



PRE-COLUMBIAN ART OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

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EARLIEST VISUAL CULTURE IN TRINIDAD, TOBAGO AND THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN

The Caribbean has been inhabited for more than 8,000 years. One of the oldest known human habitation sites in all the Antilles is in southern Trinidad, at Banwari Trace where ancient skeletal remains and food refuse have been excavated by archaeologists.¹ However, it is from many millennia thereafter that we see anything that we might consider “art”—objects with evident expressive content, seemingly made to be visually stimulating in some way. Art production in Trinidad can be traced back some 2,500 years, and in Tobago, at least back to the turn of the Common Era. This is not to say that visual culture was not part of Pre-Columbian life before that but any earlier art has not survived to this day. Also, the fifth century BCE marks the arrival in these islands of an intensive art-making culture from South America known as the Saladoid. These were likely an early group of Arawaks² and their settlement would seem to be the beginning of Trinidad and Tobago art history. Yet, even when we guess their ethno-linguistic identity and note the time of their cultural ascendance, we are still hard pressed to fill in key parts of their history.

In reconstructing Amerindian history, and art history, archaeological excavations give us important clues as to who the ancient Antilleans were culturally, politically, and aesthetically. Linguistic studies that link the ancient Antilleans through common language and terms to adjacent mainland peoples still living, especially the mainland Arawaks also shed light on these early art-makers. Ethnographic analogies between living Amerindian cultures and the ancient Antilleans can be quite helpful as well, if used with the usual caveats in mind regarding the cultural shifts that may have occurred over time and space. The ancient people of the Caribbean were not even identical with their contemporaneous relatives on the mainland, so we have to allow for differences with the related traditional Amerindian cultures of today. Still, we can learn much by comparing today’s living Amerindian

art traditions in South America with the vestiges of the ancient Antilleans. And to complete our triangulation, we might also consult the few living descendants of the ancient Antilleans who live among us. Rumours of the extinction of the Amerindians in the Caribbean are greatly exaggerated. The Kalinagos of Dominica and St. Vincent, Tainos of the Greater Antilles, and Caribs and Waraos of Trinidad are often shocked to find out that they no longer exist!

Ample archaeological evidence indicates that around the sixth or fifth century BCE, a ceramic-making culture from north-eastern Venezuela and the Guianas began to arrive in the Antilles. The reasons for their departure from the mainland remain mysterious. They may have been explorers, exiles, founders of a new religion, or all of these. From their arrival first in Trinidad, people of the Saladoid ceramic culture selectively settled islands from there to Hispaniola within a millennium, eventually settling into most of the islands in between.³ As expert canoeists, the Pre-Columbian people of the Eastern Caribbean and eastern Greater Antilles crossed between islands a lot more easily than we do today, so that a coastal village on one island might have had closer allies on another island than on the other side of their own. In this way, Trinidad and Tobago were definitely thought of as islands but they might not have been conceived of as politically separate from, say, Grenada or Carriacou. The Saladoid Caribbean was characterized by maritime interaction spheres, discernible even in artistic styles, encompassing several islands at a time. In the Pre-Columbian Antilles, the sea often united people rather than divided them.

The Saladoid cultures that developed in the islands after the migration from South America have left us with a greater amount of visual culture than any subsequent Amerindian group in the eastern islands. The Saladoid era, from roughly the fifth century BCE to the seventh century of the Common Era, was a watershed period in Pre-Columbian Caribbean art. During this period thousands of ceramic vessels, shell and stone adornments, and perhaps hundreds of wood sculptures

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Figure 1

Duck-shaped vessel with four-legged zoomorph, Mayaro, Trinidad, Saladoid. Ceramic, 11 cm. longer diameter. Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C. Photograph by author.



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Figure 2

Trigonal zemi, Mt. Irvine, Tobago, Saladoid. Stone, 5 cm. width. Tobago Museum, Tobago. Photograph by author.

Figure 3

White-on-red bottle with incised designs and modelled (turtle flipper) tabs, Mayaro, Trinidad. Saladoid. Ceramic with white and red slip, 14 cm. diameter. Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C. Photograph by author.



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were made in Trinidad, Tobago and other islands, many of them with figural and abstract adornments carrying deep cultural significance. We can infer the importance of these symbols from the similar motifs found among related groups of people in South America who can attest to their traditional symbolism; from Conquest-era and even today's oral accounts of Amerindian lore and cosmology that, again, confirm the importance of certain symbols; and from the ritual contexts in which these kinds of artefacts have been found, such as graves and sacred caves (figure 1).

