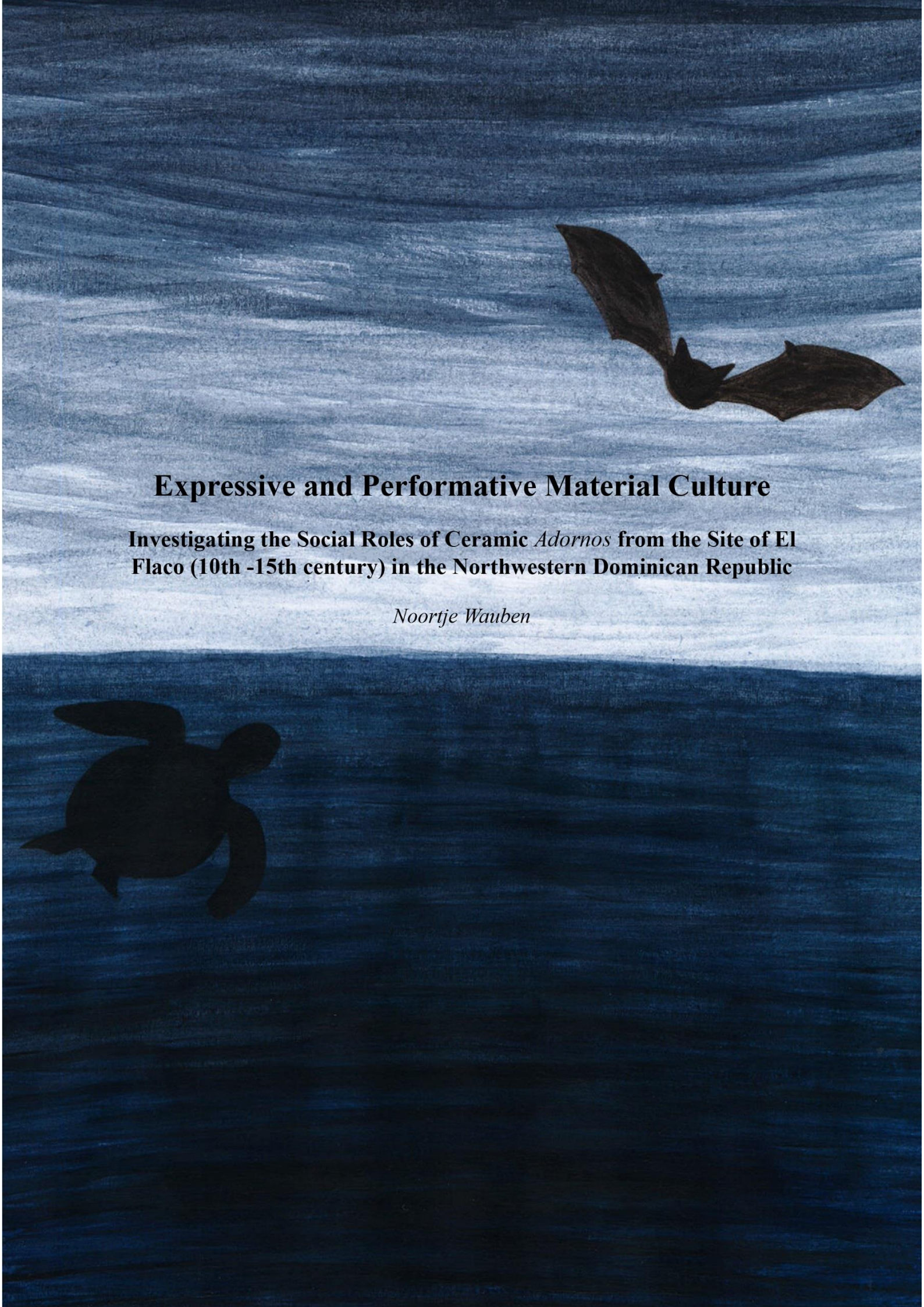

Expressive and Performative Material Culture

Investigating the Social Roles of Ceramic *Adornos* from the Site of El Flaco (10th -15th century) in the Northwestern Dominican Republic

Noortje Wauben

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Noortje Wauben

Studentnumber: 1367307

RMA thesis archaeology, 4ARX-0910ARCH

Supervisors: Prof. dr. Corinne L. Hofman

Dr. M. Magdalena Antczak

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1. Introduction

Ceramic *adornos*, which can be briefly defined as figurative ceramic modelling on a ceramic vessel, are found widely distributed throughout the archaeological record of the circum-Caribbean. It has been argued that they are connected to a great number of cosmological concepts, based on ethnohistoric accounts. These include; the creation of the world and the roles of particular nonhuman beings therein, which are frequently portrayed on *adornos* (e.g. turtles, frogs and birds) (see Moravetz 1999; 2005; Oudhuis 2008; Petitjean Roget 1975a; 1975b; 1997; Waldron 2010; 2016; Wauben 2016). Moreover, the study of *adornos* has great potential to contribute to our understanding of indigenous peoples' conceptions of human-nonhuman relations by looking into the manner in which nonhuman beings are portrayed on the *adornos*, and the manner in which the *adornos* were treated by their creators and users.

Unfortunately, previous studies on *adornos* are few in number and have largely been based on an art-historical approach with little reflection toward their archaeological and social contexts. In these studies the prevalent approach has been concerned with a search for the "representational meaning(s)" of the imagery on the *adornos*, in which ethnohistoric accounts are considered to hold the key to its "decipherment". In particular the accounts by Friar Ramón Pané (1999), recorded during the fifteenth century in Hispaniola, have extensively been used to formulate interpretations on the meanings of the imagery on figurative material culture from the Caribbean (e.g. Arrom 1975; Bercht and Alegría 1997; Moravetz 1999; 2005; Oliver 2009; Oudhuis 2008; Petitjean Roget 1975a; 1975b; 1997; Roe 2004; Stevens-Arroyo 1988; Waldron 2010; 2016). Unquestionably, these studies have greatly contributed to the development of our understanding of a variety of figurative objects, such as *adornos*.

Nevertheless, it is time to critically assess our conceptions of, approaches to and the questions we ask of *adornos*, but also of figurative material culture in general. The focus on the search for representational meaning can result in an impression of *adornos* as fixed and static, in which the image of, for example, a turtle is considered to be associated with fertility, regardless of time and place. Furthermore, these interpretations seem to be only concerned with the identification of the image portrayed, after which the object is put aside and largely forgotten, as only its image is considered to be relevant to the meaning

of the *adorno*. It should be questioned to what extent such an interpretation can really provide insight to an understanding of an object. Additionally, because of the emphasis on the imagery of the *adornos*, only the modelled *adorno* on the vessel is discussed, while the vessel is largely left outside of the analysis. Therefore, many questions concerning the cultural relevance and social roles of *adornos* remain largely unanswered.

However, the systematic excavations at the site of El Flaco (northwestern Dominican Republic), directed by Professors Corinne L. Hofman and Menno L. P. Hoogland as part of the ERC-synergy NEXUS1492 project, have uncovered an assemblage of 277 *adornos* and/or their fragments (see fig. 1). For this assemblage detailed information in regards to the spatial positioning of the *adornos* within the site have been recorded. The systematic excavations of these *adornos*, conducted between 2013 and 2016, provide a unique opportunity to draw broader inferences from observable repetitive patterns of spatial or contextual associations of *adornos* at the intra-site level, which is expected to address the issue of the unknown cultural relevance and social roles of *adornos*.

Fig. 1: Map of the circum-Caribbean with the location of the site of El Flaco indicated by a red dot (after Keegan et al. 2013, 2).

1.1 Objectives and Research Questions

The principle objective of this thesis is to readdress the current understanding of *adornos* with a focus on providing better insight on their potential social roles. In addition, this

research aims to stimulate a discussion on the conceptualization of *adornos* in relation to the vessel and their high degree of fragmentation, and to propose a different approach to *adornos*. The greater significance of the study of *adornos* lies in its potential to contribute to our understanding of indigenous Caribbean peoples' conceptions of human-nonhuman relations.

The central research question is formulated accordingly:

> *What were the social roles of the ceramic adornos recovered from the site of El Flaco (10th – 15th century), northwestern Dominican Republic?*

The following sub-questions are expected to eventually lead to an interpretation of the social roles of the *adornos*:

> *1. How have adornos been approached in previous studies, and what interpretations are made in regards to adornos resulting from these studies?*
>
> *2. What is known about the cosmological beliefs of the inhabitants of Hispaniola, and what roles do the beings frequently portrayed on adornos play in these cosmological beliefs?*
>
> *3. From what theoretical and methodological framework should adornos be approached?*
>
> *4. How heterogeneous are the adornos from El Flaco, and what images can be identified on the adornos?*
>
> *5. What can the archaeological context of the adornos from the site of El Flaco tell us about the activities in which adornos played a role?*
>
> *6. What is the social context of these activities, and what are the possible roles of adornos within this social context?*

1.2 Methodology and Theory

To accomplish the objective of readdressing the current understanding of the social roles of *adornos*, the method of analysis developed by M. Magdalena Mackowiak de Antczak (2000) is applied. This method has initially been developed for the analysis of pre-colonial figurines of the Los Roques archipelago, Venezuela. Therefore, since *adornos*

are not figurines, this method is used flexibly and mainly provides a means to structure the research. The structure of this particular method of analysis is considered to be fruitful in the analysis of the *adornos* as it combines the analysis of the social and archaeological contexts with the analysis of the form (the object and its image) and content (which is understood here as its expressive potential) (Mackowiak de Antczak 2000, 3).

Furthermore, to readdress the manner in which *adornos* and figurative material culture in general have been approached, an emphasis is placed on the expressive and performative potential of *adornos*. The expressive potential refers to the capacity of imagery to convey cosmological or sociological concepts, which is expected to minimize the risk of leaving an impression of *adornos* as passive and static. Additionally, *adornos* are viewed to hold a performative potential, which refers to their ability to act in the constitution of society and social relations. The conception of the performative potential of *adornos* is considered to be of significance as it allows for the active engagement with indigenous ontologies, such as perspectivism and animism. These ontologies already recognize that nonhuman beings, such as the *adornos* themselves and most of the beings portrayed on the *adornos*, have the potential to play an active role within societies and are considered to potentially have social lives with an intentionality and subjectivity (see Bird-David 1999; Gell 1998; Ingold 2006; Viveiros de Castro 1998, 476; Viveiros de Castro 2004, 467). Therefore, Amerindian perspectivism (Viveiros de Castro 1998; 2004; 2012) and personhood combined form an important theoretical frame of reference from which to approach the *adornos* (Bird-David 1999; Descola; 1986; 1992; 2015; Fowler 2004).

Finally, before commencing this study, the conceptualization of *adornos* in relation to the vessel needs to be briefly discussed. As mentioned previously, the study of *adornos* has mainly been concerned with the modelled part, and the term *adorno* most commonly only refers to the modelling on the vessel, while the vessel is largely neglected. However, throughout this study, *adornos* are conceived of as both consisting of: 1) only the modelling and 2) the modelling with vessel, as it is considered that both viewpoints on the *adorno* can hold valuable information. Therefore, from these two conceptualizations of *adornos* two definitions are developed. First, *adornos* are defined as figurative ceramic modelling, which can be either affixed to a ceramic vessel, or modelled through extraction on the vessel-wall. Secondly, *adorno*s are defined as ceramic vessels with figurative ceramic modelling/models attached or modelled through extraction. The term

adorno is simultaneously used to refer to the modelling alone and to the modelling/models with vessel. If it is considered necessary to refer to either the modelling itself or the modelling/models with vessel, the term *adorno-modelling* (plural: *adorno-models*) or *adorno-vessel* is used.

1.3 Outline

The following chapter, chapter 2, discusses previous research conducted on *adornos* from the Caribbean archipelago, which evaluates how *adornos* have been approached and the conclusions that have been drawn from these studies. Subsequently, it is explained how my approach to the *adornos* may differ from previous studies, in particular in regards to the definition of *adorno*, the conceptualization of *adornos* in relation to the vessel, and the consideration of the high degree of fragmentation of *adornos*. Additionally, a cosmological frame of reference is provided, which is predominantly based on the accounts by Friar Ramón Pané (1999), as this account is the main source of information on the cosmological beliefs of the indigenous inhabitants of Hispaniola.

Chapter 3 introduces the theoretical and methodological framework. In this chapter, it is discussed how the three domains of analysis (i.e. the form, content and context) of the method of analysis developed by Mackowiak de Antczak (2000) are approached in regards to the *adornos*, which includes a discussion on my understanding of the expressive and performative potential of *adornos*. Additionally, Amerindian perspectivism and personhood combined form an important theoretical frame of reference, which is developed by means of the works by Viveiros de Castro (1998; 2004; 2012) on perspectivism, and Descola (1986; 1992; 2015), Fowler (2004) and Bird-David (1999) on personhood.

The next chapter, chapter 4, is concerned with a formal analysis of the *adornos*, which involves the recording of certain formal aspects of the *adornos* and the identification of the possible images portrayed on the *adornos*. Additionally, in this chapter, the site of El Flaco is introduced. Chapter 4 provides a description, and better understanding, of the variability in the physical attributes of the *adornos* and the images portrayed.

The following chapter, chapter 5, examines the archaeological context of the *adornos*, which relates to the spatial positioning of the *adornos* in relation to each other, and in

association with the remnants of past activities (e.g. burials, hearths or postholes) at the intra-site level.

The objective of chapter 6 is to make propositions on the potential social roles of *adornos* by looking into the social context of the activities as identified in the previous chapter.

In the final chapter, chapter 7, the results of the research and their implications are discussed. Additionally, the methodology and approach to the *adornos* are evaluated, and a number of potential avenues for future research on *adornos* are proposed.

2. Background to the Study of *Adornos*

2.1 Introduction

Ceramic *adornos* from the Caribbean have previously been systematically studied by Keegan and Byrne (1999), Moravetz (1999; 2005), Narganes Storde (1993), Oudhuis (2008), Paulsen (2018), Petitjean Roget (1975a; 1975b; 1997), Waldron (2010; 2016) and Wauben (2016). In this chapter, in order to place the study of the *adornos* from the site of El Flaco in the broader panorama of studies on *adornos*, it is discussed how *adornos* have been approached in the past and what conclusions have been drawn based on these studies. The discussion of previous studies on *adornos* is concerned with the works by Moravetz (1999; 2005), Oudhuis (2008), Petitjean Roget (1975a; 1975b; 1997) and Waldron (2010; 2016) since these are considered to comprise the most comprehensive studies on *adornos*. In the discussion of these studies on *adornos*, I focus mainly on if the archaeological context of the *adornos* is incorporated, how the relation between the vessel and the *adorno-modelling* is approached, and what explanations are given in regards to the high degree of fragmentation of *adornos*. In addition, it is shown in what manner my approach to the *adornos* may differ from previous approaches, in particular in regards to the definition of *adorno*, the conceptualization of *adornos* in relation to the vessel, and my consideration of the high degree of fragmentation of *adornos*.

