible." Its author is a scholar of comparative religions, having received his doctorate in theology at Fordham. Stevens-Arroyo's dual influences are Jung's theory of archetypes and the structural method of Lévi-Strauss. These influences lead to the double tendency to overgeneralize from a faulty source, and to dichotomize virtually everything in it. Based on his reading of Lévi-Strauss, "if part of a myth is missing one can analyze the overall logical structure and deduce the nature of the missing part" (2006:11). The outcome is an arrangement of 14 divinities named by Pané into a dualistic structure in which each divinity has its complementary opposite, arranged into two "moieties," one

called the “Order of Fruitfulness” and the other, the “Order of Inversion” (ibid.:Table 7). Essential to Stevens-Arroyo’s analysis is the controlling notion of the overall coherence and symmetry in what he views as a reconstitution of Taíno cosmology at the time of the European encounter. Yet I can find no passage in which he questions whether his sources are up to that task. Nor do I know of any other indigenous “pantheon” in New World ethnography in which the whole is a logically coherent package in which everything has its binary opposite. While I cannot pursue the matter further here, I think it is timely to voice doubts about this approach to sources, and the kind of cosmological model that results from it. Far better is the cautious approach of Shirley McGinnis (1997a:947): “In recent years the academic community has leaned less heavily on the myths from Pané, viewing them more and more as a door only slightly ajar behind which lie mysteries we yet only faintly understand.”

Given prior concerns about the assumption of cultural uniformity in the previous sections, I see no reason to posit a coherent, uniform religious belief system spanning the Greater Antilles at the time of European contact. Indeed, I start from the opposite assumption. My iconographic approach, to be outlined later in this chapter, dictates a highly conservative use Pané and other early European chroniclers.

Prior considerations of the genre

Figure pendants are among the earliest indigenous Antillean artifact forms to be illustrated in Colonial-era works. Two, for example, are illustrated in the margins of an eighteenth-century map of Hispaniola with place names drawn anachronistically from the time of early Spanish contact two centuries prior, made by French Royal Geographer Jean Baptiste d’Anville in May of 1731, and published in a volume by Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix (1730-31; reproduced in Cabello Caro 2008:Fig. 5). Of these figure pendants, one is clearly of the classic Imbert style discussed in Chapter 9 of the present volume. The drawings are labeled “superstitious figures of zemi,” perhaps the earliest instance of the supposition that figure pendants were examples of the *cemí* idols described by the Spanish chroniclers. At about the same period, Friar Juan de Talamanco illustrated four Hispaniolan carvings in an unpublished report dating to 1749. One of these is very clearly an example of the frog-form guise of the Puerto Plata style (Chapter 2), for which Talamanco supplies an interpretation: being an anthropomorphized frog, it is the “God of Waters.” Helpfully, he adds that its material is white stone and that its provenance is “Monte Cristi, jurisdicción de la Antigua Isabela” (Cabello Caro 2008:207). This is on the northwest coast of the Dominican Republic.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the first anthropological writers to describe figure pendants are unanimous in referring to them as “amulets.” Despite this unanimity, I have decided not to adopt that term in this work, wanting to avoid its connotation of an apotropaic function, that is, that the figures were necessarily protective devices. I do not wish to bias the outcome with any definitive opinion as to function, especially one incorporated into the name of the genre. So, “figure pendants” it shall be.

The earliest academic discussion of figure pendants appears in a paper by Otis T. Mason (1899[1877]) that describes five Puerto Rican specimens from the Latimer collection donated to the United States National Museum. Mason offers little other than straightforward description and illustrations. After a lapse of more than two

decades following Mason's paper, Jesse W. Fewkes (1903a) contributed the first article entirely devoted to the subject, entitled *Precolumbian West Indian Amulets*, based on eleven additional specimens from the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico. Fewkes's discussion was reproduced, more or less verbatim but in somewhat amplified form, twice further (1903b, 1907). In this work, Fewkes distinguished between two forms, the first being our frog-form type and the second, our goggle-eyed Puerto Plata style. To this initial foundation, a paper by Theodor de Booy (1916) added two more forms, based on eight further specimens from North Caicos, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico. These were primarily of our snouted, armless type, but the paper also included the earliest description of a specimen of what will be called, herein, the Comendador style (Chapter 6). De Booy's paper incorporates, notably, the expert testimony of Dr. Louis P. Gratacap, a geologist with the American Museum of Natural History, regarding the stone from which these eight specimens were made – one of the still-rare testimonies by a qualified geologist bearing on a topic of critical concern, the sourcing of raw materials. Descriptions, mostly cursory, and occasional illustrations of additional specimens of figure pendants appear in early works by Duerden (1897) for Jamaica, Harrington (1921) for Cuba, and Krieger (1929, 1930) for the Samaná peninsula of northern Dominican Republic. Cumulatively, by 1930, four forms of figure pendants described in the present study had been described and illustrated in papers covering most of the Greater Antilles. Nonetheless these four forms had not yet been brought together in any single presentation. For the period between 1930 and the present, academic discussion of figure pendants has been intermittent.

The remaining published commentary can be divided by topic.

Use and function

From the beginning, most archaeological and art-historical writers follow the Spanish chronicles in referring to Antillean anthropomorphic figure pendants by the native Hispaniolan term *cemí* (e.g., de Booy 1916; Harrington 1921; Krieger 1929; Lovén 1935:580; Baztán Rodrigo 1971-72:214; Godo 1995; Oliver 2009:77; Maciques Sánchez 2018). *Cemí* (often spelled *zemi*) is currently understood in two distinct senses, first, as a key concept of Antillean religious belief (*cemíism*, as Fewkes [1907:54-57] and subsequent writers called it), and second, as the materialization of that concept in various late forms of prehistoric Antillean sculpture (Godo 1995). It is the second of these notions – *cemí* as a class of objects – that is most commonly employed at present.

In the early Spanish chronicles, several categories of carved objects are explicitly referred to by this name. Such categories prominently include cohoba stands of wood and stone, reliquaries of wood and of cotton designed to encase ancestral bones (Martire d'Anghiera, in Griswold 1997:172; Pané 1999:21, 23), and certain carved stones, regarding which Pané (1999:26) describes three types. To this minimal list, archaeologists and art-historians have added numerous other carved genres, based on their understanding of the term, much expanding the category outward (e.g., Oliver 2009:66).

Sven Lovén (1935:578) was the first to point out that in the indigenous tongue, *cemí* referred to more than just idols. It was understood in a different sense, more a *quality possessed by things or beings* than a class of material objects. This other sense of the term has been succinctly conveyed by José Oliver (2009:59).

Cemí refers not to an artifact or object but to an immaterial, numinous, and vital force. Under particular conditions, beings, things, and other phenomena in nature can be imbued with cemí. Cemí is, therefore, a condition of being, not a thing.

The concept is, therefore, similar to the Polynesian notion of *mana*. In the Arawakan Lokono language of the mainland, it is an adjective glossed as “sweet,” a term applied to a benevolent spirit (Lovén 1935:578).

In this sense, when Pané’s indigenous informants called certain objects cemí, they probably meant that those were objects “imbued with cemí,” that is, inhabited by benevolent spirits. Oliver (2009), in consequence, prefers to call such objects “cemí idols,” physical carvings possessing the beneficent quality of cemí.

Strictly following the Spanish chroniclers, the list of such things was quite short. Outside the compass of that narrow list, the modern question then becomes, which artifacts should be called cemís and which should not? Given the above, the term’s broad significance would seem to make it nearly impossible to determine, in our own time, with any precision, which were “imbued with cemí” to the exclusion of others. As Oliver (2009:69) states, “animals, stones, tree roots, shells, bones, all can potentially be imbued with the animated force of cemí sweetness.” In practice, though, the term has been applied by Caribbeanists to just about any late prehistoric representational carving, including zoomorphic pendants and two-dimensional rock art. Three-pointed stones in particular have accrued the cemí label preferentially, for reasons that are now opaque.

Friar Pané (1999:25-26) outlined in some detail how wooden cemí idols came to be carved. In this process, a hidden spirit residing in a tree would bring attention to itself by moving its roots. A bohito would be called to communicate with this spirit, revealing that spirit’s name and its wish to be carved. The bohito would carry out these instructions, liberating the cemí idol from its parent material, and would carry out the cohoba rite in its honor, thus entrusting the cemí to a human caretaker. But Pané’s description only applies to the large, free-standing, wooden cemí idols associated directly with the oracular cohoba rite.

Caribbeanists have sometimes proposed that carvings of other genres than that specified by Pané were cemís which originated by the same process of special revelation. That is, the sentient spirit would reveal itself as hidden within its parent material, would cause itself to be carved, and would announce its name and its titles to a human caretaker. Thus Oliver (2009:61) considers it likely that three-pointed stones, elbow stones, and stone collars originated in this way. Likewise, Maciques Sánchez (2018:64), assuming that anthropomorphic figure pendants were cemís, infers that they too revealed themselves to humans as hidden within their stone matrix, and caused themselves to be carved. The implication to be borne carefully in mind in these extensions of Pané’s testimony to certain carved stone genres, is that according to the logic of the process, such carvings were not generic depictions of widely-known spirits, but were, in each case, specially revealed and named spirit beings owning a separate history, personal identity, and powers. That alleged process has artistic implications that can be put to the test, and we will return to those implications in the final chapter. In the meantime, I will put on record here that I strongly doubt the assertion that each figure pendant was specially revealed and had a separate identity.

Is it legitimate to consider figure pendants as *cemís*, as is customary? One early document bears directly on the question. In a letter to Cardinal Ludovico of Aragón, Martire d'Anghiera (in Griswold 1997:172) says this: "The indigenous people call these images *zemis*; the smallest, which represent little devils, they tie to their foreheads when they go to fight with their enemies. That is why they are tied with the cords you saw." But, since Martire never traveled to the New World, where did he get this information? An internal clue is that the comment is embedded in a series of observations coming directly from Friar Pané's manuscript, to which Martire had access. The implication is that this, too, came from Pané, but was omitted from the only "complete" transcription of Pané's book we have, which is that by Ulloa into Italian.

Thus, at the time of initial European contact, at least some anthropomorphic pendants were considered *cemís*. However, we have no inkling of which of the types reported in the present work, if any, were among Martire's "little devils," and therefore no justification for calling the whole genre *cemí* idols.

In fact, given all that has been said, it seems prudent that the ethnographic term *cemí* should not be wedded to any sort of archaeological classification. Doing so in the past has been misleading, at best. Asserting, a priori, the boundary between artifacts that were *cemís* versus those that were not is a futile exercise. Artistic genres, especially prehistoric forms, are better classified and named using formal criteria, with the question of their potential relation to the ethnographic concept taken up as an independent question.

It is unfortunate that Oviedo y Valdés, in a passage already cited, does not elaborate on the nature of certain "accursed figures of *cemís*" that Hispaniolan *bohitos* "always carried with them." As with Martire's comment cited above, the passage is so vague that the relationship, if any, between these "figures" and our figure pendants is unknowable. It does suggest both the portability and private ownership of carved figures. Lovén (1935:580) took Oviedo's phrasing ("*en sus joyas*") to mean that they were worn suspended about the neck, as were spirit figurines among the Island Caribs and the mainland Arawaks, although Oviedo is not that explicit. Baztán Rodrigo (1971-72:220) points out that the backs of many figure pendants are relatively undetailed, as though not to be seen (for an opposing view, see Maciques Sánchez 2018:61-62).

On the manner of wearing of figure pendants, much has been made of Martire d'Anghiera's second-hand account of "little demons" tied to the foreheads of Hispaniolan warriors when going into battle. Such an interpretation was, in fact, invoked in the earliest academic account of figure pendants (Mason 1899[1887]:378), and it has been often repeated (e.g., Fewkes 1903a:691). On this basis, Hostos (1923:532) speculated that frontally-worn figure pendants were "small idols of a war god or spirit perhaps believed to inspire valor in the wearer, strike terror in the opponent, and render the wearer immune from harm." José Arrom (1989:43-44) is a more contemporary champion of the notion that figure pendants were worn routinely on the forehead, pointing to the size of the specimens and the curvature of the backs. He has, moreover, tested the idea with real artifacts. Arrom (*ibid.*:44) says, "in support of this interpretation I must add that I have handled a good number of those examples, and when I put them on my forehead I found that they invariably fit so comfortably and precisely that it seemed as if they had indeed been fashioned with a similar end." Maciques Sánchez (2018:61-62), however, is dubious of this position, and I have already said that this is unlikely to have been the normal mode of use. As we shall see, only a very small

proportion of figure pendants in fact have concave backs, and some, particularly those of the Madre Vieja style examined in Chapter 5, are far too large and massive to have been a reasonable fit on a warrior's forehead.

Regarding their potential use as necklace centerpieces, it is noteworthy that many examples of figure pendants in museums and private collections are displayed on necklaces of stone beads. However, I have not found any case where it can be documented that the figure pendants and the beads displayed together were found together archaeologically. Instead, most (I suspect all) such assemblages are fabrications made up for display purposes. This is most clearly the case where beads bearing several nonsequential catalog numbers in different formats can be seen on a single necklace. Various museum specialists we have encountered in the process of data collection have shared their strong doubts about the authenticity of these assemblages.

There is one possible exception, a cache from Azua province, Dominican Republic originally reported by Elpidio Ortega (Vega 1987:31-33). This cache contained, among other artifacts, two anthropomorphic figure pendants and approximately 300 stone and shell beads. It is conceivable that the beads were components of necklaces on which the figure pendants were centerpieces. A more detailed account of this important cache will be given in Chapter 4.

Regarding the longitudinal perforations that run from top to bottom through many snouted, armless hybrids (Chapters 7, 10, 11) and all Comendador-style (Chapter 6) anthropomorphs, Arrom (1989:44) has suggested their suitability as snuff tubes for the hallucinogenic powder cohoba. That notion has been refuted by Rodríguez Arce (2000:97) on the grounds that the short total height is, in many cases, unsuitable for such a purpose, as is the small diameter of the hole, which is at times less than 2 mm. To this objection I must add that the longitudinal hole many times intersects a transverse hole, a fact that would render any such use ineffective. It is much more plausible that both transverse and longitudinal perforations were drilled for the passage of narrow cords used to fix the piece in its place, and that their presence together may signal separate modes of mounting, perhaps intended for different circumstances. Some figure pendants, especially among the miniatures (Chapter 10), are perforated only longitudinally, and are suitable for having been strung in multiples, as beads (Baztán Rodrigo 1971-72:217).

Regarding longitudinal drillings, a common alternative suggestion is that these holes were used to mount some secondary element, for which a colorful bird feather is most often mentioned (e.g., Dacal Moure and Rivero de la Calle 1996:40; Arrom 1989:44; McGinnis 1997a:378). Maciques Sánchez (2018:62) sees grounds for doubting that hypothesis on the basis of the inconsistent presence of the trait. Rodríguez Arce (2000:97-98), for his part, notes that the hole is often too narrow to accept the quill of a bird feather. He adds the subjective judgment that the practice of adding bird feathers to figure pendants would detract from the "solemnity" of the figure. To these objections it might be added that longitudinal holes are also, occasionally, quite wide in diameter, as much as 6 mm, far in excess of any feather quill, and often such perforations pass fully through the piece, an unnecessary feature if the purpose is merely to insert the quill of a bird feather.

As to supposed purposes, published opinions tend to fall into three somewhat overlapping categories. Figure pendants are (a) miniature cemís, thus figures that func-

tioned as animate intercessors to the spirit world much in the same manner as the larger, free-standing *cemí* idols; (b) protective talismans, or preservatives against evil, thus amulets in a strict sense; or (c) generalized representations of widely known spirits or deities of special importance to the wearer. As already noted, most writers have called them “amulets,” carrying that term’s connotations of protection against evil, and most also regard them as *cemís* without elaboration as to what function that might entail.

Representing the first position, that figure pendants were *cemí* idols in the fullest sense – presumably those of junior rank – is Oliver (2009:66). He acknowledges that figure pendants follow certain conventional prototypes, but insists, nonetheless, that each *cemí* idol was considered an animate being having its own specific identity. Those taking the second position, that figure pendants were apotropaic talismans, include Fewkes (1903a:691), who felt that they were “efficacious in protecting the wearer from death or disease.” Similarly, Lovén (1935:607) suggests that they represented benevolent spirits and were carried for personal protection, “having the character of a helper who endowed its wearer with more power.” Maciques Sánchez (2018:62) is also of the opinion that they were talismanic in function, their imagery being drawn from Antillean myth and religious belief. Taking the third position is de Booy (1916:30), who wrote that figure pendants were carved in the image of commonly understood deities. As we have seen, Hostos (1923:532) specifically suggested a war god, and if not that, perhaps more generally “the image of a tutelary or nature spirit.” The latter opinion is in line with Hostos’s (ibid.:531) position that Antillean anthropomorphic carvings, in general, were “imaginary semblances of spirit beings.” Taking a middle road is Baztán Rodrigo (1971-72:214), who states that figure pendants were, at the same time, *cemís* and protective talismans, and that the distinction between the two functions is, at the present time, impossible to make.

Style and iconography

A fundamental distinction must be made between iconography, which is the work of determining *what is depicted* in art, and stylistic study, which is the work of determining *how* given subjects were depicted. They are separate enterprises. Several iconographic subjects can be realized in any given style, and conversely, any given iconographic subject can be realized in several styles; cases of both occur in the corpus of figure pendants.

Academic studies of both the iconography and the style of Antillean figure pendants are found in the literature. Following the general pattern of the literature of pre-Columbian America, statements on the iconography of figure pendants predominate numerically over those addressing style. The usual mode of iconographic research, here as elsewhere, is to begin with ethnographic categories and attempt to find archaeological examples that seem to match those categories, at the same time using intuitive identification of physical features. The approach is, in essence, a variant of the “direct historical approach” (Steward 1942) where the analyst attempts to work from the known to the unknown, although this connection is seldom explicit.

René Herrera Fritot’s (1952) article, “Arquetipos zoomorfos de las Antillas Mayores” is prototypical of the genre. It systematically reflects upon each of the various animal forms mentioned in Friar Pané’s myth collection, and matches them with late prehistoric artifact exemplars, drawn primarily from Cuba.

José Juan Arrom's book, *Mitología y artes prehispánicas de las Antillas* (1989) has been more influential. Again, the starting point is Friar Pané's discussions of deities, spirits, and cemís, illustrated with archaeological exemplars drawn from the whole of Antillean late prehistoric sculpted art. Figure pendants illustrated by Arrom include a proposed example of a female cemí having the function of protecting the health of pregnant women (a shell specimen in our Madre Vieja style), and eleven examples said to represent the cemí Boinayel, "Lord of Rain" (including nine in our Cibao style and two in our Puerto Plata style, the remaining one unclassified). Three-pointed stones, wooden cohoba stands and reliquaries, dujos, stone heads, elbow stones and collars, ceramic effigies, vomiting spatulas, zoomorphic pendants, and other genres are used by Arrom to illustrate other supernatural beings mentioned by Pané.

Guarch Delmonte and Querejeta Barceló (1992, 1993) accept Arrom's identifications and add a variety of others, assembling what amounts to a full catalog of iconographic equivalences to the deities, spirits, and cemí idols named by Pané. Without endorsing them, I will note these iconographic identifications in the appropriate sections in the chapters of this book, together with their rationale.

For Herrera Fritot, Arrom, Guarch Delmonte and Querejeta Barceló, and certain others who touch upon the iconography of Greater Antillean figure pendants and other Antillean material genres during the last several decades, their remarks have several things in common: they lean heavily on Pané as a source; they assume a pan-Antillean uniformity of religious belief and practice that can be projected into the past; and they are limited in their base of inference, none working from a systematically collected corpus of objects. This attitude toward iconographic identifications may be contrasted to the far more conservative assessment of Cuban scholars Ramón Dacal Moure and Manuel Rivero de la Calle. Regarding Cuban figure pendants, they state that "numerous objects may someday be defined from Antillean Arawakan myths. For now, however, we must categorize them more by size and usage than by their position in the thought system of the aboriginal Cuban people" (1996:40).

A somewhat less prominent line of iconographic identification interprets certain squatting anthropomorphic figure pendants not necessarily as spirit beings, but as rather literal depictions of bohitos or caciques in the act of cohoba-induced trancing. Hostos (1923:531), for example, comments that the staring, gaping visage of some figure pendants recalls "the face of a human being prostrated by the stupefying action of some narcotic." He regards the squatting pose as the contorted posture of the ritualist in action. Both Veloz Maggiolo (1972:226) and Oliver (2008b:179) make comparable remarks.

Shifting to style studies, before addressing them specifically, I have already suggested that there is a tacit assumption among many writers on indigenous Antillean art that a single, dominant art style was operative in the Greater Antilles during the late prehistoric period. This assumption, of a piece with others, already mentioned in this chapter, which incline toward a broad uniformity of culture and of religion, only occasionally boils to the surface in explicit terms. In broad perspective, this is not an unusual notion. Especially in the earlier literature on pre-Columbian art, it is often simply assumed without demonstration that there is such a thing as an Olmec style, a Maya style, or a Mississippian style. However, as I have noted, these putative "international" styles have a problem. No one is prepared to formally define them (Knight 2013:227). It is evident from browsing published exhibit catalogs from any of these

areas, that no single set of conventional rules of depiction could possibly encompass the collections they feature. Side-by-side comparison of numerous unlike objects from the same geographic area, particularly those of different genres, makes it clear that they obey different sets of stylistic canons. The objects are emphatically not all of the same style, declared by fiat from the top down.

Only two explicit studies of style incorporating Antillean figure pendants have achieved prominence, both conceived from an art-historical perspective. They are separated by seven decades. An early survey by Adolfo de Hostos (1923, reprinted in Hostos 1941) is noteworthy. Hostos, an eclectic Puerto Rican scholar, attempted what must be considered a genuine formal analysis of anthropomorphic sculpted stone figures in the Greater Antilles, across multiple genres. Oddly, from our perspective, he considered Antillean carving as “rudimentary” (1923:547). He compared such things as ear forms, eye forms, and mouth forms separately, compiling line drawings showing variation within each element. A number of observations resulted, mostly of a descriptive character, including such things as the dominance of squatting poses and the relative lack of sexual distinctiveness among anthropomorphs. Ultimately, and contrary to the position taken in the present work, Hostos tended strongly toward the conclusion that there is a uniform Greater Antillean sculptural style. In his words, “the aboriginal Arawak cultures seen in the light of the carved stone remains seem to be almost identical in . . . three regions – eastern Cuba, Haiti [Hispaniola], and Porto Rico” (ibid.:558).

Among the more recent writers on our topic, a key paper focusing on style was written by Esteban Maciques Sánchez (2018), an art historian and former curator at the Museo Antropológico Montané at the University of Havana. The manuscript, originally completed in 1992, has only recently been formally published. Unlike Hostos’s study, that of Maciques Sánchez exclusively concerned figure pendants, a corpus of 37 Cuban specimens. Their formal classification was based, first of all, on compositional format: inverted pyramidal, tubular, prismatic, ellipsoid, and discoid. This is a formal approach that is strongly allied to my own analysis. In a manner similar to Hostos, Maciques Sánchez also compiled comparative line drawings of various elements: ears, eyes, noses, mouths, and decorative bands. In the process of his analysis, Maciques Sánchez was the first to isolate the distinctly Cuban style called Yaguajay in the present work (Chapter 4), while also discussing Cuban examples of our snouted, armless and frog-form hybrids. He concluded, contrary to the present analysis, that figure pendants of the various base forms were related in a unilinear way, featuring gradual schematization over time. In concluding this, Maciques Sánchez tended to interpret figure pendants as having interchangeable subject matter. He dismissed the importance of armlessness in some specimens, treating it as a matter of stylistic reduction.

Approach to the present study

I intend this work to be, as a matter of priority, a comparative stylistic study. That does not mean I will ignore subject matter as an issue. It does mean, though, that my base classification will concern *how* subject matter was realized, the subject matter itself being secondary. To achieve this purpose, I draw methodologically both from art historical and anthropological approaches to the study of ancient art (Knight 2013).

The corpus

I consider it essential for such comparative studies to be grounded in as large a corpus of specimens as it is reasonably possible to assemble. In the present case, our corpus consists of 535 figure pendants from the Greater Antilles and adjacent Bahamian archipelago. I am reasonably confident that these 535 fall within what is called the late Ceramic Age in Caribbean archaeology, ca. 600 to 1500 AD.

Most of the specimens, some 420, are formally included in an electronic archive titled “Database of Indigenous Portable Art and Personal Adornment, Late Ceramic Age, Greater Antilles,” compiled by the author and made available in 2018. Records for this database were collected over a seven-year period (June 2011 – March 2018) during visits to 33 national, provincial, and municipal museums in the Caribbean, the United States, and Europe. Besides these museums, the database also incorporates material from two large private collections in the Dominican Republic. With the exception of the latter, all figure pendants available in each collection were recorded, employing a common protocol. Hereafter in the present work, when I speak of figure pendants from “the database,” it will be understood to mean these 420.

For each specimen included in the database, observations include material of manufacture, measurements, provenance, catalog number, history of ownership, if known, and present state of conservation. Each entry also includes a written description of the specimen, and stylistic notes where appropriate. Entries incorporate new photographs taken from several angles, together with sketches made in cases where certain details might not be adequately captured in the photographs (Knight 2017).

The remaining 115 figure pendants that I include in the corpus are on display in the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo in Santo Domingo. These are not in our formal database, because during our two visits to this museum the specimens could not be removed from display. For these, therefore, we have only frontal photographs, taken through the vitrines. Although they are less useful than the database specimens which were actually handled, measured, and photographed by us from multiple angles, our photographs nonetheless allow many of the García Arévalo specimens to be classified according to our stylistic categories and included in the discussions to follow.

Beyond the 535 specimens considered part of our corpus, there is a much smaller quantity of figure pendants known to us through photographs and drawings in published sources, but to which we did not have direct access during the period of data collection. I will mention these additional specimens as we work through the style categories, classifying them where possible and integrating whatever data exist on their provenance.

Although our geographic coverage was as broad as time and resources permitted, and our data were systematically collected, the sample cannot be considered as representative in any statistical sense. Nonetheless, the resulting quantities have a story to tell. The majority, some 338 specimens, are from Hispaniola, indicating the high importance of that island in the figure pendant phenomenon. Cuba, despite being the largest island in the Greater Antilles, accounts for a much smaller number, some 82 figure pendants, while Puerto Rico accounts for another 51. The Bahamian island chain can claim three, and for Jamaica there are none at all in the database, although we have photographs of two Jamaican specimens from published sources and line illustrations of two others. As will be shown, the Bahamian and Jamaican specimens belong to styles native to the larger islands nearby. Thus, the overall picture is one of

a Hispaniolan epicenter for the phenomenon, extending to some degree east and west into Cuba and Puerto Rico.

Style and styles

Conceptions of archaeological style can be divided into two broad groups: those that define what style *is*, versus a greater number that prefer to focus on what style *does*, its functions. My preference is for the former, leaving the function of style to be decided as a separate, culturally dependent matter. For present purposes, I define archaeological style, most simply, as cultural models governing the visual properties of artifacts. I further specify that we are mainly interested here in visual style *as it is determined by audiences*. This is because ultimately, the viewer is the arbiter of style, not the maker. The consumer will only accept what is judged as appropriate form, and will reject what is not. Such cultural models, then, take the form of shared ideas among consumers regarding the correctness of the formal properties of things (Knight 2013:23-28). Although this conception of style underlies our analysis, it will also be useful to refer, as below, to techniques used by artisans to carve hard materials and to achieve various decorative effects during a sequence of manufacture – aspects of what has been called “technological style” (Stark et al. 1998).

We are here more interested, of course, not in style in the abstract but in styles, plural, the local instantiations of those cultural models. Their genesis as shared, normative concepts confines them to specific communities of consumers and their associated crafting communities. A style in this sense is usually confined geographically to a relatively small area, and because styles are constantly changing, they are also confined to a relatively short time. Where styles are linked by belonging to a commonly derived lineage of form concepts, we can call them “style phases.”

The trick for the analyst, as a non-participant in these ancient cultural domains, is to devise a classification of forms that mimics, insofar as possible, the original cultural models of visual form. This is done not merely through bare resemblance, although resemblance of traits plays an obvious role, but through special consideration of “low-visibility” traits (Carr 1995). These are the kind of traits that might escape a cursory view, being embedded, for example, in habits of manufacture passed from master to apprentice as a means of achieving a base form or a decorative effect. They are, therefore, not readily copied by an artisan from another community who may admire the form but did not see the original being made. Such low-visibility traits, then, are indicative of long-standing, direct contact among artisans. They are resistant to change, not frequently being passed between communities (Stark et al. 1998:212). Thus, subject to considerations of raw material sourcing and the discard of unfinished pieces, we incline to suspect that when objects of a given style are found in geographically distant places, it is generally due to the mobility of users rather than to copying. We will have more to say about the long-distance dispersal of styles in the concluding chapter.

In this work, following a successful approach to the matter used in the American South, archaeological art styles are provided with names, usually after key localities within their geographic range. Ideally, they are confined narrowly in space and time (e.g., Muller 1966; Phillips and Brown 1975-1982; Brown 2007; Knight and Steponaitis 2011; Knight et al. 2017). Figure 1.2 identifies the geographic localities in the Caribbean that lend their name to the styles defined herein. These named styles are comparative tools, explicitly defined relative to one another in order to accentuate their differences.

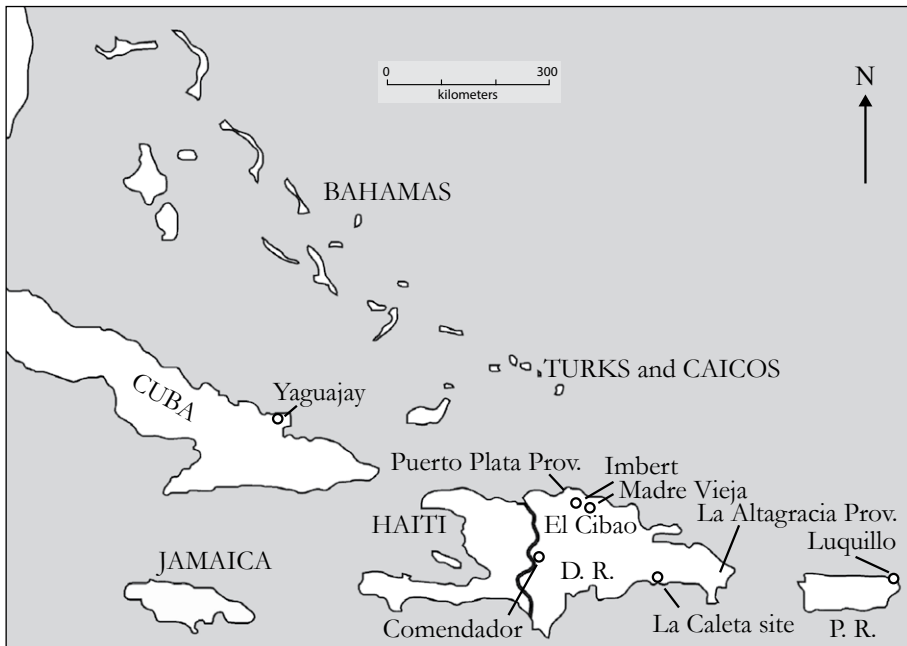


Figure 1.2. Localities lending their names to styles developed in this work.

The study will show that stylistic diversity among figure pendants in the Greater Antilles during the late Ceramic Age was high. In this work I will name nine “new” styles, and will briefly describe four others that will go nameless for now, for lack of adequate samples. Many more styles are yet to be defined within the corpus. This is a prospect left to future study.

Configurational analysis

In order to talk about style in representational art, we have to distinguish subject matter at least to a limited degree, because different subjects have different conventional rules for realizing them. Because this involves identification, even if all we do is say that a given set of objects all represent the same thing, it is a kind of iconography. But it is not anything that Erwin Panofsky, the art-historical pioneer, would have recognized as iconography. To Panofsky (1939), to identify subject matter meant linking a work of art to the text that it illustrates. Here, that original text is missing.

Configurational analysis is a term originated by art-historian George Kubler in the 1960s. Kubler (1967, 1969), working with pre-Columbian representational art, determined that there could be an iconography of such art that preserved the Panofskian concepts of image, theme and motif, but did not rely on texts. Instead, identification of the subject relied on a combination of internal clues, those clues being patterns in the distribution of motifs among images, plus the identification of natural prototypes in the environment of the time and place of the art’s creation. In short, it is an image-driven iconography. To the extent that the present work makes iconographic claims, these claims are based on a configurational analysis, and as much as possible they do not rely on ethnographic texts.

Ethnographic analogy

I have already outlined several reasons for keeping ethnographic texts at arm's length in the present work. First, this study is, at base, a stylistic classification, not an iconographic one. Second, our chief source of ethnographic information on Greater Antillean religious beliefs and practices, the late fifteenth-century text by Friar Pané, comes down to us in a manner that is condensed, laden with omissions, and only indirectly available via a poor Italian copy. Third, although Spanish chroniclers tended to generalize about such matters, there is every reason to doubt the existence of a religious uniformity in the Greater Antilles, either at the time of European contact or previously.

To these uncertainties I will add the process of *disjunction*. This is a process originally named by Panofsky (1960:84) and adapted to pre-Columbian art by Kubler (1969). It refers to the fact – also described by anthropologist Franz Boas (1903) – that the relationship between forms and what they represent is not stable. Such relationships change over time and across geographic space, as when new generations or adjacent ethnic groups adopt old visual forms but read into them newly-relevant meanings. Whereas Kubler understood disjunction as happening stepwise, at critical times of social change, Boas portrayed it as a low-level process happening constantly as a matter of new peoples “reading-in” meanings to old forms. Art historian Esther Pasztor (2005:103) uses the term “translation” to refer to the same kind of constant reinterpretation of visual forms.

Thus, prominent anthropologists and art historians allege that forms tend to get dislodged from their referents. Taking disjunction seriously throws a monkey wrench into the time-honored method of “upstreaming” favored by anthropologists. To use ethnographic materials as a starting point for a prehistoric iconography, because they are richly detailed, unreasonably privileges the ethnographic present over the past. If only tacitly, the approach suffers from a kind of “presentism” that inevitably sees the past through an arbitrarily known filter. In this way, the past is invariably seen as a “version” of things as they are documented in the ethnographic present. Knowing what ought to be there, the past tends to be cherry-picked for exemplifications of known categories.

The strategy of seeking prehistoric instances of later ethnographic things is pervasive, and is not easily overcome. Configurational analysis is a way to get around the biasing effects of this presentism. In the case before us, by starting with the figure pendant corpus itself and, by means of analysis, asking how many subjects are represented therein (controlling for style), those internally generated categories can be compared and contrasted with information found in the ethnographic record. Some cognates are to be expected, but these cognates must not be called by the same names that happen to be preserved in the documents. As some investigators have already realized, however (e.g., Godo and Celaya 1990; Celaya and Godo 2000; Rodríguez Arce 2000:99; Godo 2003), one may expect to identify subject categories in the archaeological materials that have no evident counterpart in ethnographic texts.

Thus, while I accept the use of ethnographic analogy using historical texts as valid, I do not start with these texts. When using them at all, I use them conservatively and with great caution, as a record to compare with categories independently established by way of configurational analysis (Knight 2013).

Nomenclature

Before embarking on a description of each style category in the chapters to follow, a note is in order about the terminology used to describe orientations and directions in figure pendants. I propose common terms (Figure 1.3).

On the longitudinal axis, I distinguish the head end as the “top” and the foot end as the “bottom,” referring at times to a “superior” versus “inferior” differentiation. On the transverse axis, I distinguish between “proper left” and “proper right,” those being from the perspective of the figure itself rather than the viewer. Finally, I distinguish between the “front,” or the “forward” direction, and the “back.”

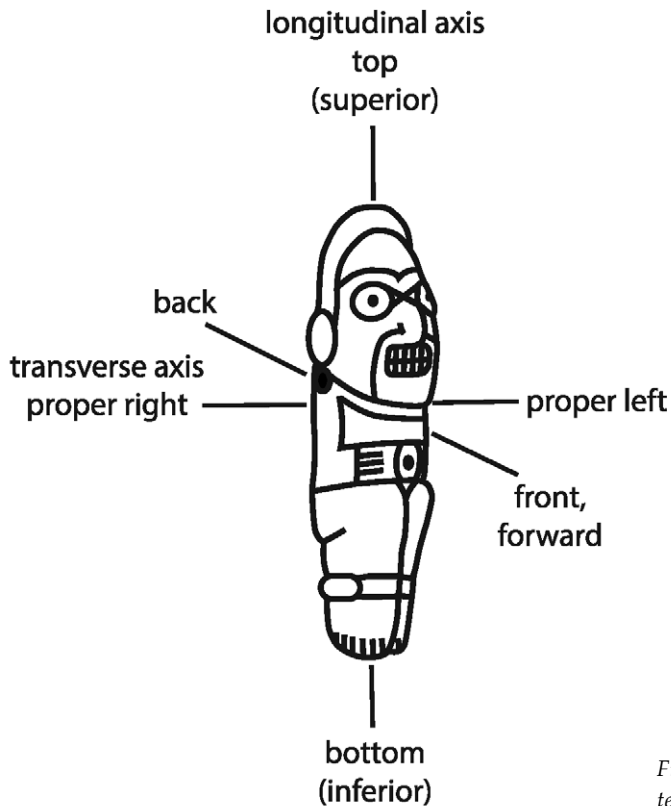


Figure 1.3. Orientation terminology.

The Puerto Plata Style

I begin, arbitrarily, with the style hereby christened Puerto Plata, after the province on the northern coast of the Dominican Republic which is the provenance of nine specimens of that style in our database. All examples are carved from hard stone, and are perforated for upright suspension against the body.

Visually, the Puerto Plata style is arresting. Part of this has to do with its stiff, bulky presentation and – if I may be permitted this much subjectivity – the slightly unsettling nature of the wide-eyed, snarling visage of its main subject. But the style also stands apart in other ways. A singular divergence from other figure pendant styles is the manner in which Puerto Plata hews so closely to basic geometric forms. As a matter of stoneworking, this means that the artisan had less to do in reducing the source rock to a preform. It does not mean, however, that Puerto Plata specimens are any less carefully crafted, on average, than other styles. Detailing and polishing done in the finishing stages of work are highly accomplished, on a par with other Antillean styles.

The style was first recognized as distinctive by Fewkes (1903a). Colorfully, though not inaccurately, he referred to the “mummy-like” appearance of Puerto Plata specimens. Fewkes (1903b) was also the first to describe and illustrate a twinned specimen of the style. Our Puerto Plata is Lovén’s (1935:609) “goggle-eyed” type. Maciques Sánchez’s (2018) helpful discussion, using Cuban examples, addressed Puerto Plata figure pendants from a formal point of view, distinguishing between those of “prismatic composition” and those of “tubular composition.” I have followed Maciques’s lead by incorporating that distinction in what follows.

Ninety-five specimens of the style reside in our database, being those to which we have had direct access for measurement and photography. For another 27, we have frontal photographs taken at the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo in Santo Domingo. Still other examples, not counted in this total and not relocated by us, have been consulted in published sources (e.g., Fewkes 1902:11; Fewkes 1903a:Figs. 52, 54; Baztán Rodrigo 1971-72:Figs. 92, 93, 103, 106, 134, 141, 143, 144, 145; Veloz Maggiolo 1972:Plate 32C; Montás et al. 1985:96; Scott 1985:No. 68; Oliver et al. 2008:130-133). In sum, there are well over 120 known examples. It is worth adding that our recording team has run across a number of skillfully-done modern reproductions of the style, comingled in the larger collections of the Dominican Republic.

Right from the start, Puerto Plata presents us with a fine example of the manner in which style crosscuts subject matter in Antillean figure pendants. Although ful-

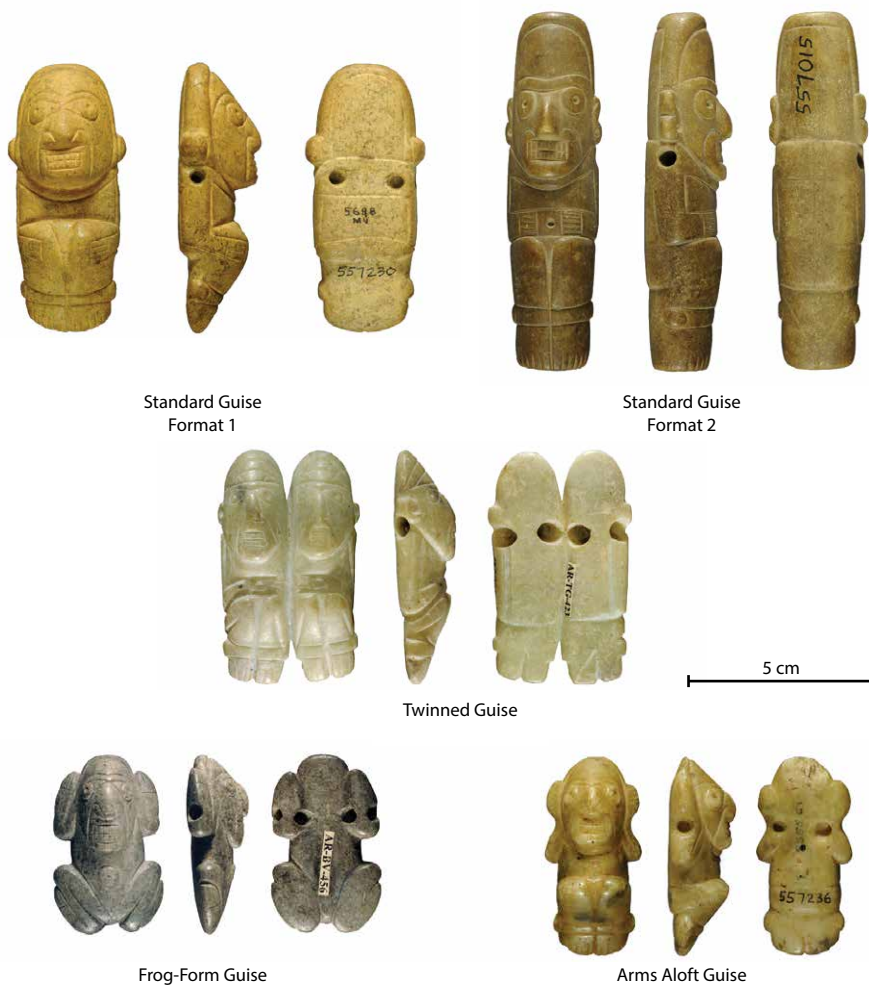


Figure 2.1. Puerto Plata-style figure pendants, guises and formats. Upper row, left to right: IC235, NMNH A557230-0; IC250, NMNH A557015-0; IC149, CL AR-TG-423. Lower row, left to right: IC184, CL AR-BV-456; IC237, NMNH A557236-0.

ly-fleshed anthropomorphs are dominant numerically, carvers in the style also depicted several iconographically different subjects as well, including hybrid subjects possessing zoomorphic traits. Most of the variability at this level can be handled by dividing the sample into four “guises” that differ iconographically, the first of these further divided into two Formats that differ stylistically. The resulting classes incorporate all but five of the 95 Puerto Plata figure pendants in the database (Figure 2.1). Because of their numerical dominance, I have called the fully-fleshed, squatting anthropomorphs the “Standard guise.” Pending a fuller description to follow, these five classes are briefly laid out as follows.

- Standard guise, Format 1: a fully-fleshed anthropomorph having a prismatic compositional structure, squatting, having a bullet-shaped outline, a flat back, and elbow-style drillings at both lateral margins.

- Standard guise, Format 2: a fully-fleshed anthropomorph in a cylindrical compositional structure, squatting, with a single transverse perforation and also, at times, longitudinal perforation.
- Twinned guise: a doubled version of the standard guise, where two identical figures are joined together, side by side.
- Frog-form guise: a hybrid subject with a frog-form base, that is, with forelimbs and hindlimbs spread laterally and symmetrically upward and downward. Perforation is elbow-style at the lateral margins.
- Arms Aloft guise: much the same as the Standard guise, being a fully-fleshed squatting anthropomorph, but with the arms posed upward as in the Frog-form guise, elbows out and hands joined to the sides of the head.

Before getting into a detailed description of these, a few general remarks are in order. These figures have no necks; the heads emerge from the same bulky mass that forms the body. They lack the kind of free-form, perspective carving that would, for example, provide an opening between the legs, or between the arms and torso. Instead, the rendering of details is mostly handled by a combination of low-relief carving and incising directly on the base form. Delineation of major elements such as arms, hands, and legs is often realized using incising alone. In this way, Puerto Plata departs from most other Antillean figure pendant styles. The heads, which unite all four guises in their commonality, are large, rounded elements with stark facial features including bulging, donut-like eyes joined by an incised element, a narrow rectangular mouth with incised teeth, and prominent incised cheeklines. A common head form strongly suggests a common iconographic identity, in which case the differing morphs express a kind of manifold being, capable of realization in several conventional modalities that I have termed *guises*. I will return to that interpretation later.

Unlike other styles, Puerto Plata figure pendants are never found in miniaturized form, by which I mean having a height of less than 30 mm.

Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 1. Anthropomorph in prismatic composition

Type Specimen: IC246 (Figure 2.2, upper left)

Number Examined: 40

The subject is a fully-fleshed anthropomorph in a squatting pose with knees forward, the upper arms joined tightly against the torso. Figures 2.2 and 2.3 illustrate a sample.

Figure 2.4 shows, better than I can explain, what is meant by saying that Standard guise, Format 1 anthropomorphs have a prismatic compositional structure. From a flat back, the base form rises pyramidally in four planes like the hipped roof of a house, joining a longitudinal ridge line that runs roughly from nose to knees. In profile view, the resulting outline is symmetrically boat-shaped, tapering from the axial ridge line equally, at similar angles, to the top of the head and to the toes, with a central cutout for the torso. This configuration results in a face having a slightly upward tilt, the chin jutting outward to the same plane as the knees. On the lower end, the feet and toes accommodate the compositional form



Figure 2.2. Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 1, prismatic composition. Upper row: IC246, NMNH A557216-0; IC235, NMNH A557230-0. Middle row: IC147, CL AR-TG-421; IC118, UO 5-150. Lower row: IC148, CL AR-TG-422; IC247, NMNH A557193-0.

by pointing straight downward. On the reverse side, the lower legs are commonly inset stepwise from the plane of the back. Some examples have, in addition, a stepwise inset at the rear plane of the head, starting at the shoulders. The frontal silhouette is bullet-shaped, with a rounded head, and a squared, but still somewhat rounded base. Thus, the maximum width of the head, excepting the ears, is about the same as that of the torso and the legs, which, because the figure is neckless, results in a continuous outline.

Format 1 anthropomorphs are perforated for suspension in only one manner. They employ a pair of elbow-style perforations on the upper margins at the level of the shoulders. Short holes enter transversely from the sides, positioned so that they are not usually visible from the front. These are met by similar short holes drilled from the back of the piece, at about the position of the shoulder blades. Occasionally, in especially small or narrow specimens, the rear holes merge at the middle to form a single oval hole.

Dimensions of 33 complete specimens in the database are as follows.

Height: range 33-111 mm, mean 64 mm

Width: range 14-43 mm, mean 26 mm

Thickness: range 11-28 mm, mean 20 mm

Further description of Standard guise, Format 1 anthropomorphs will be handled according to four component sections: the head, the torso and arms, the legs and genitalia, and the back side.

The head

Most aspects of the head are shared with Format 2 and the remaining guises of the style, with adjustments made for the base form. In this Format it is a proportionally large, flattened ellipsoid, occupying one-third to one-half the height of the piece. Resting directly upon the shoulders is the neckless head, positioned so that the chin arises at the level of the upper torso. At the upper back of the head is a vertical coronet, short, inconspicuous, and generally plain although simply decorated versions are known.

Ears are joined to the base of the coronet on both sides of the head, at about the halfway point. Ordinarily they are little more than well-defined bulges protruding laterally, round or oval. In their form and position, they mimic the ankle bulges on the lower margins of the piece. A few specimens have ears that are somewhat more complex, either bi-lobed or “bird-form.” The bird-form ear is a widespread motif, to be encountered many times in this volume, in which the ear takes the form of the round head of a bird with the bill upward and usually somewhat outward. In its explicit form, eyes are shown as drilled pits and the upper and lower beaks are distinguished by incising.

Conforming to the prismatic geometry, the plane of the face is tilted slightly backward, the chin thrust out. Incised brow lines appear at the base of the forehead, just above the eyes, one to three in number and connected at their sides to the base of the coronet. These brow lines are either straight, or alternatively consist of connected arches conforming to the contours of the eyes.

Eyes are large and circular, tending to be rather widely spaced, in a presentation that struck Lovén (1935:609) as “goggle-eyed.” The more elaborate forms are carefully carved in low relief to yield a bulging, donut-like aspect. Simpler versions take the form of incised, pitted circles. A conspicuous trait of the Puerto Plata style is that the eyes are connected above the bridge of the nose by incised lines. In Standard guise, Format 1, this eye connector takes the form of an incised X (Figure 2.5, X-form), or a variant of the same in which the lines do not quite touch at the center (Figure 2.5, hourglass). Less commonly, it is a simple incised line connecting across from the top of each eye (Figure 2.5, single line). In a single specimen (IC418), there are appendages to the eyes in the form of long, narrow incised triangles trailing down either side of the face.

The nose is an elongated, triangular form, at times projecting forward beyond the plane of the chin. Both sides of the nose are contoured into the face without an incised demarcation. Laterally flared nostrils are either carved in low relief or are indicated by incised line segments.

Incised cheeklines are a ubiquitous part of the expressive character of Puerto Plata faces, providing special emphasis to the bared teeth between them. In the present format, such cheeklines arise at the top of the nostril, arching upward, thence inflecting sharply downward at an angle to the base of the chin.

The mouth is an incised narrow, open rectangle, without lips, showing two rows (occasionally just one) of incised teeth. In rare cases, the mouth is embellished at the upper corners by small excised triangles, as though the lips are drawn back at these corners imparting an explicit snarl to the facial expression.

In sum, the visage is that of a wide-eyed, forward-staring character baring its teeth, its cheek lines stark, with snarl-like accents sometimes added to the upper



Figure 2.3. Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 1, prismatic composition. Upper row: IC188, CL AR-BV-466; IC151, CL AR-TG-425. Middle row: IC364, RUD uncataloged (feet missing); IC124, ICAN 2823. Lower row: IC249, NMNH A557143-0; IC238, NMNH A557235-0.

corners of the mouth. Without getting into unwarranted interpretation at this point, perhaps all might agree that there is something severe, if not maleficent, about this facial presentation. There will be more to say about this visage when we arrive at the matter of “user modifications.”

The torso and arms

As is best shown in profile view (Figure 2.4), the torso of Standard guise, Format 1 specimens is formed initially by cutting out a rectangular block from the center forward section of the base prismatic form. Consequently, the torso is substantially thinner than either the head or the lower limbs. In frontal view, the torso occupies a relatively small area, commonly less than one-third the height of the piece.



Figure 2.4. Prismatic compositional structure of Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 1 anthropomorphs. IC246, NMNH A557216-0.

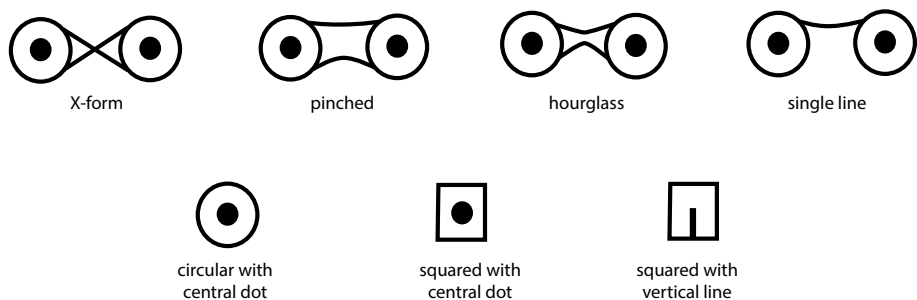


Figure 2.5. Forms of eye connectors (upper row) and navels (lower row), Puerto Plata style.

On the upper torso, closely following the line of the chin, is a raised, necklace-like element, thin and plain, that merges with the shoulders on either side. This element, whatever it may represent, is one that connects the Puerto Plata anthropomorph to those in other styles.

Shoulders arise at the level of the mouth. From there, the upper arms descend vertically, well integrated into either side of the torso. Commonly, the arms are merely an incised feature, but at other times they are carved in shallow relief. Forearms are positioned forward, again either incised or carved in shallow relief, ending in schematically incised hands having a wrist line and four or five fingers, squared off. Hands are posed in one of two standard positions. When held against the lower torso, the tips of the fingers marginally touch a navel on the center axis. Alternatively, hands are placed against the sides of the knees, and there is no navel. Thus, the presence or absence of a navel determines the hand position, or perhaps vice versa. This correlation of navel and hand position is absolute.

When present, the navel can take one of several forms (Figure 2.5). It can be a pitted circle, closely mimicking the eye-form, accentuated by low relief carving or not; it can be an incised square centering a small drilled pit; or it can be an incised square within which is a short vertical incised line segment. In the latter case, the vertical line segment is displaced downward to meet the bottom line of the square enclosure.

The legs and genitalia

Legs are posed in a squat, the thighs issuing forward together from the torso at a sharp angle, creating a lap. Knees are slightly apart, the triangular space between them being simply flattened. In other words, sex is unmarked. A lone exception, IC147, has definitely male genitalia carved in low relief in a standard Antillean three-element format, the specimen being in all other respects unremarkable. Lower legs are together, distinguished from one another by a vertical incised line, sometimes enhanced by shallow relief carving. In profile view, these are brought back at an angle to form the lower wedge of the prismatic structure. Feet are together, pointing downward in all but one masterfully carved specimen (IC151). Feet are separated by a small basal notch, and toes are indicated by a row of short, vertically incised line segments.

An ankle band is universally present in Format 1, depicted as a narrow horizontal element, normally slightly raised, wrapping around the front and sides of the legs at the level of the ankle, but not the back. As it is divided by the line separating the lower legs, the device should probably be read as a separate band on each leg. Fewkes (1907:142) was the first to comment, more generally, on the nature of ankle bands in the figure pendants, suggesting that they represented “the bands with which, according to early writers, the Carib were accustomed to bind the calves of their legs.” I have been unable to find this reference to the Carib in the earlier sources, but Fewkes’s comment seems errant in any case, in that the bands on the figure pendants are uniformly at the ankles and not the calves. Protruding laterally from the ankle band are separate, small circular ankle bumps, which Fewkes (1903a:685) aptly describes as “wart-like” projections. They perhaps depict the lateral malleolus.

The back

Generally, the back is flattened, the lower limbs inset forward of the plane of the spine at a step corresponding anatomically to the base of the *derrière*. As already

noted, the back of the head is, at times, similarly inset at a step corresponding to the top of the shoulders. In rare cases, the entire back side shows a slightly convex profile from head to toe.

Most Standard guise, Format 1 specimens have at least some incised embellishment of the reverse side outlining select anatomical features. Incised lines may delineate the back margins of the coronet, ears, and forearms. A vertical line segment, or two lines set at angles to the center axis, may serve to divide the lower limbs and feet. There are no examples outlining what would be the rear of the ankle bands. Horizontal lines may cross at the top of the ears, the base of the head, the waistline, and the base of the hips. Commonly, a spine is indicated by two vertical lines running closely parallel. Additional lines, rounded or straight, may serve to outline hips and shoulder blades.

Further notes on Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 1

Aesthetically, it is easy to see the eye of an expert artisan in the design of these specimens. The design exhibits a double-axis symmetry, beginning with a prismatic base form, which extends to a formal analogy between the chin and the knees, and comparable angles in the upthrust of the face and the downthrust of the lower legs, separated by the central cutout that forms the torso. In some cases, the roundedness of the chin is complemented in reverse by the roundedness of the lap, lending the torso an hourglass shape. We have seen that the occasional rear inset of the head mimics the stepped rear inset of the lower legs. Laterally protruding knoblike ears and ankle bumps are made to resemble one another, and are placed in comparable positions on the superior and inferior margins of the base form.

Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 2. Anthropomorph in cylindrical composition

Type Specimen: IC250 (Figure 2.6, upper row, left)

Number Examined: 23

With Format 2 we retain the squatting, fully-fleshed anthropomorphic subject, but move from a prismatic to a cylindrical composition, in which specimens tend to be longer and narrower than those of Format 1 (Figures 2.6, 2.7). In this format, the cross section is nearly circular, the maximum width comparable to the thickness. The base form is a tapered cylinder, the top and bottom truncated by flat facets. In frontal view, the base form is somewhat lenticular, widest at the center, but retaining the continuous outline of Format 1, with head, torso, and lower limbs merging to a single contour. Certain aspects of the Format 1 base form are reflected much more subtly in Format 2. Hints of a pyramidal structure are evident, in that there is a tendency to slightly flatten the back, and to form the face with two facets converging on the medial axis. Viewed in profile, a cutout for the torso is present, although quite shallow, such that the chin and knees project forward only slightly. In a similar way, at the back of the piece, a slight inset of the head and of lower limbs is present in a number of Format 2 specimens, just as in Format 1. Finally, the vertical (superior-inferior) symmetry so conspicuous in Format 1 is present, but much diminished, in these specimens.



Figure 2.6. Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 2, cylindrical composition. Upper row: IC250, NMNH A557015-0; IC312, QB 71.1948.69.1. Middle row: IC332, UPR 1.2008.1118; IC245, NMNH A557132-0. Lower row: IC242, NMNH A557231-0; IC356, RUD uncataloged.

A strong contrast between Formats 1 and 2 lies in the mode of suspension. Whereas in Format 1 this always consists of a pair of elbow-style perforations at the lateral margins, in Format 2 there is invariably only a single transverse perforation, positioned just below the ear.

A further distinction is the existence of longitudinal perforations in addition to the transverse in Format 2. Some form of longitudinal perforation exists in some 65 percent (15 of 23) of the specimens in the database. In only five of these do the perforations penetrate fully through the piece from top to bottom. In other cases, there are short holes drilled at highly variable depths from the top and bottom of the piece, which do not meet in the middle. At times, such perforations are reduced to a minimal



Figure 2.7. Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 2, cylindrical composition. Upper row: IC132, ICAN 7480; IC262, NMAI 184545. Middle row: IC353, RUD uncataloged; IC239, NMNH A557142-0. Lower row: IC155, CL AR-TG-437A (head only); IC352, RUD uncataloged.

pit or a shallow pilot hole, placed at one end or the other. Obviously, such incomplete perforations were not intended for suspension.

Unlike Format 1, the range of competency exhibited in the manufacture of Format 2 specimens is rather variable. It ranges, on the high end, from the large and masterfully finished type specimen, IC250, to the minimally carved and schematically incised IC239. There is a substantial amount of formal variability as well, extending to outliers like the diminutive IC352 with its lack of a navel, and the much larger IC312 with its eccentric eyes and nose. Such extremes are, nonetheless, still well within the parameters of the Puerto Plata style.

Dimensions of 14 complete specimens in the database are as follows.

Height: range 33-101 mm, mean 70 mm

Width: range 12-26 mm, mean 21 mm

Thickness: range 13-23 mm, mean 20 mm

From these summary dimensions we see that, although Format 2 specimens are, on average, a bit taller than the corresponding Format 1 specimens (70 mm versus 64 mm), that difference is not statistically significant. More telling is the substantial difference

in height-to-width ratios between the two samples: 3.2:1 for Format 2 versus 2.4:1 for Format 1. That difference *is* statistically significant ($p < .001$).

The head

In my earlier discussion of the conjunction of facial features of Format 1, I called attention to its evident severity of expression. With Format 2 facial expressions added to this mix – IC155 being a fine example – it is hard to see at least some of these as anything short of menacing. In this connection, the same upper-corner accents imparting an explicit snarl to the mouth are again found in Format 2.

In its form the Format 2 head is basically a tapered cylinder, although, as already noted, there is at least a nod toward flattening it at the back side and enough on both sides of the face to hint at conjoined facets. The same basic elements are present as in Format 1, the face being slightly more vertical in Format 2.

A coronet is always present, although adjusted to a cylindrical form, where the truncated top facet itself always lacks embellishment of any kind. In consequence, the coronet takes the form of an incised arch, running from the front margin of each ear upward to a point just below the truncation. As in Format 1, the coronet is normally plain, although in IC132 a doubled line serves as a field for a row of punctations.

Ears show the same triad of forms already seen in Format 1: simple round or oval bumps, bifurcated forms, and explicit bird-forms. Brow lines in this Format are single, a lone exception being the otherwise eccentric IC312 where it is doubled. The majority are straight rather than arched above the eyes, thus reversing the trend in Format 1.

Eyes are, as before, pitted circles, normally raised in relief, although sometimes the relief character is lost. A rare eye form that appears for the first time in Format 2 consists of a slotted, horizontal ellipse carved in relief. It appears on a Haitian specimen (IC312) otherwise notable for its lack of an incised eye connector, its squared-off nostril flares carved in relief, its lack of ankle bumps, its circular navel (unique to the format), and its female breasts (see below). Such slotted, elliptical eyes appear elsewhere in the Puerto Plata style: on a published Format 2 fragment closely related to our IC312 (Baztán Rodrigo 1971-72: Fig. 106, upper right), as well as on a fragmentary Frog-Form specimen (IC211). I will reserve comment for later regarding the probable relationship of this slotted elliptical form and the raised, slotted eye forms commonly seen on frog-form figure pendants of Imbert and related styles discussed in Chapter 9.

Other than in the singular specimen just mentioned, incised connectors that join the eyes above the bridge of the nose are once again ubiquitous. In Format 2 they are mostly a single, straight line tangent to the top margin of each eye, as opposed to the X-form most commonly seen in Format 1 (Figure 2.5, upper row, single line). In Format 2 we also encounter several cases of a pinched form (Figure 2.5, upper row, pinched).

Nostrils in Format 2, if they are distinguished at all, lack the outward flare, executed in relief, that is regularly seen in Format 1 (again with the exception of IC312, discussed above). Thus, in Format 2, the upper origin of the cheeklines is not integrated with the nostril flare as is repeatedly seen in Format 1. Instead, the incised cheeklines arise independently at the base of the nose and arch upward and outward as before. A variant not seen elsewhere is a cheekline that comes to a point at the upper corner instead of continuous curve (e.g., IC132 and IC239), a feature that arguably adds to a starkness of facial expression to which I have repeatedly called attention.

The mouth is a narrow, incised rectangle with one or two rows of incised teeth, as in the first format.

The torso and arms

Normally present in Format 2 is the plain, necklace-like element that follows the chin line on the upper torso, already described for Format 1. It must not be a defining iconographic element, as it is omitted in a number of otherwise competent Format 2 figure pendants.

Something entirely new in this Format is the appearance of female breasts in a Haitian specimen mentioned above for its raised, slotted elliptical eyes and other oddities (IC312). The breasts take the form of small, plain, round hemispheres carved in low relief, paired on the upper torso. This is not a unique appearance for the Puerto Plata style – such breasts also appear in a Format 1 piece illustrated by Baztán Rodrigo (1971-72:Fig. 103). Highly similar hemispherical breasts occur in other Antillean carved genres where the female intent is unambiguous.

Arms are more often simply incised than carved in shallow relief. Recalling that Format 1 features two alternative hand poses, one at the knees and another against the lower abdomen, Format 2 differs by reducing that choice to a single option – all examples have forearms posed against the abdomen. It follows that they also have navels, although here I have to point out a lone exception (IC352), a tiny specimen on which the navel is omitted and where fingertips touch their opposites.

Forms of the navel are similar to those found in Format 1, but whereas the circular form carved in relief is dominant in Format 1, in Format 2 the emphasis shifts to forms having a square surround – that with a central dot and that with a vertical line segment displaced downward (Figure 2.5, lower row, middle and right).

The legs and genitalia

Legs are depicted as in Format 1, with accommodations to the cylindrical format. They are together, knees slightly apart, and are differentiated by a vertically incised line, sometimes enhanced by slight relief carving. Toes, represented by a row of short, vertical line segments, appear just above the basal truncation. Excepting the foreshortened IC352, ankle bands are universally present. Ankle bumps, however, are sometimes missing altogether on Format 2 specimens, or are reduced to ill-defined flares at the outer margins of the ankle bands.

Except for the breasts noted for IC312, sex is unmarked. All specimens, including IC312, leave blank the triangular space between the knees.

The back

As already noted, the back of the base form is slightly flattened. As in Format 1, the back of the lower legs, and often the back of the head as well, are formed as stepped insets, although these insets are often slight. Also as in Format 1, elaboration of the back is limited to incised lines outlining anatomical features. A similar range of features is chosen for emphasis: horizontal lines at the top of the shoulders and at the waist, lines indicating the back of the arms, a single or more commonly doubled incised line at the spine, curved or squared shoulder blades, and a vertical line or triangular element differentiating the lower legs and feet.

Further notes on Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 2

The foregoing comments are framed in such a way to facilitate comparison between Formats 1 and 2, the numerically co-dominant configurations in the Puerto Plata style. Aside from the defining distinction in base form, let us sum these up. Relative to Format 1, Format 2 exhibits a trend toward simplification. This simplification is evident in the reduction to a single transverse mode of perforation, the reduction to a single lower arm and hand pose on the torso, the loss of nostrils carved separately in relief, the schematization of cheeklines, and the frequent absence of ankle bumps. Other stylistic differences take the form of shifts of emphasis within certain features, such as different dominant modes of brow lines, eye connectors, and navel forms. Notably, none of these stylistic distinctions lead us in the direction of suspecting that there are two figural characters here instead of just one, which is merely depicted using different base forms. I will take up the matter of the interconnected nature of Formats 1 and 2 in the following chapter.

Puerto Plata Twinned guise

Type Specimen: IC149 (Figure 2.8, upper row, left)

Number Examined: 6

The twinned Puerto Plata form (Figure 2.8) presents the image of identical figures joined side by side, carved from a single piece of stone. The composition was first noted by Fewkes (1907:142-143), who published a photograph of our IC254. Three other specimens were published much later by Alegría (1978:Figs. 24, 25, 36).

The twinned configuration is uncommon. Ten are known: six from our own database, a seventh from the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo (Alegría 1978:Fig. 24), an eighth and ninth from the private collection of Bernardo Vega (Montás et al. 1985:96), and a tenth from the Cantisano collection, illustrated by Alegría (1978:Fig. 25). Because we are in possession of good photographs of the frontal aspects of the García Arévalo, Vega, and Cantisano specimens, these can be incorporated in the discussion in a limited way. All but one of the known examples are Dominican, the exception being a fragmentary specimen (IC008) from Guantánamo province in easternmost Cuba.

Each individual figure is rendered essentially as in Standard guise, Format 1, but here they are joined laterally by a thin, shared remnant of stone running from about the middle of the head to the middle of the legs. Each side is almost entire in its carving; only the two innermost ears are lost to the dual structure. Minor accommodations are made, apparently in favor of carving each individual as completely as possible. For example, in IC149 and in IC413 the heads and feet are made to bow outward and apart from one another, while in IC254, FGA090 (Alegría 1978:Fig. 24), and one of the published Vega collection specimens (Montás et al. 1985:96, upper left), the two figures are made to face slightly apart.

Our small Twinned guise sample exhibits more variability than their Standard guise, Format 1 counterparts in several ways. Unlike Standard guise, Format 1, these pieces do not all share a common mode of perforation. Our type specimen, IC149, has two elbow-style perforations, but they are handled in a unique manner, in that all four drillings – two per figure – enter from the back of the piece at complementary

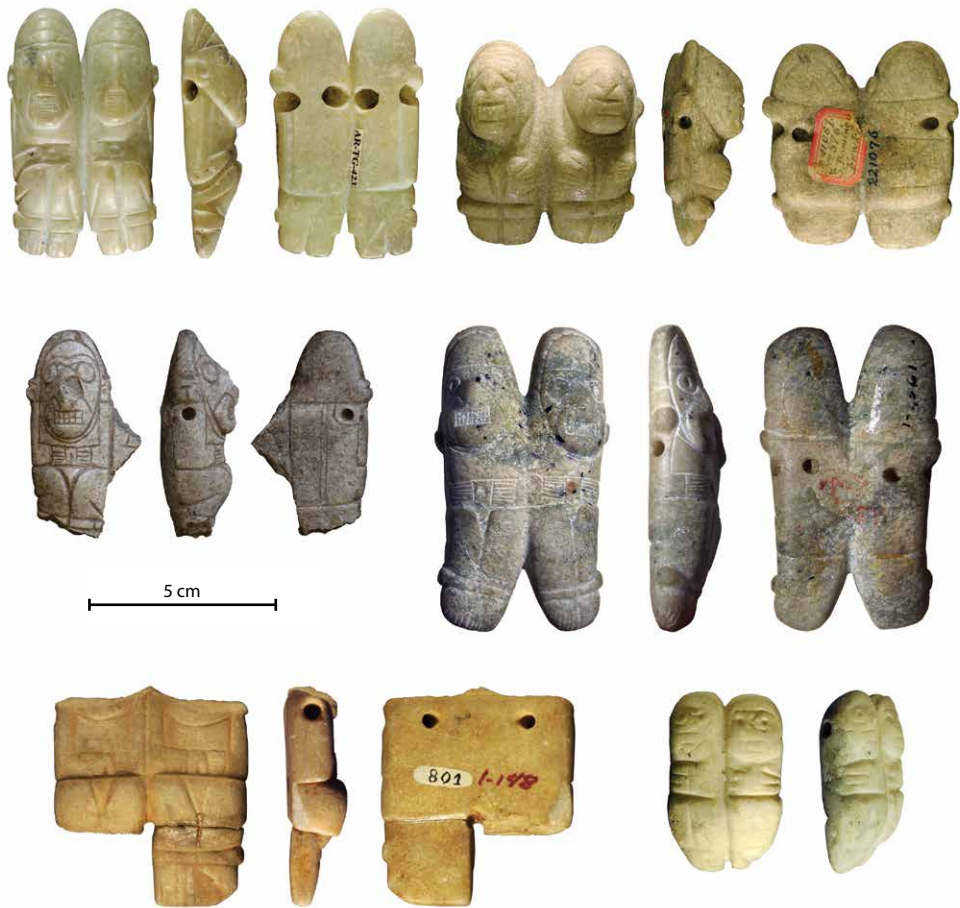


Figure 2.8. Puerto Plata Twinned guise. Upper row: IC149, CL AR-TG-423; IC254, NMNH A221076-0. Middle row: IC308, LU 1460 (fragmentary, photos by Catarina Guzzo Falci); IC413, MHD 135. Lower row: IC008, MON 801 (fragmentary); IC082, MHD uncataloged.

angles. FGA090 has a single transverse perforation at the top of the shoulders, a property in common with specimens of Standard guise, Format 2. The rest have the customary elbow-style drillings into the lateral margins, entering at one shoulder and exiting at the flat rear of the piece.

