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By Unseen Hands: Regarding the Gender of Saladoid Potters in the Ancient Lesser Antilles

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Abstract

This essay considers archaeological uncertainties about the sex and gender roles of the earliest, most widespread ceramicists in the Caribbean—members of a culture that settled the Lesser Antilles and Puerto Rico over two millennia ago during an era known as the Saladoid. Analysis of the sculptural and painted adornments on Saladoid ceramics suggests that the vessels embodied important Pre-Columbian Caribbean ideas about spirituality, the natural world and the cultural sphere, including gender. Employing archaeological, ethnographic and art historical research, this essay offers interpretations of key Saladoid ceramic adornments, and relates these motifs to the question of gender among the Saladoid potters.

Key words: Arawak, Caribbean, pottery, pre-Columbian, Taino

Introduction

Agrarian people first came to the Caribbean islands in the first millennium before the Common Era (CE). They entered the archipelago from northeastern South America, a region spanning Venezuela's Peninsula of Paria, the Orinoco Delta, and the northwestern Guianas. They quickly migrated through the Lesser Antilles and Puerto Rico by the early first millennium CE.ⁱ These new arrivals, probably the first Arawaks in the Caribbean,ⁱⁱ likely intermarried with and/or displaced several groups of hunter-gatherers who by then had inhabited the archipelago for millennia.

Once settled on the islands, the new people's small-scale and intensive cultivation of high yield staples such as cassava, tannia, legumes, fruits, and vegetablesⁱⁱⁱ afforded them a certain level of sedentism, despite frequent fishing expeditions and supplementary hunting. During the natural lulls in the growing cycle, they could become involved in the time-consuming production of certain fine arts in wood, shell, bone, fiber, stone, and ceramics. While many of these art forms were portable and could be found among even the Arawaks' most itinerant hunter-gatherer neighbors and forbears in the region, pottery could be relatively fragile and bulky. Intensive production of ceramics often distinguishes agricultural peoples from nomads and full-time foragers. Hunter-gatherers are more likely to carry calabashes or baskets rather than ceramic pots on their travels.

Early Pre-Columbian Caribbean pottery is admired for its beauty and evident symbolism. This essay considers the production, iconography, and aesthetics of these earliest ceramics as potentially embodying Pre-Columbian Caribbean ideas about gender, and speculates about the gender of the potters themselves.

Morphology and aesthetics of Saladoid ceramics

While the roots of the Caribbean's earliest ceramic-making settlers probably reach deep into the Venezuelan interior of the third millennium BCE, their ceramic style is named after the Saladero site on the Lower Orinoco where archaeologists first unearthed exemplars of their fine pottery.^{iv} Beginning in the early first millennium BCE, Saladoid-type, or "Saladoid," ceramics took a variety of forms, including dishes, bowls, jugs, ollas, bottles, and effigy vessels. Most of these are adorned in one of four different ways: slip painted in a variety of mineral colors, most typically kaolin white and hematite red; incised with linear motifs; modeled with figural and other biomorphic features;^v or elaborated with some combination of these three.

The characteristic Saladoid painting scheme involves white curviform or geometric motifs painted on red slip-painted or buff (unpainted) background. This technique is called "white-on-red" in the Pre-Columbian scholarship of the Caribbean. Saladoid white is painted in such a way as to produce figure-ground reversals between white and red areas (figure 1a and b). It is often difficult to guess whether the white areas on top or the red ones created by omission are the main, or "positive," motifs. This reciprocity between

painted and unpainted/white and red/top and bottom/figure and ground demonstrates a Saladoid aesthetic of complementarity, and perhaps even a notion of harmony between opposing entities. We can only guess whether this complementary aesthetic extended to other aspects of the Saladoid potters' thinking, say, regarding forces of nature (e.g., fire and water); clans or vocational associations (e.g., potters and canoe-makers); familiars and strangers; or gender categories.