Finally, a cosmological frame of reference is provided, which is mainly based on the accounts by Friar Ramón Pané (1999), from which the social roles of the imagery on the *adornos* from El Flaco can be interpreted. The cosmological frame of reference is expected to shed light on the potential social roles of the imagery on the *adornos* from El Flaco, as it has been proposed that the beings portrayed on *adornos* were connected to an immensity of cosmological concepts (see Moravetz 1999; 2005; Oudhuis 2008; Petitjean Roget 1975a; 1975b; 1997; Waldron 2010, 2016; Wauben 2016). Therefore, it is expected that the *adornos* from El Flaco can similarly be connected to such cosmological concepts, including the creation of the world. An investigation into the potential social roles of the beings portrayed is considered to be relevant in the study of the social roles of the *adornos*, as the roles of the beings portrayed were possibly related to the roles of the *adornos* themselves. The cosmological frame of reference first involves a reconstruction of the cosmos, which is followed by a discussion of the possible roles of particular beings

in the cosmos, creation narratives, and society of their creators and users. It concerns a discussion of the beings that are most frequently identified on a*dornos* from the Greater Antilles (see Oudhuis 2008; Wauben 2016), and are expected to be portrayed on the *adornos* from the site of El Flaco.

2.2 Previous Studies on *Adornos*[1]

2.2.1 Petitjean Roget (1975a; 1975b; 1997)

Petitjean Roget (1975a, 182; 1975b; 1997) studied a sample of around 400 Saladoid *adornos* from private and museum collections, in which he predominantly focused on the identification of the bat and the frog. Within his studies, imagery is conceived of in a similar manner to language, as it is believed that a "hidden message" from the imagery of *adornos* could be "deciphered" by means of ethnohistoric accounts (Petitjean Roget 1997, 101-103). Furthermore, Petitjean Roget (1975a; 1975b; 1997) does not seem to engage with the particular contexts in which the *adornos* were found, nor the vessel to which the *adorno* was/is a part of.

Petitjean Roget (1975b, 179-180; 1997, 103) argued, based on the appearance of the frog on top of the fruit-eating bat on zoomorphic imagery from the Lesser Antilles, that the bat and the frog were the inverse of each other. Additionally, it was suggested that the frog belongs to a lower level of moisture related to feminity, while the bat is a dry animal and associated with masculinity. According to Petitjean Roget (1997, 105), the frog was considered as the "primeval mother of humankind". Boomert (2000, 446-447), in a similar manner to Petitjean Roget, argued that the celestial plane and dryness were related to the masculine, while the subterranean waters were related to wetness and the feminine. Therefore, the particular animals associated with the subterranean waters (e.g. turtle, lizard, frog and caiman) or the celestial realm (e.g. bat, owl, birds) can be variously connected to the female or male principle.

However, it should be questioned to what extent it is warranted to attribute these static distinctions of male and female to depictions of animals, as the danger prevails to thereby simply interpret all depictions of wet animals as representations of fertility. In addition, the merging of the turtle and the bat into one being, on an *adorno* from El Flaco (as discussed in chapter 4), illustrates that this distinction was likely not as static as described

above. Furthermore, Paulsen (2007, 30) argued, based on a study of oral traditions known from the Caribbean cultural area, that particular animals often have both male and female associations, and that the gender assigned to a particular animal in the narratives is not absolute. However, Paulsen (2007, 54) did note that the turtle seems to be only associated with female qualities, and the bat predominantly with male qualities.

2.2.2 Imaging *Adornos* by Moravetz (1999; 2005)

One of the first scholars to have studied ceramic *adornos* from the Caribbean archipelago systematically was Iosif Moravetz. Moravetz (1999; 2005) studied a sample of 210 Saladoid *adornos* (250 BCE-CE 500) from the island of St. Vincent. His study involved an iconographical analysis based on the method developed by Panofsky (1939), including a description and compilation of formal attributes for each *adorno* resulting in a formal classification of the *adornos*, and the identification of the species depicted on the *adornos*. Eventually, the aim of his study was to make inferences on the possible "meanings" (i.e. subject matter) of the *adornos* as assigned by their creators and users, in which he was mainly concerned with the image depicted on the *adornos* and only briefly discussed the manufacturing process (e.g. how the *adorno* was modelled and appended) (Moravetz 1999, i; 2005, 11). Throughout his dissertation, the *adornos* were approached as objects of art, which were interpreted as consisting of a "symbolic system of communication" (Moravetz 1999, 27; 2005, 11). Thus, the study by Moravetz (1999; 2005) was largely based on an art-historical approach.

In his interpretation of the possible "meanings" of the *adornos* Moravetz (1999, 142) was mainly concerned with the depiction of the turtle, as more than half of the *adornos* were identified to portray the image of a turtle. He concluded that the sea turtle, as a "symbol", related to the concern of the creators of the *adornos* with human origins, the afterlife, and a need for shelter. These relations were inferred based on the appearance of the turtle as the mother of the first human beings in the creation narratives recorded by Pané (see section 2.4), the placement of vessels portraying turtles over the deceased and the presence of turtle burials. Additionally, the turtle was argued to be related to shelter because of the appearance of a house structure at the site of Golden Rock on the island of St. Eustatius, supposedly modelled after the physical appearance of the turtle carapace (Moravetz 1999, 204-205; Moravetz 2005; 65-73; Versteeg and Schinkel 1992, 74; 195-196). Throughout his research, Moravetz (1999, 207) interpreted the depiction of animals

on vessels in the form of *adornos* mainly as a means to transmit cosmological knowledge from generation to generation. In addition, he considered *adornos* as possibly the forebears of *cemíes* (see section 2.4.1), which has similarly been argued by Allaire (1997, 24), but not much evidence has been given to support this argument (Moravetz 1999, 207).

Furthermore, Moravetz (1999, 44-45; 2005, 17) noted that for most of the *adornos* in the sample it is unknown from which site the *adorno* has been collected. Therefore, it was hardly possible for him to reflect on the archaeological or social context of the *adornos*. In addition, Moravetz (1999; 2005) was barely concerned with the vessel to which the *adorno* was once attached. Furthermore, only two types of vessel "decoration" were recorded: curvilinear designs or rectilinear designs. However, it was noted that for most of the *adornos*, the vessel "decoration" could not be determined, because of the absence of vessel fragments to which the *adorno* was attached, and there was no further engagement as to the significance of the vessel ("decoration") to the *adorno* (Moravetz 1999, 50; 75; 2005, 31). Furthermore, Moravetz (2005, 21) considered an *adorno* to be complete if the entire head of the depicted being is present with most of the facial features, and, thus, largely neglected the vessel to which the *adorno* is/was attached as part of the whole. Finally, Moravetz (1999, 5; 2005, 2) claimed that *adornos* were modelled independently from the vessel in the manufacturing process and appended to the vessel afterwards, which was given as an explanation as to why the majority of the *adornos* recovered from the archaeological record are detached from the vessel. Thus, he did not consider the possibility of deliberate breakage.

2.2.3 Fluctuating Identities by Oudhuis (2008)

Oudhuis (2008) systematically studied a sample of eighty-six *adornos* recovered from the site of El Cabo (CE 600-1492), located in the southeastern Dominican Republic. In a similar manner to Moravetz (1999), Oudhuis (2008, 9-10) largely followed the method of an iconographical analysis developed by Panofsky (1939), and was also inspired by the formal classification of Saladoid *adornos* by Moravetz (1999) in her classification of the Chicoid *adornos* from El Cabo. Furthermore, Oudhuis (2008, 9) was mainly concerned with making inferences on the possible "meanings" of the *adornos* in the cosmology of their creators and users. Thus, her study predominantly consisted of an art-historical approach. Oudhuis (2008) concluded that the bat was most frequently depicted within the

sample of *adornos* from El Cabo. In addition, it was argued that the imagery on the *adornos* possibly expresses communal identity, and that the imagery was intimately connected to particular cosmological concepts (Oudhuis 2008, 81). Furthermore, Oudhuis (2008, 81) viewed *adornos* as possibly being similar to cemíes, as did Moravetz (1999), but neither have provided much evidence to support this argument.

In contrast to Moravetz (1999), Oudhuis (2008) did have access to detailed information in regards to the archaeological context of the *adornos* from El Cabo, but did not engage with the context of the *adornos* in her analysis. Oudhuis (2008, 62; 66; 80-81) did briefly discuss the relation of the *adorno* to the vessel to which it was once attached, and argued "… we must consider the *adornos* as a vessel" as she considered it "meaningless" to engage solely with the *adorno* independent of the vessel. Regardless of this statement, Oudhuis (2008, 62) did not engage with the vessel further in her analysis of the *adornos* as she claimed to not have access to the vessel due to the highly fragmentary nature of the *adornos*. However, she did argue that it would be fruitful for future research to engage with the connection between the *adorno* and the vessel (Oudhuis 2008, 80-81). Furthermore, initially, Oudhuis (2008, 9) noted that most of the *adornos* are found detached from the vessel in the archaeological record because of erosion and/or post-depositional processes. Nevertheless, later on she did consider the possibility of deliberate breakage of the *adorno* from the vessel (e.g. as a means to end the lives of the vessels), as most of the *adornos* were found detached from the vessel or little of the vessel was left attached to the *adorno* (Oudhuis 2008, 81).

2.2.4 Like Turtles, Islands Float Away by Waldron (2010; 2016)

Waldron (2010, iv-5; 2016, 1-5) studied a sample of around 2500 zoomorphic Saladoid *adornos* (250 BCE-650 CE) from fifteen museum collections. The objective of his study was to identify differences in zoomorphic incidences on ceramic between the Ceramic peoples that settled the islands of the Lesser Antilles and the peoples that departed in South America, which was done by comparing *adornos* from the Lesser Antilles with *adornos* from Venezuela. In his study, Waldron (2010, v; 10; 58; 2016, 52-53) focused on interpreting the cultural "meanings" assigned to zoomorphic depictions on ceramic by their creators and users, for which he mainly used ethnohistorical accounts, in particular the narratives recorded by Pané, but also considered the appearance and behavior of certain animal species and oral traditions from other regions. Furthermore, Waldron

(2010, v) applied an iconographical and iconological analysis that resembles the method developed by Panofsky (1939), although Waldron (2010) did not refer to Panofsky. Thus, Waldron (2010; 2016) also approached the *adornos* from a predominantly art-historical perspective.

In conclusion, Waldron (2010, 293; 2016, 214) considered animals to play particular roles in the direct environment, as utilitarian resources, and as "signifiers" of "symbolic kits" (e.g. bringer of fire or storms) and of regional identity. In addition, it was argued that the ceramic iconography of the so-called Taíno was far less diverse than that of the Saladoid, as a result of increased social inequalities, in which certain animal depictions as distinctive of particular identities (e.g. chiefs or clans) out-competed others (Waldron 2010, 315). Waldron (2010, 316) identified fifteen zoomorphic depictions that regularly appear on Saladoid ceramics (among which he identified the turtle most frequently), while among the so-called Taíno only the owl, bat, turtle and frog frequently recur.

Furthermore, Waldron (2010; 2016) did not systematically engage with the archaeological or social context of the *adornos*, which was most likely because of the absence of detailed information in regards to the context of *adornos* stored in museum collections. Nevertheless, Waldron (2010; 2016) did occasionally provide examples of *adornos* that were found in funerary contexts, but these examples are few in number and seem to be consciously selected and, thus, hardly provide a good view of the contexts in which *adornos* are regularly found in the archaeological record. Waldron (2010; 2016), however, did attempt to engage with the shape of the vessel in relation to the *adorno* that is attached to the vessel. For example, it was argued that bat wings are frequently depicted on vessels that might have been used to contain liquids (e.g. water), which was considered to be reflective of the watery underworld to which the bat also has a possible relation (Waldron 2010, 87-88; 2016, 109-110). However, it remains rather tentative to infer vessel function from the shape of the vessel, nor is it mentioned exactly how frequent particular vessel shapes can be found in combination with particular animal species identified on the *adornos*. Furthermore, Waldron (2010; 2016) did not discuss the high degree of fragmentation of *adornos*.

2.3 Conceptualizing *Adornos* and the Issue of Fragmentation

Adornos have been defined variously with a number of recurring components, such as: "decorative" (Krieger 1931, 8; Waldron 2010, 358; Quetta *et al.* 2012; Persons 2013, 124), "human- and animal-like or geometric" or "figural" (Boomert 2016, 165; Krieger 1931, 8; Moravetz 2005, 4-5; Waldron 2010, 358), "modelling" (Persons 2013, 124; Raymond *et al.* 1975, 6; Waldron 2010, 358), "appended to a vessel" or "separated from the parent vessel" (Moravetz 2005, 4-5; Persons 2013, 124; Raymond *et al.* 1975, 6; Waldron 2010, 358), and "lugs" (Boomert 2016, 165; Krieger 1931, 8). In addition, it should be noted that, although in the English literature *adornos* most frequently refer to figurative modelling, in some Spanish literature the term "*asa*" is used in addition to *adorno*. This term can refer more generally to any modelled forms on ceramic vessels and do not necessarily have to be figurative (e.g. handles) (Arrom 1975, 176-177; Arrom and García Arévalo 1998, 21; 29; Oliver 2008, 169).

Most of the, above mentioned, components for the definition of an *adorno* are reused in my definition, but I will try to refrain from making implicit assumptions on the function of *adornos* in its definition (e.g. by not using terms as "decorative" or "lug"). In addition, in contrast to previous definitions of *adornos*, I propose two distinct conceptualizations of *adornos*, which result in two different definitions. First, *adornos* throughout my research are defined as figurative ceramic modelling, which can be either affixed to a ceramic vessel, or modelled through extraction on the vessel-wall. However, this definition is not considered complete, because it does not acknowledge that *adornos* formed an integral component to the ceramic vessel.