They vary greatly in their competency as well, ranging from our type specimen, IC149, which is nothing short of a jewel-like masterwork, to the hopelessly crude, schematically detailed, and unpolished IC082.

Finally, as a group they diverge stylistically from Standard guise, Format 1 in a number of ways. The fragmentary IC008, for example, is far more tabular in its base form than anything seen in Format 1. Other distinctive details will be noted in the section to follow.

First, though, here are the dimensions of the complete specimens from the database.

Height: range 47-79 mm, mean 60 mm
 Width: range 29-48 mm, mean 40 mm
 Thickness: range 16-19 mm, mean 17 mm

A shorter mean height than that of Standard guise, Format 1 reflects a lack of specimens in the larger sizes. The dimensions provided by Montás et al. (1985:228) for two specimens in the Vega collection are within the range of our own sample.

The head

In most respects, the head is as in Standard guise, Format 1. A low coronet, connected on either side to the ears, round, bulging eyes conjoined by an incised element across the bridge of the nose, and a rectangular incised mouth with one or two rows of teeth are present in every case. IC149, in keeping with its elaborate detail, exhibits an incised element on the forehead unique in the style, consisting of an arch over two straight diagonal lines. An incised brow line, always single, and either arched or straight as in Standard guise, Format 1, is present on every specimen except the highly schematic IC082, on which incised cheeklines also fail to appear. The range of variability in the ears is about the same as in Standard guise, Format 1: bird-form ears are seen on IC308; they are bi-lobed on FGA090 as well as on both of the published Vega collection specimens (Montás et al. 1985:96); and in IC149 they are rounded projections with a central pit. Otherwise they are simple round or oval bumps. The incised element connecting the eyes appears in all four of its modes. As in Standard guise, Format 1, most common is the X-form variant. The single-line variant appears on IC082; the hourglass variant appears on one of the Vega collection specimens (*ibid.*:96, lower left); and FGA090 gives us another example of the pinched variant illustrated in Figure 2.5, upper row. I have already said that the single transverse perforation on FGA090 is a link to the cylindrical Standard guise, Format 2; the pinched eye-connecting element provides another point of comparison to that format.

The torso and arms

In most respects, the torso and arms are as in Standard guise, Format 1. The raised, necklace-like element on the upper torso is missing on five of nine specimens, including the finely finished IC149. Arms and hands are seen in both positions described for Format 1; grasping the knees (IC254), in which case the navel is missing, and tightly flexed against the lower torso (all others), in which case the navel is present (An exception may be one of the published Vega collection pieces [Montás et al. 1985:96, upper left] which appears to lack a navel despite having arms against the torso). Two forms of navel are found in this small group: first, a drilled pit within an incised square; and second, an incised square containing a short vertical line segment joining the lower border – a form not seen in Standard guise, Format 1 (Figure 2.5, lower row). In the case of IC008, the incised surround is shaped like a closed, inverted U instead of a square.

The legs and genitalia

Legs are as in Standard guise, Format 1. Sex is unmarked in all cases. Ankle bands and ankle bumps are seen in each instance where that portion of the specimen is preserved, the sole exception being our highly schematic outlier, IC082. The lower legs of FGA090 have been broken off and reworked to a rounded contour, although to a degree less well finished than the original piece.

The back

At the back, incised features such as horizontal lines demarcating the head, torso, and lower limbs, the rear margins of the coronet and forearms, and a spine consisting of a doubled line occur as in Standard guise, Format 1, but with less variability, no doubt due to the much smaller sample.

Further notes on Puerto Plata Twinned guise

Puerto Plata is the only Antillean figure pendant style in which we see the possibility of twinning. That possibility is, obviously, of the highest importance as we move from style to iconography, a subject that will be deferred until later in the work.

Puerto Plata Frog-form guise

Type Specimen: IC184 (Figure 2.9, upper row, left)

Number Examined: 11

With the Frog-form guise (Figure 2.9), the subject shifts, rather patently, to something not fully human. While adding to the Puerto Plata roster, our discussion will, at the same time, serve the purpose of introducing the major Antillean figure pendant theme of the frog-form hybrid, a theme to be revisited at length in Chapters 8, 9, and 12. The subject is composed of a raniform base, to which is awkwardly attached an anthropomorphic head and genitalia. In simpler terms, the subject is a frog-person. There are eleven such

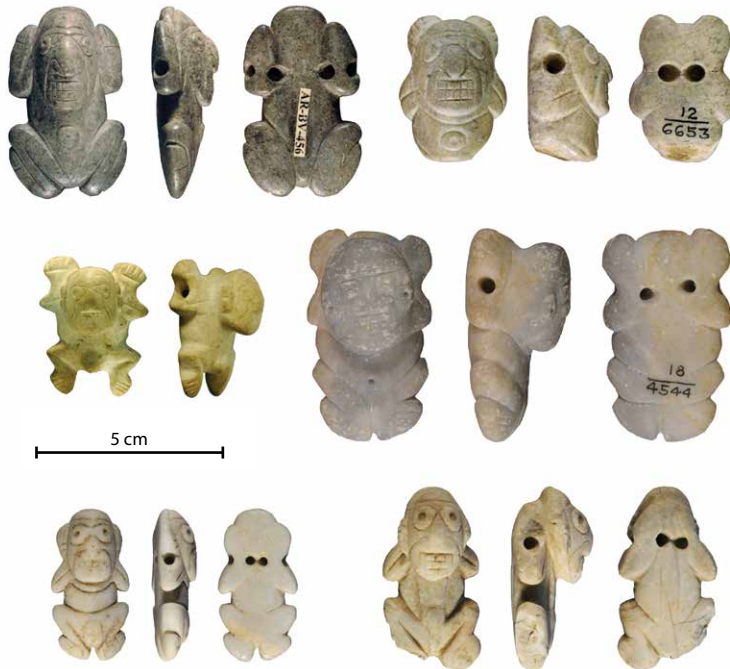


Figure 2.9. Puerto Plata, Frog-form guise. Upper row: IC184, CL AR-BV-456; IC276, NMAI 126653 (fragmentary, reworked). Middle row: IC070, MHD uncataloged; IC271, NMAI 184544. Lower row: IC341, RUD uncataloged; IC342, RUD uncataloged.

Puerto Plata-style specimens in our database. In our possession are frontal photographs of three others from the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo. A specimen for which we have a published photograph is from the Bernardo Vega collection (Montás et al. 1985:96, right). Another, from the de Boyrie Moya collection, is illustrated by Baztán Rodrigo (1971-72:Fig. 134). These bring the total to 16.

It requires no great interpretive leap to recognize, in the substructure, the schematized pose of a frog. Although that has not been the universal interpretation, by subtracting the human features – or in many cases simply by turning the specimen upside down – one can hardly fail to recognize the conventional form of straightforward frog effigies in the Greater Antilles, and indeed far beyond.

The base form, in many cases, is prismatic just as in Standard guise, Format 1. But in other cases it is not that simple, as the forward projecting head is not symmetrically reflected in the leg structure. Moreover, one specimen has a cylindrical base form. Suspension in the latter, IC211 (not illustrated), was by means of a single transverse perforation, located at the concave juncture between the forearms and hands. All other Puerto Plata Frog-form guise specimens have a wider, flatter substructure and two elbow-style perforations with lateral drillings at the juncture of forearms and hands, and companion drillings into the flat back of the piece.

As with all frog-form figure pendants generally speaking, Puerto Plata specimens in this guise are best analyzed as consisting of a substructure and a superstructure, corresponding respectively to the raniform and the anthropomorphic components. The substructure is a flattened element that includes a broad torso and symmetrically-posed forelimbs and hindlimbs attached laterally. Projecting forward from this substructure, at either end of the torso, is the superstructure consisting of the two human components, a head and (where present) genitalia.

Although the forelimbs and hindlimbs are not always identical, the double symmetry they exhibit (bilateral and superior-inferior) is a signature trait of the guise. Both are played fully outward, flush with the back of the piece, and are shown fully flexed, at complementary angles to the torso. Elbows and knees are in complementary positions, separated by a roughly rectangular cutout on either margin of the substructure.

Dimensions of nine complete specimens in the database are as follows.

Height: range 32-54 mm, mean 41 mm

Width: range 17-32 mm, mean 24 mm

Thickness: range 11-26 mm, mean 18 mm

These figures reveal the characteristically short and squat dimensions of Puerto Plata frog-form specimens. The largest of the group reaches a height of only 54 mm. None in the present sample, though, are truly miniaturized in the manner yet to be encountered in other styles of frog-form hybrids.

The head

Positioned rather low on the torso is the head, a proportionally large, flattened oval structure. The degree to which it projects forward is more variable than in frog-form hybrids of other styles. This forward projection produces a short neck in some specimens, created by a groove around the top and sides, with the throat undercut.

Faces are either tilted slightly upward with the chin out, or are oriented almost vertically. They are, in all respects, Puerto Plata countenances having much in common with those of other guises and formats.

In all cases the coronet is of standard Puerto Plata form, a plain, short, vertical element at the rear of the head. Ears are generally absent, although not due to any interference by the hands, which lie on a plane behind the head. Of the few ears that do exist, most are standard Puerto Plata-style oval bumps, although bird-form ears appear on one specimen.

Brow lines in our sample are more often straight than arched, and are doubled in one case of each. Eyes are the raised donut-like forms typical of the style, with two exceptions. The first is IC346 (not illustrated), in which the eyes are schematized into incised triangles instead of circles with a drilled pit at the center. The other exception offers yet another encounter with eyes consisting of horizontally-oriented raised, slotted ovals, here found on our lone cylindrically-formatted piece, IC211 (for the others, see Standard guise, Format 2). Among the incised eye connectors, the X-form dominates, with pinched and single-line forms also in evidence. Our cylindrical example with its elliptical slotted eyes, IC211, has no eye connectors.

Cheeklines are fully independent of flared nostrils carved in relief, a detail helping to differentiate this sample from Standard guise, Format 1. They are, in two cases, starkly angled, coming to a point at the top, a detail already seen on two specimens of Standard guise, Format 2. Mouths are as before, an incised rectangular frame with one or two rows of teeth.

The torso and arms

Considered as an element in itself, the torso is an unremarkable, rounded-flattened space. An exception is IC342, which has a diamond-shaped torso that bears a well-defined longitudinal ridge on the center axis, a trait that serves as a stylistic connector to the Imbert style of frog-form hybrids to be discussed in Chapter 9. The standard Puerto Plata necklace-like element on the upper torso is as often absent as present in our Frog-form sample. Navels are mostly absent on the lower torso, but four occur: three as raised, pitted circles and one as a simple drilled pit.

Arms are raised at the sides, the hands converging behind the plane of the head. Hands showing incised fingers are simple lobe-shaped forms, usually angled somewhat outward with palms forward. The tops of the hands occasionally reach a level above the top of the head.

The legs and genitalia

Legs and feet are, in essence, mirror images of the arms and hands on the plane of the substructure. Knees are splayed outward and upward at angles complementary to those of the elbows, with the lower legs doubled back sharply to converge at a notch at the base. Feet, like hands, are ill-formed rounded lobes, only sometimes embellished with incised toes.

Between the lower limbs, normally as part of the superstructure projecting forward from the base form, is the genital element. Where present, it most often takes the form of a simple, perfectly hemispherical bump whose precise form appears to be confined to the Puerto Plata style. Among the Frog-Forms we can register four more cases of the style in which the sex is given unambiguously. In all four cases that sex is female.

In IC341 and IC374 (not illustrated) we have a well-defined, vertically-oriented oval bump bisected by a vertically incised line segment. Even the most conservative assessment could hardly see this as other than a mons pubis with vulva. In a third case, for which I depend on a photograph published by Bazrán Rodrigo (1971-72:Fig. 134), the corresponding element is an incised triangle bisected by a vertical incised line segment. The fourth case, FGA022 (not illustrated), has simply a vertically incised line dominating the triangular space between the legs. Five other Puerto Plata specimens in this Format do not bother to show genitalia.

The back

The flattened backs of Puerto Plata Frog-Form specimens tend to be even more minimally embellished with incised detail than those of the other formats. If anything at all is present, it usually consists of straight or curved lines differentiating the limbs from the torso. In two cases at hand, a spine is depicted using incised parallel vertical lines.

Puerto Plata Arms Aloft guise

Type Specimen: IC237 (Figure 2.10, upper row, left)

Number Examined: 10

Our subject is, again, a hybrid. Visually, for the most part, it is a fully-fleshed anthropomorph, but it combines the limb positions of the Standard guise with those of the hybrid Frog-form guise. As in the Standard guise, the legs are in a squatting pose with knees forward, but in this Format the arms are posed upward in the manner of the Frog-form guise. More specifically, the arms extend laterally from the torso, carved on a plane coextensive with the back of the piece. They are strongly flexed, with the upper arms cast at a downward angle, elbows out, and the forearms thrust sharply back upward toward the head. The hands are placed at the sides of the head, flaring outward with the palms forward. Figure 2.10 illustrates a sample.

There are ten Puerto Plata style figure pendants in the Arms Aloft guise in our database. In addition, we have good frontal photographs of four more on exhibit in the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo; these four can be brought into the discussion in a limited way.

Attending first to the base form, just as was the case in our Frog-form sample there is not one, but two. The majority (eight of nine, to which we can add all four FGA specimens) can be comfortably situated within the prismatic mode defined for Standard guise, Format 1. IC055, however, is an outlier, having a cylindrical base form.

Perforation for suspension generally follows the pattern already established for the style, with prismatic specimens having two elbow-style perforations at the upper margins, and the lone cylindrical specimen having a single transverse perforation. An exception to the pattern is IC023 (not illustrated), a classically prismatic Arms Aloft specimen that nonetheless has a single transverse perforation. In all cases, the perforations start at the concave juncture of the forearm and hand, at the level of the head. Longitudinal perforations are absent, with one exception. In keeping with its cylindrical base form, the crown of the head of IC055 is a truncated disk, at the middle of which is a longitudinal perforation extending to a depth of only 9 mm. There is no comparable truncation at the base.

Figure 2.10. Puerto Plata, Arms Aloft guise. Upper row: IC237, NMNH A557236-0; IC378, RUD uncataloged. Middle row: IC045, MHD uncataloged; IC057, MHD uncataloged, IC055, MHD uncataloged. Lower row: IC321, AMNH 25.0/4106; IC176, CL AR-TG-489.



Dimensions of eight complete Puerto Plata Arms Aloft guise specimens in the database are as follows.

- Height: range 53-61 mm, mean 54 mm
- Width: range 17-29 mm, mean 24 mm
- Thickness: range 16-21 mm, mean 19 mm

This sample is therefore a bit smaller, on average, than our sample of Standard guise, Format 1 specimens.

A glance at Figure 2.10 is enough to reveal that the Arms Aloft sample is a reasonably diverse lot. In the details of head, torso, and legs/feet, it will be seen that our small sample spans much of the gamut of variability already reviewed for Standard guise, Formats 1 and 2.

The head

The head is proportionally large, with details generally as in Standard guise, Formats 1 and 2. It is positioned forward, in some cases producing an undercut throat. A short, plain coronet is at the back of the head in all cases except IC055, a specimen already labeled an outlier for its cylindrical base form and the truncated crown of its head. Ears, generally present in Puerto Plata-style figure pendants, are mostly absent in the Arms Aloft guise, displaced by the position of the hands at either side of the head. In two cases (IC321 and IC378), carvers adopted the creative solution of adding ear elements to the palms of the hands at the points where ears would be expected. These

ears – alternatively, perhaps, ear ornaments – consist of simple circle and dot elements in one case, and centrally pitted squares in the other.

Of the facial details, brow lines are single in all instances other than in our cylindrical outlier, IC055, where the brow line consists of a double arch. The remainder are about evenly divided between straight and arched forms. Eyes are the customary Puerto Plata donut-like elements, but the incised connectors joining them across the bridge of the nose vary, with the X-form most common and the pinched and hourglass forms (Figure 2.5, upper row) present on two specimens each. Missing entirely is the single-line form of eye connector, the most common mode seen in Standard guise, Format 2 – a curious absence. Two specimens appear to lack eye connectors entirely.

Nostrils flared and carved in relief with dependent, integrated cheeklines, a common feature in Standard guise, Format 1, are here found three times, the remainder having independently incised cheeklines. Mouths are typical of the style, consisting of narrow incised rectangles, sometimes shallowly inset into the face, with one or two rows of incised teeth.

The torso and arms

On the upper torso, the raised necklace-like element that we have come to recognize as a Puerto Plata hallmark is here as well, although on IC176 and IC378 it takes a variant form that connects directly across to the upper arms, and thus does not closely follow the chin line. In two cases the necklace element is missing.

Navels are present in four instances. Their presence or absence does not seem to be correlated with anything else, unlike in Standard guise, Format 1 where arm and hand positions are determinative of navels. Three of the four navels consist of pitted circles carved in relief (thus mimicking the eye form), while the fourth is a pitted square. Navels are isolated on the lower torso, with the exception of IC057, where the navel is tucked between the knees.

The position of the arms, being diagnostic of the format, has already been described.

The legs and genitalia

In the Arms Aloft guise the legs are in a squat, the thighs projecting forward at about a 90-degree angle to the torso. Knees are apart, the lower legs converging below, usually distinguished from one another only by an incised vertical line. Feet are rudimentary, either projecting straight downward, as in Standard guise, Format 1, or alternatively made to project slightly forward, as awkwardly-shaped bulges, either way equipped with a row of short vertical incised line segments indicating toes. Ankle bands are present in every specimen but one. That specimen, IC343 (not illustrated), nonetheless sports ankle bumps, relocated to the sides of the feet. Ankle bumps show the same variability as seen before, either being distinctly carved hemispheres at the lateral margins, or diminished to slightly thickened places within flaring ankle bands. Ankle bands are shown only on the front of the piece.

In the Arms Aloft guise there is no sign of sexual differentiation in the plain triangular spaces between the knees.

The back

Backs are flattened in the Arms Aloft guise. As before, the lower legs are differentiated from the plane of the back by a stepped inset, but unlike Standard guise,

Formats 1 and 2, a corresponding stepped inset at the head is never seen. The backs of the arms may or may not be set off by incising or relief carving. Other incised detail is even more minimal than that seen in the Formats already described. IC237 has a waist line, and IC321 shows the back of the coronet and a spine, consisting of parallel vertical incised lines, within which is a lone drilled pit.

Further notes on Puerto Plata Arms Aloft guise

Having already described the Puerto Plata Frog-form guise, there can be little question that the raised arm position here is an allusion to the Frog-form. The form and execution of the upper limbs in the two guises is very nearly identical. Fewkes (1903a) seemingly failed to notice this connection to the frog hybrid, and thus misinterpreted the significance of the arm pose. Enough information is now at hand to set aside Fewkes's (ibid.:681) speculation, which seems implausible anyway, that the raised-arm pose was meant "to suggest the attitude of a burden-bearing god or goddess, whose personator in ceremonies supported a bundle on the head or back in this way." As we have seen, the position of the hands may be well above or well below the plane of the head.

Without diving too deeply into iconographic matters, it appears that the significance of the Puerto Plata Arms Aloft guise is that it merges visually the squat of the Standard guise anthropomorph with the arm posture of the Frog-form hybrid. Thus, it incorporates into a single guise whatever qualities or powers are implied by these otherwise separate postures. As to what those qualities or powers might be, our discussion will have to be postponed until Chapter 12, after having reviewed the characteristics of many other squatting and frog-form beings in several other styles.

Stylistically, Arms Aloft guise specimens have more in common with Standard guise, Format 1 than with Format 2. This commonality is evident not only in sharing a dominant base form, but also in certain details, such as the prevalence of X-form eye connectors and the total absence of their single-line counterpart, the occasional presence of flared nostrils in relief with integrated cheeklines, and the prevalence of circular navels carved in relief over other forms. Nonetheless, there are some stylistic connections to Standard guise, Format 2 as well, the most obvious being the cylindrical composition and longitudinal perforation of IC055, but also including the prevalence, within the broader set, of straight rather than arched brow lines.

Puerto Plata oddities

Set aside for separate consideration here are three specimens that fall within the Puerto Plata canon stylistically, and whose subject matter is recognizably within the scope of what has been presented already. These, however, do not fit well within any of the five Formats so far described. What is perhaps remarkable is that their number is so few, a reflection of the overall coherence of Puerto Plata as a style.

IC355 (Figure 2.11, upper row, left)

This piece would have been neatly accommodated within Standard Guise, Format 1, perhaps even an exemplary specimen of that format, but for the fact that it has two sets of arms! One set of forearms and hands rests conventionally on the lower abdomen on either side of an eroded, but still recognizable, dot-in-square navel. The



Figure 2.11. Puerto Plata oddities, and an effaced specimen. Upper row: IC355, RUD uncataloged; IC187, CL AR-BV-465. Lower row: IC397, RUD uncataloged; IC166, CL AR-TG-462.

other set of arms is raised, in the manner of the Arms Aloft guise, connected across the torso in the usual manner by a necklace-like element and having elbow-style perforations that enter at the inflection points of the upper extremities. The only things missing are well-formed hands – as though the artisan could not abide a duplication quite that extreme. While odd, the specimen does show us that the two arm/hand positions are not the exclusive identifiers of different figural characters, and therefore it adds support to the idea that we are in the presence of guises of a manifold being. The status of IC355 as stylistically Puerto Plata is without question.

IC187 (Figure 2.11, upper row, right)

This large Standard guise, Format 1 specimen is remarkable in that it is as clear a case as we might want for two sets of hands involved in the final product. That is, the carver of the base form of IC187 was not the same person who did the detail work to finish the piece. Further, the carving of the base form is fully competent in the style, whereas the detailing is not, which might be interpreted as revealing a master-apprentice relation. First, the base form in its shape and proportions is, in every respect, normal for Standard guise, Format 1. The back view nicely shows the superior-inferior symmetry between the ears and the lateral ankle bumps. But the detailer took that competent base form and made hash of it. The most glaring mistake was to misunderstand the ankle band, by converting it into feet with a row of toes. This left the basally notched field below, which is where the feet belong, blank. There is more. Ordinarily, the lower legs

in this style take up the full width of the piece, but this detailer, using relief carving, narrowed them, leaving unused space at the margins. The incised arms are supposed to end in hands at the sides of the knees, but the detailer has omitted them. At the face, the detailer has omitted the standard incised connecting element between the eyes. The mouth is given an oval, rather than a squared shape, and it is too wide, extending almost to the cheeklines. Finally, the drilling of the elbow-style perforations was done so incompetently that it required several tries, resulting, on the proper right side, in a through perforation aberrantly visible from the front.

A final oddity, although perhaps not one of the same sort, consists of doubled incised lines descending from the eyes at an angle paralleling the cheeklines. These lines are scratched so lightly as to be almost invisible, quite unlike all other incising on the piece which is done boldly and confidently, if sometimes mistakenly. Perhaps these eye lines were added by the owner as opposed to the carver or the detailer, which would give us three persons involved in the result as we see it.

IC397 (Figure 2.11, lower row, left)

IC397 stands apart in a number of ways. The base form is a flattened lenticular shape with a profile equally rounded at both ends. A coronet is there, but so low as to be almost invisible in the frontal view. That fact, plus the absence of a brow line, yields a high forehead. The extreme flare of the nostrils, and in fact the whole manner in which the nose is carved in high relief, is unusual, as is the lipped mouth, which together with the widely-set eyes impart a stare that seems even more menacing than the already unsettling standard Puerto Plata visage. Arms are carved in high relief like the nose, with forearms and hands resting against the lower torso but without an intervening navel. They are shown perversely above the level of the waistline. Legs are in a knock-kneed posture, converging in the customary manner at the top but diverging again below. This is a squatting pose to be defined in Chapter 12 as the $Z\Delta$ mode, which this figure pendant shares with Comendador and other styles.

All that said, the Puerto Plata style bona fides of IC397 are clear enough. No other style provides a combination of circle-and-dot eyes connected by an incised X element above the nose, strong cheeklines, a rectangular open mouth, and that standard arm and hand pose.

Other Puerto Plata subjects

Aside from the three oddities just described, there are other figure pendants realized in the Puerto Plata style that seem clearly to depict subject matter which takes us iconographically beyond the bounds of what we have seen already.

A second manifold being (Figure 2.12, upper row, left and center)

Three specimens, none of which are found in our database (FGA019, FGA099, Alegría 1997:Fig. 2) depict what appears to be a second manifold being, also capable of appearing in different guises, the bodily poses being the same as those found in our primary Puerto Plata subject. The common head is, in this case, elongate and zoomorphic, projecting directly forward with an outthrust muzzle. Details of the head include a narrow sagittal crest and laterally situated, incised eyes, elliptical or lenticular in shape, in which the pupil is realized by a horizontal line segment. Forward of the

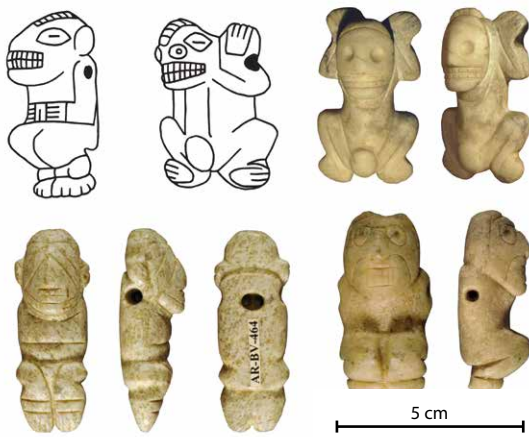


Figure 2.12. Puerto Plata, other subjects.

Upper row: FGA099, uncataloged (sketch by the author, not to scale); FGA019, uncataloged (sketch by the author, not to scale); FGA023, uncataloged (not to scale).

Lower row: IC186, CL AR-BV-464; IC135, CL AR-BV-460 (feet missing).

eyes in two of the three cases are nostrils consisting of raised, pitted circles – recalling eyes and navels elsewhere in the style. Mouths are incised, showing two rows of incised teeth or a simple arched line segment. Only FGA099 has ears, consisting of oval lobes.

These three specimens adopt three different postures, all familiar in the Puerto Plata canon. FGA099 is squatting in the manner of Standard guise, Format 1, with forearms and hands against the lower torso, centered by a navel of the squared type centering a vertical line. It possesses ankle bands and bumps. The specimen illustrated in Alegria (1997:Fig. 2) is squatting in the same manner, but with arms raised in the manner of the Arms Aloft guise of our first subject. It also has ankle bumps. Finally, FGA019 is posed in the manner of the Frog-form guise of the first subject, with a splayed, frog-form substructure and the round bump form of genital element typical of Puerto Plata frog-form hybrids.

FGA023 (Figure 2.12, upper row, right)

Here is a figure pendant that resembles in every respect a Puerto Plata style frog-form hybrid, with a head mounted low on the body complete with a coronet, a necklace-like element on the upper torso, and a round bump for a genital element. But in this case, a skull-form head is substituted, with large concavities for eyes, a triangular nose, and a broad, open incised mouth showing two rows of teeth.

IC186 (Figure 2.12, lower row, left)

With this specimen we return to the prismatic base form of Standard Guise, Format 1. Puerto Plata traits are numerous and unmistakable. A narrow, rectangular incised mouth, bird-form ears, a necklace-like element on the upper torso, the pose of the arms and legs (albeit without a navel), and ankle bands all reproduce traits common among Puerto Plata-style anthropomorphs.

The head, however, is definitively different from anything yet seen. There are no eyes. Instead, a pair of incised, nested chevrons runs fully across the face. This element, which I call the “supranasal chevron,” is one that will be frequently seen in other styles. Another incised line can be seen following the line of the chin, like a chin strap, just below the mouth. Together with its supranasal chevron, the sightlessness of IC186 alludes to a large series of sightless beings that will be explored beginning in Chapter 7. It is, perhaps, a rare Puerto Plata attempt to depict that otherwise extraneous subject.

IC135 (Figure 2.12, lower row, right)

A situation analogous to the one just reviewed may apply to IC135. Although the coronet is unusually wide on this specimen and it lacks ears, the handling of facial detail is Puerto Plata in every way, as is the character of the torso cutaway and the squat, although breakage at the level of the feet inhibits a point for point comparison. The feature of interest here is the arms, or rather, the absence of them. In their place are short stumps, through which paired elbow-style perforations enter the sides. Careful examination reveals that this armlessness and earlessness is deliberate; there is no sign of the reworking of places where arms or ears once were. As will be seen in Chapter 7, armlessness, like sightlessness, is an identifying attribute in other figure pendant styles and subjects. IC135 appears to allude to those other subjects.

User modifications

Under this heading I include two kinds of things, the first being the reworking of broken specimens to extend their service, and the second, the apparent addition of details that are, at least arguably, not part of the original work. It is harder to prove the latter than the former.

Puerto Plata-style figure pendants with broken surfaces reworked in antiquity to prolong their use are not uncommon. Pieces with up to half of the original specimen broken away were candidates for such reuse. A good example is IC101 from the Museo Indocubano Baní (not illustrated), the head and upper torso of a cylindrical Standard guise, Format 2 piece for which a new, flat base has been created by grinding. Perhaps at the same time, one of its two ears was removed by pecking and grinding. A highly curious specimen is IC166, a handsome Standard guise specimen that has been entirely effaced by grinding, affecting the face, knees, feet, and top of the head. The ankle bumps on this specimen have been deliberately removed – a testament, perhaps, to the importance of that small detail. The intent behind the effacement of a figure pendant is, of course, entirely unknown to us.

Of the second category, where details are apparently secondary additions, perhaps made by the user, I have already commented on the unusually faint parallel incised lines descending from the eyes on IC187 (see Puerto Plata oddities, above). These lines are inconsistent with the bold incising on the rest of the piece. As a possible addition by the owner, perhaps this was as a conversion of the figure pendant to include a motif more commonly seen in another genre. In two other cases, faintly scratched, horizontally oriented, undulating lines have been added to the cheeks on either side of the mouth. They appear to be graffiti-like enhancements of the open mouth, perhaps intended to reinforce some connotation of fierceness. Interpretation aside, the scratchy execution of these asymmetrical lines is entirely out of character with that of other incising on these and other Puerto Plata-style figure pendants. Such facial lines occur on IC176, an Arms Aloft guise specimen, in which case they cross the cheeklines, and on IC188, a large and unusually handsome Standard guise, Format 1 piece on which the undulating lines begin outside the cheeklines.

For our purposes, much of the significance of these examples lies in their relatively clear demonstration that the end users of figure pendants were not the carvers.

Geographic distribution

As is true for the entire database on which this study is founded, the issue of provenance is problematic, in that the majority of specimens in museums lack any information at all. Despite that depressing fact, we have an attributed country of origin for some 104 Puerto Plata specimens, and more specifically the province of origin of 32 examples of the style. To report the national proportions first, it is immediately apparent that the distribution is dominantly Hispaniolan: Dominican Republic and Haiti = 87 percent; Cuba = 8 percent; Puerto Rico = 4 percent; and the Bahamas = 1 percent. Turning to the province-level data, specimens range geographically from Holguín, Cuba on the west to Arecibo, Puerto Rico on the east, with one extreme outlier said to be from as far north as Bimini, 80 km due east of Miami (Figure 2.13). However, by a wide margin, the greatest concentration is in the northern Dominican Republic, specifically the Cibao Valley, the Cordillera Septentrional, and the adjacent Atlantic Corridor. Some 18 are reported from the adjacent provinces of Santiago, Valverde, Monte Cristi, and Puerto Plata, the majority of these from the north coastal province of Puerto Plata. Another is from the Samaná peninsula on the northeast coast. Two of the three Haitian specimens are from the Nord-Est department on the north coast adjoining the border between the two countries, the other being from Gonâve Island in the west. In contrast, only three are from southern provinces, one each from Pedernales, Azua, and La Romana. This distribution, then, brings sharper focus to García Arévalo's (2003:268) prior observation that the style "is only reported from the central valleys and northwest coast of the island." The latter statement is in agreement with Lovén (1935:609). In keeping with a concept of styles that anchors them to closely interacting crafting communities, it is worth hypothesizing, at this point, that all such figure pendants were made in a relatively small area of the Cibao. In support of that hypothesis, neither the Cuban nor the Puerto Rican outliers hold together as defensible substyles. Conversely, most of the Cuban and Puerto Rican Puerto Plata-style specimens have, in my opinion, extraordinarily close stylistic counterparts in Hispaniola. Thus, all information at hand suggests that the specimens having a non-Hispaniolan provenance got there through some sort of long-distance interaction.

Ordinarily, we would look to any unfinished specimens of the style to bolster an assessment of sourcing. One unfinished Puerto Plata Format 1 specimen, IC392 (not illustrated), does exist in the database, but unfortunately its provenance is not known. IC392 does, nonetheless, give us some information about the sequence of manufacture. The shaping is complete, and some relief-carved and incised details – the coronet, brow line, and cheeklines – are already present on the front side. Incising for the mouth and arms has been started but remains unfinished. There are not yet any eyes, hands, nor toes. All four drillings for the elbow-style perforations have been started, but are incomplete.

Archaeological context and dating

Regarding archaeological context and dating, despite the abundance of specimens we are in little better shape with Puerto Plata than with other styles. Two examples have been professionally recovered in recent years from sites in the foothills of the Cordillera Septentrional in the northern Dominican Republic. Both sites are reported to be gen-

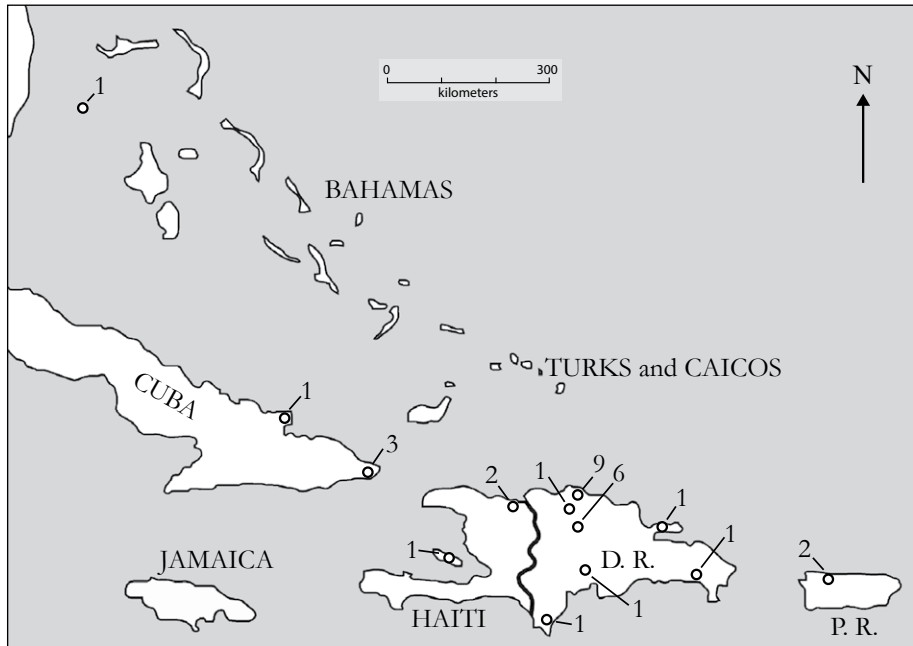


Figure 2.13. Geographic distribution of Puerto Plata-style figure pendants.

erally of Meillacoid cultural alignment, with some Chicoid ceramic motifs. Although neither specimen comes from a dated deposit, both sites have reported occupation spans based on multiple radiocarbon dates. The first is the site of La Luperona, from which there is a Standard guise, Format 1 specimen (IC309). La Luperona has two radiocarbon dates placing the occupation in the thirteenth century AD. The other site is El Flaco, which has produced a Twinned guise specimen (IC308). El Flaco has 13 reported radiocarbon dates placing its occupation between about 1250 – 1490 AD (Hofman and Hoogland 2015; Hofman et al. 2018).

Much more will be said in the following chapter about using internal stylistic evidence to investigate possible time depth within the style.

Raw materials

What little is known (or believed to be so) regarding raw materials can be stated briefly. Puerto Plata-style specimens were commonly fabricated either from a uniform pale brown, fine-grained stone, or from a uniform whitish stone resembling marble in its texture and susceptibility to polish. In two Dominican cases the material appears to be a metamorphic greenstone. A specimen from Puerto Plata province is reportedly of calcite. Of the four Cuban specimens for which the material is given, two are identified as limestone, a third is quartzite, and a fourth, possibly marble (Maciques Sánchez 2018). The Cuban identifications, except for the possible marble specimen, are on the authority of Victor O. Acanda González of the Laboratory of Quaternary Chronology, Academy of Sciences of Cuba, as reported by Maciques.

Preliminary iconographic notes

Moving now to a highly preliminary dip into subject matter, let us steer as clear as possible of the historical sources and ask what can be learned internally, from the material itself. As stated in Chapter 1, this is what the pre-Columbian art historian George Kubler called “configurational analysis” (see Knight 2013:85-129). We may ask such legitimate questions as, how many distinct figural characters are depicted in the style? What was their sex? And, what attributes appear to have served to categorize, rather than to strictly identify, the subject? The latter are called “classifying attributes.”

First, as to sex, the figures are nude, so we ought to be able to say something about the matter. I have already reported the unambiguous sexual markers by guise and format, so it only remains to report the totals for the style. Of the males, our sample is just one, a Standard guise, Format 1 specimen. Of the females, the tally is six: four by genitalia, all Frog-form guise, and two by the presence of breasts, both Standard guise. There may be other traits that correlate well with sex, but for the moment they are hidden to us. Baztán Rodrigo (1971-72:221) states that the forearm position against the lower torso is the trait that segregates the females from the males. However, our definite male, IC147, has its forearms against the knees, and one of our females, IC132, has its forearms against the lower torso. Both are contrary to Baztán’s observation, from which I conclude that forearm and hand positions on Standard guise figure pendants are not sex-linked.

Of the other attributes that are demonstrably not sex-linked, the most illuminating is the squatting posture, which is found in both reliably male and reliably female Puerto Plata subjects. That observation is noteworthy due to the widespread understanding among Caribbeanists (e.g., Baztán Rodrigo 1971-72:220-221; Veloz Maggiolo 1972:228; Oliver 2008b:179) that such squatting is a ritual posture adopted by chiefs (*caciques*) and priests (*bohitos*), one connected to the divinatory ritual that involved the ingestion of cohoba, a hallucinogenic snuff. Along these lines, Shirley McGinnis goes the farthest, linking the posture to males exclusively. She gives the posture a formal name.

The “Male Ceremonial Position,” (MCP), is a figure which squats or sits, usually without a stool, with its hands resting on knees or thighs in what is believed to be the ritual position of the cohoba ceremony (and of an induced trance state). Knees are often spread to display the male genital region but even if this is not present male identification with this position is unquestioned (McGinnis 1997a:360-361).

Although a particular hand position is specified in the quoted passage, in another place McGinnis (*ibid.*:368) makes it clear that our Puerto Plata-style figures with hands on the lower abdomen are also included in the MCP category, reiterating that they depict “human males.” But this cannot be rigidly true. IC312, for example, is a reasonably explicit female in squatting posture.

As there were female *caciques* in Hispaniola during the period of earliest European contact, our data do not rule out that squatting among Puerto Plata anthropomorphs was an element of a ritual trancing pose. I will return to the question at greater length in Chapter 12, but for the moment a firm connection between squatting and trancing must remain an open question. As to the radically different suggestion of Hostos

(1923:548-552) that the squat in Antillean figure pendants is nothing more than an ordinary resting posture still seen among country-folk of the Antilles, in my judgment that is much less plausible, given that there are several conventional poses of the arms and hands in the art that do appear to have some other-than-quotidian significance.

Returning to the sex of Puerto Plata-style characters, if only seven can be identified one way or the other, that leaves some 71 squatting anthropomorphs having nothing more than a deliberately vacant triangular space between the knees. That is over 90 percent that are visually asexual.

Puerto Plata carvers clearly knew multiple iconographic subjects and could carve them competently. Nonetheless, the vast majority of their output depicts what I consider a single iconographic character, which is nonetheless both one and manifold. In this view, each of its guises carry a common head with a slightly unsettling, goggle-eyed face. This character can be male, female, and perhaps androgynous. It most commonly appears as a squatting, fully-fleshed anthropomorph in what I have called the Standard guise. The same can appear as twinned, side-by-side figures. Two other conventional guises are hybrids, combining the Standard guise with zoomorphic traits. The first of these hybrids is set against a frog-form base, whereas the second combines the upper limbs of the frog-form with the squatting lower limbs of the Standard guise. My working hypothesis at this point, then, is that the head and facial traits are the trustworthy identifiers of this figural character, following the dictum of Stone's (2011:76) "cephalocentrism," the distinct morphs and poses being secondary. The fact that the same poses are shared with Puerto Plata-style beings possessing entirely different heads weighs in favor of the hypothesis that the postures convey only classifying information, and do not identify the character.

Of all such figural characters represented in Caribbean figure pendants, it is no doubt of high iconographic significance that only this one is capable of appearing in a paired form. That quality immediately suggests a mythic twins narrative as the referent. Thus, it has been common to interpret these Puerto Plata-style anthropomorphs as representations of the double weather spirits Boinayel and Márohu described in the late fifteenth century account of Ramón Pané (e.g., Montás et al. 1985:86; Arrom 1989:44-45, Plate 24; Guarch and Querejeta 1992:31-32; Godo 1995). I regard that interpretation as, at the very least, premature. Aside from the cultural and chronological disjunction that may separate the artifacts from the myth as collected, the Boinayel/Márohu narrative is not the only manifestation of mythic twins in the broader culture area (Alegría 1978; Godo 2003), even confining ourselves to the narrative of Pané alone, who also discusses beliefs regarding the twinned sons of Itiba Cahubaba, as well as the twin weather spirit companions of the goddess Guabancex (Pané 1999). Moreover, twinned anthropomorphs are found in other genres of Late Ceramic period Antillean art: An elaborate cohoba stand of carved wood, double-headed stone pestles, double-headed three-pointed stones, adornos on pottery and wood vessels, and larger twinned stone carvings (Lovén 1935:Plate 14; Alegría 1978:Figs. 23, 28, 32, 33; Robiou Lamarche 2004:54). In none of these cases of Antillean "twins" is there any obvious stylistic or iconographic resemblance to Puerto Plata style Twinned guise figure pendants.

A second iconographic character in the Puerto Plata style is far less common, but no less intriguing. It is a hybrid with a zoomorphic head. Like the character previously described, it is a manifold being, capable of appearing in different guises.

It is diagnosed, first of all, by the head, which is elongated, with laterally-emplaced elliptical or lenticular eyes, and a sagittal crest. There may well be a reptilian natural prototype here in view, which turns our attention to the quintessential crested reptile of the Antilles, the iguana.

Reptilian imagery in Late Ceramic age stonecarving in the Greater Antilles has been discussed at some length by Allaire (1981), Robiou Lamarche (2004), and McGinnis (1997a). Of these, the commentary and illustrations by McGinnis (*ibid.*:637-653, 707-717; Figures 99-101), although focused entirely on three-pointed stones from Hispaniola and Puerto Rico, represents the most extensive analysis. Among the traits McGinnis considers characteristically reptilian are an elongated head and flattened snout, a “nose roll” consisting of a horizontal cylindrical element with nostril pits on both ends, oval or elliptical eyes, and an incised chevron band on the body. To these we may add Allaire’s (1981) valuable discussion of the “saurian pineal eye,” whose artistic form is a circular element on the top of the head.

McGinnis (1997a:639) claims to distinguish “secondary” traits allowing the distinction of different kinds of reptiles: snakes, alligators, anoli lizards, and iguanas. The iguana, she suggests, is specifically referenced by an incised chevron band following the ridge of the back. Her prototypical iguana is a three-pointed stone in the Museo del Hombre Dominicano (*ibid.*:Fig. 101a), which has a pointed snout, a toothless mouth, oval pits for eyes, and a slight, plain crest on the top of the head. Other putative reptiles have no such head crests.

Comparison of reptilian traits of three-pointed stones with the figure pendant character under discussion is, however, inconclusive. The styles and choices of attributes are simply too different in three-pointed stones from those of Puerto Plata figure pendants. We should not be too surprised at that result, as three-pointed stones from southeast Hispaniola and Puerto Rico belong to a distinct artistic nexus (García Arévalo 2003). In the end, our suggestion of the iguana for a natural prototype in the Puerto Plata style remains a working hypothesis, but, I think, a highly plausible one.

Remaining subjects are each represented by a single figure pendant. These include, first, a being with a skull-form head and round genital bulge superimposed on a frog-form substructure. This combination of a skull-form head and a frog-form base is unique in the sample. Second is a sightless being with an incised supranasal chevron element, otherwise similar to Standard Guise, Format 1. Finally, there is an armless and earless being, again otherwise similar to Standard guise, Format 1. The two latter may well be thought of as additional guises of our primary Puerto Plata subject, but they are so far unique.

Sequencing the Puerto Plata style

Early in the analytical work involving Puerto Plata-style anthropomorphs, after first distinguishing, within the Standard guise, the prismatic Format 1 from the cylindrical Format 2, classificatory puzzles arose. Certain prismatic Format 1 specimens are longer, narrower, and more rounded in cross section than usual, strongly hinting at the alternative Format 2. In addition, it became clear that several traits usually found in Format 2 were sometimes found in Format 1, and vice versa. Given that there were specimens that, in one way or another, appeared intermediate between Formats 1 and 2, it was legitimate to ask if there was, in fact, a transition between the two. Would it then be possible to order the combined set based on internal evidence? Exploring the possibility of a chronological sequence is the subject of this chapter.

I began this line of thought with a hypothesis: In the combined set, specimens of Formats 1 and 2 might be arranged in a unidirectional ordering – a seriation – in which the specimens of prismatic base form with elbow-style perforation would turn out to be earlier than specimens of cylindrical base form with transverse perforation. Informing this hypothesis was certain information known in advance. For one thing, some of the earliest figure pendants in the database, from Puerto Rico, possess elbow-style, rather than transverse perforation (Rainey 1940; Narganes Storde 2016; see Chapter 8). Also, we have already seen that Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 1 and Twinned specimens with elbow-style perforation, from the sites of La Luperona and El Flaco in the northern Dominican Republic, are associated with site occupations with dates overlapping in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries AD (Hofman and Hoogland 2015). Next, those few figure pendants known from later precontract sites, in contrast, all have a single, transverse perforation. Finally, although most Format 2 specimens are competently crafted, others of that Format tend to be simplified and derivative in a way that is unknown in Format 1.

Analytical strategy

I decided, in the first place, to combine complete examples of Puerto Plata Standard guise, Formats 1 and 2, plus those of the Twinned guise, into a combined sample, the purpose being to explore their interrelatedness in detail. I added the Twinned guise specimens to the mix because, aside from the twinning that defines the form, they share all

the features that appear to be important in the Standard guise. That combined sample consists of 38 specimens. Because there are more than just a few traits that might serve to relate subsets of the combined sample, I elected to use a multivariate quantitative method in the attempt to seriate the full set. Because I assume that some readers will not be familiar with this sort of thing as applied to ancient art, I will explain the method and each of its steps in greater detail and simpler language than would ordinarily be used.

The first step in such an analysis is to decide on a set of characteristics, including both stylistic and potential iconographically meaningful features, that serve to link multiple specimens to one another across the sample. Based on the descriptive observations made in the previous chapter, I came up with a list of eleven such characteristics. This initial list, given letter designations A through K, including their possible values, was as follows.

- (A) Perforation, for suspension
 - (A1) elbow style, doubled
 - (A2) transverse, single
- (B) Perforation, longitudinal
 - (B1) Through
 - (B2) Partial
 - (B3) None
- (C) Rear inset of head from plane of the back (present or absent)
- (D) Ear form
 - (D1) oval bump
 - (D2) bird-form, explicit
 - (D3) bifurcated
- (E) Brow line
 - (E1) connected arches
 - (E2) straight
- (F) Eye connector
 - (F1) X-form
 - (F2) pinched
 - (F3) hourglass
 - (F4) single line
- (G) Nostril flared in relief, integrated with cheekline (present or absent)
- (H) Arms carved in low relief (present or absent)
- (I) Hand position
 - (I1) at navel
 - (I2) on knees
- (J) Navel form
 - (J1) circular with central dot
 - (J2) squared with central dot
 - (J3) squared with vertical line segment
- (K) Ankle bumps (present or absent)

In technical terms, these are all “nominal” or categorical variables, in this case a combination of multistate nominal variables and “dichotomous” (presence or absence) variables. Regarding the dichotomous variables, they are also “asymmetric,” meaning

that for mathematical purposes, the presence of the same trait in a comparison of two specimens is treated as more intrinsically important than the absence of the same trait in two compared specimens. As an aside, one may note that I also could have included measurement-type (“interval” and “ratio” scale) variables, which, for example, might have included the height of each specimen in millimeters, or the ratio of height to width. Because doing so unnecessarily complicates the analysis, and being mindful of the limited patience of the reader, I chose not to.

All of the characteristics listed above were described in the previous chapter except (H) “Arms carved in low relief.” I included this dichotomous variable as a kind of proxy for a manner of relief carving sometimes seen in Format 1, where artisans took the extra step of setting off various surface elements in low relief instead of merely incising them. Because the arms, in all such cases, have a raised appearance relative to the torso, this single element serves as a convenient stand-in for the overall treatment.

Now, for the kind of analysis we are about to embark on, we need *all* of the variables to be presence-or-absence variables of the asymmetrical kind. This is accomplished by transforming the original list to create a series of what are called “dummy variables.” For each multistate variable, for example (B), the variable states (B1, B2, and B3) are all changed to presence-absence variables and the original variable is ignored. Doing so does not bias the analysis in any way, because it remains true that for a given specimen, only one of the “new” set of (B) variables can be counted as “present” while the other two must necessarily be absent.

Getting this far, I created the raw data by coding the specimens in standard spreadsheet form, where the 38 “cases” (specimens, labeled by their item number in the database) were listed in the left-hand column and the variables listed by their alphanumeric label in the top row. Filling in the spreadsheet using a standard coding convention, “present” was assigned the value 1 and “absent,” the value “0.”

Nonmetric multidimensional scaling of the raw data

For the quantitative analysis of the raw data I chose nonmetric multidimensional scaling, for several reasons. First, the technique is well suited to this kind of data. Second, the output, a map-like graphic, is easily interpreted visually. Third, the method has been used successfully in seriating archaeological objects, including representational art (e.g., Knight et al. 2017).

To begin such an analysis requires a quantitative estimate of the dissimilarity between every specimen and every other specimen, calculated pairwise from the raw data. For this purpose, I used the “binary Lance-and-Williams nonmetric dissimilarity measure” – Lance-Williams for short – because it is designed for presence-absence data, it honors the asymmetric character of our variables, and it double-weights positive (1,1) matches in paired comparisons. The Lance-Williams measure ranges between one and zero, where a value of one indicates complete dissimilarity and a value of zero, equivalence (no dissimilarity). We can think of this measure as the “stylistic distance” between each pair of Puerto Plata specimens.

I used the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) to generate a matrix of Lance-Williams dissimilarities from the original data. This matrix of “distance” values, which includes comparisons of each object with all other objects, serves as the input for

the subsequent nonmetric multidimensional scaling. Because we are comparing objects with objects, the variables “drop out” at this point in the analysis.

Nonmetric multidimensional scaling (NMDS) aims to produce a map-like output that plots each object in space, in which the final spatial distances preserve, as much as possible, the distances calculated from the original data. It does this by adopting a starting configuration, then trying to improve it by many successive iterations. Improvement comes in trying to minimize a value called “stress,” which can be thought of as goodness-of-fit. Unlike other multivariate routines, the number of dimensions is chosen by the analyst beforehand. It is generally no more than two or three, because of the difficulty of visualizing more than that. This brand of multidimensional scaling is called “nonmetric” because it makes no assumptions about the specific values generated by the distance measure. For example, in our analysis, the method does not assume that a Lance-Williams value of .50 between two specimens is twice as distant stylistically as a value of .25 between two other specimens. The method is, therefore, generally applicable to data sets, like ours, that do not consist of measurement-type data in the first place.

I used the PROXSCAL routine in SPSS to conduct the nonmetric multidimensional scaling analyses, using the matrix of Lance-Williams distances as input. As an initial trial, I calculated a batch run of solutions ranging from two to six dimensions. That exercise allowed me to prepare a “scree plot” that graphically shows how “stress” improves with each added dimension. The discouraging result was that it required at least four, and perhaps even five dimensions to lower the stress to an acceptable level. In plain language, there was too much going on in that original dataset to yield an easily interpreted result. Some of the variables were acting in highly different ways than most of the others.

The problem was to figure out which of the original variables were causing the trouble and to remove them from the analysis sequentially, in search of a solution that made better sense (translated mathematically as lower stress). This kind of experimentation with variables is a common thing that often goes unreported in technical articles concerned with concisely reporting a final result, but I think it is worth including in a walk-through of all the steps actually taken.

In four subsequent analyses, I found that by omitting those variables that were least common across the sample, the result usually improved. Working in this manner, I made the following changes to the variable list, each time recalculating the matrix of Lance-Williams distances used as input. For variable (B), longitudinal perforation, I dropped the original distinction between through perforation (B1), and only partial (B2), creating a new variable that was now dichotomous, simply coding the presence or absence of any longitudinal perforation. I dropped the variables of ear form, because bird-form (D2), and bifurcated (D3), were insufficiently common to be helpful. For the same reason, among the modes of incised eye connectors, I dropped pinched (F2), and hourglass-shaped (F3), leaving only the common X-form (F1) and single-line (F4) modes. I omitted “arms carved in low relief” (H). Finally, hand position at the navel (I1) or on the knees (I2) appeared to be independent of the main trends, as was the form of the navel, (J1) through (J3).

With this progressive elimination of variables discovered to be leading the analysis astray, I arrived at a satisfactory solution of only two dimensions, with a low stress,

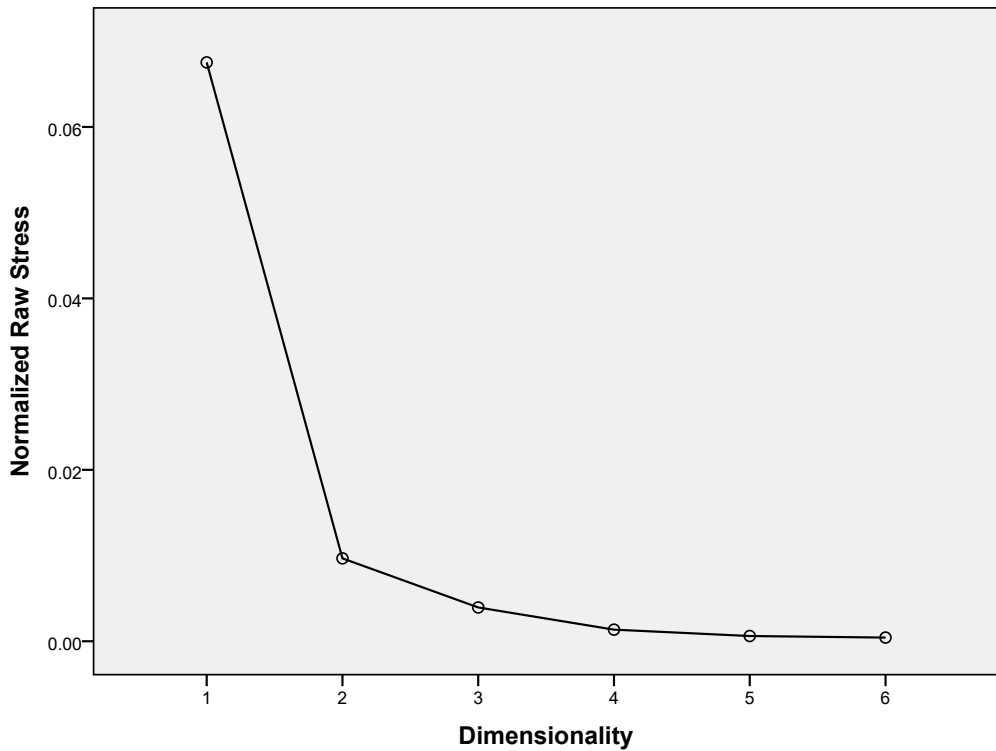


Figure 3.1. Scree plot showing decreasing stress with added dimensions.

reported as .008, and a “dispersion accounted for” (D.A.F.) value of .992 (the closer to 1, the better). Figure 3.1 provides the scree plot, which graphically shows how the number of dimensions “settle in” at two, with further dimensions adding very little improvement. Left standing were seven of the original eleven variables: perforation for suspension (A1 and A2), longitudinal perforation (B), but reduced to presence or absence thereof, a rear inset of the head (C), eye connectors (F1 and F4 only), flared nostrils integrated with the cheekline (G), and ankle bumps (K).

Interpretation of the output

Using only the seven variables reported above and selecting two dimensions, I calculated a new Lance-Williams distance matrix and a new outcome in SPSS PROXSCAL. The resulting two-dimensional plot, given in Figure 3.2, upper left, can be thought of as a map of stylistic space among specimens. Notably, the variables in the shorter list are largely stylistic rather than potentially iconographic in nature.

Recall that I began with a hypothesis. Because there seemed to be Puerto Plata-style specimens that are in some ways transitional between the defined formats, I should be able to successfully arrange the combined set in a unidirectional order. That seriation would form a chronology, in which the prismatic forms with elbow-style perforation would fall at the early end, and the cylindrical forms with transverse perforation would fall at the late end.

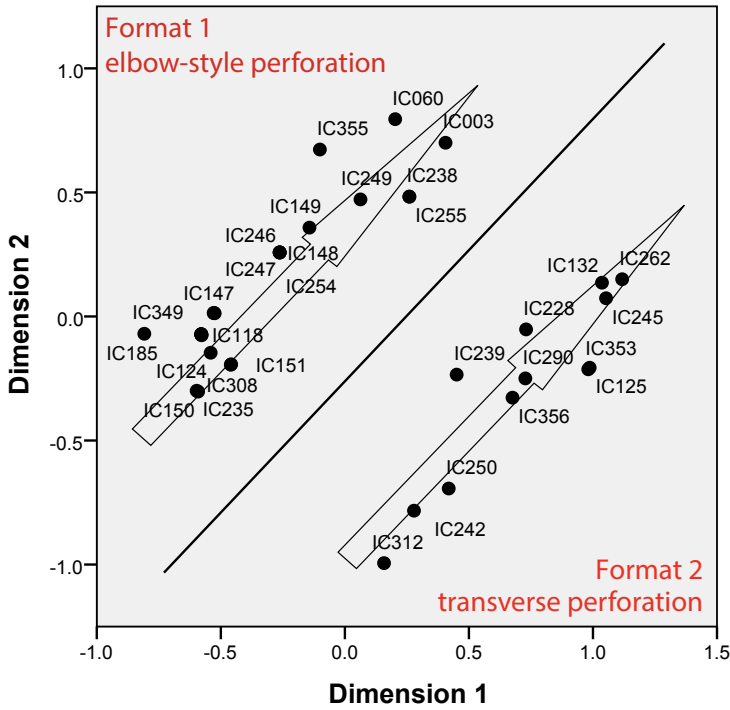
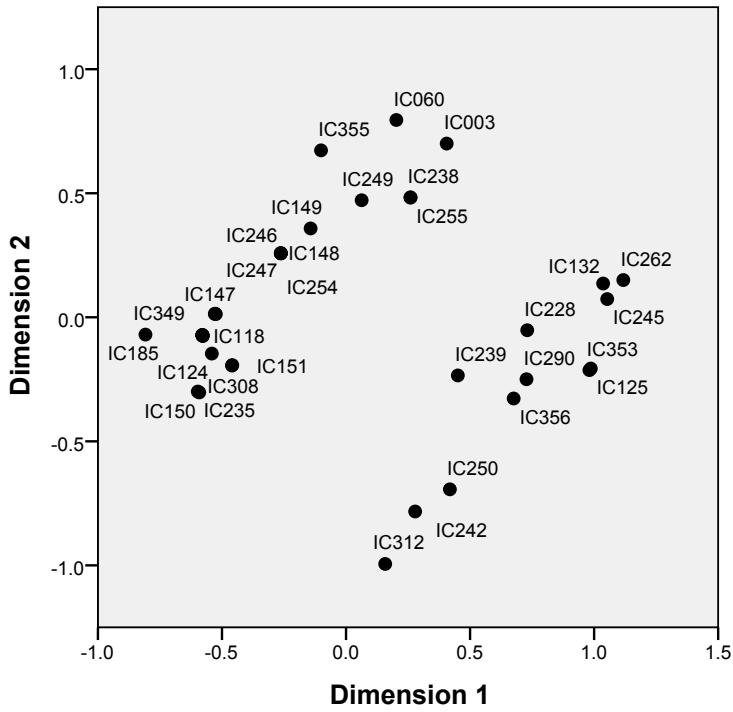
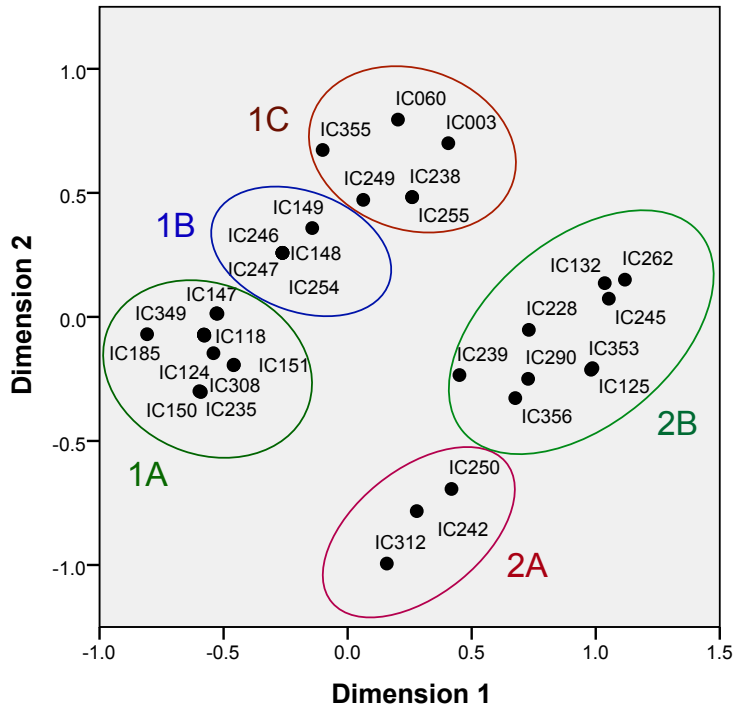
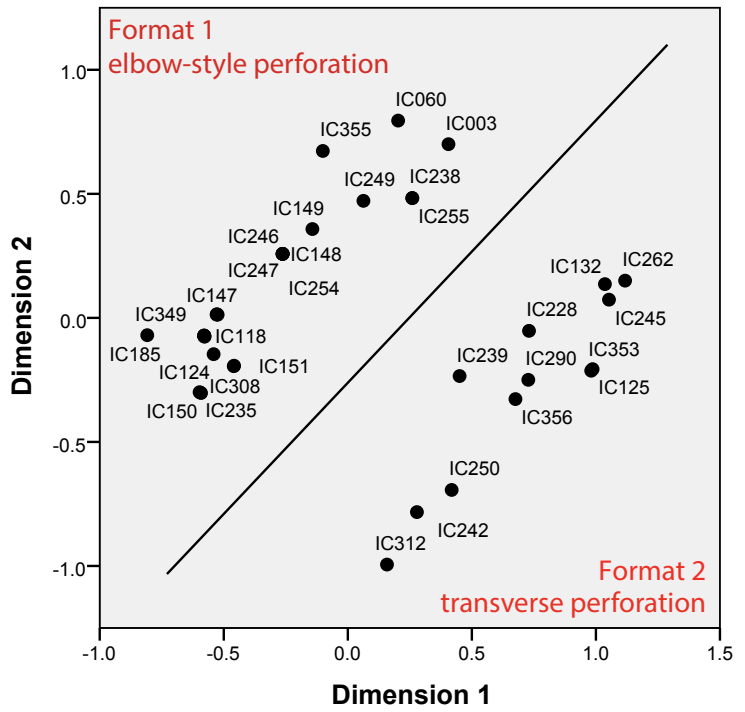


Figure 3.2 (also on opposite page). NMDS scatterplots and their interpretation. Upper left: NMDS scatterplot; Upper right: scatterplot divided by Format and perforation style; Lower left: parallel linear arrangements and suggested directionality of objects; Lower right: object groups created for investigation of trends.



If that hypothesis were true, we would expect a successful NMDS solution to arrange the specimens along a single dimension, which might appear as linear or (more likely) curvilinear order. In Figure 3.2 (upper left), it can be seen at a glance that there is no such linear order. The hypothesis, at least in its simple form, has to be false. What, then, does the analysis tell us? One must bear in mind that the method produces an output that legitimately can be rotated in any way – it can be interpreted in the orientation shown, or sideways, or upside-down.

At any orientation one chooses to look at it, the result is two groups separated by a blank zone of stylistic space. At the orientation shown, the two groups can be divided by a straight line running diagonally from lower left to upper right (Figure 3.2, upper right). A quick check of the item labels reveals that the quantitative method has reproduced (and validated) the Format groupings. Specimens of prismatic base form with elbow-style perforation, previously assigned to Standard guise, Format 1 and the Twinned guise, fall on the upper left-hand side of the diagonal. Conversely, those with cylindrical base form and transverse perforation, previously assigned to Standard guise, Format 2, fall on the lower right-hand side. The clean division into two groups is remarkable in that base form did not enter into the analysis at all, and the mode of perforation was weighted equally with six other variables. It also means that those other traits in the analysis “track” very nicely with the base form and the mode of perforation, reinforcing the separation of groups.

But the two groups do not present themselves as simple clusters of related specimens. Instead, the two groups are strung out into two linear arrangements, parallel to one another (Figure 3.2, lower left). Such a configuration suggests that the method may have found not a single seriation, but two.

One way to investigate what may be producing this pattern is to divide the specimens falling along each apparent line into smaller groups, and then to examine those smaller groups separately. In Figure 3.2, lower right, I have drawn, a bit arbitrarily, five such groups. Calling the upper-left distribution Lineage 1, I divided it into three subsections: groups 1A, 1B, and 1C. Similarly, I called the lower-right distribution Lineage 2 and divided it into two subsections, groups 2A and 2B.

Starting with 1A, we find that it includes many of the “classic” Standard guise, Format 1 prismatic pieces, although not our type specimen, IC246. Here are the specimens that make the greatest use of relief carving in addition to incising in the creation of surface features, which manifests itself in a level of competency and aesthetic boldness unparalleled elsewhere in the Puerto Plata style. In a related way, here are also the largest number of specimens in which the flared nostrils are artistically integrated with the beginning of the cheeklines. All brow lines in this group consist of connected arches above the eyes. Incised eye connectors are mostly of the X-form, although there are also two cases of the narrowly pinched line variety that visually mimics the X-form. The most common navel form here is the raised circle-and-dot, although both squared forms also occur. Four in the group have bird-form ears, although most have simple oval bumps. Two specimens have the stepped inset rear of the head. The only Puerto Plata specimen with explicit male genitalia belongs here. Only one of our Twinned guise specimens, IC308, is in the group. In group 1A we have examples of both hands against the lower torso, with navels, and hands against the knees, without – a further demonstration of the independence of that distinction from the dimensions of variability found by the analysis.

Specimens in group 1B are similar in their manner of carving to the previous group, although the cutout insets to the base form that create the torso tend not to be as deep and pronounced as in the first group. Again, we find nostrils dominantly flared and integrated with cheeklines. Incised eye connectors are entirely in the X-form mode. The only occurrence of a navel in this group is of the raised circle-and-dot form. Explicit bird-form ears appear once. The biggest difference from the previous set is in the brow lines; whereas in group 1A they were all arched, in group 1B they are all straight. The remaining Twinned guise figures, IC149 and IC254, fall into this group. As before, there are examples showing both hand positions, with and without navels.

With group 1C there is a conspicuous change in the height-to-width ratio, the specimens being relatively longer and narrower than their counterparts in groups 1A and 1B. They appear distinctly more cylindrical than the former, although they retain elements of a prismatic base form. Like the rest of Lineage 1, they retain elbow-style perforations, and lack longitudinal drillings. Neither in this group, nor in any yet to be considered, are there any further examples of flared nostrils integrated with cheeklines. All specimens have navels, as the hand position on the knees has now vanished, in common with all cylindrical specimens. All three forms of navel occur. The single-line form of incised eye connector, which dominates Standard guise, Format 2, appears here for the first time alongside examples of the X-form and pinched modes. And in IC355 of this group, we have the first case of missing ankle bumps, a common condition, as will be seen, in group 2B. Here, then, are the specimens that, at the beginning of the quantitative analysis, were suspected as being in some sense transitional between Format 1 and Format 2 of the Standard guise. As a matter of continuity with the previous group 1B, all have straight rather than arched brow lines.

At the farthest extent of Dimension 2 of the plot, I choose to consider IC003 and IC060 as stylistic outliers. While they are correctly situated on the upper left-hand side, having prismatic base form and elbow-style perforation, they seem otherwise quite strange and marginal to the main trends now under examination.

Jumping across the plot to Lineage 2, with group 2A we are now in the realm of cylindrical base forms and transverse, rather than elbow-style perforation. This is a small group of three, among the tallest (80-101 mm) and most handsomely carved specimens of the style. In their handling of details, they exhibit a relatively high degree of relief carving relative to incising, in that way similar to many Format 1 pieces. Despite their height, two of the three also have longitudinal drillings running fully through the piece, while the third has only shallow pilot holes drilled at either end. All have explicit bird-form ears. All also have brow lines consisting of conjoined arches, which, together with their high degree of relief carving, would seem to relate them closely with group 1A on the prismatic side. None, however, has the X-form of incised eye connector that dominates group 1A, having instead the pinched and single-line mode, the latter found only in group 1C on the prismatic, Lineage 1 side of the picture. Of the navel forms in group 2A, two are squared with a central dot, while the third has the raised circle-and-dot mode. One has a stepped inset rear of the head. In this small group we also find IC312, which attracted notice in Chapter 2 for its uncommon female breasts, its unconnected raised, elliptical, slotted eyes, and its lack of ankle bumps.

We move now to the final group having a cylindrical base form, group 2B. Among this group are some of the most schematically realized specimens of the Puerto Plata

style, examples being IC125, IC132, and IC239. In the last of these, details of the face and torso are incised only, relief carving being entirely absent. In this group there is also some retreat from longitudinal perforation: partial drilling from either end is most common. Four specimens lack longitudinal perforation entirely. Perforation passing fully through from top to bottom, found in group 2A, is absent here.