Perhaps the most complex mode of Saladoid ceramic adornment is that wherein the complementary slip paint scheme is used to augment figural modeling and incised designs; this style is sometimes called the "Cedrosan Saladoid" after the site of Cedros in Trinidad where much of this kind of pottery first emerged. On Cedrosan pottery, the handles, spouts, and rims carry most of the modeled, often painted, adornments. These modeled projections are called *adornos*. Many adornos not only depict people or animals as singular subjects but also combine these figures in a variety of ways. Figures are seen stacked, one atop the other (figure 2); spliced together while sharing a common feature (figure 3); emerging out of the head of another in the manner of an alter ego or spirit guide (figure 4); or appearing only when the adorno is turned or inverted (figure 5). These varied modes of visual hybridity suggest a Saladoid interest in multiple and liminal existences, and in transformational states between corporeal, spiritual, and cultural categories.

Iconography and function of Saladoid ceramics

The museums of the Caribbean house thousands of vessel sherds and anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and hybrid adornos. They are often excavated by archaeologists from ancient rubbish heaps (middens) or found by landowners who unearth them by accident. In ancient times, when pots fell and shattered, often only the densely molded adornos remained intact. Occasionally, an entire pot is found interred with the dead in an ancient Saladoid grave,^{vi} the food offerings it may have once held long since dissolved into moist Caribbean soils abounding with invertebrates (figure 6).

Saladoid vessels were evidently also part of the rituals for the living. Saladoid vessels' iconography associates them not only with symbolic, perhaps deified, animals but also with shamans and perhaps ancestors, who remain of undecipherable age or gender. Some human figures are depicted with what appear to be their zoic spirit guides emerging from their crania.^{vii} Columbus and other Conquest-era commentators described the Taíno (Greater Antillean people partly descended from the Saladoid-era people) as presenting the numinous beings of their religious pantheon with "first fruits."^{viii} The practice of offering fruits of the harvest to the spirits was, and remains, a common practice among the indigenous peoples of the Americas. Thus, from reports of Taíno harvest offerings and excavations of Taíno and Saladoid sites, we know that adorned ceramic vessels accompanied both the living and the dead in a variety of religious rituals.^{ix}

Observation of decorated potsherds and whole, adorned vessels reveals that they were not used for cooking. The only burn marks they show are those from uneven firing at the time of their manufacture: darkened areas on vessel walls. But darkening and wear on the bottom of adorned vessels, where they would have sat on the hearth, is rare. These decorated pots seem to have been used for the presentation of, rather than the preparation of, foods, libations, unguents, medicines, and/or narcotics. Cooking was done in the more utilitarian (i.e., unadorned) pottery whose fragments are often found in Pre-Columbian middens. As a result, we do not know if male or female ritual specialists owned and handled these vessels, more often than say a female “laity” in charge of much of the food preparation.

Presentations of edibles in adorned vessels were not all necessarily of a high religious significance. Adorned vessels may have also been beloved family heirlooms, commemorating ancestors or clan leaders in a political as much as a religious way. Thus some zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, and abstract ceramic symbols could be emblems of clans, vocational associations, age-grade/gender coterie, or other initiation-based groups.

The zoomorphs most commonly represented in Saladoid adornos and effigy vessels are turtles and frogs (figures 7 to 10), creatures that leave their accustomed habitats to lay their eggs and whose offspring likewise cross back from that exogenous environment into that of their parents. In addition to their emergence from eggs, frogs also go through a series of transformations from fish-like tadpoles, which then sprout legs like lizards, before losing their tails to become frogs. Thus, ideas of metamorphosis and crossing between realms or categories were likely part of frog symbolism especially.

The turtles and frogs that appear in Amerindian arts of the Caribbean, from the Saladoid to Taíno eras, seem to have been maternal/fertility symbols. As creatures most active and noisome in the rainy season, piping frogs especially (genus *Eleutherodactylus*) were representative of agricultural fertility. Freshly planted seeds, tubers and joints of cassava began to sprout in that wet phase of the year that rang with the incessant nocturnal chorus of these frogs. But also in the increased leisure time that immediately followed planting, human families and couples would have spent more time together. The natural result would have been a marked increase in the number of pregnant women. It is also noteworthy that in traditional divisions of labor in diverse tropical lowland cultures that cultivate cassava, Amerindian women, including pregnant ones, usually tend to the agricultural plots and gather much of the edible roots, fruits, and vegetables while the men fish and hunt.^x Agriculture can involve both genders at planting and harvest time but the daily tending of agro-plots is often taken up by women and this would likely have been the case in the ancient Antilles, when many men were away on fishing expeditions and other sea voyages. For the ancient Antilleans, the widespread frog imagery may have represented both agricultural and female fertility.