Instead, as is apparent from the discussion on previous studies, *adornos* have largely been approached as if they are figurines, however, they are not. In contrast to figurines, *adornos* were once part of a vessel, which is largely forgotten when they are encountered detached from the vessel in the archaeological record. Because of the high degree of fragmentation of *adornos*, they are widely conceived of as only consisting of the modelling, and not the modelling with vessel. However, for the purpose of my analysis I conceive of the *adorno* as both: 1) consisting of only the modelling and 2) the modelling with vessel, as in this research it is considered that both viewpoints on the *adorno* can hold valuable information. Thus, the second conceptualization and definition of *adorno* is: ceramic vessel with figurative ceramic modelling(s) attached or modelled through

extraction. Throughout my study, the term *adorno* is simultaneously used to refer to the modelling and to the modelling with vessel. However, if it is considered necessary to refer to either the modelling or the modelling with vessel, I specifically use either the term *adorno-modelling* (plural: *adorno-models*) or *adorno-vessel*. In addition, I differentiate between embodied *adornos* (modelling embodied on vessel) and disembodied *adornos* (modelling detached from vessel). It should be noted that there is some overlap in these terms that I use. For example, a disembodied *adorno* only consists of the *adorno-modelling*. However, these terms do not refer to the same, as an *adorno-modelling* is not necessarily a disembodied *adorno*, but can still be attached to the vessel (see fig. 2).

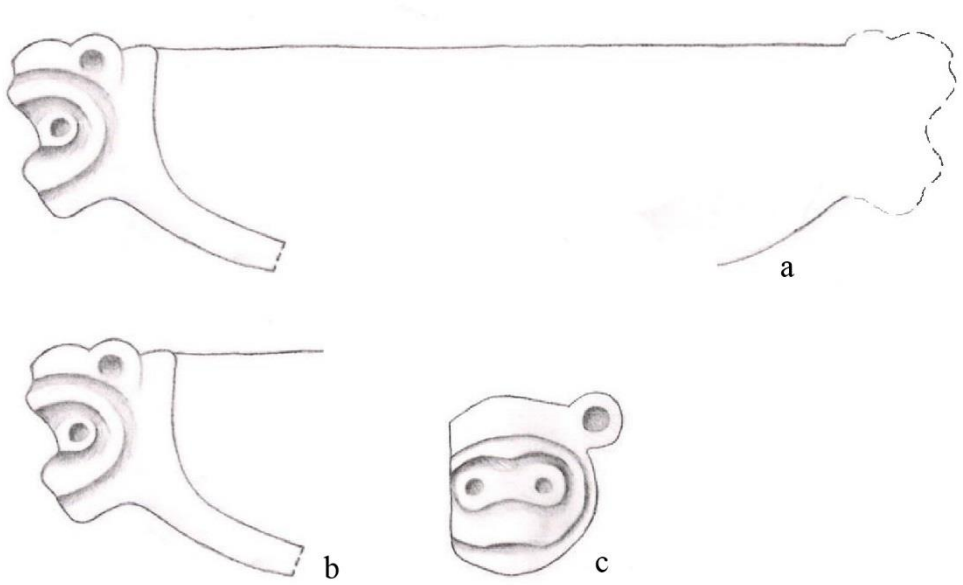

Fig. 2: Explanation of terms used throughout this research: a) adorno-vessel, b) embodied adorno-modelling, c) disembodied adorno-modelling.

These differentiations are necessary, because when an embodied *adorno* becomes disembodied it will likely no longer be able to perform the same role in society as it did when it was embodied. For example, the *adorno-vessel* can contain food, the *adorno-modelling* cannot. The *adorno-modelling* can easily be transported, the *adorno-vessel* cannot. In addition, the role of the *adorno-modelling* (which can be embodied or disembodied) likely differs from the role of the *adorno-vessel*. Considering that my main research question relates to the social roles of *adornos*, it is important to engage with this tension between the whole (*adorno-vessel* and embodied *adorno[s]*) and the fragment

(*adorno-modelling* and disembodied *adorno*). The vast majority of the *adornos* recovered from the site of El Flaco are disembodied, and for most of the *adorno-models* the vessel cannot be reconstructed, which complicates the study of the role of the *adorno-vessel* in society. This leads to the question whether the fragment can be independent from the whole and perform a role in society as a distinct entity. Similarly, Burström (2013, 318) questioned, in regards to the preoccupation of archaeologists with the reconstruction of whole objects from fragments, whether there may be more to be found than a lost whole?

In relation to these questions, Brittain and Harris (2010, 586) argue that it is not safe to assume that "…all objects were designed and created to be whole" (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007, 15), and question when an object can be considered to be whole or complete. For example, Bailey (2007) argues that figurines from southeastern Europe were formed as intrinsically, or abstractly, incomplete because of the absence of, for example, the head or face. Similarly, Alberti (2014, 112) argues that ceramic vessels from the first millennium CE in northwest Argentina, diagnostic of the La Candelaria culture, were unfinished, rather than completed and static, as suggested by their fracture, friable, uneven and rushed work. Furthermore, Strathern (2004, 7-8) challenges any straightforward distinction between part and whole, as she argues that what is whole will depend on one's perspective. Parts and wholes are relative, situated conceptions, as one individual identity (or object) may be conceived of as a whole, or may be construed as part of a wider set of identities (or objects) (Strathern 2004, 7). Similarly, Brittain and Harris (2010, 586) question if for a ceramic vessel to be whole, does it need be completely filled with the product that it is supposed to carry (is a water jar whole if it does not contain water?).

This discussion leads me to question whether the *adorno-modelling* was conceived of as a fragment or a whole in the past. For example, in regards to the *adornos*, the modelling was commonly formed independently from the vessel and attached later on. Can we then assume that perhaps the original whole object is the *adorno-modelling* and not the *adorno-vessel*? Is it possible that a disembodied *adorno*, that was first attached, is just a new whole? These questions emphasize that the detachment of an *adorno-modelling*, or breakage of the vessel, does not necessarily entail that its life has ended. The *adornos* are here not conceived of as static nor passive end-products, but as active and dynamic. This conception allows for the recognition that *adornos* may go through continuous processes of transformation, such as fragmentation, but can still play an active role in society.

However, whether this was actually the case still needs to be demonstrated, but it cannot be assumed that after breakage the *adorno* was immediately discarded.

Adding to this argument, Oudhuis (2008, 271) suggests that *adornos* may have been deliberately broken or detached from the vessel for their high degree of fragmentation, but does not engage with this issue any further. Aside from Oudhuis (2008), the high degree of fragmentation of *adornos* has not been questioned, as it is commonly assumed to be caused by accidental breakage or taphonomic processes (e.g. Moravetz 2005; Waldron 2010). Following Chapman and Gaydarska (2007, 2), archaeologists may have grown accustomed to finding broken things in the archaeological record that it is not questioned why something has been broken. Chapman (2000; Chapman and Gaydarska 2007) is one of the few people who actively engages with the possibility of intentional breakage and the extended life of a fragment, and argues that many objects in the past were deliberately broken and reused after breakage for a variety of purposes (see also Brück 2006; Grinsell 1961; Talalay 1987; Woodward 2002). The issue of the possibly deliberate detachment of *adornos* from the vessel is further discussed in the formal analysis of the *adornos* from El Flaco (see chapter 4).

2.4 Cosmological Frame of Reference

The social roles of *adornos* are, in this research, expected to be closely related to the particular images portrayed on the *adornos*. The beings portrayed on the *adornos* are considered to hold certain abilities that were potentially endowed in the *adorno* as well, in a manner that the *adorno* is able to act in a similar manner to the being that is depicted. Therefore it is considered to be essential to an understanding of the social roles of the *adornos* to learn about the potential roles of the beings depicted, as subsistence resources, and as actors in the cosmos and society. The identification of the possible social roles of the beings frequently portrayed on *adornos* is mainly concerned with the *adorno-modelling*, although the possible role of the *adorno-vessel* is briefly discussed.

In furtherance of an understanding of the place particular beings may hold in the cosmos, and the potential roles they may fulfill in the dynamics of the universe, the account written by Cátalan Friar Ramón Pané provides an important resource. This particular account, called *Relación de las antigüedades de los indios*, describes the cosmological beliefs and creation narratives of the native inhabitants of the land of a cacique named

Guarionex on the island of Hispaniola (fig. 3). Friar Ramón Pané was assigned with the task to live among the native inhabitants, learn the language, and record their beliefs, which he did from the time he arrived in the spring of 1495 until sometime between 1496 and 1498 (Pané 1999, xiv). The account of Friar Ramón Pané is mainly concerned with the creation narratives of his informants, which consists of the narrative of where the people came from, how the sun and the moon emerged above the skies, how the sea flooded the earth, and where the dead go (Pané 1999, 4).

Although the account has widely been used to develop an understanding of the cosmological beliefs of the indigenous inhabitants of the Caribbean archipelago, and to interpret their figurative material culture (e.g. Arrom 1975; Bercht and Alegría 1997; Moravetz 1999; 2005; Oliver 2009; Oudhuis 2008, Petitjean Roget 1997; Roe 2004; Stevens-Arroyo 1988; Waldron 2010; 2016), the account is not without flaws. Foremost, it is uncertain to what extent the cosmological beliefs among the inhabitants of the territory of Guarionex were shared over wider geographical areas, or were continuously reinterpreted and/or modified through time and place. Nevertheless, it is characteristic of narratives, tales and legends to be transmitted from generation to generation and over distances in order to secure information and to assure that values, taboos and rules are passed down and followed (Paulsen 2007, 3). Furthermore, the account appears to be incomplete, as Pané notes that he did not have a sufficient amount of paper, which required him to summarize the information he retrieved. In addition, considering that the account written by Ramón Pané is a secondary resource, and not written by the indigenous inhabitants of Hispaniola themselves, a lot of information is probably lost due to bias and confusion, as Pané wrote about a world that was seemingly far removed from what he knew. Nevertheless, some of the information that Pané wrote down has been verified by the identification of certain actors from the creation narratives and other referents on material culture throughout the Greater Antilles. This includes, for example, a sequence of petroglyphs from the central plaza of the ceremonial center of Caguana in Puerto Rico (e.g. Bercht and Alegría 1997; Oliver 1997, 143; Roe 2004, 98; Stevens-Arroyo 1988).

In advance of the development of the cosmological frame of reference below, it should be clarified why ethnohistoric accounts are used, while the use of ethnohistoric accounts in previous studies on *adornos* is criticized (see section 2.2). In previous studies on *adornos*

it seems as if it is expected that from the accounts by Pané the so-called meanings of the *adornos* can be directly identified. Within these studies it are only the beings portrayed on the *adornos* (e.g. a turtle), and the role of that being in the accounts by Pané, that are engaged with, while the *adorno* itself is largely forgotten. Throughout my research, the accounts by Pané are used in a different manner. My interpretations of the potential social roles of the *adornos* are not determined by these accounts, but they are used as a source of insight on the potential roles of the beings portrayed. The aim is to look beyond the accounts by Pané through the engagement with the archaeological and social context of the *adornos* (see section 3.3 in which this issue is further discussed).

Fig. 3: Hispaniola with villages of chiefs indicated by dots (Pané 1999, xxiii).

2.4.1 Liminality and Metamorphosis

Liminality is a theme that is recurrent in the imagery on *adorno*s from the Greater Antilles (see Oudhuis 2008; Wauben 2016), and is considered to be related to, possibly, one of the most potent abilities of most beings that are frequently identified on *adornos*. It refers to the ability of any being to move freely from water to land, land to sky, and vice versa. For the assumed importance of liminality to the inhabitants of El Flaco, all beings identified on the *adornos* are, throughout this study, grouped according to their particular liminality, rather than based on the animal classes (i.e. amphibian, reptile, mammal etc.) (see section 4.4.2). Liminal movement through water, land and sky was likely esteemed highly for its association with movement through the three planes of the cosmos.

The cosmos can be described as a concentric universe consisting of three distinct planes: the celestial plane above, the earthly plane in the middle and the subterranean waters below, which are connected by the axis mundi and sacred caves (fig. 4) (Siegel 1997,

108). Therefore, in particular animals that inhabit caves or caverns, such as the bat and the owl, were probably esteemed highly as they not only are able to fly into the celestial plane, but may also have been believed to pass through all three of the planes of the cosmos by entering and emerging from caves (Keegan and Carlson 2008, 102).

Keen observations of the dynamics of the environment resulted in an awareness of an inherent tendency towards entropy in the cosmos, which brings continuous fluctuations between order and chaos, experienced in the form of droughts, hurricanes, disease and floods. In addition, throughout the planes of the cosmos energy transfers occur, and when energy is taken from one part, the cosmos would be instable. These dynamics were conceived of as being controlled by contrasting forces: ones that maintain order and ones that cause disruptions in order. The antagonistic forces, known as cemíes, can appear in the form of ancestors, stone, wood/trees, bones, or natural phenomena (e.g. hurricanes or floods). Cemíes were captured or personified into physical form. In physical form, they were able to engage in social relations and serve as providers of spiritual guidance (Oliver 2009, 44; 54-66). Thus, the cemí refers to a spirit, and is not a mere object, as objects were only cemíes by attribution or through their connection to the numinous (Stevens-Arroyo 1988, 57-58). Each cemí has particular abilities or powers to change or trigger future events, which can be good or bad. For example, certain cemíes cause illness to human beings or destructive floods, while others help pregnant women in giving birth or stimulate the growth of crops (Oliver 2009, 73-74). Cemíes were used to ensure fertility, for protection from ill omens, and played important roles in various rituals (Stevens-Arroyo 1988, 57).

The objective, of the indigenous inhabitants of Hispaniola, was probably to maintain a balance and order between the three planes of the cosmos. Therefore, in the event of entropy or instability the cosmos needed to be restored, which required the investment of a lot of energy (Oliver 1997, 140-141). The maintenance and restoration of the universe was done through ceremonies, known as the *areíto* and *batey*, in which culture heroes and animal actors played important roles in order to establish communication between the three realms (Oliver 1998, 94-116). These animal actors were likely liminal creatures that functioned as mediators and/or intermediaries between the three planes of the cosmos for their ability to move freely along the axis mundi or through caves. Following VanPool (2009, 180-181), the shaman or *behique* can serve in a similar manner as an intermediary

between the planes and travel along the axis mundi into the various planes of the cosmos to request for guidance or knowledge from the spirits in, for instance, determining the cause of an illness. In order for the shaman to travel along the different planes, the shaman needed to transform into a spiritual creature through an altered or shamanic state of consciousness, which was elicited by the inducement of the hallucinogen *cohoba* (VanPool 2009, 180-181). The spiritual creature that the shaman would transform into was probably again a liminal creature, which provides the shaman with the necessary liminal abilities.