As for the details, brow lines in this group are invariably straight rather than arched, in common with groups 1B and 1C of the prismatic Lineage 1 but at odds with group 2A. Of the incised eye connectors, the single-line mode is most common, as in group 1C of Lineage 1. Three other specimens have the wide, hourglass-shaped mode of eye connector, not seen in any other group of either lineage. As the hands-on-knees posture of Lineage 1 is now completely gone, all specimens have navels, the most common form being squared with a central dot. The next most common form of navel is squared enclosing a vertical line segment, the latter more common in cylindrical Lineage 2 than in prismatic Lineage 1. Two specimens have explicit bird-form ears, a feature we can now judge as completely independent of lineage or group membership. Three specimens have heads with a stepped rear inset, making it a bit more common here than in any other group of either lineage. Finally, more than half of the specimens in group 2B lack ankle bumps, a shortage no doubt related to the trend toward simplification of detail shown in this group. A suggestion of the bump is nonetheless there, as the ankle bands widen at the appropriate place on both lateral margins.

Just as in Lineage 1, for which I pointed out two outliers, there is an outlier in Lineage 2. This is IC352, mentioned in Chapter 2 as a very small, simplified cylindrical specimen that is stylistically aberrant in a number of ways.

Having now waded through these details at some length for each group, it is readily possible to find a place to accommodate all other published examples plus a few that have accumulated in our database since the original analysis. I will honor the readers' patience and will refrain from going through that additional exercise.

In the end, what has been learned? First, both lineages, the prismatic and the cylindrical, *do make sense* as developmental sequences of forms. And they only make sense in one direction, from left to right in Figure 3.2. Lineage 1 begins with a rather highly uniform, "classic" Puerto Plata prismatic figure showing superb craftsmanship, with arched brow lines, X-form eye connectors, and alternative hand positions – either at the sides of the knees or on the lower torso with a round navel. From this point – as intuited earlier – Lineage 1 figures progressively adopt features that are common in the cylindrical Lineage 2: straight brow lines, alternative forms of eye connectors and navels, and a reduction to only a single hand position on the lower torso with a navel. Finally, as Lineage 1 develops, the shape becomes much more like the cylindrical group, long and narrow, but retaining prismatic base form and elbow-style perforation.

Lineage 2 begins with quite large, tubular specimens that exhibit the same sort of close attention to relief carving as seen at the inception of Lineage 1. Nonetheless, this initial manifestation of Lineage 2 has more in common with the end of Lineage 1 than with its beginning. The hand position is exclusively on the lower torso, a late development in Lineage 1, and the single-line mode of incised eye connector is already present, something that appears only at the end of Lineage 1. From that point, the development of Lineage 2 is toward greater schematization, reaching a degree far beyond anything

seen in Lineage 1. True ankle bumps become optional, replaced by mere suggestions of them in the ankle bands. Incised eye connectors and forms of the navel both shift, somewhat, in their common repertoires, introducing, in both cases, new modes unseen previously in either lineage. Partial longitudinal perforation becomes less common, while full longitudinal perforation disappears. Again, these changes make sense as a directional developmental sequence, and we can begin legitimately to think about Dimension 1 in the quantitative solution (Figure 3.2) as being “time,” with the early end on the left. Just to confirm that prior expectations are not unduly affecting this result, the development cannot be sensibly “read” in the opposite way.

The two lineages are related, but how? First, there is some evidence that both developmental trajectories are the product of a single crafting community, as opposed to a case where one such community replaces another. Certain of the stylistic cues that involve both trajectories are subtle, low-visibility traits, perhaps not easily transferred to potential copyists. Overall, the coherence of the Puerto Plata style in relation to other figure pendant styles remains powerful.

Second, the two trajectories overlap, at least partly. As noted above in detail, the end of the prismatic Lineage 1 and the beginning of cylindrical Lineage 2 have enough in common to suggest contemporaneity – which is just what Figure 3.2 depicts if we read Dimension 1 as “time.” But the homogeneous early cluster of “classic” prismatic forms in Lineage 1 has no real counterpart in Lineage 2. And the trend toward simplification at the end of Lineage 2 has no counterpart in Lineage 1.

So, I conclude that there is a developmental sequence in the Puerto Plata style after all, just not a unilinear one. As the output of the quantitative analysis suggests, the stylistic shift to a cylindrical base form was decisive, if not sudden, and that shift of base form dictated, to a large degree, what was acceptable thenceforth in the series. Figure 3.3, which uses a representative specimen of each of the groups adopted earlier to investigate the developmental direction, is another way to depict this sequence.

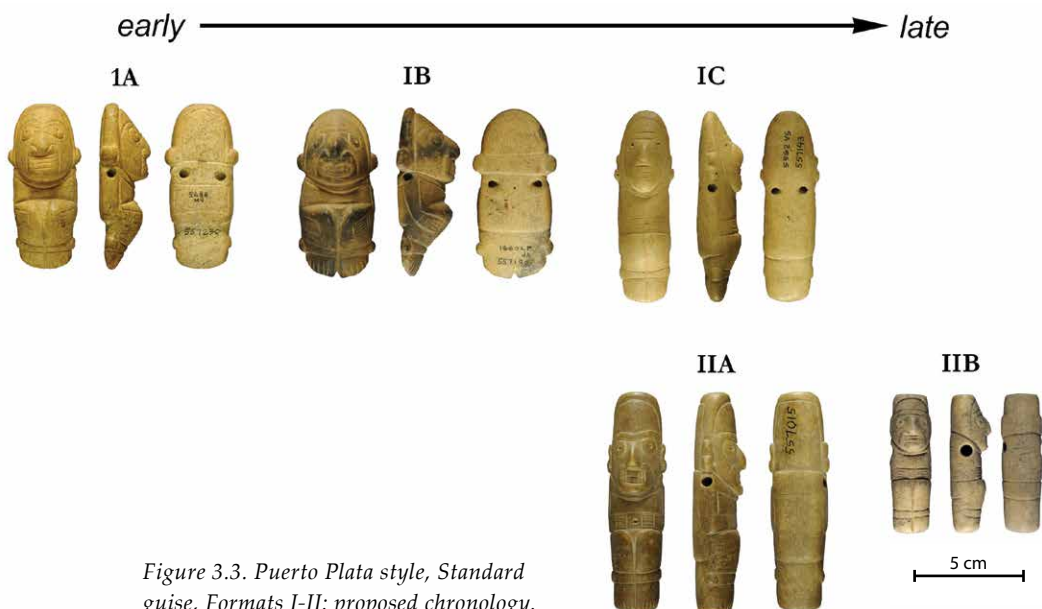


Figure 3.3. Puerto Plata style, Standard guise, Formats I-II: proposed chronology.

If this sequence is correct, the Puerto Plata style spans the time of transition, in Antillean figure pendants, between paired elbow-style perforation and single transverse perforation for suspension. Such a finding would be of broader significance. That is, elbow-style perforation appears to be earlier in the Cibao region of Hispaniola than transverse perforation. Such a possibility may be kept in mind as we explore the remaining styles. As regards the Puerto Plata style specifically, such a sequence would also imply that the diversity of forms comprising the Standard guise, Format 1, the Twinned, Frog-Form, and Arms Aloft guises discussed in the previous chapter, plus the other Puerto Plata subjects, are all on the early end of things, as they all share elbow-style perforation. Such diversity, over time, gives way to a solitary guise in a single format, the cylindrical Standard guise, Format 2 anthropomorphs with transverse perforation.

The Yaguajay style

Type Specimen: IC014 (Figure 4.1, upper row, left)

Number Examined: 23

Continuing with those styles that focus on anthropomorphs, we come now to the Yaguajay style (Figures 4.1, 4.2). That name is borrowed from a small community in the municipality of Banes, Holguín Province, Cuba, from which the type specimen is reported. As with Puerto Plata-style figure pendants, all Yaguajay examples are carved from hard stone and are perforated for upright suspension.

Yaguajay-style figure pendants are small, polished, skillfully detailed, and fully dimensional, with rounded cross sections of arms, legs, torso, and the lower portion of the head. Incising is added as needed for fine surface detail upon all elements, but it does not dominate the style as it does in Puerto Plata. That difference in the use of incising is the basis for a stylistic classification of figure pendants proposed by Rodríguez Cullel (1986), who contrasts a “detailed subdivision” (our Yaguajay style) from an “engraved subdivision” (our Puerto Plata style). Speaking generally, Yaguajay, with its detailed dimensional carving, is a “perspective” style that depicts the subject as the eye would see it. That perspective, however, is distinctively altered, such that the relative proportions of bodily elements tend to decrease moving from head to feet, as though there were a distant basal vanishing point (Maciques Sánchez 2018).

Arguably, there is only one subject, a squatting, upright anthropomorph with a large head and ears. That single subject is presented in just one compositional format, facing directly forward, with a straight back. Arms are posed characteristically akimbo with hands resting on the thighs. Knees are apart, and the feet are usually brought together again at the base. The akimbo pose of the arms requires that these be separated from the torso, usually by means of biconical drillings passing through the piece front to back. Legs are often separated by an opening as well.

This unitary subject is not exactly a human being. Unlike the Puerto Plata anthropomorphs described in Chapter 2, the favored character of Yaguajay carvers is not fully-fleshed. Our Yaguajay subject thus serves to introduce another major category of subject matter: human-like beings depicted as emaciated or partly skeletalized. The combination of large, circular, hollow eyes without pupils, skull-like heads hollowed below the cheek line, teeth fully exposed from ear to ear, and visible ribs impart a spectral appearance to the figure. Certain descriptions by Guarch Delmonte and Querejeta Barceló (1992:45; 1993:45) of representational Antillean carvings apply well here. They discuss a

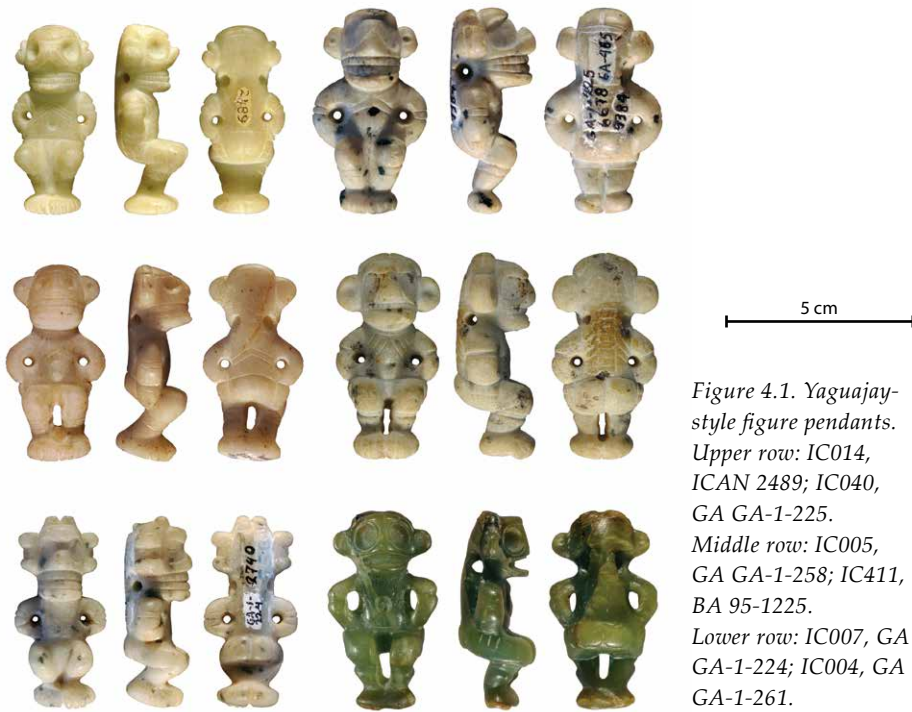


Figure 4.1. Yaguajay-style figure pendants. Upper row: IC014, ICAN 2489; IC040, GA GA-1-225. Middle row: IC005, GA GA-1-258; IC411, BA 95-1225. Lower row: IC007, GA GA-1-224; IC004, GA GA-1-261.

cadaverous being with a fleshless face that is not quite skeletal, as though the facial bones were covered by a thin layer of skin. They do, after all, have noses and ears. The Yaguajay subject also calls to mind García Arévalo’s (1997:112-114) discussion of “emotionally charged cephaloformic figures” in Greater Antilles art. However, in contrast to the head, the bodies and limbs of Yaguajay figures do not seem emaciated at all – in fact some seem on the chubby side. But this distinction may have to do with the artistic problem of depicting thin body parts in hard stone at such a small scale. This artistic problem seems to have been solved by adding visible ribs to the torso, thereby adding a suggestion of gauntness without having to carve unnecessarily delicate elements. Moreover, although the subject is clearly enough anthropomorphic, there are occasional other-than-human references in the facial presentation, to be described under a separate heading.

Although illustrations of Yaguajay-style figure pendants have appeared in published literature since at least the 1940s (García Castañeda 1941:20, upper right; Rouse 1942:Plate 6C), Esteban Maciques Sánchez (2018) was the first to recognize it as a separate, unnamed style in his examination of 18 Cuban specimens. As already noted, Maciques Sánchez called attention to the distinctive formal composition featuring oversize heads and a basal vanishing point. Thus, Yaguajay is the most recent of the figure pendant styles distinguished in the literature prior to this analysis.

There are 23 specimens of the style in the database, including a headless fragment, five fragments that are detached heads, another that consists of only the lower torso and legs, and two unfinished pieces. A 24th specimen, from the Laguna de Limones site in Guantanamo province, Cuba, which in the 1990s was in the archaeological holdings of the old Cuban Academy of Sciences, cannot now be located. Fortunately, color photographs of both the front and back sides of this piece have been published (Dacal

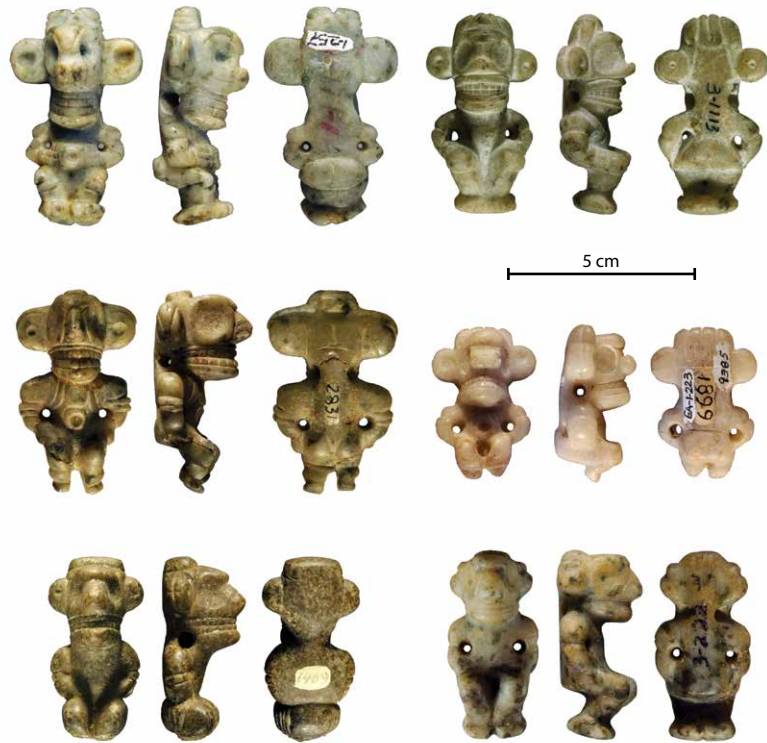


Figure 4.2. Yaguajay-style figure pendants. Upper row: IC013, MON 411; IC019, MIB 3-1113. Middle row: IC024, ICAN 2831; IC006, GA GA-1-223. Lower row: IC037, ICAN 1409 (feet missing); IC009, MIB 3-228.

Moure and Rivero de la Calle 1996:Plate 6; Bercht et al. 1997:Plate 86), and accurate sketches of the front, back, and proper right side were made by Victor Hernández González and José Ramón Alonso Lorea (Maciques Sánchez 2018:Plate 12B). These available images and published measurements are suitable for comparative purposes. Two further specimens, currently on display in the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo, also conform to the style. These presumably Dominican specimens are not in our database and we have only frontal photographs of them. Mol (2014:Fig. 8.1A) adds a frontal photograph of tiny Yaguajay specimen from Jamaica. The total on record is therefore 27.

All specimens are perforated transversely, with a straight biconical drilling through the back of the neck, its placement being highly consistent. No other means of suspension are seen, and no examples have longitudinal perforation, whether partial or full. This pattern of perforation may have chronological implications. If the sequence described in Chapter 3 is generalizable, then the Yaguajay style falls fully within the latest horizon.

Dimensions of 14 complete specimens in the database plus another for which we have published measurements are as follows.

- Height: range 37-55 mm, mean 49 mm
- Width: range 21-33 mm, mean 26 mm
- Thickness: range 14-25 mm, mean 19 mm

Uniformity of size is higher than in Puerto Plata, and this uniformity complements the general sense of stylistic homogeneity conveyed by Yaguajay figure pendants. They are never found in miniaturized form.

Details of execution

Details of execution will be handled according to the same categories used for Puerto Plata in Chapter 2.

The head

Proportionally, Yaguajay heads are large, accounting for one-third to one-half the height of the piece. Compositional characteristics of the upper head, above the cheekline, and the lower head differ. Above the cheekline, the Yaguajay head is fashioned in a prismatic format, triangular as seen from the top. The back is flattened, and the sides of the upper face form two converging facets. Because the eyes are carved on these facets, they are formed at an angle to one another and do not face fully forward. In contrast, the portion of the head below the cheekline, which carries the mouth, lips, chin, and neck perforation, is round in cross section rather than triangular.

Some sort of headpiece is generally present, but the form is variable. Most commonly there is a simple, low coronet at the back of the head, running from ear to ear, often embellished by an incised line running transversely along the ridge. Yaguajay coronets are sometimes divided into two or three segments by short incised lines or shallow grooves running perpendicular to them. On two specimens (IC006 and IC019), the coronet is far more elaborate, including a decorated backflap running partway down the flattened back of the head. These fancier coronets are divided into several carved lobes, embellished by incised line segments that work together to create variants of the common meander motif. Another form of headpiece looks like a simple upright cap, flattened, sometimes accompanied by short incised line segments at the top. Yet another form of headpiece takes the form of two side-by-side, round protuberances. These projections, which may be integrated with a low coronet, tend to be elaborated by concentric incised rings.

Outflaring ears seem to be part of the identifying suite of attributes of this figural character in the Yaguajay style. They tend to be large, verging on enormous. Most common are laterally-projecting disk-form flares with hollowed centers. These sometimes incorporate an incised or carved pointed element that partly wraps around the ear from the top or the bottom – in comparative perspective perhaps the beak elements of highly stylized bird-form ears in which the large disks are the eyes. Although such large, round elements may suggest ear spools rather than ears per se, suitably large ear spools are in fact extraordinarily uncommon in the Greater Antilles, confined, to my knowledge, to the northern Dominican Republic – an area in which Yaguajay-style figure pendants are not known to occur. Other ear forms that appear less commonly on Yaguajay-style figure pendants are bifurcated, elongate bulges, and asymmetrical forms that approach bird-form ears in shape, but without explicit eyes or incised beaks (as on our type specimen, IC014).

Eyes are distinctive: large, circular concavities without pupils. Hemispherical eye concavities of precisely this sort constitute a major motif shared across multiple figure pendant styles, iconographic subjects, and artistic genres throughout the Greater Antilles

during the late Ceramic Age, from wooden seats (*dujos*), to figural three-pointed stones, to stone mortars. It is as clear a case as one might want for a pan-Antillean classifying attribute (see Knight 2013), one that conveys categorical information rather than a specific iconographic identity. In the present case, the hollow eyes contribute strongly to the skull-form quality of Yaguajay heads. García Arévalo (1997:114) suggests a general association in Antillean art between empty eye sockets and human skulls.

Many of the eye cavities, although evenly finished, were left with rough interior surfaces. It is an open question as to whether this roughening was intentionally created to better affix cutout inlays of another material, using a mastic. That possibility is suggested by a large, squatting anthropomorphic figure of bone on display in the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo (our FGA049), which, although not carved in the Yaguajay style, has comparable hollowed eyes and an open mouth, and a comparable torso with visible ribs and a navel. That specimen has one eye inlaid with a preserved disk of sheet gold, and a mouth inlaid with a shell “denture” showing incised teeth. Perhaps as evidence to the contrary, no sign of residual mastic is seen in any of the eye cavities of the Yaguajay sample examined.

The variability to be seen in these eyes helps to connect them stylistically with other Antillean forms and genres. Figure 4.3 captures some of this variability. In some cases, eye cavities are simply connected across the bridge of the nose by a horizontal incised line segment. Figure 4.3a and b show this situation with and without a raised border around the eye. In other cases, the eyes are conjoined across the bridge of the nose by a continuous cavity. This conjoined cavity can appear as a centrally pinched form, as in Figure 4.3c, or more like the shape of a modern ski mask, as in Figure 4.3d. The former provides a stylistic link to certain hollow-eyed Chicoid ceramic forms, and also with certain figural three-pointed stones from Hispaniola. The hollowed form shown in Figure 4.3d links stylistically to certain anthropomorphic faces carved and incised on olive shell tinklers from Cuba. In still other cases, Yaguajay eye cavities are surrounded by a raised, integrated mask-like element (Maciques Sánchez 2018:22), variants of which are shown in Figure 4.3e and f. In these, a brow ridge at the base of the forehead continues laterally around the eyes, merging there with the cheek elements. The cheek elements, in turn, merge to form an outward-projecting, upswept nose. Similar mask-like elements will be encountered in Chapter 6, where they are found to be standard in the Comendador style.

Much more common than these upswept noses are fleshed, blunted-triangular forms with rounded contours. Indications of flared nostrils are rare. A unique case, IC013, has nostrils consisting of a pair of raised, pitted circles, side-by-side. Uniquely in IC006, a nose consists of a prominent horizontal cylinder, with nostril pits drilled from the two sides. It is identical to the element McGinnis (1997a:645, 653, 710) calls the “reptilian roll” on forms she identifies as reptiles on figural three pointer stones from the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, although she notes that the same form is occasionally compounded to the carunculated nostrils of birds. It is of high interest that we find the form here affixed to a Yaguajay-style figure, such that the face carries a theriomorphic aspect. A probable second Yaguajay occurrence of this form, although schematized, is seen in IC039 (not illustrated), where the nose consists of a horizontally-oriented bump surrounded by an incised line, with nostril pits drilled laterally from both sides.

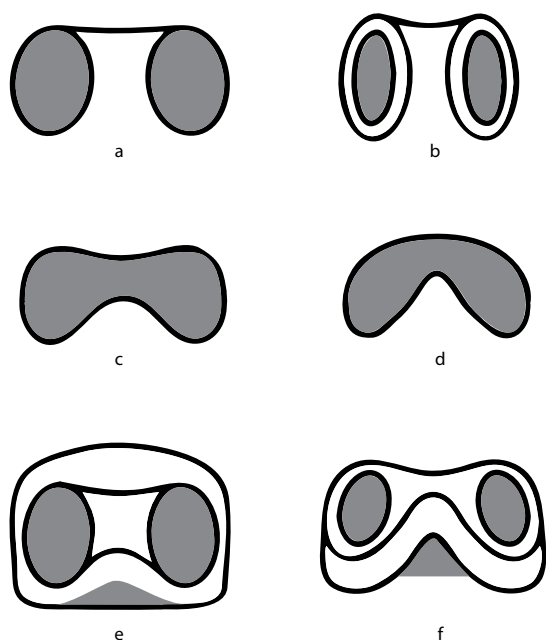


Figure 4.3. Forms of eye concavities in the Yaguajay style.

(a) and (b) Concavities connected by an incised line;

(c) and (d) Concavities connected across the bridge of the nose;

(e) and (f) Concavities with raised mask-like surrounds.

(a) IC017; (b) IC024; (c) IC007;

(d) IC037; (e) IC019; (f) IC014.

As already noted, in Yaguajay figure pendants the upper part of the head, composed prismatically, is differentiated from the lower part, which is not. This distinction of upper and lower is delimited by a horizontal incised line at the same level as the cheekline. It is sometimes the case that the lower head section is reduced in volume below this line, as in the type specimen. In frontal perspective there is no visible neck, as the wide base of the chin projects forward at a level at or below the top of the shoulders.

Exaggerated, toothy, open mouths beneath prominent cheeklines join the hollow eyes to contribute to the skull-like aspect of Yaguajay heads. Set within a squared jaw, the mouth dominates the lower head. It occupies a broad, horizontal band, slightly inset, running cylindrically around the head from a point generally just below each ear. At either end, the mouth may be tapered, rounded off, or simply feathered into the neck area without definite end points. Mouths reveal an array of as many as 32 small, uniform incised teeth set in two rows. Such mouths may be lipped or unlipped. Only IC004, a finely crafted specimen apparently of jadeite, lacks such incised teeth, having instead a deep horizontal groove which seems definitely designed to accept an inset “denture” of shell.

The torso and upper limbs

A narrowed neck between the head and torso, through which the suspension hole is drilled, is visible only from the back side.

Below the neck, the torso itself is cylindrical. On approximately half of the specimens, the upper torso bears an incised pattern of two to four nested chevrons, indicating ribs. Where present at the front, the incised chevron pattern is most often repeated on the back side. In one case, IC024, the rib pattern is slightly relocated to either side of a raised, looping element on the upper torso just below the chin. This loop resembles the plain necklace-like elements seen on many Hispaniolan figure pendants.

Just as in Puerto Plata specimens, Yaguajay-style lower torsos may or may not feature a navel. Navels come in several forms, from a small drilled pit, to a shallow rounded hole, to a more elaborate donut-like form, consisting of a raised pitted circle. Navels appear most often in conjunction with ribs, in the space below the peak of the lowermost incised chevron, but all other possible combinations of navel and ribs also occur: ribs without a navel, a navel without ribs, and torsos showing neither (of which there are six instances).

Arms are posed akimbo, with openings between the arms and torso. In all but one specimen, these openings are created as simple circular holes, biconically drilled. The exception is IC004, a jadeite figure pendant already mentioned, in which the fenestrations are elongated. Hands are incised, with short fingers sometimes realized in a grid pattern. They are most often posed on the sides of the hips, fingers downward. Alternative positions include hands against the sides of the lower torso (IC007), against the lower torso with fingers touching the thighs (IC039), against the sides of the thighs and parallel to them (IC019), together against the lower torso (IC229), and against the lower torso touching either side of the navel (IC013). The latter position, as noted in Chapter 2, is one of the most common in Puerto Plata-style anthropomorphs. Maciques Sánchez (2018:Figure 5) suggests that each Yaguajay hand position is culturally significant, falling within a repertoire of well-defined ritual poses.

Upper arm bands, incised or carved in relief, are common. Varieties include indications of simple single and double encircling bands, or an incised band containing a pattern of alternating oblique lines. An alternative to these is a well-defined encircling constriction of the upper arm, a curious and as yet unsatisfactorily explained trait that serves as an iconographic tie to Antillean carved anthropomorphs of other styles and genres.

The lower limbs and genitalia

Yaguajay figures are posed in such a deep squat that Maciques Sánchez (2018:20) prefers to call them “seated,” as though in the cacical position astride a dujo. The thighs are raised at an angle of 90 to 110 degrees to the torso, with the knees forward and slightly apart. Although there is space for genitalia, had the carver been inclined to show them, that space is always left vacant. In this way, the Yaguajay figures mirror the broader Antillean lack of sexual distinctiveness among figure pendants. The lower legs are flexed backward to a position under the torso or nearly so. They are brought together in some instances, separated by a vertical groove, or in others are separated by a fenestration.

Either way, the feet are most commonly merged into a common basal element, although still differentiated by an incised line or a dividing groove. Only in three cases (IC006, IC024, and IC041 [not illustrated]) are the feet completely apart, and they are reduced to diminutive status in all three. More often, the merged feet take the form of a thick, flattened disk or block, inclined upward or downward relative to the main axis of the piece, with a row of incised line segments at the front indicating toes. Downcurled toes appears on two specimens (IC013 and IC411), these being among the most elaborately carved in the Yaguajay canon. This element is yet another link to anthropomorphic carvings in other Antillean styles and genres.

Encircling bands at the ankles are indicated only twice, and in strong contrast to Puerto Plata-style figure pendants, there are no clear indications of ankle bumps.

Lower leg bands appear just below the knee on some examples, showing the same range of variability seen on Yaguajay upper arm bands. As with the arms, there are also sometimes encircling leg constrictions, as seen in a variety of other Antillean anthropomorphic carvings.

The back

Another trait that sets Yaguajay apart from other figure pendant styles is the special treatment given, almost without exception, to the buttocks. Carvers went to considerable lengths to make the buttocks a separate, rounded element, executed in bold relief with incised detail, that extends backward, beyond the plane of the spine.

Above the buttocks, the Yaguajay back is vertical and somewhat flattened, most often lacking elaboration. Of the incised examples, I have already mentioned the visible nested chevron rib structure that sometimes extends to the back of the piece, and also the elaborated rearward incised panels of some coronets. To these elaborations, we may add indications of a spine, taking the form of either a single line, or, in the case of IC411, a ladder-like element placed between three sets of incised ribs. A ladder-like spine has been noted as an element of Antillean rock art (Fernández Ortega et al. 2013). On IC411, the back of the head serves as an independent design field, within which is a symmetrical pattern of curving incised lines ending in drilled dots, with excised small triangular negative spaces. Taken as a whole, the design constitutes a variant of the common Antillean meander motif. Aside from these elements, the backs of the ears are sometimes given attention, with central drilled pits or circle-and-dot elements.

Further notes on the style

Although there can be no doubt about the distinctiveness of Yaguajay as a style, the detailed descriptions given above contain quite a number of elements that serve to link the style to others in the Antilles. We will keep track of these as we advance through the rest of the corpus, with a summary consideration given in Chapter 12.

Geographic distribution

The Yaguajay sample is not large, but the distribution is as clear as one could possibly be. To report the national proportions first, they are as follows: Cuba = 89 percent; Dominican Republic = 7 percent; Jamaica = 4 percent. In view of the prospect of putting these on a map, we are in much better shape with Yaguajay than with other styles. The municipality of origin is on record for 20 of 27 specimens, and the archaeological site is known for 13 of these. That distribution is most decidedly Cuban (Figure 4.4). More specifically, they are from three coastal districts of eastern Cuba, each of which is the seat of a distinct, named archaeological phase in the late Ceramic Age (Guarch Delmonte 1990).

If there is a more specific home for the Yaguajay style, the weight of the distribution lies in the Banes Archaeological Area in Holguín province as discussed by

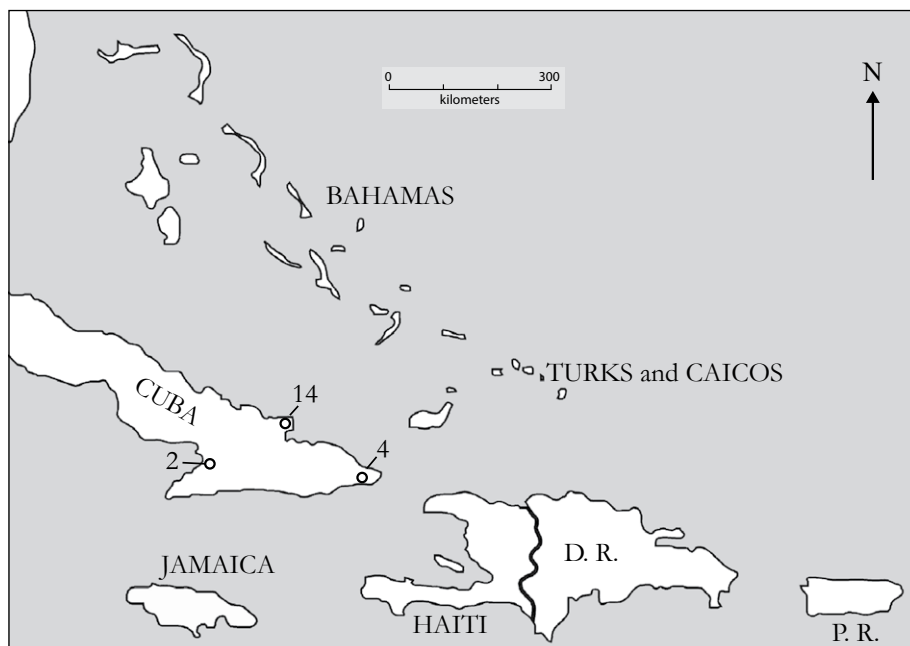


Figure 4.4. Geographic distribution of Yaguajay-style figure pendants.

Valcárcel Rojas (1999, 2002) and Persons (2013). Fourteen specimens are reported from this small area, including examples from some of the larger and better-known village sites: Potrero de El Mango, El Chorro de Maíta, Loma de Baní, Cuadro de Los Indios, and Cayo Bariay. Four other specimens, stylistically no different, are reported from the southeast coast in Guantánamo province. They come from sites assigned to the Mayarí culture group (or “cultural variant”) as discussed by Tabío and Rey (1966) and Guarch Delmonte (1990). These include a specimen from the well-known site of Laguna de Limones. Two further specimens come from sites in the area of Bayamo, Granma province, where Guarch Delmonte (1990) defined the Bayamo “cultural variant” for the late Ceramic Age.

In further support of this strong distributional evidence that the Yaguajay style is native to eastern Cuba, two unfinished specimens of the style (IC030 and IC120, not illustrated) are also both Cuban, one specifically from the site of El Chorro de Maíta in the town of Yaguajay Arriba, Banes municipality, Holguín province.

Archaeological context and dating

Despite a long history of professional excavation in eastern Cuba, only a single Yaguajay-style figure pendant has been recovered in a controlled context. That specimen is IC102 (not illustrated), discovered in a bayside midden at Cayo Bariay, excavated in 1991 by the Departamento Centro-Oriental de Arqueología, Holguín. There are two radiocarbon dates from this relatively shallow midden: 1420 ± 50 and 1430 ± 60 AD uncorrected (Guarch Rodríguez et al 2003:9). Persons (2013:320-321) assigns the pottery assemblage from the Cayo Bariay mid-



Figure 4.5. Small Yaguajay-related figure pendants of stone and shell, reportedly found cached together with European objects of brass, Barrera, Azua province, Dominican Republic. Left: IC089, MHD uncataloged. Right: IC090, MHD uncataloged.

den to her El Mango III phase, which she dates to ca. 1350-1500 AD (2013:200). That dating is in line with the age of the prehistoric component at the nearby site of El Chorro de Maíta (Valcárcel Rojas 2016), from which at least one other Yaguajay-style specimen (IC014) is reported. Moreover, these dates are generally in agreement with the only radiocarbon date so far available from the Laguna de Limones site in Maisí: 1310 ± 120 AD (uncorrected; Pino 1995), from which there is still another Yaguajay specimen (not in our database; illustrated in Dacal Moure and Rivero de la Calle 1996:Plate 6). In sum, the evidence is consistent in suggesting a date for the style somewhere in the range of 1300-1500 AD – essentially, at least for the Banes area of Holguín province, equivalent to Persons's El Mango III phase. Consistency of execution impressionistically suggests that no great time depth is involved.

Before leaving the subject of context and dating, I would like to introduce into evidence two small Hispaniolan figure pendants found together, one of stone (IC089) and the other of shell (IC090) (Figure 4.5). Although neither can be classified as Yaguajay, the stylistic and iconographic relationships are nonetheless very close. Both are squatting figures perforated transversely – through the neck in IC089 and through the head in the diminutive IC090. With its bird-form ears, IC089 has a head form and facial characteristics highly similar to Yaguajay figures. IC090, with its projecting disk-form ears, has perhaps a more explicitly skull-form head than any Yaguajay figure pendant. The proportionally large heads, akimbo arms, and the aperture between the short lower legs stand out as strong points of comparison, as do the well-formed buttocks of IC089. Both have navels, but both also have plain necklace-like elements on the upper torso – a Hispaniolan trait, although our Cuban IC024 seems to have a counterpart. The hand positions on the lower torso are unusual for Yaguajay, although not entirely unprecedented.

As reported originally by Elpidio Ortega, the two figure pendants were found within a cache at the site of Variar, in Barrera, Azua province, Dominican Republic. Besides the two figure pendants, the rest of the assemblage consists of two small, whole pottery vessels, incised and bearing complex adornos, assignable to the Chicoid style; a necklace of some 300 stone and shell beads; and most importantly for our purposes, four artifacts of brass. Two are disks, the other two rectangular cutouts, centrally perforated. The metal artifacts being of European raw material, the cache has to postdate European contact. Here, then, is evidence that figure pendants highly similar to Yaguajay stylistically were still in use on the south-central coast of Hispaniola during post-Contact times (Vega 1987:31-33).

Raw materials

Of the raw materials used in the carving of Yaguajay-style figure pendants, a uniform white stone is most common, generally patinated to a light gray, which may occur with or without spots of dark gray mottling. Maciques Sánchez (2018) identifies seven such specimens as quartzite, and another as limestone. His statement regarding the majority is in line with Dacal Moure and Rivero de la Calle's (1996:40) broader generalization that Cuban idolillos employ "generally quartzites." One translucent green specimen (IC004) is without doubt jadeite, and there are a number of others of mottled greenish metamorphic rock. Of the latter, Maciques Sánchez (2018:4) reports consulting Victor O. Acanda González of the Laboratory of Quaternary Chronology, Academy of Sciences of Cuba (ACC) for the purpose of verifying the geological compositions of five such specimens in the Archaeological Department of the ACC (now curated by the Instituto Cubano de Antropología). Maciques states that all five are jadeite. Separately, on the authority of a Holguín-based geologist, the raw material of specimen IC102 is antigonite in its massive (*maciza*) phase (a soapy serpentine), jade green in color (Guarch et al. 2003:5).

Preliminary iconographic notes

As already noted, there is little doubt that we are here dealing with a single iconographic subject. Partly because of the relative obscurity, to date, of the Cuban collections, there has been little speculation about who or what this personage represents in Antillean religious belief. As before, my preference methodologically is to keep ethnographic interpretation at arm's length until the stylistic distinctions are understood, working rather with what can be discerned of subject matter from the specimens themselves – which is configurational analysis (Chapter 1). Because the subject of Yaguajay carving is a nude, squatting anthropomorph, just as in the Puerto Plata Standard guise, we should perhaps begin with an assessment of whether this is the same figural character as seen in Puerto Plata, but depicted in a different, regional style.

The answer has to be no. In the first place, the single subject of the Yaguajay figure pendants is not a manifold being envisioned in different guises in the manner of Puerto Plata subjects. We can now appreciate, further, that these styles belong to two different regions of the Greater Antilles. Despite the opinion of Maciques Sánchez (2018:28-29) based on his limited sample, there is no evidence that the Puerto Plata anthropomorphs are in any way schematizations of Yaguajay anthropomorphs, nor are the arm and leg poses interchangeable. Of the facial characteristics, although Puerto Plata carvers knew a rarely-depicted skull-headed character (see Chapter 2, "Other Puerto Plata Subjects"), it does not resemble the Yaguajay figure, nor does the Standard guise Puerto Plata subject show signs of the partially defleshed head of the Yaguajay character. Exposed ribs are never shown on Puerto Plata subjects.

Maciques Sánchez (2018), who discusses Yaguajay figure pendants in greater detail than anyone else, suggests that the characters are more properly seated than squatting, as though resting on a (missing) dujo, or stool. This I doubt. I have already discussed, in Chapter 2, the prevalence of squatting across Antillean styles and genres as a classifying attribute, one that conveys categorical information. There are several formal variants of the squat, which will be introduced in Chapter 12, not all of which could easily

be construed as sitting. We have already observed that the squatting posture is not sex-linked, as both male and female Puerto Plata figures adopt the pose. Thus, there is no reason to suppose that the Yaguajay figure must be male. As already noted, despite the nudity of the figures, Yaguajay carvers strictly avoided adding explicit genitalia.

The outsized round ears of many Yaguajay specimens have attracted the attention of rock art specialists, who compare it to large-eared beings depicted in petroglyphs and pictographs in Cuba and other Antillean islands (Gutiérrez Calvache et al. 2008:75-77). They consider these to be consistent depictions of a presumed mythic being, not mentioned in historic sources, to which they give the descriptive nickname *El Orejón*, “The Big-Eared One.” It is an admirable case of neutrality of naming in prehistoric iconography (see Knight 2013:118-120), avoiding the impulse to assign ethnographically derived names where they may not be justified.

Although it occurs in just one instance, the fact that a zoomorphic “reptilian roll” nose is allowable on a Yaguajay anthropomorph is surely of iconographic significance. It is a feature that sets this iconographic character apart from others present in the corpus.

That is about as far as I am willing to go for the moment. For the sake of completeness, I will register briefly here the ethnographically-based interpretations of Yaguajay figure pendants that have so far appeared in published literature. For Maciques Sánchez (2018), the navels that are prominent on Yaguajay-style figure pendants are symbolic of the divinely creative life-force. He further suggests that the “seated” aspect may reflect a funerary cult of important persons, recalling the seating of deceased chiefs on their *dujos*, in which case the figures may be those of ancestors.

A different perspective is offered by Guarch Delmonte and Querejeta Barceló (1992:13-14, 1993:39), who follow Arrom (1989) in seeking one-to-one correspondences between mythic figures mentioned in the late fifteenth century Hispaniolan account of Ramón Pané and the figures depicted in prehistoric Antillean art. For them, the “fierce” countenances and exaggerated heads of Yaguajay figures identify Bayamanaco, lord of the hallucinogenic snuff *cohoba*. This character appears quite briefly in the twins myth related by Pané, in which four identical twins reach the house of a person they call “our grandfather,” asking for cassava bread. The indignant Bayamanaco instead rewards one of the twins by casting a *cohoba*-infused wad of spittle on his back, which afterward produced a swelling that, when opened, magically yielded a turtle. As Pané’s account mentions neither a “fierce countenance” nor a large head, the reasons for identifying Yaguajay-style figures as Bayamanaco are not clear. Separately, the same authors identify a Yaguajay figure pendant with a divided coronet (IC006) with the sun, and thus an identification as Mautiatihuel, Son of Dawn (1992:17, 1993:40). That identification apparently rests on the divided coronet, although it is quite impossible to consider it “rayed,” given that the notches are part of an incised backflap on the rear of the head. The coronet borne by IC006 bears no resemblance to an anthropomorphized rayed circle that Antillean rock art specialists regard as solar (Fernández Ortega and González 2003:Fig. 2).

The Madre Vieja style

Type Specimen: IC091 (Figure 5.1, upper row, left)
Number Examined: 5

A chapter on the Madre Vieja style is placed in order here due to a preliminary impression: that its primary subject is the same as the one just discussed for the Yaguajay style. If so, it is an example of the same figural character expressed in highly unlike media, as these are of shell. But, as before, it is best practice to avoid talking about the subject matter until the style is first understood. We will get back to stone figure pendants in the next chapter.

The name is taken from the type specimen, IC091, a piece from the former private collection of Emile de Boyrie Moya now in the Museo del Hombre Dominicano in Santo Domingo. Its label specifies the find locality as Madre Vieja, near the town of Yasica, some 15 km inland from the Atlantic coast in Puerto Plata province, Dominican Republic.

The source material, more specifically, is the thick external lip of a large marine gastropod, the queen conch (*Lobatus* [formerly *Strombus*] *gigas*). Removal of the lip yields a more or less straight section of dense shell that, in larger individuals, can approach 20 cm in length. This lip section, because of its strength and heft, was used for a variety of purposes in Greater Antilles prehistory (Ortega 2001).

The following discussion is based on a consideration of nine specimens that can be considered the classic Madre Vieja style corpus (eight of which are shown in Figure 5.1). The first impression is that of a larger-than-usual anthropomorphic figure pendant that has been stretched vertically, resulting in a slender, upright, squatting personage with a long, cylindrical torso. The base form is a slender column, but with an oval cross-section, about twice as wide as it is thick. That base form is, of course, rather entirely dictated by the source material. Madre Vieja carvers made the most of this raw form by utilizing the full length and the full thickness available.

The style shows a high degree of competence in a medium that is exceptionally hard and difficult to carve. Like the Yaguajay style described in the previous chapter, Madre Vieja is a “perspective” style generally, but one much more tightly adjusted to the strictures of its source material. Thus, for example, the limbs are tightly bound to the axial form with no possibility of separating them with apertures, but they are nonetheless carved with rounded contours as much as the medium allows. The pose is stiff and highly conventionalized, but the faces have an expressive quality that allows a certain degree of individualism. There is much emphasis on carved elements as opposed to



Figure 5.1 (also on opposite page).
 Madre Vieja-style figure pendants.
 Upper row: IC091, MHD A000
 38 2 34; FGA054, uncataloged
 (unperforated, not to scale); IC088,
 MHD Y-5-5.
 Middle row: IC061, MHD uncat-
 aloged; FGA061, uncataloged (not
 to scale); MHD A 130 2H (sketch
 by the author, after Scott 1985:65,
 scale approximate); IC424, UPR
 1.2009.0057.
 Lower row: IC002, GA GA-1-226.



5 cm

incised surface details. The figures originally were brought to a high polish, resulting in a brilliant white color, although most are now darkened and patinated with age.

As with Yaguajay-style figure pendants, heads are disproportionately large, but this disproportion is overwhelmed visually by the vertically stretched torso. Upper and lower limbs, hands, and feet in Madre Vieja figure pendants take on anatomically impossible, sometimes frankly weird poses, something not entirely a matter of fitting them to the axial form. These peculiar features of the extremities are a signature feature of the style, an observation that will come into play as we later examine various other Madre-Vieja-influenced shell figure pendants.

Before proceeding further, I want to comment on something that has been taken for granted up to now: that this genre we are calling figure pendants consists of objects of personal adornment, perforated for suspension against the body with a cord. Here, for the first time, one of the “classic” Madre Vieja specimens (FGA054) has no perforation for suspension. This absence led Baztán Rodrigo (1971-72:222) to suggest, regarding this particularly large specimen, that it was carried by a cacique in the manner of a scepter. If so, such a use would shift it into a rather different cultural domain than so far assumed, that is, into a more public, ceremonial role in contrast to the private paraphernalia of a worn pendant. There the matter must be left for the moment, with the notice that more of these imperforate outliers will be seen in what follows.

Just as carvers working in the Yaguajay styles tended to concentrate their efforts on a single anthropomorphic subject, so too did Madre Vieja artisans. In the present case it is a naked, human-like being depicted as emaciated or partly skeletalized, just as described in the previous chapter. But here, the depiction of an emaciated being was enhanced by the inherent length and narrowness of the lip of the queen conch. That raw material allowed the carving of a truly skinny torso, a bit bloated at the belly, enhanced by exposed ribs. Such a torso was combined with a partially skeletalized head: one with skeletal eye hollows, cheekbones, and fully exposed teeth, but with a fleshed nose and ears.

I have found no examples of the style illustrated by writers on Antillean figure pendants prior to the 1940s. It was not until the early 1970s that multiple photographs of Madre Vieja-style specimens were published in the same place, in Francisco Baztán Rodrigo’s (1971-72) article “Los Amuletos Precolumbinos de Santo Domingo,” and in the more accessible *Arqueología Prehistorica de Santo Domingo* by Marcio Veloz Maggiolo (1972). José Juan Arrom (1989:Plate 16) was apparently the earliest to publish a well-known example from the municipality of Banes, Holguín province, Cuba (IC002), that has been since re-published many times. I have been unable to find any publication where multiple examples of the style have been discussed as a coherent phenomenon, stylistically or otherwise.

The sample is quite limited, both in absolute numbers and in the number directly available for study. Of the nine classic Madre Vieja figure pendants considered here, only five are in our database. Two others for which we have usable frontal photographs, but no measurements, are in the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo. An eighth specimen was formerly in the private collection of Emile de Boyrie Moya, and later in the Museo del Hombre Dominicano in Santo Domingo. Despite a determined search, its present whereabouts are unknown, but frontal photographs have appeared in two publications (Baztán Rodrigo 1971-72:Fig. 122; Scott 1985:No. 65). It is represented in Figure 5.1 by a sketch. A ninth specimen is illustrated by Veloz Maggiolo (1972:Plate 30B), from the private collection of Caro Alvarez.

I have already noted that the very large specimen FGA054, according to Baztán Rodrigo, is not perforated for suspension. All others, like all Yaguajay-style figure pendants, are perforated transversely, through the back of the neck.

Dimensions of the four complete specimens in the database are as follows.

Height: range 98-171 mm, mean 133 mm

Width: range 22-41 mm, mean 31 mm

Thickness: range 17-24 mm, mean 20 mm

The height of the missing Museo del Hombre Dominicano specimen is reported as 13 cm, within the range of the others (Scott 1985:No. 65). Two others are missing their heads. Although this sample is uncomfortably small, the average documented classic Madre Vieja-style figure pendant height is nearly three times that of the stone Yaguajay-style sample and is some 47 percent greater than that of the tallest of the Puerto Plata-style forms, being Standard guise, Format 2.

Details of execution

Discussion of details of execution in the Madre Vieja style, including variability in the sample, follows the pattern already established.

The head

Heads are skull-like in appearance, featuring large, hollow eyes, strong cheeklines, and wide mouths with fully bared teeth. Proportionally, the head is large and somewhat elongate, occupying between one- to two-fifths of the full height. Two specimens exhibit the characteristic rounded-prismatic upper head shape of Yaguajay-style heads. In these, the sides of the upper face are flattened, converging at the center line, such that the eyes are fixed as much laterally as forward. Other upper heads are more rounded, with eyes facing frontally. The lower portion of the head, occupied by the mouth and chin, is round in cross-section.

Headpieces tend to consist of either a coronet or a cap-like element. Coronets are linear elements at the rear of the head, the outline simple or divided creatively into lobes by incising and grooving, descending to meet the ears. Cap-like elements are defined by an encircling line, and have twin, laterally arranged protuberances projecting upward. This is a highly specific configuration, encountered elsewhere in Antillean figural art, that, in its fullest expression, can incorporate a decorative backflap (e.g., Kerchache 1994:30-31). A unique headpiece in the Madre Vieja canon, on IC088, resembles a 1950s men's pompadour, dipping forward almost to the bridge of the nose.

Ears are fleshed elements. They are simple, lateral, rounded bumps in only one case. In all the rest they are more elaborate, consisting of one or another variant of a bi-lobed shape. Explicit bird-form ears with drilled pits in the lower lobes are present in three cases, with hints of the same in two others.

As in Yaguajay-style anthropomorphs, Madre Vieja-style eyes are large, circular concavities without pupils. Some may have been intended to receive inlays of another material, but if so, there is currently no trace of mastic in any specimen. Eye concavities are generally separated by the nasal ridge, but are joined by an incised line in one case

(IC091), and in another (FGA054) are joined at the center in a pinched configuration similar to that in Figure 2.5. A raised, mask-like eye surround as described in the previous chapter, which at the same time defines the cheeklines (see Figure 4.3e, f), is clearly present in four specimens, and is hinted at more vaguely in others without a definite incised margin.

The nose is a fleshed element, long and generally triangular in shape, in some cases detailed with outflared nostrils but lacking drilled nostril pits. Elements below the cheekline and the base of the nose are reduced in volume, imparting a visual impression of hollowed cheeks that is especially prominent in IC002.

As in Yaguajay-style figure pendants, the portion of the face below the nose and cheeklines is set off by a horizontal line or groove. Elements below this line consist of mouth, lips, and chin, of which the mouth is the dominant element. It consists of a broad, wide band running around the lower face from ear to ear. Adding to the skull-like visage is a range of incised teeth, fully exposed, up to 26 in number. They are normally shown as clenched, although they are slightly open in IC091. Just as in Yaguajay specimens, the lateral margins of the mouth may be either defined or undefined, the latter feathering into the neck or the suspension hole. A slight chin, sometimes merged with the lower lip, is usually present.

The torso and arms

Regarding a neck, some Madre Vieja specimens show a well-defined constriction between the head and torso. Others have the chin resting directly at the level of the shoulders, with a neck constriction visible only from behind.

The torso is a long, narrow cylinder, generally about half the height of the full piece. In over half of the specimens there is a slight bulge at or below the center. On the upper torso between the shoulders, two specimens show a plain necklace-like element carved in relief, mentioned in the last chapter as a probable Hispaniolan trait. Like the Yaguajay example, it is a hanging loop, as opposed to the Puerto Plata-style “necklaces” that follow the line of the chin, like a choker. Exposed ribs are shown in all but one case, the exception serving to demonstrate that ribs are not required for identification of the figural character. Such ribs are two to four in number, generally incised in a chevron pattern, less commonly simply arched across the torso. Because of the arm placement on the upper torso, to be described momentarily, these ribs are displaced downward.

Meriting special mention is the treatment given to the ribcage on the exceptionally narrow IC088. Here, the artisan carved a section of four ribs in relief, on either side of a gap at the sternum. The same artisan carved a stepped constriction below the lowermost rib. Together, it offers a highly explicit attempt to convey a state of emaciation.

Seven of the nine classic Madre Vieja specimens depict a navel, centered on the lower torso. As with exposed ribs, the absence of a navel on two specimens shows that it was unnecessary for iconographic identification. Its execution varies. A navel can be a simple drilled pit, a circle and dot element, or a larger circular concavity comparable to a Madre Vieja eye. Navels always occur with ribs in this small sample, but not vice-versa.

Upper limbs are strongly flexed, with shortened forearms bent strongly back against the upper torso. Forearms and hands are shown in a characteristic posture, elbows down, palms forward with schematic incised fingers curled forward at the top. The

pose is roughly that of an upright begging dog, a description that, of course, has no bearing whatsoever on the original intent. Where palmar surfaces are shown, they take the form of slightly hollowed D-shapes, a valuable stylistic connector to other Antillean genres that show the same thing.

The arm and hand assemblage just described is quite variable in its execution. Hands can be together or apart, and can be located anywhere between the chin and a position rather far down on the torso. Moreover, the whole arm and hand assemblage can be abbreviated to a point where only the shoulders, elbows, and hands are visible from the front, or alternatively only the shoulders and hands. In the most strongly attenuated case, a classic Madre Vieja figure published by Veloz Maggiolo (1972:Plate 30B), L-shaped elements schematically representing hands are, quite unnervingly, attached directly to the shoulder area on either side of the torso, omitting everything else.

On specimens having well-developed upper arms, arm bands occur, either as two encircling parallel incised lines or grooves, or as an incised band infilled by alternating oblique lines. Instances of limb constrictions, like those described for Yaguajay specimens, are probably to be seen on IC002 and IC088.

The legs and genitalia

Legs and hips, taken together, assume a Y-shaped configuration in which the upper branches of the Y form rounded or squared lobes. The key to understanding what is going on with this unusual configuration is offered by reference to IC424, the least schematized of the classic Madre Vieja specimens. In this, the posture is clearly one of squatting. The hips flare laterally from the narrowed torso, from which the portion of the legs from the hips to the calves bend forward and downward in a continuous curve, deemphasizing the knees. The legs come together at the calves, where there is a lateral banded element, and from there the lower legs descend in an almost straight manner to the feet. Understanding this, it is possible to visualize the Y-shape of the remaining examples as a further schematization in which the knees are left out entirely. This leaves laterally-flared hips descending, in a curved or straight manner, to the place where the legs converge, at which point the band at the calves is preserved in several examples. In this manner, although the majority of Madre Vieja pendants may not appear to be squatting, the leg configuration is nonetheless schematized from a squatting prototype.

Regarding the section corresponding to the lower legs, limb constrictions are seen in IC061, and leg bands formed by two or three encircling lines appear on multiple specimens. The ankle bands and ankle bumps that are so prominent in other styles, such as Puerto Plata, are completely absent in Madre Vieja, as they are in Yaguajay-style figure pendants.

Madre Vieja feet appear in several conventional poses, the set reminiscent of imaginary foot positions in ballet, of which the majority are anatomically impossible without regard for the physical limits of ankle joints. The first is relatively flat-footed, toes forward and slightly downcurled, as in IC424. The example from the Caro Alvarez collection (Veloz Maggiolo 1972:Plate 30B) may be the same, but it is impossible to tell from the published photograph if the toes are downcurled. The second, illustrated by the Museo del Hombre Dominicano specimen shown in Figure 5.1, is *en pointe*, with the toes straight downward, reminiscent of the foot and toe position of Puerto Plata-style Standard guise, Format 2 figure pendants. The third position is with the feet

splayed laterally 180 degrees to each other, the base of the feet rotated forward, and toes positioned at the outer margins (IC061). The fifth position has only the heels touching the basal plane, with the feet angled strongly upward and forward, the base of the feet visible from the front, and toes curled outward and downward (IC088, IC091). The sixth is similar, with heels touching the basal plane, but with the feet angled strongly upward and laterally outward, the toes curled outward at the top (IC002, FGA054).

Occupying the open triangular space between the knees and torso, in four of the nine cases, is an upright male phallus with testicles, carved in relief. Otherwise the triangular area is unmarked. In short, the relatively high percentage of male genitalia combined with the absence of their explicit female counterpart in this style is unusual.

The back

In those few specimens in which we have access to the back, the torso is rounded to somewhat flattened, and the back of the head is flattened. There is very little carved detail, other than the back margins of arms, legs, feet, and headpieces, and the detailing of the back sides of bird-form ears. In no case is the rib configuration on the front of the torso repeated on the back. Horizontal waist lines encircle the back in some cases, and a horizontal line corresponding to the base of the shoulder blades appears on IC088.

Further notes on the style

To answer the question posed at the beginning of this chapter, after reviewing in detail a corpus of nine specimens herein called “classic” Madre Vieja, there can be no doubt that there is only one subject, depicted in a stylistically coherent manner. The primary thing that makes the style stand apart from all other figure pendant styles of the Greater Antilles is the imaginative handling of the extremities, partly imposed by the raw material, but partly schematized to a deliberate set of reductionistic contortions.

Palmar and plantar surfaces having D-shaped excised surfaces, in connection with downcurled toes and fingers, is a specific configuration that serves as a stylistic connector to other carved genres in Greater Antilles art (see Chapter 12, “Connectors”).

Some sort of relationship clearly exists between Yaguajay and Madre Vieja, but this relationship has much to do with a common iconographic subject, and less to do with stylistic mannerisms. That common subject is a squatting, cadaverous being with skull-like head, visible ribs, and a prominent navel, often with bird-form ears. In the present case, as opposed to Yaguajay, the sex is often revealed as explicitly male. The question of whether other subject matter was sometimes entertained by Madre Vieja carvers must await a brief consideration of Madre Vieja-related “marginalia.”

Madre Vieja marginalia

Under this heading I will describe five specimens, all of shell (Figure 5.2). Each, conceivably, is a candidate for inclusion in the Madre Vieja style, but only at the expense of unacceptably broadening the canons of that style. That is another way of saying that in the author’s opinion, these were not all made in the context of the same crafting community that produced the classic specimens. Neither do they cohere as a substyle. As will readily be seen, each is related to the style in its own way.



Figure 5.2. *Madre Vieja marginalia*.
 Upper row: IC256, NMAI 19711.000; IC106, MPH 6-126.
 Middle row: IC320, AMNH 25.0/4021; IC323, UPR 1.2008.47.
 Lower row: IC099, UO 5-199-9 (unfinished).

IC106 (Figure 5.2, upper row, right)

This is, perhaps, the most deviant of the four, failing to possess any sort of defined torso. Measuring 53 mm in height, it is less than half the mean size of its classic counterparts. The piece is strongly flattened in profile, nonetheless possessing a transverse perforation through the neck. Iconographically, the subject is evidently the same as that of the classic nine. Its skull-form head with plain coronet, connected eye hollows with a raised border, broad mouth, and well-defined neck are within range stylistically, but the nose departs from the classic specimens in being a simple triangular form lacking nostril flares. Although the photograph fails to reveal it clearly, the hands are posed together above the waist with the palms facing forward, a *Madre Vieja*-like contortion requiring oddly recurvate arms as seen laterally. These palms are formed as shallow D-shaped concavities. The legs are also contorted as kneeless, arch-like forms flexed laterally around a central hole, not entirely unlike the Antillean ring-shaped pendants of shell that sometimes have an anthropomorphic “rider.” Such a leg configuration is unique in the figure pendant sample.

IC256 (Figure 5.2, upper row, left)

Here, perhaps, is a piece closer in concept to the classic nine. With a long, cylindrical, plain torso, it measures 78 mm, somewhat shorter than the smallest of the classic nine. Again, the subject is most certainly the same. Its skull-form head is *Madre Vieja*

in almost every way. A divided headpiece is arguably a version of that seen in our type specimen, IC091, described previously. Further elements conforming to Madre Vieja include a mask-like form surrounding the eye hollows, bi-lobed ears, a narrowing below the cheeklines, and a broad, lipped mouth. Minor deviations lie in the plain, triangular nose without nostril flares, and the fact that the neckless head is set low on the piece, the chin well below the plane of the shoulders. Paw-like hands together under the chin are quite close in concept to the Museo del Hombre Dominicano piece shown in Figure 5.1. The lower extremities, in contrast, depart strongly from the norm, as the usual Y-shaped configuration is entirely missing. In fact, the lower limb element is reduced to an extreme in which only the feet are shown. These feet are, however, in a recognizably contorted Madre Vieja pose: angled straight upward with heels down and the bases of the feet forward, the toe element curled forward.

IC320 (Figure 5.2, middle row, left)

Above the waist, this little Haitian figure pendant – just 43 mm tall – is Madre Vieja in all ways that matter. Its headpiece is of the same form as that just seen in IC256, in turn very close in concept to that of IC091 among the classic nine. Eye hollows, flared nostrils, and an oval, lipped mouth are all well within the normal bounds of the style. Bi-lobed ears are carved in a quasi-bird-form, without eyes or an incised beak separation. The looping arms and frontally facing hands below the chin, with D-shaped palmar surfaces and fingers atop, check additional boxes in the Madre Vieja canon. But perhaps the defining feature of the classic nine – a long, cylindrical torso – is missing. This absence might not be disqualifying, being explainable, perhaps, as the result of an unusually short piece of raw material, were it not for the lower limb configuration, which obeys fully different rules. From the hips, the legs are looped forward and then back again in a continuous, kneeless bend, the distorted feet resting against the hips at the base of the piece. This looping, wrapped effect is similar stylistically to the relief carving of limbs on certain figural three-pointed stones of southeast Hispaniola and Puerto Rico (e.g., Fewkes 1922:Plate 102A).

IC323 (Figure 5.2, middle row, right)

Once again, there can be little doubt that the subject of IC323 is the same as those so far discussed in this chapter. It is a quite large figure pendant at 113 mm, which puts it heightwise well within the range of the nine classic Madre Vieja specimens. But this piece is tabular, thinner than any of the classic specimens at 11 mm and wider than most, at 40 mm. The thinness rules out use of the usual transverse hole; instead, the carver drilled two holes through the piece at the chin line, front to back. By comparison to the classic Madre Vieja canon, the head is more skull-like than ever, lacking ears and substituting a tiny triangular cutout for a fleshed nose. The D-shaped eye cavities are unique, but the heavy mask-like surround is in keeping with the style. As for the flexed arms and upturned hands below the chin, their pose is instantly recognizable, except that the arms are conjoined across the upper torso. Likewise, the legs are in the characteristic Y-shaped configuration with the hips played laterally. There are prominent leg bands, and the somewhat unusual feet are nonetheless in the conventional frontal position already repeatedly seen, with excised plantar surfaces and downcurled toes. Within the triangular space formed by the Y of

the legs, there is a three-part genital element carved in relief – unique, but arguably a schematic upright phallus with lateral testicles.

IC099 (Figure 5.2, lower row)

Finally, there is IC099, an unfinished specimen in the Archaeological Museum of the Universidad de Oriente, in Santiago de Cuba, 70 mm in height. Enough of the carving is complete to say that the intended outcome would have been much like IC256, described above. Having a partially finished piece offers, as usual, a nice insight into the sequence of manufacture. The head still lacks eye cavities and a nose, the ears are only roughed out, and the row of teeth, set between two thick lips, is not yet incised. There is no suspension hole. The arm and hand configuration features two “wings” that, by comparison to finished pieces, were no doubt to become curved arms, and a raised rectangular block below the chin that was to become a pair of conjoined hands, probably much like the configuration seen in IC320. Below the usual torso column, our attention is drawn to the configuration of laterally splayed feet, lacking any indication of legs. These feet are in that peculiar Madre Vieja pose that has the heels together at the base, from which they angle sharply upward, ending in rows of outcurled toes.

Madre Vieja-related oddities

Like the previous category, the following seven pieces (Figure 5.3), all of carved shell, are also a step removed from the classic Madre Vieja style, but in a different way. These seven, taken together, show a mutual stylistic coherence that might tentatively be considered a derivative substyle. They take the already imaginative distortions of the style to new creative heights. As we shall see, some are perhaps adaptations of the Madre Vieja style to new and different subject matter.

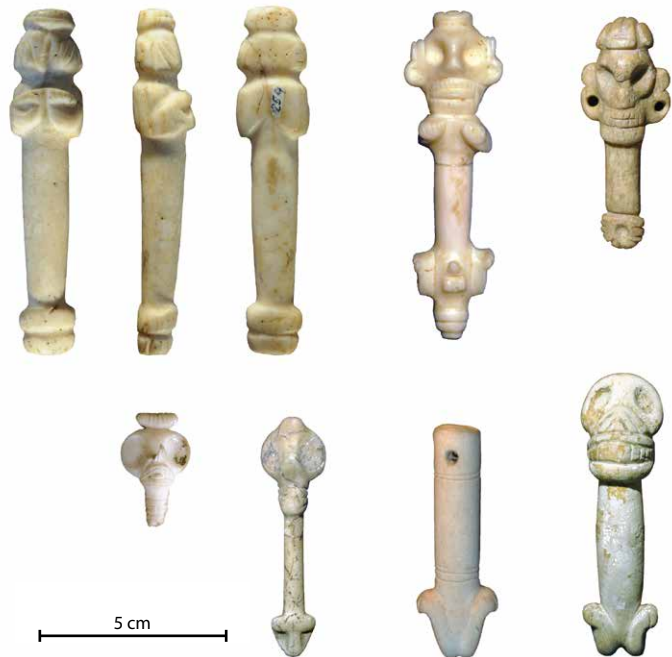


Figure 5.3. Madre Vieja-related oddities.

Upper row: AM009, GA GA-1-254 (unperforated); FGA051; FGA059.

Lower row: SC024, MHD uncataloged (lower section missing); FGA056; FGA057 (head missing and reworked); FGA060. FGA specimens are uncataloged.

FGA051 (Figure 5.3, upper row, center)

This and pieces that immediately follow, mostly from the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo in Santo Domingo, show quite nicely the difference between schematization and simplification. For, while they are certainly schematized, there is nothing particularly “simple” about them. Their delicacy suggests that they were perhaps as difficult to carve and polish, if not more so, than the classic Madre Vieja set. An excellent case in point is FGA051, the first of what I call the “skull-on-a-stick” format. A partly skeletal head with a small cap and bird-form ears, very much in the manner of Madre Vieja, surmounts a visually dominant narrow cylinder, the latter obviously comparable to the elongated torsos of classic Madre Vieja. The piece has the familiar arm and hand configuration of Madre Vieja, if somewhat smaller than usual. Farther down the column lie a pair of vertically-oriented feet with downcurled toes, affixed laterally, considerably above the base. Attaching a pair of feet to the sides of the column in this manner is reminiscent of the hand configuration on one of the classic nine (see Veloz Maggiolo 1972:Plate 30B). Positioned between these feet are carefully carved male genitalia.

FGA060 (Figure 5.3, lower row, right)

Here is a second piece in the same skull-on-a-stick format as the one just described, this one lacking arm and hand elements. The head is pure skull, without ears, while the broad triangular nose of nested chevrons recalls that of certain carved stone heads of the Greater Antilles (e.g., Kerchache 1994:228). The feet are awkwardly attached to the base of the column on either side, posed vertically and with downcurled toes, just as in IC099 of the previous group of marginalia.

FGA057 (Figure 5.3, lower row, second from left)

Although it is a broken and reworked piece, it can be placed here because of its similarity to FGA060. In this instance the head is missing. The broken end has been reground, and a new suspension hole has been drilled through the column front to back. Two encircling incised lines are beneath this hole, and another three are placed just above the feet. Those feet, with their heels down, laterally splayed, toes downcurled pose, are standard Madre Vieja.

FGA056 (Figure 5.3, lower row, second from left)

FGA056 is another figure pendant in the same format as the above. In this, the eye hollows are greatly enlarged to dominate the outline of an elongate skull-form head. No arm or hand elements are present. At the base of the column, a composite foot takes the form of a triangle superimposed by a T-shaped element in bold relief. It is not difficult to envision this composite foot as a further schematization of the laterally splayed foot form seen in, for example, FGA060.

SC024 (Figure 5.3, lower row, left)

SC024 is a fragment, consisting of the head and upper portion of a column, similar stylistically to FGA056 as just described. In this case, the head bears a peculiar, transversely-oriented, incised topknot. A delicate, partly broken triangular nose projects forward between the eye hollows, incised at the front with vertical line segments. An open mouth

has two rows of teeth separated by a slightly protruding tongue. At the upper end of the column is an encircling band decorated with an incised rectilinear meander.

FGA059 (Figure 5.3, upper row, right)

Our final figure pendant in this format has an elaborate three-part headpiece and bird-form ears with the lower lobes drilled through. Hollowed eyes connected at the middle, the nose, and the mouth arguably are standard Madre Vieja. The column is relatively short. A composite foot, unlike any other in the series, takes the form of a roulette with a central hole, around which are the incised line segments that presumably delineate toes.

AM009 (Figure 5.3, upper row, left)

Although AM009 is not technically a figure pendant, as it lacks a suspension hole, its membership in the present group is nonetheless incontestable. It is rather large, at 92 mm in height. To begin with what seems normal, from the neck to the base of the torso column, AM009 would be very much at home among the classic Madre Vieja specimens. That includes the upper limb elements, with their pawlike hands together against the upper torso, palms with D-shaped excisions facing outward, and downcurled fingers. All else is bizarre. The head is shaped like an upturned flower pot surmounted by a disk-form headpiece. Where we might expect a nose, there is instead a deep vertical groove, on either side of which are incised eyes, lenticular and slanted strongly downward. There is no mouth. At the opposite end, where we would expect lower limbs and feet, we find merely two superimposed horizontal disks, perhaps an ultimate simplification. If a case is to be made for knowledge of a different subject among these carvers, this is the best evidence for it, but what that subject was is anyone's guess.

Geographic distribution

In sum, the classic Madre Vieja corpus considered in this study includes nine specimens, a small sample on which to base a firm construct. To these nine I have added five marginal pieces, each unique and not quite within the classic compass, and seven more that may belong to a derivative, but closely related, substyle. It is no use preparing a map, as only two of the nine classic specimens have a specified place of origin: IC002, which is from the Varela III site in Holguín province, Cuba, and our type specimen, IC091, from Madre Vieja, Yasica, Puerto Plata province, Dominican Republic. The countries of origin with their proportions are as follows: Dominican Republic = 7 (78 percent); Cuba = 1 (11 percent); and Puerto Rico = 1 (11 percent).