Frogs were certainly not the only female fertility symbol. By far the most common zoomorphs appearing in Saladoid adornos, painted motifs, and effigy pots were turtles.

They were maternal creatures in Conquest-era Taíno mythology (see below), which may have harked back to Saladoid times. Turtles' habitual return from the ocean depths to emerge out of the water, laboriously crawl up onto the beaches in the dark of night, and spend much of that night digging (then later covering) a hole with their flippers into which they have laid hundreds of eggs certainly made them symbols of the dutiful, prolific mother.

Turtle carapaces are reflected in the most common Saladoid vessel type: the everted bowl. In fact, many of these bowls are effigy vessels with the head, legs, and even the tail of a turtle modeled on their rim (figure 9). Scholars have also suggested that the dome-like roofs of oval Saladoid houses may have deliberately evoked a turtle's shell.^{xi} There is certainly linguistic evidence of this "turtle-house" idea since the name for these dwellings in many parts of tropical South America is still "maloca," a word with a clear relation to "morocoy," commonly used to denote tortoises in the same areas.

It is unclear whether the tortoise, and by implication the maloca, carried primarily feminine symbolism but Taíno oral traditions, first written down by Father Ramón Pané in 1498 at Columbus' command, indicate that the people of the Greater Antilles considered the sea turtle their prime female ancestor. From a scaly infection on the back of the Taíno culture hero, Deminán Caracaracol, is prided a turtle that has been growing there. After delivering him from his dorsal pregnancy, Deminán's three identical brothers build a house with him for the turtle, and in Peter Martyr d'Anghiera's early sixteenth century transcription of the myth, they become her polyandrous consorts as it were. Together these five are the ancestors of the Antilleans,^{xii} who are in this way "children of the turtle."

Frog and turtle symbols appear not only on pottery and perhaps in the architectural plans of Saladoid-era houses, but in a number of other arts, including trigonal and conical zemis made of conch shell or stone (figure 11) and numerous works of rock art throughout the Caribbean archipelago (figure 12). The famed Taíno ballcourt at Caguana in Puerto Rico features the mother goddess, Atabey, with flexed legs in the manner of a frog, but also in the position of a woman stooping to give birth (figure 13). The specifics of how all these works related to ritual and social roles are yet unclear.

After frogs and turtles, the most common zoomorphs are those accorded masculine symbolism in many tropical lowland cultures and perhaps in the Pre-Columbian Caribbean as well: pelicans, wading birds, owls, bats, and dogs.^{xiii} The contrast between these winged creatures of the air and the "feminine" ones associated with moisture is clear but not mutually exclusive. After all, bats and night birds live in hollows and caves, which might associate them structurally with the dark, damp earth as much as with air; and pelicans, herons, frigate birds, and ibises are all linked to watery realms that structural anthropology considers as carrying feminine associations among South American peoples. Would-be masculine bird and bat motifs are common throughout the ancient Antillean arts, from cave art to sculpture (figure 14), and dog images were

accorded full icon (i.e., zemi) status by the Taíno who used images of a canine deity, Opiyel-guobirán, in their worship.^{xiv} But these zoomorphs do not appear nearly as often in ceramic arts as do frogs and turtles. It would appear that Saladoid pottery is an art form dominated by feminine iconography.

Gender, vocation, and authority during the Saladoid Period

Could the preeminence of feminine zoomorphic symbolism in Saladoid ceramics indicate that the potters, or at least some of them, were women? Since the ceramics of the period are not lacking prominent masculine zoomorphic symbols, the pronounced maternal and agro-fertility emblems alone do not reliably indicate that the makers were primarily female. Given the importance of the sea in the lifestyle and migrations of Pre-Columbian Antillean peoples, and that the sea was accessed by canoes traditionally manufactured and crewed by men,^{xv} it is very likely that Saladoid-era colonies were first established through male agency. But as a result of the many inter-island migrations in the early Saladoid settlement of the Caribbean islands, male explorers were probably dependent on the stability of matrilineal ancestry to establish and maintain leadership ascension, property rights, and other hereditary claims. From the Conquest era to the present, Arawak peoples such as the Taíno of the Greater Antilles and the Lokono of the Guianas have been known to trace their ancestry along the matriline.^{xvi}