The transforming shaman or behique leads to another significant and recurring theme among the imagery of *adornos*, which is metamorphosis. In regards to *adornos* there is a tendency to merge distinctive features of different creatures into one being, which possibly depicts a being that is in transformation (see Oudhuis 2008; Wauben 2016). According to García Arévalo (1997, 112) metamorphic, or isomorphic imagery, is recurrent throughout the material culture of the wider Greater Antilles, in which spirits of the dead and the animals into which they would transform are simultaneously depicted. Similarly, as will be indicated, multinaturalism plays an important role in the cosmological beliefs and creation narratives of the informants of Pané.

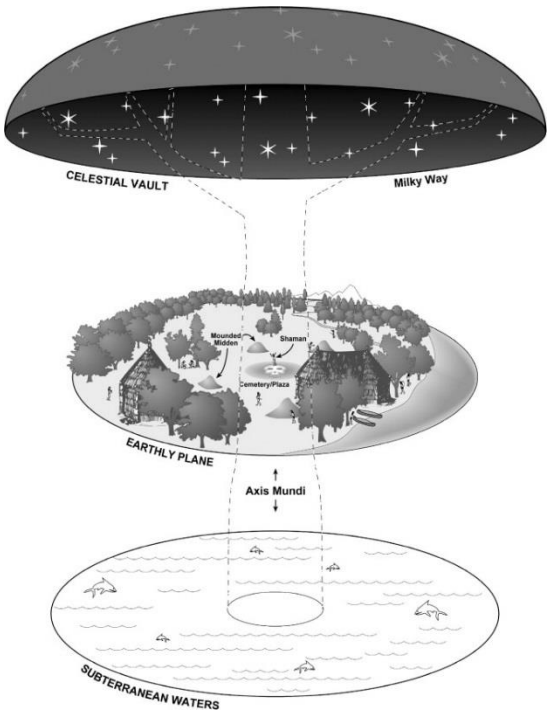

Fig. 4: Reconstruction of the cosmos (Siegel 2010, 308).

2.4.2 From Land to Water and Back

Among the beings, frequently identified on *adornos*, who inhabit the liminal space between water and land, are the turtle, frog, crocodile and lizard (see Oudhuis 2008; Wauben 2016). Turtles are considered to act as significant subsistence resources for their high nutritive value and the ease by which they are caught during egg-laying cycles (Fitzpatrick and Keegan 2007, 35). A variety of turtles and their eggs have been extensively exploited for many centuries throughout the Caribbean archipelago (Antczak *et al.* 2007; Fitzpatrick and Keegan 2007; Newsom and Wing 2004; Versteeg and Effert 1987; Wing and Reitz 1982), including on the island of Hispaniola during the Late Ceramic Age (Hofman and Hoogland 2015; Keegan and Hofman 2017; Tavárez María 2003; Wing 2001). The most common turtle species that have been recovered from the zooarchaeological record of Hispaniola are the *Chelonia mydas* (green sea turtle, *Caguana*), *Dermochelys coriacea* (leatherback turtle, *Fandusca* or *Fanduca*), and *Trachemys decussate* (fresh- water slider turtles, *Hicotea or Jicotea*) (Newsom and Wing 2004; Wing 2001).

However, according to Exquemelin, who wrote about the indigenous inhabitants of the Lesser Antilles during the seventeenth century, there was a taboo in the Caribbean on the consumption of fresh-water turtles, or Hicoteas, as these were considered to be "full of oil and not fit to eat" (Stevens-Arroyo 1988, 40). Stevens-Arroyo (1988, 129) argues that the avoidance of the fresh- water turtle in the diet reflects a religious prohibition with a gastronomic reality, as the consumption of the fresh- water turtle may have been believed to cause syphilis. The apparent absence of fresh-water turtles in the zooarchaeological record of the Lesser Antilles seems to provide support to the argument (Schats 2010, 79-81). However, as mentioned above, fresh- water turtles have been found in the zooarchaeological record of the Greater Antilles (Newsom and Wing 2004, 137) and of the site of El Flaco (as identified by Gene Shev, pers. com. 2018), although it does not necessarily entail that they were actually consumed.

In addition, the turtle plays an important role in the creation narratives, as recorded by Ramón Pané. In the narrative in which the turtle is an actor, four quadruplets visit their grandfather, who was named *Bayamanaco*. Bayamanaco had the knowledge and skill necessary to make fire, and, thus to make *cazabe* (cassava bread). The quadruplets, of which one was named *Deminán Caracaracol*, requested for some cazabe from their

grandfather. This request enraged Bayamanaco, who in his rage spat a *guanguayo*, which served to contain tobacco but was filled with the hallucinogen cohoba, onto the back of Demínan Caracaracol. The spit of Bayamanaco gestated into the body of Deminán from which a swelling began to grow. Deminán Caracarocol almost died if it was not for his brothers who opened the swelling with a stone axe. From the swelling a female turtle emerged who started a sedentary life with the quadruplets by building a house, while the brothers took care of the turtle (Pané 1999, 15-16). In addition, in the version of this particular narrative by Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (1999, 49), the turtle becomes the wife of the four brothers and gives birth to their children, who were the first human beings to inhabit the earth.

By the end of the first cosmic era, the quadruplets had learned how to build houses, till the soil, cook with fire, and were now able to live a sedentary life. The quadruplets appear to have learned this knowledge from the turtle, who, in this manner, provides the quadruplets with shelter and food (Arrom 1997, 68). Furthermore, Stevens-Arroyo (1988) argues that the quadruplets may have had syphilis, because of the translation of the name Deminán Caracaracol to "the scabby one" and his very rough skin. The female turtle seems to have cured the quadruplets, resulting in them to be able to have sexual relations and reproduce. Arrom (1975, 142) describes the turtle as the "mythical mother of humanity" as she is the mother of the first human beings.

Furthermore, the turtle not only provides food and shelter to the brothers in the narrative, but also to the indigenous inhabitants of the Caribbean islands. Foremost, the turtle provides food for its high nutritive value, as discussed above. In addition, on a number of *adorno-vessels* from the site of El Flaco the body of the vessel appears as the body of the turtle, which may have been used to serve food (which is further discussed in chapter 4). Similarly, Waldron (2011, 5) notes that many bowls among the Saladoid with the head and legs of the turtle protruding from the vessel-wall seem to depict the body of the turtle. Finally, as mentioned above, the turtle shows a relation to shelter because of the construction of a house modelled after the turtle's carapace (Versteeg and Schinkel 1992, 74; 195-196).

Additionally, the frog performs an important role in one of the narratives. In this particular narrative, children become separated from their mothers, as they are left near a stream. Distressed by hunger the children cry out for their mothers "asking for the treat",

as they cry out “toa, toa”, which means water in several Amerindian dialects (e.g. Carib, Taruma and Trío). Subsequently, the crying children transform into frogs, and this is the explanation that is given for why frogs make a particular noise during springtime (Pané 1999, 7-8). This narrative suggests that the frog has a particular relation to the beginning of the rainy season, as the crying of the children and the constant noise frogs produce during particular times in the year, indicate when the rainy/agricultural season begins and when it is time to start sowing and harvesting crops (Arrom 1997, 76-78).

Furthermore, lizards can be identified on the imagery of *adornos*. In regards to their role as subsistence resources, lizards were consumed as delicacies throughout the Greater Antilles (Alegría 1997, 20). In addition, Keegan and Carlson (2008, 34) argue that a particular actor in one of the creation narratives, called *Mácocael*, bears similarity with the lizard. This particular narrative revolves around the place from which the first humans emerged, who were the descendants of the quadruplets and the turtle (Arrom 1997, 72). The place from which the first humans appeared is located in a province in Hispaniola called *Caonao*. In the province of Caonao there is a mountain with two caves, one of which is called *Cacibajagua* and the other *Amayaúna*. The majority of the people who inhabit the island of Hispaniola emerged from the cave Cacibajagua. Mácocael was the vigilant nocturnal guardian of the cave Cacibajagua, as he was assigned with the task to stand watch at the entrance of the cave during the night (Pané 1999, 5-6). However, one day he was too late to return to the cave and was turned into stone near the entrance by the Sun, and in that manner the realm of the minerals was created (Arrom 1997, 73; Pané 1999, 5-6). It is argued that the being Mácocael resembles a lizard, because lizards can similarly be found “guarding” caves as they sit motionless and camouflaged against the walls of caves, and lizards are frequently depicted as petroglyphs on the entrances of caves. In addition, the name Mácocael can be translated to “he of the eyes that do not blink,” and likewise lizards do not seem to close their eyes (Keegan and Carlson 2008, 34).

Finally, the caiman/crocodile can be recognized on the imagery of *adornos*, but this particular animal does not appear to play a role as a subsistence resource nor in the creation narratives. However, Roe (1997, 124-128) argues that the frog substituted the role of the caiman in the cosmology of peoples in the Orinoco River region of the Amazon basin, because of its similar association with water. This would also explain the

dominance of the frog in Caribbean imagery in comparison to the minor presence of the frog in South American imagery. In addition, in a similar manner to the frog, the caiman can produce a particular noise that predicts the coming of rain (Roth 1915, 269).

However, it is similarly possible that the lizard on the islands replaced the crocodile as both creatures appear to be "tortured" by the Sun in the creation narratives from Hispaniola and in Guianian Carib and Arawak lore. In a Carib narrative, which has also been used by Waldron (2010, 251), the caiman is requested by the Sun to guard his fishponds, but instead the caiman devours the fish, which leaves the Sun enraged. Subsequently, the Sun slashes the caiman repeatedly, which is why the caiman nowadays bears particular marks on his skin (Roth 1915, 211-212).

2.4.3 From Land to Sky and Back

One of the most prominent animals on the imagery of *adornos* from the Greater Antilles, which is found in the liminal space between the earthly plane and the celestial plane, is the bat (see Oudhuis 2008; Wauben 2016). The particular cosmological significance of the bat revolves around the creature's association with the spirits of the dead, known as *opías*. Among the indigenous inhabitants of the island of Hispaniola, death was merely conceived of as the end of physical life, as the life of the soul would go on in an equally real state (García Arévalo 1997, 112). The souls of the dead would go to a place called *Coaybey*, known as the house and dwelling place of the dead, of which one named *Maquuetaurie Guayaba* was the lord (Pané 1999, 17-18). The dead remained hidden from daylight, only to emerge from their hideouts by nightfall, and the living were fearful of walking alone at night because of the dangers of encountering an opía. At night, the opías assumed the body of an animal, probably the bat, or of a human, to roam freely among and seduce the living, and to eat the sweet pulp of a certain fruit called *guayaba* (guava, *Psidium guayaba*). The dead could only be distinguished from the living by touching their bellies, as the dead were known to have no navel (Pané 1999, 18-19).

The behavior of the opías bears a particular resemblance with fruit-eating bats (*Artibeus jamaicensis*), which is the most common species in Hispaniola, as in a like manner the fruit-eating bat shows a particular dietary preference towards guavas and emerges at night (García Arévalo 1997, 120). In addition, on imagery from the Greater Antilles, including on *adornos*, features characteristic of the bat are commonly merged with that of human

faces, which may highlight the isomorphism between the bat and the souls of the dead (García Arévalo 1997, 114).

Similarly, the owl was feared for its association with the souls of the dead. The owl had the ability to announce the proximity of death through its blood-curling nocturnal call (Arrom 1998, 19-23; García Arévalo 1997, 114). Nowadays the belief persists that the owl can announce the proximity of death of one of the occupants of a house by flying over it. In addition, owls are commonly depicted on the imagery from the Greater Antilles with human ears and perforated lobes, possibly emphasizing its relation to the dead (Arrom 1998, 19-23; García Arévalo 1997, 120-123). Furthermore, similar to the bat, owls are known to inhabit caves or caverns, which form a connection to the various planes of the cosmos, and simultaneously to the place where the dead go (Keegan and Carlson 2008, 102).

Finally, various birds cannot be left unmentioned among the beings that can fly into the celestial realm. Birds play a significant role in the creation narratives, as recorded by Pané, on two occasions. The first occasion involves the narrative in which Mácocael is turned into stone by the Sun, which is followed by others who were turned into trees called *jobos* or *myrobalan* (hog plum trees), and finally a person named *Yahubaba* who was caught by the Sun and turned into a bird. However, Yahubaba was not turned into any bird, but specifically into the nightingale, known as *Yahuba-bayael*, which characteristically sings in the morning (Pané 1999, 6-7). The nightingale is believed to sing during the season when it became a bird, as he mourns his fate and pleads for help (Anghiera 1999, 48; Pané 1999, 7).

On the second occasion, in another narrative, the woodpecker acts out a significant role. In this particular narrative, men are left without women, whom they greatly missed, as they stayed in the cave from which the first humans emerged. One night, as they went out to bathe in rainwater for it had rained a lot, they observed female-looking persons from afar climbing into the myrobalan trees. The men tried to catch them, but were not able to hold onto their bodies, as they kept slipping from their hands like eels. They requested the help of the four *Caracaracoles*, who had rough and callused hands from a disease like mange (or syphilis), and, therefore would be better able to hold onto the bodies of the creatures. The Caracaracoles were indeed able to catch four of the female-looking creatures, who upon closer view appeared to have neither the sex of a male nor female

(Anghiera 1999, 48; Pané 1999, 11-12). In their desire for women, the men looked for a particular bird that makes holes in trees, which was known as *Inriri Cahubabayael* (i.e. the woodpecker), as this bird was believed to also be able to make a particular hole on the sexless creatures. Therefore, the men tied the bird to the bodies of the creatures, the bird started burrowing holes in the place where the female sex is located, and the men finally had women (Pané 1999, 12).

In addition, particular nightbirds (e.g. nighthawk and night heron) may have had a particular cosmological significance because of a possibly similar association with opías as the bat and the owl. Furthermore, a variety of birds had an important role as subsistence resources (e.g. mallards, waterfowls and parrots) (Stevens-Arroyo 1988, 40; Veloz Maggiolo 1997, 38). Finally, the feathers of birds were considered to be highly valuable and played an important role in vestments and headdresses (Alegría 1995; Keegan and Carlson 2008, 100-101), which can also be observed on one of the *adornos* from El Flaco (which is discussed further in chapter 4).