The four classified here as marginalia, perhaps not unexpectedly, are widely distributed. One is from Cuba, another from Haiti, a third from the Dominican Republic, and the fourth from Puerto Rico.

Of the seven Madre Vieja-related oddities, which we have said may represent a separate substyle, only one has a secure point of origin. AM009 is from the site of Jagüeyes, Banes municipality, Huguín province, Cuba. The remaining six (75 percent) are from Dominican collections.

Thus, although the distribution is split, it is dominantly Hispaniolan. If we are looking to locate a community of practice for the classic specimens, it must be somewhere on that island, although it is frustrating that we cannot specify any region that

has produced multiples. The existence in Cuba of an unfinished piece in the skull-on-a-stick format is a provocative datum, if one can assume that unfinished pieces were seldom exchanged.

By way of concluding, from these limited data, that the classic Madre Vieja style is probably Hispaniolan, it is worth adding that the style bears not the slightest resemblance to Puerto Plata (Chapter 2), whose hearth we have located in the Cibao region and the adjacent north coast of the Dominican Republic. That lack of resemblance suggests a lack of contact, perhaps implying a geographic separation.

Archaeological context and dating

Not a single one of the 21 specimens discussed in this chapter is known to have been recovered from a systematic archaeological excavation. Thus, we know nothing at all about their find contexts. As for Jagüeyes, the small aboriginal village site in Banes at which AM009 was found, there are pottery collections on deposit at the Departamento Centro-Oriental de Arqueología in Holguín, Cuba. Based on these collections, Persons (2013:327, 359) assigns Jagüeyes to her El Mango II/III phases, 1200-1500 AD. This very broad date range is of little help to our understanding of figure pendant chronology.

Raw material

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the raw material, at least of the classic Madre Vieja specimens, is believed to be limited to the lip of the queen conch, *Lobatus gigas*. No other marine gastropod of the area is capable of producing a blank of the requisite length, thickness, and shape. The habitat of the queen conch includes the offshore waters fully surrounding each of the islands of the Greater Antilles where Madre Vieja specimens have been found: Cuba, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico.

Preliminary iconographic notes

It seems amply documented, at this point, that the dominant Madre Vieja-style subject is the same as that favored by Yaguajay-style carvers in eastern Cuba: a nude, partly skeletalized anthropomorph different from the fully fleshed beings favored by carvers in the Puerto Plata style. Large, empty eye sockets are associated with human skulls broadly in the Greater Antilles (García Arévalo 1997:114). The squatting posture and the prominence of navels are both widely shared classifying attributes that I have left uninterpreted for the moment. Possibly also the typical Madre Vieja arm and hand pose, with hands together below the chin, palms forward, and fingers downcurled, is another classifying attribute, as that pose is shared across other Antillean domains of carved figural work, including zoomorphic pendants (see, e.g., Ortega 2001:Plate 7A, 7B).

Of all the figure pendant categories discussed in this work, the carvers of the 21 specimens of shell discussed in this chapter were the most strongly inclined to indicate the sex of their subject. When they did so, it is male. Still, as in other styles, the majority of Madre Vieja figure pendants are unmarked as to sex. Arrom (1989:35)

presumes, for unstated reasons, that the Cuban IC002 is female and would have been worn by a female. He therefore illustrates it in his chapter on *Atabey*, a female high deity recorded by the Spanish cleric Ramón Pané. If Arrom's female attribution is because the unmarked space is triangular, that attribution must be judged as unwarranted by comparison to dozens of examples, in this and other figure pendant styles, where an absence of genitalia in the triangular space between the upper legs merely conveys sexual ambiguity. In contrast, Guarch Delmonte and Querejeta Barceló (1992:39) employ a sketch of the same figure pendant as an illustration of a different Hispaniolan deity mentioned in Pané's account. This is *Maquetaurie Guayaba*, lord of *Coaybay*, land of the dead. Regarding this deity, neither Pané nor any other chronicler gives us more information than his name, role, residence, male sex (*señor*) and the fact that this deity was the first resident of Coaybay (Pané 1999:18). Thus, we have no idea how Pané's informants actually envisioned this "lord of Coaybay." Although we cannot accept their ethnographic identification, Guarch Delmonte and Querejeta Barceló's (1992:39) description of the being in question is both vivid and valid. They write, "In aboriginal iconography it is recorded as a human figure with a cadaverous face and a body in which the ribs stand out. It is not represented as a skeleton, but rather as a body reminiscent of the human skeleton covered with a thin layer of skin." As already noted, the same applies to the dominant Yaguajay-style subject.

The Comendador style

A fourth style is named Comendador, after the Dominican village in the vicinity of which the earliest illustrated specimen was found. That specimen, our IC322, was described by de Booy (1916:28, 30, Plate 3c), who noted its singularity against other figure pendant forms known at the time. Lacking comparative material, he did not isolate the style as a separate one. That task is now possible due to the accumulation of eleven specimens from our own database plus additional documented examples. All are of stone.

Comendador-style anthropomorphic figure pendants tend to be highly skilled, fully dimensional, detailed carvings, some of which rank among the finest lapidary work of the Antilles. Indeed, one such specimen, IC027, has been chosen as a logo to represent the institution in which it is housed, the Museo Arqueológico Regional Altos de Chavón. The artistic vision on display in the Comendador style is perhaps truer to visual perspective than any other of the styles named herein, allowing for some exaggeration and adjustment of features in the head area. Facial traits are detailed and expressive.

Despite the proportionality and skillfulness of carving, Comendador is a blocky, bulky style. Carvers, in composing their subjects, favored vertical and horizontal lines, and the angularity of L, X, and Z-shapes. Flattened facets are common, particularly in forming isosceles trapezoidal prisms in the design of buttocks, torsos, and heads. Contributing to this blocky aesthetic was a preference for sawing deep, straight grooves whose sharp edges were often permitted to survive in the final product, for example those separating arms from torsos. Fine-line incising was used liberally for details. Finished pieces tend to be well polished.

As in the previous three styles, Comendador strongly favors a single subject, a circumstance that recommends restating a caution: we must strongly guard against equating the style with its favored subject. That said, the dominant subject is a fully-fleshed anthropomorph, whose hands grasp the thighs or the knees in a rigidly squatting posture. Forearms are against the sides of the thighs, knees are forward and together, and feet are conjoined into a basal disk. Eyes are circular hollows lacking pupils, surrounded by a raised mask-like structure above a broad nose. A lipped, toothless, slightly open mouth is formed by a horizontal slot or groove. The personage is naked, save for a headpiece and arm or leg bands.

Aside from this dominant personage, there is a single example of a different subject, or a different aspect of the same subject, in the Comendador style. It is a squatting figure whose chief distinction from the first is the lack of a nose. It will be discussed separately, later in the chapter.

Despite de Booy's introduction of an example to the published literature as early as 1916, it is something of a puzzle that Comendador has not been, until now, recognized as a distinctive style. Certainly, multiple examples have been published together at times (e.g., Baztán Rodrigo 1971-72:Figs. 108, 141, 145; Montás et al. 1985:98), but illustrations are mostly missing from earlier works. Perhaps another reason is that the specimens are so widely dispersed; for example, the exhibited collections of the Museo del Hombre Dominicano in Santo Domingo, the Museo Regional Arqueológico Altos de Chavon in La Romana, and the Museo de Historia, Antropología, y Arte of the University of Puerto Rico-Recinto Río Piedras each has only one.

The discussion in the pages that follow is based on a total of 19 examples of the style. I recognize two formats, "toothless" and "toothed," both depicting what is arguably the same subject in the same style, yet different enough in detail to separate. Discussion of their relationship will be postponed until after describing each Format separately, using the outline already established.

Comendador anthropomorph, Format 1

Type Specimen: IC340 (Figure 6.1, upper row, left)

Number Examined: 7

To the seven from our database we can add two from the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo in Santo Domingo for which we have usable frontal photographs (our FGA104, FGA105), and two more from the Bernardo Vega collec-

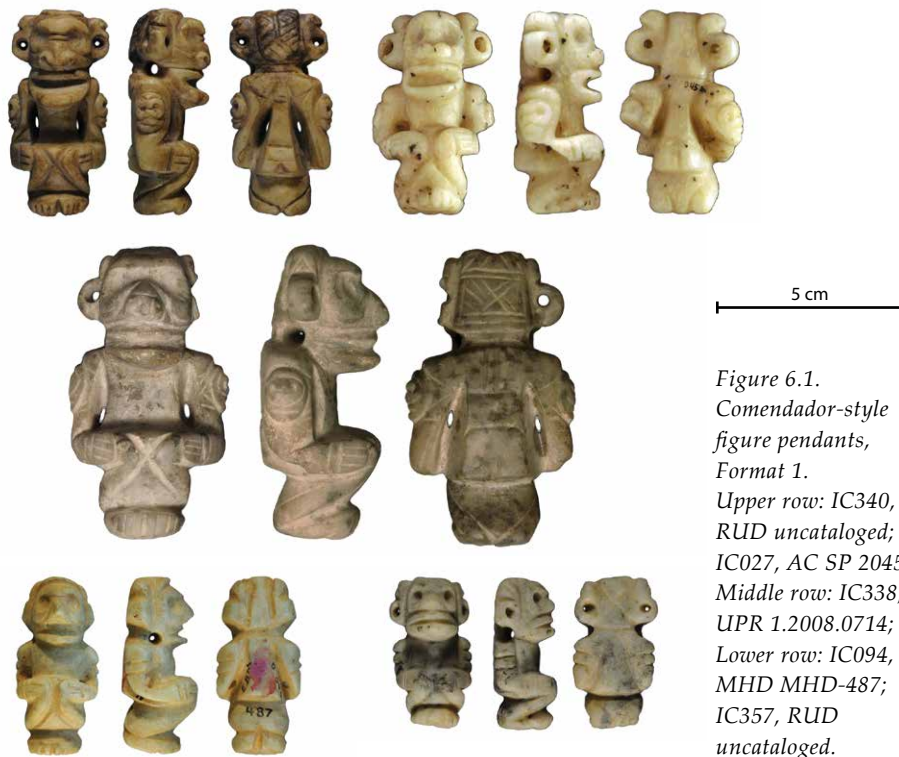


Figure 6.1.
Comendador-style
figure pendants,
Format 1.
Upper row: IC340,
RUD uncataloged;
IC027, AC SP 2045.
Middle row: IC338,
UPR 1.2008.0714;
Lower row: IC094,
MHD MHD-487;
IC357, RUD
uncataloged.

tion published by Montás et al. (1985:98). That total, then, is eleven for this format. A selection is shown in Figure 6.1.

Although I am already at risk of overusing the word, Format 1 comprises the “classic” Comendador specimens. Their stiff, squatting pose with forearms on thighs and their blank forward stare lend the Format an almost pharaonic appearance. Before diving into the details, four primary compositional features can be summarized as follows. First, the Format uses isosceles trapezoidal prisms as a formal element, best seen in the conjunction of the torso and buttocks. Second, L-shaped arms are separated from the torso by grooves set at an angle, sometimes penetrating the piece to form apertures. Third, from the proper right side, the legs and feet assume a Z-shaped configuration. Fourth, the figures’ knock-kneed posture is a signature Format 1 trait, expressed by X-shaped grooves outlining the legs in frontal view. These grooves create blank triangular spaces, horizontally at the lap and vertically between the lower legs.

With the exception of a lone bead-like miniature in this format, which has only a longitudinal drilling, perforation is always double. A straight, transverse perforation is located generally just above the shoulders at the plane of the mouth. In addition to these, longitudinal perforations penetrate from head to foot. These longitudinal perforations show a technical mastery of drilling long, slender holes, narrowing to only 1 mm in the largest specimen of the format, IC338. The two crossing perforations, transverse and longitudinal, instead of indicating a doubled method of attachment, instead suggest (to me at least) alternative methods of attachment and therefore, potentially alternative roles when in use. We have already seen double perforation of this sort among the Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 2 anthropomorphs, and we shall see it later on among the snouted hybrids in other styles. No other figure pendant style, however, shows double perforation as consistently as does Comendador.

Dimensions of the seven Format 1 specimens in the database are as follows.

Height: range 33-78 mm, mean 52 mm

Width: range 13-44 mm, mean 26 mm

Thickness: range 13-32 mm, mean 22 mm

Although the means suggest stone figure pendants of ordinary size, the range of Format 1 sizes is quite large. There is one outlier at both ends of the range. One, IC338, is relatively massive at 78 mm in height. At the other end of the scale there is the bead-like miniature already mentioned, IC227 (not illustrated), which measures only 33 mm in height.

The head

In frontal view, the head is rounded-rectangular, flattened at the back, and rounded in cross-section at the front. It is set relatively low on the body, essentially neckless, with the chin at or below the plane of the shoulders. The head is visually divided into upper and lower sections, of which the lower, containing the mouth and lips, is of the same width as the upper. At the top of the head, set rearward, is a low coronet or a cap-like headpiece, either plain or elaborated into two lateral bumps, as already seen both on Yaguajay and on Madre Vieja figure pendants. In two prominent cases, IC338 and IC340, this raised double-bun structure merges at the rear with a sort of decorative backflap covering the back of the head, carved in relief and elaborately incised with an

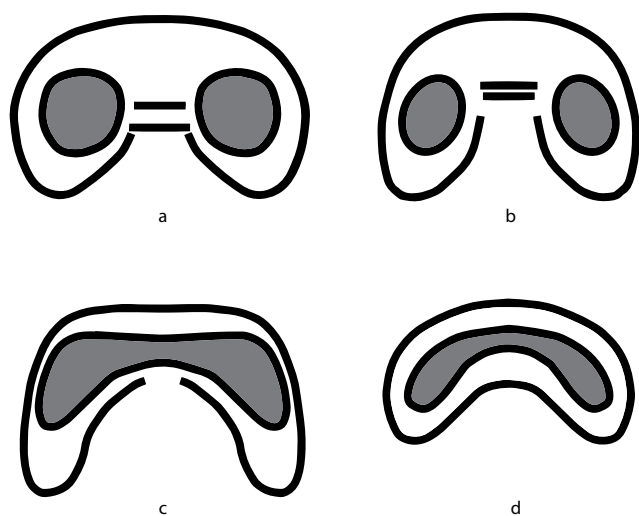


Figure 6.2. Forms of eye concavities and mask-like surrounds in the Comendador style. (a) and (b) Concavities connected by incised lines; (c) and (d) Concavities connected across the bridge of the nose. (a) IC340; (b) IC094; (c) IC338; (d) IC322.

alternating oblique pattern. Nine of eleven specimens have either large, explicit bird-form ears with details extending to the back side, or quasi-bird-form ears, the latter of the correct shape but lacking such details as drilled eyes and an incised division of the beak. In four of seven specimens available for study, the eye drillings in the lower ear lobe penetrate the ear from front to back.

Eyes are forward-facing, hemispherical hollows, proportionally smaller than those seen in Yaguajay figure pendants. There is no physical indication that these eye hollows ever held inlays, although that practice cannot be ruled out. The eyes are either separate or are connected across the bridge of the nose in one of a variety of ways. Eyes are surrounded, in all cases, by a raised, mask-like structure, just as is sometimes seen, although less frequently, in Yaguajay. Examples of Comendador eye-mask configurations are shown in Figure 6.2. Noses are broad, often relatively detailed with bulbous nostril flares in high relief, exhibiting drilled nostrils at the base.

Mouths consist of broad, horizontal grooves, either U-shaped or V-shaped in cross-section. In two cases, IC027 and FGA104 (not illustrated), a U-shaped mouth groove is wide enough to have accepted an inlaid “denture” of carved shell, but of this there is no convincing evidence. Mouths are thickly lipped, such that the lower lip juts forward a bit more than the upper. The lower lip most often doubles as the chin.

The torso and arms

Torsos are thick, geometric forms flattened at the back, front, and sides, although alternatively they may be oval in cross-section. As seen from the back, a highly distinctive style marker is the shape of the element that merges the torso and buttocks. As already mentioned, this shape is an isosceles trapezoidal prism, a pattern repeated at the back of the head on several specimens. The sides are formed, in most cases, by deeply sawn grooves that also serve to separate the arms by creating narrow apertures. Most torsos are bare, distinguishable from the styles previously described by lacking any reference to navels, ribs, or other signs of emaciation. FGA104 is alone in showing a hanging, necklace-like element on the upper torso of the kind also seen sparingly on Yaguajay and Madre Vieja-style figure pendants.

Arms are L-shaped, descending from broad shoulders and flexed forward at the elbow, parallel to the thighs. Usually there are simplified hands (although they are omitted on IC322, not illustrated), indicated by incised detail showing one or two encircling bands at the wrists, and three or four fingers per hand. In Format 1, the most common hand position is against the sides of the thighs and parallel to them, near the knee, followed in frequency by a variation in which the hands reach around from the sides to grasp the knees. In FGA104 the hands are again at the sides of the thighs, but the fingers are curled downward on both sides of the knees.

In ten of eleven Format 1 pieces there is some kind of upper arm band. In simplest form, they are two parallel encircling incised lines, but in most instances they are more elaborate, infilled with an incised alternating oblique pattern. Still more elaborate are the five cases (IC027, IC338, IC340, plus the two published Vega collection pieces) in which the arm band is superimposed by a small, medallion-like anthropomorphic head, oval or pear shaped. In all available for study, these small heads wear mask-like eye surrounds, like the ones present on the faces of the personages who wear them. It has been suggested, plausibly, that this is a depiction of the practice of wearing shell masks, or *guayzas*, about the arm (e.g., Oliver 2009:159). Such shell masks as found archaeologically are of an appropriate size to be worn in this way, although they have never been found as matched pairs.

The legs and genitalia

Thighs are flexed forward at about a 90-degree angle to the torso, creating a flat lap. Knees are together, after which the lower legs diverge, creating the diagnostic knock-kneed leg pose. This pose is defined in Chapter 12 using the notation $Z\Delta$ (zee-delta). From the view of the proper right side, the legs form a Z shape, from buttocks to knees to ankles to toes. Deeply sawn grooves are used to delineate this leg configuration, forming, as viewed from the front, a conspicuous crossing pattern of grooves in the form of an X. Lower legs are never separated by an aperture, leaving instead a blank triangular area bounded by the lower legs and feet. Because of the crossing pattern of grooves, a similar blank triangle is formed at the lap of the figure. Feet are conjoined into a basal disk with a row of toes incised at the front, the toes slightly downcurled at the base.

All Format 1 specimens are sexually unmarked, without genitalia.

The back

Decorative backflaps covering the back of the head, joined to the coronet, have already been described for IC338 and IC340. The only other elaboration noted at the back of the head is an incised X in IC357. In the plainest examples, the back is unelaborated except for grooves delimiting the reverse sides of the ears, arms, and feet. More elaborate specimens differentiate the buttocks, raised slightly in relief at the base of the torso, bounded by one or more horizontal incised lines at the waist and a central notch at the bottom. Only IC340 has shoulder blades carved in relief, and only IC338 has a potential indication of a spine, consisting of three vertical incised line segments in the section between the shoulders.

Comendador anthropomorph, Format 2

Type Specimen: IC190 (Figure 6.3, upper row, left)

Number Examined: 4



Figure 6.3. Comendador-style figure pendants, Format 2, and a possible additional subject. Upper row: IC190, CL AR-BV-468; IC169, CL AR-TG-476. Lower row: IC073, MHD uncataloged; FGA102 uncataloged; IC046, MHD uncataloged.

Format 2 (Figure 6.3) brings together a series of small deviations from the classic Format 1, beginning with the presence of teeth. I deliberately use the word “deviations” rather than differences, because I want to emphasize that there is an evident direction of development – from Format 1 to Format 2. It is the same sort of development, from the less to the more schematized, that we have already seen in the Puerto Plata seriation in Chapter 3. The typical Comendador propensity for deep sawn grooves in the formation of surface details, especially about the face, lends a bold individuality to the expression comparable to that seen in Madre Vieja-style figure pendants. Such boldness in Format 2 can be contrasted to the benign countenances and postures of Format 1 that I have characterized as almost pharaonic. Further, there is variability in the poses of hands and knees that is not seen in Format 1. Otherwise, the two Formats are very similar. The double, crossing mode of perforation – transverse and longitudinal – is the same.

Aside from the four specimens in our database, we have good frontal photographs of three others on exhibit in the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo.

Dimensions of the four specimens in the database are as follows.

- Height: range 40-82 mm, mean 54 mm
- Width: range 20-40 mm, mean 26 mm
- Thickness: range 19-36 mm, mean 24 mm

These dimensions are comparable to those of Format 1. IC263 (not illustrated) is an outlier, a very large specimen measuring 82 mm in height, which is also the largest figure pendant of the Comendador style more broadly.

The discussion that follows is based on a consideration of all seven examples for which we have good photographs.

The head

As in Format 1, these specimens have either a short coronet at the top of the head at the rear, or a cap-like headpiece. Our type specimen for the format, IC190, has a divided coronet combined with a simplified version of the decorative backflap also seen on the back of the heads of IC338 and IC340 in the classic Format 1.

Decoration, in this case, is limited to a central vertical groove ending in a drilled dot. As in Format 1, most specimens have bird-form ears, those of IC190 being perhaps the largest proportionally and the most explicitly carved bird-form ears of all figure pendants in our database. The two that lack bird-form ears appear to have tall, multi-lobed ears forms instead.

Eyes are, again, circular hollows without pupils, in all cases surrounded by the raised, mask-like elements that we have repeatedly seen in other styles and formats. Noses are broad, sometimes with carved nostril flares and drilled nostril pits. Here is the place to reiterate that the combination of deep, sawn grooves and excising in the creation of facial features grant an expressiveness to the face that, quite subjectively, ranges from menacing to almost comical.

The lower face, with its mouth, teeth, and chin, is strongly distinguished from the upper by a horizontal groove encircling backward to a point below the ears. Mouths are either shown as closed or very slightly open, using a horizontal groove between upper and lower lips and teeth. As in Format 1, the mouth is heavily lipped, but here the function of these horizontal ridges as lips is altered: their outer surface is divided by vertical incised line segments into two rows of teeth – as many 20 being shown. This peculiar alteration of lips into rows of teeth is visually conflicting, as the element can be seen as both at the same time. Usually there is no separate chin, as the lower lip/tooth row serves that function too.

The torso and arms

Torsos tend to be short, generally formed, as in Format 1, as an isosceles trapezoidal prism, sometimes bulged forward slightly. They are unelaborated, with the exception of FGA103, which appears to have two short horizontal line segments shallowly incised at either side. Conceivably these lines are intended to depict ribs in the manner of Yaguajay-style figure pendants, but if so, this is the only potential attempt to depict emaciation in the Comendador set.

Arms are flexed in an L shape, as in Format 1, with forearms alongside the thighs. Upper arms are separated from the torso by incised lines or sawn grooves. Apertures between arms and the torso are seen in three cases. In the type specimen, IC190, they combine the techniques of drilling from the front and the sawing of grooves from the back, resulting in a small opening. In two other cases, IC263 and FGA102 (not illustrated), the apertures are more substantial openings. In both, the arms have broken away and the breakage reworked to smooth surfaces. Distinctively carved broad shoulders, wider than the upper arms, appear on IC169 and IC073 in Format 2, and there is a hint of the same in IC190. Upper arm bands, indicated by double encircling grooves, appear in only two cases, IC169 and IC190.

Format 2 hands are clumsy and paw-like, showing three or four incised fingers. Hand positions vary in a different manner from that seen in in Format 1. The most common Format 1 pose, with hands at the sides of the thighs and fingers parallel to them, occurs only once in Format 2. More common Format 2 poses include hands grasping the knees from the sides (3 cases), and hands with fingers draped over the knees from the top (2 cases). The remaining instance is somewhat like FGA104 in the Format 1 group, with hands at the sides of the thighs and fingers bent downward, but it is executed more schematically.

The legs and genitalia

The squatting posture of Format 2 is the same as in Format 1, if often compressed into a shorter vertical space. Thus, the typical Z form of thighs, lower legs, and feet can still be seen, but that configuration is sometimes visually subordinated due to thick hands and feet. Thighs are forward at an angle of 90 degrees to the torso. The pose of the knees and lower legs differs from that seen in Format 1. Only one Format 2 specimen, IC169, has an abbreviated version of the X-form groove at the knees so commonly seen in Format 1. In Format 2, the knees can be posed either together or apart. Short lower legs are together, instead of diverging laterally from the knees, and are most often divided by a vertical line segment. Feet are conjoined in a relatively crude basal disk with a row of short, incised line segments at the front indicating toes. Several Format 2 specimens have toes that are shown as slightly downcurled.

As in Format 1 and in other figure pendant styles, most Comendador Format 2 figures are sexually unmarked. The sole exception is IC263, the largest specimen of the series, in which the legs are separated enough to insert male genitalia carved in relief, consisting of a large upright phallus with testicles.

The back

Backs are flattened and generally bare, except for incised lines or grooves delineating the back sides of ears, arms, and feet. No separation of the buttocks from the lower torso like that seen in Format 1 appears in our Format 2 sample. The backflap at the back of the head of our type specimen, IC190, has already been described. That same figure pendant has a decorative element applied to the back, consisting of a vertical incised line ending in drilled dots, a crossing horizontal line segment at the center, and two further drilled dots asymmetrically placed on the proper right side of the vertical line. The intent may have been to form a cross with a drilled pit in each quadrant, but there was insufficient room to do that.

Further notes on the style

I have already said that the subject of these two Formats in the Comendador style is the same, a fully-fleshed anthropomorph showing a number of consistent elements, including the eye form, a mask-like eye surround, bird-form ears, and a heavily-lipped mouth. Double perforation, transverse plus longitudinal, adds to the style's coherence and may indicate that these pieces were used somewhat differently than other figure pendant categories. Still, the distinction of Formats is worth making. The Format 1 series is stylistically a bit more coherent than Format 2. The latter series, although no less skillfully realized, shows bolder execution and more expressive facial characteristics. Format 2, moreover, goes in a number of new directions in the placement of hands, knees, and lower legs. Taken together, all this can be put in the form of a hypothesis: Format 1, the classic Comendador-style, is the original Format from which Format 2 arises, derivatively, over time.

Another subject?

For the want of a nose, IC046 (Figure 6.3, lower row, right) would have been assigned without hesitation to Format 1 of the Comendador style. In fact, from

the neck down it is virtually identical to IC322 of the Format 1 group – so much so that common authorship is a possibility. Even the raw material appears to be the same. Regarding the head of IC046, it has the broad, thick lips, the smallish eye hollows, and the mask-like eye surround common to Format 1. But all other Comendador anthropomorphs have wide, bulbous noses that project outward in profile at least as far as the outermost extent of the lips. So, the lack such a nose cannot simply be ignored. That lack forces us to entertain the idea that the carver had a specific, alternative concept in mind.

The effect of eliminating the nose leaves the face, with its large lips, looking rather snoutlike. If viewed in isolation, that snoutedness might lead one to suspect a hybrid, zoomorphic element. On the whole, however, comparison with the rest of the series shows that the only real difference is the deliberate omission of the nose, on what is otherwise a straightforward anthropomorph. The zoomorphic effect is illusory.

Lack of a nose, perhaps indicating an inability to smell, seems analogous to other iconographic subtractions of sensory powers seen among the figure pendants, such as sightlessness and armlessness.

Two other small deviations are worth noting. First, the particular variety of mask seen in IC046, with its prominent pompadour element on the forehead, is more like that of IC088 of the Madre Vieja style than any of its Comendador relatives. Second, the upper arms possess an unusually wide zone of constriction, bounded by incised lines.

In keeping with the style, IC046 is perforated longitudinally as well as transversely above the shoulders. Ears are upright, long, and multi-lobed. As in IC322, no hands are depicted, the forearms being merely feathered into the thighs. Toes are slightly downcurled.

Comendador marginalia

As was the case in Madre Vieja, there are a small number of figure pendants that have much in common with the Comendador style, yet to include them would have required an uncomfortable broadening of that style's canons. Thus, although the Comendador affinity is undeniable, they must have been made within the orbit of other crafting communities. There are four (Figure 6.4), all from Dominican collections. Although it cannot be said that they form a substyle, they do have certain things in common with one another. First, all four have necks – the plane of their chins is above the shoulders. Second, their bird-form ears are delicately formed, thin elements that are not as well integrated into the head structure as are their Comendador counterparts.

FGA150 (Figure 6.4, lower row, right)

This very small figure pendant of white stone, on display in the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo, has a round head with traits strongly reminiscent of Comendador Format 1: smallish eye hollows, a broad nose (although without defined nostrils), hints of a mask-like eye surround, and broad, thick lips. At the sides of the head are bird-form ears with unusually long lower beak elements that reach almost to the top of the head. Between these, at the back of the head, is a relatively tall, decorated coronet. The body likewise shows many Format 1 traits: L-shaped



Figure 6.4. *Commendador marginalia.*

Upper row: IC261, NMAI 33944; IC157, CL AR-TG-576.

Lower row: IC373, RUD uncataloged; FGA150 uncataloged (sketch by the author).

arms with arm bands and paw-like hands grasping the knees from the sides, a knock-kneed squat in which the lower legs diverge (squatting mode $Z\Delta$, see Chapter 12), and Z-shaped lower extremities as seen in profile. Yet the circular drilled apertures separating the arms from the torso and the lower legs are more reminiscent of Yaguajay than of Comendador. There is no longitudinal perforation.

IC261 (Figure 6.4, upper row, left)

Very much resembling the preceding is this small figure pendant of bright green stone, perhaps jadeite. The figure has a similar round head with bird-form ears, a divided coronet, a mask-like eye surround, and a heavily lipped, toothless mouth. Arms are separated from the torso by carefully carved, lenticular apertures, and a third aperture runs between the lower legs. Hands are posed at the sides of the knees. A small drilled pit on the lower torso serves as a navel. The back side reveals the isosceles trapezoidal prism shape of the torso, at the base of which are carefully carved buttocks in the manner of Comendador Format 1. A raised, ladder-like spine is similar to IC411 in the Yaguajay series (Chapter 4). At the proper right back shoulder is a small drilled pit, which upon close inspection seems to be an eye, in an attempt to turn that shoulder and forearm into the head of a beaked bird invisible from the front. There is no longitudinal perforation. A noteworthy feature of this specimen is the special effort made to carve musculoskeletal elements in relief. These elements include enlarged shoulders and knees, shoulder blades, clavicles, and pectoral muscles. A basal notch divides the feet.

IC157 (Figure 6.4, upper row, right)

Combining to give IC157 a distinctive Comendador flavor are connected eye hollows and a mask-like surround, bird-form ears, an isosceles trapezoidal torso, and hands with fingers draped down over the knees. In particular, its highly peculiar single row of teeth unbounded at the chin line is suggestive of the similarly unusual conjunctions of lips and teeth in Format 2 figure pendants. That, however, is where the comparison stops. The specimen is, first of all, made of marine shell rather than stone, and it lacks a longitudinal perforation. Its arms are long and spindly, separated from the torso by

exceptionally large apertures. Pairs of diagonally incised line segments on the upper torso are comparable to the depiction of ribs on Yaguajay-style figure pendants. Finally, the feet are separated by an unusually deep basal notch.

IC373 (Figure 6.4, lower row, left)

In IC373 attention is drawn, first of all, to the arm and hand pose, which is pure Comendador – fully comparable, for example, to counterparts on IC190, our Format 2 type specimen. Other comparable features include small eye hollows and a surrounding mask-like element, a broad nose, and bird-form ears. Departures, however, are numerous, beginning with the material, which is fossiliferous limestone, and the lack of a longitudinal perforation. The headpiece is a banded, tapering cap, mirrored on the basal end where the feet are raised above a short, tapering pedestal. Starting from broad, incised shoulders each bearing a drilled pit, the upper arms taper downward almost to a point at the elbow, the whole element suggesting an allusion to the head of a bird comparable to that seen in the ears. The artistic effect of turning the shoulder and upper arm into a bird head has already been described for IC261 in the current section.

Geographic distribution

As with other styles, a large majority of Comendador-style figure pendants have no provenance information beyond the country of origin. Some specimens cannot even claim a nationality. On the question of their geographic distribution, at the country level the result is simply stated. All 17 Comendador-style specimens whose country of origin is on record are Dominican. At the province level of resolution, we have

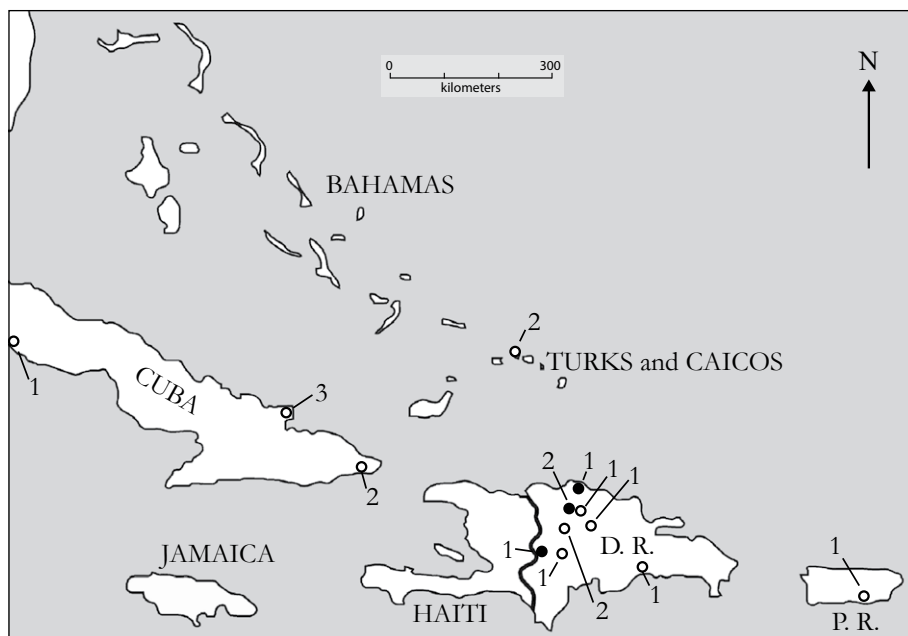


Figure 6.5. Geographic distribution of Comendador (filled circles) and Cibao-style (open circles) figure pendants.

only four datum points (Figure 6.5). Two specimens, one each of Formats 1 and 2, are reported from the area of Santiago de los Caballeros, in the Cibao Valley of the northern Dominican Republic. A third specimen, of Format 1, is from Puerto Plata province in the Atlantic coastal zone north of the Cordillera Septentrional. The fourth, also Format 1, is the original example reported by de Booy in 1916, which is from the vicinity of the town of Comendador (now Elías Piña), Elías Piña province, in the San Juan Valley of west-central Dominican Republic near the Haitian border. Thus, if forced to name a home region for this style based on this scant evidence, it would have to be the Cibao of the northern Dominican Republic, perhaps including the area of western Dominican Republic just south of the Cordillera Central. There are no unfinished specimens whose find locality might bolster such a conclusion.

Archaeological contexts and dating

We are in poor shape on the matter of archaeological context, as no Comendador specimens of any subject in any format – nor, for that matter, any of the Comendador-related specimens – were recovered from controlled circumstances where something might be said about their dating. Our hypothesis deriving Format 2 from Format 1 suggests a certain time depth for the style, but this need not have been a lengthy period of development. If our broader hypothesis about the chronology of perforation (see Chapters 3) is correct, the entire series falls within the later horizon marked by transverse perforation.

Raw materials

The stone of which Comendador-style figure pendants were made manufacture is quite variable. One raw material repeatedly seen is a white stone with spotty inclusion of dark gray, which polishes to a waxy surface. Geologist Louis P. Gratacap of the American Museum of Natural History has identified the material of one such figure pendant as “white nephritic stone (amphibolite)” (de Booy 1916:30). Also repeatedly seen are uniform light brown rocks, probably of metamorphic origin, comparable to one of the common raw materials from which Puerto Plata-style figure pendants were made. The largest specimen of the series, IC263, is of a highly variegated rock that may be a form of nephrite, with colors of light grayish green banded with red, tan, and reddish-tan. Fossiliferous limestone, an unusual material for figure pendants, is seen among the specimens described as Comendador marginalia.

Preliminary iconographic notes

Comendador furthers a trend already established in the styles already reviewed. Carvers in this style concentrated their efforts on a single subject. That favored subject is a fully-fleshed, squatting anthropomorph. At one level, the figural character has much in common with the anthropomorph similarly favored in the Yaguajay style, beginning with a comparable squat and similar scale. Both characters tend to wear coronets as headpieces, even extending to a specific type embellished with side-by-side lobes. Both subjects may have bird-form ears and downcurled toes, although these traits are far

more frequent in Comendador than Yaguajay. A plain necklace-like element on the upper torso appears very sparingly in both styles.

The differences, however, outweigh the similarities. Yaguajay carvers placed special emphasis on very large, hollow eyes and broad ranges of fully-bared teeth, in order to convey a skull-like visage. In Comendador, a similar sort of hollow eyes are present but in a reduced form, always in conjunction with a mask-like surround. If empty eye sockets are in fact the attributes of skulls (García Arévalo 1997:114), it is as though the Comendador subjects wear skull masks but are not, of themselves, skeletal beings or cadavers. The kind of large, disk-like ears that are most common in Yaguajay are entirely missing in Comendador, as is any emphasis on ribs and navels on the torso. Plainly human Comendador noses contrast with occasional nonanthropomorphic noses in Yaguajay. Only the Comendador character displays anthropomorphic maskettes on the upper arm bands. A final contrast is that, while Yaguajay figures never depict the sex, one Comendador figure does – being male. Such consistent differences are not merely stylistic. They show that, in Comendador, we are dealing with a separate figural character, one in which depicting partial skeletalization or emaciation was unimportant.

It is certainly significant that Yaguajay, Madre Vieja, and Comendador figures share a highly specific eye configuration: one with hemispherical hollows in the place of eyes with pupils, surrounded by a raised mask-like device. The apparent difference is that large, empty eye sockets are used in Yaguajay and Madre Vieja to indicate a cadaverous condition, whereas in Comendador a different version with smaller eye hollows is used more literally as a mask on an otherwise fully-fleshed figure.

The Cibao style

Type Specimen: IC104 (Figure 7.1, upper row, left)

Number Examined: 40

In this chapter we introduce a new hybrid subject in which a strongly manifested zoomorphic content is merged with the anthropomorphic. This new figural character is shared by multiple styles in the Greater Antilles, among which Cibao is merely the most prominent. Other such styles depicting the same subject will be considered in Chapters 10 and 11. Before getting to the style, it will be helpful to briefly describe the figural character.

This subject is, by far, the most abundantly seen in the whole gamut of Greater Antillean figure pendants. Its head is that of a snouted, large-eared mammal, mated below the neck to elements of a squatting anthropomorph not unlike those seen in the style categories already described. There are two further traits that are plainly significant. First, the figure is armless (de Booy 1916:30), in a manner far too conspicuous to be merely a stylistic notion or a developmental reduction from an arm-endowed antecedent (contra Arrom 1989:44-45; Maciques Sánchez 2018:28-30). Second, the character is usually depicted as sightless, lacking eyes. In those few cases where eyes do appear, they tend to be inconspicuous small, drilled pits. As we have already seen, eyes are large and prominent in other figure pendant categories.

While the heads of some examples have been viewed as dogs (e.g., McGinnis 1997a:368-378; Keegan 2007:38), side-by-side comparison of dozens of specimens reveals too many non-canid features to uphold that interpretation. More convincing is the comparative analysis of 19 Cuban specimens by Rodríguez Arce (2000). He concludes that the head is that of a bat, with mammalian snout and dentition, supranasal furrows, upturned nose, vertical ears, and a diminishment of eyes. If Rodríguez Arce is correct, and I accept that he is, the subject is best thought of as an armless bat-person.

Returning to the style, I elect to call it Cibao, after the provenance of one of the earliest examples described in the literature. According to de Booy (1916:26), this specimen (IC264) is said to have come from “the Cibao mountains,” which I take to mean the Cordillera Central of the west-central Dominican Republic. The following describes the snouted, armless figural character specifically as realized in the Cibao style (Figures 7.1-7.3)

All examples are of carved and polished stone. The base format is cylindrical (Maciques Sánchez 2018:31), the width a bit less than the thickness, tapering at both ends. Reinforcing this cylindrical aspect is a columnar torso, plain and expanded at the center, a two- or three-tiered disk-form headpiece, and feet merged into a basal disk mir-



Figure 7.1. Cibao-style figure pendants. Upper row: IC104, MPH 6-13; IC274, NMAI 36316. Middle row: IC275, NMAI 59238; IC063, MHD uncataloged. Lower row: IC115, UO 5-145; IC128, ICAN 8059.

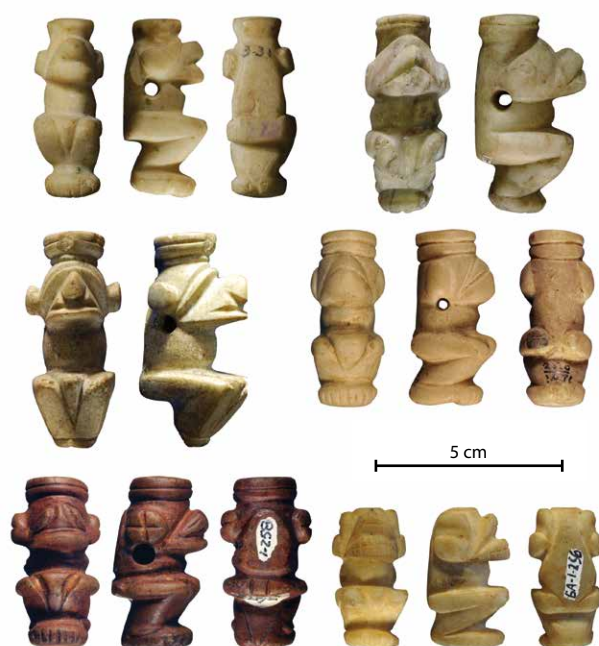
roring the headpiece, all on the center axis. Apart from these cylindrical aspects, the head and lower limb components place strong stylistic emphasis on facets, angles, and grooves. Commonly flattened surfaces include the back, the under surface of the chin, the lap, the sides of the legs, the frontal aspect of the lower legs and genitalia, and the sides of the ear disks. V-shaped angles and chevrons are common in the snout, the zone between the legs, and the sides of the legs. Sawn grooves dominate surface details at the expense of fine-line incising, which is used sparingly if at all. The snout and the knees project forward to about the same plane, separated by a rectangular cutout in a manner similar to the torso cutouts of Puerto Plata. Such features combine to yield the impression of large, starkly angular head and leg elements artfully integrated with a central column.

Figure 7.2. Cibao-style figure pendants.

Upper row: IC018, MIB 3-31; IC175, CL AR-TG-488.

Middle row: IC059, MHD 2841; IC314, AMNH 25.0/1471.

Lower row: IC021, MON 3673; IC042, GA GA-1-256.



The Cibao style and its subject were first isolated by Theodor de Booy (1916), who published six specimens (plus one of the Comendador style), noting the ways in which these differed from the Antillean figure pendants previously published by Mason and Fewkes. De Booy did not, however, provide a name for either the new style or its arm-less subject. Without reference to de Booy, Herbert Krieger (1929:51-52, 1930:496) elaborated on the form, being the first to point out the zoomorphic nature of the snout. Krieger's early comments are worth quoting.

Some of the striking points of similarity in zemis of this form is that they are fashioned without arms, while legs are represented as flexed under an erect body. Then, there is a marked triangular elevation in triangular form of the lower abdominal section. The head is devoid of facial features, except for a prominent snout region and a high projection of the posterior skull section, probably representing a form of headdress. Minor differences, such as faint indications of facial features, eyes, ears, mouth, and so forth, exist as forms of local developments in art design. It is definitely established that certain forms of the same variety of zemi carving have been found in Cuba and on Turks Island. In other words the form is ... common to the Island Arawak, of the Greater Antilles, as a whole [1929:51-52].

That distribution will be reviewed in a later section. Regarding a "triangular elevation," Krieger is referring to the projecting faceted genital element between the knees of these figure pendants, so schematized that it is beyond recognition as being definitely male or female. Earlier, de Booy (1916:30) had neutrally called this element a "triangular piece of stone between the legs."



Figure 7.3. Cibao-style figure pendants. Upper row: IC143, CL AR-TG-417; IC161, CL AR-TG-453. Middle row: IC189, CL AR-BV-467; IC165, CL AR-TG-461 (unfinished). Lower row: IC273, NMAI 32200.

Forty Cibao-style figure pendants depicting snouted, squatting hybrids are in our database. Seven more are in the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo, for which we have usable frontal photographs. Baztán Rodrigo (1971-72:Figures 64, 85, 86, 123, 141) has published photographs of nine others, from the private Dominican collections of Pierre Domino, José Antonio Caro, and Emile de Boyrie Moya. One is in the Jay I. Kislak collection at the U.S. Library of Congress. A Cibao-style figure pendant in the Hispanic Society of America with a most intriguing pedigree was published by de Booy (1916:Plate 3d). I am informed by Mr. Constancio del Álamo, Curator of Sculpture, Archaeology, and Textiles of the Hispanic Society that, unfortunately, the figure pendant is no longer in their collections, its present whereabouts unknown. Nonetheless, its catalog card survives, which reads:

INDIAN IDOL from the mountains of Cibao, Santo Domingo, brought to Madrid, Spain by Christopher Columbus, when he discovered the West Indies. It was given to Washington Irving when he was Minister to Spain in 1842-1846. Also [in the collection are] specimens of the white beads presented by Guacanagari to Columbus, and esteemed at that time of inestimable value. The gift to this Society by Mr. E. Morgan Grinnell.

How much of that information is reliable is not known. The total, then, of documented Cibao-style figure pendants at present stands at 58.

The matter of perforation is the most complex mix of modalities so far encountered. Some 89 percent of the specimens, thus the vast majority, have full transverse perforation either below the ear or directly through the ear disks – the latter a Cibao specialty. But only some 34 percent have transverse perforation only. Another 45 percent have both full transverse and full longitudinal perforations crossing one another, as is the norm in Comendador. In some cases these crossing perforations meet and in others they do not. Yet another 10 percent have full transverse perforation plus partial longitudinal drillings. The rest are a mixed bag: two with only longitudinal perforation, one with full longitudinal plus partial transverse perforation, and one with elbow-style perforation. Thus, although it may be legitimate to talk about a standard, transverse mode of Cibao-style perforation for suspension, there was, in reality, a fair amount of leeway among carvers in how to mount or display their work. The only figure pendant category having even remotely comparable variability in this regard is Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 2 (Chapter 2), in which all specimens are perforated transversely, but among them are numerous examples that are also either fully or partially drilled longitudinally. It may not be a coincidence that the two categories, Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 2 and Cibao, share a cylindrical base form, nor perhaps that both are, geographically, largely Dominican (as will be seen below).

Dimensions of 33 complete specimens in the database are as follows.

Height: range 33-116 mm, mean 64 mm

Width: range 14-44 mm, mean 26 mm

Thickness: range 15-56 mm, mean 26 mm

As the height values illustrate, Cibao-style figure pendants range from quite small (33 mm height) to very large (116 mm height). It is a simple matter to find out if extreme outliers affect the mean values by calculating a trimmed mean, eliminating the upper and lower five percent of the height distribution. That exercise, whose details we need not report, does not alter the mean at all. From these data, it can be seen that of the stone figure pendant categories discussed to this point, only Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 2 figure pendants tend to be larger, while both Yaguajay and Comendador examples tend to be a bit smaller than their Cibao counterparts.

Details of execution

Regarding details of execution, the following discussion is structured in the manner established previously.

The head

As in other figure pendant styles, the Cibao head is proportionally large, commonly occupying more than one-third the total height. Ignoring the snout and ears, the head is cylindrical, an upward extension of the torso, tapering toward the top. This relationship between torso and head is best seen from the back side, where there is seldom any differentiation between the two, nor any neck constriction.

Some form of headpiece is present on all but two specimens. By far the most common form (86 percent) is a horizontally banded discoid element, turban-like, flat on top, the bands formed by one or two encircling grooves. This disk-form headpiece may be straight-sided, tapered in conformity to the head shape, or outwardly flared at the top. Rarer headpiece types in Cibao include two instances of a sagittal crest. The latter projects forward, overhanging the forehead. This is the crest form seen on IC273 (Figure 7.3, lower), one of the largest, most celebrated, and most often reproduced figure pendants from the Greater Antilles. An unfinished Dominican specimen, IC189, has the same kind of crest. Rounding out the roster are two specimens that have plain coronets, and one that has a simple rounded cap, bounded by an encircling line.

Ears, most commonly, are simple, knob-like, truncated cylinders that project laterally. In a few cases, the outer facets are embellished with an incised X or a Greek cross, or have pitted center. Taking the pitted circle idea a bit further, in seven cases Cibao carvers relocated the transverse suspension hole upward to the center of the ears, drilling it to pass from ear to ear. I have already noted that this manner of perforation is a Cibao specialty. A second ear form is a two-lobed affair. In these, the lower lobe is a horizontal oval that projects laterally, while the upper lobe is a flattened, rounded flare projecting upward and outward, presenting a tall, floppy-eared effect. Fancier versions, as in IC273, have fringe-like incising on the lateral surfaces. Given the existence of explicit bird-form ears in all styles discussed to this point, it is noteworthy that they are completely absent in the Cibao style.

The matter of vision – or the lack of it – is of central iconographic importance to the snouted, armless Cibao-style figure pendants, so I want to be careful to describe the element that occupies the boundary between the forehead and the snout. Let us begin with a lateral view of FGA080 (Figure 7.4), which shows this element in what I believe is its fullest expression (the small pit in the nose may be ignored as a flaw in the stone). It is a raised ridge, shaped like an inverted U as it passes around the bridge of the nose, in the middle of which is a groove. IC274 shares the same configuration, but most other Cibao figure pendants have a modified or a simplified version. For example, IC059 has the U-shaped ridge, in this case with a carefully faceted frontal surface, but the accompanying groove is placed behind it rather than on it. Many other specimens, as in the type specimen, have the raised ridge only, or in its reduced form, only a pair of nested incised chevrons that indicate its inner and outer margins. Still other specimens, including some quite fancy examples such as IC100 (not illustrated) and IC273, omit the ridge, substituting merely a groove of the same shape between forehead and snout.

Using Cuban specimens, Rodríguez Arce (2000:97) cites as a “universal” opinion that slanted grooves represent closed eyes, but he introduces an alternative suggestion – a highly plausible one – that the element discussed here represents the supranasal furrows seen in several indigenous species of bats.

Rodríguez Arce further notes that ocular elements on real bats can be barely perceptible, and that when obvious eyes do appear on the Cuban figure pendants, they are small, round pits placed independently on the upper face, above the supranasal chevron-shaped element. Rodríguez Arce's observations apply to Cibao-style figure pendants generally. Only four of 40 specimens in the database (10 percent) have eyes that can be considered original to the piece (see User Modifications, below), located on the face above the supranasal chevron.

In sum, comparative study suggests that the supranasal chevron-shaped element marking the boundary between the snout and upper face represents a prominent skinfold rather than closed eyes. The Cibao hybrid is ordinarily depicted as sightless; in those few cases where eyes are added they are minimized, consisting of small drilled pits on the upper face.

The lower face is dominated by a forward-projecting snout, triangular as seen from the front with a flat facet forming the chin line. It is fashioned as a separate element and is demarcated from the rest of the head. Most often, the snout projects forward to about the same plane as the knees, although there are cases in which that forward projection is deemphasized. The snout includes the nose, which is a more or less well-defined protuberance positioned above the mouth. The nose can be upturned, downturned, or straight. In the latter case, a triangular variant often resembles a human nose. In three instances (e.g., IC128) the nose is bifurcated bilaterally by a short incised line segment. Two others (IC021 and IC042) have separately-carved, flared nostrils consisting of raised lenticular shapes placed at an angle on the upturned nose. An added, cylindrical element at the tip is present on IC273; in comparable cases of snouted, armless figure pendants in other styles, Rodríguez Arce (2000) compares this added element to the nasal flake of a bat. Its form, however, is a miniature version of McGinnis's "reptilian roll" nose, previously mentioned in Chapter 4 in connection with Yaguajay.



Figure 7.4. FGA080, showing elaborated form of supranasal chevron element.

There are two forms of mouth, apparently interchangeable. The more common, closed version is indicated by a short horizontal incised line segment or sawn groove. The less common, open configuration consists of an incised oval or rectangular enclosure containing two rows of incised teeth.

The torso and arms

Torsos are cylindrical and plain, generally bulging somewhat at the center. Lack of a navel on any specimen is noteworthy. Absence of any indications of arms across the sample is a striking feature that must be of high iconographic significance. To reiterate, this armlessness is decidedly not a case of stylistic reduction from an arm-endowed precursor.

The legs and genitalia

Legs are posed in a deep squat, the thighs and knees positioned directly forward about 90 degrees to the torso, creating a lap. In keeping with the style generally, the lap, the sides of the legs, and the front of the lower legs tend to be flattened, creating a faceted appearance. Knees are apart. The lower legs converge at the base, tucked back below the center axis (a squatting pose given the notation ZV in Chapter 12). Feet are merged, most often into a forward-projecting, flattened ovaloid element. Otherwise they form a more disk-like element on the center axis of the piece, an effect occasionally enhanced by raising the feet upon a disk-form basal pedestal that mirrors a disk-form headpiece. In either case, a row of toes is indicated by vertical incised line segments. The base of the merged foot element is flat, either perpendicular to the center axis or angled slightly downward. On almost one-third of examples with intact bases, toes are depicted as slightly downcurled, a stylistic propensity already seen in the Yaguajay, Madre Vieja, and Comendador styles. Some sort of relationship to Puerto Plata anthropomorphs, probably more a matter of style than of iconography, is signaled by the presence of raised ankle bands and/or ankle bumps on about one-third of Cibao figure pendants.

We come now to the curious geometric genitalia of Cibao anthropomorphs, first noted by de Booy (1916:30) as one of the diagnostic elements of the series. Between the knees is an angular, forward-projecting, triangular wedge, in profile generally following the same outline as the legs on either side. It is beveled, with flat facets joined at a central ridge. Despite its entirely unnatural appearance, this is a deliberate genital element and not just a residual feature resulting from the carving of separated knees, as shown by the fact that it is made to rise slightly above the plane of the lap in several cases, and that it projects beyond the plane of the knees in others. To achieve this effect, carvers had to go to the considerable trouble of reducing the volume of the legs on either side.

If not a result of the process of manufacture, de Booy (1916:27) speculated that the faceted genital wedge of IC273 “may have been intended by the carver to represent either an apron or a phallus.” It is difficult, however, to picture in what sense an apron could have been the intent, nor, for that matter a phallus in any normal sense. In two specimens from our database (see IC366, below), and in a figure pendant from the Caro collection published by Baztán Rodrigo (1971-72:Fig. 86), Cibao-style figure pendants do show an unambiguous male phallus, and it is nothing like

the genital wedge. This contrast points to a distinct significance for the wedge, a matter to which we will return.

The back

Cibao-style anthropomorphs have somewhat flattened backs, largely without elaboration. The chief exception is the manner in which the hips are often made to wrap around the back of the piece as a continuous, raised band, creating a waistline. Where present, this raised band is occasionally segmented at the back by a groove, forming separate buttocks. The reverse sides of the banded disk headpiece and the occasional basal pedestal are fully formed. In IC274, the back of the head carries an incised X crossing from ear to ear.

Further notes on the style

Special consideration is due to IC273 (Figure 7.3, lower), if for no other reason than that de Booy (1916:25), a century ago, proclaimed it “perhaps the finest example of Antillean stone carving known.” This extraordinary piece is at the extreme of the Cibao-style figure pendant size range at 116 mm in height, and it is quite hefty at 313 g. It is also in excellent condition, missing only a small chip at the proper right knee. It was first brought to public attention by de Booy in 1912, and as befits such an impressive figure pendant, it has since been featured in catalogs of Antillean and American Indian art (e.g., Dockstader 1964:Plate 205; Bercht et al. 1997:Plate 88).

Inasmuch as Dockstader (1964:Plate 205), in the caption to his photograph, states that IC273 belongs to a “Lucayan sub-decorative style,” we should perhaps review the reasons for placing it squarely within a style we are prepared to claim, in the appropriate section below, is Hispaniolan. There is, in the first place, only one other Cibao-style pendant from the Bahamian archipelago (IC275), and both it and IC273 are made of rock that could not possibly have come from the find locality. While the forward-projecting crest of IC273 is unusual, its counterpart is found in IC189, an unfinished Dominican piece. As for the rest of it, it is classic Cibao in just about every way, from its bi-lobed, vertical “floppy” ear form, to its flattened chin line and faceted legs, to its triangular wedge-form genitalia and its wrap-around banded hip. In fact, de Booy had pointed out that IC273 is, below the neck, “identical” to IC274, a specimen from the vicinity of La Vega in the northern Dominican Republic. In short, there is frankly no evidence at all for a Lucayan style or substyle of anthropomorphic figure pendant.

Before leaving the subject, it is worth pointing to two aspects of IC273 that, aside from its exceptional size, are unique within the Cibao style. The head crest is, first of all, serrated on top and is lightly incised, on both sides, with an alternating oblique pattern. The element at the tip of the nose, as already mentioned while discussing Cibao snouts, is a small version of what McGinnis called the “reptilian roll” nose based on Antillean three-pointed stones. As the same nose roll appears less frequently at the juncture of the head and beak of some Antillean bird carvings, and if I am right in following Rodríguez Arce’s interpretation of Cibao heads as those of bats, we now appear to have this element on representations of reptiles, birds, and bats. What that might mean iconographically, I cannot say.

Cibao oddities

Five figure pendants of the style group (Figure 7.5) show traits sufficiently different from the rest to set them aside for individual consideration. In none of the five, however, do these differences add up to grounds for dismissal from the Cibao style. The deviations also have nothing in common that would suggest a substyle.

IC264 (Figure 7.5, upper row, left)

This little figure pendant, now in the U. S. National Museum of the American Indian, was one of the original set brought together by de Booy (1916:Plate 3g) to demonstrate the existence of a “new” figure pendant category we have herein named Cibao. In fact, “Cibao,” Dominican Republic, is given by de Booy as the region in which IC264 was found. It is fragmentary, missing the feet and portions of the lower legs. The protruding ears are unusual in being rounded off instead of fashioned into truncated disks. Likewise, the genital element, while generally in the right place and of the right shape, is unusual in being rounded off instead of faceted. But it is the prominent eyes that more than anything else set the figure apart. Not only does it have eyes, atypical all by itself, but these are bulging elliptical elements, slotted at the middle and set diagonally. So-called “coffee-bean” eyes have been seen only occasion-



Figure 7.5. Cibao oddities. Upper row: IC264, NMAI 33946; IC145, CL AR-TG-419. Middle row: IC366, RUD uncatalogued; IC062, MHD uncatalogued. Lower row: IC093, MHD EBM 2833.

ally so far. We will see them again, abundantly, in that such eyes are diagnostic of the Imbert style of frog-form hybrids and their cognates.

IC062 (Figure 7.5, middle row, right)

Although the armless torso, legs, and genital form leave no doubt about the Cibao stylistic assignment, the head of IC062 impressionistically is a bit more human than its cohort. It has, in addition to a single row of incised teeth and drilled pits for eyes, a coronet set across the back of the head between bi-lobed ears. Only one other Cibao figure pendant has a coronet. What is missing is any indication of a skin-fold element or groove between the forehead and lower face. However, the carver has offered a fully adequate clue that this is not a human head. The nose is curled upward, bat-like, and is bifurcated. All told, there is no compelling reason to suspect a different subject.

IC145 (Figure 7.5, upper row, right)

In this eyeless figure pendant, features from the neck down are Cibao in every way, as are the disk-like ears. It is the form of the snout that is entirely unique in the sample. Instead of being flat at the base of the chin, the whole snout is upswept in a curve, with incised lines at both sides seemingly indicating jowls. On the whole, the uniqueness of this snout is perhaps insufficient to assign IC145 to another subject.

IC366 (Figure 7.5, middle row, left)

As stated already, the basal pedestal on which the feet of Cibao-style figure pendants are occasionally raised is conceptually similar to the banded disk-form headpiece at the opposite end. In IC366, that equivalence is literal. Both pedestal and headpiece are embellished with opposed barred ovals – the Antillean meander motif in its minimal form. IC366 is also given an elongated neck, enhancing the long, narrow, cylindrical aspect of the base form. Contributing to this enhancement are the truncated ears through which the transverse perforation passes. As best seen from the back side, the whole ear assemblage is, in effect, a second perforated cylinder passing at right angles to the first. This is, in short, the work of a figure pendant carver of considerable artistic vision. The carver added two further details, both of high interest. The first is explicit male genitalia in standard Antillean format, with upright phallus and testicles, one of only three Cibao-style figure pendants featuring this. The second is the provision of eyes as raised, pitted circles connected by a single horizontal line segment – unique in Cibao, but exactly after the manner of the majority of Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 2 figure pendants, which also have a pronounced cylindrical format. It seems highly likely that this carver was familiar with Puerto Plata figure pendants, which may bear on their geographies, as will be addressed in a section to follow.

IC093 (Figure 7.5, lower)

Although the subject of IC093 is familiar, its base form is more flattened than cylindrical, and in fact, more closely resembles the prismatic base form and proportions of Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 1 figure pendants than Cibao. In keeping with that observation, it also has elbow-style perforations, the only Cibao figure pendant having perforations in this mode. Moreover, it possesses upright, oval lumps for ears, like Puerto Plata anthropomorphs. Why do we not, then, simply assign IC093 to Puerto

Plata, in which case it would be the only known Puerto Plata figure pendant dedicated to a snouted, armless hybrid? One thing weighing perhaps decisively in Cibao's favor is the complete absence of incising on IC093 – fine-line incising being the Puerto Plata staple for rendering surface details. Other deciding features include the flattening of the lateral surfaces of the legs, the flattened undersurface of the chin, the faceted genital wedge, and the general formation of facial details. That said, as in the previous example, this carver must have had considerable familiarity with Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 1 figure pendants. Given our seriation of Puerto Plata in Chapter 3, in which Format 1 was judged the earlier form, it is also worth contemplating that IC093 might be similarly early in the spectrum of snouted, armless hybrids.

User modifications

As in other styles, there are instances among Cibao-style figure pendants where broken specimens were re-used after modification. A good example is IC300 (not illustrated), a classic Cibao snouted, armless, hybrid found in Cienfuegos province on Cuba's south-central coast. After being broken through at the knees, the broken surface was ground to a smooth but uneven surface, presumably in antiquity.

In two intriguing cases, eyes seemingly were added to a previously eyeless figure pendant by someone other than the original carver. Both, morphologically, are standard Cibao. The best case for such a thing is IC275, one of two specimens found in the Caicos Islands. Here, scratched-incised eyes of squarish form are entirely out of character with the incising on the rest of the piece. Moreover, these unique eyes are in the wrong place. They are on the upper snout, below the inverted U-shaped element. Where eyes otherwise appear on Cibao-style snouted hybrids, they are small drilled pits on the forehead *above* that element. A similar case might be made for the eyes on a Dominican specimen, IC281 (not illustrated). These eyes are small pits, closely spaced, drilled into the faceted frontal area of the raised supranasal chevron itself, a surface left blank in all other cases. They are, in other words, in the wrong place – unintentionally, I suspect, giving the figure pendant a monkey-like face. In both this and IC275, it is as though an owner concluded that the eyeless subject needed eyes, and so added them, but in a manner inconsistent with the style's canons.

Geographic distribution

Although the style is widely distributed from western Cuba to central Puerto Rico, the proportions at the country level indicate a definite concentration in Hispaniola. Of 48 specimens with an understood country of origin, the proportions are these: Dominican Republic and Haiti = 69 percent; Cuba = 21 percent; Puerto Rico = 6 percent; Turks and Caicos = 4 percent. If the nine Cibao-style specimens from the Domino, Caro, and Boyrie collections (published by Baztán Rodrigo 1971-72) are assumed to be also Dominican in origin, the Hispaniolan frequency rises to 74 percent.

More specific locational data are quite scarce. What there is can be shown on a map previously given in Chapter 6 (Figure 6.5). Starting with the Cuban locations in the west, three specimens are documented from the municipality of Banes, Holguín province, the home of a major concentration of late prehistoric sites (Valcárcel Rojas

2002). Two others come from the area of a different concentration of late sites in easternmost Cuba, in the province of Guantánamo. One such figure pendant is more specifically from the well-known archaeological site of Pueblo Viejo (Harrington 1921). Another specimen comes from the south-central coast, from an archaeological site on the Arimao River in the municipality of Cumanayagua, Cienfuegos province. Once again, there is a concentration of late prehistoric sites in this region (Knight 2010). The seventh Cuban figure pendant comes from unlikely area: the westernmost province of Pinar del Río, beyond the reach of the map. Habitation sites of pottery-making agricultural peoples are still entirely unknown in this province, and only rarely have isolated artifacts relating to those peoples been found (Ortiz 1935:Map 1; Rivero de la Calle 1966:52).

Of the few Dominican specimens with more specific information, one is simply said to be from “Cibao” (the mountainous north of the country) and another from the “Cibao mountains,” an alternative name for the Cordillera Central in the central-west Dominican Republic. A third is labeled “Santiago,” which may mean somewhere in the vicinity of Santiago de los Caballeros, the largest city in the Cibao Valley. It may instead refer to the province of the same name, which straddles part of the Cibao Valley and the adjacent Cordillera Central. A fourth Cibao figure pendant is from La Vega, probably referring to the city of that name in the portion of the Cibao Valley called La Vega Real, southeast of Santiago de los Caballeros. A fifth Dominican specimen is labeled “Vallejuelo,” a small town in the San Juan Valley south of the Cordillera Central and in the west-central part of the country. The sixth and final specimen is from a locality “25 miles east of Santo Domingo,” which would put it in or near the municipality of Boca Chica on the southeast coast. The Boca Chica archaeological site is the type locality for Rouse’s Boca Chica style and Chican subseries of late Ceramic Age pottery (Rouse 1952a:347; 1992:111-112).

Taken together, these data suggest a distribution centered on the Cordillera Central and including the interior valleys just to the north and south of that prominent mountain range. Although the numbers are small, the distribution seems rather definitely south of that of the Puerto Plata style, especially as there are no known Cibao specimens from Puerto Plata province.

The few remaining Cibao-style figure pendants with provenance data of any kind come from the Caicos Islands and Puerto Rico. The two from the Caicos Islands are particularly intriguing, as the stone from which they are made must have come from geologically older rocks on the islands of the Greater Antilles to the south. The Caicos Islands are the southeasternmost islands of the Bahamian chain, lying some 225 km north of the Dominican Republic. One of these specimens is IC273, an impressive figure pendant to which I have devoted a special section (see “Further notes on the style”), reportedly from a locality near the town of Kew, North Caicos Island. The other is IC275, already described as having misplaced incised eyes on the upper snout, perhaps added by an owner. The lone Puerto Rican specimen is recorded as from Salinas, a municipality on the south-central coast.

In sum, although the distribution is split, some 69 percent or more are Hispaniolan with documented find localities in and surrounding the Cordillera Central. Based on present evidence, that is the most probable locus for the crafting community responsible for the style. Bolstering a Hispaniolan source is the fact that the only two unfinished

Cibao-style specimens in the corpus are both Dominican. The outlying distribution is not greatly different from that of Puerto Plata-style figure pendants, suggesting some form of external relationships with several far-flung peoples on different islands. It is noteworthy that the Cuban, Bahamian, and Puerto Rican specimens are not stylistic outliers. Our Cibao type specimen (IC104), for example, is Cuban, but it is so remarkably similar to the Hispaniolan specimen IC063 that it must have been made in the same workshop situation, if not by the same carver.

Archaeological contexts and dating

Despite the relative commonality of Cibao-style figure pendants, it is disheartening to report that not a single example has been found in an archaeologically controlled context. As already noted, unusually few have a specific archaeological site to which they are attributed. Of the known archaeological sites associated with Cibao figure pendants, the only well-documented ones are Cuban. IC042 is from Aguas Gordas, Banes, Holguin province. From Ernesto Tabio's 1963 excavations and subsequent reanalysis, the ceramic chronology of Aguas Gordas is reasonably well known. Five calibrated radiocarbon dates exist, which document a long period of habitation from the eleventh to the fifteenth century AD. This is too long a span to be of much help, although it is useful to know that Aguas Gordas was abandoned prior to European contact (Valcárcel Rojas 2002; Persons 2013:289). IC412 is from the Pueblo Viejo site in Guantánamo province, in extreme eastern Cuba. The site, visited in the early twentieth century by Stewart Culin and Mark Harrington, was briefly reinvestigated during 1964-1965 by the Department of Anthropology of the Cuban Academy of Sciences. José Guarch Delmonte, using the accumulated data available at that time, estimated the dating of the site as between 1100 and 1300 AD (Guarch Delmonte 1972:38). There are as yet no radiocarbon dates from Pueblo Viejo.

In Chapter 2 it was hypothesized that there were at least two broad chronological horizons of figure pendants, based on the mode of perforation. To the extent that that hypothesis is accurate, the Cibao style belongs almost entirely to the later horizon. There is no evidence from sites of early European contact that the style survived until that late date.

Raw materials

Because our knowledge of the geology of stone figure pendants is still in a primitive state, it is propitious that Theodor de Booy, in his initial paper on Cibao-style figure pendants, invited the Curator of Mineralogy of the American Museum of Natural History to assess each of the specimens. This was Louis P. Gratacap, prominent author of *A Popular Guide to Minerals* (1912). Gratacap (de Booy 1916) identified several examples of the style (our IC274, IC289, IC314, IC316, and the now-missing Hispanic Society of America figure pendant) as being made of buff, whitish, or cream-colored "nephritic stone (amphibolite)." The large specimen from Kew, North Caicos (IC273) he identified as of "serpentinous stone (altered amphibolite), maculated with dark green spots." Many Cibao figure pendants are made of fine-grained buff, pale brown, or green hued metamorphic rocks that at least superficially

resemble the specimens identified by Gratacap as amphibolite. Perhaps befitting its peculiarities (see “Cibao oddities,” above), Gratacap identified IC264 as being of a different material, limestone. A white stone, sometimes identified in our sources as milky quartzite, is common among the Cuban examples (Rodríguez Arce 2000:95; cf. Dacal Moure and Rivero de la Calle 1996:40).

Preliminary iconographic notes

Carvers in the Cibao style focused their efforts on a single subject, a snouted, eyeless, armless, squatting anthropozoomorphic hybrid. To these traits, following the analysis of Rodríguez Arce, I have added the claim that the head is that of a bat and not some other mammal. It is probably this head form that Dacal Moure and Rivero de la Calle (1996:40) had in mind as they described a Cuban category of figure pendant with “the face of a humanoid figure, which in some cases resembles a bat.” The consistent presence of a supranasal chevron at the juncture of the snout and upper face, which I interpret as a skinfold element, plus an upturned, occasionally bifurcated nose contribute to the identification. According to this reasoning the subject is revealed as an armless bat-person – one missing, importantly, from the roster of northern Hispaniolan divinities mentioned in the late fourteenth century by Friar Pané (Rodríguez Arce 2000:99). The very possibility of a major late prehistoric Greater Antillean supernatural that is absent from Pané’s roster is something too seldom contemplated in thinking about Antillean religious practice.