Most of the objects that we might appreciate as art, from some two millennia ago, are made of resilient materials such as ceramic, shell, and stone. Archaeologists have also recovered rare objects in wood but we can only guess what the other arts, such as textiles, basketry, featherwork, and body art might have looked like and how important they might have been. The moisture and chemical composition of Caribbean soils, and the incessant activities of invertebrates have left us with only a small part of a range of ancient artforms.

STYLE

Given its mainland origins, ancient Antillean art could be surprising in its occasional departures from mainland traditions. Quite a lot of cultural evolution took place in the Caribbean once people had settled in there. While people in Trinidad had always maintained close relations with their mainland counterparts in nearby Venezuela and Guyana, Tobago and the other islands

of the Caribbean developed into culturally distinct entities, often with unique art styles. They even produced unique classes of artefacts not found on the mainland. The trigonal icons (zemis), for which the fourteenth century Taíno artists of Puerto Rico and Hispaniola are famous among Pre-Columbian scholars, had smaller, simpler precursors in the eastern islands from Tobago to Antigua (figure 2). The Taíno, a later Arawak group in the more northern islands, were partially descended from Saladoid Antilleans.⁴ The triangular or conical zemi, whose Arawak name seems to be the root of the Trin-bagonian word "zepie" (meaning 'secret charm, spell, or power') might represent the silhouette of 'the island' as glanced on the horizon upon approach by canoe. But while their use in propitiatory rituals to make the crops grow was noted by Conquest era Spaniards,⁵ their exact meaning remains mysterious. As a trade hub Trinidad seems to have made itself strongly felt in the arts and economics throughout the Caribbean islands, both of which are evidenced in the ceramic record. The style of painted and modelled adornments on early Caribbean pottery, from Venezuela to Puerto Rico, is called "Cedrosan Saladoid." This pottery is named after the early, representative 'type-site' of Saladero on Venezuela's Lower Orinoco, and the Cedros type-site on the south-western coast of Trinidad where archaeologists first found diagnostic examples of an important modification to the main Saladoid style.

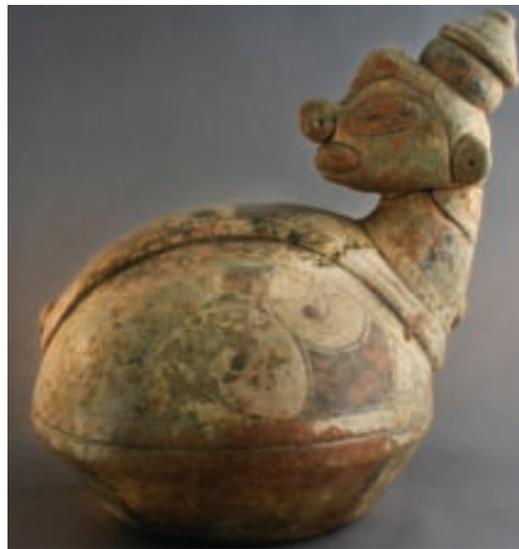
Before the Cedrosan modification, Saladoid pottery was characterized by bold and clever painted designs in white and red (figure 3). These designs had been



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developed by Venezuelan potters and, over a period spanning almost two millennia before the Common Era, had decorated ceremonial vessels at important sites along the Middle and Lower Orinoco River. They show a deep interest in figure-ground reversals wherein it is difficult to decipher whether the white slip-paint¹ lines and motifs atop the reddish ceramic are the positive or negative (i.e. background) space; the complementarities equal sized areas of white and red; and a kind of staggered symmetry whereby a motif painted on one side of a vessel is repeated on the other side but somehow modified, such as pointed or curling in the opposite direction, possessing some internal reversal or numerical difference. By the time of expansion into the islands, this design scheme was a fine art, and examples of this kind of painted pottery can be found from the Middle Orinoco to The Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico (figure 4). Many of the most beautifully painted examples hail from Caribbean islands such as Antigua rather than the Orinoco homeland, and this style seems to have persisted throughout the Saladoid sphere at least halfway into the first millennium CE.

¹ Slip paints were made by watering down clay to a soupy consistency and coloured with mineral and other pigments, then painted on after the vessel was fired.