While agency in the avant-garde of Saladoid migration may have sat with male canoeists, it is not known whether the migrations themselves were directed by male, female, or mixed groups of political or religious leaders. Additionally, it is not known whether political leadership after settlement of the Lesser Antilles remained with the male vanguard or, say, passed to female elders brought on the canoes that arrived first (to empower/initiate colonies) or last (to seal/establish colonies). We also do not know whether religious/ritual specialists within Saladoid-era society, the likely authors of Saladoid zoomorphic iconography, were male, female, or both. The predominantly feminine zoomorphic symbolism of ceremonial ceramics might suggest that women were either an important part of Saladoid-era religious leadership or pottery-making.

If we consider the role of the artisan in understanding and teaching religious iconography to apprentices, it is easy to imagine these artisans also playing a part in developing and modifying such iconography, even if the visual prototypes were devised by ritual leaders. This would be the case especially in the loosely organized pioneering communities such as those of the Saladoid era in the early Common Era Caribbean where, interestingly, the pottery exhibited considerable skill and a rigorous program of motifs.^{xvii} The fineness of their pots and the richness of their visual repertoire demonstrate that Saladoid potters were highly trained tradition bearers. Evidently, they were tradition makers as well in the new, uniquely Antillean Saladoid of the early first millennium CE. Zoomorphs such as manatees (themselves a maternal symbol as evidenced in this Arawak word, meaning “breast”)^{xviii} as well as most of the aforementioned aquatic birds and owls appear only on Antillean Saladoid pottery but not on the Saladoid pottery of the mainland.^{xix} Saladoid

migrants also greatly diversified the preexisting frog and turtle iconography of their mainland ancestors once they arrived in the islands where those creatures became more important emblems.

The question remains as to whether the technological and iconographic tradition borne by Saladoid ceramicists was a matrilineal, patrilineal, or mixed transmission. Archaeologist Arie Boomert has suggested that since “religion is typically the domain of men” in many Amerindian cultures, the makers of Saladoid adorned pottery were probably male.^{xx} In a Saladoid society such as Boomert might postulate, men may have taken over the commonly female vocation of pottery making as the art form became more closely allied with a religious establishment dominated by men or they may have exclusively made ceremonial pottery while women continued to make utilitarian ware. For instance, in the Classic Maya society of the first millennium CE, male master potters made (and signed in hieroglyphs) the elite “codex style” painted ceramics exchanged among royals,^{xxi} whereas utilitarian and other decorated vessel production presumably remained predominantly in the hands of the kingdom’s women. Codex style pottery often bore narrative paintings derived from Mayan scripture and lore executed in a figural and hieroglyphic style adapted from books, themselves made by predominantly male scribes.

In contrast to the royal scribes of the Maya who developed, or perhaps co-opted, the elite pottery exchanged among nobles, today’s commercial considerations and ethnic pride have caused many contemporary Amerindian men to take up the traditionally female-dominated arts of weaving and ceramics in their communities. The male basket makers in Dominica’s Carib Territory and the grandsons of famed Hopi-Tewa potter, Nampeyo, in Arizona are examples of male artists and artisans crossing the traditional but permeable gender divisions in the Amerindian arts. Rosemary Joyce notes that throughout the ages, Amerindian societies have been remarkably flexible in assigning tasks, rituals, implements, and regalia typically associated with one gender to another.^{xxii}

Unlike Boomert, anthropologist Henry Petitjean Roget believes that, like so many potters in the tropical lowland Americas, the Saladoid potters were probably women.^{xxiii} Indeed, since ceramics are made of earth, which is traditionally ascribed feminine symbolism, and take the form of a vessel, also considered functionally “female” in many Amerindian societies, they carry culturally feminine connotations.^{xxiv} Since food cooked by tropical Amerindian women, fruits and vegetables collected by them, and alcoholic beverages fermented by their saliva are presented in these earthen vessels, the contents of pots also would render those pots symbolically “female.”^{xxv} Even if men author the iconography of such pottery’s adornments, women ceramicists might partner with, or operate under the supervision of, male shamans to produce ritual pottery.