If correct, my identification upends a comment made by McGinnis (1997a:359, n. 83), who states that bats are rare among Antillean figure pendants. The opposite is true; they are extraordinarily common, just as they are in ceramic adornos (García Arévalo 1984) and in rock art of the period. Conversely, it is dogs that are rare as subjects for figure pendants.

Such an identification would remove the being from consideration as Pané’s *Opiyelguobirán*, a *cemí* to which Cibao-style IC273 has been assigned by at least one author (Keegan 2007:38; Fig. 2.3). In this conception, following Stevens-Arroyo’s (2006:237) imaginative interpretation of Pané (see Chapter 1), *Opiyelguobirán* as a dog spirit enjoys full membership in a general Taíno pantheon, where he fills the role of Guardian of the Dead. Notably, Pané (1999:28-29) specifies that *Opiyelguobirán* had four limbs, not two.

By contrast, Arrom (1989:43-45) prefers to interpret Cibao-style snouted, armless figure pendants (he illustrates IC273, IC274, FGA075, FGA080, FGA074, and FGA131) as representations of a different supernatural mentioned by Pané, the weather spirit *Boinayel*. Based on Pané’s brief notes on the matter (1999:17), Arrom awards *Boinayel* the role of Lord of Rain, object of a cult venerated at a cave called *Iguanaboina*. The basis for the identification of Cibao figure pendants as representations of *Boinayel* is an interpretation of the supranasal chevron – focusing on the grooves rather than the ridges – as “the little channels through which flowed the tears of the rainy *Boinayel*” (Arrom 1989:44). All this is despite the fact that Pané does not describe *Boinayel* as weeping (Godo 2003:135-136). Nonetheless, Guarch Delmonte and Querejeta Barceló (1992:31-32) follow Arrom in employing a Cibao-style figure pendant to illustrate *Boinayel*.

Arrom’s discussion is developed through a consideration of a variety of Antillean anthropomorphic carvings other than figure pendants, in wood and stone, in which one

or more narrow channels or lines are depicted as descending from each eye. Comparable lines are seen in various Antillean ceramic effigies, especially in Cuba in which the figure has been called *Llora-lluvia*, “Cries-rain” by Celaya and Godo (2000), who question the straightforward identification of “weeping” figures with the mythic Boinayel. Arrom, it seems to me, confuses two things. A linear channel descending down the cheek from each eye is not the same as the more complex supranasal chevron element described in this chapter, which appears on eyeless beings, or, where eyes do occur, is independent of them. It only muddles the picture further that, as already noted in Chapter 2, the figural character depicted by most Puerto Plata-style figure pendants – which have neither of these facial features – has also been identified as Boinayel on the basis of its potential twinning. Nobody would confuse, on descriptive grounds, the Puerto Plata twinned anthropomorph with the hybrid being described in this chapter.

As Rodríguez Arce (2000:98) has clarified, the omission of arms in the Cibao hybrid is no doubt deliberate, and not, as already noted, a matter of progressive stylistic reduction as others have supposed (e.g., Arrom 1989:44-45; Maciques Sánchez 2018). We have no evidence of any precursor style phase from which such a supposed reduction might have issued. Any such predecessor would have to be in the same stylistic lineage as Cibao. Based on its appearance, Rodríguez Arce further speculates that the bat-person was to be seen as a terrifying being, a maleficent spirit of death to be placated, in which the omission of the arms might be interpreted as a gesture to “to prevent this god from ever executing its function.” (Rodríguez Arce 2000:98). I consider armlessness as inherent to the figural character, but whose significance must be left, for the moment, as another of the unsolved puzzles presented by Greater Antillean figure pendants.

Bats as subject matter are widely distributed among several genres of Greater Antillean indigenous art, especially as ceramic adornos (García Arévalo 1984; Herrera Fritot and Youmans 1946; Morbán Laucer 1988). They are depicted in a variety of ways, many times with head and facial characteristics that do not resemble those of Cibao-style hybrids. Intriguingly, they are not particularly common as stand-alone subjects of zoomorphic pendants, being outnumbered by birds and frogs. Regarding their significance in art, García Arévalo (1997:114) speaks of the “terrifying isomorphism that the Taíno attributed to bats, owls, and *opías*” the latter being the souls of the dead. There are also hints in the emergence mythology recorded by Pané of a relationship between proto-humans and bats (Robiou Lamarche 1994). However, the details of such a proposed isomorphism, and exactly how indigenous ethnographic beliefs about bats might articulate with the subject of Cibao hybrid figure pendants and other genres featuring bats remain, in my opinion, open areas for detailed iconographic study.

Prominent genitalia are ubiquitous in Cibao-style hybrids, a fact that draws us to the question of their intended sex. As already noted, most of the time the genital element is a triangular, faceted wedge that projects forward to about the plane of the knees. De Booy (1916:27) had cautiously suggested that the element might be phallic, but Krieger (1929:51-52) described it in neutral terms. Krieger’s cautious instinct was well founded. Because three Cibao specimens are equipped with carved male genitalia in standard Antillean format, the form of the wedge is not attributable to an odd stylistic development from a recognizable phallus. We will return to the possible significance of the Cibao genital wedge in Chapter 12, after discussing the ambiguous genital bulges of the frog-form hybrids.

The Luquillo style

With this style category, our sixth, we re-enter the domain of the frog-form hybrids last seen in Chapter 2, and also revisit the theme of snouted, armless hybrids. Here, then, is a style not so strongly wedded to a single subject as the foregoing largely have been. Although Luquillo is just one of many figure pendant styles featuring frog-form and snouted, armless hybrids in the Greater Antilles, there are distinctive reasons for calling attention to it. Unlike the figure pendant categories so far reviewed, there is evidence that the crafting community responsible for the style was specifically Puerto Rican. In addition, Luquillo may be chronologically the earliest of the styles named in this study.

Two subjects are co-dominant numerically. I will refer to these as the Luquillo frog-form hybrid and the Luquillo snouted, armless hybrid. As will be seen, Luquillo carvers were competent in other subjects as well. All examples are of stone.

I have named the style Luquillo after the municipality on the northeast coast of Puerto Rico from which the Luquillo frog-form hybrid type specimen is reported.

In general terms, Luquillo is a compact style, its subjects displayed upright, with head, limbs, and genitalia joined to massive torsos. What sets this style apart aesthetically, aside from its compactness and bulkiness, is the extraordinarily sparing approach taken to all elements of the composition. Heads and faces, in particular, are the least expressive of all figure pendant styles named in this study. Facial elements, if present at all, tend to be inchoate. The vacuity of such faces may have borne some iconographic message, although what that might have been is impossible to say. As though to combat that inchoate tendency, a few specimens add small drilled pits for eyes and horizontal incised line segments for mouths. Perhaps such minimalist facial elements mark a substyle. If not, conceivably they are additions by some owner other than the original carver, in the spirit of the “user modifications” previously noted for other styles. Generally, incising and drilling was used only minimally, for details.

A unifying feature present in both formats, although not in every specimen, is what I have elected to call a *channelback*. Yvonne Narganes Storde (2016) has called attention to this element in connection with certain early Puerto Rican figure pendants. The channel-back element is a vertical channel at the center of the back, running either the full length, or instead confined just to the upper torso between the shoulders. Insofar as this channel creates flanges on either side, through which may pass direct, “flange style” perforations (Figure 1.1, left), Narganes Storde suggests that the channel functions to facilitate the mode of suspension. However, suspension in Luquillo-style figure pendants was more commonly by means of paired, elbow-style perforations at the upper lateral margins,

which often appear in conjunction with the channelback feature. Whatever its origin, the channelback is not always there in support of the mode of suspension.

There are 21 Luquillo-style figure pendants in the database, including all subjects. In the earliest paper devoted specifically to Antillean figure pendants, J. Walter Fewkes (1903a:Plate 53:1-3) published a three-view of our type specimen for the Luquillo frog-form hybrid, IC251. Although he illustrates three other frog-form hybrids in that paper, none of the latter are Luquillo in style. Otis T. Mason (1899[1877]:Figure 33) was the first to illustrate a Luquillo snouted, armless hybrid, our type specimen IC295 (although his artist, curiously, awarded it arms where there are none, a mistake subsequently pointed out by Fewkes [1903a:684; Plate 53, 9-10], who published the earliest photographs of IC295). Despite these early illustrations, stylistically related figure pendants in various collections have not been subsequently brought together nor discussed as a style category.

Luquillo frog-form hybrid

Type Specimen: IC251 (Figure 8.1, upper row, left)

Number Examined: 7

Eight Luquillo frog-form hybrid specimens are known. Examples are shown in Figure 8.1. As in other frog-forms, the base form is a flattened ellipsoid (see Maciques Sánchez 2018:35), longer than wide, and wider than thick. Further, as in other frog-form presentations including that of Puerto Plata, the composition consists of two strata. At its base is a raniform substructure, to which the anthropomorphic elements – an earless head and genitalia – are added as a superstructure.

Although there are no unfinished examples, it is worth contemplating what the blank preform must have been like, not merely for Luquillo but for frog-form hybrids in all styles. The carver was required to allow for, and maintain, a high central elevation large enough to become the forward-projecting head and neck, carving away the surrounding elevation in the process of creating the torso. That allowance for the projecting head in the initial planning of the piece, and the care taken to preserve it in the process of reducing the torso, would appear to have presented a difficulty for the carver beyond that seen in forms that hew closer to simple geometric shapes like prisms and cylinders.

Seven Luquillo frog-form hybrids are in the database: four from the United States National Museum of Natural History and three from the Museum of the University of Puerto Rico-Río Piedras. An eighth example, FGA138, is on display in the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo, for which we have an adequate frontal photograph. This small sample is reasonably coherent.

Dimensions of the seven specimens in the database are as follows.

Height: range 50-68 mm, mean 57 mm

Width: range 25-42 mm, mean 32 mm

Thickness: range 22-27 mm, mean 25 mm

These dimensions reveal a category of moderate size, without extremes. There are no miniatures.

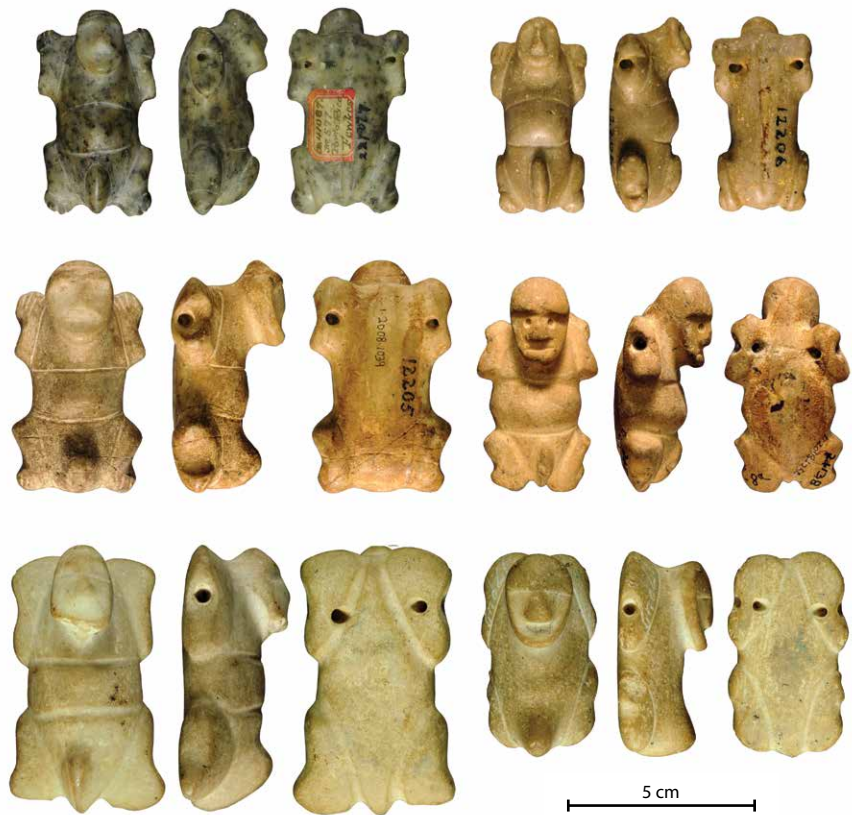


Figure 8.1. Luquillo-style frog-form hybrids. Upper row: IC251, NMNH A221077-0; IC331, UPR 1.2008.1244. Middle row: IC330, UPR 1.2008.1039; IC329, UPR 1.2008.1250 (eye drillings secondarily added). Lower row: IC293, NMNH A17048-0; IC294, NMNH A17049-0. All but lower row have channelback elements.

In general, the subject is executed fully in the round, with the back side slightly flattened. Dominating the figure is a voluminous, lenticular torso having upper and lower limbs splayed laterally. Anthropomorphic elements consist of a head and genitalia projecting forward from either end of the torso.

Elbow-style perforations originate at the wrist, out of view from a frontal perspective. These are paired with companion drillings into the back side. Four of the seven specimens have the channelback feature described above.

The head

The head is a flattened, ovaloid structure projecting forward from the anterior end of the torso in a highly unnatural manner, set upon a short, thick, ill-defined neck. In all cases but one, the head is tilted slightly backward so that the gaze is directed upward with the chin forward. Its top rises to a plane just above the top of the torso behind it.

Details are rudimentary in the extreme. Heads are earless, and without any form of headpiece. Beneath a defined brow line, eyes, at their most basic, consist of shallow hollows carved on either side of a low, triangular nose. Mouths, likewise, consist merely of a shallow hollow carved between the base of the nose and the chin line. Two of the eight

specimens violate these norms by adding small drilled pits in the eye hollows – probably secondary additions – and in one case, an incised mouth. In IC329, the size of the forehead is greater than that of the others, and its gaze is directly forward rather than upward.

The torso and limbs

The torso is a flattened oval lenticular form, quite broad, and generally fuller in appearance than those of other styles depicting the frog-form subject. It is unelaborated except for two horizontal incised lines that pass across the front, one just below the elbows and the other just above the knees. These incised lines bracket the widest section, which tends to bulge both forward and laterally at the center.

Forelimbs and hindlimbs, located at the sides, are mirror images of one another. They are foreshortened and stumpy; upper arms and thighs are almost nonexistent. Knees and elbows point almost straight outward, 180 degrees from their opposites. Forearms and lower legs thence flex strongly back inward, such that the hands rejoin the torso near the head and the feet rejoin it near the base. Hands and feet are paw-like lumps that flare outward a bit, creating an undulating overall margin notched with inflection points at the wrists and ankles. Digits are indicated by short incised line segments oriented either more or less vertically or angled outward.

The genitalia

A prominent genital element, present in all specimens, consists of a vertically-oriented, rounded bump, a narrow oval in outline as seen from the front. In profile view, the lump is asymmetrical, its thickest part nearest the top. As no other detail is given, the ambiguity of this element is presumably once again on display, as it is in other styles featuring frog-form hybrids.

The back

Although flattened, the back tends to retain a convex aspect in keeping with the bulkiness of the style. Diagonal grooves are present at the back to differentiate the rear margins of the limbs from the torso. The twin horizontal incised lines crossing the front of the torso do not extend to the back.

Four of the seven specimens available for study possess a channelback element. In three of these four, the longitudinal groove runs the full length of the back. In the remaining specimen, the channelback occupies only the upper two-thirds, feathering out at about the level of the knees.

Further notes on the Luquillo frog-form hybrid

Because our type specimen, IC121, played a role in J. Walter Fewkes's thinking about the subject matter in the earliest published paper on Greater Antillean figure pendants, it is appropriate here to reiterate something discussed in Chapter 2, where we initially encountered a frog-form hybrid. It is that Fewkes (1903a:681-682) apparently saw no frog. He did note that some figure pendants having arms raised to the level of the head had the bodies of (unspecified) animals with anthropomorphic heads, and thus were hybrid beings. Nonetheless, the arms aloft posture itself, he assumed, was a human one, perhaps that of a burden-bearing deity. As noted in Chapter 2, it is far more plausible that the arms aloft attitude of the upper limbs is directly attributable to a conventional frog-form base.

Luquillo snouted, armless hybrid

Type Specimen: IC295 (Figure 8.2, upper row, left)

Number Examined: 8

A second major subject in the Luquillo style is a snouted, squatting, armless hybrid having a cylindrical base form somewhat thicker than wide, allowing for the forward-projecting snout and knees (Figure 8.2). This subject possesses all of the general traits of the style: a compact, bulky look, in which extremities are tucked back closely upon the base form; sparing use of incising in creating surface details (when used at all); strikingly inchoate, minimalistic head and face details; exclusive use of elbow-style and flange-style perforation at the lateral margins; and the tell-tale channelback feature, not seen on any other named style.

Eight Luquillo snouted, armless hybrids are in the database. Narganes Storde (2016: Figure 3) has published a ninth, which I have not had the opportunity to examine personally. A tenth, again not in our database and unpublished to my knowledge, is on exhibit in the Sala Huecoide of the University of Turabo in Caguas, Puerto Rico. Rainey (1940:Plate 2, Figure 9) illustrates what is, by appearances, yet another, although the published photograph is miniscule, too much so for a definitive diagnosis. He describes this and two others like it, unillustrated but “all of the same type,” from the “shell level”

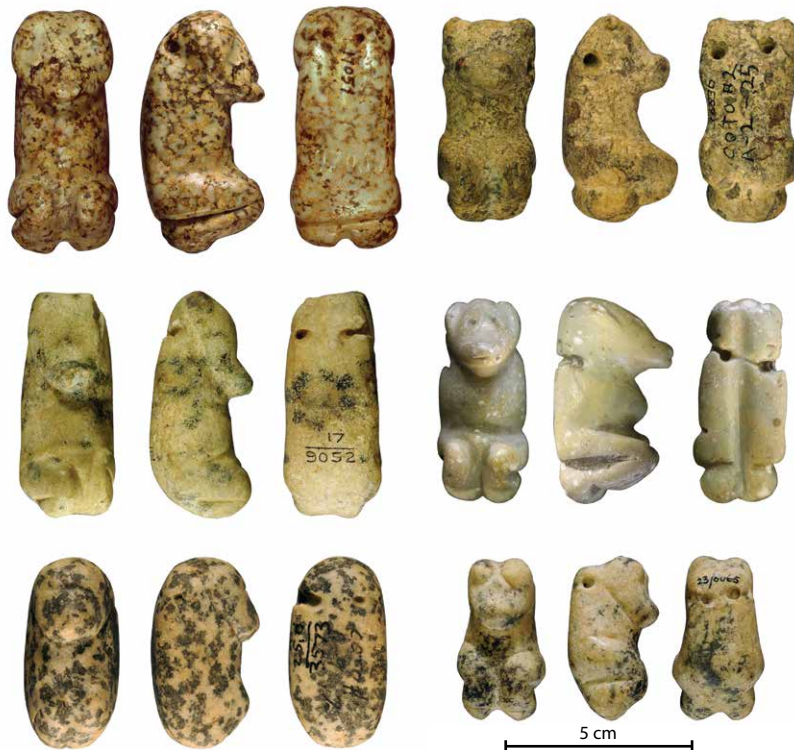


Figure 8.2. Luquillo-style snouted, armless hybrids. Upper row: IC295, NMNH A17051-0 (channelback); IC405, YPM ANT 036836. Middle row: IC259, NMAI 179052; IC383, RUD uncataloged (channelback). Lower row: IC318, AMNH 25.0/3573 (unfinished); IC292, NMAI 236065 (channelback).

of the Cañas site in the municipality of Ponce, Puerto Rico (Rainey 1940:28). I have been unable to locate these in the collections from Cañas at the Yale Peabody Museum in New Haven. If all are correctly classified, the total documented sample is 13.

Dimensions of the eight specimens from the database are as follows.

Height: range 26-61 mm, mean 47 mm

Width: range 19-28 mm, mean 23 mm

Thickness: range 17-29 mm, mean 24 mm

Based on these data, Luquillo-style snouted, armless hybrids tend to be substantially smaller than the same subject in the Cibao-style as described in Chapter 7.

The head

Heads are positioned at the top of the torso, but with their mass forward of the torso's center axis, as though hunched forward. There is no defined neck, but rather a groove setting off the head, that wraps from the throat around and upward toward the back. Large, oval, bulbous ears, vertically oriented, arise at the sides and reach upward to the plane of the top of the head. There is no headpiece.

The snout is occasionally distinguished from the rest of the head by a slight groove crossing horizontally. In profile, some snouts display a slight concavity at the top, pinching into a pout-like expression in the mouth area. Other mouth elements are much more blunt in profile. There is no sign of the supranasal chevron element routinely seen at the juncture of snout and forehead on Cibao-style figure pendants. At the tip of the snout, in some cases, is a short horizontal incised line segment depicting a mouth, but more lack this feature than have it.

In harmony with the sightlessness of Cibao snouted, armless hybrids, some three-fourths (6 of 8) of the corresponding Luquillo specimens bear no indication of eyes. The remaining one-fourth (2 of 8) have small drilled pits, in one case obvious and in the other difficult to spot without careful examination.

The torso

Essentially, the torso is an unadorned vertical cylinder, sometimes with a slight upward taper. In two cases there is a slight bulge above the legs. Nothing indicates that this bulge is an attempt to represent arms pressed against the abdomen, contrary to the illustration of IC295 by Mason (1899[1877]:Figure 33). All figures are armless.

The legs and genitalia

Legs are strongly flexed into a squatting position with the knees quite low, almost in a kneel. This pose is defined in Chapter 12 using the notation $\supset II$. Knees are depicted as very slightly apart, projecting forward to about the same vertical plane as the tip of the snout. The characteristic leg configuration is best appreciated from the side, where it has the outline of a U or a V on its side with the knees at the apex, the upper and lower legs separated by a horizontal groove. Hips tend to be wide, but are ill-defined. Feet are shapeless lumps, without digits, placed on the center axis of the piece such that the being appears to have its hips resting on what would be its heels. Feet are separated by a basal notch.

The intersection of the lower torso and the separated knees creates a triangular space, which may either be vacant or, less commonly, occupied by a genital bulge. Where present, the latter is small and ambiguous as to sex.

The back

While flattened, the back retains its rounded, convex quality, just as in the Luquillo frog-form hybrid. Half of the Luquillo snouted, armless hybrid specimens in the database have the channelback element described at the beginning of the chapter.

Other subjects

Five figure pendants in the database adhere to the canons of the Luquillo style, and although they share several elements of the two primary subjects just described, they do not conform in their entirety to either.

IC272 (Figure 8.3, upper row, left)

Although formally, this Puerto Rican figure pendant is a close relative to the Luquillo frog-form hybrids, the subject instead appears to be a full anthropomorph rather than a hybrid. The head has precisely the same position, ovaloid shape, and tilt as in Luquillo frog-forms, presenting an almost completely featureless face. Its body is large, wide, and loaf-shaped. Exactly as in the Luquillo frog-form hybrids, two horizontally incised bands bracket the thickest portion of the torso. Arms are mere bi-lobed stumps, morphologically akin to abbreviated Luquillo versions of upright frog limbs. In the crooks of each are elbow-style perforations. A channelback element occupies the upper back. So far, this could describe a slightly anomalous Luquillo



Figure 8.3. Luquillo style, other subjects. Upper row: IC272, NMAI 164329; IC335, UPR 21140. Lower row: IC268: NMAI 197105; IC337, UPR 1.2008.1043. All have channelback elements.

frog-form, but the legs are in an anthropomorphic squat, conforming in every way to those of Luquillo snouted, armless hybrids. Thus, IC272 represents an apparent merging of elements of both primary Luquillo subjects. What that means iconographically is, to say the least, unclear.

IC335 (Figure 8.3, upper row, right)

Here is another squatting anthropomorph, but of a different sort. At the head, attention is immediately drawn to large, two-tiered, oval shaped buns on either side of the head. Whether these elements represent ears, hair, or some sort of headpiece is hard to say; they are unique. Beneath a strong brow line there are two closely-spaced eyes, consisting of small drilled pits exactly as in some examples of Luquillo frog-form and snouted, armless hybrids. Beneath a blunt and vague nose is a wide notch that, at first glance, seems to depict an open mouth. Such an impression is illusory. Close comparison with Imbert-related figure pendants, illustrated in the next chapter, indicates that this notch is merely that between the base of the nose and the upper lip. As is best appreciated in profile, the mouth is actually below the notch, directed in a downward pout. The torso is cylindrical, and bears a small drilled pit for a navel. Flexed arms begin with massive shoulders, the lower arms meeting across the abdomen with rudimentary hands, slightly separated. Legs are in a squat comparable to that of Luquillo snouted, armless hybrids, with rudimentary feet separated by a basal notch. IC335 has a channelback feature, with two elbow-style perforations taking advantage of the vertical ridges produced by the channelback.

IC268, IC337, and IC339 (Figure 8.3, lower row. IC339 not illustrated)

The next three are similar enough morphologically to be discussed together. From the neck down, these armless figures are identical to Luquillo snouted, armless hybrids. All have channelback elements. IC268 has flange-style perforations made possible by the channelback; the other three have elbow-style perforations. Heads are not snouted, but rather are frontally flattened, broad, and almond-shaped – more human than animal. However, they share the same large, bulbous ears affixed in a high position as the snouted, armless hybrids. IC337 adds an anthropomorphic nose. In keeping with the style, faces are blank and expressionless. Although most of these elements are anthropomorphic, the high-mounted ears alert us to a probable zoomorphic component, and thus to a hybrid being as the subject – one perhaps much like the snouted, armless hybrids but just a bit more human.

Geographic Distribution

Regarding Luquillo's geographic distribution, the national proportions tell most of the story. Sixteen of 17 Luquillo-style figure pendants for which we have national attributions, some 94 percent, are Puerto Rican. Because the remaining specimen is among the figure pendants in the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo in Santo Domingo, I will assume pending contradiction that its provenance is Hispaniolan. This style distribution is one of the tightest we

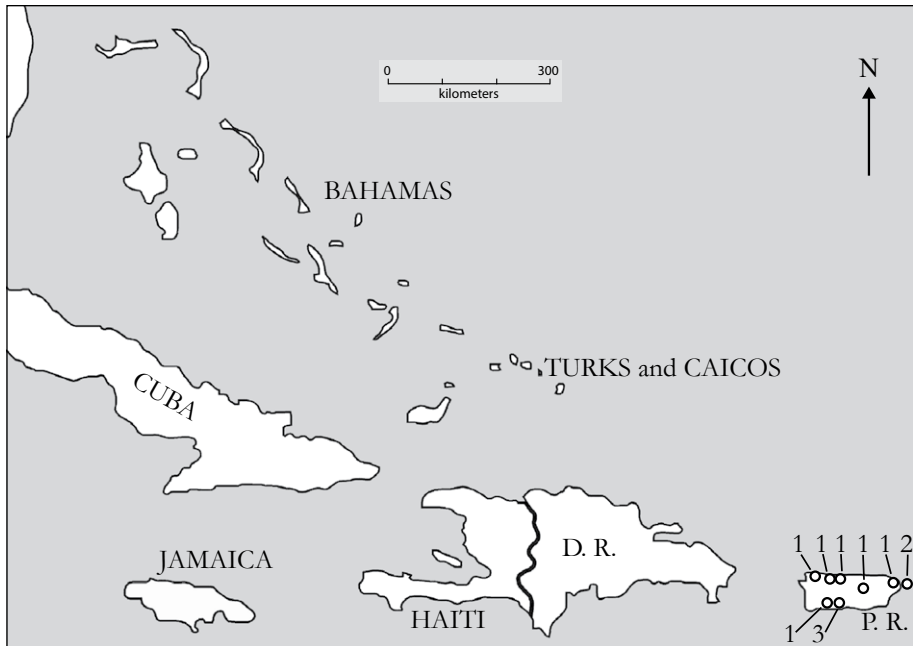


Figure 8.4. Geographic distribution of Luquillo-style figure pendants.

have. Luquillo is as Puerto Rican as Yaguajay is Cuban. It is safe to infer that the community of carvers responsible for Luquillo-style figure pendants was located in Puerto Rico.

Eleven provenances can be specified to the level of the municipality or better (Figure 8.4). One specimen, excavated by Rainey, is from the Coto site in the municipality of Isabela on the northwest coast of Puerto Rico. Farther east along the same coastline, another specimen is attributed to Arecibo, which may refer to the well-known archaeological site of that name, else perhaps more generally to the municipality. Still another specimen is attributed to Barceloneta, a municipality just east of Arecibo. Our Luquillo frog-form hybrid type specimen comes from Farjado, Luquillo on the northeast coast. One specimen is attributed to the interior of the island, to Guadiana, probably referring to a site on the river of that name in the municipality of Naranjito. A piece reported by Narganes Storde (2016) is from the archaeological site of Tecla I, in the municipality of Guayanilla on the southwest coast. Finally, if the three figure pendants recovered by Rainey from the Cañas site are indeed all in the Luquillo style, as can be inferred from his description, that locality is near the city of Ponce on the south-central coast.

Archaeological context and dating

A Luquillo snouted, armless hybrid, IC405, was excavated professionally by Froelich Rainey (1940:62-69) from the Coto site in the municipality of Isabela. Specifically, it was recovered from Excavation #2, square A-2, level 0-25 cm, “shell level.” Irving Rouse (1952a:408-413), in his re-study of pottery from adjacent excavation units at

Coto, attributes the uppermost shell-bearing stratum to the late Ostiones style, his Period IIIb (ca. 900-1200 AD)

Rainey (1940:28) excavated three additional figure pendants from the Cañas site in the municipality of Ponce. The one illustrated in his published report (1940:Plate 2, Figure 9) can be assigned to the Luquillo style at least provisionally, and based on Rainey's description, perhaps all three might be so assigned. Unfortunately, none of the three could be relocated. One Cañas specimen has a catalog number in the Yale Peabody Museum (YPM ANT 036833) that gives the provenance as Excavation 1 (Mound A), Trench F, "shell level." Rouse, as he did for Coto, also re-studied the pottery from Rainey's Cañas site excavations, observing that sherds from this portion of Mound A were overwhelmingly of the Ostiones style, including diagnostics both of his Periods IIIa and IIIb (Rouse 1952b:526). If that association is to be trusted, the figure pendants should date to somewhere in the range of 600-1200 AD.

Regarding a Luquillo-style snouted armless hybrid from the Tecla I site, a short distance west of Cañas, Narganes Storde (2016) states that it comes stratigraphically from a pre-Ostiones, Saladoid context, for which she offers a date range of 320-400 AD.

The age estimates for Ostiones contexts at Coto and Cañas do not overlap with those for the Saladoid context at Tecla I and cannot be reconciled. It is implausible, moreover, that the Luquillo style spans that gap and was produced relatively unchanged over many centuries. Nonetheless, either chronological position would situate Luquillo as among the earlier figure pendant styles in the Greater Antilles. Although for our purposes the matter must be left hanging, Narganes Storde's (2016) effort to demonstrate a Saladoid period (ca. 200 BC to 600 AD) origin for both the frog-form hybrid and the snouted, armless hybrid figure pendant subjects, both better known in later times, is highly intriguing and deserving of further investigation.

Raw materials

Only two definite opinions have been offered about the rock from which Luquillo-style figure pendants were made. A specimen published by Narganes Storde (2016:Figure 3) is a white stone heavily mottled with black inclusions which she reports as granodiorite. A number of other Luquillo-style figure pendants are of superficially similar rock. Two specimens of white, lightly striated stone were reported by Mason (1899[1877]:378) as being of marble.

On a purely descriptive level, there is little consistency of raw material within the Luquillo group. The more uniform materials are light brown, gray, and a waxy pale green. More common is mottled and variegated rock, with white, gray, or greenish gray base colors with black or gray inclusions. Needless to say, as with all figure pendant styles, the matter is profoundly in need of further attention.

Preliminary iconographic notes

Although data regarding the exact chronological position of the Luquillo style remains somewhat equivocal, enough is known to state with confidence that the style occupies the earliest of the figure pendant horizons considered in these pages. Whereas the style includes two of the most common figure pendant subjects in the Greater Antilles, a

frog-form hybrid and a snouted, armless hybrid, the inchoate, spartan versions described in his chapter must predate the more elaborate versions of those themes in other styles. Although the profound omission of detail in Luquillo limits what can be said about the specimens iconographically, the style does introduce new questions about both of its primary subjects. So, let us consider these questions in turn, starting with a deeper dive into the significance of the frog-form.

To begin, I stand by my opinion the frog-form being is a hybrid, some form of the-rianthropic compounding of human with frog, preserving a human head and genitalia. But there is a history of opinion on the matter that must be considered.

Of the early interpretations, I have already mentioned that Fewkes (1903a:681), speaking generally, saw not a frog but a possible “burden-bearing god or goddess” as an explanation for the arms-aloft pose. Lovén (1935:609), for his part, recognized certain published examples of the theme as constituting a major figure pendant category, representing specifically female anthropomorphs. As with Fewkes, frogs do not appear in his discussion. Lovén, however, includes our Luquillo frog-form hybrid type specimen in a separate group, about which he says that he has “not . . . been able to ascertain the sex.”

Herbert W. Krieger was the first to describe the subject as a frog-form hybrid anthropomorph. Based on consideration of a specimen (of another style than Luquillo) from the Samaná peninsula of the northern Dominican Republic, he describes this subject in the following terms.

In this [upright] position the features are anthropomorphic, representing a human being with legs flexed sideways at the knees. The arms are thrown upward behind the head. When viewed transversely, in a recumbent position, the figurine becomes zoomorphic and represents the figure of a frog [Krieger 1929:52-53].

Thus, for Krieger, anthropomorph versus zoomorph is a matter of visual perspective. It is an early statement of a dualistic principle elaborated for Antillean art by Peter Roe (1997:149), who describes a “kinetic” tendency in which objects, when turned, reveal something new.

Maciques Sánchez (2018:37), who categorizes our frog-form hybrid by its elliptical basal structure, also sees no frog. By reference to the genital details of a key Cuban specimen, he interprets the theme as a “masculine deity par excellence, and probably linked to rites of fertility and procreation.” Thus, he inverts Lovén’s assertion that the frog-form is largely female. Because the Cuban specimen, which is the sole ground of Maciques’s opinion, belongs to our Imbert style, it is appropriate to postpone further comment until the following chapter concerning that style.

Judging from the opinions just reviewed, it is highly apparent that identifying the basal stratum as a frog is not evident to modern observers at anything like a factual level. But it can be readily demonstrated that the base stratum follows artistic conventions for straightforward depictions of frogs among Antillean pendants of the late Ceramic Age. These have large, lenticular or diamond-shaped bodies, to which the extremities are visually subordinate. Fore- and hindlimbs are mirror images of one another, arranged marginally in four quadrants, separated by a notch in the outline. Limbs are tightly flexed, such that the paw-like hands and feet touch the

body, although they are inflected slightly outward. Digits, where present, are created by short incised line segments.

Artistic conventions governing the basal stratum of frog-form hybrids, then, are fundamentally the same as those for straightforward frogs. However, the horizontally crossing bands that seem integral to the Luquillo hybrid are not part of this congeries of frog elements, leaving open the possibility that they contribute instead to the anthropomorphic aspect.

As for the indicated sex, I must agree with Lovén that, at least among the Luquillo-style examples, there is nothing definitive to say. The genital bulge, while prominent, is by appearance just as ambiguous as the corresponding triangular wedge elements of most Cibao-style hybrids. It is perhaps a stretch to imagine the Luquillo genital bulge as phallic, but it does not follow that the element is necessarily female.

Our methodological approach does not favor the insertion of potentially homologous ethnographic information at this point in the analysis. However, one association is simply too widespread to ignore. That is the symbolic association of frog and female in the Caribbean and South American tropical lowland culture areas. After reviewing relevant religious belief in both areas, Lovén (1935:654) summed up the matter this way. “We have well-founded reasons for supposing that the Island-Arawaks brought with them from South America a system of conceptions as to the part played by the frog as a woman, and its connections with female functions.” With reference to figure pendants, McGinnis (1997a:380) elaborates as follows. “Like the frog itself, these figures all suggest feminine softness, wetness, fertility, rain, and, for agriculturalists, the beginning of the rainy season and season of planting.” To the extent that these associations are widespread, their antiquity is more than plausible and can hardly fail to color any interpretation of a frog-human hybrid being in late prehistoric art.

Shirley McGinnis, in her unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, develops a viewpoint on the frog-form hybrid subject that deserves to be aired. As just noted, she acknowledges the frog association of the figure pendants, but places much greater emphasis on interpreting the figure pendants as anthropomorphs. In what she calls “the most surprising identification in [her] entire study,” she claims that the subject under review is a more or less literal depiction of human childbirth (*ibid.*:361-365). Using, in part, Luquillo frog-form figure pendants as illustrations, she interprets the theme vividly as a human female in a birth posture, her arms raised to grasp a birthing pole, her head straining upward, and her legs parted during a birth in progress. The horizontal incised lines on the torso depict bands wrapped around the abdomen. In this interpretation, the genital bulge is an emerging child, its variable size seeming to show different stages of childbirth. As a large proportion of Antillean figure pendants depict this subject, McGinnis awards it a label: the Female Fertility Position, or FFP. Envisioned in this manner, the Female Fertilty Position contrasts with the other major posture seen among Antillean figure pendants, the Male Ceremonial Position or MCP, the latter comprising all beings depicted in a squat (We have already encountered the MCP interpretation in discussing Puerto Plata-style squatting anthropomorphs in Chapter 2). Thus, for McGinnis, a primary division of anthropomorphic figure pendants can be made by sex. All squatting beings, which would include fully-fleshed anthropomorphs in the Puerto Plata and

Comendador styles, partly skeletalized anthropomorphs in the Yaguajay and Madre Vieja styles, and snouted, armless hybrids in the Cibao and Luquillo styles are male. All frog-form hybrids in the Puerto Plata, Luquillo, Imbert, and remaining styles are females. This, obviously, is a major interpretive hypothesis. For a proper evaluation, it will have to await the presentation of frog-form hybrids in the Imbert and other styles (Chapters 9 and 10). For now, it is sufficient to reiterate that a definitive interpretation of sex cannot rest only on the Luquillo frog-form hybrids.

One other interpretive comment on the frog-form hybrids in general, again by McGinnis, needs mention. Friar Pané, in his late fifteenth century account of native Hispaniolan beliefs, refers to certain “stones” magically produced by shamans from the bodies of the sick, that, when kept, were believed to help women in childbirth (Pané 1999:22-23). Following upon her interpretation of frog-form hybrid figure pendants as depictions of childbirth, McGinnis (1997a:381-382) suggests that these figure pendants may be the very stones mentioned by Pané. The matter turns on chronology. Did any of the styles depicting the frog-form subject survive into the period of earliest European contact? Not those of the Luquillo style, as they are, quite certainly, many centuries too early.

Moving now to iconographic interpretations of Luquillo snouted, armless hybrids, the question of iconographic identity turns on a diagnosis of the head. Neither Mason (1899[1877]) nor Fewkes (1903a), in publishing our type specimen, mention a specific animal as donor of the snout. Narganes Storde (2016), however, offers an interpretation of the Luquillo snouted, armless hybrid specimen from Tecla I on the south coast of Puerto Rico. She says that the head is that of a bat, citing as typical characteristics the pointed ears and prominent jaw. Such an interpretation accords with what was said in Chapter 7 about Cibao-style snouted hybrids, in which case the Luquillo version might be thought of as an antecedent, Puerto Rican version of the same theme: a squatting, armless bat-person.

Using our type specimen among her illustrations, McGinnis (1997a:368-373), however, sees a dog rather than a bat. Especially among Puerto Rican figure pendants, seeing many dogs but no bats, McGinnis (*ibid.*:Table 21) envisions a major iconographic category of dog-human figures in her squatting, Male Ceremonial Position. This viewpoint on the importance of dogs is part of a larger iconographic argument. Stated briefly, Miguel Rodríguez (1992) and Peter Roe (1993) have both suggested a symbolic substitution, in the Antilles, of the domestic hunting dog for the jaguar of the South American tropical lowlands. In this hypothesis, as migrants pushed from South America into the Antilles, their tropical forest symbolism required adjustment to a new environment, with different animals assuming new key roles in religious beliefs. With this suggestion, McGinnis (1997a:449) agrees only in part, as she sees the Antillean bat rather than the hunting dog as assuming most of the symbolism of shaman-jaguar transformation beliefs on the mainland. For McGinnis, the hunting dog becomes instead the prototype for a nocturnal spirit guide and guardian of the land of the dead (*ibid.*:632-635).

As these specific iconographic equivalences lie well outside the scope of this study, there is no need to weigh in on the matter here. I will go as far as agreeing that the bat, as a natural creature, does appear to carry a large semantic load in ancient Antillean iconography. As to the immediate matter at hand, bat versus dog in

Luquillo snouted, armless hybrid figure pendants, the typical lack of detail inherent to the style offers absolutely nothing internally to permit a decision one way or the other. After all, the heads of large Antillean fruit-eating bats are, superficially, highly dog-like (Their young are called “pups”). If an opinion must be offered, let it rest on economy of interpretation. A squatting, armless dog-person requires adding another figure pendant subject into what is a quite small thematic repertoire overall, and further introduces the problem of a thematic shift moving from Puerto Rico to Hispaniola, in space and in time. A squatting, armless bat-person introduces no new issues, but rather continuity. At this point, then, Narganes Storde’s bat head diagnosis is the more parsimonious.

Imbert and related styles

To this point I have discussed frog-form hybrids in two styles, Puerto Plata and Luquillo. Together, however, these two styles only account for about one-fifth of the frog-form hybrids in our database. Thus, a great deal more remain to talk about. These remaining frog-form figure pendants are manifested in several additional styles. With Imbert and certain styles closely related to it, we can encompass a much larger share of these figure pendants and perhaps get closer to understanding their significance.

This chapter actually concerns three styles, only one of which currently supplies enough information to warrant a name. Imbert is a personal name, although it is also the name of a town lying at the center of Puerto Plata province in the northern Dominican Republic. Ramón Augusto Imbert Mesnier (1874-1907) of Puerto Plata, the son of a general and national Vice President, possessed one of the Dominican Republic's most notable early collections of antiquities. That collection, now dispersed, contained some of the most widely recognizable specimens from the Antilles, and was consulted by scholars such as Fewkes and Krieger. Our type specimen, IC311, now in the Musée de quai Branly in Paris, was once, according to their records, in the Imbert collection.

As noted, the primary subject is a frog-form hybrid (Figure 9.1), composed in the usual Antillean manner in two strata, having an earless human head and genitalia superimposed on a frog-form base. This is, however, not the only subject of the style, as we shall see under the appropriate heading.

In the pages that follow, I begin with specifics regarding the Imbert style. This is followed, in turn, by a mention of certain related marginalia, then by a brief detour in order to discuss a different subject depicted in the Imbert style, and finally by a discussion and illustration of our two unnamed, Imbert-related styles. The latter still need labels, if not formal names, so I will call them “Style Group 1” and Style Group 2.”

The Imbert style

Type Specimen: IC311 (Figure Figure 9.1, upper row, left)

Number Examined: 6

A distinguishing feature of Imbert frog-form hybrids (Figure 9.1) is a difference between the manner of presentation of the substructure versus the superstructure. The superstructure – head and genitalia – are carved fully in the round with delicate detailing. In contrast, the base form has its fore and hind-limbs presented in a highly schematic,



Figure 9.1. Imbert-style figure pendants.

Upper row: IC311, QB 70.2014.12.2; unnumbered, after Fewkes (1903a:Plate 52, 1-2), approximately to scale.

Middle row: FGA028, uncataloged (not to scale); IC310, MPCA 0-500.

Lower row: IC064, MHD uncataloged; unnumbered, Los Arabos (DCOA replica to scale); IC043, MHD uncataloged.

cookie-cutter manner, with flat frontal surfaces, squared edges, and simple geometric shapes. A feature related to this flattened presentation of the limbs is the way in which the central, lenticular torso is carved at a level above them, with abrupt margins, so that the cross-section is distinctly stepped. In other styles this transition from torso to limbs is contoured and gradual.

Competency of crafting as seen in several Imbert specimens is superb. Arguably, the style represents the paragon of frog-form figure pendant carving in the Greater Antilles. What was said in the previous chapter about the special depth requirement of the shape of the preform applies here as well, perhaps more so than in Luquillo.

The primary subject of this and related styles has an earless, anthropomorphic head. Such heads in the Imbert style project well forward of the torso and adjacent forelimbs. The throat is so strongly undercut that it has resulted in the breakage and partial or complete loss of the head in two specimens (heads we would dearly love to have for comparative purposes). The chin is thrust outward, and the gaze angled slightly upward. Eyes are raised, slotted elliptical elements set just below a strongly-defined brow line. To this point we have seen these raised, slotted “coffee bean” eyes several times before, a review of which will be postponed until Chapter 12.

Small differences in facial characteristics are helpful in distinguishing among the three related styles discussed in this chapter (Figure 9.2). For Imbert, the form and position of the mouth is distinctive. It is narrow and heavily lippered, appearing as a prominent, well-defined rectilinear bulge centered by the mouth, being a horizontal incised line segment or groove. This bulging mouth and lip assemblage is positioned at the base of the face, so that the lower lip margin merges with the chin line. Another trait distinctive to Imbert, although only seen in three specimens, is a continuation of the coronet ridge around the sides of the face, in effect framing the face with a low marginal ridge.

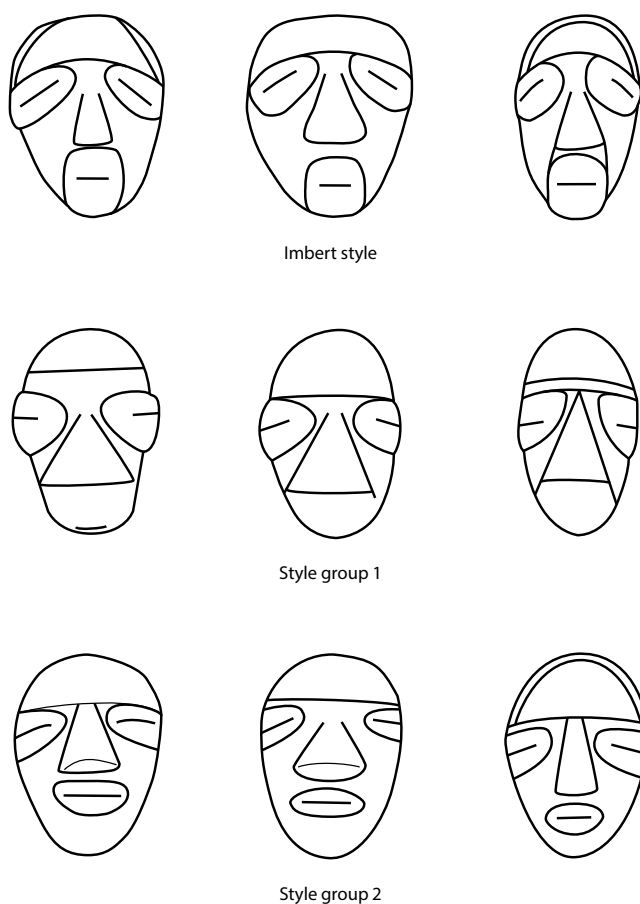


Figure 9.2. Imbert-style and related heads.
 Upper row: IC310, IC311, FGA028.
 Middle row: FGA008, IC375, IC077.
 Bottom row: IC328, FGA013, FGA020.

Only six Imbert-style figure pendants are in the database. A seventh is in the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo, for which we have a frontal photograph. Fewkes (1903a:Plate 52, 1-2) provides front and side view sketches of an eighth, of white stone, which he describes as “beautiful” in keeping with our statement about the competency of Imbert-style crafting. According to Fewkes (ibid.:682), this specimen was privately owned by Edward Hall, “director of the railroad from Puerto Plata to Santiago, Santo Domingo.” The final specimen, which will be described in what follows under a separate heading, is a Cuban figure pendant from Los Arabos, a town in Matanzas province. The total available sample, then, stands at nine.

Dimensions of six database specimens are as follows.

- Height: range 30-75 mm, mean 43 mm
- Width: range 12-41 mm, mean 25 mm
- Thickness: range 18-27 mm, mean 23 mm

Based on our meager sample, most Imbert-style figure pendants are quite small. Ignoring IC064, a large outlier, the mean height is only 36 mm.

Details of execution are as follows. The discussion will ignore, for the moment, IC043 and the Los Arabos specimen, which are iconographically distinct from the remainder.

The head

Heads are almond-shaped, sculpted in three dimensions with rounded contours. They project forward from the torso without, however, having a defined neck. An upward gaze means that the most forward-reaching element is the mouth/chin, beneath which the throat is deeply undercut. As in the majority of frog-form hybrids, the heads are earless. A low, plain coronet is present in all but one specimen. A feature peculiar to Imbert, already noted, is a downward continuation of the coronet in three examples (IC064, IC311, and the specimen illustrated by Fewkes). The forehead is generally rounded, except in IC310 where it is flattened and recessed below the brow line. A well-defined groove arching across the upper face defines the brow line, which in all cases is flush with the top of the eyes. Eyes are well-formed, elliptical bulges set at angles to the horizontal, centered by a slot – a version of the so-called “coffee-bean eye” seen in other figure pendant styles and in other genres. Noses are projecting isosceles triangles, with curved bridges as seen in profile. A diagnostic element of the style is the position of the raised mouth and lip element, described above, which is set at the base of the face merging with the chin line.

The torso and limbs

Torsos are lenticular in shape, narrower than the head. In the frontal aspect they tend to be somewhat flattened, although softened by rounding at the edges. I have already described the manner in which the torso steps down abruptly to the limbs. One to three incised lines cross the torso horizontally, confined to the lower torso where size permits it, although the miniscule IC347 (not illustrated) appears to dispense with this feature altogether.

Much unlike the three-dimensional treatment of the head, fore and hind-limbs are schematized into simplified, cookie-cutter shapes. Limbs are frontally flattened, fashioned into outlines having simple geometric shapes: triangles and semicircles with V-shaped or squared marginal cutouts. Where a differentiation is made between upper and lower limbs, it is done on the frontal surface using an incised line set at an angle to the axis of the torso. Knees and elbows, projecting laterally from the torso, tend to be mirror images of one another, but hands and feet show no such symmetry. Feet tend to be paw-like, rounded flanges with incised digits radiating outward. Hands are rounded flanges as well, but they are arranged so as to nearly merge in back of the head, separated by a notch. Fingers, where present, instead of radiating outward perpendicular to the outer margin, instead follow the contour of that margin.

Perforation for suspension in some instances employs a pair of marginal, elbow-style drillings at the crook of the wrists, emerging at the back, as in all other styles of frog-form hybrids. In several specimens, however, one simple transverse perforation passes through the piece from wrist to wrist. Such transverse perforation in frog-form hybrids is strictly confined to the Imbert style. The only other style and subject in which we have seen both elbow-style and transverse perforation is in Puerto Plata anthropomorphs (Chapter 2). In that case, I have argued that the distinction is chronological (Chapter 3). If the same may be said of Imbert, the style appears to span that same transition.

The genitalia

A genital element consists, in most cases, of a prominent, unembellished lump, rounded-triangular in frontal view and rounded in profile view, not greatly different from those seen in multiple other styles featuring frog-form hybrids. Imbert, however, is a style in which this genital bulge on a frog-form is sometimes bestowed with more iconographically helpful detail. The magnificent IC064 has a vertically-oriented incised element at the center of the bulge that can only be described as vulvar. Here, then, the triangular genital bulge itself becomes a mons pubis, just as in two comparable Puerto Plata Frog-form guise specimens already noted in Chapter 2.

The back

Backs are flat and completely devoid of detail on all Imbert-style frog-form figure pendants for which we have had access to the reverse side.

Imbert-related marginalia and other subjects

Several frog-form specimens from the database (not illustrated) are just marginal, morphologically, to the Imbert style as described above. Two, for example, have acceptable Imbert heads, but these are attached to torsos and limb elements having soft rather than abruptly stepped transitions. Two others have flattened limb elements and a stepped transition to a narrow torso, but heads that deviate from the style as I have described it. These specimens are closely related to the style, and it would have been possible to include them, but only at the expense of broadening the stylistic canons. Such a decision would have violated our methodological dictum of defining named styles rather tightly, at a scale consistent with finite crafting communities.

Two further iconographic subjects are depicted in the Imbert style, both with frog-form bases but with heads and genitalia entirely different from those described above. These subjects are represented by IC043 and a Cuban specimen, not in the database but of no small importance, from Los Arabos, Matanzas. I will discuss these separately.

IC043 (Figure 9.1, lower row, right)

In a corpus of remarkable figure pendants, IC043 is surely one of the most astonishing, and probably one of the more telling iconographically, if only we could tell what is going on. Starting with the head, the whole element is carved as though disembodied, perhaps to be understood as detached from the upper torso below. Bird-form ears are attached to the sides, above which is a coronet bearing a drilled pit on the proper left side that is not duplicated on the right. Eyes and mouth are artfully realized as flattened meanders, a concept otherwise seen in the Antilles, to my knowledge, only in certain maskettes of shell and stone. At the lower end of the piece is a phallus, the male identification of the genital bump being clarified by the addition of a bifurcated testicular element at the base. Then there is a completely unique, curving, incised element that connects the base of the chin to the lower torso like a flying buttress, separated from the upper torso by an aperture. It is perhaps helpful to know that this element arises from the torso just above the genitalia, at the position reserved for a navel in other styles, as though the element were an umbilicus. If meant as an umbilicus, it is one that joins a unique head to a (male) frog-form body in an utterly mystifying way. As for

the basal stratum, the limbs are frontally flattened, their margins crisply detailed, with angled incised lines separating upper from lower limbs. Suspension is via a transverse hole connecting the wrists, rather than by separate elbow-style drillings. These decisive characteristics of the basal stratum certify the assignment to Imbert.

Los Arabos (Figure 9.1, lower row, center)

As noted previously in my tally of Imbert-style figure pendants, one example is reported from a locality with the evocative name of Arroyo de Los Chivos (“Goat Gully”), Los Arabos, Matanzas province, Cuba. This specimen, which is said to be in the municipal museum of Los Arabos, represents one of the westernmost find localities for any Antillean figure pendant. Regarding the specimen, at present we have only indirect access by way of a careful replica made to scale from the original by Caridad Rodríguez Cullel of the Departamento Centro-Oriental de Arqueología (DCOA), Holguín. It is accompanied by a card file in the Department with information including the name of the find locality, plus an inked sketch. Esteban Maciques Sánchez (2018:Plate 40A) discusses the Los Arabos specimen based on the DCOA reproduction, and adds frontal and side-view drawings of it. The reproduction measures 63 mm long by 32 mm wide, rather large for Imbert but within the known range.

Although the subject is unique, there can be no doubt about its stylistic assignment to Imbert. The outline of its cookie-cutter limbs, their stepped relation to the narrow torso, and the angular incised lines separating upper from lower limbs are so much like IC064, an Imbert *tour de force*, that common authorship is not inconceivable. The heavily undercut throat is also consistent with the style. But that is where the resemblances end.

The head does not appear to be that of an anthropomorph. It is roughly cylindrical, and wears a two-tiered disk-form headpiece in the manner of Cibao. The eyes are laterally-emplaced, circular concavities without pupils. Below the eyes is an incised version of a supranasal chevron, an element we have come to recognize as characteristic of Cibao-style hybrids. The mouth is shown as open, with a tongue protruding between rows of teeth. This is the first example of that sort of tongue that has come to our attention in this study, although there are more to come in Chapter 11.

A unique feature consists of raised-rim circular elements on each hand, where incised digits otherwise might be expected. What are these circles? In relation to frogs, it must be said that they bear more than a passing resemblance to frog ears, although actual frog auditory tympani are, of course, flush with the frog’s head. Perhaps a better suggestion can be offered by comparison with IC321 and IC378, both Puerto Plata Arms Aloft-guise hybrids with arms in the “frog” position, hands adjacent to the head (illustrated and discussed in the appropriate section of Chapter 2). In the latter figure pendants, the hand position was used creatively by the carver to add ear elements to both sides of the head. In the Los Arabos specimen, use of the hands to present circular elements on both sides of the head appears to be the same idea, in which case the circles can be interpreted as ear flares. Regarding both this specimen and IC043, described above, it will be useful to set down a reminder that in Greater Antillean figure pendants, the presence of ears is exceptionally rare on anything with a frog-form base.

Perforation for suspension is apparently transverse rather than elbow-style, adding another example of that contrary mode to Imbert-style frog-forms.

We come now to the genital organ of the Los Arabos figure pendant, which is in many ways the most intriguing feature of the specimen. Although a bit battered (assuming the replica is accurate on this point), the genital form has the shape of a narrow cone projecting straight forward, embellished at the base by concentric incised lines. Maciques Sánchez (2018:37) considers the element to be definitively male, and it does compare favorably to the rather more convincing phallus of IC043 of the same style. We will return to the evident sexuality of both IC043 and the Los Arabos figure pendant in the section to follow entitled “Preliminary iconographic notes.”

Further notes on the style

The evident relationship of the Los Arabos head to Cibao-style heads, noted above, is rather striking and leads to a further question. To review, resemblances include the cylindrical shape of the Los Arabos head, its two-tiered, disk-form headpiece, and the use of a supranasal chevron element, elsewhere interpreted as a skinfold on the snout of a bat. This comparison leads to a question that is not trivial: Might Cibao and Imbert be the *same style*, the product of a common network of carvers creating radically different figure pendant subjects? I have already made a similar judgment linking Luquillo-style frog-form hybrids to snouted, armless hybrids in the same style. To answer the question in this instance requires that one review the canons of both Cibao and Imbert, and then try to envision what a frog-form would look like if made by a Cibao carver, and conversely what a snouted, armless hybrid would look like if made by an Imbert carver. That exercise results in a negative answer. For example, Cibao carvers emphasized faceted surfaces and made liberal use of sawn grooves to create surface details. Imbert carvers did neither. Still, the resemblances demonstrate some degree of contact between communities of carvers, and they suggest at least partial contemporaneity.

Style Group 1 (Figure 9.3, upper row)

Besides Imbert, in this chapter I want to isolate and briefly describe two additional, related styles. Including Imbert, all three emphasize frog-form-hybrids as their primary subject, and they share facial characteristics to some degree. However, as the comparison of representative heads in Figure 9.2 illustrates, these same facial characteristics can be used productively to distinguish them.

I should register my impression here that I do not consider Style Groups 1 and 2 to be “substyles” of Imbert. My hesitation in awarding them the same status as the other formally named styles in this work results from a lack of sufficient information at this time – both in numbers and in clear diagnostics – to cleanly separate them and to examine their interrelationships. Although chronological differences may obtain among them, I have been unable to convincingly arrange them into any developmental relation. In no sense, then, may they (yet) be considered sequent style phases in the same broader style tradition. For now, it is best to view Style Groups 1 and 2 as separate provisional styles, both related in some ways to Imbert.

Ten frog-form hybrid figure pendants in the database can be assigned to Style Group 1, to which we can add two more from the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo, for a total of twelve. IC077 (Figure 9.3, upper row, left) can serve as a representative of this group. Figure 9.2 (middle row) shows sketches of

three Style Group 1 heads for comparative purposes. Regarding these heads, they are fully carved in the round with the chin thrust outward, the throats well undercut in most examples. All larger examples have coronets. Facial features are somewhat simplified relative to Imbert. Noses, for example, are large triangular forms, outlined on both sides by straight, deep grooves that reach the chin line. Like Imbert noses, they are arched in profile. There is less emphasis on brow lines than in Imbert, and their placement on the upper face is inconsistent. The same bulging elliptical, slotted eyes are present as in Imbert, but their location is marginalized, resulting in an oddly non-human, bug-eyed appearance in some specimens. Marginalization of the eye bulges results in many that are poorly defined on their outer edges, in contrast to Imbert eyes whose margins are well defined around the full perimeter. Style Group 1 mouths, in their form and placement, are highly distinctive. Rather than incorporating a raised bulge as in Imbert, mouths are moved to the very base of the face, where they are sometimes marked by a horizontal incised line segment and other times not shown at all. The effect is that of a pout, straight downward, that is difficult to comprehend without examining the full range of expression in this group. In particular, there is a notch between the base of the nose and the surface of the downward-pointing upper lip that itself superficially *looks like* a mouth, especially in profile view (something that cannot be adequately captured in frontal sketches like those in Figure 9.2). The fact that the notch below the nose is not really the mouth can be appreciated by attending to those specimens that also have an incised mouth line *below* that notch, at the very base of the face. We have seen this facial expression already once before in IC335, a unique Luquillo-style anthropomorph.

Style Group 1 torsos are lenticular, much the same as in Imbert but with softer transitions to the outspread limbs. Lower bodies are crossed with one or two horizontal

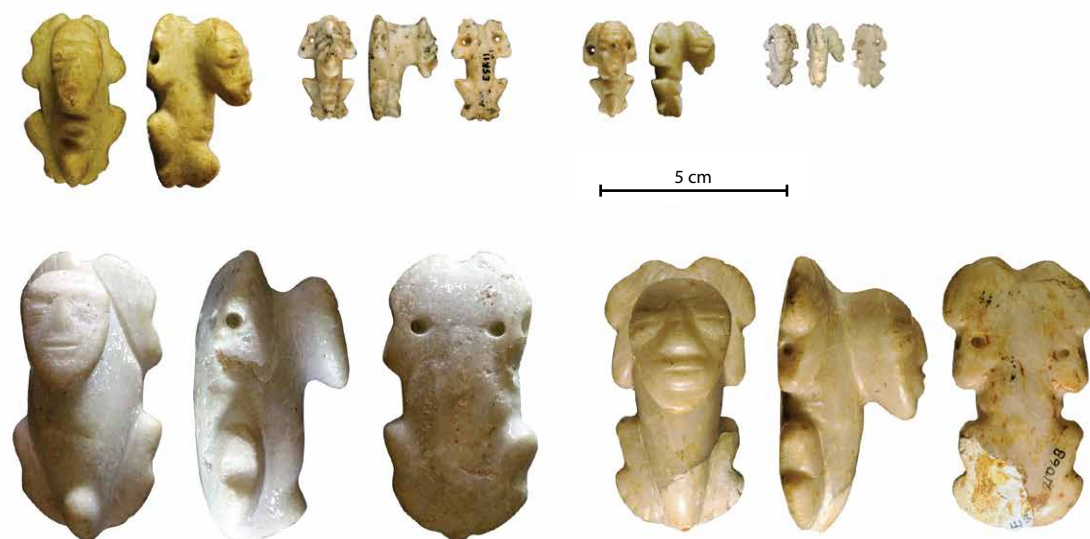


Figure 9.3 Style Group 1, including miniatures, and Style Group 2. Upper row: IC077, MHD uncataloged; IC297, YPM ANT 011453; IC067, MHD uncataloged; IC388, RUD uncataloged. Lower row: IC399, RUD uncataloged; IC328, UPR 21068 (genital area is incorrectly restored).

incised lines or grooves, although two specimens lack these. Genital bumps are prominent, rounded eminences without elaboration. Hands and feet are deemphasized, smallish and bearing little detail.

Four of the twelve specimens classified as Style Group 1 are miniatures, all less than 30 mm in height (Figure 9.3, upper row). This is the only style dedicated to frog-form hybrids in which we find multiple examples of such miniatures. They are remarkable jewels of lapidary skill, the smallest in the database being only 14 mm tall. Because of their tiny size, they have flange-style perforations passing directly through the upper limbs, as opposed to the elbow-style perforations that appear on all larger specimens of the group. Genitalia of the miniatures do not protrude as in the larger examples, but rather take on a narrow triangular shape, pointed at the base.

Dimensions of four Style Group 1 miniatures are as follows.

Height: range 14-29 mm, mean 24 mm

Width: range 9-16 mm, mean 13 mm

Thickness: range 5-19 mm, mean 14 mm

Style Group 2 (Figure 9.3, lower row)

I have classified only three frog-form hybrid figure pendants from the database as belonging to Style Group 2, although the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo provides another four, for a total of seven. IC399 and IC328 may serve as representative, with the stipulation that IC328 is incorrectly restored at its base, lacking its genital bulge.

Style Group 2 heads are almond-shaped, resting on stumpy necks that connect them to the upper torso. Faces are flattened relative to Imbert and Style Group 1 standards, resulting in a rather abrupt inflection point around the facial margin where it transitions to the neck. Regarding faces (Figure 9.2, lower row), there is no consistent emphasis on a brow line or its placement on the upper face. One specimen lacks a brow line entirely. Eyes are, again, raised, slotted elements, but are here simplified, the lateral margins as often missing as present. Noses are isosceles triangles, lacking the highlighted lateral borders seen in Style Group 1. The form of the mouth and its placement are diagnostic of the group. The lips are formed by a relatively wide, raised oval, at the center of which is an incised line segment for the mouth. This oval mouth assemblage is moved upward on the face relative to Imbert and Style Group 1, to a position just below the nose. Thus, Style Group 2 figure pendants have independent chins.

Torsos are lenticular forms, rounded, and relatively wide and thick, much like those of Luquillo-style frog-form hybrids. They are crossed by one or two horizontal incised lines, although this element is omitted in some cases. Fore and hindlimbs are stumpy, less crisply delineated than in Imbert, ending in paw-like rounded flanges representing hands and feet. These may be symmetrical top to bottom, or alternatively, the hands may be broader than the feet, meeting behind the head, sometimes with Imbert-like incised digits parallel to the margin rather than perpendicular to it.

Suspension was by means of two elbow-style drillings beginning at the inflection point of the wrists and exiting at the back. Finally, the back, although flattened, retains a bit of a convex contour.

Another subject: anthropomorphic hybrids

Aside from whatever it is that is depicted by IC043 and the Los Arabos figure pendants of the Imbert style, discussed above, it is apparent that carvers working in this and related styles were competent in yet another theme, an upright, squatting anthropomorphic hybrid (Figure 9.4). A clear stylistic affinity is revealed in the large heads and faces, which share many of the same characteristics as those of frog-form hybrids, and in some cases are nearly interchangeable with them.

Before discussing these details, let me first describe the subject, because it is a new one. The body and limbs, in their flexed posture, appear to be fully anthropomorphic and the heads nearly so, except that they possess large upright ears placed high on the head, very much like those of some snouted, armless hybrids as in the Luquillo style. By themselves, these large upright ears bestow the subject with, at minimum, a hint of zoomorph, in which case we have another hybrid being.

Although some appear, at first glance, to be armless, they do, in fact, all possess arms. The treatment of those arms is, however, unlike that of any other figure pendant class. Upper arms are oriented vertically, closely following the outer margins of the torso, at which point they flex, the lower arms either following the thighs or clenching the belly at mid-torso. But these arms are only barely there, consisting of slight ridges contoured into the body without clear margins. Nor are these limbs awarded hands.

Legs are arranged in a deep squat, knees apart (comparable to squatting mode \square II, defined in Chapter 12). Lump-like, ill-formed feet are brought back under the main axis of the torso, separated by a basal groove. A definite, but ambiguous genital element, triangular in shape, is present between the legs. In these last particulars, and also in the form of the ears, the figure pendants are so much like Luquillo snouted, armless hybrids to suggest a stylistic relationship, even though the subject is manifestly different. These Imbert-related anthropomorphs, however, do not possess the channelback feature that is so strongly connected to Luquillo.

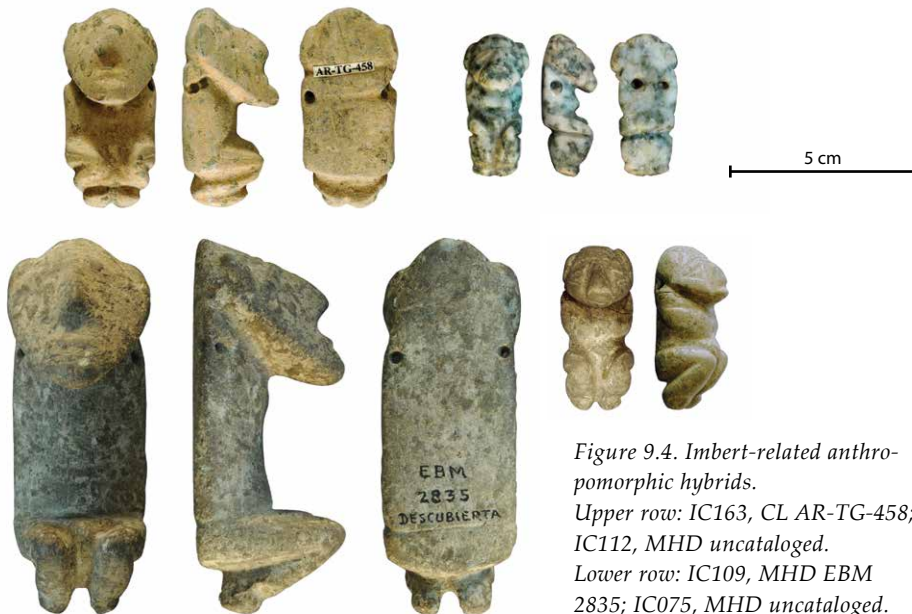


Figure 9.4. Imbert-related anthropomorphic hybrids.
Upper row: IC163, CL AR-TG-458; IC112, MHD uncataloged.
Lower row: IC109, MHD EBM 2835; IC075, MHD uncataloged.

All have elbow-style perforation entering at the shoulders and exiting at the back. The backs are perfectly flat.

Heads, like those of Imbert-related frog-form hybrids, are almond shaped and upward-gazing, with the same raised elliptical, slotted eyes. They are neckless, as though balanced on the upper torso, the chin jutting forward in the same manner as the frog-forms. Not including the ears, heads are the same width as the torsos.

IC075 and IC112 are unquestionably the product of Style Group 1 carvers. Their noses are large, triangular affairs bounded by grooves reaching the chin line. Mouths are at the very base of the face in a downward pout, and may lack, as in Style Group 1 frog-forms, an accompanying incised line. The remaining figure pendants of this group, although all are clearly Imbert-related, are not as readily assigned to one of our style groups. IC163, IC109, and IC154 (the latter not illustrated) have well-formed mouths placed well above the chin, as in Style Group 2, but their faces are fully dimensional rather than flattened, and their throats are strongly undercut. For its part, IC177 (not illustrated) has a downward pout and a large, curved nose as in Style Group 1, but its nose is not cleanly bounded at its lateral margins, and its gaze, peculiarly, is almost straight upward.