2.4.4 On Land

Among the beings that remain on land are the dogs and humans. Following the records written by Las Casas, the indigenous inhabitants of the island of Hispaniola kept two dogs: a mute dog for consumption (called *aon* or *guaminquinaje*) and "a dog that barks" for hunting purposes (Stevens-Arroyo 1988, 40; Veloz Maggiolo 1997, 38). In addition, Pané (1999, 28-29) wrote of a certain cemí, known as *Opiyelguobirán*, who seems to resemble a dog for it is said to have four feet like a dog. The cemí Opiyelguobirán is made of wood and would regularly leave the house at night and head for the jungle. Every time owners of the cemí looked for him, brought him back home, and tied him up. However, it was never enough to hold him, as he kept disappearing into the jungle. One night, when the Spanish arrived on the island of Hispaniola, Opiyelguobirán disappeared again into the jungle where he waded into a lagoon, never to be seen again (Pané 1999, 28-29).

Finally, in the study of *adornos* the focus is often placed on zoomorphic imagery, but, although with less frequency, anthropomorphic images can also be recognized. A number of anthropomorphic and anthropo-zoomorphic depictions appear with headgear or rounded earplugs, which may suggest an enhanced status of the individual portrayed.

Similarly, an increase in anthropomorphic imagery has frequently been suggested to be an indicator of an increase in religious organization (e.g. McGinnis 1997, 573; 586; 946; Wild 2005, 641). Furthermore, similar to the above discussed beings, the cacique and shaman, who may be portrayed by the anthropomorphic images, can act as a conduit between the planes of the cosmos (Curet 1992, 74). In addition, the isomorphism between the bat and the souls of the dead, and the merging of bat characteristics with human characteristics, recognized on *adornos*, suggests the possibility that the anthropomorphic images may depict the souls of the dead.

2.4.5 Connecting to the Vessel

In order to connect the *adorno-models* to the vessel a study by James-Williams (2014) is relevant. He speaks more generally of the use of pottery vessels, from the Blanchisseuse and Golden Grove sites in Trinidad and Tobago, as conduits into the spirit world because of their possible role in shamanic rituals. It is recognized that ceramic vessels can perform a variety of roles in regards to storage, transformation and transference. For example, in regards to storage, vessels may contain a variety of hallucinogenic substances, or other substances utilized in shamanic rituals (James-Williams 2014). The transformative role of pottery concerns its use for life-cycle ceremonies, healing rituals and shamanic transformations. Finally, the role of vessels as a means of transference refers to the possibility of transporting vessels and their contents, which is facilitated by handles and lugs (James-Williams 2014). Thus, not only the beings depicted on the *adorno-models* may have aided the shaman or behique in traveling the planes of the cosmos, but also the vessel possibly played an important role in this.

2.5 Concluding Remarks

From the discussion of previous studies on *adornos* from the Caribbean, it becomes evident that these studies have largely been based on an art-historical approach with little reflection toward the archaeological and social contexts of the *adornos*. Furthermore, the high degree of fragmentation of *adornos* and the relation of the *adorno-modelling* to the vessel is often taken for granted. Throughout this research, it is considered to be important to discuss these issues. In addition, previous studies have mainly focused on the interpretation of the “meanings” of *adornos* to their creators and users based on ethnohistorical accounts. In contrast, my approach to *adornos* consists of a more

archaeological perspective, as I will systematically engage with the archaeological context of the *adornos*, from which it can be seen whether the inferences on the social roles of particular beings identified on the *adornos* from ethnohistorical accounts can be corroborated by the archaeological record. In addition, I will actively engage with the connection between the *adorno-modelling* and the vessel to the extent that it is possible considering the high degree of fragmentation of *adornos*.

Furthermore, based on the cosmological frame of reference, it is remarkable that the majority of the *adornos* from the Greater Antilles are interpreted to portray liminal beings (see Oudhuis 2008; Wauben 2016), who were probably esteemed highly for their ability to transcend the three planes of the cosmos. Therefore, the *adornos* depicting liminal beings possibly played an important role in rituals that required communication or movement between the three planes of the cosmos. Similarly, Barcelos Neto (2008, 114) views effigy vessels as being mediators in rituals, and as agents with an intentionality to support effective communication with other worlds. However, this is only a preliminary hypothesis on the possible social roles of *adornos*, and it is seen if the analysis of the *adornos* from El Flaco can support this hypothesis.

Finally, it remains difficult to understand how the portrayal of a particular animal on the *adornos* relates to the appearance of that particular animal in the direct environment, as subsistence resource, in the creation narratives, and in the cosmos. For example, is the female turtle from the creation narratives the same turtle that the people encountered in their direct environment, or was there a clear difference? From the records of Pané it seems as if this distinction was probably not made, as the frogs and nightingale in their direct environment are considered to produce particular noises because of what happened to these creatures in the creation narratives, which connects them together as if they are the same. However, if there was no disconnection, and taking into account the above mentioned archaeological reports on the intensive exploitation of turtles, it would entail that the indigenous inhabitants of the Caribbean were extensively killing and consuming the "mythical mother of humanity" known as the turtle. Alternatively, if there was a clear distinction, to what turtle does the image of a turtle on the *adornos* refer to; the one that was eaten or the turtle from the narratives?

In the following chapter, the cosmological frame of reference is complemented by a theoretical and methodological framework from which the *adornos* are approached.

3. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Systematic studies on *adornos* have largely been based on an art-historical approach with little reflection toward their archaeological or social context (e.g. Moravetz 1999; 2005; Oudhuis 2008; Petitjean Roget 1975a; 1975b; 1997; Waldron 2010; 2016; Wauben 2016). Therefore, many questions related to the social roles of *adornos* in the lives of their creators and users remain to great extent unanswered. In contrast, the method of analysis that was developed by M. Magdalena Mackowiak de Antczak (2000) for the analysis of pre-colonial figurines of the Los Roques archipelago, Venezuela, provides the possibility to approach the *adornos* differently, through the engagement with their social and archaeological context, which is expected to address the issue of the unknown social roles of *adornos*. This method combines the analyses of the form (the object and its image), content (which is understood here as its expressive potential) and context (archaeological and social) (Mackowiak de Antczak 2000, 3).

In the forthcoming chapter, it is discussed how these three domains are approached in relation to the *adornos*. It concerns a discussion of the following theoretical concepts: form, representationalism, expressivity, space, context, perspectivism, animism, agency and performativity. Furthermore, it should be noted that the division between form, content and context is merely made in order to provide a structure for the discussion of the above-mentioned concepts and the analysis of the *adornos*, as these domains are essentially inseparable, but always intimately connected.

3.2 Form

The first domain of analysis, in the method of analyses developed by Mackowiak de Antczak (2000, 72), is concerned with the formal aspects of pre-colonial figurines as physical objects. In regards to the *adornos*, this domain first involves a morphological analysis, based on the Caribbean Code book of Ceramics developed at Leiden University (Hofman 2005), which is concerned with such formal aspects as external surface color, firing atmosphere and surface finishing. These formal aspects, in addition to fragmentation, size, and place of attachment, are recorded for each *adorno-modelling*. Furthermore, the morphological analysis is concerned with the reconstruction of the *adorno-vessel*, which is also done according to the Caribbean Code book of Ceramics,

and consists of the determination of the vessel shape, wall profile, lipshape, rim profile, wall thickness and diameter (Hofman 2005). In addition, the relative size of the *adorno-modelling* in relation to the vessel is calculated. Secondly, the first domain of analysis involves a formal analysis of the *adorno* as an image, which focuses on the recognition of particular motifs (such as the eyes, nose, mouth/beak, ears, top head, and face incision) and concludes with the identification of the image of the *adorno-modelling*. In case of disembodied *adornos* only part of the image of the *adorno* could be studied, while the vessel may depict other motifs that are of relevance to the interpretation of the image, which cannot be retrieved for each *adorno*, but is recorded when possible. Furthermore, within the formal analysis of the *adornos* a distinction is made between the different ceramic styles that can be identified within the assemblage, in order to see how these different styles may relate to other attributes that have been recorded for the *adornos*.

Finally, it should be noted that in the relation between form and content, form is generally considered to refer to how something is "said", while content refers to what is "said" (Goodman 1975, 799; Pinotti 2012, 4). However, Goodman (1975, 803) has challenged the distinction between form and content, as he argues that form is closely interrelated and involved with what is expressed, as he argues that "…what is expressed is an aspect of how what is said is said…", and both are considered to arise simultaneously in the creation of an object. Similarly, Summers (1989, 377) argues that form is not merely a vehicle for content, but is in a sense content in itself. Thus, if one would aim to extract solely the formal aspect of an object, it would consist of a major reduction; leaving behind only that which remains of a representation when its content is removed (Pinotti 2012, 4). Therefore, the constructed division in the method of analysis merely serves to provide order, but in the end, form and content are reconsidered together and neither is given priority.

3.3 Content

Commonly, the first question that is asked when confronted with an image or a cultural object is: what does it mean? Similarly, in previous studies on *adornos* one of the main aims has been to interpret the meaning(s) of the *adornos* (e.g. Moravetz 1999; 2005; Oudhuis 2008; Waldron 2010; Wauben 2016). This is certainly a valid question to ask. However, a problem arises when this is the only question asked. Following Mitchell (2005, 9), the question of meaning has been extensively, perhaps even exhaustively,

explored. Nevertheless, looking for representational meaning continues to be the prevalent approach in the study of figurative material culture (Arponen and Ribeiro 2014, 174-175). Representational meaning is here understood as what an image may refer to, and what is referred to is considered to be part of a wider cultural system, in which the image stands in for (or represents) something else. By means of this approach, the image is conceived of as a text from which the meaning can be "read".

In particular, in the study of materials from societies without a writing system, a tendency to linguistic determinism and looking for representational meanings seems to be omnipresent. Studies on *adornos* have generally been conducted based on the view of its imagery as being equal to a "visual text" or a "symbolic system of communication" by means of which ideas and beliefs of their creators and users, related to cosmological and sociological concepts, are expressed (e.g. Moravetz 1999; 2005; Petitjean Roget 1997; Waldron 2010; 2016). The understanding of images as visual texts entails the assumption that the lines and motifs of an image are similar to words, as they contribute to the production of meaning (Bal 2002, 26; Mitchell 1986, 503). In these cases, oral traditions and material culture are seen as a replacement for writing systems, and become the predominant medium for transmitting and preserving social knowledge (e.g. Barreto 2004, 10; Hill 1993; Shanks and Tilley 1978, 96). The archaeologists and art-historians who have followed this theory in their studies of *adornos* have argued for a connection of its imagery to a great number of cosmological concepts, including the creation of the world and the role of animals therein based on ethnohistorical accounts (e.g. Moravetz 1999; 2005; Oudhuis 2008; Petitjean Roget 1975a; 1975b; 1997; Waldron 2010; 2016; Wauben 2016).

For example, the creation narratives, as recorded by Friar Ramón Pané (1999), are frequently used as a foundation to build interpretations on the meanings of cultural objects from the Caribbean (e.g. Arrom 1975; Bercht and Alegría 1997; Moravetz 1999; 2005; Oliver 2009; Oudhuis 2008; Petitjean Roget 1997; Roe 2004; Stevens-Arroyo 1988; Waldron 2010; 2016). By means of this approach, I could argue that the representational meanings of the depiction of a turtle on an *adorno* are fertility and shamanism, as there seems to be a connection between the turtle with fertility and shamanism in the narratives as recorded by Ramón Pané (see section 2.4.2). For example, Arrom (1975, 142) argues that the female turtle was possibly perceived of as the "mythical mother of humanity", as she gave birth to the first humans, which can be linked

to the idea of fertility. Additionally, in the narrative, the turtle is associated with the hallucinogen cohoba, and simultaneously shamanism, as the shaman inhales cohoba in order to achieve communication with the numinous.

However, this interpretation only takes into account the recognition of a turtle depicted on the *adorno*, after which the object is put aside and forgotten. Furthermore, there are many *adornos* depicting turtles throughout the Caribbean, it is not likely that all of them have the same static representational meaning. Therefore, it should be questioned to what extent such an interpretation can really provide insight to an understanding of an image. By means of this approach, the narratives (the words) are considered to produce meaning, and not the object in itself. Similarly, Ingold (2000, 340) argues that "…culture is conceived to hover over the material world but not to permeate it." In other words, matter is considered to be initially devoid of significance; meanings are presumed to be fundamentally separate from the material manifestation itself, as they are merely imposed or inscribed on things (Henare *et al.* 2007, 3-4). Additionally, Mitchell (1986, 43-45) discusses the relation between word and image in the study of imagery. He argues that it has often been understood that the meaning of one lies in the other; the word is considered to be able to reveal the "hidden" meaning of an image. In such an approach to imagery, the image is considered to be mute, and only through its analysis the supposedly hidden, or verbal "message", can be retrieved (Mitchell 1986, 45).

In a similar manner, from the iconographical method of analysis developed by Panofsky (1939) images are conceived of as visual texts that can be "read". In this, the assumption is made that an image transmits a sign to the viewer, which makes an analogy to a textual story (Bal 2002, 178). After this sign is decoded, as a relatively self-evident reference to a textual story, the image is forgotten. Once the story is recognized, it covers the complete image as each element of the image serves the recognition of the story. The verbal image is, thus, privileged to the extent of subordination of the visual image (Bal 2002, 179). This privileged attention towards iconographic signs results in the neglect of other signs, which may be less recognizable, but possibly just as important to a meaningful interpretation (Bal 2002, 187).

Furthermore, not all images are representational, and even if they are, many properties are not, such as the ability to bring about emotions or thoughts in the viewer of an image (Alphen 2008, 22). However, it is often uncritically assumed that images were similarly

seen by their original creators and users as representations, while in the past an image may have operated differently and its perceptual experience was likely dissimilar from the present (Alberti and Marshall 2009, 351). For example, Alberti and Marshall (2009) refer to Viveiros de Castro (2007, 20) for an example of an alternative logic in Amazonia of representational imagery, in which the "spirit" is conceived of as a non-representational image, as it does not designate a specific class of nonhumans, "…but a certain obscure vicinity between the human and nonhuman."

Therefore, it is important to consider the imagery on the *adornos* as possibly part of animist (or perspectivist) ontologies, instead of merely representations of these ontologies. Harris (2015, 6) similarly argues for an approach to images in which one explicitly engages with the ontologies of the past in order to think about the past differently. Then, for example, pots were possibly not conceived of as representations of bodies, but as actual bodies (see also Gombrich 1960 who has aimed to understand the relation between the representational object and the real subject). Thus, instead, the aim is to take images and things "…as they present themselves, rather than immediately assuming that they signify, represent, or stand for something else" (Henare *et al.* 2007, 2-3).