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In the early centuries of the Common Era, this “white-on-red” Saladoid decorative program was joined by a style that incorporated sculpted adornments into the painting scheme. Modelled adornments were more typical of an unpainted but very sculptural pottery tradition called the Barrancoid, which often appeared alongside the painted Saladoid styles on the Orinoco. When the Barrancoid modelled and Saladoid painted adornments finally combined, it was in the Lower Orinoco, and in southern Trinidad at settlements in Cedros and Erin along the southwest coast of the island. The new “Cedrosan Saladoid” was almost as widespread throughout the Caribbean as the earlier, purely painted, style, and it appeared in much greater numbers at some sites. Some truly impressive and innovative examples of this pottery have been found in Trinidad, Tobago, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Martinique and Guadeloupe (figure 5). But fine examples can be found as far north as the important Pre-Columbian sites on the island of Vieques off the east coast of Puerto Rico.

In the Cedrosan Saladoid style of Trinidad and Tobago, there was a strong adherence to the Saladoid use of only red and white, whereas in, say, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, other colours could be used. In most islands, coloured slips were used to accentuate the lines, planes, and volumes of the modelled details. This complementary use of painting and sculpture on vessels signalled a mature synthesis of what had been

Figure 4

Everted white-on-red bowl with superficially similar but internally varied cartouches on opposite sides of the vessel (note the different positions of the horizontal triple-line motifs inside the cartouches), unknown site, St. Croix, Saladoid. Ceramic, with red and white slips, 35.5 cm. diameter. Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History Anthropology Department, New Haven, Connecticut. Photographs by author.

Figure 5

Effigy pot and stopper with modelled, incised and polychrome adornments, Erin, Trinidad, Cedrosan Saladoid. Ceramic with coloured slips, 19 cm. diameter. National Museum and Art Gallery, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. Photograph by author.



6a



6b



6c

Figure 6

(a) trigonal/conical shell zemi with incised flexed frog motif on bottom register, unknown site, Montserrat, Saladoid, 5 cm. diameter (Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C.); (b) incised bowl with circular, flexed-frog labyrinth motif on underside, Land's End, Barbados, Saladoid, ceramic, approximately 17.8 cm. diameter (Barbados Museum, Barbados); (c) incised and drilled frog labyrinth motif, unknown site, St. Kitts, Saladoid, shell, 9 cm. width (Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History Anthropology Department, New Haven, Connecticut). Photographs by author.

two discreet and highly developed pottery traditions on the Middle and Lower Orinoco in previous centuries.

Some important inferences can be made from the use of symmetry and figure ground-reversals in Saladoid pottery. Symbolic motifs that equal but oppose each other on the vessel surface imply categorical oppositions as between natural or spiritual forces, genders, families, clans or other polities. Mythical and cosmological themes also manifest in the quadripartite motifs appearing on Eastern Caribbean Saladoid and Greater Antillean Taíno pottery. Very often painted or modelled and painted motifs appear in twos, fours or two sets of two. As discussed below, the number four was charged with multiple orders of symbolism in Antillean thought.

ICONOGRAPHY

Among the symbols appearing on early ceramics and amulets in Trinidad and Tobago certain animals (i.e., zoomorphs) and birds (i.e., aviforms) are most common. Human representations (i.e., anthropomorphs) appear with great regularity as well, often wearing special headgear or ear ornaments. Most modelled representations take the form of "adornos" (i.e., modelled adornments). They appear on the handles of vessels, right where the vessel's owner would grasp it to access or agitate its contents, thereby marking the nexus between the vessel's user, the contents of the vessel, and the symbolic cache represented by the animal, bird or anthropomorphic symbol on the adorno. Some of the most obviously symbolic representations

are transformational images in which people take on the aspects of other animals or vice versa or have secondary—usually zoomorphic—characters emerging out of their heads. These emergent secondary figures have been identified by archaeologists such as Peter Harris and Arie Boomert as "alter egos."⁶ They might have represented the zoic spirit guides of religious leaders and ritual specialists (i.e., shamans). Rituals, and religiously charged narratives involving sacred animals as tutelary spirits, clan emblems, zoomorphised members of other ethnicities, and spirit guides have enjoyed a prominent place in the world view of animist cultures throughout the Americas. In cultures from the Andes to the Amazon most things have living energies, and every act might have significance reflecting upon and witnessed by revered, even deified ancestors.⁷