Geographic distribution

Because the three styles discussed in this chapter are related, we may assess their geographic distributions jointly to avoid meaninglessly small quantities. Unfortunately, detailed provenance data are still exceptionally sparse. Taken together, and including all subjects (ignoring the marginalia), of 27 Imbert-related figure pendants having country attributions, the distribution is as follows. Haiti and Dominican Republic = 24; Cuba = 2; Puerto Rico = 1. Thus, the Cuban (Los Arabos, plus another from Banos, Holguín) and Puerto Rican specimens are obvious geographical outliers, but can we define an area of concentration in Hispaniola? There are only three more specific localities, and they are dispersed. A Style Group 1 miniature frog-form hybrid is from the well-known site of Macao, La Altagracia province, in the extreme eastern Dominican Republic. Another Style Group 1 miniature frog-form is from the original Meillac site, in the Fort Liberté area of northeast Haiti. Finally, a squatting anthropomorph is from Independencia province, in the southwest interior of the Dominican Republic near the Haitian border. It is perhaps significant that none of the 23 Hispaniolan specimens are known to have come from the Cibao district, the source of so many other figure pendants in the central and northern Dominican Republic, but it is unwise to conclude anything definitively from such sparing data.

Archaeological context and dating

One frog-form hybrid miniature assigned to Style Group 1 comes from a professionally excavated context. Froelich Rainey and Irving Rouse, in their 1935 excavations at the Meillac site near Fort Liberté, northeastern Haiti, encountered the figure pendant in a midden context unassociated with human remains (Rainey 1941:35). In the Yale Peabody Museum catalog, the context is specified as Section C-4 (midden 4), level 1 (0-25 cm). Rouse (1941:Table 28) indicates that Meillac is a virtually

pure Meillacan site. I have been unable to find a more recent age estimate than Rouse's (1992:97, Fig. 14) for the Meillac site and Meillacan culture in that region: 900-1200 AD (his Period IIIb).

Raw materials

No professional opinions are yet available regarding the raw materials of any of the figure pendants described in this chapter with the exception of the Style Group 1 miniature from Meillac that Rouse (1941:98) claims is made of "vein quartz, in which there seem to be flakes of gold." If so, other miniatures in this group may be made of the same rock, without the gold.

Preliminary iconographic notes

Regarding the general theme of frog-form hybrids, with only 16 Puerto Plata-style examples to consider (Chapter 2) and eight more in the Luquillo-style (Chapter 8), I have been reluctant, to this point, to come to any firm conclusions about the iconography of that theme. With Imbert and related styles, however, the cumulative total now stands at 58, which puts us in better standing to revisit the matter.

Working primarily with Cuban materials, Esteban Maciques Sánchez has commented on their iconography. Classifying them by their base form as being of "elliptical composition," he had little to work from, as the theme is rare in Cuba. Recognizing that the genital bulge on the majority of specimens leaves the sex ambiguous, he considers the much more explicit specimen from Los Arabos. Matanzas – discussed in this chapter – as the deciding case. In Maciques's interpretation, the genital element of Los Arabos appears as an erect phallus. For him, the form of the mouth is a contributing factor as well, in that Los Arabos is the only case of the theme in which "lust is expressed by exposing the tongue out of the mouth." He generalizes as follows.

For the reasons above, it is valid to consider the elliptical idols as representations of a male deity par excellence, probably linked with rites of fertility and of procreation (Maciques Sánchez 2018:37).

Thus, Maciques Sánchez's interpretation of the theme is the polar opposite of McGinnis's, discussed in Chapter 8. What for Maciques is a lustful male deity par excellence is for McGinnis the paragon of female fertility, a woman in the process of giving birth. Neither interpretation acknowledges what is considered a baseline observation in this study: that the theme represents a being envisioned as having a human head on a frog-form base.

At least some of this riddle can be resolved. In the first place, whatever being Los Arabos represents, it is so far unique to that specimen. Although its base is a conventional frog-form, the head is nonhuman, unlike all other frog-form hybrids discussed in these pages. If our identification of the supranasal element based on comparison to Cibao-style snouted, armless hybrids is correct, following Rodríguez Arce (2000), that element is plausibly interpreted as a skinfold,

an identifying attribute of a bat. I have already accepted that Maciques may be correct that the genital element of Los Arabos is phallic, comparable to that of IC043, even though this manner of presentation is at odds with the widespread, conventional Antillean phallic presentation that appears on other figure pendants in several styles. It is perhaps relevant that the only Cibao-style snouted, armless hybrids whose genitalia are explicit are males.

As for McGinnis's envisioning of the genital bulge as an emerging child being birthed, that interpretation seems strongly at odds with the evidence of two Imbert-style frog-form hybrids, plus two more of the Puerto Plata style (Chapter 2), that show unambiguous vulvar grooves central to a triangular genital bulge. As I have already stated, in those cases the bulge demands to be considered as a somewhat exaggerated female mons pubis. If that much is granted, the dozens of other, similarly formatted but more ambiguous genital bulges on frog-form hybrids should probably be viewed as the same thing.

Why, then, would the vast majority show no indication of a vulvar component, when to add one would have required nothing more than a vertical incised line segment? Its omission, like the sexual ambiguity of anthropomorphic figure pendants in general, has to be important. To artistically emphasize, on a being depicted with splayed legs, a mons pubis without a vagina is perhaps to emphasize the concept of a not-fully-realized female. This is a mythic concept that was quite certainly known in the Antilles at the time of European contact, but exactly how such a link ought to be made carries us too far afield. For the moment, I am reasonably confident in the iconographic identification of the genital bulge on frog-form hybrids as an exaggerated female mons pubis – excepting, of course, those on IC043 and Los Arabos, plus that on IC162 to be introduced in the next chapter, which I accept as phallic.

The fact that frog-form hybrids are mostly earless is also iconographically noteworthy, perhaps as something parallel to the armlessness of squatting, snouted figures. Alternatively, perhaps, it is merely another allusion to frogs which, of course, have no external ears. It seems relevant that the two exceptional frog-forms noted in this chapter that do have ears, IC043 and Los Arabos, are both putative males.

As a final iconographic note regarding the remarkable Imbert-style figure pendant from Los Arabos, Guarch Delmonte and Querejeta Barceló (1992:38) use a sketch if it to illustrate an *opía*, a spirit of the deceased as described historically in Hispaniola by Pané.

Miniatures

La Caleta, Altagracia, and other styles

Miniature anthropomorphic figure pendants of stone, called “microamulets” by Baztán Rodrigo (1971-72:Fig. 63), command special attention because they are distinctive stylistically, geographically, and iconographically. They are, above all, common. Of the 523 Greater Antillean figure pendants for which we have working photographs, we recorded some 83 miniatures, amounting to 16 percent of the present sample. Moreover, they are largely a Hispaniolan phenomenon. Of those with recorded countries of origin, 85 percent are Hispaniolan, compared to 10 percent Cuban and 5 percent Puerto Rican. These comprise some 21 percent of the specifiably Hispaniolan figure pendants in our sample, and that number is too low; large, private Dominican collections have literally dozens more that time has not permitted us to record individually during our visits (Figure 10.1).



Figure 10.1. Uninventoried miniatures in the private collection of Mr. Isaac Rudman, Santo Domingo.

I define miniatures, arbitrarily, as those figure pendants less than or equal to 30 mm in maximum height, with minor allowance for fudging where those of a known style exceed that threshold by a few millimeters. Some are clear miniaturizations of styles defined primarily using larger figure pendants, such as the four discussed in Chapter 9 as belonging to Style Group 1 among the frog-form hybrids. Most, however, are not miniature versions of any larger style. Accordingly, I will name new styles.

What accounts for the existence of these miniatures, and for their special concentration in Hispaniola? It is not that they were more simply made and were therefore easier to produce in quantity. They range in their complexity from simple stone beads with only enough incised detail to identify them as representational, to tiny jewels of lapidary work which surely took as much or greater skill in their crafting as the fanciest of their larger counterparts. Nor do they all seem to have been used in the same way. Some forms emphasize longitudinal perforation and might well have been worn as necklace beads, perhaps in multiples as they are currently strung for purposes of display in some Dominican collections. But to my knowledge, multiples of the same form have never been found together. Other forms emphasize transverse perforation, indicating upright modes of bodily display comparable to larger figure pendants. Still other kinds of miniatures have both longitudinal and transverse perforation, as is routinely found in the Puerto Plata, Comendador, and Cibao styles. In general, I know of no evidence yet to suggest that these miniatures were produced, used, or discarded in ways that differ from their larger counterparts. In that sense, at least, miniatures may be something of a false category.

As will be seen, of the main figure pendant subjects, the snouted, armless, squatting character which, following Rodríguez Arce (2000), I am confident can be called a bat-person, is overwhelmingly the most common subject of the miniatures. That observation, whatever else it might mean, supplies further weight to the significance of bats as figure pendant subjects, especially on Hispaniola.

I have grouped the miniatures into four stylistic sets. Two are sufficiently common and morphologically uniform to warrant formal style names in the manner done in the previous chapters. Two more, although they are clear style groups, are less well grounded in the available data and I am not prepared to grant them formal names. Following the practice in Chapter 9, these will be labeled Style Groups 3 and 4.

The La Caleta style

Type Specimen: IC127 (Figure 10.2, upper row, left)

Number Examined: 14

La Caleta is a style that appears to be limited to miniatures, all of stone (Figure 10.2, upper row). It is realized with high consistency, making the style instantly recognizable. Figure 10.2 illustrates three of these. The name is taken from the archaeological site of La Caleta, a well-known Chicoid site near the capital city of Santo Domingo on the southeast coast of the Dominican Republic (Herrera Fritot and Youmans 1946), being the locality from which our IC035 (not illustrated) is reported. There is only one subject: an upright, squatting, snouted, armless hybrid with a characteristic pompadour headpiece and a downturned mouth.



Figure 10.2. *La Caleta*, *Altagracia*, *Style Group 3*, and *Style Group 4* miniatures. Upper row: IC127, ICAN 7653 (*La Caleta*); IC200, CL AR-BV-501j (*La Caleta*); IC195, CL AR-BV-501d (*La Caleta*). Middle row: IC140, CL AR-BV-493 (*Altagracia*); IC142, CL AR-BV-495 (*Altagracia*); IC137, CL AR-BV-480 (*Altagracia*); IC193, CL AR-BV-501b (*Altagracia*); IC208, CL AR-BV-568i (*Altagracia*). Lower row: IC278, NMAI 129902 (*Style Group 3*); IC066, MHD uncataloged (*Style Group 3*); IC134, ICAN 7638 (*Style Group 4*); IC221, CL AR-TG-502 (*Style Group 4*, oversized specimen showing pattern of incising).

All large Dominican collections I have examined have at least one *La Caleta*-style miniature, and some have multiples. Despite this commonality, to my knowledge the style has never been recognized as such. Nor does the style tend to be featured in publications, although Herrera Fritot and Youmans (1946:27-29) offer a side-by-side comparison of specimens from Baracoa, Cuba and *La Caleta*. Maciques Sánchez (2018:Plate 22) illustrates our Cuban type specimen. Fourteen are in the database, and we have usable frontal photographs of five more from the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo in Santo Domingo. Thus, our total working sample is 19. Aside from these, we have seen several more *La Caleta*-style miniatures, uncounted, in the private collection of Mr. Isaac Rudman in Santo Domingo.

Composition is cylindrical, the width a little less than the thickness. All specimens have longitudinal perforation running fully through the piece, which is clearly the priority mode for the style. Exactly half of the database sample also has transverse perforation through the neck. The presentation is relatively inornate, the surface details realized using bold, sawn grooves.

Dimensions of the 14 specimens from the database are as follows.

- Height: range 15-29 mm, mean 22 mm
- Width: range 7-11 mm, mean 9 mm
- Thickness: range 8-14 mm, mean 10 mm

The head

La Caleta heads are rounded, somewhat flattened at the top to accommodate the longitudinal hole. A snout projects slightly forward. Ears are large, prominent oval structures, either vertically oriented or tilted slightly backward as in the type spec-

imen. These ears are sometimes divided on the exterior by one or two grooves or incised line segments. A distinctive feature is a forward-projecting headpiece of the pompadour style, seen also rarely in Madre Vieja and Comendador-style figure pendants. All but one are depicted as sightless, the exception being a specimen in the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo that has small drilled pits for eyes on the upper face. At the junction of the snout and upper face is a the supranasal chevron element common to Cibao-style hybrids, here consisting of a single groove that arches across the face, beginning and ending beneath the ears. A single specimen has a more elaborate supranasal chevron, in which the groove is accompanied by a low ridge. The incised mouth is closed, characteristically downturned into a frown.

The torso

Torsos are simple cylinders, often slightly bulging at the center. Their length, defined by the separation between the chin and knees, is generally less than the height of the head. There are no arms.

The legs

Thighs are drawn at an upward angle from the hips, knees together. From the knees, the lower legs diverge, flexing strongly backward to a position aligned with the plane of the back. At times, this configuration is realized in frontal view using an incised X, creating a triangle of negative space between the lower legs. Feet are brought back together into a basal disk, sometimes differentiated from one another by an incised line segment. This conventional leg pose (squatting mode ZΔ, Chapter 12), is akin to that found in Comendador and certain stylistically unclassified larger figure pendants. No genitalia are shown.

The back

Backs are straight and are somewhat flattened. From a rear perspective, the juncture of the ears and head is shown, and at times also the back structure of the hips.

Geographic distribution

Some 80 percent of La Caleta miniatures attributed to a country of origin are Dominican, cementing Hispaniola as the general location for a community of carvers. Of the three Cuban outliers, two are from the Banes municipality in Holguin province, a well-known destination of nonlocal goods in the Greater Antilles. The lone Puerto Rican specimen is from Arecibo, in the northwest. As to where in Hispaniola the style might be more specifically centered, there is only one datum point, being the specimen already mentioned as from the Chicoid site of La Caleta on the southeast coast.

Raw materials

The material of manufacture appears unusually uniform, although geological opinions are still entirely lacking. A yellowish-white stone is most common, sometimes slightly veined, and sometimes clouded with sparse black inclusions. One specimen is of grayish-white stone, slightly speckled with darker inclusions.

Preliminary iconographic notes

Attributes of the La Caleta head, taken together, rather strongly reinforce the interpretation of the snouted, armless hybrid as having the head of a bat and not some other animal. Exactly as in the larger figure pendants depicting the theme, a large majority are depicted as sightless. Absence of genitalia is easily attributed to the small scale of the miniatures.

The Altagracia style

Type Specimen: IC140 (Figure 10.2, middle row, left)

Number Examined: 11

A second common style of miniature is Altagracia, the name taken from the eastern Dominican province to which one of the specimens is attributed (Figure 10.2, middle row). As with La Caleta, the only subject is a squatting, snouted, armless hybrid, realized in a highly consistent manner. Like La Caleta, Altagracia does not appear to be a miniaturization of any larger style of figure pendant. All examples are of stone.

Although Altagracia has not been previously recognized as a style, its stylistic unity is implicitly recognized by a display of six examples together in the exhibits of the Centro Cultural León Jimenes in Santiago de los Caballeros, Dominican Republic, all from the former collection of Bernardo Vega. These six are in fact so closely similar that they may well have been made by the same hand.

Eleven Altagracia figure pendants are in the database. The Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo furnishes another two for which we have frontal photographs, which brings the total working sample to 13.

The style is compact, with surface details generally handled by a few simple grooves. Composition is tabular, the sides flattened, with a depth exceeding the width. Consequently, the subject is best appreciated in profile view. Visually, it is all head and legs, the torso being minimal or even absent. As in La Caleta, there are tall, upright ears, but unlike the latter style there is no headpiece, and the legs are differently posed. Knees are pitched directly forward rather than upward, with the lower legs folded straight back, forming a sideways U shape in profile, almost in a kneel.

The universal mode of perforation in the Altagracia style is transverse, through the rear of the head or the torso, the opposite of La Caleta. Five specimens, about 40 percent of the sample, possess, in addition, a longitudinal perforation that penetrates fully through.

Dimensions of the eleven database specimens are as follows.

Height: range 18-34 mm, mean 23 mm

Width: range 7-13 mm, mean 9 mm

Thickness: range 8-18 mm, mean 12 mm

The head

In profile view, Altagracia heads are more or less rounded-triangular, the snout forming one angle and the bare head another. From a frontal perspective, the face is triangular as well, wider at the mouth than at the forehead. Ears are large, vertical, oval elements, reaching to about the plane of the top of the head. They are sometimes bifurcated by

a horizontal incised line segment. Features of the face are realized by, at minimum, two grooves. A lower, horizontal groove constitutes the mouth, while an upper groove, generally an inverted U-shaped arch, marks the junction of the snout and the upper face, the simplest version of the supranasal chevron element known from Cibao, La Caleta, and related snouted, armless hybrids. An especially elaborate *Altagracia* miniature, IC193, substitutes a chevron-shaped ridge surmounted by an incised line, exactly as occurs in Cibao.

The torso

I have already stated that the *Altagracia* torso is minimal, and is often eliminated altogether. Where present, it is a short, plain, rounded element joining the head and legs. In most cases the transverse perforation passes through the upper torso, alternatively through the ears.

The legs

A dominant feature in profile view is the lower legs, which make up about half the height of the specimen. From that perspective, they are in the form of a horizontal U, the knees gently rounded. Lower legs are bent back strongly beneath the specimen, the division between upper and lower formed by a horizontal groove that encircles the back. This leg pose is defined as squatting mode \supset II in Chapter 12. In frontal perspective, knees are slightly apart, sometimes creating a blank triangular space between the chin and knees. Feet, where they are distinguished at all, are rounded lumps positioned against the plane of the back, set apart from the lower legs by a simple basal groove. No genitalia are shown.

The back

Altagracia backs are slightly flattened. As mentioned previously, the horizontal groove differentiating upper from lower legs in side view generally passes fully around the back.

Geographic distribution

All known *Altagracia* specimens have national attributions, of which twelve of thirteen, or 92 percent, are Dominican. The outlier, a highly eroded, discolored example, is Cuban. Of more specific provenances only one is known, that of a highly simplified specimen from the archaeological site of El Cabo, at the easternmost tip of the Dominican Republic in *Altagracia* province. No more specific information is available regarding its context. Radiocarbon dates from El Cabo are unhelpful in narrowing down an age estimate, as that Chicoid site was reportedly occupied continuously from the ninth through the sixteenth century AD (Samson 2010:256).

Raw materials

Perhaps less than the usual discrimination is evident in the selection of raw materials for *Altagracia* figure pendants, in that some of the stone contains rather abundant and visibly conspicuous flaws in the form of voids and coarse, discolored bands. A yellowish-white stone is common, with slight darker inclusions in the form of specks. Apparently, the stone does not polish well. A single specimen, in contrast, is made of a brilliant white rock, highly polished, with black clouding in places. No geological opinions are yet available.

Preliminary iconographic notes

None of the 13 known Altagracia-style specimens are provided with eyes or arms. With head and facial features somewhat less well defined than in La Caleta miniatures, the natural prototype is less evident. However, the most detailed member of the set, IC193, joins the La Caleta miniatures in reinforcing that the idea that the prototype of the head is that of a bat and not something else.

Miniature Style Group 3

I have assigned a much smaller group of five miniatures to Style Group 3, continuing the number sequence from Chapter 9 for styles lacking sufficient information to earn a more formal name (Figure 10.2, lower row, left). Three are in the database, and frontal photographs of two more come from the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo. All are of stone.

The subject, once again, is a squatting, snouted, armless hybrid. Some stylistic aspects of Style Group 3, such as cylindrical composition, the pose of the legs, and the occasional downturned mouth are suggestive of La Caleta, but the differences are enough to warrant separation. For one thing, the large upright ears that are so prominent on La Caleta heads are absent. For another, Style Group 3 heads all possess single-tiered, disk-form headpieces much like those of Cibao-style snouted, armless hybrids. Some relationship to Cibao is also suggested by the disk-form ears of IC066. At the face, all have a chevron-shaped groove separating the snout from the upper face, an element to which we have repeatedly called attention. All Style Group 3 specimens are eyeless except for IC278, which has small drilled pits for eyes.

Otherwise, the knock-kneed posture of the lower legs (squatting mode $Z\Delta$, Chapter 12), the divergence of the lower legs leaving a triangular space, and the joining of the feet into a basal disk are all indistinguishable from La Caleta, except for the presence of an ambiguous genital element on FGA065 (not illustrated). The knock-kneed leg pose is shared by Comendador, Format 1 and several stylistically unclassified figure pendant specimens, as will be seen in Chapter 11 to follow and in the “Miscellaneous Miniatures” to be described later in the present chapter.

Four out of the five Style Group 3 specimens are made of white or yellowish-white stone, the remainder of light brown stone with heavy black mottling. All are perforated for suspension both transversely through the upper torso or head, and also longitudinally fully through the piece. All five are Dominican, one more specifically attributed to the vicinity of Santiago de los Caballeros, Santiago province.

Miniature Style Group 4

With Style Group 4 we arrive, finally, at the ultimate abbreviation of the figure pendant genre (Figure 10.2, lower row, right). These figures exhibit an arresting simplicity. They are fully cylindrical, stone bead-like miniatures, none having relief carving of any kind. The surface details are handled exclusively by a few incised line strokes sufficient to indicate the subject, which is a squatting, snouted, armless anthropomorphic hybrid. All have double perforation; transverse through the head or just beneath, and longitudinal, fully through the piece. Although there are many bead-like miniatures of this general

character, the point is to restrict these classes stylistically, so I have classified only ten as belonging to Style Group 4. Five are in the database, and five more in the Sala de Arte Pre-Hispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo. Although IC221 is slightly too large to be considered a miniature, I have included this outsized Style Group 4 piece in Figure 10.2 to clarify the representational nature of the incising.

Other than the above, the traits Style Group 4 miniatures have in common are as follows. An incised supranasal chevron separates the snout area from the upper face, although the snout, of course, does not project. Within the snout area is a horizontal line segment for a mouth. The upper head is eyeless, except insofar as the transverse drilling simulates eyes as in some specimens. A representation of the lower limbs is present, generally made to wrap straight back on themselves in a manner similar to *Altagracia*. Line segments at the front show the convergence of the knees. A few optional details may be added, such as an encircling line indicating a headpiece and another at the middle of the piece, or yet another at the base. Additional incised lines may cross the upper face, and others may be added about the lower limbs.

As Style Group 4 is plainly derivative – a stylistic judgment we cannot usually make – a legitimate question is to ask from what other form they are derived. With a larger sample, ultimately it may be possible to demonstrate the progress of this schematization from something else, conceivably from *Altagracia*-style miniatures.

Most Style Group 4 specimens are of uniform white stone, the few exceptions being a speckled yellowish-white stone, a white stone speckled with gray, or a white stone strongly mottled with gray.

Of the ten Style Group 4 specimens, nine are Dominican, none having a more specific provenance. IC134 is the lone Cuban example, that one coming specifically from the locality of Yaguajay in the Banes municipality, Holguín province.

Miscellaneous miniatures

In order to illustrate the overall variability among miniatures not conforming to any of the four style classes just outlined, I have selected six for illustration (Figure 10.3). As these have next to nothing in common, they will be independently described.

IC083 (Figure 10.3, upper row, left)

IC083 is a small figure pendant of shell depicting a squatting, skull-headed being. Upper and lower sections of the head are strongly differentiated, the lower part narrower than the upper. At the upper head, widely spaced cavities serve as eyes,



Figure 10.3. Miniatures, miscellaneous styles.

Upper row: IC083, MHD uncataloged; IC285, NMAI 236067 (legs broken off and reworked); IC152, CL AR-TG-432.

Lower row: IC111, MHD MHD-543; IC390, RUD uncataloged; IC160, CL AR-TG-443G.

and a nose is only hinted at by a slight bulge. At the sides are incised lines that possibly outline ears. The mouth is executed as an incised, broad oval with a single row of teeth. An unusually long neck bears a transverse perforation. Arms are distorted, sinuous elements recalling the legs of IC159, to be described in Chapter 11 under the heading, “Fully-Fleshed Anthropomorphs.” Forearms merge with the thighs, with undefined hands feathered into the knees. Crude, vertically incised lines on the feet indicate toes.

IC285 (Figure 10.3, upper row, middle)

IC285 is a squatting miniature, reportedly from Arecibo, Puerto Rico, of highly polished pale green stone with reddish inclusions (regarding which, see also IC191, under the heading “Fully-Fleshed Anthropomorphs” in Chapter 11). It is missing its lower legs, which have been reworked to a smooth surface, probably in antiquity. The head is a flattened oval, bearing simplified bird-form ears and a coronet. Regarding the face, the eyes are simple oval hollows, the nose an indistinct bulge, and the mouth a horizontal incised line segment. At the torso are two incised chevrons indicating ribs, below which is a prominent navel consisting of a pitted circle. Arms with bulging shoulders and upper arm constrictions are separated from the torso by carved apertures. The arms are flexed, the hands grasping squared knees. Ears are pitted on both the front and reverse sides. A drilled pit is at the back of the head, and in the position of the spine are two pitted circles similar to the navel, in the manner IC191 and IC367, both described in Chapter 11 under the heading “Fully-Fleshed Anthropomorphs.”

IC152 (Figure 10.3, upper row, right)

IC152 is a stubby, highly schematized miniature with a rounded-rectangular frontal outline. The back and front are basically flat, with head and feet wedged to a point, something like the bit-ends of a stone axe, so that the profile resembles a parallelogram. The rest is done by incising. A face is produced by a chin line, a brow line, and short, angled cheeklines. Neither eyes nor a mouth are depicted. Below the head, there is a waistline that encircles the piece, and lines on the front differentiate legs and feet. Two elbow-style perforations begin at both sides and converge in the center of the back, with a common hole. Some characteristics of this piece suggest an extreme schematization of Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 1.

IC111 (Figure 10.3, lower row, left)

IC111 is an armless miniature, potentially belonging to the same style as IC219, described in Chapter 11 under the heading “Fully-Fleshed Anthropomorphs.” Perforation is longitudinal only, resulting in a bead-like piece. Large, tall ears positioned toward the rear of the head bear an incised design consisting of horizontal lines above and below crossing lines forming an X. Eyes are pitted circles positioned at the top of the face. A strong horizontal groove is positioned between the upper face and the heavily lipped mouth area. The torso is minimal and plain, being a short, narrow column connecting the head and legs. Lower limbs and feet are in the same knock-kneed, pigeon-toed posture (squatting mode ZΔ, Chapter 12), discussed for IC219. At the back, there is a lone drilled pit centered at the base of the torso.

IC390 (Figure 10.3, lower row, middle)

IC390 is a squatting hybrid figure, perforated transversely through the torso. On a relatively large head, it wears a topknot headpiece that descends down the back to the level of the shoulders. Large, two-part ears each consist of a lower, raised pitted circle, above which is an elongate form reaching a level above the eyes. These latter bear comparison to the ears in IC162, to be discussed in Chapter 11 under the heading “Frog-Form Hybrids.” Eyes consist of raised pitted circles. Between them, the nose is a long, vertical element, upraised at the tip. This upright nose and ears impart a strong flavor of zoomorph, specifically a bat, to the subject, an aspect that is especially evident in profile view. The mouth is a large, raised oval element with one row of incised teeth. Arms are carved in relief, flexed, with hands shown grasping the knees. Knees are somewhat apart, and the feet are separated. At the back is low relief carving depicting hips and shoulders.

IC160 (Figure 10.3, lower row, right)

I close with IC160, a miniature among miniatures. It is only 12 mm tall and 4 mm wide, yet it is intricate, all components symmetrical and well polished, a virtuoso performance in lapidary competency. It depicts a squatting, snouted figure in grayish-white stone, transversely perforated at the middle. The composition is about equally divided between head and lower limbs, separated by a minimal torso. Tall, bi-lobed ears rise above the plane of the head. At the snout are two protrusions, a lower, forward-projecting one for a mouth and a separate, upward-projecting nose. Merged knees converge from the hips, separating thence into diverging lower legs, and feet separated by a basal notch. The back is flat.

Same subjects, additional styles

It is fair to ask what proportion of our working sample of 523 figure pendants are classifiable according to the named styles and provisional style groups defined in the previous chapters. That proportion is some 60 percent, 316 judged as classifiable, leaving a substantial remainder. Many of the latter still seem stylistically unique, some surprisingly so, some bafflingly hard to relate to the well-established style classes. Browsing through these, it would be easy to conclude that Antillean figure pendant carvers enjoyed considerable freedom of expression. Thus Veloz Maggiolo (1972:226) wrote more generally “that the freedom of action of the Taíno artist favors the invention of forms constantly. . . One of the most important characteristics of Taíno manufactures is their clear ‘fear,’ their flight from rigidity, even in the repetition of forms.”

However, that impression is, I feel sure, the result of a sample size inadequate to judge the matter. The larger the sample, the better can be seen the stability of the style classes to which they belong and the themes they depict. I often return to what Christopher Donnan wrote concerning what he learned about the variability of Andean Moche pottery vessels during many years of data collection.

When the sample included approximately 2,000 specimens, it seemed that there were many unique pieces, thus giving the impression that the art had almost limitless variation in the scenes and objects represented. As the sample size approached 5,000, however, many of the seemingly unique pieces were duplicated many times, thus forming their own category, or, even more often, were found to be merely a variation of one of the already existing categories. With our present sample size of more than 7,000 specimens, we find almost no unique pieces, and the art is clearly limited to a surprisingly limited number of themes [Donnan 1976:11].

Our sample of 523 figure pendants, while the largest yet considered, pales in comparison to Donnan's. As more collections are inventoried in the future, and as the work of comparing figure pendants to other carved genres moves forward, my strong suspicion is that many of our own “unique” pieces will find a home in one or another style group yet to be defined.

Style units of the kind discussed in this volume are best understood in contrast to other, related styles. Moreover, such contrasts are more easily grasped when the subject

matter is the same. However, to this point in the study, there has been only a limited opportunity for that sort of contrastive understanding. That is because, as we have seen, the styles introduced in Chapters 2 through 10, taken individually, highlight just one or two subjects each. Thus, Puerto Plata and Comendador, two very different styles, emphasize fully-fleshed anthropomorphs. Yaguajay and Madre Vieja emphasize emaciated or partly skeletalized anthropomorphs. Cibao, Luquillo, La Caleta, and Altagracia emphasize snouted, armless hybrids. Luquillo, Imbert, and Puerto Plata, emphasize frog-form hybrids.

The purpose of this chapter is to expand the possibilities for stylistic contrast and comparison. This will be done by presenting, for each of the major figure pendant subjects, a select series fashioned in other, as yet undefined Greater Antillean styles drawn from the database. The presentation will also serve to highlight a fact that deserves further emphasis: that late Ceramic Age style variability within the study area is far greater than what is encompassed by the styles defined in the previous chapters.

Fully-fleshed anthropomorphs

Of the figure pendants in the database not assigned to a named style, I have classed a large residuum by subject simply as “anthropomorphs,” meaning that no hybrid zoomorphic content is readily apparent. Within this large group, I have made little effort to distinguish fully-fleshed from partly skeletalized or emaciated specimens, although both are in the mix. To apply such an iconographic dichotomy in the face of such a wide stylistic assortment with no clear understanding of these styles would be both premature and contrary to my “style first” methodological approach. For this reason, I am unable to state the proportion that is fully fleshed, or to provide a corresponding geographic breakdown.

Figures 11.1 and 11.2 present a selection of nine seemingly fully-fleshed subjects, executed in styles other than those covered in Chapters 2 through 10. Here, at a glance, is a fine introduction to the extraordinary stylistic diversity to be seen in just one subject, on a single island, Hispaniola – the result of numerous local crafting communities at work over several centuries.

IC044 (Figure 11.1, upper row, left)

I begin with IC044, which is, without doubt, the most widely-recognized figure pendant in the Greater Antilles, one that according to Baztán Rodrigo (1971-72:caption to Fig. 99) is “unsurpassed by any yet found.” A graphic image of it has been adopted by the Museo del Hombre Dominicano as its logo. Various sculptural copies at a larger scale have been made. Copies in clay are abundant in the souvenir shops of the Dominican Republic, and a reproduction more than a meter tall is currently on prominent display in the Santo Domingo airport.

The genuine article, currently on display in the Museo del Hombre Dominicano, was formerly in the Dominican National Museum. It is somewhat large, some 56 mm in height, and is made of greenish stone. The relatively big head takes up nearly half the height. Its mouth is suitably formed to accept an inlaid shell “denture,” but there is no evidence of mastic in the opening. Masculine genitalia, in a standard Antillean format, are between the knees. Overall, in its degree of elaboration, perhaps especially at the headpiece, IC044 resembles Format 1 of Comendador, and in the draping of the hands

5 cm

Figure 11.1. Fully-fleshed anthropomorphs, miscellaneous styles. Upper row: IC044, MHD uncataloged; IC354, RUD uncataloged. Middle row: IC191, CL AR-BV-500; IC159, CL AR-TG-442. Lower row: IC367, RUD uncataloged; IC173, CL AR-TG-485.



5 cm

Figure 11.2. Fully-fleshed anthropomorphs, miscellaneous styles. Upper: IC244, NMNH A557245-0. Lower row: IC219, CL AR-TG-500; IC257, NMAI 200846.



over the knees, Comendador Format 2. However, the pose of the legs and the enormous round earflares suggest instead Yaguajay. The style is neither. Details include an elaborately incised caplike headpiece, quasi-bird-form ears, a plain “necklace” element on the upper torso, a large pitted circle for a navel, and constrictions at the upper arms. An obvious question raised by this piece is, where are there others in this highly distinctive style? One answer is that this might be a sculptural style more fully developed in another genre.

IC354 (Figure 11.1, upper row, right)

IC354 is cylindrically formatted, a composition accentuated by nearly identical disk elements appearing at the head and below the feet. The piece is perforated longitudinally. Arms, such as they are, are also fashioned as disks, through which passes a transverse perforation positioned unusually low, so that the two sets of paired disks and their perforations form a cross. Bird-form ears are present, but in such shallow relief that they are barely visible. Eyes consist of raised, pitted circles, positioned laterally. The mouth is a broad, lipped oval, shown open; despite initial appearances there are no incised teeth. An incised chevron appears at the back of the head. Legs are strongly flexed with knees together, the lower legs diverging, and the feet reconverging above the basal disk. This leg configuration is strongly reminiscent of Comendador, Format 1 anthropomorphs, to the degree that some stylistic relationship is likely. A closely related specimen in the same style as IC354 is IC050, not shown.

IC191 (Figure 11.1, middle row, left)

At first glance, with its openwork carving and its vertically compressed head, IC191 looks perhaps more like something from ancient Veracruz than from the Greater Antilles. Close inspection of details, however, betrays its Antillean bona fides: a bifurcated, incised coronet, an incised labyrinthine design at the back of the head, quasi-bird-form ears, transverse perforation at the neck, a plain “necklace” element on the upper torso of the kind I have come to associate with Hispaniolan figure pendants, and constrictions at the upper arms. It is made of a pale green stone with reddish inclusions, perhaps a form of jadeite. Eyes are open, oval hollows, with roughened inner surfaces, perhaps in order to accept inlays. These eyes are not framed by incising, nor is there a brow line. Additional details include arms flexed at 90 degrees with hands almost meeting at the abdomen. The spinal column consists of a row of raised, pitted circles, a feature also found in IC367, below, among other figure pendants. Hips are prominently carved and are squared off, in harmony with the overall squarish, tabular composition. The knees have incised elaboration obscured by the breakage of the legs.

IC159 (Figure 11.1, middle row, right)

The shape of IC159, with its curving central axis, earless round head cocked to one side, and a tabular composition as seen laterally, are all probably due to the constraints of the parent piece, a translucent green rock that is, presumably, a form of jadeite. A rather forlorn face gazes upward, the mouth heavily lipped. Other features are shared with IC191, described above, including a transverse perforation through the neck; hollowed eyes with unpolished interiors lacking eye surrounds; a plain “necklace” element on the upper torso; openings between arms and torso – although here crudely done with uneven drillings; and arms flexed 90 degrees with hands meeting across the abdomen. The legs are in a peculiar format having some comparative value: sinuously curving forms diminishing at the base to tiny lumps for feet, separated by a basal notch.

IC367 (Figure 11.1, lower row, left)

Another cylindrically composed specimen is IC367. At the head is a two-tiered, disk-form headpiece, which has a shallow pilot hole centered at the top. Eyes are large and widely spaced, in the form of raised pitted circles. Ears are similar raised pitted circles,

situated just behind the eyes. A broad nose has flared nostrils set off by incising. The mouth is a large incised oval, lipless, containing two rows of incised teeth. Arms, carved in relief, are flexed at 90 degrees, showing arm bands consisting of paired incised lines. Forearms follow the thighs, ending in incised hands draped over the knees, fingers down, in the manner of Comendador, Format 2. Legs are together, the feet merged into a basal disk. A rounded back shows a row of three pitted circles in the position of a spine, together with three sets of angled incised lines, presumably indicating ribs. This spine form is seen occasionally in other figure pendants, as in IC191 described above, and is probably a stylistic connector of some significance.

IC173 (Figure 11.1, lower row, right)

In IC173, we have an anthropomorph of shell rather than of stone. Compositionally, it is tapered from head to foot, progressively narrower from ears to shoulders to knees to feet. At the back of the neck the specimen is transversely perforated with a large hole. The head is broad, compressed vertically, and has wonderfully explicit bird-form ears. Eyes are large D-shaped hollows without pupils, conjoined in the middle and surrounded by an incised line that also contributes to a thick brow ridge. This conjoining of the eyes has evidently sacrificed the nose, which, combined with a prognathic mouth, lends the head a simian aspect that I doubt was the intent. A broad, narrow mouth is upturned in a grin like a Cheshire cat, showing two rows of finely incised teeth. Hands are shown resting on the knees, with an ambiguous genital element between. The feet have concave plantar surfaces, though not excised, and the toes are downcurled.

IC244 (Figure 11.2, upper)

This large, elaborate figure pendant is one of the most remarkable specimens in the database, for several reasons. The catalog of the U.S. National Museum of Natural History gives its provenance as “Tierra Colorado Sisua [sic, Sosua],” Puerto Plata province, near the Dominican north coast. IC244 is, first of all, made of shell instead of stone. Suspension was by means of elbow-style perforations, and it has a channelback feature which aligns it with the Luquillo-style figure pendants of Puerto Rico. The style, however, is a world apart from Luquillo, being much closer to Puerto Plata in its prolific use of incising for surface details. Nonetheless, the presence of a channelback means that it belongs to the earliest period of figure pendants discussed in this volume, likely predating – perhaps significantly predating – 1200 AD.

As seen in profile, the legs are drawn up into a squat with the feet forward of a unique flat, tapered flange passing below them, now broken off. This flange cannot have been very long given the indicated taper and the raw material, as the surviving portion is already 93 mm long. Thus, it seems unlikely that the piece functioned as the handle end of a vomiting spatula of shell (Nine complete vomiting spatulas of shell from the database average 94 mm long, ranging from 74 to 109 mm).

Here is another example of a squatting female, with sexual indicators as explicit as Antillean figure pendants get. The combination of breasts and a vulvar incision is unique in the sample.

The head is ovaloid in shape with a rather pointed head and chin. At the top of the head there is a sort of topknot. Eyes are slanted, narrow slits on raised ovals, not

necessarily the same thing as the raised elliptical, slotted bulges on Imbert-related frog-form hybrids, which slant the opposite way. Each eye has a single straight line, lightly incised, descending down the cheek at an angle. When such lines appear in other genres, they are usually interpreted as representing tears, but to this point, we have encountered the feature only rarely. The forehead is covered by a unique headband-like element, expanded at the center and featuring an incised design of nested chevrons. An oval mouth contains two rows of incised teeth.

Arms are flexed, with the hands placed together against the torso just beneath the breasts, and above a navel consisting of a raised pitted circle. The negative space between the arms and breasts is excised. Knees are apart, and ankle bumps are shown.

On the whole, IC244 has several elements one might expect of a predecessor Dominican style anticipating Puerto Plata. Would that there were more of these!

IC219 (Figure 11.2, lower row, left)

Returning to the familiar medium of stone, IC219 is a small figure pendant, perforated transversely at the back of the mouth and also longitudinally, although I could not ascertain if the longitudinal perforation connects fully through the piece. Its composition is cylindrical, armless and almost devoid of a torso, the height divided about evenly between the head and lower limbs. Atop a squared forehead is a prominent central cleft. Ears are squared at the base, each bearing a drilled pit and a V-shaped incised element, perhaps a highly modified bird-form. Eyes are deeply drilled pits with wide, raised surrounds that connect across the bridge of the nose. A heavily lipped mouth contains two rows of incised teeth. Knees meet, the lower legs diverge, and incised toes are brought back inward (squatting mode ZΔ, Chapter 12) as in Comendador, Format 1 and in IC111, a somewhat similar miniature featured in the preceding chapter.

IC257 (Figure 11.2, lower row, right)

Here is yet another armless, cylindrically composed anthropomorph. In addition to a transverse perforation through the neck, there are also longitudinal perforations at the head and feet which do not penetrate through the piece. A headpiece is disk-shaped. Ears are simple oval bulges. Facial features are elementary, the eyes consisting of small pits, widely separated by a broad, triangular nose. The mouth is heavily lipped. A long, slightly bulged torso is plain. Knees are apart, leaving an ambiguously blank, triangular genital area, in the manner of Yaguajay. Feet are brought together, forming a basal disk.

Emaciated or partly skeletalized anthropomorphs

As noted in the previous section, among the many anthropomorphic figure pendants not classified by style I have not tried to definitively sort those depicting emaciated or partly skeletalized subjects. Impresionistically, they are few compared with their fully-fleshed counterparts, as the Yaguajay and Madre Vieja styles appear to account for the lion's share. Figure 11.3 presents five select figure pendants falling definitely in this category. As in the previous category, the styles on display are diverse. The first three are Dominican, the final two, Cuban.

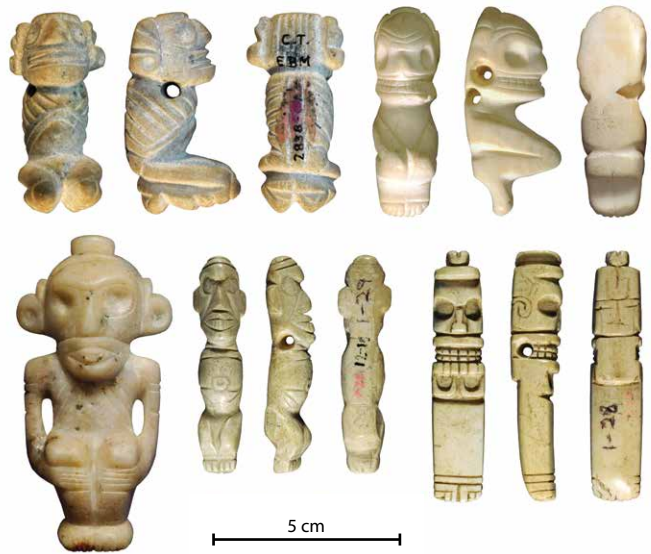


Figure 11.3. Emaciated or partly skeletalized anthropomorphs, miscellaneous styles. Upper row: IC092, MHD MHD-2838; IC206, CL AR-BV-568g. Lower row: IC047, MHD, uncataloged; IC234, SMP 1-29; IC233, SMP 1-28.

IC092 (Figure 11.3, upper row, left)

The theme under discussion is not especially common in Hispaniola, but here is a particularly fine specimen, formerly in the collection of Emile de Boyrie Moya and now in the Museo del Hombre Dominicano. I have found no counterpart to its expressive style, which is fully dimensional with detailing extending to the back. Incising is used boldly and with great assurance. A large head with a protruding face gazes slightly upward. Shallow pits for eyes are surrounded by raised ridges. A short headpiece has a backflap in the manner of some Comendador specimens, in this case bearing a pattern of parallel incised lines. Ears are large and bird-form. The figure is armless. A unique feature is a full ribcage, consisting of parallel incised diagonal lines extending around to the spine, bounded on its lower margin by paired, deeply incised lines. A spine is depicted by a pair of vertically incised lines, at the base of which are rounded, incised buttocks. A simple, drilled pit serves as a navel. Legs are drawn up tightly, to the extent that the upper and lower legs are almost parallel with one another. In a demonstration of the artistic capacity for distortion, short triangular feet with excised plantar surfaces are turned 180 degrees from their proper anatomical orientation, so that the toes point upward. There is an incised circle on each knee, and incised leg bands appear on the lower legs, showing an alternating oblique design. Ambiguous genitalia protrude as a bump between the slightly separated legs.

IC206 (Figure 11.3, upper row, right)

IC206 is a squatting, armless, skull-headed being in shell. It is perforated transversely at the neck area, but there is a second transverse perforation at the rear of the mouth, one that disrupts the previously finished ear, which is seemingly a replacement for the weaker suspension hole below. As seen from above, the skeletal head is triangular. Ears are upright, carved in shallow relief, perhaps as modified bird-forms; between them is a notched coronet. On the forehead is a meander design formed by incised lines and excised areas, bounded at the base by a doubled brow line. A mask-like element surrounds the eyes, which are laterally set, round concavities. The mouth, set with two rows of incised teeth,

runs broadly from ear to ear. Both the eye and the mouth configurations are reminiscent of Yaguajay. The feet are arched downward, with strongly concave bases.

IC047 (Figure 11.3, lower row, left)

Like many of figure pendants of the Yaguajay style, at first glance this fine specimen does not seem particularly emaciated, nor does it have a skull-form head, but its frontally exposed ribs nonetheless ally it with the theme. It is a skillfully carved and polished, large-headed figure in an unusual squatting pose, the hands grasping the lower legs below the knees. Modified bird-form ears, grooved longitudinally at the margins, bracket a low coronet on which is superimposed a small, disk-form topknot with a shallow pit drilled at the top center. Eyes are hollow concavities, each surrounded by an incised line. A horizontal line separates the upper from the lower face. The tip of a tongue protrudes below the upper teeth, recalling the tongue of the frog-form Los Arabos figure pendant described in Chapter 9. Apertures separate the arms from the torso. Ribs are shown on the torso as sets of three incised lines, set at an angle. On the torso below them is a circle-and-dot element where we would expect a navel, although this example is in an unusually elevated position. If not a navel, it is perhaps intended as a pectoral or gorget. The toes are downcurled. The unique style in view here is worth considering as a possible precursor to Yaguajay.

IC234 (Figure 11.3, lower row, middle)

IC234 is a figure pendant of shell from the site of Pozo Azul, in the municipality of San Antonio del Sur, Guantánamo province, on the southeasternmost coastline of Cuba. I include it this group primarily on the basis of its exposed rib structure on the upper torso, barely recognizable as such but comparable to certain highly simplified rib structures on Madre Vieja-style figure pendants (Chapter 5), with which some distant stylistic relationship is conceivable. The head is elongate with a two-tiered headpiece, hollowed eyes connected above the bridge of the nose, and an open lenticular mouth with two rows of incised teeth. The drafting of the arms is unique in the sample, consisting of stick-figure-like incised lines each ending in three radiating fingers on the lower torso. A navel is indicated by a pitted circle.

IC233 (Figure 11.3, lower row, right)

Another skull-headed specimen of shell is IC233, executed in a bold, squarish style, from the same site as IC234, just described. Because of its tabular aspect it recalls another genre, the centerpieces of tabular shell necklaces, while the flat, forward-curving base perhaps recalls a vomiting spatula. Its purpose is unlikely to be either. Whatever the intent, there is another like it, arguably fashioned in the same style, in the Museo Bacardi in Santiago, Cuba (EV050, not illustrated).

Both sides and the back are essentially flat, instepped midway down the back side and again at the front, at the level of the hands. An earless, skull-like head occupies about one-third of the height. Situated laterally across the top of the forehead is a deep groove, above which is a peculiar headpiece, a narrow sagittal crest having a central groove on top. Eyes are deep, circular hollows, between which is a T-shaped nose. At the cheek line, a deep horizontal groove encircles the entire piece, below which the mouth consists of an upper lip only and two rows of incised teeth. The back and sides of the head are decorated with a marvelously elaborate interconnected meander and

swirl design, executed using a combination of incising and excising. On the upper torso, abutting the teeth, are two hands turned upward, excised palms out, much in the manner of Madre Vieja, with which a distant stylistic relationship might be claimed. A merged row of squared fingers substitutes artistically for a lower lip. No indication of arms is present. A long basal section consists of a plain, undifferentiated lower limb area, below which the feet are depicted in a highly schematic way by rectilinear incising.

Snouted, armless hybrids

As noted previously, the figure pendant theme of snouted, armless hybrids is one of the most pervasive in the Greater Antilles. Our treatment of the theme in previous chapters leaves a remainder of about 30 percent unclassified as to style, primarily from the Dominican Republic and Cuba. Figure 11.4 features six full-size figure pendants depicting snouted, armless hybrids carved in styles other than the ones already named.

IC001 and IC301 (Figure 11.4, upper row, left, right)

These two will be discussed together, because they are arguably fashioned in the same, unnamed style. Both are eastern Cuban, from known archaeological sites: IC001 from La Mambisa, in the Banes municipality in Holguín province, and IC301 from the site of Guaybanó, in the municipality of San Antonio del Sur, Guantánamo province. Although not conforming to the Cibao style in several particulars, their relationship to that style is patent. Both are relatively large, heavy pieces, and although of relatively simple form, they are masterfully carved. They are perforated longitudinally, fully through the piece, as well as transversely just below the ear. Rodríguez Arce (2000) employs profile drawings of both in connection with his argument that the head form is that of a bat.



Figure 11.4. Snouted, armless hybrids, miscellaneous styles. Upper row: IC001, GA GA-1-265; IC301, BA 95-1210. Lower row: IC107, MPH 6-132; IC130, ICAN 2741; IC038, ICAN 7652; IC048, MHD uncataloged.

IC001 has horizontally-oriented oval bulges for ears, and a three-tiered disk-form headpiece recalling Cibao. Of the headpiece, its two lower tiers are divided at the front and back, creating a design consisting of two conjoined barred ovals. Eyes are simple drilled pits. A Cibao-like supranasal chevron groove separates the snout from the upper face, the simplest form of that element as documented in Chapter 7. A non-Cibao nose projects directly forward, resting on, and well integrated with, a larger closed mouth. The bulging torso, separated knees, flattened outer legs, conjoined feet, ankle bumps, and genitalia are all basically identical to Cibao counterparts.

IC301 differs in some ways. Recalling Puerto Plata, the rear of the head is inset from the plane of the back. Ears are large, vertically-oriented oval elements. Eyes are larger concavities than are found on the companion piece. The knees are drawn farther apart than in IC001, and the feet are separated rather than conjoined into a basal disk. There is no Cibao-like genital element, but the ankle bumps are there together with an ankle band that anomalously encircles the back rather than the front.

IC107 and IC130 (Figure 11.4, lower row, left, second from left)

As with the previous pair, these two figure pendants are discussed together because they are rather patently executed in the same unnamed style, although the first is much larger than the second. As above, both are eastern Cuban, in this case both from Holguín province. Again, a transparent relationship with Cibao is evident in the cylindrical composition, the two-tiered disk-form headpieces and the basal disks, although in neither figure pendant is there a longitudinal perforation. Regarding the subject, although the snout is here much reduced, there can be no doubt that this is the same being depicted in so many Cibao-style figure pendants. In fact, in spite of the reduction of the snout and the visual subordination of the supranasal chevron groove separating it from the rest of the face, the argument that the intent is an eyeless, armless bat-person is easier to see here than in most Cibao-style counterparts.

Ears in both specimens are transformed into something like a cross between the upright, bi-lobed “floppy” form sometimes seen in Cibao and a standard bird-form ear. Transverse perforations in both cases pass through the upper lobes, something never seen in Cibao. A highly conspicuous element of the face are noses in the form of horizontal cylinders. These are in the form of McGinnis’s (1997a:645, 653, 710) “reptilian roll,” her term based on a study of figural three-pointed stones. We have, however, already seen this nose form on a Cibao-style figure pendant, the magnificent IC273 from the Caicos Islands (Chapter 7, “Further Notes on the Style”). On the basis of that specimen, we added bats to the fauna on which this form can occur; the two specimens reported here reinforce that association and lead us to suspect that the form as found on a Yaguajay figure pendant (IC006, Figure 4.2, middle row, right) may also reference a bat.

Armless torsos are fashioned as slightly bulging cylinders, and although the leg orientation is different for each, both are doubled back on themselves in the same manner, with rounded knees slightly separated to reveal an ambiguous genital bump between. In both cases, the hips form a continuous raised element encircling the back of the piece, in the manner sometimes seen in Cibao-style figure pendants.

Pending geological sourcing, it is tempting to speculate that both pairs of figure pendants just described represent eastern Cuban stylistic counterparts to Cibao in Hispaniola.

IC038 (Figure 11.4, lower row, third from left)

IC038 is yet another Cuban specimen, from Holguín province, fashioned in a cylindrical composition. It is small, with a longitudinal perforation passing fully through, together with a transverse perforation through the center of each ear. Ears are very large oval elements that reach to the top of the head, each divided by a horizontal line segment. Although the snout is foreshortened, the doubled supranasal chevron element and sightless face leave no doubt as to the subject. The manner in which the legs are flexed, utilizing a frontally-incised X, recalls the same pattern in the Comendador style.

IC048 (Figure 11.4, lower row, right)

This Dominican figure pendant is most noteworthy for the simplification of its facial features, reduced to two grooves crossing in an X pattern. A two-tiered, disk-form headpiece is at the top. Ears are in the form of disks, through the middle of which passes a wide transverse perforation. There are further longitudinal drillings from the top and the base which, however, do not connect. The torso, legs, and genitalia are much the same as in Cibao-style figure pendants, although the lump-like feet are separated at the base. Although it is difficult to see in the photograph, there is a short horizontal incised line segment crossing the genitalia between the legs. In some ways, IC048 has the appearance of an extreme simplification of Cibao-style ideas.

Frog-form hybrids

Discussion of frog-form hybrids of various named styles in the previous chapters leaves some 53 percent in the database unclassified as to style, almost exclusively from Hispaniola and Puerto Rico, corroborating the dearth of that subject in Cuba. Another published specimen not in the database (Oliver et. al 2008:252, No. 19), said to be of jade and now in the British Museum, is from Jamaica, one of the very few Jamaican figure pendants that have come to my attention. Figures 11.5 and 11.6 show a selection of eight frog-forms in a variety of styles that are useful for contrastive purposes.

IC361 (Figure 11.5, upper)

Beginning with a more-or-less conventional frog-form, IC361 is part of a small group of specimens, two of which are known to be Puerto Rican, that appear to be fabricated in the same, aesthetically pleasing style. It is a relatively large piece. An oval head sports an unusual three-part headpiece. On the flattened face, eyes are raised slotted elliptical elements, laterally positioned below a brow line. A lipped mouth, beneath a long nose, consists of an elevated oval with a horizontal incised line segment, positioned at the base of the face. Limbs are symmetrical, superior to posterior, and are distinguished from the convex torso at the back side by gracefully curving lines. The genital element is the perfect expression of ambiguity. This style, if it could be better defined, might turn out to be a worthy successor to the Luquillo style in Puerto Rico, which also features frog-forms.

IC026 (Figure 11.5, lower)

Departing now to less conventional frog-forms, this weighty figure pendant of whitish rock with rounded green inclusions has a curiously inflated, bloated appearance, including at the back side. An ovaloid head protrudes forward of the plane of the limbs,

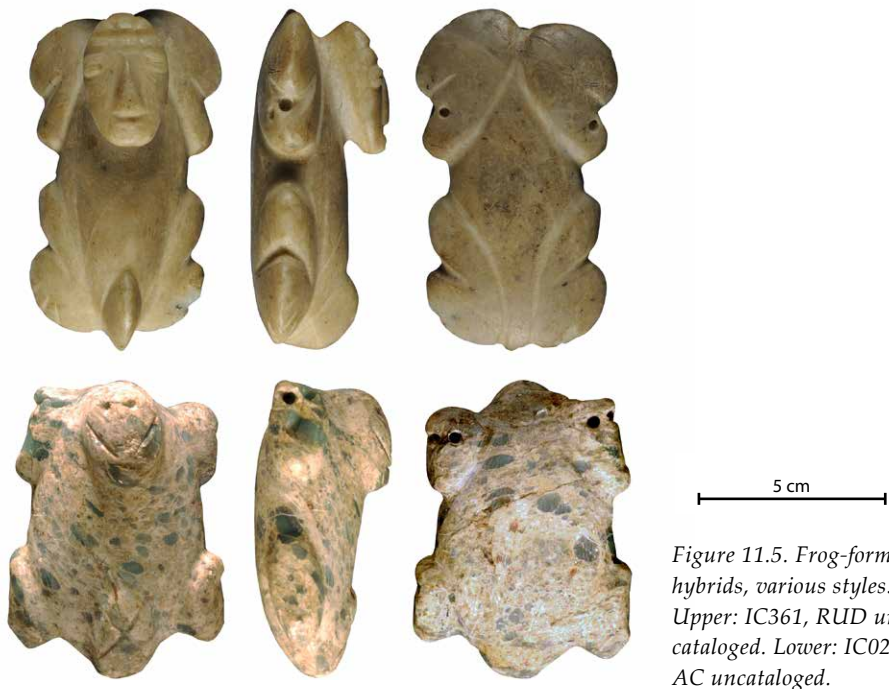


Figure 11.5. Frog-form hybrids, various styles. Upper: IC361, RUD uncataloged. Lower: IC026, AC uncataloged.



Figure 11.6. Frog-form hybrids, various styles. Upper row: IC162, CL AR-TG-454; IC069, MHD uncataloged. Middle right: IC265, NMAI 59300 (proper left hand and part of the arm missing; feet broken and reworked). Lower Row: IC025, AC SP 2044; IC056, MHD uncataloged; IC065, MHD uncataloged.

but nowhere is the neck narrowed. Near the top of the head, two closely-spaced drilled pits presumably serve as eyes, and a horizontal line segment at the base serves as a mouth. On the face between them are two incomprehensible angular lines, prominent and deeply incised. There is no nose. All limbs are rudimentary flattened oval protrusions, with just enough of a hollow carved into the outer surface of each to differentiate elbows from hands, and knees from feet. A genital element consists of a large, raised oval, flattened at the front, embellished mysteriously with an incised X.

IC162 (Figure 11.6, upper row, left)

If pressed to name a figure pendant most closely allied stylistically to the anthropo-zoomorphic three-pointed stones of Puerto Rico and the southeast portion of Hispaniola, it would be this. Although generically a frog-form hybrid like the rest, it is a large, heavy piece, unlike anything else in the sample. A fully three-dimensional, enormous head protrudes strongly forward of the plane of the torso, gazing upward, its neck narrowed around its full circumference. Ears are in a form well known among the three-pointed stones: a disk-form base surmounted by an upright, arched, pointed element, excised in the middle (see, e.g., Bercht et al. 1997:Nos. 60, 61, 68, 75). These ears are connected at the back of the head by a bifurcated coronet. A slightly open, lipped mouth downturned at the ends is also a familiar feature in three-pointed stones, as is the manner in which the small, web-like feet are folded back onto the body without regard for the anatomy of joints. Relatively small hands, well hidden behind the head, are oriented with palms inward, 90 degrees from what is normal for frog-form hybrids. Perhaps the ultimate expression of the raised, slotted eye form in figure pendants are the enormous examples here. The nose has proportionally large nostril flares. Finally, this frog-form sports a genital element that is arguably male, most closely comparable to that of the definitely male IC043. If so, here is another frog-form that is both male and in possession of ears (see IC043 and Los Arabos, Chapter 9).

IC069 (Figure 11.6, upper row, right)

Here is a truly unique frog-form hybrid, stylistically and perhaps iconographically as well. It is quite small, and one has to marvel at the confidence of the carver to perch a fully three-dimensional head so precariously atop a neck narrowed on all sides. A voluminous, wide torso is more oval than lenticular in cross section. All surface details are realized as bold grooves. A combination of ears and a protruding tongue on a frog-form base recalls the Los Arabos specimen, extensively discussed in Chapter 9 and acknowledged there as probably male. If the intent here is similar, it is carved in a dramatically different style. IC069 has a three-part headpiece, an incised X across the face outlining the nose and creating fields for small, bulging, circular eyes. The mouth is heavily lipped. In the form of the torso and limbs, and also in the lack of a genital element, IC069 recalls Puerto Plata figure pendants in the Frog-form guise.

IC265 (Figure 11.6, middle right)

This Dominican piece of serpentine or similar mottled green stone is unusual, first of all, for its fully transverse perforation passing from wrist to wrist. If the sequence of perforation styles outlined in Chapter 3 has broader validity, IC265 may represent one of the latest styles of frog-form hybrids, perhaps on a par chronologically with

Comendador, with which the piece shares certain traits. The head is an oval projection, having an undercut chin but no defined neck. There is a low coronet. Eyes are circular hollows – an unusual feature in frog-forms – on either side of a broad, triangular nose. An open, toothless mouth is heavily lipped. The basal stratum is more or less tabular, on which the lower portion of the arms are made to join in a raised horizontal element across the upper torso, as in some Puerto Plata specimens. Rudimentary feet appear to be broken and partly reworked. The genital element consists of a small rounded-triangular bump, reminiscent of those on certain Puerto Plata-style frog forms.

IC025 (Figure 11.6, lower row, left)

Made apparently of the same green spotted rock as IC026, IC025 is tabular, its head set off from the torso only by a U-shaped groove. In a simple presentation, the top of the head and the face are flat. With neither headpiece nor brow line, simple drilled pits serve for eyes, and a triangular nose is carved in low relief. The mouth is a raised rectangle with a single row of incised teeth. Forelimbs and hindlimbs are more or less mirror images of one another, their pawlike hands and feet and incised digits pointing to the semicardinal directions. A genital element consists of nothing more than an incised triangle, presumably female in its indication.

IC056 (Figure 11.6, lower row, center)

What stands out instantly regarding IC056 is its horizontally-oriented, oval head and its extraordinarily narrow torso, especially just below the head. A coronet abruptly truncated on both sides adorns the head. Eyes are schematically defined raised oval slotted elements. Befitting the wide face, the mouth is a wide, protruding oval with a central groove. At the center of the bulging torso, not easily visible in a photograph, is a navel consisting of a large pitted circle – an element unusual in frog-form hybrids. Limbs are compressed laterally, the arms and rudimentary hands nearly behind the head. An unusual genital element consists of a bold, elevated triangle, flat at the front, with a wide horizontal groove running across the center.

IC065 (Figure 11.6, lower row, right)

I close with the ghostly IC065, currently displayed at the Museo del Hombre Dominicano together with a series of other frog-forms in an arrangement that convincingly demonstrate a progressive stylistic reduction, of which this is the culmination. In IC065, the frog-form nature of the base is very nearly lost, vaguely suggested by an undulating margin replacing distinct upper and lower limbs. Displaying a pillow-like aesthetic, these limbs are adjoined in smooth transition to a gently rounded platform, from which the head and genital bulge arise. Greatly simplified eyes and a mouth are indicated by straight horizontal grooves on an oval head. There is no nose. Toes are depicted by short, slight incised lines.

Comparisons

Our named styles are related to one another in certain ways, regarding which I have provided a running commentary throughout the text. Specific connectors exist between them, both in the form of recurrent stylistic elements and, more commonly, iconographic motifs. These connectors reinforce the impression that we are here dealing with a single historical phenomenon within the broader spectrum of indigenous Antillean arts.

The purely stylistic connectors are both less common than iconographic ones and are relatively superficial, in the sense that they fail to indicate phyletic bridges between styles. They do not clarify the developmental relationships among them, as phases within stylistic lineages. Nor are they so pervasive that they suggest close relationships as units of broader macro-styles. Insofar as such bridges must exist, as our styles did not arise *sui generis*, it must be because our sampling of this divergent universe is deficient. Only further data and analysis will clarify these phyletic connections.

In the pages that follow, I will provide summary comments on connecting elements among Greater Antillean figure pendants internally, across regional styles, and externally across genres.

Connecting elements

I begin with two iconographic attributes of the most profound significance in figure pendants. As McGinnis (1997a:361-365) implies, these two attributes can, and probably should be, discussed together.

Squatting and the frog-form base

Every figure pendant discussed in this work is either posed in a squat, or else it has a frog-form base with elbows and knees posed laterally. The significance of that dichotomy of conventional postures, squatting versus frog-form, is therefore in some sense foundational to figure pendant iconography. It is clear that neither posture serves to identify a particular figural character. Instead, both are shared by more than one subject. That, presumably, makes them “classifying attributes” (Knight 2013:99-100) which are attributes that convey categorical rather than identifying information about the subject. The question is, what categorical information do these postures convey?

Regarding the squatting posture, as noted early on in Chapter 2, the most common interpretation among specialists connects it to the divinatory ritual of ingesting

the hallucinogenic snuff cohoba (Baztán Rodrigo 1971-72:220-221; Veloz Maggiolo 1972:228; Oliver 2008b:179). In documents of early European contact, indigenous Greater Antillean political and religious leaders are described as seated, head down, and grasping the knees while engaged in this ecstatic activity (Las Casas 1875:5:470; Martire d'Anghiera, in Griswold 1997:174) (As an aside, I am prompted to point out that precisely none of the figure pendants discussed in this work are posed in accord with all three of these particulars). McGinnis (1997a:360-361) takes the prevailing idea one step farther. Based on her understanding that the cohoba rite was purely a masculine affair (after Veloz Maggiolo 1972:228), she suggests that squatting is, consequently, a male signifier, a "Male Ceremonial Position." Maciques Sánchez (2018:20, n.6), for his part, writes that the squat is more productively considered as a seated posture, and, being the same as that recorded historically in funerary ritual whereby deceased caciques were displayed as seated on their dujos, it has a possible connection to an ancestor cult. I have already dismissed as unlikely the contrary interpretation by Hostos (1923:548-552) that the squat is nothing more than an ordinary folk resting position.

The history of interpretation of what I call a frog-form base is less coherent. As reviewed in Chapter 8, Fewkes (1903a:681) accentuated the upraised arms, speculating about a burden-bearing deity, whereas Maciques Sánchez (2018:37) focused on the posture's association with a projecting genital element, concluding that such a being was, as I have already noted, a "masculine deity par excellence." Krieger (1929:52-53) was the first to suggest a hybrid frog-person as the subject, as I have done in this work. McGinnis (1997a:180) acknowledged the resemblance to a frog, but envisioned the composition as a woman in a position of childbirth. She therefore called it the "Female Fertility Position" diametrically opposed to the squatting "Male Ceremonial Position."

Using the data now at hand, let us first address McGinnis's foundational hypothesis that that the squat is a male classifying attribute and the frog-form posture a female one. Using only unambiguous sexual details, Table 1 tallies squatting males, squatting females, frog-form males, and frog-form females by style. All four combinations exist.

The tally of sexually explicit genitalia on squatting beings of all kinds is as follows: male = 10; female = 3. The corresponding tally for beings with frog-form bases is: male = 3; female = 5. Thus, for squatting beings the weight of the distribution is decidedly male, by more than three to one, but the counterexamples cannot be ignored. Similarly, among frog-form hybrids, most are indeed female, but three phallic cases stand as counterexamples.

In consequence, as I have already concluded in Chapter 2, the conventional squatting posture cannot be an unqualifiedly male signifier. Moreover, if the common assumption is correct that the rite of cohoba as practiced by elites was an exclusively male activity, squatting is not categorically a signifier for that activity either. What information, then, does squatting, as a classifying attribute, convey?

I cannot say with any certainty. Girolamo Benzoni (1857:79-80), however, writing of Hispaniola in the middle sixteenth century, confirms, for at least that place and time, a communal employment of the ceremonial squat, one unconnected with the ingestion of hallucinogenic snuff and unrestricted by sex. Benzoni describes a collective feast called by a cacique in honor of his most powerful *cemí* idol. It involved

Style	Squatting Male	Squatting Female	Frog-Form Male	Frog-Form Female	Totals
Puerto Plata	1	2	–	4	7
Madre Vieja	4	–	–	–	4
Comendador	1	–	–	–	1
Cibao	3	–	–	–	3
Imbert	–	–	2	1	3
Other	1	1	1	–	3
Totals	10	3	3	5	21

Table 1. Limb postures by sex and style.

singing, dancing, and purging to the drum beat of the cacique, on the part of “all his vassals, both men and women,” after which “they all sat down on their heels, and, with a melancholy noise, they sang some more songs,” prior to being served a portion of sanctified manioc breadcake. The circumstance suggests a broader significance for the ceremonial squat, one conveying entry into a relation with the spirit world where communication is facilitated by drumming, purging, and singing. This is reminiscent, in turn, of the reception of two messengers of Columbus in a Cuban town in 1492, in which they were taken to the principal house and immediately seated on wooden *dujos* carved as *cemí* idols. Groups of men, then women, communicated with these otherworldly strangers while squatting before them (Las Casas 1875:1:331-332). Such a broader significance of the posture is, of course, consistent with the use of the squat by political and religious specialists in the specific context of the *cohoba* rite.

What, then, of the complementary posture, the frog-form base? To begin, as explained in Chapter 8, I view the frog association as an incontrovertible baseline. Further, I accept the frog’s strong regional association with fertility and regenerational qualities, and that it regularly appears in myth as a female archetype. Thus, it would make sense if frog-form figure pendants were ordinarily understood as female. Nonetheless, there are frog-form figure pendants with carefully-carved male genitalia, suggesting that qualities associated with the frog form might be embraced by male beings in some circumstances (cf. Roe 1997). Shifting, for a moment, to the genre of rock art, this suggestion recalls Oliver’s (2005:269-270) interpretation of two adjacent plaza markers from the Caguana site, Puerto Rico. Both are anthropomorphs in the pose of frog-forms. One is the often-reproduced image of the “Frog-Lady” of that site, but she is flanked by a similar frog-form being that Oliver interprets as the Frog-Lady’s male consort, seated on a *duho*.

Such a perspective on squatting and frog-form postures allows us to see the main Puerto Plata subject (Chapter 2) in a new light. To review, in that style, what I have described as a single figural character, with an invariant head, can appear in a squatting guise (Standard or Twinned), in a guise with a frog-form base, or in a guise where the lower limbs are in a squatting posture but whose upper limbs are in a frog-form posture (Arms Aloft). In this view, the Arms Aloft figure pendants offer a rendering of that figural character which joins the complementary powers associated with squatting and the frog form base. In a clever artistic solution, the Arms Aloft guise nicely embodies both principles at once.

Genital bulge and the faceted triangular wedge

Only 21 anthropomorphic figure pendants exhibit sexually explicit traits within a sample of hundreds that do not. That fact confirms the general sexual ambiguity of the genre that has been repeatedly cited by others (e.g., Fewkes 1903a:682; Hostos 1923:554; Baztán Rodrigo 1971-72:221). A great many specimens present the conundrum of having strongly defined, yet ambiguous, genital elements. A driving question is, what is the point of having prominent but sexually ambiguous genitalia?