However, it should be stressed that I do not deny the possibility of images to be representational or to carry meaning. Furthermore, although our ability to interpret meaning can only be partial, this does not entail that we cannot gain any meaningful understandings of the images under study. Rather, I am simply challenging an exclusive and unquestioned focus on representation. Many other questions remain unasked, and can provide important insight. Thus, I would argue that the problem is not necessarily with "meaning", but with its over-exhaustive use and the lack of scholars clarifying what they specifically understand under "meaning". As argued by Bal (2002, 27), "meaning" can refer to many things, such as intention, function, origin, or context. However, throughout this study, "meaning" is generally understood as signification or with significance, unless otherwise noted (Mackowiak de Antczak 2000, 65).

Nevertheless, I prefer to speak of the *expressive potential of imagery*, rather than representational imagery. It is recognized that images may carry the potential to express cosmological and/or sociological concepts and can convey meaning. Through a focus on the expressive potential of imagery it is understood that an image can convey something,

but the image is not only considered as that which it conveys and there is less danger of treating images as mute objects. Similarly, Wenger (1997, 35) emphasizes the ability of images to aid in the development of an understanding of the world. He considers the use of imagery and visual thinking processes as key methods of exploring, founding and expressing the known and imagined attributes of a system, theory or general phenomena. It is primarily through our vision, our perception, that we build our understanding of the world (Wenger 1997, 35). Similarly, Aldhouse-Green (2004, 16) argues that images express the concerns, beliefs and mental templates of their creators and users, which has a role in the building of an understanding of the world they live in, and worlds beyond. Additionally, Knappett (2002, 99) advocates for a recognition of the codependency of mind, body and world, which entails that an idea "in the mind" needs to be expressed in tangible matter, otherwise it will only rarely be fully understood. In addition to viewing images as having an expressive potential, images are considered to have a performative potential, which is discussed in more detail later on.

3.4 Context

Thus far, in the study of *adornos*, the archaeological and social contexts have been neglected. The main reason for this is that often there is hardly any information regarding their archaeological context available, as they are typically selected from museum collections (e.g. Moravetz 2005; Petitjean Roget 1997; Waldron 2010, 2016), while other times it is just not sufficiently explored (e.g. Oudhuis 2008; Wauben 2016). However, the excavations at the site El Flaco, directed by Professors Corinne L. Hofman and Menno L. P. Hoogland conducted between 2013 and 2016, have revealed a relatively large assemblage of *adornos*. These *adornos* have been systematically excavated, and, therefore, provide a unique opportunity to draw broader inferences from observable repetitive patterns of spatial or contextual associations of *adornos* at the intra-site level.

However, it should be noted that context is not a given, but is produced or constructed based on the interpretative strategies employed by the scholar (Culler 1988, xiv). There is no end to the enumeration of contextual determinants, as there are always more, but the interpreter choses the determinants he/she considers relevant (Bryson 1994, 69; Culler 1988, 148). As expressed by Derrida (1979, 81 in Bryson 1994), "…no meaning can be determined out of context, but no context permits saturation."

3.4.1 Archaeological Context

Spatial information forms an important role in archaeological analysis and interpretation, as much of the information archaeologists recover is inherently spatial or has an important spatial component (Wheatley and Gillings 2002, xiv). Therefore, it is important to engage with the relatively detailed spatial information that has been recorded for the *adornos*. In particular, the combination of the spatial information of the *adornos* with animistic or perspectivistic ontologies can provide great insight. For example, Brown and Walker (2008, 298) argue that animate objects may have distinct life histories and depositional trajectories, which would make them possibly recognizable in an archaeological context. Subsequently, it is important to engage with relational ontologies, as they may visibly affect the distribution of objects (Zedeño 2009, 408), in which people, objects, animals and their surroundings are relationally constituted through ongoing interactions among them, such as in animism (Bird-David 1999). However, space is not a universal or neutral backdrop for social action, but actually mutually embedded and implicated in those actions. Social action constructs and transforms space, while in turn space constructs and transforms social action (Wheatley and Gillings 2002, 7).

The archaeological context of the *adornos* relates to their three-dimensional location in a soil matrix, and the spatial associations of a particular *adorno* or a series of *adornos* at the intra-site level regarding features (such as postholes, hearths or burials) in a micro-contextual scale (Mackowiak de Antczak 2000, 79). This particular information is available due to the particular fieldwork procedures consistently employed during the excavations by Corinne L. Hofman and Menno L. P. Hoogland, according to which the location of finds has been systematically recorded. The locations of finds are recorded according to a grid consisting of a Zone-Sector-Square system, in which Zones cover an area of 100 x 100m, Sectors an area of 10 x 10m, and Squares an area of 1 x 1m. Archaeological finds from the site are generally collected per square of 1 x 1m, and layers of 10cm. In addition, if finds are found in a feature, recognized by a different color and/or texture of the soil, the finds are recorded with a unique number distinctive of the feature (e.g. posthole, hearth, burial) (Hoogland 2018).

However, it should be noted that the archaeological context relates to the possible final functional meanings of a particular *adorno*, while earlier role(s) may be just as, or even

more, important (Mackowiak de Antczak 2000, 79). Additionally, the archaeological context is not only shaped by the pre-existing social reality and depositional processes, but also by the post-depositional processes and the act of reading by the archaeologist (Mackowiak de Antczak 2000, 37).

3.4.2 Social Context

Based on the archaeological context, the social context is constructed. Information regarding the social context can be derived from archaeological remains at the site that relate to group composition (sex, age, social status), wealth distribution, task specialization, environmental data, and where appropriate ethnohistorical accounts (Mackowiak de Antczak 2000, 75). The construction of the social context is of importance as matter and imagery are considered to play an essential role in the constitution of society, including the reproduction and transformation of social relations (Dobres and Robb 2005, 162-163).

Social interaction between human beings and other beings or things in the cosmos is conditioned by ideas and perceptions regarding where one situates themselves in relation to other beings and things, which results into distinct constructions of personhood (Oliver 2009, 43) and is determined by the "perpsectival quality" (Viveiros de Castro 1998, 469). Therefore, Amerindian perspectivism and personhood combined constitute an important theoretical frame of reference from which to approach the nature of the social roles of the *adornos* and their inherent properties in their interactions with their creators and users. In order to develop this theoretical framework, the approach of perspectisvism developed by Viveiros de Castro (1998; 2004; 2012) based on ethnographic evidence from Amazonia is used in combination with the works by Bird-David (1999), Descola (1986; 1992; 2015) and Fowler (2004) on personhood.

Perspectivism

Amerindian perspectivism concerns "…the way in which humans, animals and spirits see both themselves and one another", which relates to what has been called the perspectival quality (Viveiros de Castro 1998, 469). The perspectival quality refers to the existence of a multitude of points of view from which the world can be apprehended by different subjects or persons who can be either human or nonhuman (e.g. animals, objects, spirits, the dead or plants) (Viveiros de Castro 2004, 466; Viveiros de Castro 2012, 45). By virtue of the perspectival quality, in regular circumstances, humans see humans as

humans and animals as animals. However, predatory animals and spirits see humans as prey animals, while prey animals see humans as spirits or as predatory animals. Furthermore, animals and spirits perceive themselves as human beings. Accordingly, animals and spirits see their food as human food, their bodily features (e.g. feathers, claws) as body decorations or cultural instruments, and their social system as similarly arranged to human institutions (Viveiros de Castro 2004, 466; Viveiros de Castro 2012, 48). Viveiros de Castro (2012, 106) concludes that humanity is a reflexive attribute of the subject's position, or a mirror in which nature perceives itself. Similarly, following Descola (2015, 197), in animic ontologies animals see themselves as humans, but it is specific to perspectivism to assert that animals see humans as animals or spirits.

The reason that all beings see themselves as human according to the perspectival quality relates to an initial state of non-differentiation among humans and animals in Amerindian creation narratives (Viveiros de Castro 1998, 471). Thus, humanity, instead of animality, would be the shared original condition of both animals and humans, after which animals lost the properties inherited or possessed by humans, while humans remained in the same condition. Accordingly, animals have a past humanity that is hidden behind their visible form. Similarly, Descola (1986, 120) argues "…the common point of reference for all beings of nature is not humans as a species, but rather humanity as a condition."[2]

Related to the notion of humanity, as the shared original condition, is the idea that the manifest form, or body, of each species is merely an "envelope" or "clothing", which covers a human form within. This internal form, or soul, is commonly only visible to the specific species itself or to a particular trans-specific being (e.g. shaman or behique) (Viveiros de Castro 2012, 48). The bodies are not necessarily different in physiological properties, but in affects referring to certain dispositions or capacities it is endowed with, which determines how one lives, eats, moves and communicates. The visible body is a sign of these affectual differences, but may be deceiving. For example, a human appearance could hide a jaguar-affect (Viveiros de Castro 2012, 113). This notion of clothing is well reflected in a comment by Rivière (1994, 256): "It is a futility to try to find out whether a particular character was a human, animal or spirit. On the question: was he a Jaguar or a man? One responded with great perplexity followed by a comment like 'it was a man, but he was wearing jaguar's clothes'."

The bodily appearance can be described as a changeable and removable clothing, which allows metamorphosis to occur resulting in a "highly transformational world" (Rivière 1994, 256). Metamorphosis can be understood as an instantaneous exchange of perspectives, or coexistence of perspectives, resulting from a change in position and condition (Viveiros de Castro 2012, 145-147). The shaman has the ability to adopt the perspective of a nonhuman subject in order to manage human-nonhuman relations. By adopting the perspective of a nonhuman subject the shaman is able to see nonhumans as they see themselves (as humans), allowing for transspecific dialogues (Viveiros de Castro 2004, 468).

Viveiros de Castro (2012, 64) acknowledges that his theoretical framework is largely based on the generalization of a set of ideas regarding humans and animals, subjects and objects, bodies and souls. Scholars have criticized the generality of perspectivism as it has resulted in interpretive excesses and uniformity in ethnographic interpretations, providing an incorrect image of the Amazon as a homogenous culture area, which does not acknowledge indigenous creativity (Ramos 2012, 481; Turner 2009, 18; 37). Several scholars argue that humanity is not necessarily the original shared condition for humans and animals. For example, among others, Halbmayer (2012, 3) argues that, among the Yukpa, animals and humans do have a shared original condition, but they differentiated from other-than-human persons, pertaining human features to varying degrees.

Similarly, in the creation narratives, as recorded by Ramón Pané (1999), the first beings to appear in these narratives are not human, as the first human beings still need to be created, but they do show human characteristics in their appearance and social system (e.g. through the presence of caciques). However, this may be due to the perspectival quality in which they see themselves as human, while they are actually animals or proto-humans. Additionally, there are beings living alongside these proto-humans that are clearly described as a particular animal, such as fish and a turtle. Finally, the first human beings to inhabit the earth emerge from a proto-human quadruplet and a female turtle. According to the narrative, the being Deminán Caracaracol is the ancestral father of the turtle and of humanity, while the turtle is the mother of humanity. Thus, the shared original condition of the turtle and humanity would be the proto-human Deminán Caracaracol. However, in the second era, a descendent of the first human beings is turned into a bird, which according to Arrom (1997) reflects the realm of the terrestrial and flying animals. Similarly, in the third era, human children transform into something that

resembles frogs (Arrom 1997). Thus, terrestrial animals, flying animals and frogs previously had a human condition, while the turtle is the only animal, recorded, to have emerged from a proto-human. Nevertheless, metamorphosis, as in perspectivism, is a frequently occurring theme on imagery created by the indigenous inhabitants of the Greater Antilles, and in the creation narratives, as the actors turn from one condition (e.g. human) to another (e.g. rocks or animals). Additionally, some actors show both human as animal characteristics (Garcia Arévalo 1997; Oliver 1997; Oliver 2009, 53).

Despite the limitations, perspectivism is of value in the study of *adornos* for rethinking the ontologies of human-nonhuman relations and to develop an understanding of anthropo-zoomorphic depictions. When looking at the *adornos*, we are often confronted with beings that pertain animal features in combination with human features. If we consider these beings in relation to perspectivism, interesting questions arise. For example, how are we seeing the being, as how it sees itself or as how another person sees it? Is it a human being with nonhuman clothing? Furthermore, with whose eyes are we seeing the being, as a member of the same species who would see it as human, or as a member of a different species who sees an animal? Alternatively, we could be seeing it from both perspectives at once, which would be as a shaman sees it (similar questions have been raised by Weismantel 2015, 146-147 in relation to anthropo-zoomorphic depictions on carved stone monoliths from the site of Chavín de Huantar in Peru).

Nevertheless, in the case of *adornos*, we are concerned with a third player in these relations: ceramic. The issue is that Amerindian perspectivism, in the work by Viveiros de Castro, is predominantly concerned with humans, animals and spirits, while matter is largely neglected (as already pointed out by Santos-Granero 2009, 2-3). Viveiros de Castro (1998, 470-472) even emphasizes that objects are only "occasionally" viewed as subjects, and that the spiritualization of things is only secondary or derivative to that of animals. In contrast, Santos-Granero (2009, 3) argues that animic and perspectival ontologies do encompass material things. Similarly, Weismantel (2015, 142) advocates for a more materialist focus in archaeological perspectivism, in which humans and other beings and things are seen as actors who co-produce the world, rather than being passive observers. Weismantel (2015, 143) argues that we should not treat perspectivism as a static concept and respectfully cite it, but take an active stance in making theory and transform it for a better means of engagement with the past and present. Therefore,

similar to Alberti and Marshall (2009, 109), the aim is to use perspectivism as a theoretical resource rather than a model for past societies.

Personhood and Animism

The concept of person and personhood has been well developed by Fowler (2004, 124–125). Following Fowler (2004, 7), a person can refer to any entity that may be conceptualized and regarded as a person. Usually a person is constructed through the momentary connection of a number of aspects, which may include a soul or spirit in combination with a physical body, which entails that the person has a form of agency. However, who or what specifically may be considered as a person is contextually variable (Fowler 2004, 7). Furthermore, personhood "refers to the condition or state of being a person…", as it is conceptualized in a particular context. Personhood involves constant change, as persons are not fixed but continuously constituted, de-constituted, maintained and altered through social relations and interaction with other human beings as well as with things, animals, spirits, plants and places through life and after death (Fowler 2004, 7). In a similar manner to perspectivism, animism recognizes the highly transformational nature of persons, which is considered to be essential in social practices as each person will assume a form fitting with the particular relationship one is engaged in (Oliver 2009, 53).