Most common among the animal symbols on Trinidad and Tobago pottery and other arts were turtles and frogs. However, in Trinidad, a large number of mammals native to that island and the mainland are also represented, especially anteaters, but also armadillos, opossums, dogs, bats, and monkeys. Bird symbols also feature prominently in the iconography of Trinidad and Tobago, especially vultures and parrots but remarkably, while owls are important symbols in the iconography of ceramics in Trinidad, Tobago and indeed most of the islands of the Caribbean, they do not seem to have been of any importance to the ceramicists in Saladoid Venezuela. This night bird, and its nightjar and oilbird doppelgangers seem to have been regarded as messengers from the afterlife, carrying not only visions of pending mortality, like our vestigial Amerindian belief



7a



7b

in the “jumbie bird,” but also good portents such as the birth of babies.⁸ However, like the Venezuelan Saladoid potters, ceramicists in Trinidad, Tobago and only a few other islands, such as Carriacou chose to represent the heads of crocodilians (i.e., caimans) on their vessels. Unfortunately, when ancient pots fell and shattered often all that survived were the modelled handles with adornos. So Caribbean museums abound in expertly sculpted handles and adornos, now detached from their original vessels.

Since most of the animal and bird species appearing in ceramics, amulets and other arts were endemic to Trinidad, their presence in the zoomorphic iconography of this island is not surprising. But species like caimans, the oilbird, monkeys, armadillos, opossums and vultures are not endemic to most of the Saladoid islands (i.e., the Eastern Caribbean and Puerto Rico),



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so their appearance in iconography there may be evidence of (1) human introductions of some of these species into those other islands; (2) an indication of a strong cultural connection with Trinidad; (3) indication of a lingering connection with the South American mainland; or (4) some or all of these possibilities.

In a popular emblem that appears across some 2,000 years of Pre-Columbian Caribbean visual culture, from Trinidad to Cuba, a stylized frog is seen from above with flexed legs. In many of the islands beyond Trinidad and Tobago, its body makes a labyrinth of scrolling lines that divide the emblem into four parts. This frog labyrinth appears not only on Pre-Columbian pottery but on shell and stone arts as well (figure 6). However frog imagery from Trinidad and Tobago retains a higher degree of naturalism, like their Venezuelan counterparts, and unlike those found from Saladoid St. Vincent and Barbados to the Taíno Greater Antilles (figure 7).

Frogs, particularly piping frogs, were important symbols of fertility. Their night song signalled the true beginning of the rainy season, the time to plant and the time in which women often got pregnant, due to the increased leisure time right after planting was complete. The flexed position of the frog was also visually reminiscent of the squatting position women likely took to give birth. The Taíno mother goddess Atabey was often depicted in the Greater Antilles with frog-like limbs, in a flexed position (figure 8).

Turtles were another maternal symbol, appearing as an emblem on stone and shell amulets in Tobago and most islands north of it; on the pottery of most islands from Trinidad to Cuba; and in the cave art of many islands. The turtle’s body was treated much like that of

Figure 7

Figure 7. (a) conch shell frog amulet, St. Joseph, Trinidad, Saladoid, 1.5 cm. height; (b) vessel fragment with modelled frog, Mt. Irvine, Tobago, Saladoid, ceramic, approximately. 7.6 cm. height (Tobago Museum, Tobago). Photographs by author.

Figure 8

Figure 8. Petroglyph of fertility deity Atabey (centre) in flexed frog pose on a monolith at the Caguana batey (ballcourt), Puerto Rico, Taíno, approx. 1 m. height. Photograph by author.

Figure 9

(a) turtle effigy pot stand, Guayaguayare, Trinidad, late Cedrosan Saladoid, approx. 20 cm. diameter (Pointe-à-Pierre Wildfowl Trust; Peter Harris Collection, Trinidad); (b) turtle bowl with modelled back-swept flippers on rim (and broken head), Saladero, Venezuela, Saladoid, approx. 28 cm. wider diameter (Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History Anthropology Department, New Haven, Connecticut). Photographs by author.



9a



9b

Figure 10

Vessel with bat face adorno recovered from burial at Atagual, Trinidad, Saladoid, approx. 25 cm. diameter. Pointe-à-Pierre Wildfowl Trust; Peter Harris Collection, Trinidad. Photograph by author.



10



11

Figure 11

Bowl with tar residue, Mayaro, Trinidad, Saladoid. Ceramic, 25.5 cm. diameter. Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C. Photograph by author.