Let us first address the plain genital bulge possessed by the vast majority of frog-form hybrids. As discussed in Chapter 8, McGinnis's (1997a:180) novel hypothesis is that it represents a child emerging from the womb at childbirth. But among dozens of examples, there is little about any such bulge that suggests a child, or the head of a child. McGinnis's interpretation arises, instead, from the overall posture, having arms raised and knees apart, which she compares to ethnographic data on birthing positions. The figure pendants themselves, however, confound that interpretation. I have pointed out that there are at least three cases, in two different styles, of reasonably explicit vulvar grooves superimposed on the genital bulge among the frog forms. I have argued that, at least in these three cases, the bulge cannot be other than a mons pubis. I am therefore inclined to generalize from these instances, in which case plain genital bulges seem to represent conceptually still unrealized, presexual genitalia of frog-form females.

If that conclusion is permitted, it brings us to reconsider to the enigmatic genital element of squatting, Cibao-style snouted hybrids. That element, as described in Chapter 7, is an upright triangular wedge shape, faceted, projecting forward at the top. With obvious hesitation, de Booy (1916:27) considered the element as possibly phallic. We have seen that the Cibao genital wedge coexists with rare, recognizably human phalluses in the same style. Nonetheless, I would like to plant the suggestion that the genital wedge is indeed phallic, an artistic imagining of a preternatural phallus, one whose condition or function differs from the ordinary version in the same way that the artist could envision an unrealized mons pubis. If so, the projecting wedge, almost crystalline in appearance, might be seen as the special-purpose phallus of a bat-spirit. If either or both of these interpretations are valid, we may actually possess a much greater proportion of identifiable males and females among the anthropomorphic hybrids, the proviso being that most of them are depicted conceptually in a mythic state of presexuality or contextually specific sexuality.

Without any doubt, historically collected cognates of such things exist in myth collections from the Antilles and the tropical lowlands of South America. To establish such myths as relevant, and to systematically work out the parallels and the disjunctions between historic text and prehistoric artifact, is legitimate work that can proceed once we understand the patterns revealed by the large corpus of archaeological materials.

Armlessness

Another enigmatic trait shared by a large majority of snouted hybrids is the absence of arms. Some (Arrom 1989:44; Maciques Sánchez 2018:30) have considered armlessness as a purely stylistic phenomenon, resulting from a gradual schematization of prior, fully endowed subjects. However, our stylistic analysis based on a systematic comparison of a large corpus of figure pendants reveals no such developmental trend. Another possibility is that these figure pendants, when worn as the centerpieces of beaded necklaces,

actually possessed “arms” in the form of the upward-sweeping strands of the necklace abutting both sides of the centerpiece. That possibility, however, seems implausible in light of the intricacy of carved detail seen on numerous armless specimens, where I can think of no reason not to depict arms if the subject were envisioned as possessing them.

I conclude that armlessness is an intentional trait, a property inherent to the being that is depicted. Regarding this conclusion, I strongly suspect that Rodríguez Arce (2000:98) is on the right track in his suggestion that armlessness conveys the absence of a power. His view of the subject matter being the same as my own – a hybrid bat-person – he suggests that the removal of arms is the removal of the being’s “destructive power,” a sort of emasculation, but that does not seem to square with the idea of wearing a powerful image in the first place. What specifically is missing is the power to grasp, or to touch. In line with my comments in the previous section, we seem to be in the presence of a primordial condition, that of a power not yet fulfilled. Rodríguez Arce (*ibid.*:99) astutely notes that there is nothing in the early Hispanic chronicles that helps us on the matter. Nor should we expect all iconographic puzzles to yield themselves to interpretation by way of Pané’s account, or any other early European source comparably limited in space, time, and coverage.

Two things further merit pointing out. One is the conceptual possibility, among Antillean figure pendants, of a squatting, bat-headed hybrid that does possess human arms. They are extraordinarily rare, being completely absent in the Cibao style as far as I am aware, but good examples were presented in Chapter 11 in the form of IC402, and in IC390 among the miniatures presented in Chapter 10. A second, key observation regarding the iconography of armlessness is that the property is not limited to hybrids. Otherwise straightforward anthropomorphs, such as IC135 in the Puerto Plata style (Chapter 2), IC219, and IC257 (both among the “Fully-Fleshed Anthropomorphs” presented in Chapter 11), can also appear as armless.

Hemispherical eye concavities

Large, circular, hemispherical eye concavities without pupils constitute a connector of the first order, not merely among the figure pendants but shared by many other carved Antillean genres such as figural three-pointed stones, wooden dujos, and stone pestles. They are characteristic of skeletalized and emaciated anthropomorphs of the Yaguajay and Madre Vieja figure pendant styles, and of the fully-fleshed anthropomorphs of the Comendador style. Numerous anthropomorphs realized in as yet undefined styles (Chapter 11), both skeletalized and fully-fleshed, possess them as well. With rare (nonetheless intriguing) exceptions, large hemispherical eye concavities do not appear on snouted, armless hybrids, nor on frog-form-hybrids. In some instances, their interior surfaces are left in a rough, unpolished condition, perhaps better to receive inlays of another material.

As García Arévalo (1997:120) notes, the eyes of owls, nocturnal harbingers of death, are often made to resemble the hollowed eyes of human skulls in Greater Antillean indigenous art. Likewise, images of anthropomorphized bats, particularly in modeled pottery adornos of Boca Chica and related styles (Herrera Fritot and Youmans 1946:69), often exhibit hollowed eyes with raised eye surrounds comparable, in a vague sense, to those seen in the figure pendants. In general, it seems a likely hypothesis that the prototype for all these instances are the eye sockets of the human skull, implying an iconographic connection with death.

Elliptical slotted eyes

Imbert and kindred styles highlight the fact that quite large quantities of Greater Antillean frog-form hybrids possess raised elliptical, slotted eyes. The status of this eye form as a connector between styles is secure. Might it also have an iconographic significance? We have encountered these eyes among both squatting and frog-form figures in several styles besides Imbert, and it is worth keeping track of them: in a Puerto Plata-style squatting figure pendant with female breasts (Chapter 2, “Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 2”); in another, similar Puerto Plata Standard guise, Format 2 specimen published by Baztán Rodrigo (1971-72: Fig. 106, upper right); in a Puerto Plata frog-form hybrid (Chapter 2, “Puerto Plata Frog-Form guise”); in a small set of Puerto Plata-style figure pendants depicting a subject with an elongate zoomorphic head and a sagittal crest (Chapter 2, “Other Puerto Plata subjects”); in a frog-form hybrid with a phallus (Chapter 11, “Frog-Form hybrids”); and in a lone Cibao-style snouted, squatting armless hybrid (Chapter 7, “Cibao oddities”).

Given its dominant co-occurrence with frog-form hybrid figure pendants, it seems right to explore whether the slotted eye might be a female sexual marker, although we have already pointed to an apparent counterexample in the phallic specimen cited in the preceding paragraph. Other genres may be helpful here. I am unaware of the presence of this eye form among several major genres of late Ceramic Age art featuring anthropomorphs in the Greater Antilles – in, for example, three-pointed stones, dujos, pestles, or vomiting spatulas. A similar presentation does occur quite prominently in rock art, as the eye form of the Frog Lady of Caguana, Puerto Rico, already mentioned in this section, and her adjacent male consort, according to Oliver’s (2005:269-270) interpretation. In addition, it is the dominant eye form of female figurines of clay from eastern Cuba (Varcárcel 2000). What seems to be a variant of the eye form appears in some free-standing ceramic figural art, of the kind Veloz Maggiolo (1972:228) calls “ritual ceramics,” as in two Dominican figures illustrated in Kerchache’s (1994:178-181) catalog, both equipped with standard phalluses. The latter are enough to dissuade us of any direct female sexual connotation, although some other iconographic message or association is entirely conceivable. I see nothing here to validate Guarch and Querejeta’s (1993:38) statement that the trait is diagnostic of Pané’s supreme deity Yaya.

Mask eye surround

In the Yaguajay, Madre Vieja, and Comendador styles, hemispherical eye concavities on anthropomorphs routinely occur in association with mask-like eye surrounds carved in relief; I have illustrated a number of these (Figures 4.3, 6.2). In Yaguajay and Madre Vieja, these surrounds appear to contribute to the conventionalized skull, emphasizing the exposed cheekbones. In Comendador, by contrast, the heads on which they occur are not skull-like, thus the element has more the appearance of an actual mask, which may still nonetheless allude to a skull. Similar forms appear in other Antillean sculptural genres depicting anthropomorphs.

Bird-form ears

The bird-form ear is a highly specific presentation of the ear in the form of the round head of a bird with a short beak pointing upward and usually outward. They are extraor-

dinarily common in the figure pendant sample. I have distinguished “explicit” bird-form from quasi-bird-form ears, the difference being that the explicit form adds the details of eyes as drilled pits, and one or more incised lines differentiating the upper beak from the lower. Quasi-bird-form ears are derivative, retaining the shape but omitting these details. Bird-form ears are shared by Puerto Plata, Yaguajay, Madre Vieja, and Comendador style anthropomorphs, both skeletalized and fully-fleshed. In Comendador they are obligatory. By contrast, those styles dealing primarily with hybrids, being Cibao, Luquillo, Imbert, La Caleta, and Altagracia, lack bird-form ears. Such ears are shared by other stone and pottery genres in the Antilles (e.g., Bercht et al. 1997:Nos. 29, 83, 116).

I am presently inclined to view the form as having little or no iconographic significance, at least nothing central to the depicted theme (cf. Walker 1993:399). The form strikes me, instead, as an example of the traditional artist’s tendency, discussed in detail by Boas (1908), to secondarily modify flanges and knobs on carved artifacts into living forms. The bird-form ear finds an equivalent in the occasional modification of upper arms with bulbous shoulders into bird heads, as discussed for Comendador-like figure pendants in Chapter 6. The usage might be analogous to the secondary appearance of similar bird heads, in pairs, as modified bat wings on Antillean stone collars (Walker 1993, 1997).

Coronet

Low, plain coronets are found at the back of the heads of numerous Puerto Plata, Yaguajay, Madre Vieja, and Comendador anthropomorphs, and on Imbert frog-form hybrids. Of the styles featuring snouted hybrids, coronets are present but quite rare in Cibao, and are absent entirely in Luquillo, La Caleta, and Altagracia. Where present, coronets are occasionally altered by simple notching, or are incorporated into more elaborate headpieces, as in the following.

Headpiece with side-by-side buns

Headpieces featuring two round protuberances arranged side-by-side, most often embellished by incising and incorporating a coronet and/or an incised backflap, are found in Yaguajay and Madre Vieja-style skeletalized and emaciated anthropomorphs, and also quite prominently in Comendador-style fully-fleshed anthropomorphs. A variety of anthropomorphic figure pendants in other, unnamed styles share the element. Such headpieces also connect to notable carved anthropomorphs in other genres, as for example wooden dujos (e.g., Bercht et al. 1997: No. 45), stone pestles (ibid.: No. 83), and bone vomiting spatulas (Kerchache 1994:80-81), to cite some published examples. The form is not found among the hybrids.

Lines descending from eyes

Incised lines descending down the face from the eyes are extraordinary rare in the genre of figure pendants. We have encountered the motif three times in this work. In two cases, such lines are attached to the pitted circle eyes of Puerto Plata-style specimens (Chapter 2). IC187 has double lines descending from each eye, so faintly scratched that they appear to be secondary additions. IC418 has them in the form of narrow, elongated triangles. An unusual channelback specimen of shell (IC244), unclassified as to type, has slanted, slot-form eyes from which single, faint lines

descend (Chapter 11, “Fully-Fleshed Anthropomorphs”). Aside from these three, the database has only one other example, a highly peculiar figure pendant of shell from eastern Cuba, not illustrated herein. A further example is in the Sala de Arte Prehispánico of the Fundación García Arévalo.

What seems to be the same motif appears on two Jamaican anthropomorphic wood carvings and other isolated artifacts (Arrom 1989:39-45). In Chapter 7, I have discussed Arrom’s conflation of this element with the supranasal chevron element (see below). I am not convinced that the motif of lines descending from eyes is common in any Antillean genre other than pottery, for which Celaya and Godo (2000) have isolated a persistent image they call *Llora-lluvia*, “Cries-rain.” The motif is almost universally assumed to represent tears, although that bit of interpretation could stand revisiting.

Bared teeth in a wide band

A large number of figure pendants have relatively wide mouthfuls of incised teeth, but here I refer to something more specific. The element is a straight band of two rows of prominent, bared teeth wrapped around the face in a three-quarter presentation, literally from ear to ear. It is shared by Yaguajay, Madre Vieja, and related styles, where it appears on skeletalized heads. Aside from being a connector among the figure pendants, it is also readily linked to heads in other Antillean genres: incised shell tinklers, the anthropomorphic projecting centerpieces of tabular shell necklaces, certain shell “masks,” and certain vomiting spatulas. In all such cases, it appears to reference the human skull.

Supranasal chevron element

Taking my cue from Rodríguez Arce (2000), I have discussed this element and its significance in detail in Chapter 7. It is associated primarily with snouted hybrids, on which it occupies the transition between the snout and the upper face. Following a consideration of numerous specimens, I am reasonably confident that the element arises from a folk understanding of skinfolds on the nose of bats. On that basis, I accept it as an identifying attribute of that creature. Its morphology is variable. It can be nothing more than a simple groove in the shape of an inverted V or U. More elaborate versions have a doubled incised chevron, or a raised ridge, or a groove adjacent to a raised ridge. Still others have a raised ridge on which an incised line is directly superposed.

Although the supranasal chevron appears with greatest frequency in Cibao, it serves as a connector to other styles among the figure pendants. It appears in Puerto Plata (on what is otherwise an anthropomorph, IC186), Imbert (on the remarkable Los Arabos frog-form hybrid), La Caleta, and Altagracia, together with a variety of unnamed styles featuring snouted, armless hybrids.

As noted above under the heading “Lines Descending from Eyes,” Arrom (1989:39-45), in my opinion, misinterprets the significance of this element, linking it to the passage of tears in the historically-documented rain-related *cemí* Boinayel (which is not described as weeping by Pané). Nor does the element represent the squinting of closed eyes (Rodríguez Arce 2000:97), because eyes realized as small drilled pits occasionally appear above the element, independent of it, on the upper face.

“Reptilian roll” nose

The “reptilian roll” is McGinnis’s (1997a:645, 653, 710) term for a nose configured as a horizontal cylinder with nostril pits at the ends, so named for its recurrent appearance on reptile-headed three-pointed stones. As she herself notes, however, it is not limited to reptiles, as it also appears as a nostril element at the base of certain bird beaks seen on three-pointed stones. Our interest in the feature lies in its appearance five times among the figure pendants. Three are on snouted hybrids (IC107, IC130, and IC273), the last of these Cibao and the first two Cibao-related, where the heads are arguably those of bats. Beyond these, one definite and one probable instance of the feature occur as noses on Yaguajay-style anthropomorphs (IC006 and IC039). The latter are unmistakable theriomorphic touches, and of the choices available, a bat reference seems most compelling.

Arm and hand positions

Maciques Sánchez (2018:Figure 5) argues that conventional poses of the hands among the figure pendants are meaningful ritual gestures, in the manner of Buddhist *mudras*. On the Yaguajay-style anthropomorphs he primarily studied, these would include hands on hips, hands on thighs, and hands against the abdomen at either side of a navel. What gives me pause regarding this conclusion is that such repertoires of hand positions do not transfer readily to other styles. They are instead strongly style-bound, which raises unavoidably the prospect that they are mere stylistic conventions. For example, the pose of the hands together below the chin, palms forward and fingers downcurled, is a Madre Vieja specialty and would be unthinkable on any of the other named styles, just as hands with fingers draped downward over the knees, as in Comendador Format 2, is never found in Puerto Plata, Yaguajay, Madre Vieja, and so forth. Considered as individual motifs, however, such hand positions do have value as connectors across a variety of unnamed styles.

I exempt from these doubts the meaningfulness of the pose of the hands raised to the level of the head, because that is not really a conventional hand position per se. It is instead a contributory aspect of the frog-form base, which, as stated elsewhere in this chapter is, I think, patently meaningful. Where the pose appears by itself, as in the Puerto Plata Arms Aloft guise, it alludes to the frog-form.

Plain necklace-like element

I have successfully resisted the temptation to go ahead and call this element a necklace. It certainly looks like one, but it is not out of the question that it depicts something else that is obscure. There are two variants, both of which I have come to think of as Hispaniolan in their focal distribution. The first, a hallmark of the Puerto Plata style, consists of a raised semicircle on the upper torso that closely follows the chin line at the throat. The latter, seen in Yaguajay, Madre Vieja, Comendador, and a variety of anthropomorphs of unnamed styles, has a looping aspect, extending variably farther down the torso. It is never segmented, nor does it have anything attached. It is not found in the hybrids. Outside the genre of figure pendants, an instance morphologically close to the Puerto Plata variety occurs on an Antillean wooden funerary urn (Kerchache 1994:13).

Navel

For good methodological reasons already reviewed, I have avoided bringing to bear the observations of Friar Ramón Pané or any of the other early Hispanic chroniclers in deciding matters of iconographic meaning. I can no longer avoid Pané here. What he has to say about navels and the absence of navels is so emphatic that it has been projected onto prehistoric materials without any hesitation by students of Antillean imagery. Our cleric, writing in the late fifteenth century, says this about souls of the dead who walk about at night. “In order to recognize them, [the indigenous people] observe this procedure: they touch one’s belly with their hands, and if they do not find his navel, they say he is an *operito*, which means dead: that is why they say the dead have no navel. And thus they are sometimes fooled when they do not notice this” (Pané 1999:18). So, for many students, an archaeological image of a being having a navel cannot depict a deceased individual, such as an ancestor. Conversely, a being with a navel must be in some sense alive.

I go so far as to quote Pané’s fixed diagnostic of living versus dead in order to state that I have been entirely unable to apply it in any sensible way to the figure pendant corpus. The chief figural character in the Puerto Plata style is a good case in point. In Standard guise, Format 1, the presence or absence of a navel is fully correlated with the position of the hands. When the hands are on the knees, there is no navel, but when the hands are on the abdomen, a navel appears. The character is otherwise identical, so why some real persons would wear a “dead” version and others a “live” version of the same character goes unanswered. Moreover, the dichotomy disappears over time. As seriated in Chapter 3, all late, Standard guise, Format 2 images of the same figural character have navels. Of the Twinned guise, the Frog-form guise, and the Arms Aloft guise of what I judge to be the same figural character, some have navels while others do not.

Navels appear to be optional in the skeletalized, emaciated anthropomorphs of the Yaguajay and Madre Vieja styles. Fully-fleshed, Comendador-style anthropomorphs do not have them. As for the hybrids, navels appear to be irrelevant. Neither Cibao-style snouted, armless beings nor Imbert (or Imbert-related) frog-forms possess them.

Regarding the iconographic significance of navels, their connection with life, birth, and perhaps regeneration seems noncontroversial. Perhaps Maciques Sánchez’s (2018:71) opinion is as good as any: he supposes that among the figure pendants, navels express the creative force, the life-force of divinity.

Exposed ribs

I have treated exposed ribs as a motif conveying an emaciated state, even where the torsos remain rather full, as in many Yaguajay-style anthropomorphs. More than anything else, its presentation appears to be an artistic tradeoff: a solution to the problem of realizing a gaunt being in a small, compact sculptural style in hard materials. Exposed ribs correlate well with skeletalized heads, forming a strong link between Yaguajay and Madre Vieja subjects.

Beyond the figure pendants, Peter Roe (1997) has written of the connection between exposed ribs, a state of emaciation, ancestors, and fasting in Antillean imagery. In this view, ceramic “ceremonial” effigy vessels in the form of apparent caciques seated on duhos depict them as severely emaciated, perhaps due to fasting in emulation of the skeletalized ancestors they desire to contact (Pané 1999:21, 30-31).

Constrictions at upper arms, lower legs

Well-defined constrictions of the limbs at the upper arms and below the knees appear only sporadically among the figure pendants, but the trait serves as a connector both internally as well as externally to other carved genres. Among the named figure pendant styles, they appear only in Yaguajay and Madre Vieja skeletalized and emaciated anthropomorphs. More broadly, the trait appears occasionally in anthropomorphs of unnamed styles, for example in IC044, the intricate little male figure pendant that provides the logo for the Museo del Hombre Dominicano.

Constrictions of the same kind are observed on carved anthropomorphs in larger genres, such as stone pestles, cohoba stands, effigy ceramic vessels, and dujos. At least two wooden sculptures (Bercht et al. 1997:Nos. 44, 123) show the constricted bands as ornamented within, indicating a constricting object that is decorated. Thus, they reference specific kinds of arm and leg bands.

Roe (1997:141) compares the element to constricting ligatures worn by shamans in the tropical lowlands of South America, which are “thought to enhance physical and spiritual powers.”

Modes of squatting

By now it is clear that squatting is ubiquitous among the figure pendants; all those not posed in the frog form are squatting. I have already reviewed, in this section, the possible significance of the matter in general. Within the broad category of squatting, however, there are a variety of more specific modal poses of the lower limbs that serve as connectors among figure pendant styles, and to other carved genres. Much of the variability can be captured by the five modes depicted in Figure 12.1. To these five, for convenience of reference, I have applied shorthand notations, 7II, ZII, ZV, ZΔ, and ∩II, in which the first character stands for the leg configuration in right profile, and the rest for the lower leg pose in frontal view.

The 7II mode has short upper legs projecting directly forward, followed by conjoined, parallel lower legs flexed backward at an angle. Feet and toes follow the line of the

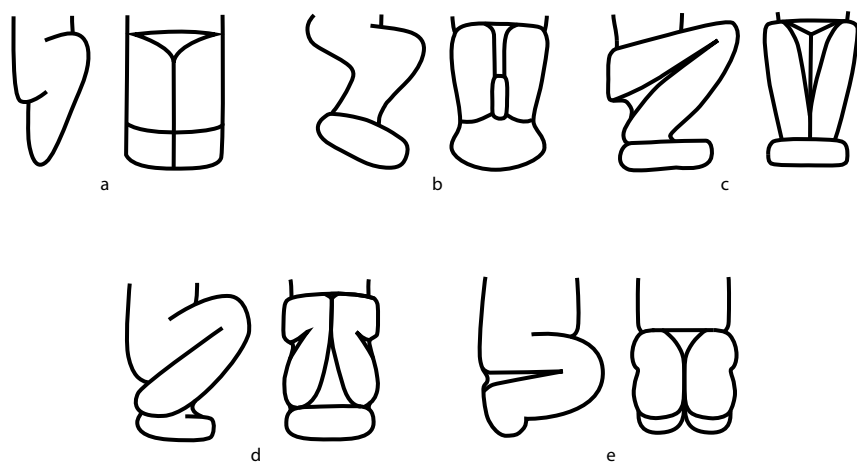


Figure 12.1. Modes of squatting. a, 7II mode; b, ZII mode; c, ZV mode; d, ZΔ mode, e, ∩II mode.

lower legs without an inflection at the ankles, the toes pointing straight downward. This is the characteristic squat of the Puerto Plata style. The fact that it is not shared by any other style is one of several things that sets off Puerto Plata stylistically as a relative isolate.

The ZII mode has upper legs projected directly forward, creating a lap. Knees are separated, the lower legs are more or less parallel, and the feet are conjoined in a basal disk. This is the common leg pose of Yaguajay-style figure pendants. Beyond Yaguajay, the mode has a relatively modest number of connections. Certain Yaguajay-related figure pendants from the Dominican Republic show this mode, as do a few others, for example the often-published IC044. An example of an anthropomorph in another carved genre that adopts this pose is a stone pestle in the Museo del Hombre Dominicano (Bercht et al. 1997:No. 116).

The ZV mode has the legs positioned in a tight Z as seen in right profile, with the upper legs forward and slightly upward. Lower legs are flexed back to the center axis, the feet conjoined into a basal disk. Knees are distinctly apart, allowing for the insertion of a prominent genital element. Lower legs, in frontal view, converge in a V shape to the base. The mode is almost confined to the Cibao style, the exceptions being a few figure pendants such as IC257, discussed in Chapter 11, which may be close stylistic relatives.

The ZΔ mode, viewed in right profile, has much the same appearance as the above, with legs tightly flexed into a Z and the feet merged into a basal disk. The lower legs, however, are turned the opposite way, diverging instead of converging from the knees, which are together. This peculiar knock-kneed, pigeon-toed pose leaves an unfilled triangular space between the lower limbs just above the feet. It is the leg pose of Comendador, Format 1, which it shares with one of the miniature styles, La Caleta, and the miniature Style Group 3. Certain figure pendants described and illustrated in Chapter 6, FGA150 and IC277, are considered Comendador-related based in part on this shared squatting mode. It serves as a connection to an aberrant Puerto Plata-style figure pendant, IC397 (Chapter 2, “Puerto Plata oddities”), plus several more of unnamed styles, including IC111, IC219, and IC354 discussed in Chapter 11. An example of this squatting mode in another genre is a drug spoon of bone from the Dominican Republic (Bercht et al. 1997:No. 117).

The ∩II mode has the knees quite low relative to the others, not quite a kneel, as the knees do not touch the basal plane. Legs are together. In right profile, the legs are bent into the shape of a broad U on its side. The feet are mere lumps, toes downward, with the base of the feet at the plane of the back. This is the leg pose of Luquillo snouted, armless hybrids, which places the form early in the figure pendant sequence. It is also characteristic of Imbert-style anthropomorphs and of Altagracia-style miniature hybrids.

Ankle bumps

A feature common to many Greater Antillean anthropomorphs and hybrids in several genres is the depiction of discrete bumps at the outer ankles. The natural prototype appears to be the lateral malleolus, a protrusion formed by the distal end of the tibia. It is curious that an inner ankle bump corresponding to the medial malleolus is not likewise featured. Apparently, the trait is purely stylistic, seeming to appear on a broad variety of subjects, although I cannot rule out an iconographic reference of some sort. The mode does not appear to correlate with emaciated subjects. Homologous outer

wrist bumps are occasionally seen in Antillean figural art (e.g., Kerchache 1994:13), but do not occur in the figure pendant corpus.

In the Puerto Plata style, ankle bumps appear in conjunction with ankle bands, which are shown wrapping around only the front sides of the ankles. In Puerto Plata, ankle bumps are nearly universal, except in late examples where they are only hinted at as wide places in the ankle band, or they are entirely omitted (Chapter 3).

In the other styles, ankle bumps, usually together with ankle bands, occur on about one-third of Cibao style hybrids, forming a conspicuous link with Puerto Plata that might reflect proximity, as the core area of both styles is central and northern Hispaniola. Ankle bumps are notably absent in Yaguajay and Madre Vieja-style skeletalized anthropomorphs, in Comendador fully-fleshed anthropomorphs, in Luquillo snouted, armless hybrids, in any of the frog-form hybrids, and in any of the miniature styles. Ankle bumps do appear in a small number of snouted, armless hybrids of undefined styles.

Their early appearance in the figure pendant sequence is documented by IC244, an unusual female figure in shell (Chapter 11, “Fully-fleshed anthropomorphs”) that also has a channelback feature in common with Luquillo-style figure pendants.

It has been suggested that the ankle bands on Cibao-style snouted, armless hybrids depict binding, in an effort to control the spirit being (Keegan 2007:38) – in which case the same motif on Puerto Plata anthropomorphs presumably would depict binding as well. This I doubt, although I cannot dismiss the interpretation entirely. I cannot make sense of it distributionally among subjects or styles, and the interpretation does not account for the full integration of ankle bands with the ankle bump motif.

Downcurled toes and fingers

Another recurrent Antillean motif and a strong connector among different genres is the display of toes or fingers in a downcurled position. First to comment on this motif was de Booy (1916:24), who suggested an association with the curled toes of monkey feet based on his examination of IC273. A simian association is highly implausible given the broader distribution of the trait.

In the figure pendants, the motif is nearly universal for the toes of Comendador-style fully-fleshed anthropomorphs. It is also common on Madre Vieja and related figure pendants of shell, where it extends to fingers as well as toes. About one-third of Cibao-style snouted hybrids have downcurled toes. Only two Yaguajay emaciated and skeletalized anthropomorphs have them. The motif is occasional in fully-fleshed, emaciated, and hybrid anthropomorphs in other styles. Notably, it does not occur in the early Luquillo style.

A proper accounting of the motif in other Antillean genres is neither possible nor appropriate here. It will suffice, I hope, to point to select examples from widely-available published sources: three-pointed stones (Kerchache 1994:202; Bercht et al. 1997:No. 77); a figural stone axe (ibid.:No. 39); a wooden dujo (ibid.:No. 44); a carved bone bowl (ibid.:No. 112); a vomiting spatula (Kerchache 1994:94); and a cohoba stand (ibid.:120). Highly specific motifs such as this, and the following, deserve further scrutiny for their possible use as horizon markers. In the present case, we can be certain that the motif extends chronologically into the European contact era, as it appears on a cotton belt and a related, free-standing anthropomorph of cotton, both of which incorporate European glass beads into the ornamentation (Bercht et al. 1997:Nos. 126, 127).

Excised palmar and plantar elements

Seemingly another purely stylistic feature of hands and feet, one often associated with downcurled toes and fingers, is excised palmar and plantar surfaces. Only the central portion of the palm or the base of the foot is excised to a shallow depth, within conventional geometric shapes, either that of a D or a triangle. Among the figure pendants, such excisions are almost confined to the Madre Vieja style and its relatives in shell, where they are characteristic of extremities bent in anatomically unusual poses. I have discussed only a single figure pendant of stone bearing excised plantar elements, a skeletalized anthropomorph in a CII -mode squat (IC092, Chapter 11). The feet are contorted, as in Madre Vieja, and the triangular excised areas can only be seen from the back of the piece.

As with downturned toes and fingers, no proper survey of instances in other genres can be presented here. I will merely point out that the motif appears to be prominent among the largest and most elaborately decorated three-pointed stones of the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico (see, e.g. Kerchache 1994:205; Bercht et al. 1977:Nos. 75, 77), in which the distortion of extremities back toward the axis of the specimen is again featured. This potential commonality between Madre Vieja and the figural three-pointed stone styles merits further exploration.

Incised meander motif

A fundament of two-dimensional design in the late prehistoric Greater Antilles is the meander. It is a maze-like pathway, a ribbon folded back upon itself, created and separated by rectilinear or curvilinear lines, often having dots or other terminal elements indicating inflection points in the meander. Such meanders appear most often as purely decorative, although there are abundant cases where they are transformed into representational elements. Marcio Veloz Maggiolo (1972:150) calls the more complex designs “labyrinthine decoration,” but both he and Manuel García Arévalo (1988) recognize that this system of design, at base level, can be distilled into simple forms like barred ovals.

Two-dimensional design fields are necessarily highly restricted in scale on the figure pendants, but nonetheless they occasionally show this system in play, and therefore connect with larger artifacts such as the back panels of wooden dujos which exploit the decorative system to its fullest expression. In the figure pendants, the simplified decorative system shows up only occasionally, and in only three places. Among cylindrically-formatted snouted, armless hybrids having multi-tiered, disk-form headpieces and basal pedestals, the encircling lines are sometimes divided into back-to-back barred ovals, as in IC001 and IC366. A second venue is in the decorative back panels or backflaps at the rear of the head extending from the coronet. These appear on Yaguajay-style anthropomorphs IC006 and IC019 (Chapter 4), and on our Comendador, Format 2 type specimen, IC190 (Chapter 6). The latter specimen alone replicates the pattern on the full back, with rectilinear lines ending in dots indicating a partial meander design in a highly restricted space. How these instances may or may not relate to the meander decorative system as used in the canonical Chicoid (Rouse 1992) ceramic context has yet to be determined.

Matters of iconography

This work is intended, at base level, as a stylistic study. Nonetheless, iconographic identifications are scattered through these pages, particularly in the section above. Some

of this is inevitable. In order to describe how heads, navels, and squatting poses are handled differently by different styles, those things have to be identified as such, and all identification of subject matter is basically iconographic. Such primary steps as the identification of birds, bats, frogs, and hybrid anthropozoomorphic beings is a kind of low-level iconography of the sort that facilitates stylistic study, and yet does not depend on ethnographic texts (Knight 2013:30-32).

To the degree that I have identified figural characters in these pages, it has been in the spirit of Kubler's "configurational analysis," described in Chapter 1, which relies on internal evidence concerning elements that go together (Kubler 1967; Knight 2013:85-129). In what follows, I will draw together some of these threads.

An initial question is, how many different, relatively stable figural characters are there in the figure pendant corpus? Past approaches to this question have been reductive, tending to view several squatting subjects as iconographically interchangeable, or as phases of a stylistic series involving increasing schematization over time (e.g., Arrom 1989:44; Maciques Sánchez 2018:39). I am confident that such is not the case. The styles defined herein are well-bounded, without clear transitions between them. Figural characters, for their part, are also well differentiated from one another and are relatively stable, in that they are easily identifiable across styles, and do not show gradations between one and the next.

Major figural characters

I count five major figural characters in the corpus of figure pendants. First among these is a fully-fleshed anthropomorphic plural being, nude, with highly uniform head and facial characteristics. Its facial expression is severe, featuring a wide-eyed stare and a narrow mouth of bared, clenched teeth, sometimes with snarl-like accents added to the upper corners. The torso often possesses a navel, although one is not required. This major character was envisioned as both one and manifold. It can be single or twinned. It can be male or female. It can be shown in a squat or alternatively against a frog-form base, with the powers or qualities associated with either. Or it can exhibit both at once, having the upper limbs of the frog-form and the lower limbs posed in a squat. This figural character is only realized in the Puerto Plata style, suggesting that several regions did not know this plural being. To my knowledge, it is not depicted in other genres.

Second is another fully-fleshed anthropomorph, but of a different kind, one that by overall appearance is closer to a straightforward human. It is nude except for human-like regalia such as headpieces, backflaps, arm bands, and leg bands. It is always depicted in a squat. Dominating the upper face is a mask-like eye surround, having circular hollowed eyes without pupils that are elsewhere associated with skulls. From this, it is safe to infer some connection with death. It has no navel, and is occasionally marked explicitly as male. This character is featured in the Comendador style, but is shown in other, unnamed styles as well.

Third is an anthropomorph depicted as nude, emaciated, and partly skeletalized. It is always in a squatting pose. Heads feature large, skeletal eye sockets realized as hemispherical concavities, sometimes surrounded by a mask-like device that emphasizes the cheeklines. Lips are absent or are drawn back, fully exposing a band of teeth extending from ear to ear, in a portion of the face that is narrower than the upper head. Despite the skeletal features, the head is partly fleshed, furnished with a nose and ears. The tor-

so is cadaverous, exposing the ribs. Occasionally, this character is marked as explicitly male. A few specimens include facial hints referencing a zoomorph, probably the bat. If any of these figural characters is intended as a depiction of an ancestor, this may be the best candidate. The character is featured in two highly different styles, Yaguajay and Madre Vieja. It is realized, as well, in a variety of unnamed styles.

Fourth is a bat-person, a hybrid being with the head of a bat and an anthropomorphic torso and lower limbs, universally in a squatting pose. I began its discussion in this work by routinely calling it a “snouted, armless hybrid” without being more specific about the identity of the head. Following a review of the reasoning of Rodríguez Arce (2000), I have accepted his identification of the head as that of a bat. Having now worked through the styles in which the character appears, that case has been strengthened by additional relevant details; here I consider the bat-person identification as on firm ground. Normally, this spirit being is depicted as sightless. The junction between the snout and the upper face is dominated instead by a supranasal chevron element, interpreted herein as a folk conception of a skinfold. However, some examples do have eyes in the form of small drilled pits above the supranasal chevron. This being is deliberately depicted without arms in the overwhelming majority of cases, although exceptions are known. In rare cases where the sex is shown explicitly, it is male, but far more often it is given an ambiguous, triangular wedge form of genitalia that I have speculated is phallic in a mythically envisioned sense. The bat-person is featured in the Cibao, Luquillo, La Caleta, and Altigracia styles, and in many more unnamed styles. Most miniatures depict the character. In general, it needs to be better appreciated that this bat spirit is a common and widespread figure pendant subject in the Greater Antilles, and also one of the oldest.

Fifth is a frog-person, a second hybrid being, with the torso and limbs of a frog as a substructure superimposed by an anthropomorphic head and genitalia. The head is earless and relatively undetailed, especially in its early Luquillo-style form. Later iterations almost always have raised, elliptical eyes featuring angled slots instead of pupils. I have argued that the protruding genital bulge on the vast majority of examples represents an unfulfilled, presexually female mons pubis, on the basis of several examples wherein the bulge is superimposed by a vulvar element. However, three frog-form hybrids are known that have explicit male phalluses, also having, in each case, an extraordinary and elaborate head differing from that of the females. The frog-form hybrid is featured in the Puerto Plata style, where it is presented as merely one guise of the featured manifold being. Elsewhere, in Luquillo, Imbert, and Imbert-related styles, it appears to be an independent figural character.

Minor figural characters

Aside from these five dominant beings, others were deemed of enough importance to be depicted as figure pendants at least occasionally. These are sufficiently coherent in themselves to be considered as independent of the more common subjects, and I presume that a larger corpus would produce more examples of each kind.

One is a fully-fleshed anthropomorph in a squatting pose that has neither the severe expression of the featured Puerto Plata being, nor the hollowed eyes and mask-like surround of the featured Comendador anthropomorph. Its schematized head and face are, instead, comparable to those of the frog-form hybrids, possibly signaling a zoomorphic

quality (e.g., IC163, Chapter 9). Such anthropomorphs appear in both Luquillo and Imbert-related styles.

A second being, occasionally depicted by Puerto Plata carvers, has an elongated, forward-projecting head, a sagittal head crest, and raised, elliptical, slotted eyes, the latter comparable to Imbert-related frog-form hybrids. Given the elongated face and the head crest, it has a decidedly reptilian look. In Chapter 2, I hypothesized that it depicts an iguana-person. This being was posed squatting, or against a frog-form base, or with the characteristics of both at once, with squatting lower limbs and upper limbs raised in the conventional frog-form pose. In other words, it is another manifold being that assumes the powers and qualities associated both with the squat and its alternative, the frog-form base, exactly like the featured Puerto Plata anthropomorph.

Aside from the above, skull-headed and bat-headed beings are known that have been given frog-form bases in place of their usual squatting anthropomorphic bodies. It does not appear that such substitutions were made systematically. I do not think they represent the same kind of stable figural character as the categories already outlined. Equally rare or unique are such cases as Puerto Plata anthropomorphs that are presented as eyeless or armless, and a Comendador anthropomorph that lacks a nose.

What stands out in this summary lineup of characters is a clear conceptual difference between the subjects depicted by Puerto Plata carvers, which are manifold beings capable of appearing in different guises, for which I think we can assume different powers, and all other beings in all the remaining styles. Among the latter there are therianthropic hybrids, and beings for which powers of sight, grasping, smelling, or sex can be shown or omitted, but not in the same manner as the changelings envisioned in Puerto Plata. The Puerto Plata anthropomorph alone can be envisioned as twinned.

These remarks illustrate why it is improper to simply assimilate the Puerto Plata twinned guise to the twins myth fragments conveyed in Ramón Pané's fifteenth-century account – either the adventuresome quadruplets born to *Itiba Cahubaba* or the cave-dwelling duo of *cemíes*, *Boinayel* and *Márohu*, who were dualistic weather spirits (Pané 1999:13-17). In the more ancient Puerto Plata concept, twinning is merely one aspect of a more general system of differentiated powers expressed as guises of a central being. For the significance of the older form of twinning, a much broader corpus of twins material is available in South American myth, and it is this corpus that must be searched for potential cognates.

Some concluding thoughts on the iconography of the figure pendants will come into play as I consider the social domains of their use in the following chapter.

Conclusions

This study names and formally defines nine styles of anthropomorphic figure pendants in the Greater Antilles: Puerto Plata, Yaguajay, Madre Vieja, Comendador, Cibao, Luquillo, Imbert, La Caleta, and Altagracia. For each, I have tried to describe their canons in a manner allowing them to be distinguished from one another without ambiguity. In addition to these nine, I have defined four numbered “style groups” – two among the frog-form hybrids (Chapter 9) and two more among the miniatures (Chapter 10). Regarding the latter, I have no doubt about their validity as style clusters, but the present sample is inadequate to do more than provide a brief sketch of their distinguishing traits. Of the remainder, I have pointed out that this stylistic classification hardly exhausts the corpus; I have devoted Chapter 11 to illustrating that many more styles remain undefined.

As a secondary matter, without getting into the business of arguing for ethnographic equivalences, I have suggested a series of elementary iconographic categories. These exist on two levels. The first are motifs that I consider probably representational, most of which can be traced between styles and therefore serve as connectors. At a second level are the overall subjects of the figure pendants, a small number of stable figural characters whose identification is based on conjunctions of contributory elements and their coherence. This iconographic work has been done in the spirit of Kubler’s (1967) configurational analysis.

The largely descriptive purpose of bringing order to a large corpus of artifacts may have something of an antiquarian echo, but that has not been my sole intent. I have not forgotten that the figure pendants were objects used human beings engaged in consequential activities. The introductory chapter promised insights into regional and chronological variability in Greater Antilles religious phenomena, as part of growing appreciation of the importance of cultural heterogeneity in the study area. Toward that objective, a comprehensive account of role of figure pendants in Greater Antillean society must account for six key observations, as follows: (1) styles and their subjects were not fully contemporaneous; (2) styles are geographically restricted; (3) styles are linked to subject matter in definite ways; (4) figure pendants occupy a middle ground of social exclusivity; (5) figure pendants could be modified and could reach distant places; and (6) figure pendants were discarded as refuse. Let us consider these observations in turn.

Styles and their subjects were not fully contemporaneous

Not all figure pendant styles were in contemporaneous use, nor were their featured subjects equitably distributed through time. Although chronological data are scarce, the information that does exist is sufficient to suggest an initial periodization. The two features that seem well suited as chronological markers are, first, the channelback feature discussed in Chapter 8, and second, the dichotomy between elbow-style and transverse perforation.

These data, the details of which are found in the previous chapters, can be briefly summarized as follows. Figure pendants having a longitudinal groove running down the center of the back, an element herein called a channelback, are characteristic of the Luquillo style. They are present in pre-1200 AD Ostionoid contexts in Puerto Rico, with apparent origins in earlier Saladoid contexts. Generally, they are associated with paired elbow-style perforation at the lateral margins, a manner of perforation directly linked, in turn, with the *muiriquitas* of northern South America. Puerto Plata-style figure pendants having comparable elbow-style perforation are known from sites in the northern Dominican Republic radiocarbon dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries AD. The Puerto Plata style can be seriated internally, showing a transition from elbow-style to transverse perforation accompanying a shift to a cylindrical format with greater schematization. No figure pendant having elbow-style perforation is known to postdate ca. 1400 AD in the Greater Antilles. A Yaguajay-style figure pendant having transverse perforation is associated with a refuse deposit dated to the El Mango III phase in northeast Cuba, radiocarbon dated to the early fifteenth century AD. Finally, two well-worn Yaguajay-related figure pendants having transverse perforation were recovered in a cache in the southwest Dominican Republic together with European-derived sheet brass artifacts.

With the single exception just noted, figure pendants belonging to the styles defined in this work are conspicuously absent from deposits dating to the time of early European contact, such as, for example, those at En Bas Saline, Haiti (Deagan 2004), the postcontact cemetery at El Chorro de Maíta, Cuba (Valcárcel Rojas 2016), or Yayal, Cuba (Dominguez 1995). At the earlier end of the time range under consideration, it may also be relevant to note that early Meillacoid deposits in the Cibao Valley and the north coast of the Dominican Republic, radiocarbon dated to the ninth and tenth centuries AD, have not produced figure pendants, although that is geographically within the heart of the Puerto Plata style as reported herein (Veloz Maggiolo et al. 1981).

All things considered, I propose for review and refinement a basic figure pendant chronology of three sequent horizons, as follows.

Horizon I, channelback period. Suggested dates: 900-1200 AD.

Anthropomorphic figure pendant carving at this time in the Greater Antilles was centered geographically in Puerto Rico; only one Dominican channelback specimen is known. The horizon is represented by the Luquillo style, associated with Ostionoid material culture. The style has apparent roots earlier than this, in the Puerto Rican Saladoid. Subject matter is dominated by hybrids, including frog-forms and bat-headed, squatting, armless beings.

Horizon II, period dominated by elbow-style perforation. Suggested dates: 1200-1350 AD.

During this period, anthropomorphic figure pendant carving expanded westward into Hispaniola, where the Puerto Plata, Imbert, and cognate styles became dominant. At least Puerto Plata, and probably other styles as well, are associated with Meillacoid material culture in the central and northern areas of the island. Subject matter inherits the frog-forms and bat-headed, squatting, armless beings from Horizon I. A new addition is the Puerto Plata goggle-eyed anthropomorph, the multidimensional plural being described in the previous chapter.

Horizon III, period dominated by transverse perforation. Suggested dates: 1350-1500 AD.

Anthropomorphic figure pendant carving during Horizon III expanded from Hispaniola into eastern Cuba, where the Yaguajay style came into prominence. In Hispaniola, styles multiplied. Puerto Plata continued from Horizon II in modified form, and others were newly introduced, including Cibao, Comendador, and Madre Vieja, as well as the miniature styles. New subject matter included a more straight-forward anthropomorph in Hispaniola, and skeletalized and emaciated anthropomorphs in both Hispaniola and Cuba. Horizon III was the height of the Cibao fluorescence of bat-headed hybrids. Frog-form hybrids, in contrast, dropped out entirely, probably early in the period, with only classic Imbert-style frog-forms spanning the transition to transverse perforation.

Discussion

Several aspects of this chronology merit highlighting. First is the manner in which anthropomorphic figure pendant carving and use expanded gradually from Puerto Rico westward to include Hispaniola and eastern Cuba after about 1200 AD. In this process, styles came and went. Most such styles had a lifespan of less than 200 years, and when longer than that, in the case of Puerto Plata, the style underwent conspicuous modification over time.

Our chronology accords well with Narganes Storde's (2016) account of the origins of certain figure pendant forms. In her interpretation, the bat-headed, squatting hybrid and the frog-form hybrid figure pendant forms were both Saladoid introductions to the Greater Antilles during the early centuries AD. Subsequently, both forms were adopted in later times by other peoples, due to a process of extensive cultural interaction between Saladoid and Archaic populations that led to the acculturation of the latter. Narganes suspects that the corresponding Saladoid mythic beliefs regarding these images were transferred in like manner to these external groups.

Another key implication of this figure pendant chronology is the proliferation, over time, both of new styles and new subject matter, as the range of the phenomenon expanded westward over several centuries. In their overall relative proportions, the principal subjects appear to have fluctuated greatly across this time span. For example, two primary anthropomorphic subjects date only to the latest period, a period when frog forms virtually disappear. Thus, the roster of subjects cannot all be treated as a coherent, interrelated set. Certainly, there is no sense in which this list can be said to constitute a stable pantheon of Greater Antillean spirit beings.

The pattern is one of persistent change, not stability. When historically-recorded beliefs and myths are brought into the picture to interpret the figural characters depicted by the figure pendants, it is imperative to understand that most styles and several subjects are fully prehistoric and did not survive into the period of Hispanic exploration. Thus, it would be ill-advised to expect one-to-one correlations between the supernaturals discussed by Friar Pané, on the one hand, and imagery that was current several centuries removed from that document on the other. Yet that seems to be what some modern students of Greater Antillean imagery do expect.

Moreover, as Narganes Storde surmises, it is likely that some of this imagery was diffused across ethnolinguistic boundaries in the course of its history. To the degree that it did so, the imagery would have been reinterpreted according to the cultural preferences of the recipients. As noted in the introductory chapter, connections between form and subject matter are not stable. Forms are commonly dislodged from their original referents over time, a process named disjunction by art historian Erwin Panofsky (1960:84) and expounded as a key principle of pre-Columbian art by George Kubler (1969; see Knight 2013:71-76). We should expect exactly this sort of disjunction in the history of a genre demonstrating over six centuries of change and adoption by new peoples across several islands. The beliefs attached to a bat-headed, squatting figure pendant in tenth-century Puerto Rico may not have been the same as those attached to a bat-headed, squatting figure pendant in fifteenth-century Cuba.

Styles are geographically restricted

Although information on provenance gained from the extant collections exists only at a coarse level, it is sufficient to demonstrate beyond question that figure pendant styles are geographically restricted. Using just the data available on national origins of specimens, we find the following concentrations by island.

- Puerto Plata style: 87 percent Hispaniolan
- Yaguajay style: 89 percent Cuban
- Madre Vieja style: 78 percent Hispaniolan
- Comendador style: 100 percent Hispaniolan
- Luquillo style: 94 percent Puerto Rican
- Imbert style and related: 89 percent Hispaniolan
- La Caleta style: 80 percent Hispaniolan
- Altagracia style: 92 percent Hispaniolan

Only the Cibao style has a national distribution somewhat less centralized than these, and in that case, attention to data at the province level or better has allowed us to zero in on the Hispaniolan Cordillera Central and its adjacent valleys as the likely hearth of that style. Similarly, more specific provenance data have allowed us to specify the Banes area of northeastern Cuba as a home for the Yaguajay style, and the northern portion of the Cibao region and north coastal zone of Hispaniola as a home for Puerto Plata.

There are, nonetheless, geographic outliers, some of which are specimens nearly identical, stylistically, to counterparts in the hearth areas. These outliers must have been obtained through some process of long-distance interaction.

Such distributions are in keeping with a notion of styles as linked to communities of practicing carvers located in specific districts of specific islands. The large number of styles, many still to be defined, further suggests a dispersed pattern of locally-anchored carver communities.

Styles are linked to subject matter in definite ways

Once we home in tightly on crafting communities, the problem of disjunction dissolves. At that local scale, it is safe to assume a uniformity in cultural models regarding the identity of supernaturals, and also cultural models regarding how those supernaturals ought to be depicted. That is, both native iconographic models and stylistic models across carvers and consumers of figure pendants must have been shared at a high level.

As we have seen in discussions of individual styles, carvers in a given style were ordinarily competent in the depiction of more than one figure pendant subject, and it makes sense that their clients understood multiple subjects as well. Against that background, however, lies the singular fact that entire carving communities specialized in depicting just one, or at most two, figure pendant subjects. Regional styles, whose coherence stands as a testament to those carving communities, are thus linked closely to particular figure pendant subjects in a highly specific way. Listed below are the named figure pendant styles and provisional style groups in the order they were presented, together with their dominant figure pendant subjects.

- Puerto Plata: plural anthropomorphic being
- Yaguajay: skeletalized emaciated anthropomorph
- Madre Vieja: skeletalized emaciated anthropomorph
- Comendador: straightforward anthropomorph
- Cibao: bat-headed armless, squatting hybrid
- Luquillo: (1) frog-form hybrid;
(2) bat-headed, armless, squatting hybrid
- Imbert: frog-form hybrid
- Style Group 1: frog-form hybrid
- Style Group 2: frog-form hybrid
- La Caleta: bat-headed armless, squatting hybrid
- Altagracia: bat-headed, armless squatting hybrid
- Style Group 3: bat-headed, armless squatting hybrid
- Style Group 4: bat-headed armless, squatting hybrid

The existence of such linkages as given in the list above demands extra caution in defining the styles, lest the style-theme linkage become a self-fulfilling prophesy. Thus, one must stay on alert for instances where different subjects, with highly different formal requirements, were carved according to the same stylistic canons. One way to do this is to keep firmly in mind, for each style, propensities that have nothing to do with the subject. For example, we have pointed to the relative abundance of incising in Puerto Plata, the employment of sawn grooves in Comendador, and the emphasis on faceted surfaces in Cibao. Another way is to attempt to anticipate what cases of stylistic crossovers to another subject would look like. One might try to envision, for

example, what a snouted, armless hybrid might look like if carved in accord with the stylistic canons of Yaguajay – with for example, Yaguajay-style lower limbs in a ZII pose, separately carved and separated by apertures. Only then can we rule out that such a thing exists in our corpus.

That understanding bolsters the validity of the connections summarized in the list in this section. It remains to ask, what do we make of these connections? They suggest that the organization of religion was structured such that regionally different emphases by subject prevailed.

Figure pendants occupy a middle ground of social exclusivity

Caribbeanists have assumed, almost universally, that Greater Antillean figure pendants were personal possessions. The substantial lapidary skills required to make them were no doubt learned in the context of networks of carvers, each of whom had trained in the art by apprenticing themselves to other carvers. But at what scale of social exclusivity did the figure pendants assume their role? Some sense of this may be gained from their overall frequency in the archaeological record, as compared to other social valuables.

They are far too common, for one thing, to have been the exclusive possessions of the ethnographically described caciques or the bohitos who served within their orbit (García Arévalo 1997:114). Rouse (1992:121), for example, discussed figure pendants under the heading “secular art.” It will be helpful, then, to compare their frequency in the archaeological record to other artifact forms.

Small masks of shell and stone, called *guatizas*, are believed to have been sumptuary goods, emblems of rank limited to the possession of caciques (Oliver 2005:242). In a search of our database from 34 Greater Antillean collections, anthropomorphic figure pendants are 16 times more common than shell and stone masks. Likewise, it is instructive to compare the frequency of anthropomorphic figure pendants to the contemporaneous apparatus of the cohoba rite engaged in by both caciques and bohitos – cohoba stands, pestles, small effigy bowls with restricted orifices, snuff tubes, and vomiting spatulas. All are relatively rare in the archaeological record. Of these, vomiting spatulas are perhaps the most directly comparable to figure pendants, usually being carved from durable materials at small physical scale. In our database, anthropomorphic figure pendants outnumber vomiting spatulas by a factor of about nine to one. The comparison suggests that the figure pendants are more common than vomiting spatulas by an order of magnitude.

The other end of the social scale is that of ordinary household possessions. At that level, we arrive at the opposite finding: figure pendants are insufficiently common to have been used in the context of domestic ritual. As noted in the introductory chapter, almost nothing is known about domestic-level ritual in the Greater Antilles during the late Ceramic age – such matters, for example, as harvest magic, protections against witchcraft, and the rituals accompanying the consumption of food. As an artifact class perhaps representative of such domestic-level ritual, let us consider the ceramic adornos found on the rims of ceramic vessels, modeled as the heads and arms of anthropomorphized bats. These are encountered in large numbers at habitation sites of Chicoid culture. I assume that this choice of subject was not whimsical. Herrera Fritot and Youmans (1946:80) have hypothesized that such vessels were broken and disposed

of in a ritual manner, and some such ritual significance seems likely. I have found it difficult to find reliable quantitative information on these adornos from excavated contexts, but such sources such as Krieger (1931) and Herrera Fritot and Youmans (1946) illustrate dozens of them. Raw quantities of ceramic effigy adornos are greatly in excess of figure pendants.

Based on such comparisons of frequency, I conclude that figure pendants, in their overall frequency, occupy a middle ground of exclusivity. They are far more common, archaeologically, than elite sumptuary items or the apparatus of the cohoba rite. Conversely, they are insufficiently common to have been goods present in every domicile, relating to ritual practices at a household level (McGinnis 1997a:355). In any given community, there were probably numerous individuals eligible to commission an anthropomorphic figure pendant from a carver and to wear one. Even so, access was socially restricted.

Figure pendants could be modified and could reach distant places

Figure pendants show evidence of variable artifact “life histories.” Reworking and apparent user modification are not uncommon. Some figure pendants, moreover, ended their use life in places far from their places of manufacture. As objects perhaps tied intimately to individuals and their personal accomplishments, figure pendants may have been inalienable. How, then, did some of them reach distant places? A possibility is that figure pendants could be acquired by long-distance travelers in search of esoteric knowledge from a geographically distant world, in the manner described by Mary Helms (1979). In that case, as these travelers became proficient in foreign knowledge, they would return to their homeland with the appropriate token. Such a process seems more plausible than various exchange scenarios (e.g., Mol 2011). It is a process in keeping with the idea that these were inalienable personal possessions, it conforms to an institution described ethnographically by Helms (1979) for the circum-Caribbean area, and it is congruent with the pattern of discard described below.

Figure pendants were discarded as refuse

I have found no evidence for the claim made by Baztán Rodrigo (1971-72:215) that figure pendants were buried with the dead. None, for example, have been reported from burials at large cemetery sites in the Dominican Republic: Andrés (Krieger 1931:39-41; Morbán Laucer 1979), La Caleta (Herrera Fritot and Youmans 1946; Morbán Laucer 1979), La Cucama (Veloz Maggiolo et al. 1973; Morbán Laucer 1979), El Atajadizo (Luna Calderón 1976a, 1976b), Punta Macao (Veloz Maggiolo and Ortega 1972; Tavarez María 2004), Punta Cana (Luna Calderón 1995), and La Union (Veloz Maggiolo et al. 1972, 1973). These coastal mortuary sites are the source of most of the intact late Ceramic Age pottery vessels presently seen in museum collections. I have located only one instance of the caching of figure pendants, described in Chapter 4, involving two Yaguajay-related specimens cached together with two small Chicoid pottery vessels, a necklace of stone and shell beads, and pendants of sheet brass (Vega 1987:31-33).

In the majority of cases, anthropomorphic figure pendants were discarded as refuse, in middens, commonly unbroken and often in near-pristine condition. Cases of this pattern of discard are well documented in Cuba, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico. It is likely, then, that a figure pendant's power could not be transferred to a new owner, nor could it be translated into the afterlife following the owner's death. Its power being exhausted and nonrenewable, the figure pendant was simply thrown away. This pattern of discard is completely different from the artifactual apparatus of the cohoba rite, which is rarely, if ever, found in ordinary refuse.

Disconnect with the cohoba rite

Although I have already pointed out that figure pendants are more common by an order of magnitude than artifacts directly associated with the cohoba rite, that does not rule out the possibility of some connection with that highly conspicuous practice. Cohoba was certainly an art-producing institution, and some authorities have considered figure pendants – or, at least, a large proportion of them – within that frame. As already noted, Caribbeanists have, at times, associated the common squatting pose of figure pendants with that described historically by a cacique during cohoba-induced trancing. Oliver (2008b:179) further suggests that figure pendants in squatting poses would have been worn by caciques and lesser elites during the cohoba ceremony. He interprets a wide-eyed Puerto Plata, Format 2 figure pendant as the direct depiction of a cohoba ritualist with wide open, bulging eyes, firmly grasping his knees and grinding his bared teeth at the height of hallucinogenic ecstasy.

We are now in a position to judge whether the iconography of the figure pendant genre is consistent with such an interpretation. I have already argued that the squat, although it was no doubt a ritually meaningful posture, was not necessarily confined to cohoba ritualists, nor was it exclusively a male practice. Because the three-dimensional representational images on vomiting spatula handles are carved at about the same scale as medium-sized figure pendants, it is worthwhile to investigate what iconographic overlap there might be between an implement clearly used for ritual purging, on the one hand, and the figure pendant corpus on the other. Vomiting spatulas generally have handles carved to represent beings that Roe (1997:138) plausibly identifies as the ritualist's spirit helper, who would serve as a guide during the ecstatic journey to the Beyond. Such spatula handles are carved of bone, shell, wood, or stone at about the same scale as the figure pendants, using many of the same artistic conventions and motifs. It should be revealing, then, to compare the subject matter of vomiting spatula handles with those of the figure pendants. Our database contains good records of 46 vomiting spatulas from Cuba, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico, and I am aware of some two dozen more for which we have good photographs. If it is safe to assume that both genres depict spirit beings, what do the subjects carved upon the handles of vomiting spatulas have in common with our sample of anthropomorphic figure pendants? The result of such a comparison is stark. Not a single one of the seven major and minor iconographic characters emerging from a configurational analysis of the figure pendant corpus, outlined in the previous chapter, is duplicated on the handles of vomiting spatulas.

Moreover, subjects carved on the handles of vomiting spatulas are wildly eclectic. No two are alike, even within an apparent matched set known from a cave in Haiti (Kerchache 1994:92-95). Many are zoomorphs, particularly birds and bats, each presented in a new and different format. When anthropomorphs appear, they are often spectral, commonly bizarre or grotesque, the heads sometimes inverted, or turned 45 degrees to the axis of the spatula. Other asymmetries appear, such as in the different positioning of the two arms, something that never occurs in the figure pendants. The only overlap in subject matter is the presence of skeletalized anthropomorphs in both genres. However, by no means could the personages on vomiting spatulas be confused with the standard presentations of similar beings on Yaguajay and Madre Vieja-style figure pendants.

As we have seen, figure pendants obey no such imperative of eclecticism or uniqueness. Instead they represent redundant, idealized categories of spirit beings, many of which are alike to the point of being exact copies. It is, therefore, highly unlikely that figure pendants were “revealed,” named, and treated as individually animate spirits in the same manner as the free-standing *cemí* idols in the custody of *caciques* as described in the chronicles of the contact era.

In the same vein, yet another comparison can be made. As already noted in the introductory chapter, Veloz Maggiolo (1972:1972:228) has asserted generally that “Taíno art is a response to shamanism.” As part of the argument that much of Greater Antillean indigenous art reflects a shamanic vision, Shirley McGinnis (1997a) points to an emphasis on “transformationality” in indigenous Antillean iconography. She presents examples of multiple representations of different creatures seen on the same artifact, plus the phenomenon of animals seemingly substituted for humans and vice versa, in ways that suggest to her the shape-shifting encountered in hallucinogen-induced trance states. Peter Roe (1997:149) adds that late Antillean art tends to be “kinetic,” by which he means that the same artifact, when turned to a different viewpoint, will show a different subject (see also Walker 1993:397). Thus, artifacts tend to have double meanings, a trait that Roe associates with his view, already cited in Chapter 1, that “nearly all Taíno ritual artifacts have some association with *cohoba*” (Roe 1997:146).

What, then, of figure pendants? None are known that show more than one subject, or are crafted such that different perspectives reveal totally different things. Of the subjects that show potential transformation on the order of shape-shifting, we have only the two changelings of the Puerto Plata style, an anthropomorph and a rare iguana-person, that are capable of appearing in more than one guise. The others, which constitute the majority, including the hybrids, are relative stable iconographic characters and do not intergrade iconographically. The fact that there are bat-persons, frog-persons, iguana-persons, and so forth among the subjects should surprise nobody familiar with the mythic background, and do not necessarily signal a shape-shifting capability. Thus, it cannot be said that shamanic “transformationality” permeates the genre of figure pendants.

All told, I conclude that the anthropomorphic subject matter of figure pendants occupies a wholly different symbolic space than that of artifacts associated directly with the *cohoba* rite as practiced by political and religious elites in the early contact period, even though, at the same time, they may share motifs and, in many cases, arise from the same carving tradition. These distinctions call into question the idea that figure pendants arise from the same cultus as *cohoba*.

The nature of crafting communities

What can be inferred about crafting communities? Several observations bear on the answer. For one, the delicate working of hard stone and marine shell evident in figure pendants required a series of unlike operations, all subtractive by nature, and not very accommodating of mistakes. These operations included reduction to a roughout, grinding, sawing, incising, drilling, and polishing. The whole process was “expensive” in training and in labor, especially given the high selectivity of stone raw material, which suggests that journeys were made to acquire the appropriate rock. Second, the level of competency exhibited in finished pieces is rather uniform. Substandard work seldom attained circulation. Third, experimentation and innovation were not valued. Most pieces of a given style are close copies of standard prototypes. Fourth, a few cases reveal the hand of more than one person at different stages of manufacture. A convincing example in the Puerto Plata style is IC187 (Figure 2.11, upper row, right, discussed in Chapter 2), whose final detailing seems to have been done by someone other than the original carver. That carver produced a competent base form, including standard lower limbs, an ankle band, and lateral ankle bumps as required by the style, but the detailer inappropriately narrowed the lower limbs, and mistakenly transformed the ankle band into feet with incised toes, leaving a blank field below. Fifth, there is evidence that the end-users were not the carvers themselves. For example, there are instances of what I consider “user modifications,” such as the addition of eyes on pieces where eyes were not called for, realized in scratchy incising out of character with the bold, confident incising on the rest of the piece. Thus, new pieces may have been commissioned from carvers by the end-users.

Regional uniformity of stylistic traits and the “expense” of creating competent work suggest that, at any given time, there were relatively few figure pendant carvers, yet the social process of recruiting apprentice carvers had to be sufficiently active to sustain the tradition. Given these observations, I envision crafting communities as consisting of limited networks of established carvers and their apprentices. These networks were dispersed, crosscutting villages, and were not congruent with communities of identity (Eckert 2008). Carvers working in regional styles seem to have been highly conversant with one another’s output, and they shared conservative notions of the appropriateness of form and technique. Apprentices may have worked directly with their tutors in hands-on demonstration, in order to master the full sequence of motor habits necessary to pendant-making.

A cult institution

If not the cohoba rite, what social institution generated this art? In seeking the answer, we should be attuned to a different institutional setting, one less restricted to leadership, and one in harmony, perhaps, with a different aspect of the indigenous Antillean spirit world. This setting may have been one of little political importance, one that did not capture the attention of early Spanish chroniclers.

It would be unsurprising to find that indigenous Antillean religion, in its regional manifestations, was organized by multiple, coexisting cult institutions (for the term, see Wallace 1966:75), organized at different levels, and not necessarily well integrated with other, coexisting beliefs and religious practices. It is common for

religion in complex societies to be organized in this way. The question is, what kind of organization are we looking for?

The evidence seems to me to point to voluntary associations, perhaps analogous to the secret societies of the North American Great Plains, whose purposes centered on such matters as medicine, warfare, and social policing (Wissler 1916; Fortune 1932). These were multiple, coexisting voluntary associations, each oriented to a common goal, and rationalized by secret knowledge, shared rituals, and songs. Each secret society had a supernatural patron. They were socially exclusive and prestigious, membership generally requiring an onerous payment and extensive training. In many cases, individuals could belong to more than one such society.

These things in mind, I will venture, by way of closing, a hypothesis: The social world of the Greater Antilles during the late Ceramic Age was permeated, at the village level, by a variety of overlapping sodalities crosscutting local villages. These took the form of secret societies devoted to medicine and warfare. Such associations were still in existence at the time of European contact, but, being dedicated to secret knowledge and situated at a relatively common social level, they failed to impress themselves on the early European chroniclers. Each such sodality had a supernatural patron, and each was associated with a network of skilled carvers. This hypothesis might illuminate the observation of Oviedo y Valdés (1851-55:1:126), cited in Chapter 1, that each bohito possessed a portable *cemí* idol which “they always carried with them,” because the high-ranking bohitos, as renowned physicians and seers, would surely have associated themselves to one or more of these secret societies.

Like voluntary associations globally, these sodalities had specific histories. They cycled, waxing and waning in concert with their local fortunes. Thus, at any given time, the regional map of these would have been different than for another time. In this view, Antillean figure pendants were commissioned from carvers by new members of secret societies, made in the image of their supernatural patron. New members might occasionally be foreign seekers of knowledge, accounting for geographic outliers in the spatial distribution of figure pendant styles. Such a hypothesis might account for many of the general observations made in this chapter and the previous one (for a comparable approach using archaeological style and iconography to recognize ancient sodalities, see Dye 2018).

This being chiefly a stylistic study, the intent of which is to organize figure pendants into useful categories, I do not pretend to have solved any major riddles. I will be pleased, in these remarks, if the reader will dwell on the possibility that indigenous Greater Antillean religion during post-600 AD period was not monolithic. The task ahead, in that case, is to tease apart the threads of local religious practice throughout the indigenous Greater Antilles, and from that bottom-up vantage point, to examine the special histories of these practices and their roles on the broader stage of Antillean social developments. That is a daunting, humbling prospect, one that recalls Baztán Rodrigo’s (1971-72:206) remark about the study of figure pendants. “*Decir cosas es fácil. Probarlas ya no es tan fácil*” (Saying things is easy. Proving them is not so easy.).

Bibliography

- Alegría, Ricardo
1978 *Apuntes en torno a la mitología de los indios taínos de las Antillas Mayores y sus orígenes suramericanos*. Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe, San Juan.
- Allaire, Louis
1981 The Saurian Pineal Eye in Antillean Art and Mythology. *Journal of Latin American Lore* 7:3-22.
- Anville, Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'
1731 *L'Isle Espagnole sous le nom Indien d'Hayti, ou comme elle etoit possedee par ses habitans naturels lors de la decouverte, avec les premiers Etablissemens des Espagnols*. Par le Sr. D'Anville, Geographe Ordre du Roi, Mai 1731.
- Arrom, José Juan
1989 *Mitología y Artes Prehispánicas de las Antillas*. 2nd edition, corrected and augmented from the first edition of 1975. Siglo Veintiuno, Mexico City.
- Baztán Rodrigo, Francisco Javier
1971-72 Los amuletos precolombinos de Santo Domingo. *Revista Dominicana de Arqueología y Antropología*, Año 2, Vol. 2 (2-3):196-293.
- Benzoni, Girolamo
1857 *History of the World, Shewing his Travels in America, from A.D. 1541 to 1556: With Some Particulars of the Island of Canary*. Trans. W. H. Smith. The Hackluyt Society, London.
- Bercht, Fatima, Estrella Brodsky, John Allen Farmer, and Dicey Taylor, editors
1997 *Táíno: Pre-Columbian Art and Culture from the Caribbean*. Monacelli Press, New York.
- Boas, Franz
1903 The Decorative Art of the North American Indians. *Popular Science Monthly* 63:481-498. Reprinted 1995 in Aldona Jonaitis, editor, *A Wealth of Thought: Franz Boas on Native American Art*, pp. 155-173. University of Washington Press, Seattle.

- Boas, Franz
 1908 Decorative Designs on Alaskan Needlecases: A Study in the History of Conventional Designs, Based on Materials in the U. S. National Museum. *Proceedings of the U. S. National Museum* 34:321-344. Reprinted 1995 in *A Wealth of Thought: Franz Boas on Native American Art*, edited by Aldona Jonaitis, pp. 248-278. University of Washington Press, Seattle.
- Boomert, Arie
 1987 Gifts of the Amazons: "Green Stone" Pendants and Beads as Items of Ceremonial Exchange in Amazonia and the Caribbean. *Antropológica* 67:33-54.
- Boomert, Arie
 2013 Gateway to the Mainland: Trinidad and Tobago. In *The Oxford Handbook of Caribbean Archaeology*, edited by William Keegan, Corinne L. Hofman, and Reniel Rodríguez Ramos, pp. 141-154. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Bourne, Edward Gaylord
 1906 Columbus, Ramon Pane, and the Beginnings of American Anthropology. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 17:3-41.
- Bowin, Carl O.
 1966 Geology of the Central Dominican Republic – A Case History of Part of an Island Arc. In *Caribbean Geological Investigations*, edited by Harry H. Hess, pp. 11-84. Geological Society of America Memoir, Vol. 98. New York.
- Brown, James A.
 2007 Sequencing the Braden Style within Mississippian Period Art and Iconography. In *Ancient Objects and Sacred Realms: Interpretations of Mississippian Iconography*, edited by F. Kent Reilly and James F. Garber, pp. 213-245. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Cabello Caro, Paz
 2008 Colecciones españoles del Caribe, viajes científicos e inicios de la arqueología en las Antillas (siglos XVIII y XIX). In *El Caribe precolumbino: Fray Ramón Pané y el universo taíno*, edited by José R. Oliver, Colin McEwan, and Anna Casas Gilberga, pp. 203-221. Museo Barbier-Mueller. Comgrafic, Barcelona.
- Carr, Christopher
 1995 A Unified Middle-Range Theory of Artifact Design. In *Style, Society, and Person: Archaeological and Ethnological Perspectives*, edited by Christopher Carr and Jill T. Neitzel, pp. 171-258. Plenum, New York.
- Celaya González, Miriam, and Pedro Pablo Godo Torres
 2000 Llorca-lluvia: Expresiones mito-artísticas en la alfarería aborigen. *El Caribe Arqueológico* 4:70-84. Casa del Caribe, Santiago de Cuba.
- Chanlatte Baik, Luis
 2013 Huecoid Culture and the Antillean Agroalfarero (Farmer-Potter) Period. In *The Oxford Handbook of Caribbean Archaeology*, edited by William Keegan, Corinne L. Hofman, and Reniel Rodríguez Ramos, pp. 171-183. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Chanlatte Baik, Luis, and Yvonne Narganes Storde
 2005 *Cultura La Hueca*. Museo de Historia, Antropología, y Arte, University of Puerto Rico, Recinto Río Piedras.