Based on ethnohistoric accounts it is argued that the particular construction of personhood by the indigenous inhabitants of Hispaniola is dividual and partible, and operates according to an animistic view of the cosmos (see Bird-David 1999; Descola 1992; Harvey 2005; Stringer 1999; Viveiros de Castro 1998; 2012). Animism maintains the idea of social continuity between nature and culture based on the ascription of human qualities and social characteristics to nonhuman beings because of the multiplicity of subject-positions (Descola 1986, 87-88; Viveiros de Castro 1998, 472-473; Viveiros de Castro 2012, 106). Similarly, in perspectivism nonhuman beings often are persons as they are endowed with properties of intentionality and social agency, which is reified in their soul or spirit. The possession of a soul or spirit allows for the ability of having a point of view, which instantly entails that the being is a subject, because wherever there is a point of view, there needs to be a subject position (Viveiros de Castro 1998, 476; Viveiros de Castro 2004, 467). However, animism does not only consider nonhuman beings as having the possibility to possess a soul and qualities of personhood, but recognizes a wider range

of beings and things that includes objects, and acknowledges that animate objects can play active roles within societies (e.g. Bird-David 1999; Gell 1998; Ingold 2006).

However, animism has been criticized for its foundation in nineteenth-century evolutionary thought (e.g. Insoll 2011, 1004). Nevertheless, with the recent resurgence of interest in theories of animism its focus is reconsidered (Alberti and Bray 2009, 338). For example, Bird-David (1999) proposes to view animism as a relational ontology, which considers animism not as a religion or a set of beliefs, as in evolutionary thought, but as something that is relationally constituted and arises from ongoing interactions among people, objects and their surroundings (see also Gell 1998; Groleau 2009; Ingold 2006). Similarly, Ingold (2006, 10) describes animacy as "…the dynamic, transformative potential of the entire field of relations within which beings of all kinds, more or less person-like or thing-like, continually and reciprocally bring one another into existence." According to this approach to animism, things are not considered to be inherently imbued with animist qualities, but it is argued that these animated qualities may arise from particular contexts and practices (Groleau 2009, 399). Similarly, Gell (1998, 20) argues that social relations do not emerge from the inherent potential of objects to personhood, but from particular configurations objects may assume in certain contexts. These forms of relational ontologies are beginning to be recognized as having a critical role in the extraction, manufacture, use, distribution and discard of objects (e.g. Brown and Emery 2008; Herva 2009; Ingold 2006; Zedeño 2009).

Agency and Performativity

Animism acknowledges that agency is not exclusively a human property and does not necessarily require human intentionality or subjectivity. Several scholars attempt to draw attention to the agency of objects. For example, Gell (1998, 6) emphasizes agency, intention, causation, result, and transformation of a cultural object. In his so-called "action-centered" approach, there is a focus on the role of cultural objects in social processes. Additionally, Alberti (2012, 13-14, 19) describes images as enabled, or brought into manufacture, by means of acts and practices in which they participate as "performative co-conspirators". Similarly, it is argued that images and objects play an active role within a social context as they are created, used, altered, emplaced, carried, handled, engaged with, burnt, broken or buried (Aldhouse-Green 2004, 1-2; Wedde 1992,

183). Furthermore, the meaning of images may be accepted, negotiated, challenged or denied (Wedde 1992, 183).

In addition, the image and/or object can also control all these actions by preventing or enabling them. Therefore, a cultural object and/or image can be considered as both an agent and product of these processes (Bailey 1991, 62 in Mackowiak de Antczak 2000, 40). For example, objects and imagery can work as "actants" and initiate or evoke thoughts and actions that are not controlled by their creators and users (Back Danielsson *et al.* 2012, 1). Additionally, Gombrich (1999, 139) argues that three-dimensional images possess the capacity to be more than merely representations of something else, but actually enter and act in the world of the living in their own right. Freedberg (1989, xxiii), similarly, emphasizes that "...we must consider not only beholders' symptoms and behavior, but also the effectiveness, efficacy, and vitality of images themselves; not only what beholders do, but also what images appear to do; not only what people do as a result of their relationship with imaged form, but also what they expect imagined form to achieve, and why they have such expectations at all."

I prefer to understand this capacity of a cultural object to act in the constitution of society as *performative*, rather than agentive, as agency is often attributed with a strict definition that is limited to individual human agency (see Dobres and Robb 2000), while matter is only considered to have agency secondary to humans (e.g. Gell 1998). The concept of performativity has "travelled" a long way from philosopher Austin's (1975) conception of speech acts to Butler's (1999; 2003) performative concept of gender. Austin (1975) uses the notion of the "performative" to refer to an utterance that performs the act that it designates. For example, the sentence "I pronounce you husband and wife" is not merely a matter of expression, but in the "felicitous" context (e.g. a church) with the appropriate intention or authority (e.g. by a priest) can be performative, as saying this sentence can actually do something, it can marry a couple.

Butler (2003, 98) employs the concept of the performative further in feminist and queer studies to emphasize that gender is a "doing" or "becoming", involving "…the stylized repetition of acts through time…" as part of a continuous and dynamic process. It does not concern a singular or intentional act, but should be understood as a reiterative and citational practice, by means of which the subject is performatively constituted. The constitution of the subject is based on the reiteration of a predefined code, or norm, but

the process of becoming is variable, and thus opens the possibility for the subject to resist and subvert the norm. Additionally, subjects are not fully constituted end-products, but are continuously reproduced, which leaves a space for reworking (Butler 1993; 1999). This view stands in contrast with the previously held belief that gender is endowed with inherent natural or pre-social meaning based on the static and biologically given "sex" (Perry and Joyce 2001, 65).

Finally, Barad (2003) applies the concept of performativity to the becoming of matter and human-nonhuman relations. Barad (2003, 814) argues that it is through causal material enactments, or "agential intra-actions", that the differential boundaries between "human" and "nonhuman" are defined and different agential possibilities are realized (Barad 2003, 817). Thus, "human bodies" and "human subjects" do not pre-exist as they are, nor are they end-products, but are part of an open-ended becoming (Barad 2003, 821). Similarly, Barad (2003, 828) argues that "… matter is not a fixed essence; rather, matter is substance in its intra-active becoming—not a thing but a doing, a congealing of agency." Additionally, agency is not a fixed pre-existing property one may possess, but more a "doing" or "being" that arises from the ongoing and dynamic reconfigurations and entanglements of the world (Barad 2003, 818). In a similar manner, Alberti (2014, 111), in regards to ceramic vessels from the first millennium CE in northwest Argentina, emphasizes the "inherent vitality of things". Alberti (2014, 109-111) argues that the La Candelaria vessels were not finished products, but rather conceptualizes them as bodies or living organisms that are subject to the same processes of growth.

Barad's theory of performativity stands in contrast to representationalist thinking, in which matter is presumed to be static and passive. Performativity shifts the focus from correspondence with reality, as is dominant in representationalism, to practices/doings/actions (Barad 2003, 802). With representationalism, as argued by Barad (2003, 803), one gets "…caught up in the geometrical optics of reflection where, much like the infinite play of images between two facing mirrors, the epistemological gets bounced back and forth, but nothing more is seen". Instead in Barad's approach matter is considered to be "…an active participant in the world's becoming, in its ongoing 'intra-activity'." (Barad 2003, 802-803). Similarly, Bolt (2004, 5) argues that imagery is not merely a representational or signifying practice, but can be performative and have a transformative potential. Matter, like meaning, is not a fixed, immutable or passive entity that awaits signification. Additionally, Barad (2003) challenges any a priori divide

between matter and meaning, but also between different kinds of matter, such as human/non-human, animate/inanimate. Instead, matter and meaning are considered to be materialized together through practice, without any pre-existing ontological gap between the two as in representationalism.

3.5 Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, throughout my research, the *adornos* are not approached as merely representations of something else, such as an animist or perspectivist ontology, rather they are considered to potentially perform or enact an animist or perspectivist ontology. In this way, the *adornos* are explicitly placed as performative co-conspirators in the world they inhabit (Alberti 2012), of which they are considered a part of as they act in it. Animistic ontologies already recognize this potential of objects to play an active role within societies. Surely, it is recognized that the images can potentially convey meaning and express certain cosmological or sociological concepts, which is considered here as its expressive potential, but there is more to an image or an object than meaning, which is considered to be its performative potential. A focus on the performative potential of *adornos* shifts the understanding of objects as static and passive, merely awaiting signification, to dynamic and active. However, the question remains what exactly it is that an *adorno* does, and how its performative potential unfolds. Is it possible that when confronted with an image of, for example, a turtle, we are not confronted with an image, but the actual turtle that has been brought into being and is able to act in certain practices (see Gombrich 1960; Harris 2015)? Finally, it should be noted that the performative potential or social role of the *adorno-vessel* cannot be studied for a large part of the assemblage of *adornos* from El Flaco for most of the *adornos* are disembodied.

In the next chapter, the *adornos* are analyzed according to the first domain of analysis, which is concerned with the form (the object and its image).

4. Formal Analysis and Identification of the Image

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 Introduction to the Assemblage and Method of Analysis

The assemblage of *adornos* from the site of El Flaco, recovered between 2013 and 2016, consists of a total of 277 objects and/or their fragments. The formal analysis of the *adornos* is concerned with the recording of the formal aspects of *adornos* as objects (e.g. surface color and surface finishing), and with the identification of the images portrayed on the *adornos*. Therefore, the formal analysis is divided into two sections, in which the first section is concerned with the recording of the formal aspects of the *adornos*, while the second section is concerned with the identification of the image. In addition, each section is divided into two sub-sections, in which each sub-section is concerned either with the *adorno-modelling* or with the *adorno-vessel*. The formal analysis is expected to provide a description and better understanding of the variability in the physical attributes of the *adornos* and the images portrayed.

It should be noted that an *adorno* as one object is assumed to most commonly consist of a set of two paired similar *adorno-models* (one is also possible), which are part of a ceramic vessel. This is assumed as complete *adorno-vessels* recovered from the Greater Antilles and currently part of museum collections most frequently have two *adorno-models*, and the two *adorno-vessels* from El Flaco, for which it can be determined how many *adorno-models* are and were present, have two similar *adorno-models*. When one *adorno-modelling* is found in the archaeological record detached from the vessel and removed from the related second *adorno-modelling*, we can assume that each single disembodied *adorno* was likely treated as a separate object by their creators and users, and is therefore each considered and recorded as one object. In contrast, if two *adorno-models*, belonging to the same vessel, are found near each other, these are considered to be part of one object and are together considered and recorded as one object.

For each *adorno*, based on the Leiden Code book of Ceramics (Hofman 2005), the following morphological variables are recorded: fragmentation, ceramic style, size, place of attachment, external surface color, firing atmosphere and surface finishing. In the determination of these variables only the *adorno-modelling* is considered, therefore the

use of the term *adorno* in section 4.3 each time refers to the *adorno-modelling*. In addition, for sixty-one *adornos* certain variables in regards to the vessel can be reconstructed, and, if possible, are reconstructed according to the Leiden Code book of Ceramics (Hofman 2005). The recorded variables related to the vessel are vessel shape, wall profile, lipshape, rim profile, wall thickness, diameter, and relative size of the *adorno-modelling* in relation to the vessel. The sample of *adornos* whose vessel can be reconstructed provides a unique opportunity to analyze the *adorno* in its entirety as *adorno-vessel*, which has not been done before. Therefore, these *adornos* are described separately from the fragmented *adornos* in order to retrieve as much information as possible. Thus, the first section of the formal analysis is divided into another two sub-sections. In the first sub-section of the morphological analysis (4.2 Fragmentation and Reconstruction) we will engage with the *adorno-vessel*, while in the second sub-section (4.3 Morphological Variability of *Adorno-modelling*) we are concerned with the *adorno-modelling.*

The second section of the formal analysis is concerned with the *adorno* as an image, instead of as an object. So the question arises: what does one image of an *adorno* consist of? For example, do two bats on a vessel looking away from each other constitute one image, or do they constitute two distinct images of a bat? Furthermore, on the vessel-wall motifs can be present, which are not necessarily directly related to the *adorno-modelling*, such as incisions or punctations. Are these motifs part of the image of, for example, the two bats on a vessel looking away from each other, or should they be conceived of as another distinct image?

It seems efficient to conceive of the image of an *adorno* as something that can be looked at from different scales, as is similarly done with the conceptualization and definition of *adornos* in the previous chapter. For example, from a larger scale one *adorno-vessel* can be conceived of as consisting of one (although complex) image, but from a smaller scale one *adorno-vessel* can be conceived of as consisting of multiple images. Neither viewpoint is necessarily wrong or right, but both are considered to hold valuable information, and are, therefore, considered to be equally valid. Therefore, in order to retrieve as much information as possible, the images of the *adornos* are considered and recorded from multiple scales. However, it is recognized that for the majority of the

adornos, the image of, for example, the two bats on a vessel looking away from each other is not accessible as a result of the high degree of fragmentation of the *adornos*.

Therefore, the second section of the formal analysis is also divided into another two sub-sections. Throughout the first sub-section of the formal analysis of the image (4.4 *Adorno-Modelling* as one Image), the image is conceived of as consisting of a single image, for example, one bat, as this image is accessible for a larger part of the *adornos* in the assemblage. For the first section of the analysis of the image, in order to maintain consistency and the possibility of comparison, the *adorno* as one image is recorded in a similar manner as it is recorded in the morphological analysis of the *adorno* as one object. However, diverging from the first section of the formal analysis, one *adorno-modelling*, on which three distinct images of three beings are recognized, is at first recorded as consisting of three distinct images, while in the first section this *adorno* is considered and recorded as one object. Thus, the first section of the formal analysis of the image (4.4 *Adorno-Modelling* as one Image) is concerned with a total of 279 images, rather than 277 objects. In addition, for the second section of the formal analysis of the image (4.5 Connecting the *Adorno-Modelling* to the Vessel) an attempt is made to reconstruct as much as possible of the image(s) of the *adorno-vessel(s)*.