12a



12b

the frog—in aerial view with a great measure of stylization, and sometimes, outright abstraction. But its round body with four projecting legs was usually distinguishable from frog emblems by the backward sweep of its flippers, a tail, and occasional a raised head [compare figures 6, 7 and 9]. Taíno lore confirms that the sea turtle was symbolically an ancestral mother from whom the Antillean people descended, when Turtle Woman became the wife of four primordial brothers, including the defiant folk hero Deminán Caracaracol. The birth of baby turtles from the beach sand and their mass exodus to the sea, echoing the exodus (or exile) to the Caribbean islands that commenced in the fifth century BCE, was perhaps one of the inspirations for choosing the sea turtle as symbolic mother of the Antilleans.

Night flying creatures such as bats and owls seem to have been symbols of, and messengers from, the afterlife for the ancient Antilleans. Taíno mythology accords this afterlife symbolism to bats at least, seeing leaf-nosed fruit bats as the returned souls of the dead come at night to partake of the sweetness of life, particularly its succulent fruits such as ripened guavas.⁹ Long before the powerful Taíno chiefdoms and kingdoms of Hispaniola and Puerto Rico used bat symbols as ancestral and shamanic emblems, people in Trinidad, Tobago and the southern Lesser Antilles were glorifying the same leaf-nosed fruit bats in their ceramics arts, and perhaps for the same reason (figure 10).

Beside frogs, turtles, bats, and owls, water birds such as pelicans and herons were also quite common in the modelled and painted iconography on ceramics. As the largest predatory birds of the maritime Caribbean pelicans were probably a chief masculine symbol, especially given their tendency to fly in a straight line in groups of four or more, close to the water's surface, their wings beating in militaristic unison like the disciplined paddling of warriors in a canoe. There is evidence in South American mythology, and Taíno rock art and cosmology suggesting that herons, ibises and other long-beaked stilt-legged birds were symbols of the lightning and thunder in storms,¹⁰ but the appearance of these would-be Caribbean "thunderbirds" on ceramics and other artefacts remains enigmatic. The parrots appearing on vessels would appear to be solar symbols as they often are in South America,¹¹ the sun's role in the agricultural cycle being a natural partner of the rain represented by frogs.

As for the anteaters, armadillos, opossums, dogs, and vultures space constraints make it impossible

to explore their possible symbolism here. It is worth pointing out that only some of the birds referenced in Saladoid and later iconography are day creatures and that most of the other animal species represented are active at twilight or night time, and that for all the vibrant colour of the Caribbean, the most common symbolic creatures are the dark-coloured ones. This speaks to the mystery religions of the ancient Antilleans, and their concerns with the spirit realm, which only became visible at night (or in the murky watery depths) where the veil of blinding sunlight was lifted and mundane powers of sight were replaced by shamanic vision.¹²

Trinidad's intellectual impact on Pre-Columbian Caribbean ceramics, in the form of the Cedrosan Saladoid style, is perhaps equalled by that island's presence in inter-island commerce. The black paint on many first millennium CE ceramics throughout the Eastern Caribbean is actually tar from the Pitch Lake (figure 11). A small sculpture found in Montserrat is also carved from hardened bituminous material from Pitch Lake, indicating that pitch was used not only to paint vessels, and probably to caulk canoes, but was also used as a sculpture material. The tiny anthropomorphic head is carved in a sub-style of the Cedrosan Saladoid known as the Palo Seco phase, characterized by heavy brow ridges, under which are pendant eyes and encircled, pursed mouths (figure 12). This one little object suggests cultural and mercantile commerce between the Trinidadian sites of Pitch Lake, Cedros, Palo Seco among others, and the far-away island of Montserrat. If we consider that Montserrat is highly volcanic, and Trinidad is not, the commodities Trinidadian Amerindians might have sought in exchanges with Montserratian trade partners were semi precious stones for jewellery making or perhaps pumice for tempering pottery and smoothening wood sculptures and canoes.

The depiction of people in the Pre-Columbian art of Trinidad and Tobago is highly symbolic in that it is often combined with the aforementioned symbolically charged animal symbols. The facial expressions on anthropomorphic images like the Palo Seco 'pitch man' are often lacking, and difficult to interpret when they do appear. The slit-like eyes that appear on many faces do not necessarily represent closed eyes. Mouths stretched wide or bearing teeth may be the grimaces of inebriated shamans as they suffer the pangs and nausea of the hallucinogens they administer to themselves in ritual discourse with the noumenon. An interesting

Figure 12
 (a) rattling adorno, unknown site, Guadeloupe, Saladoid, ceramic with coloured slips and pitch, 4 cm. height (Musée Edgar Clerc, Guadeloupe); (b) anthropomorphic sculpture, unknown site, Montserrat, Saladoid (Palo Seco phase), hardened pitch, 2 cm. height (Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C.). Photographs by author.