Claude Lévi-Strauss reported that women potters in tropical lowland Brazil, Colombia, and the Guianas observe solemn rituals of silence and celibacy when gathering clay and making pots under (male) shamanic supervision. They bind their hair, make sure they are not menstruating, and do not associate with their children during these activities. Not

observing these austerities is believed to cause pots to be brittle or to sicken those who eat from them.^{xxvi}

These restrictions seem to be proscriptions imposed by patriarchal systems seeking to suppress women's stereotypical social operations during a ritual production. Certainly, one can imagine an opposing production model in which a menstruating ceramicist might be considered a maker of strong and youth-restoring pots. Instead, as is common in more male-dominated religious structures, menstruation seems restricted as potentially weakening or sickening ritual objects and institutions. However, considering the potters' other proscriptions on parenting, sex, speech, and hair it can be suggested that the behavioral restrictions on women potters do not so much suppress their gender as socially neuter it, placing the potters beyond gender as traditionally understood.

In any case the evident input of male shamans in the pottery making of such temporarily sequestered women or 'para-women' (i.e., "beyond-gender" persons) described above would not disqualify those women from co-maintaining and co-developing motifs and iconography with the shamans. In fact, Arawak women in the northwest Amazon (an area that may be the oldest known Arawak homeland and indeed the Saladoid homeland as well)^{xxvii} are the sole ceramicists in their communities and believe that the manufacture and adornment of pottery was first taught to them by their ancient culture hero/creator, Napiruli.^{xxviii} We might also consider that being a tradition bearer of ceremonial pottery makes one a kind of ritual specialist and that among some peoples, perhaps including Saladoid-era Arawaks, some religious leaders might have been women potters.

Saladoid pottery was used in both the domestic and ritual spheres; possessed overwhelmingly feminine connotations in both its material construction and function; and featured feminine animal symbolism among its chief adornments. All this plus the fact that the majority of potters in ancestral northern South America, especially among Arawaks, have been women strongly suggests that Saladoid ceramicists were typically women. Their relation to possible male ceramicist counterparts and young protégés, as well as their role in the Saladoid-era ritual and authority structure can only be guessed at just now. From their motifs, we can appreciate the ceramicists' interest in harmonization of complements, transformation, and liminal creatures/beings that straddle water, air, and earth. These interests in hybrid existence are likely to have had some fascinating manifestations in Saladoid social institutions, myths, rituals, and interpersonal relations.



Figure 1. White-on-red painted pottery adornment employing figure-ground reversals, Indian Creek, Antigua, Saladoid. Museum of Antigua and Barbuda. Photograph by author.



Figure 2. Composite adorno comprising stacked faces and features, unknown site (probably Morel), Guadeloupe, Saladoid, 12 cm. height. Musée Edgar Clerc, Guadeloupe. Photograph by author.



Figure 3. Bowl fragment with composite face comprising two eyes shared by right side up and inverted noses and mouths, Saladero, Venezuela, Barrancoid-Saladoid (Los Barrancos phase) interaction, 24 cm. diameter. Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History Anthropology Department, Connecticut. Photograph by author.



Figure 4. Bottle spout depicting shaman (hands propping up chin broken off) with avian alter ego emerging from forehead, Lagon Doux, Trinidad, Cedrosan Saladoid (Palo Seco phase), 9.5 cm. height. Tobago Museum, Tobago. Photograph by author.



Figure 5. Multiple views of composite turtle head adorno that becomes armadillo when seen from above (*left*), unknown site, Barbados, Saladoid, approx. 5 cm. diameter. Barbados Museum, Barbados. Photographs by author.



Figure 6. 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.



Figure 7. Frog vessel with flexed legs (and broken head), unknown site, Montserrat, Saladoid, 15.2 cm. length. Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian: Cultural Resources Center, Maryland. Photograph by author.



Figure 8. Frog adorno from shallow dish, unknown site, Tobago, Saladoid, approx. 8.5 cm. width. Tobago Museum, Tobago. Photograph by author.



Figure 9. Turtle bowl with modelled flippers on rim (and broken head), Saladero, Venezuela, Saladoid, approx. 28 cm. wider diameter. Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History Anthropology Department, Connecticut. Photograph by author.