- Charlevoix, Pierre-François-Xavier de
 1730-31 *Histoire de L'isle Espagnole Ou de S. Domingue. Écrite Particulièrement Sur Des Mémoires Manuscrites du P. Jean-Baptiste de Pers, Jésuite, Missionnaire A Saint-Domingue, & Sur Les Pièces Originales, Qui Se Conservant Au Dépôt de La Marine.* 2 vols. Paris.
- Chinique de Armas, Y., W. Buhay, R. Rodríguez Suárez, S. Bestel, S. D. Armstrong, D. G. Smith, and M. Roksandic
 2015 Starch Analysis and Isotopic Evidence of Consumption of Cultigens among Fisher-Gatherers in Cuba: The Archaeological Site of Canímar Abajo, Matanzas. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 58:121-132.
- Curet, L. Antonio
 2003 Issues on the Diversity and Emergence of Middle-Range Societies of the Ancient Caribbean: A Critique. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 11:1-42.
- Curet, L. Antonio
 2014 The Taíno: Phenomena, Concepts, and Terms. *Ethnohistory* 61:467-495.
- Dacal Moure, Ramón, and Manuel Rivero de la Calle
 1996 *Art and Archaeology of Pre-Columbian Cuba.* University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
- Deagan, Kathleen A.
 2004 Reconsidering Taíno Social Dynamics after Spanish Conquest: Gender and Class in Culture Contact Studies. *American Antiquity* 69:597-626.
- de Booy, Theodoor
 1916 Certain Similarities in Amulets from the Northern Antilles. In *Holmes Anniversary Volume, Anthropological Essays*, pp. 24-30. Privately published, Washington, D.C.
- Dockstader, Frederick
 1964 *Indian Art in Middle America: Pre-Columbian and Contemporary Arts and Crafts of Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean.* New York Graphic Society Publishers, Greenwich, Connecticut.
- Domínguez, Lourdes S.
 1984 *Arqueología colonial cubana: Dos estudios.* Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, Havana.
- Domínguez, Lourdes, Jorge Febles, and Alexis Rives
 1994 Las comunidades aborígenes de Cuba. In *Historia de Cuba la colonia, evolución socioeconómica y formación nacional de los orígenes hasta 1867*, edited by María del Carmen Barcia, Gloria Garcia, and Eduardo Torres-Cuevas. Editorial Política, Havana.
- Donnan, Christopher B.
 1976 *Moche Art and Iconography.* UCLA Latin American Center Publications. University of California, Los Angeles.
- Duerden, J. E.
 1897 Aboriginal Indian Remains in Jamaica. *Journal of the Institute of Jamaica* 2(4):1-51.
- Dye, David H.
 2018 Ceramic Wares and Water Spirits: Identifying Religious Sodalities in the Lower Mississippi Valley. In *Ceramics of Ancient America: Multidisciplinary Approaches*, edited by Y. P. Huntington, D. E. Arnold, and J. Minich, pp. 29-61. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

- Eckert, Suzanne
 2008 *Pottery and Practice: The Expressions of Identity at Pottery Mound and Hummingbird Pueblo*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Fernández Ortega, Racso, and José B. González
 2001 *El enigma de los petroglifos aborígenes de Cuba y el Caribe insular*. Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Cultura Cubana Juan Marinello, Havana.
- Fernández Ortega, Racso, and José B. González
 2003 El mito del Sol y la Luna en el arte rupestre aborigen de las cuevas de Cuba. *El Caribe Arqueológico* 7:79-85. Editorial Casa del Caribe, Santiago de Cuba.
- Fernández Ortega, Racso, Dany Morales Valdés, and Victorio Cué
 2013 Algunas consideraciones sobre las representaciones de la columna vertebral en el dibujo rupestre de los grupos agricultores de las Antillas. In *Ancient Hands Around the World: International Federation of Rock Art Organizations, 2013 Proceedings*, edited by Peggy Whitehead and Mavis Greer, pp. 1257-1282. American Indian Rock Art, Vol. 40. American Rock Art Research Association, Glendale, Arizona.
- Fewkes, Jesse Walter
 1902 Das vorkolumbische Portoriko, part 2. *Globus* 82(19):308-311.
- Fewkes, Jesse Walter
 1903a Precolumbian West Indian Amulets. *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 5:679-691.
- Fewkes, Jesse Walter
 1903b Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Trip to the West Indies. *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 45:112-133.
- Fewkes, Jesse Walter
 1907 *The Aborigines of Puerto Rico and Neighboring Islands*. 25th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 5-234. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Fewkes, Jesse Walter
 1922 *A Prehistoric Island Culture Area of America*. Thirty-Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 35-281. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Fortune, Reo
 1932 *Omaha Secret Societies*. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. 14. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Galloway, Patricia K.
 1997 The Incestuous Soto Narratives. In *The Hernando deSoto Expedition: History, Historiography, and Discovery*, edited by Patricia K. Galloway, pp. 11-44. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- García Arévalo, Manuel A.
 1984 El murcielago en la mitología y el arte taíno. *Boletín del Museo del Hombre Dominicano* 19:45-57.
- García Arévalo, Manuel A.
 1988 Precisiones acerca de los signos en el arte taíno. *Boletín del Museo del Hombre Dominicano* 21:3-22.

- García Arévalo, Manuel A.
1997 The Bat and the Owl: Nocturnal Images of Death. In *Taino: Pre-Columbian Art and Culture from the Caribbean*, edited by F. Bercht, E. Brodsky, J. A. Farmer, and D. Taylor, pp. 112-123. Monacelli Press, New York.
- García Arévalo, Manuel A.
2002 El ayuno del behique y el simbolismo ritual del esqueleto. *Boletín del Museo del Hombre Dominicano* 31:83-96.
- García Arévalo, Manuel A.
2003 La frontera tipológica éntre los objetos líticos de la cultura taína. In *Congreso Internacional de Arqueología del Caribe XX*, edited by Clenis Tavárez Maria and Manuel A. García Arévalo, pp. 263-272. Museo del Hombre Dominicano, Santo Domingo.
- García Castañeda, José A.
1941 Asientos Taínos Localizados en el Cacinato de Bani. *Revista de Arqueología*, Año III, No. 5:18-22. Havana.
- Godo Torres, Pedro Pablo
1995 Cemies. Idolos aborígenes de Cuba. In *Taino: Arqueología de Cuba* (CD ROM). Centro de Antropología y CEDISAC, Colima.
2003 Arte aborígen de Cuba: Una mirada desde la arqueología. *Catauro: revista cubana de antropología* 8:125-143.
- Godo Torres, Pedro Pablo, and Miriam Celaya
1990 Expresiones mitológicas en los burenes de Cuba. *Anuario de Arqueología* 1988, pp. 152-184. Editorial Academia, Havana.
- Gratacap, Louis P.
1912 *A Popular Guide to Minerals: With Chapters on the Bement Collection of Minerals in the American Museum of Natural History, and the Development of Mineralogy; For Use of Visitors to Public Cabinets of Minerals and for Elementary Teaching in Mineralogy*. Van Nostrand, New York.
- Griswold, Susan C., trans.
1997 Appendices 1-3. In *Taino: Pre-Columbian Art and Culture from the Caribbean*, edited by Fatima Bercht, Estrella Brodsky, John Allen Farmer, and Dicey Taylor, pp. 170-180. Monacelli Press, New York.
- Guarch Delmonte, José M.
1972 *La cerámica taína de Cuba*. Serie Arqueológica No. 2. Instituto de Arqueología, Academia de Ciencias de Cuba, Havana.
- Guarch Delmonte, José M.
1990 *Estructura para las comunidades aborígenes de Cuba*. Ediciones Holguín, Holguín, Cuba.
- Guarch Delmonte, José M., and Alejandro Querejeta Barceló
1992 *Mitología Aborígen de Cuba: Deidades y Personajes*. Publicigraf, Havana.
- Guarch Delmonte, José M., and Alejandro Querejeta Barceló
1993 *Los Cemíes Olvidados*. Publicigraf, Havana.
- Guarch Rodríguez, Elena, Lourdes Pérez Iglesias, and Mercedes Martínez Fernández
2003 La aldea que vio Colón. Excavaciones en Cayo Bariay, Rafael Freyre, Holguín. *Ciencias Holguín*, Año 9, April-June, pp. 1-11.

- Gutiérrez Calvache, Divaldo, Racso Fernández Ortega, and José B. González
 2008 El petroglifo del Maffo. Un enfoque preliminar a su historia y funcionalidad. *Gabinete de Arqueología, Boletín* 7, Año 7, pp. 72-84. Oficina del Historiador de la Ciudad, Havana, Cuba.
- Hanke, Lewis
 1994 *All Mankind Is One: A Study of the Disputation Between Bartolome De Las Casas and Juan Gines De Sepulveda in 1550 on the Religious and Intellectual Capacity of the American Indians*. Northern Illinois University Press, DeKalb.
- Harrington, M. R.
 1921 *Cuba Before Columbus*. Indian Notes and Monographs, Miscellaneous No. 17. Heye Foundation, New York.
- Harris, Peter O'B.
 1973 Preliminary Report on Banwari Trace, a Preceramic Site in Trinidad. In *Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress for the Study of Pre-Columbian Cultures of the Lesser Antilles*, pp. 115-125. St. Lucia Archaeological and Historical Society, Castries.
- Heckenberger, Michael J.
 2013 The Arawak Diaspora. In *The Oxford Handbook of Caribbean Archaeology*, edited by William Keegan, Corinne L. Hofman, and Reniel Rodríguez Ramos, pp. 111-125. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Helms, Mary
 1979 *Ancient Panama: Chiefs in Search of Power*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Herrera Fritot, René
 1964 *Estudio de las hachas Antillanas: Creación de índices axiales para las petaloideas*. Departamento de Antropología, Comisión Nacional de la Academia de Ciencias, Havana, Cuba.
- Herrera Fritot, René
 1952 Arquetipos zoomorfos en las Antillas Mayores. *Revista de Arqueología y Etnología*, 2ª época, año 7(15-16):215-226. Havana.
- Herrera Fritot, René, and Charles Leroy Youmans
 1946 *La Caleta: Joya arqueológica antillana*. Impreso "El Siglo XX," Havana.
- Hofman, Corinne L., and Menno Hoogland
 2015 Investigaciones Arqueológicas en los Sitios El Flaco (Loma de Gayacanes) y La Luperona (Unijica). Informe Preliminar. *Museo del Hombre Dominicano Boletín* 46 (Año 42, No. 46):61-74.
- Hofman, Corinne L., Jorge Ulloa Hung, Eduardo Herrera Malatesta, Joseph Sony Jean, Till Sonnemann, and Menno Hoogland
 2018 Indigenous Caribbean Perspectives: Archaeologies and Legacies of the First Colonized Region in the New World. *Antiquity* 92(361):200-216.
- Hostos, Adolfo de
 1923 Anthropomorphic Carvings from the Greater Antilles. *American Anthropologist* 25:525-558.
- Hostos, Adolfo de
 1941 *Anthropological Papers. Based Principally on Studies of the Prehistoric Archaeology and Ethnology of the Greater Antilles*. Office of the Historian, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

- Keegan, William F.
2007 *Taino Indian Myth and Practice: The Arrival of the Stranger King*. University Presses of Florida, Gainesville.
- Keegan, William F.
2013 The "Classic" Taíno. In *The Oxford Handbook of Caribbean Archaeology*, edited by William Keegan, Corinne L. Hofman, and Reniel Rodríguez Ramos, pp. 70-83. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Kerchache, Jacques
1994 *L'Art des Sculpteurs Taínos Chef-D'Œuvre des Grandes Antilles Précolombiennes*. Musees de la Ville de Paris, Paris.
- Knight, Vernon James
2010 La Loma del Convento: Its Centrality to Current Issues in Cuban Archaeology. In *Beyond the Blockade: New Currents in Cuban Archaeology*, edited by Susan Kepecs, L. Antonio Curet, and Gabino La Rosa Corzo, pp. 26-46. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Knight, Vernon James
2013 *Iconographic Method in New World Prehistory*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Knight, Vernon James
2017 Database of Portable Representational Indigenous Art, Greater Antilles, with Notes on the Anthropomorphic Figurines. *Proceedings of the 26th Congress of the International Association of Caribbean Archaeology*, edited by Christopher B. Velasquez and Jay B. Havisier, Session 9: Art and Symbolism, pp. 1-16. SIMARC Heritage Series, No. 15, Sint Maarten, Lesser Antilles.
- Knight, Vernon James, George E. Lankford, Erin Phillips, David H. Dye, Vincas P. Steponaitis, and Mitchell Childress
2017 The Holly Bluff Style. *Southeastern Archaeology* 36:195-213.
- Knight, Vernon James, and Vincas P. Steponaitis
2011 A Redefinition of the Hemphill Style in Mississippian Art. In *Visualizing the Sacred: Cosmic Visions, Regionalism, and the Art of the Mississippian World*, edited by George E. Lankford, F. Kent Reilly, and James F. Garber, pp. 201-239. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Kosłowski, Janusz
1974 *Preceramic Cultures in the Caribbean*. Zeszyty Naukowe, Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, vol. 386, Prace Archeologiczne, Zeszyt 20. Kraków.
- Krieger, Herbert W.
1929 *Archaeological and Historical Investigations in Samaná, Dominican Republic*. Smithsonian Institution, United States National Museum, Bulletin 147. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Krieger, Herbert W.
1930 *The Aborigines of the Ancient Island of Hispaniola*. Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1929, pp. 473-506. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Krieger, Herbert W.
1931 *Aboriginal Indian Pottery of the Dominican Republic*. United States National Museum, Bulletin 156. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

- Kubler, George
1967 *The Iconography of the Art of Teotihuacán*. Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology, No. 4. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.
- Kubler, George
1969 *Studies in Classic Maya Iconography*. Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 18. Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Haven.
- Las Casas, Bartolomé de
1875 *Historia de Las Indias*, edited by Feliciano Ramírez de Arellano and José Sancho Rayon. 5 Vols. Miguel Ginesta, Madrid.
- López-Baralt, Mercedes
1977 *El mito taíno: raíz y proyecciones en la Amazonia continental*. Ediciones Huracán, Puerto Rico.
- Lovén, Sven
1935 *Origins of the Tainan Culture, West Indies*. Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, Gothenburg, Sweden.
- Luna Calderón, Fernando
1976a Informe preliminar del cementerio indígena de “El Atajadizo,” República Dominicana. *Boletín del Museo del Hombre Dominicano* 7:67-86.
- Luna Calderón, Fernando
1976b Aspectos arqueológicos y de campo del cementerio indígena El Atajadizo, Yuma, República Dominicana. In *Arqueología de Yuma (República Dominicana)*, by Marcio Veloz Maggiolo, Iriada Vargas, Mario Sanoja, and Fernando Luna Calderón, pp. 303-333. Editora Taller, Santo Domingo.
- Luna Calderón, Fernando
1995 Características del cementerio indígena de Punta Cana, República Dominicana. *Primer seminario de arqueología del Caribe*, edited by Marcio Veloz Maggiolo and Angel Caba Fuentes, pp. 15-28. Museo Arqueológico Regional Altos de Chavón, Dominican Republic.
- Maciques Sánchez, Esteban
2018 *Idolillos colgantes de piedra de la cultura taína, Cuba*, edited by José Ramón Alonso Lorea. Estudiosculturales 2003.es, Miami, Florida.
- Mason, O. T.,
1899 The Latimer Collection of Antiquities from Porto Rico in the National [1877] Museum at Washington, D.C. Reprinted from the *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1876*, pp. 371-393. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- McGinnis, Shirley
1997a Ideographic Expression in the Precolumbian Caribbean. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Texas at Austin.
- McGinnis, Shirley
1997b Zemi Three-Pointer Stones. In *Taíno: Pre-Columbian Art and Culture from the Caribbean*, edited by Fatima Bercht, Estrella Brodsky, John Allen Farmer, and Dicey Taylor, pp. 92-105. Monacelli Press, New York.
- Mol, Angus A. A.
2007 *Costly Giving, Giving Guatizas: Towards an Organic Model of the Exchange of Social Wealth in the Ceramic Age Caribbean*. Sidestone Press, Leiden.

- Mol, Angus A. A.
2011 The Gift of the “Face of the Living”: Shell Faces as Social Valuables in the Caribbean Late Ceramic Age. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 97-2:7-43.
- Mol, Angus A. A.
2014 *The Connected Caribbean: A Socio-Material Network Approach to Patterns of Homogeneity and Diversity in the Pre-Columbian Period*. Sidestone Press, Leiden.
- Montás, Onorio, Frank Moya Pons, and Pedro José Borrell
1985 *Arte Taíno*. Banco Central de la República Dominicana, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.
- Morbán Laucer, Fernando
1979 *Ritos funerarios. Acción del fuego y medio ambiente en las osamentas precolumbinas*. Academia de Ciencias de la República Dominicana. Editora Taller, Santo Domingo.
- Muller, Jon
1966 Archaeological Analysis of Art Styles. *Tennessee Archaeologist* 22:25-37.
- Narganes Storde, Yvonne
2016 Amuletos inusitados del Saladoide de Puerto Rico. *Boletín del Museo del Hombre Dominicano* 47:216-225. Santo Domingo.
- Oliver, José R.
2005 The Proto-Taíno Monumental Cemís of Caguana: A Politico-Religious “Manifesto.” In *Ancient Borinquen: Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Native Puerto Rico*, edited by P. Siegel, pp. 230-284. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Oliver, José R.
2008a Tiempos difíciles: Fray Ramón Pané en la Española, 1494-1498. In *El Caribe precolumbino: Fray Ramón Pané y el universo taíno*, edited by José R. Oliver, Colin McEwan, and Anna Casas Gilberga, pp. 73-95. Museo Barbier-Mueller d’Art Precolumbí. Comgrafic, Barcelona.
- Oliver, José R.
2008b El universo material y espiritual de los taínos. In *El Caribe precolumbino: Fray Ramón Pané y el universo taíno*, edited by José R. Oliver, Colin McEwan, and Anna Casas Gilberga, pp. 137-201. Museo Barbier-Mueller d’Art Precolumbí. Comgrafic, Barcelona.
- Oliver, José R., Colin McEwan, and Anna Casas Gilberga (editors)
2008 *El Caribe precolumbino: Fray Ramón Pané y el universo taíno*. Museo Barbier-Mueller d’Art Precolumbí. Comgrafic, Barcelona.
- Oliver, José R.
2009 *Caciques and Cemí Idols: The Web Spun by Taíno Rulers Between Hispaniola and Puerto Rico*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Olsen, Fred
1974 *On the Trail of the Arawaks*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Ortega, Elpidio José
2001 *Los objetos de conchas de la prehistoria de Santo Domingo*. Academia de Ciencias de la República Dominicana, Fundación Ortega Alvarez, Inc., Vol. 8. Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

- Ortiz, Fernando
1935 *Historia de la arqueología indocubana*. Cultural, Havana, Cuba.
- Ostapkowicz, Joanna M.
1997 To be Seated with “Great Courtesy and Veneration”: Contextual Aspects of the Taíno Duho. In *Taíno: Pre-Columbian Art and Culture from the Caribbean*, edited by Fatima Bercht, Estrellita Brodsky, John Alan Farmer, and Dicey Taylor, pp. 56-67. Monacelli Press, New York.
- Ostapkowicz, Joanna M.
2015 “Either a Piece of Domestic Furniture of the Indians or One of Their Gods”: The Study of Lucayan Duhos. *Journal of Caribbean Archaeology* 15:62-101.
- Ostapkowicz, Joanna and Lee A. Newsom
2012 ‘Gods ... Adorned with the Embroiderer’s Needle’: A Cotton Reliquary from Hispaniola. *Latin American Antiquity* 23:300-326.
- Ostapkowicz, Joanna, Christopher Bronk Ramsey, Fiona Brock, Caroline Cartwright, Rebecca Stacey, and Mike Richards
2013 Birdmen, *Cemis* and *Duhos*: Material Studies and AMS ¹⁴C Dating of Pre-Hispanic Caribbean Wood Sculptures in the British Museum. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40:4675-4687.
- Ostapkowicz, Joanna, Christopher Bronk Ramsey, Fiona Brock, Tom Higham, Alex C. Wiedenhoeft, Erika Ribechini, Jeanette J. Lucejko, and Samuel Wilson
2012 Chronologies in Wood and Resin: AMS ¹⁴C Dating of Pre-Hispanic Caribbean Wood Sculpture. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39:2238-2251.
- Ostapkowicz, Joanna, Alex Wiedenhoeft, Christopher Bronk Ramsey, Erika Ribechini, Samuel Wilson, Fiona Brock, and Tom Higham
2011 ‘Treasures . . . of Black Wood, Brilliantly Polished’: Five Examples of Taíno Sculpture from the Tenth-Sixteenth Century Caribbean. *Antiquity* 85:942-959.
- Oviedo y Valdés, Fernando Gonzalo de
1851-55 *Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra-firme del mar oceáno*, edited by José Amador de los Ríos. 4 Vols. Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.
- Palmatary, Helen Constance
1960 *The Archaeology of the Lower Tapajós Valley, Brazil*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series 50(3):1-243.
- Pané, Fray Ramon
1999 *An Account of the Antiquities of the Indians*. Translated by Susan C. Griswold. New edition, with an introductory study, notes, and appendices by José Juan Arrom. Duke University Press, Durham.
- Panofsky, Erwin
1939 *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Panofsky, Erwin
1960 *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*. Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm.
- Pasztory, Esther
2005 *Thinking with Things: Toward a New Vision of Art*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

- Persons, A. Brooke
 2013 *Pottery, People, and Place: Examining the Emergence of Political Authority in Late Ceramic Age Cuba*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.
- Phillips, Philip, and James A. Brown
 1975-82 *Pre-Columbian Shell Engravings from the Craig Mound at Spiro, Oklahoma*. Hardbound edition, six volumes. Peabody Museum Press, Cambridge.
- Pino, Milton
 1995 *Actualización de fechados radiocarbónicos de sitios arqueológicos de Cuba hasta diciembre de 1993*. Editorial Academia, Havana, Cuba.
- Rainey, Froelich
 1940 *Porto Rican Archaeology*. Scientific Survey of Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands, Vol. 18, Part 1. New York Academy of Sciences, New York.
- Rivero de la Calle, Manuel
 1966 *Las culturas aborígenes de Cuba*. Editora Universitaria, Havana.
- Robiou Lamarche, Sebastian
 2003 *Táinos y caribes: las culturas aborígenes antillanas*. Editorial Punto y Coma, San Juan, Puerto Rico.
- Robiou Lamarche, Sebastian
 1994 Iconografía de murciélago de la prehistoria antillana. *Boletín del Museo del Hombre Dominicano* 26:93-111.
- Robiou Lamarche, Sebastian
 2004 La Gran Serpiente en la mitología taína. *Gabinete de Arqueología, Boletín* No. 3, año 3:51-58. Oficina del Historiador de la Ciudad de La Habana, Havana.
- Rodríguez, Miguel
 1992 El jaguar domesticado: El simbolismo del perro en las culturas precolumbinas del Puerto Rico. Paper presented at the 10th Simposio Internacional, Asociación de Literaturas Latinoamericanas (LAILA/AILA). Old San Juan, Puerto Rico.
- Rodríguez Arce, César A.
 2000 Apuntes sobre la figura del murciélago en la iconografía prehispanica de Cuba. *El Caribe Arqueológico* 4:94-99. Casa del Caribe, Santiago de Cuba.
- Rodríguez Cullel, Caridad
 1986 Cemíes de Cuba. Paper presented at the Primer simposio mundial de arte rupestre, Palacio de las Convenciones, Havana, Cuba.
- Rodríguez Ramos, Reniel, Elvis Babilonia, L. Antonio Curet, and Jorge Ulloa Hung
 2008 The Pre-Arawak Pottery Horizon in the Antilles: A New Approximation. *Latin American Antiquity* 19:47-63.
- Roe, Peter G.
 1991 Cross-Media Isomorphisms in Taíno Ceramics and Petroglyphs from Puerto Rico. *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Congress of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology*, edited by A. Cummins and P. King, pp. 627-671. Barbados, West Indies.
- Roe, Peter G.
 1993 Eternal Companions: Amerindian Dogs from Tierra Firme to the Antilles. *Proceedings of the Fifteenth International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology*, edited by R. E. Alegría and M. Rodríguez, pp. 155-172. San Juan, Puerto Rico.

- Roe, Peter G.
 1997 Just Wasting Away: Taíno Shamanism and Concepts of Fertility. In *Taíno: Pre-Columbian Art and Culture from the Caribbean*, edited by Fatima Bercht, Estrellita Brodsky, John Alan Farmer, and Dicey Taylor, pp. 124-157. Monacelli Press, New York.
- Rouse, Irving
 1941 *Culture of the Ft. Liberté Region, Haiti*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 24. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.
- Rouse, Irving
 1942 *Archaeology of the Maniabón Hills, Cuba*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 26. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.
- Rouse, Irving
 1948 The Arawak. In *Handbook of South American Indians, Vol. 4: The Circum-Caribbean Tribes*, edited by Julian H. Steward, pp. 507-546. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 143. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Rouse, Irving
 1952a *Porto Rican Prehistory: Introduction; Excavations in the West and North*. Scientific Survey of Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands, Vol. 18, Part 3. New York Academy of Sciences, New York.
- Rouse, Irving
 1952b *Porto Rican Prehistory: Excavations in the Interior, South, and East; Chronological Implications*. Scientific Survey of Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands, Vol. 18, Part 4. New York Academy of Sciences, New York.
- Rouse, Irving
 1992 *The Tainos: Rise and Decline of the People who Greeted Columbus*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Roth, Walter Edmund
 1915 *An Inquiry into the Animism and Folk-Lore of the Guiana Indians*. Extract from the Thirtieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Scott, John F.
 1985 *The Art of the Taino from The Dominican Republic*. University Gallery, University of Florida, Gainesville.
- Serrano y Sanz, Manuel, editor
 1909 *Apologética historia de las Indias*, by Bartolomé de la Casas. *Historiadores de Indias*, Vol. 1. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles. Bailly, Bailliére and Sons, Madrid.
- Stark, Miriam, Mark D. Elson, and Jeffrey L. Clark
 1998 Social Boundaries and Technical Choices in Tonto Basin Prehistory. In *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, edited by Miriam T. Stark, pp. 208-231. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Stevens-Arroyo, Antonio M.
 1988 *Cave of the Jagua: The Mythological World of the Tainos*. University of New Mexico Press.
- Stevens-Arroyo, Antonio M.
 2006 *Cave of the Jagua: The Mythological World of the Tainos*. 2nd edition. University of Scranton Press, Scranton, New Jersey.

- Steward, Julian H.
1942 The Direct Historical Approach to Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 7: 337-343.
- Stone, Rebecca R.
2011 *The Jaguar Within: Shamanic Trance in Ancient Central and South American Art*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Sturtevant, William C.
1961 Taino Agriculture. In *The Evolution of Horticultural Systems in Native South America, Causes and Consequences: A Symposium*, edited by Johannes Wilbert, pp. 69-82. Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle, Caracas, Venezuela.
- Tabío, Ernesto E. and Estrella Rey
1966 *Prehistoria de Cuba*. Academia de Ciencias de Cuba, Departamento de Antropología, Havana, Cuba.
- Tavarez María, Glenis
2004 Proyecto de arqueología de rescate, Punta Macao, Provincia de Altagracia. Unpublished manuscript, Museo del Hombre Dominicano, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.
- Taylor, Dicey, Marco Biscione, and Peter G. Roe
1997 Epilogue: The Beaded Zemi in the Pigorini Museum. In *Táíno: Pre-Columbian Art and Culture from the Caribbean*, edited by Fatima Bercht, Estrellita Brodsky, John Alan Farmer, and Dicey Taylor, pp. 158-169. Monacelli Press, New York.
- Ulloa Hung, Jorge
2014 *Arqueología en la línea noroeste de la Española: paisajes, cerámicas, e interacciones*. Editora Buho, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.
- Ulloa Hung, Jorge, and Roberto Valcárcel Rojas
2002 *Cerámica temprana en el centro del oriente de Cuba*. Impresos Viewgraph, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.
- Ulloa Hung, Jorge, and Roberto Valcárcel Rojas
2013 Archaeological Practice, Archaic Presence, and Interaction in Indigenous Societies in Cuba. In *The Oxford Handbook of Caribbean Archaeology*, edited by William Keegan, Corinne L. Hofman, and Reniel Rodríguez Ramos, pp. 232-249. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Valcárcel Rojas, Roberto
1999 Banes Precolombino. Jerarquía y Sociedad. *El Caribe Arqueológico* 3:84-89.
- Valcárcel Rojas, Roberto
2000 Seres de barro. Un espacio simbólico femenino. *El Caribe Arqueológico* 4:20-34. Casa del Caribe, Santiago de Cuba.
- Valcárcel Rojas, Roberto
2002 *Banes Precolombino: La Ocupación Agrícola*. Ediciones Holguín, Holguín.
- Valcárcel Rojas, Roberto
2016 *Archaeology of Early Colonial Interaction at El Chorro de Maíta, Cuba*. University Press of Florida.
- Vega, Bernardo
1987 *Santos, shamanes, y zemíes*. Fundación Cultural Dominicana. Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

- Vega, Bernardo
 1990 *Los cacicazgos de la Hispaniola*. 3rd edition. Fundación Cultural Dominicana, Santo Domingo.
- Veloz Maggiolo, Marcio
 1970 Los trigonolotos antillanos: Aportes para un intento de reclasificación e interpretación. Reprint from the *Revista Española de Antropología Americana*. Madrid.
- Veloz Maggiolo, Marcio
 1972 *Arqueología Prehistorica de Santo Domingo*. McGraw-Hill Far Eastern Publishers, Singapore.
- Veloz Maggiolo, Marcio
 1976 *Medioambiente y Adaptación Humana en la Prehistoria de Santo Domingo*. Vol. 1. Publicaciones de la Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo, Colección Historia y Sociedad, No. 24. Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.
- Veloz Maggiolo, Marcio
 1977 *Medioambiente y Adaptación Humana en la Prehistoria de Santo Domingo. La Formación Agrícola*. Vol. 2. Editora Alfa y Omega, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.
- Veloz Maggiolo, Marcio and Elpidio Ortega
 1972 Excavaciones en Macao, República Dominicana. *Boletín del Museo del Hombre Dominicano* 2:157-175.
- Veloz Maggiolo, Marcio, Elpidio Ortega, Plínio Pina Peña, Renato Rímoli, and Fernando Calderón
 1972 El cementerio del La "Union," Provincia de Puerto Plata. *Boletín del Museo del Hombre Dominicano* 2:130-156.
- Veloz Maggiolo, Marcio, Elpidio Ortega, Renato Rímoli, and Fernando Calderón
 1973 Estudio comparativo y preliminar de los cementerios neo-Indios: La Cucama y La Union, República Dominicana. *Boletín del Museo del Hombre Dominicano* 3:11-47.
- Waldron, Lawrence
 2016 *Handbook of Ceramic Animal Symbols of the Ancient Lesser Antilles*. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.
- Wallace, Anthony F.C.
 1966 *Religion: An Anthropological View*. Random House, New York.
- Walker, Jeffrey B.
 1993 *Stone Collars, Elbow Stones, and Three-Pointers, and the Nature of Taíno Ritual and Myth*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Washington State University, Pullman.
- Walker, Jeffrey B.
 1997 Taíno Stone Collars, Elbow Stones, and Three-Pointers. In *Taíno: Pre-Columbian Art and Culture from the Caribbean*, edited by Fatima Bercht, Estrellita Brodsky, John Alan Farmer, and Dicey Taylor, pp. 80-91. Monacelli Press, New York.
- Wilson, Samuel
 1990 *Hispaniola: Caribbean Chiefdoms in the Age of Columbus*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Wilson, Samuel

1993 The Cultural Mosaic of the Indigenous Caribbean. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 81:37-66.

Wilson, Samuel

2001 Cultural Pluralism and the Emergence of Complex Society in the Greater Antilles. *Proceedings of the Eighteenth International Congress for the Study of Pre-Columbian Cultures of the Lesser Antilles*, Vol. 2., edited by l'Association Internationale d'Archéologie de la Caraïbe, Région Guadeloupe, Mission Archéologique, pp. 7-12. St. George's University, St. Georges, Grenada.

Wilson, Samuel

2007 *The Archaeology of the Caribbean*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Appendix 1

Figure Pendants from the Database

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
AM005	AC	SP 2063	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR, La Romana, Caleta	
AM007	ICAN	6772	unassigned	anthropomorph	Cuba, Guantánamo, Pueblo Viejo	unfinished?
AM009	GA	GA-1-254	unassigned	anthropomorph?	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, Jagüeyes	related to Madre Vieja
AM010	GA	GA-1-253	unassigned	anthropomorph	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, Canada Honda 3	
AM011	MPH	BC-00083	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	exotic?
AM012	MHD		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	exotic?
IC001	GA	GA-1-265	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, La Mambisa	
IC002	GA	GA-1-226	Madre Vieja, classic	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, Varela III	
IC003	NMAI	59139	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	Bahamas, Bimini	
IC004	GA	GA-1-261	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, Cuadro de Los Indios	
IC005	GA	GA-1-258	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, El Caliche	
IC006	GA	GA-1-223	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Holguín, Banes	
IC007	GA	GA-1-224	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba	
IC008	MON	801	Puerto Plata, Twinned	anthropomorph	Cuba, Guantánamo, Maisi	
IC009	MIB	3-228	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Holguín, Banes	
IC010	MIB	3-1233	unassigned	anthropomorph	Cuba, Holguín, Banes	
IC011	MIB	3-168	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, La Mambisa	
IC012	ICAN	2427	unassigned	anthropomorph	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, Yaguajay	unfinished, related to Yaguajay? Shell.

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
IC013	MON	411	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Granma, Manzanillo	
IC014	ICAN	2489	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, Yaguajay	Yaguajay type specimen
IC015	MIB	3-1235	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Holguín, Banes	miniature
IC016	MIB	3-169	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, Macabi	
IC017	MIB	3-170	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, Loma de Bani	
IC018	MIB	3-31	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Holguín, Banes	
IC019	MIB	3-1113	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Holguín, Banes	
IC020	MIB	3-172	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, El Mango	
IC021	MON	3673	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Oriente	
IC022	MON	408	Style Group 1	frog-form hybrid	Cuba, Oriente	related to Imbert
IC023	MHD		Puerto Plata, Arms Aloft	anthropomorph	DR	
IC024	ICAN	2831	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Guantánamo, Caujeri	
IC025	AC	SP 2044	unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR, La Romana, Higüeral	female genitalia
IC026	AC		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
IC027	AC	SP 2045	Comendador, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
IC028	AC	SP 2042	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR, La Romana, Higüey, Canete	
IC029	AC	SP 2047	unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR, La Altagracia, Higüey, Macao	related to Imbert
IC030	AC		Style Group 1	frog-form hybrid	DR, La Altagracia, Higüey, Macao	related to Imbert, miniature
IC031	AC	SP 2061	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR, La Altagracia, Higüey, Macao	
IC032	AC	SP 2056	unassigned	anthropomorph?	DR, La Altagracia, Higüey, Macao	
IC033	AC	SP 2054	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR, La Altagracia, Higüey, Macao	miniature
IC034	MIB	43167	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, El Chorro de Maíta	unfinished
IC035	AC	SP 2046	La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	DR, Santo Domingo, La Caleta	miniature
IC036	AC	SP 2053	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC037	ICAN	1409	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Granma, Manzanillo	
IC038	ICAN	7652	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Holguín, Banes?	

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
IC039	ICAN	2833	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba	
IC040	GA	GA-1-225	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, El Mango	
IC041	GA	GA-1-264	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Holguín, Banes	
IC042	GA	GA-1-256	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, Aguas Gordas	
IC043	MHD		Imbert	frog-form hybrid	DR	male genitalia, another subject?
IC044	MHD		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	related to Comendador
IC045	MHD		Puerto Plata, Arms Aloft	anthropomorph	DR	
IC046	MHD		Comendador	anthropomorph, hybrid	DR	another subject? Snouted, noseless
IC047	MHD		unassigned	anthropomorph, emaciated	DR	
IC048	MHD		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
IC049	MHD	BC-00016	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC050	MHD	BC-00053	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
IC051	MHD	BC-00016	Style Group 4	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC052	MHD	BC-00016	Style Group 4	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC053	MHD		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
IC054	MHD	BC-0001	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
IC055	MHD		Puerto Plata, Arms Aloft	anthropomorph	DR	
IC056	MHD		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	female genitalia?
IC057	MHD		Puerto Plata, Arms Aloft	anthropomorph	DR	
IC058	MHD		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
IC059	MHD	2841	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
IC060	MHD		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
IC061	MHD		Madre Vieja, classic	anthropomorph, emaciated	DR	
IC062	MHD		Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
IC063	MHD		Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
IC064	MHD		Imbert	frog-form hybrid	DR	female genitalia
IC065	MHD		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
IC066	MHD		Style Group 3	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
IC067	MHD		Style Group 1	frog-form hybrid	DR	related to Imbert, miniature
IC068	MHD		La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC069	MHD		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
IC070	MHD		Puerto Plata, Frog-form	frog-form hybrid	DR	
IC071	MHD		Puerto Plata, Frog-form	frog-form hybrid	DR	
IC072	MHD		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	shell
IC073	MHD		Comendador, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR	
IC074	MHD		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
IC075	MHD		Style Group 1	anthropomorphic hybrid	DR	related to Imbert
IC076	MHD		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	female genitalia
IC077	MHD		Style Group 1	frog-form hybrid	DR	related to Imbert
IC078	MHD		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
IC079	MHD		Style Group 1	frog-form hybrid	DR	related to Imbert
IC080	MHD		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
IC081	MHD		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
IC082	MHD		Puerto Plata, Twinned	anthropomorph	DR	
IC083	MHD		unassigned	anthropomorph, emaciated	DR	
IC084	MHD		Altagracia	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC085	MHD	BC-000133	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR, San Juan, El Cercado	related to Luquillo?
IC086	MHD	BC-000104	unassigned	anthropomorph?	DR	
IC087	MHD	BC-00094	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
IC088	MHD	Y-5-5	Madre Vieja, classic	anthropomorph, emaciated	DR	
IC089	MHD		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	related to Yaguajay
IC090	MHD		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	related to Yaguajay
IC091	MHD	A000 38 2 34	Madre Vieja, classic	anthropomorph, emaciated	DR, Puerto Plata, Sosua, Madre Vieja	Madre Vieja type specimen
IC092	MHD	MHD-2838	unassigned	anthropomorph, emaciated	DR	
IC093	MHD	EBM 2833	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR, Santiago	
IC094	MHD	MHD-487	Comendador, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR, Puerto Plata	
IC095	AC		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR, La Alta Gracia, Higüey	no perforation

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
IC096	MIB	3-9	unassigned	anthropomorph	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, Porvenir	unfinished
IC097	MIB	3-40	unassigned	anthropomorph	Cuba, Holguín, Banes	shell
IC098	MIB	11	unassigned	anthropomorph	Cuba, Holguín, Banes	
IC099	UO	5-199-9	unassigned	anthropomorph	Cuba	unfinished, related to Madre Vieja
IC100	MIB	3-1193	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Holguín, Banes	
IC101	MIB	3-41	Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	Cuba, Holguín, Banes	
IC102	DCOA		Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, Cayo Bariay	
IC103	MPH	6-334	unassigned	anthropomorph	Cuba, Guantánamo, Baracoa	
IC104	MPH	6-13	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Guantánamo, Gran Tierra	Cibao type specimen
IC105	MPH	6-125	unassigned	anthropomorph	Cuba, Guantánamo, Maisí, Boca de Jauco	bone
IC106	MPH	6-126	Madre Vieja, marginalia	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Holguín, Holguín, Loma de Ochile	
IC107	MPH	6-132	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Holguín	related to Cibao
IC108	MHD	MHD-543	unassigned	anthropomorph, bicephalic	Cuba, Holguín	shell
IC109	MHD	EBM 2835	unassigned	anthropomorphic hybrid	DR, Independencia, La Descubierta	related to Imbert
IC110	MHD		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC111	MHD	MHD-543	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC112	MHD		Style Group 1	anthropomorphic hybrid	DR	related to Imbert
IC113	UO	5-138	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba	
IC114	UO	5-144	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba	
IC115	UO	5-145	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba	
IC116	UO	5-146-2	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba	miniature
IC117	UO	5-146-1	Altagracia	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba	miniature
IC118	UO	5-150	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	Cuba	
IC119	UO		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba	miniature
IC120	UO	5-147	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba	unfinished
IC121	UO	5-149	Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	PR	

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
IC122	ICAN	2540	unassigned	anthropomorph	Cuba, Holguín, Holguín, Yayal	
IC123	ICAN	2816	unassigned	anthropomorph, bicephalic	Cuba, Guantánamo, Baracoa, Monte Cristo	shell
IC124	ICAN	2823	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	Cuba, Guantánamo, Maisi, La Patana	
IC125	ICAN	6857	Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	Cuba	
IC126	ICAN	7636	unassigned	anthropomorph?	Cuba, Holguín, Banes?	related to bicephalics
IC127	ICAN	7653	La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Holguín, Banes?	miniature, La Caleta type specimen
IC128	ICAN	8059	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Pinar del Rio	
IC129	ICAN	1410	unassigned	anthropomorph	Cuba, Granma, Manzanillo	fragmentary
IC130	ICAN	2741	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Holguín, Banes	
IC131	ICAN	6682	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Holguín, Banes	miniature
IC132	ICAN	7480	Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	Cuba	
IC133	ICAN	7637	La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, Yaguajay	miniature
IC134	ICAN	7638	Style Group 4	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, Yaguajay	miniature
IC135	CL	AR-BV-460	Puerto Plata	anthropomorph, hybrid	DR	another subject?, armless
IC136	CL	AR-BV-461	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	male genitalia
IC137	CL	AR-BV-480	Altagracia	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC138	CL	AR-BV-491	Altagracia	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC139	CL	AR-BV-492	Altagracia	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC140	CL	AR-BV-493	Altagracia	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature, Altagracia type specimen
IC141	CL	AR-BV-494	Altagracia	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC142	CL	AR-BV-495	Altagracia	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC143	CL	AR-TG-417	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
IC144	CL	AR-TG-418	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
IC145	CL	AR-TG-419	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	upturned snout
IC146	CL	AR-TG-420	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
IC147	CL	AR-TG-421	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	male genitalia
IC148	CL	AR-TG-422	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
IC149	CL	AR-TG-423	Puerto Plata, Twinned	anthropomorph	DR	Puerto Plata, Twinned type specimen
IC150	CL	AR-TG-424	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
IC151	CL	AR-TG-425	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	early?
IC152	CL	AR-TG-432	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC153	CL	AR-TG-433	unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
IC154	CL	AR-TG-436	unassigned	anthropomorphic hybrid	DR	related to Imbert
IC155	CL	AR-TG-437a	Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR	
IC156	CL	AR-TG-437b	Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR	
IC157	CL	AR-TG-576	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	related to Comendador
IC158	CL	AR-TG-438	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
IC159	CL	AR-TG-442	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
IC160	CL	AR-TG-443g	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC161	CL	AR-TG-453	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
IC162	CL	AR-TG-454	unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	3-pointer related, male? genitalia
IC163	CL	AR-TG-458	unassigned	anthropomorphic hybrid	DR	related to Imbert
IC164	CL	AR-TG-461	unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
IC165	CL	AR-TG-461	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	unfinished
IC166	CL	AR-TG-462	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	effaced
IC167	CL	AR-TG-464	unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	related to Imbert
IC168	CL	AR-TG-466	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
IC169	CL	AR-TG-476	Comendador, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR	
IC170	CL	AR-TG-481	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
IC171	CL	AR-TG-483	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
IC172	CL	AR-TG-484	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
IC173	CL	AR-TG-485	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
IC174	CL	AR-TG-486	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
IC175	CL	AR-TG-488	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
IC176	CL	AR-TG-489	Puerto Plata, Arms Aloft	anthropomorph	DR	user-modified mouth
IC177	CL	AR-TG-490	unassigned	anthropomorphic hybrid	DR	related to Imbert
IC178	CL	AR-TG-503	La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC179	CL	AR-TG-515	La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC180	CL	AR-TG-416	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
IC181	CL	AR-BV-384	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
IC182	CL	AR-BV-385	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
IC183	CL	AR-BV-386	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
IC184	CL	AR-BV-456	Puerto Plata, Frog-form	frog-form hybrid	DR	Puerto Plata, Frog-form type specimen
IC185	CL	AR-BV-463	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
IC186	CL	AR-BV-464	Puerto Plata	anthropomorph, hybrid	DR	another subject, sightless
IC187	CL	AR-BV-465	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR, Santiago, Jánico	different carver and finisher
IC188	CL	AR-BV-466	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	user modified mouth
IC189	CL	AR-BV-467	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	unfinished
IC190	CL	AR-BV-468	Comendador, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR	Comendador, Format 2 type specimen
IC191	CL	AR-BV-500	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	exotic?
IC192	CL	AR-BV-501a	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
IC193	CL	AR-BV-501b	Altagracia	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC194	CL	AR-BV-501c	La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC195	CL	AR-BV-501d	La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC196	CL	AR-BV-501e	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC197	CL	AR-BV-501g	La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC198	CL	AR-BV-501h	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC199	CL	AR-BV-501i	La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC200	CL	AR-BV-501j	La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC201	CL	AR-BV-501k	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
IC202	CL	AR-BV-501l	La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC203	CL	AR-BV-504a	Imbert	frog-form hybrid	DR	
IC204	CL	AR-BV-504b	Style Group 4	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC205	CL	AR-BV-568f	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
IC206	CL	AR-BV-568g	unassigned	anthropomorph, emaciated	DR	
IC207	CL	AR-BV-568h	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
IC208	CL	AR-BV-568i	Altagracia	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC209	CL	AR-TG-444b	unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
IC210	CL	AR-TG-444c	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	bead-like
IC211	CL	AR-TG-491	Puerto Plata, Frog-form	frog-form hybrid	DR	unusual eye form
IC212	CL	AR-TG-493	Style Group 1	frog-form hybrid	DR	related to Imbert
IC213	CL	AR-TG-494	unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	related to Puerto Plata
IC214	CL	AR-TG-495	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	bead-like
IC215	CL	AR-TG-496	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
IC216	CL	AR-TG-497	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
IC217	CL	AR-TG-498	Puerto Plata, Frog-form	frog-form hybrid	DR	
IC218	CL	AR-TG-499	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
IC219	CL	AR-TG-500	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
IC220	CL	AR-TG-501	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
IC221	CL	AR-TG-502	Style Group 4	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC223	CL	AR-TG-511	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
IC225	CL	AR-TG-578a	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
IC226	CL	AR-TG-578b	La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC227	CL	AR-TG-580c	unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
IC228	GA	GA-1-479	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	Cuba	
IC229	GA	GA-1-229	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, El Mango	
IC230	MON	1-142	unassigned	anthropomorph	Cuba	unfinished, snouted being possessing arms
IC231	MON	1-270	unassigned	anthropomorph	Cuba, Granma, Manzanillo, Los Pinos	fragmentary
IC232	MON		unassigned	anthropomorph	Cuba	unfinished

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
IC233	SMP	1-28	unassigned	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Guantánamo, San Antonio del Sur, Pozo Azul	related to Madre Vieja
IC234	SMP	1-29	unassigned	anthropomorph	Cuba, Guantánamo, San Antonio del Sur, Pozo Azul	
IC235	USNM	557230	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR, Puerto Plata, Sosua, Madre Vieja	
IC236	USNM	557195	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
IC237	USNM	557236	Puerto Plata, Arms Aloft	anthropomorph	DR, Puerto Plata, Puerto Plata, Las Ciruelas	Puerto Plata, Arms Aloft type specimen
IC238	USNM	557235	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR, Puerto Plata, Puerto Plata, Las Ciruelas	
IC239	USNM	557142	Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR	
IC240	USNM	341002	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR, Espaillat, Gaspar Hernandez, Rio San Juan	shell
IC241	USNM	557153	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR, Puerto Plata, Villa Isabella, Estero Hondo	
IC242	USNM	557231	Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR, Puerto Plata, Sosua, Madre Vieja	
IC243	USNM	557237	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR, Puerto Plata, Puerto Plata, Las Ciruelas	
IC244	USNM	557245	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR, Puerto Plata, Sosua, Madre Vieja	shell, possesses breasts
IC245	USNM	557132	Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR	
IC246	USNM	557216	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR, Samaná, Celestino village	Puerto Plata, Format 1 type specimen
IC247	USNM	557193	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR, Puerto Plata, La Fundacion	
IC248	USNM	557091	Style Group 3	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
IC249	USNM	557143	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
IC250	USNM	557015	Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR	Puerto Plata, Format 2 type specimen
IC251	USNM	221077-0	Luquillo	frog-form hybrid	PR, Farjado, Luquillo	Luquillo, Format 1 type specimen
IC252	USNM	231436-0	unassigned	frog-form hybrid	PR	
IC253	USNM	231437-0	unassigned	frog-form hybrid	PR	
IC254	USNM	221076	Puerto Plata, Twinned	anthropomorph	DR	
IC255	USNM	221075	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
IC256	NMAI	19711	Madre Vieja, marginalia	anthropomorph, emaciated	DR	
IC257	NMAI	200846	unassigned	anthropomorph	PR	
IC258	NMAI	32011.001	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	PR	miniature
IC259	NMAI	179052	Luquillo	snouted, armless hybrid	PR	
IC260	NMAI	179050	Luquillo	frog-form hybrid	PR	
IC261	NMAI	33944	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR, El Seibo	related to Comendador
IC262	NMAI	184545	Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR, Santiago, Santiago	
IC263	NMAI	127436	Comendador, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR, Santiago	
IC264	NMAI	33946	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR, "Cibao"	lenticular slotted eyes
IC265	NMAI	59300	unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR, Puerto Plata, Cabía	
IC266	NMAI	32011a	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	PR	miniature
IC267	NMAI	32011b	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	PR	miniature
IC268	NMAI	197105	Luquillo	anthropomorph	PR, Naranjito, Guadiana	
IC269	NMAI	197720	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR, Santo Domingo, Boca Chica	
IC271	NMAI	184544	Puerto Plata, Frog-form	frog-form hybrid	DR, Santiago, Santiago	
IC272	NMAI	164329	Luquillo	anthropomorph	PR, Barceloneta	
IC273	NMAI	32200	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	Turks and Caicos, North Caicos, Kew	
IC274	NMAI	36316	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR, Valverde, "Vega Real"	
IC275	NMAI	59238	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	Turks and Caicos, Caicos Islands	user modification?
IC276	NMAI	126653	Puerto Plata, Frog-form	frog-form hybrid	DR, Santiago, Santiago	
IC277	NMAI	184543	Comendador, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR, Santiago, Santiago	
IC278	NMAI	129902	Style Group 3	snouted, armless hybrid	DR, Santiago, Santiago	miniature
IC279	NMAI	129901	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR, Santiago, Santiago	miniature
IC281	NMAI	19718	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	user modification?
IC282	NMAI	3824	unassigned	frog-form hybrid	PR	
IC283	NMAI	236070	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	PR, Arecibo	
IC284	NMAI	236064	La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	PR, Arecibo, Arecibo	miniature

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
IC285	NMAI	236067	unassigned	anthropomorph, emaciated	PR, Arecibo	
IC286	NMAI	236068	Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	PR, Arecibo	
IC287	NMAI	32357a	Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR, Puerto Plata, Villa Isabela, Punta Isabela	
IC288	NMAI	32357b	Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR, Puerto Plata, Villa Isabela, Punta Isabela	
IC289	NMAI	41858	unassigned	anthropomorph	Cuba, Jauco, Maisí	related to Cibao
IC290	NMAI	92277	Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	Cuba, Guantánamo, Maisí, Jauco	
IC291	NMAI	184547	Puerto Plata	anthropomorph	DR, Santiago, Santiago	another subject, inverted?, reworked?
IC292	NMAI	236065	Luquillo	snouted, armless hybrid	PR, Arecibo	
IC293	USNM	17048-0	Luquillo	frog-form hybrid	PR	
IC294	USNM	17049-0	Luquillo	frog-form hybrid	PR	
IC295	USNM	17051-0	Luquillo	snouted, armless hybrid	PR	Luquillo, Format 2 type specimen
IC296	USNM	17052-0	unassigned	anthropomorph	PR	
IC297	YPM	ANT 011453	Style Group 1	frog-form hybrid	Haiti, Nord-Est, Meillac	related to Imbert, miniature
IC298	MPG	2-1063	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Guantánamo, San Antonio del Sur, Pozo Azul	fragmentary
IC300	MPC	0-116	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Cienfuegos, Cumanayagua	user modification
IC301	BA	95-1210	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Guantánamo, San Antonio del Sur, Guaybanó	
IC302	BA	95-1222	unassigned	anthropomorph?	Cuba	shell
IC303	MHD		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR, María Trinidad Sánchez, Nagua, Playa Grande	
IC304	MHD		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR, María Trinidad Sánchez, Nagua, Playa Grande	schematized
IC306	LU		Altagracia	snouted, armless hybrid	DR, Altagracia, San Rafael de Yuma, El Cabo	miniature
IC307	LU	145	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR, Valverde, Loma de Guayacanes, El Flaco	miniature
IC308	LU	1460	Puerto Plata, Twinned	anthropomorph	DR, Valverde, Loma de Guayacanes, El Flaco	
IC309	LU		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR, Puerto Plata, Unijica, La Luperona	

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
IC310	MPCA	0-500	Imbert	frog-form hybrid	Cuba, Holguín, Banes, Boca de Samá	
IC311	QB	70.2014.12.2	Imbert	frog-form hybrid	DR	Imbert type specimen
IC312	QB	71.1948.69.1	Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	Haiti, Nord-Est, La Tortue	female breasts, unusual eye form
IC313	QB	71.1948.69.2	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	Haiti, Nord-Est, La Tortue	
IC314	AMNH	25.0/1471	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	PR	
IC315	AMNH	25.0/1477	unassigned	frog-form hybrid	PR	
IC316	AMNH	25.0/1529	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	PR	
IC317	AMNH	25.0/2273	unassigned	anthropomorph	PR	
IC318	AMNH	25.0/3573	Luquillo	snouted, armless hybrid	PR	unfinished
IC319	AMNH	25.0/4019	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	Haiti	
IC320	AMNH	25.0/4021	Madre Vieja, marginalia	anthropomorph, emaciated	Haiti	
IC321	AMNH	25.0/4106	Puerto Plata, Arms Aloft	anthropomorph	DR	
IC322	NMAI	20/9730	Comendador, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR, Elías Piña, Comendador (Elías Piña)	
IC323	UPR	1.2008.47	Madre Vieja, marginalia	anthropomorph, emaciated	PR	
IC324	UPR	1.2008.0724	unassigned	anthropomorph	PR	shell
IC325	UPR	1.2008.0780	unassigned	anthropomorph	PR	shell
IC326	UPR	1.2008.1158	unassigned	frog-form hybrid	PR	shell
IC327	UPR	1.2008.1051	unassigned	frog-form hybrid	PR	
IC328	UPR	21068	Style Group 2	frog-form hybrid	PR	related to Imbert
IC329	UPR	1.2008.1250	Luquillo	frog-form hybrid	PR	
IC330	UPR	1.2008.1039	Luquillo	frog-form hybrid	PR	
IC331	UPR	1.2008.1244	Luquillo	frog-form hybrid	PR	
IC332	UPR	1.2008.1118	Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	PR	
IC333	UPR	1.2008.1169	unassigned	anthropomorph	PR	
IC334	UPR	11.831	unassigned	anthropomorph?	PR	
IC335	UPR	21140	Luquillo	anthropomorph	PR	
IC336	UPR	12214	unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	PR	
IC337	UPR	1.2008.1043	Luquillo	armless hybrid	PR	
IC338	UPR	1.2008.0714	Comendador, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
IC339	ICP	I.C.P. 842	Luquillo	armless hybrid	PR	
IC340	RUD		Comendador, Format 1	anthropomorph	unknown	Comendador, Format 1 type specimen

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
IC341	RUD		Puerto Plata, Frog-form	frog-form hybrid	unknown	female genitalia
IC342	RUD		Puerto Plata, Frog-form	frog-form hybrid	unknown	
IC343	RUD		Puerto Plata, Arms Aloft	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC344	RUD		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	unknown	
IC345	RUD		Puerto Plata	reptilian(?) hybrid	unknown	
IC346	RUD		Puerto Plata, Frog-form	frog-form hybrid	unknown	
IC347	RUD		Imbert	frog-form hybrid	unknown	
IC348	RUD		Style Group 1	frog-form hybrid	unknown	related to Imbert
IC349	RUD		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC350	RUD		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	unknown	
IC351	RUD		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	unknown	
IC352	RUD		Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC353	RUD		Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC354	RUD		unassigned	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC355	RUD		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	unknown	two sets of arms, 2nd pair aloft
IC356	RUD		Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC357	RUD		Comendador, Format 1	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC358	RUD		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	unknown	unfinished?
IC359	RUD		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	unknown	unfinished?
IC360	RUD		unassigned	anthropomorph	unknown	miniature
IC361	RUD		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	unknown	
IC362	RUD		Luquillo	snouted, armless hybrid	unknown	
IC364	RUD		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC366	RUD		Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	unknown	male genitalia
IC367	RUD		unassigned	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC368	RUD		Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC369	RUD		Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR, San Juan, Vallejuelo	
IC370	RUD		Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	unknown	
IC371	RUD		Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	unknown	
IC373	RUD		unassigned	anthropomorph	unknown	related to Comendador

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
IC374	RUD		Puerto Plata, Frog-form	frog-form hybrid	unknown	female genitalia?
IC375	RUD		Style Group 1	frog-form hybrid	unknown	related to Imbert
IC376	RUD		Style Group 2	frog-form hybrid	unknown	related to Imbert
IC377	RUD		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	unknown	related to Imbert
IC378	RUD		Puerto Plata, Arms Aloft	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC379	RUD		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	unknown	related to Imbert
IC380	RUD		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	unknown	related to Imbert
IC381	RUD		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC382	RUD		Luquillo	snouted, armless hybrid	unknown	
IC383	RUD		Luquillo	snouted, armless hybrid	unknown	
IC384	RUD		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC385	RUD		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	unknown	
IC386	RUD		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	unknown	
IC388	RUD		Style Group 1	frog-form hybrid	unknown	related to Imbert, miniature
IC389	RUD		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	unknown	
IC390	RUD		unassigned	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC391	RUD		unassigned	anthropomorph	unknown	reworked
IC392	RUD		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	unknown	unfinished
IC393	RUD		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC395	RUD		unassigned	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC396	RUD		Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC397	RUD		Puerto Plata	anthropomorph	unknown	unusual execution
IC398	RUD		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	unknown	unfinished
IC399	RUD		Style Group 2	frog-form hybrid	unknown	related to Imbert
IC400	RUD		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	unknown	
IC401	RUD		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	unknown	
IC402	RUD		unassigned	snouted hybrid	unknown	possesses arms
IC403	RUD		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	unknown	miniature

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
IC404	YPM	ANT 036835	unassigned	frog-form hybrid	unknown	
IC405	YPM	ANT 036836	Luquillo	snouted, armless hybrid	PR, Isabela, Coto	
IC406	YPM	ANT 024625	unassigned	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC407	YPM	ANT 036846	unassigned	anthropomorph	unknown	
IC408	NMAI	236069.000	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	PR, Salinas	
IC409	NMAI	36317.000	unassigned	anthropomorph	DR, Valverde	
IC410	NMAI	163597.000	unassigned	frog-form hybrid	PR	
IC411	BA	95-1225	Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	Cuba, Guantánamo, Maisí, San Lucas	
IC412	BA	95-1211	Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	Cuba, Guantánamo, Maisí, Pueblo Viejo	
IC413	MHD	135	Puerto Plata, Twinned	anthropomorph	DR	
IC414	MHD	1-1334	Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR	
IC415	MHD	EBM 2861	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR, Santiago, Baitoa	
IC416	MHD	1-5376	Puerto Plata, Arms Aloft	anthropomorph	DR	
IC417	MHD	139	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR, Santiago, Santiago	
IC418	MHD	136	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR, Pedernales, Enriquillo, Oviedo	
IC419	MHD	137	Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR, Azua, Peralta	
IC420	IA		Luquillo	snouted, armless hybrid	PR, Guayanilla, Tecla I	
IC421	IA		Luquillo	frog-form hybrid	PR, Vieques, Sorcé	
IC422	IA		unassigned	anthropomorph	PR, Vieques, Sorcé	related to Luquillo
IC423	IA		Luquillo	snouted, armless hybrid	PR, Vieques, Sorcé	
IC424	UPR	1.2009.0057	Madre Vieja, classic	anthropomorph, emaciated	PR	
SC024	MHD		unassigned	anthropomorph, emaciated	DR	related to Madre Vieja

Appendix 2

Figure Pendants from the Sala de Arte Prehispánico, Fundación García Arévalo

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
FGA005	FGA		Altagracia	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA006	FGA		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA007	FGA		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
FGA008	FGA		Style Group 1	frog-form hybrid	DR	related to Imbert
FGA009	FGA		Style Group 2	frog-form hybrid	DR	related to Imbert
FGA010	FGA		Style Group 1	frog-form hybrid	DR	related to Imbert
FGA011	FGA		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
FGA012	FGA		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
FGA013	FGA		Style Group 2	frog-form hybrid	DR	related to Imbert
FGA014	FGA		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
FGA015	FGA		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
FGA016	FGA		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
FGA017	FGA		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
FGA018	FGA		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
FGA019	FGA		Puerto Plata	reptilian(?) hybrid	DR	
FGA020	FGA		Style Group 2	frog-form hybrid	DR	related to Imbert
FGA021	FGA		Style Group 2	frog-form hybrid	DR	related to Imbert
FGA022	FGA		Puerto Plata, Frog-form	frog-form hybrid	DR	female genitalia
FGA023	FGA		unassigned	frog-form hybrid, snouted	DR	
FGA024	FGA		Puerto Plata, Frog-form	frog-form hybrid	DR	
FGA025	FGA		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	related to Imbert

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
FGA026	FGA		Puerto Plata, Frog-form	frog-form hybrid	DR	
FGA027	FGA		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	related to Imbert
FGA028	FGA		Imbert	frog-form hybrid	DR	
FGA029	FGA		Style Group 4	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA030	FGA		Style Group 4	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA031	FGA		Altagracia	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA032	FGA		Style Group 4	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA033	FGA		Style Group 4	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA035	FGA		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA036	FGA		Style Group 4	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA037	FGA		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA039	FGA		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA041	FGA		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA042	FGA		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA043	FGA		Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA044	FGA		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA045	FGA		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA046	FGA		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA047	FGA		Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA048	FGA		Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA051	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph, skull-headed	DR	related to Madre Vieja
FGA054	FGA		Madre Vieja, classic	anthropomorph, emaciated	DR	
FGA056	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph, emaciated	DR	related to Madre Vieja
FGA057	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph?	DR	related to Madre Vieja
FGA059	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph, skull-headed	DR	related to Madre Vieja
FGA060	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph, skull-headed	DR	related to Madre Vieja
FGA061	FGA		Madre Vieja, classic	anthropomorph, emaciated	DR	

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
FGA062	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA063	FGA		Style Group 3	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA064	FGA		La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA065	FGA		Style Group 3	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA066	FGA		La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA067	FGA		La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA068	FGA		La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA069	FGA		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA072	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA073	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA075	FGA		Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
FGA076	FGA		Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
FGA077	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA079	FGA		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA080	FGA		Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
FGA082	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA083	FGA		Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
FGA084	FGA		Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
FGA085	FGA		Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	
FGA086	FGA		Comendador, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA087	FGA		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA088	FGA		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA089	FGA		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA090	FGA		Puerto Plata, Twinned	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA091	FGA		Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA092	FGA		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA093	FGA		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA094	FGA		Puerto Plata, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR	

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
FGA095	FGA		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA096	FGA		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA097	FGA		Puerto Plata, Arms Aloft	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA098	FGA		Puerto Plata, Arms Aloft	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA099	FGA		Puerto Plata	reptilian(?) hybrid	DR	
FGA100	FGA		Puerto Plata, Arms Aloft	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA101	FGA		Puerto Plata, Arms Aloft	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA102	FGA		Comendador, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA103	FGA		Comendador, Format 2	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA104	FGA		Comendador, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA105	FGA		Comendador, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA108	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	shell
FGA109	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	shell
FGA110	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	shell
FGA111	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	shell
FGA112	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	shell
FGA114	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	shell
FGA120	FGA		Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	DR	
FGA121	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA128	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA130	FGA		Puerto Plata, Format 1	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA132	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA133	FGA		unassigned	frog-form hybrid	DR	
FGA138	FGA		Luquillo	frog-form hybrid	DR	
FGA139	FGA		unassigned	frog-form hybrid, snouted	DR	
FGA141	FGA		Cibao	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	unfinished
FGA144	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA145	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA146	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA147	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA148	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA149	FGA		Yaguajay	anthropomorph, emaciated	DR	
FGA150	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	related to Comendador

Proj. No.	Coll.*	Cat. No.	Style/Format	Subject	Provenance	Comments
FGA151	FGA		unassigned	anthropomorph	DR	
FGA154	FGA		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA155	FGA		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA156	FGA		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA157	FGA		La Caleta	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
FGA158	FGA		unassigned	snouted, armless hybrid	DR	miniature
*For collection designations, see Abbreviations in frontmatter.						

Taboui, collection d'archéologie Caraïbe/ Caribbean Archaeology series

Editeur

EA 929 AIHP/GEODE, Université des Antilles

Directeur/Editor

Benoit Bérard, Université des Antilles

Comité Scientifique/Scientific Board

Dominique Bonnissent, Ministère de la culture

Corinne L. Hofman, Leiden University

Paola Schiappacasse Rubio, Universidad de Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras

Kenneth G. Kelly, University of South Carolina

Reniel Rodriguez Ramos, Universidad de Puerto Rico, Utuado

Comité de Rédaction/Editorial committee

Jean-Sebastien Guibert, Université des Antilles

Catherine Losier, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Secrétariat de rédaction/Editorial secretary

Philippe Bertalmio

Comité de lecture (comité ouvert)/external reviewers

A. Antczak (Universidad Simon Bolivar) A. Bain (Université de Laval), D. Begot (Université des Antilles), M. van den Bel (INRAP), A. Boomert (Leiden University), A. Chancerel (Musée National de Préhistoire), J. Delle (Kutztown University), D. Finamore (Peabody Essex Museum), M. Guerout (GRAN), J.-P. Giraud (Ministère de la Culture), S. Grouard (MNHN), M.P.L. Hoogland (Leiden University), W. Keegan (University of Florida), K. Kelly (University of South Carolina), S. Lenick (St Mary's College of Maryland), G. Migeon (Ministère de la Culture), J. Pagán-Jiménez (Leiden University), S. Perdikaris (CUNY), William Pestle (University of Miami), G. Richard (AIAC), N. Serrand (INRAP), J. Ulloa Hung (Intec de Santo Domingo), R. Valcárcel Rojas (Intec de Santo Domingo), L. Waldron (Montserrat College of Art), D. Wallman, (University of South Florida), D. Watters (Carnegie Museum)

Soumission/Submission

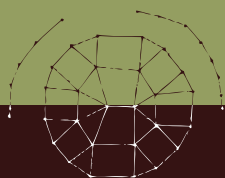
La collection Taboui publie des ouvrages en français, anglais ou espagnol. Les auteurs souhaitant publier dans Taboui doivent transmettre une proposition détaillée au secrétariat de rédaction : taboui.secretariat@gmail.com avant l'envoi d'un quelconque manuscrit. Cette proposition est soumise à l'avis du comité scientifique. Tous les manuscrits dont la soumission a été acceptée sont transmis à deux évaluateurs externes choisis par le directeur de la collection et le comité de rédaction au sein d'une liste établie par le comité scientifique.

Taboui series publish volume in French, English or Spanish. Interested authors should send a volume proposal to the editorial secretary: taboui.secretariat@gmail.com before submission of manuscript for possible publication. This proposal is evaluated by the scientific board. All manuscripts accepted for submissions are sent out for external peer review by two referees. The referees are chosen by the series editor and the editorial committee in a short list elaborated by the scientific board.

CARIBBEAN FIGURE PENDANTS: STYLE AND SUBJECT MATTER

This work synthesizes art-historical and anthropological methods in the analysis of a large corpus of indigenous figure pendants, commonly called “amulets,” from the Greater Antilles and Bahamas. Figure pendants, ubiquitous in Caribbean collections, are small carvings of spirit beings perforated for suspension against the body. The data are drawn from new photographs, measurements, and observations of 535 specimens compiled by the author during 2011-2018 in research visits to 34 museums and private collections in the Caribbean, the United States, and Europe.

In analyzing this corpus, the author documents high stylistic diversity within the region, naming nine new figure pendant styles and situating these in space and time. This high diversity of local styles and subject matter suggests a previously undocumented religious pluralism in the ancient Caribbean, in accord with emergent understandings of cultural and political diversity within the region. The author finds that the subject matter of figure pendants is unconnected with elite cohoba spiritualism as documented ethnohistorically, which leads to a search for what the phenomenon represents socially and religiously. Figure pendants generally are far more common than the paraphernalia of cohoba, probably documenting the existence of a religious institution existing at the village level. The author hypothesizes that they were commissioned from pendant carvers by initiates of secret societies dedicated to healing or warfare. In this scenario, the supernatural subjects of the pendants were the patrons of regional sodalities with distinct histories.



TABOUJ NO. 7

COLLECTION D'ARCHÉOLOGIE CARAÏBE
DIRIGÉE PAR BENOÎT BÉRARD



sidestonepress

ISBN: 978-90-8890-870-5



9 789088 908705 >