Figure 13

(a) bottle spout depicting shaman (hands propping up the chin are broken off) with avian alter ego emerging from forehead, Lagon Doux, Trinidad, Cedrosan Saladoid (Palo Seco phase), ceramic with white and red slip, 9.5 cm. height (Tobago Museum, Tobago); (b) anthropomorphic adorno on bowl, Mayaro, Trinidad, Saladoid, ceramic with red slip, 4 cm. tall [adorno only] (Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C.). Photographs by author.

convention emerged in the Cedrosan Saladoid that involved one figure emerging out of the head of another. In anthropomorphic representations, the secondary, smaller figure is usually a zoomorph of some kind, oftentimes a bird (figure 13). These secondary 'alter ego' figures seem to push through the identity of the primary anthropomorph as he/she takes flight to the spirit realm.

LEGACY

When Spaniards first arrived in Trinidad and Tobago in 1498, these islands were already a diverse cultural interaction zone, boasting over ten distinct Amerindian groups, including the Warao, Aruaca, Igneri, Shebaio (Suppoya), Nepoio (Nepuyo), Carina (Kalina), Carinepagoto, and Yao, among others.¹³ These groups operated in various modes of coexistence within the islands and traded throughout the Eastern Caribbean and beyond. Some had arrived in Trinidad and the other eastern islands only centuries earlier. Others, like the Warao had already lived in Trinidad for millennia. At the time of the Conquest, as busy as Trinidad and Tobago seem to have been, the golden age of adorned ceramics had long passed and the peoples of these islands seem to have been concentrating on more utilitarian ceramic wares, and perhaps more ephemeral arts. After the Saladoid, major art production in pottery, stone and shell seems to have diminished considerably and eventually shifted to the Greater Antilles. For all we know, Lesser Antillean art-making may have continued in materials considered more precious but also less permanent than pottery, such as feather-work.

The Caribbean Amerindians bore the full and initial brunt of the Conquest, its cruelty, greed, and contagions. They were the first to be misnamed "Indians" by the errant Spanish mariners searching for a route to the East Indies, and they were the first American peoples to grapple with the knowledge that there was a whole world beyond that eastern horizon. But they were also the first to instruct Spaniards in key terms, concepts, foods and technologies of the Americas.

Here on the leeward side of the catastrophe that befell them in the 1490s and thereafter, and with only a few written accounts of their culture from the Conquest and early colonial era, we might be inclined towards the common sentiment that the period before Columbus is so much opaque "pre-history." But as we have seen, there are many sources from which we can gain a glimpse of the Pre-Columbian Antilleans, not least of which is their visual culture.

In fact we are still living with Pre-Columbian art, language and culture today—not only in the countless place names from Caroni to Nariva, Guayaguayare to Chacachacare, not only in the 'bush medicines' of our West Indian apothecary (for if our "Old World" ancestors had never seen, say, a soursop until the fifteenth century, how could they know the medicinal properties of its leaves?); but also in our ajoupa-style architecture, which lifts the house off the ground to allow cooling air underneath (a Carib architectural contribution); the chac-chac (i.e., maraca) in our music; the numberless Native recipes in our culinary arts; the numerous characters in our folklore (not just the jumbie bird but Mama D'Leau and douens, with their backward feet, all have roots in Amerindian mythology); and no small part of the flamboyance in our feathered mas at Carnival. With only a few sweeping, perfunctory paragraphs on the Amerindians in our schoolbooks we have often been misled into believing that these creative, clever forbears have left us with relatively little. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth. ■

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NOTES

1. Wilson 39-43.
2. Heckenberger 102-109; Rouse 37-42; Wilson 62.
3. Wilson 67-88.
4. Rouse 37; Wilson 104-105.
5. McGinnis 92-105.
6. Boomert 164, 463-464.
7. See Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked and From Honey to Ashes*.
8. Roth 274.
9. Pané, 18; García Arévalo, 112.
10. Waldron 213-216.
11. *Ibid* 230-231.
12. Siegel 106-111.
13. Raleigh 47.