Figure 10. Turtle effigy pot stand, Guayaguayare, Trinidad, Saladoid, approx. 20 cm. diameter. Pointe-à-Pierre Wildfowl Trust: Peter Harris Collection, Trinidad. Photograph by author.



Figure 11. Trigonal/conical shell zemi with incised flexed frog motif on bottom register (hip and knee joints marked with drilled dots), unknown site, Montserrat, Saladoid, 5 cm. diameter. Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian: Cultural Resources Center, Maryland. Photograph by author.



Figure 12. Turtle pictograph (*upper right*), Mountain River Cave, Jamaica, Taíno, approx. 8 cm. Photograph by author.



Figure 13. Petroglyph of fertility deity Atabey in flexed frog pose on a monolith at Caguana *batey* (ballcourt), Puerto Rico, Taíno, approx. 1 m. height. Drawing by author.



Figure 14. Aquatic bird shell amulet, Portland, Guadeloupe, Saladoid, approximately 6.25 cm length. Musée Edgar Clerc, Guadeloupe. Photograph by author.

ENDNOTES

ⁱ Irving Rouse, *The Tainos: Rise and Decline of the People Who Greeted Columbus* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale, 1992), 74-77.

ⁱⁱ Samuel Wilson, *The Archaeology of the Caribbean* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 64-66.

ⁱⁱⁱ Arie Boomert, *Trinidad, Tobago and the Lower Orinoco Interaction Sphere: An Archaeological/Ethnohistorical Study* (Alkmaar, Netherlands: Cairi Publications, 2000), 96-97.

^{iv} Rouse, *The Tainos*, 77-79; Irving Rouse and José M. Cruxent, *Venezuelan Archaeology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 112.

^v Modeled adornment on Saladoid pottery has roots in both the Saladoid ceramic culture of the Middle Orinoco and the Barrancoid ceramics (associated with the type-sites of Barrancas and Los Barrancos) of a related group of agricultural people on the Lower Orinoco. In this article, the modeled pottery traditions that resulted from the confluence of Barrancoid and Saladoid ceramic cultures is referred to collectively as Saladoid (a common practice in designating early Caribbean ceramics), since Saladoid ceramic-making people seem to be the ones who primarily and predominantly settled the Lesser Antilles.

^{vi} Boomert, *Trinidad, Tobago and the Lower Orinoco*, 149.

^{vii} Boomert, *Trinidad, Tobago and the Lower Orinoco*, 215-216, 463.

^{viii} Ken S. Wild, "Investigations of a 'Caney' at Cinnamon Bay, St. John, and Social Ideology in the Virgin Islands as Reflected in Pre-Columbian Ceramics," in *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology* (St. George, Grenada: International Association for Caribbean Archaeology, 1999), 306.

^{ix} Luis A. Chanlatte Baik, Iván F. Mendez Bonilla, and Yvonne Narganes Storde. *La Cultura Saladoide en Puerto Rico* (San Juan, Puerto Rico: Universidad de Puerto Rico, 2002), 36; Miguel Rodríguez, "Religious Beliefs of the Saladoid People," in *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean*, ed. Samuel M. Wilson (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 1997), 83-86.

^x David M. Guss, *To Weave and Sing: Art, Symbol, and Narrative in the South American Rainforest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 28-30, 33-39; Stephen Hugh-Jones, *The Palm and the Pleiades: Initiation and Cosmology in Northwest Amazonia* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 30; Pita Kelekna, "Farming, Feuding, and Female Status: The Achuar Case," in *Amazonian Indians from Prehistory to Present: Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Anna Roosevelt (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1994), 228-229. The northern South American groups mentioned in these sources represent a range of language groups with varying lifeways, from the Jivaroan-speaking Achuar in the northwestern Amazon to the Carib-speaking Yekuana in the Guianas, all of whom cultivate manioc (cassava) with the division of labor noted here.

^{xi} Aad H. Versteeg, "Archaeological Records from the Southern and eastern Caribbean Area. How Different and How Similar are They?" in *Proceedings of the XVII Congress of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology* (New York: Molloy College, 1997), 96-97.

^{xii} Ramón Pané, *An Account of the Antiquities of the Indians*, ed. José Juan Arrom and trans. Susan Griswold (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1999), 16 ; Antonio M. Stevens-Arroyo, *Cave of the Jagua: The Mythological World of the Tainos* (Scranton, New Jersey: University of Scranton Press, 2006), 125-126.

^{xiii} Arie Boomert, “Raptorial Birds as Icons of Shamanism in the Pre-Historic Caribbean and Amazonia,” in *Proceedings of the XIX International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology* (Aruba: Archaeological Museum, 2001), 122-123; Lawrence Waldron, “Like Turtles, Islands Float Away: Emergent Distinctions in the Zoomorphic Iconography of Saladoid Ceramics of the Lesser Antilles, 250 BCE to 650 CE” (Ph.D. Dissertation, City University of New York, 2010), chap. 4.

^{xiv} Pané, *An Account of the Antiquities of the Indians*, 28.

^{xv} Fred Olsen, *On the Trail of the Arawaks* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), 159; Johannes Wilbert, *Mystic Endowment: Religious Ethnography of the Warao Indians* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), 41-50.

^{xvi} Fernando Santos-Granero, “The Arawakan Matrix,” in *Comparative Arawakan Histories: Rethinking Language, Family and Culture Area in Amazonia*, ed. Jonathan D. Hill and Fernando Santos-Granero (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 38-39, 46.

^{xvii} Louis Allaire, “The Lesser Antilles Before Columbus,” in *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean*, 24. Allaire asserts that Saladoid pottery followed “rigid and complex rules of symmetry that must have required a difficult apprenticeship.”

^{xviii} Edwin Miner Solá, *Diccionario Taíno Ilustrado* (Puerto Rico: First Book Publishing, 2002), 92.

^{xix} Waldron, “Like Turtles, Islands Float Away,” chap. 4, 5 and 6.

^{xx} Boomert, “Agricultural Societies in the Continental Caribbean,” in *General History of the Caribbean: Autochthonous Societies*, ed. Jalil Sued-Badillo (London: Macmillan Caribbean/UNESCO, 2003), 154. Since the Saladoid-era people lived so long ago, the use of ethnographic analogy with living Amazonid peoples, where men are often in charge of religious ceremonies, is one of the only ways that Boomert, and we, can infer in general terms the lifeways of these ancient people. Certainly ancient people may have differed significantly from today’s Amerindians (even so called “lost tribes” or un-contacted people who seem untouched by surrounding peoples now but may have been affected greatly by the Conquest), so the results of ethnographic analogy are never conclusive.

^{xxi} Mary Miller and Simon Martin, *Courtly Art of the Ancient Maya* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2004), 126.

^{xxii} Rosemary A. Joyce, *Ancient Bodies, Ancient Lives: Sex, Gender, and Archaeology* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2008), chap. 2 and 3.

^{xxiii} Henry Petitjean Roget, “Les pétroglyphes des Petite Antilles: Médiateurs entre la sécheresse et l’inondation,” *International Newsletter on Rock Art* 50, (2008), 12.

^{xxiv} Peter G. Roe, “Pottery: Forms that Endure” in *Arts of the Amazon*, ed. Barbara Braun (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1995), 25.

^{xxv} For traditional Amazonian narratives in which men “spoil” fermented beverages (*chicha*) with their male saliva, see Betty Mindlin and Indigenous Storytellers’ *Barbecued Husbands and Other Stories from the Amazon* (London: Verso, 2002), 35-36, 198.

^{xxvi} Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Jealous Potter*, trans. Bénédicte Chorier (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 23-28.

^{xxvii} Michael J. Heckenberger, “Rethinking the Arawakan Diaspora: Hierarchy, Regionality and the Amazonian Formative,” in *Comparative Arawakan Histories*, 99; Wilson, *The Archaeology of the Caribbean*, 61.

^{xxviii} Ulrike Prinz, “Arawak: Northwest Amazon Peoples Between Two Worlds,” in *Orinoco-Parima: Indian Societies in Venezuela-the Cisneros Collection*, eds. Gabriele Herzog-Shröder and Ulrike Prinz (Bonn, Germany: Kunst-und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik, 1999), 210.