4.1.2 Introduction to the Site of El Flaco

The assemblage of *adornos* has been recovered from the systematic excavation of the site of El Flaco, directed by Prof. dr. Corinne L. Hofman and Prof. dr. Menno L. P. Hoogland, as part of the ERC-Synergy project NEXUS1492. The site of El Flaco is situated in the northwest of the Dominican Republic, on the southern foothills of the Cordillera Septentrional, in Loma de Guayacanes (province of Valverde), while looking over the Cibao valley. Additionally, El Flaco is possibly located along the *ruta de Colón*, which is the proposed route that Columbus followed when he first moved into the interior of the island of Hispaniola. The occupation of the site has been dated between the 10th to 15th centuries CE by means of radiocarbon dates (Hofman and Hoogland 2015, 8; Hofman *et al.* 2018, 204; 210; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 128).

The spatial organization of the site of El Flaco consisted of a number of levelled areas for the construction of houses and auxiliary structures, which were surrounded by a series of mounds and earthworks (Hofman and Hoogland 2015, 8; Hofman *et al.* 2018, 210;

Keegan and Hofman 2017, 128-129). Excavations of the levelled areas revealed the layout of a number of circular house structures composed of two rows of posts. The inner row was measured to have a diameter of approximately 6 meters, while the outer row had a diameter of approximately 9 to 10 meters. Surrounding these circular houses, cooking huts (or *bohios*) have been recognized, which were composed of a hearth or fireplace that was covered by a small (3 to 4 meters in diameter) circular structure (Hofman and Hoogland 2015, 8-9; Hofman *et al.* 2018, 210; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 129).

The stratigraphy of the mounds, measuring between 12 and 20 meters in diameter and up to 1.30 meters in depth, showed the remains of a variety of domestic and ritual activities. One of these activities was the deposition of waste, which was occasionally burned, resulting in layers of ash with large amounts of land snails (*Pleurodonte* sp. and *Polidontes* sp.), faunal remains (e.g. crabs, rodents, snakes, turtles, and birds), and ceramics. It has been proposed that these ash layers were used as kitchen gardens, as they were highly fertile. Additionally, the stratigraphy of the mounds showed the remains of cooking activities, evidenced by the presence of hearths (composed of fire-cracked stones), burned ceramics, and griddles (Hofman and Hoogland 2015, 9; Hofman *et al.* 2018, 211; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 129). Furthermore, eighteen human burials have been uncovered in total within three of the mounds, which could indicate that the mounds were used as ancestral spaces. The taphonomy of most of the burials suggested that the burial pits might have been left open up until the desiccation of the body. Additionally, the crania of one composite burial of two sub-adult individuals was removed after decomposition. Furthermore, one dog burial or ritual deposit has been excavated (Hofman and Hoogland 2015, 9-10; Hofman *et al*. 2018, 211; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 129-130; Shev 2018).

The material assemblage of El Flaco consisted of a large quantity of ceramics, which have predominantly been identified as Chicoid and Meillacoid, with a limited amount of Ostionoid (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 130). The site was occupied from the 10th to 15th centuries CE, but its main occupation was defined by Chicoid ceramics, which has been dated to the 13th to 15th centuries CE. Furthermore, the large quantity of griddle fragments recovered from El Flaco suggested that the processing of crops, such as manioc, was a recurring activity for the inhabitants of the settlement (Hofman and Hoogland 2015, 8-10; Hofman *et al.* 2018, 211). The material assemblage of El Flaco, additionally, was

composed of tools, beads, pendants and other paraphernalia, which were made of a variety of materials (e.g. shell, human and animal bone, lithics and ceramics). These material remains are principally found in the mounds and sweeping areas surrounding the circular house structures, as the levelled areas for housing were swept clean (Hofman and Hoogland 2015, 10; Hofman *et al.* 2018, 211; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 130).

4.2 Fragmentation and Reconstruction

4.2.1 Fragmentation

From the assemblage of 277 *adornos* that has been recovered from El Flaco, 0.72% (n=2) are considered to be complete and 21.30% (n=59) are semi-complete. However, the majority of the *adornos*, 59.57% (n=165), are fragmented and 18.41% (n=51) are highly fragmented (tab. 1). An *adorno* is considered complete when more than fifty percent of the rim of the vessel is present including all the *adorno-models* that are/were attached to the vessel. Semi-complete *adornos* are fragmented *adornos* of which the shape of the vessel can be reconstructed based on the presence of diagnostic features. Complete and semi-complete *adornos* are described as *adorno-vessels*, because the vessel to which the *adorno-modelling* is/was attached is present or can be reconstructed. In contrast, fragmented and highly fragmented *adornos* are only considered as *adorno-models* as the vessel is not present or cannot be reconstructed.

Tab. 1: Degree of fragmentation of the adornos from El Flaco.

Degree of fragmentation	*Nr. (T=277)*	*%*
Highly fragmented	51	18.41
Fragmented	165	59.57
Semi-complete	59	21.30
Complete	2	0.72

The assemblage of *adornos* from the site of El Flaco can be described as highly fragmented for only 9.03% (n=25) of the *adorno-models* are still attached to a vessel-wall of which the length or width is more than five centimeter, while 26.71% (n=74) are completely disembodied from the vessel. The remaining 64.26% (n=178) are still

attached to a ceramic fragment of between 0.5 and 5 centimeter (tab. 2). Oudhuis (2008, 63) also recorded the degree of embodiment of *adorno-models* from the site of El Cabo (southeastern Dominican Republic). She notes that the majority of the *adornos* (called *adorno-models* in this research) (67% of the assemblage from El Cabo, n=57) were attached to a vessel-wall of which less than one centimeter remained, of which for 42% (n=36) there was no vessel-wall remaining (in other words, the *adorno* was completely disembodied) (Oudhuis 2008, 63).

Tab. 2: Degree of embodiment of the adornos from El Flaco.

Degree of embodiment	*Nr. (T=277)*	*%*
Disembodied from sherd	74	26.71
Attached to less than 0,5 cm of sherd	21	7.58
Attached to between 0,5 to 1 cm of sherd	36	13.00
Attached to between 1 and 5 cm of sherd	121	43.68
Attached to more than 5 cm of sherd	25	9.03

The question remains whether breakage happened accidentally or deliberately. The high degree of fragmentation of *adornos* could suggest that they may have been deliberately broken or detached from the vessel. The disembodiment of an *adorno* from the vessel-wall would significantly decrease its size and weight, and, thus, increase its portability. The size of the *adorno-modeling* is generally between two and four centimeters and its weight between seven and fifty grams, which would allow it to be easily carried in one hand. However, if the *adorno-models* were also conceived to be portable in the past and were being transported over smaller or larger distances has not been investigated.

Nevertheless, following Boomert and Kameneff (2005, 458-460), ceramics found at the Suazan Troumassoid site of Great Courland Bay on the coast of Tobago suggest the transportation of *adornos*. Practically all ceramics from the site is identified to belong to a local ceramic tradition called the Plymouth complex, which is dated to between CE 1150- and 1400/1450. However, a number of *adorno-models*, which have been unearthed

seemingly in relation with the Plymouth complex, are identified as belonging to the Friendship complex, dating from approximately CE 300/350 to 850 (Boomert and Kameneff 2005, 458-460). Boomert and Kameneff (2005, 460) argue that this would suggest that the *adornos* belonging to the Friendship complex were deliberately picked up at another site and taken to the location of the site of Great Courland Bay, possibly as "curios or for their strong spiritual power". In addition, it is noted that the stratigraphic position of the *adornos* indicate that it is not likely that these *adornos* reflect the remains of a camp or bivouac site, predating the main occupation of the settlement (Boomert and Kameneff 2005, 460). Furthermore, Keegan and Byrne (1999, 23) in their study of around 200 *adornos* from Saladoid sites in Grenada argue that many of the *adornos* had smoothed edges, and it is suggested that these *adornos* (or *adorno-models*, in terms used throughout this research) were possibly used after the vessel was discarded.

There are, additionally, certain aspects to the assemblage of *adornos* recovered from the site of El Flaco that suggest that they may have been transported over smaller distances within the site of El Flaco or even over larger distances among different settlements. For example, only eight sets of two *adorno-models* were recovered that belong to the same vessel. This is a rather low number considering that, as noted above, it is assumed that the majority of *adornos* consist of two *adorno-models* as an integral part of a vessel, although there are also a few examples where only one *adorno-model* was part of a vessel. So the question arises: where are the second *adorno-models* of the 261 *adorno-vessels* of which only one *adorno-modeling* has been unearthed? Are they still hidden beneath the soil at the site of El Flaco? Were they simply never made? Were they transported over larger distances?

Possibly a few of the missing second *adorno-models* remain hidden beneath the soil, but considering the extent to which the site of El Flaco has been excavated, it seems unlikely that such a large number of missing *adorno-models* remain unexcavated. In addition, a few of the 261 *adornos* may have never been made, as it is also possible that on a few vessels only one *adorno-model* was made. However, as mentioned earlier, the vast majority of *adornos* recovered from the Greater Antilles are assumed to consist of at least two *adorno-models.* Furthermore, two of the identified sets of *adorno-models* were found within the site of El Flaco with a relatively large distance in between them (this issue is further discussed in chapter 5). It is unclear if scholars who have studied *adornos* from

the Caribbean encountered any *adorno-models* belonging to the same vessel, as it is not discussed in their work (e.g. Moravetz 1999; 2005; Oudhuis 2008; Petitjean Roget 1975a; 1975b; 1997; Waldron 2010; 2016).

4.2.2 Reconstruction

Vessel shape and wall profile

For sixty-one *adornos* the vessel to which the *adorno-modelling* is attached, can be reconstructed (see appendix 1 for drawings of reconstructed *adorno-vessels*). The Leiden Codebook of Ceramics distinguishes vessel shapes according to vessel orifice and vessel contour. The vessel orifice can be described as unrestricted (or open, with outward flaring walls), restricted (or closed, with inward flaring walls), independent restricted (or collared, with two main structural parts) (Hofman 2005). Among the sample of *adorno-vessels* from the site of El Flaco, 34.43% (n=21) are described as unrestricted, 55.74% (n=34) as restricted, and 9.84% (n=6) as collared. Additionally, in regards to the vessel contour a distinction is made between simple contours (no angle or inflection point), composite contours (with an angle), inflected contours (with an inflection point) and complex contours (with more than one inflection point, and angle) (Hofman 2005). The contour of the majority of the vessels in the sample, 63.93% (n=39), are described as simple, while 26.23% (n=16) are described as composite, 3.28% (n=2) as inflected, and 6.56% (n=4) as complex. Taken together, the restricted bowl with simple contour (36.07%, n=22) and the unrestricted bowl with simple contour (27.87%, n=17) are most frequently identified in the sample of *adornos* (see tab. 3 and fig. 5). In addition, for each vessel shape the wall profile is determined, which refers to the height/diameter ratios of the vessel. Bowl-shaped pottery comprises vessels with a ratio between 0.30 and 0.50, while jar-shaped pottery comprises vessels with a ratio greater than 0.50 (Hofman 2005).

Tab. 3: Vessel shapes and wall profiles of the adorno-vessels from the site of El Flaco (see fig. 5 for descriptions of the vessel shapes) (descriptions wall profile taken from Hofman 2005).

Vessel shape and wall profile	*Nr. (T=61)*	*%*
A1 Bowl with a straight wall with an angle > 50	17	27.87
A2 Bowl with a convex wall with largest diameter under the half of the vessel	22	36.07
B1 Bowl with a concave wall with corner	1	1.64
B2 Jar with a straight shoulder above corner point	11	18.03
B3 Bowl with a globular wall with corner point and outward flaring neck	4	6.56
C3 Bowl with a globular wall with a curved or straight neck	2	3.28
D1 Bowl with a wall with two corner points	3	4.92
D2 Bowl with a wall with two inflection points	1	1.64

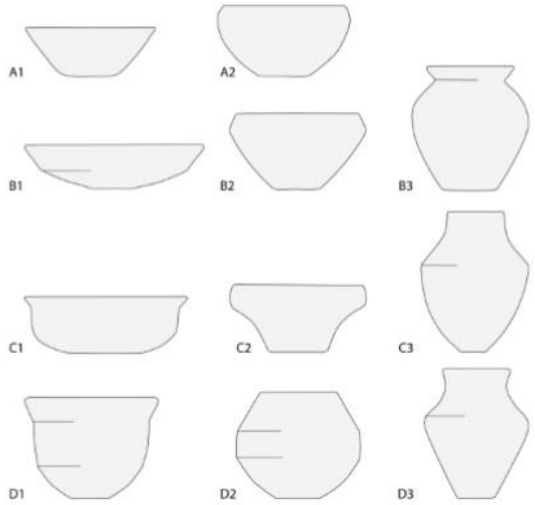

Fig. 5: Vessel shapes after the Codebook of Ceramics. A1: Unrestricted bowl with simple contour. A2: Restricted bowl with simple contour and convex wall with largest diameter under the half of the vessel. B1: Unrestricted bowl with composite contour and concave wall with corner point. B2: Restricted jar with composite contour and straight shoulder above corner point. B3: Independent restricted bowl with composite contour and globular wall. C3: Independent restricted bowl with inflected contour and globular wall. D1: Unrestricted bowl with complex contour and wall with two corner points. D2: Restricted bowl with complex contour and two inflection points (Hofman 2005).

Lipshape

A variety of lipshapes can be distinguished on the *adorno-vessels* from El Flaco. In the sample of reconstructed vessels, the lip is either unmodified, outward thickened or inward thickened. The most frequently occurring lipshapes are identified as round unmodified (32.79%, n=20) and flat unmodified (29.51%, n=18), while the remaining lipshapes are represented by 37.70% (n=23) of the sample (tab. 4).

Tab. 4: Lip shapes of the adornos from El Flaco.

Lip shape	*Nr. (T=61)*	*%*
Round unmodified	20	32.79
Bilateral taper	1	1.64
Flat unmodified	18	29.51
Inward thickened rounded	1	1.64
Inward thickened, flat	6	9.84
Inward thickened, taper	2	3.28
External bolster, taper	1	1.64
Outward thickened, rounded	2	3.28
Outward thickened, flat	8	13.11
Outward thickened, border	2	3.28

Rim profile

In addition, various rim profiles are distinguished. The majority of the rim profiles identified among the sample of *adornos* is described as straight, vertical (85.25%, n=52). The remaining rim profiles are represented by 14.75% (n=9) (tab. 5).

Tab. 5: Rim profiles of the adornos from El Flaco.

Rim profile	*Nr. (T=61)*	*%*
Straight, vertical	52	85.25
Bevelled, everted	2	3.28
Bevelled, inverted	1	1.64
Outflaring	1	1.64
Incurved	5	8.20

Wall thickness

The wall thickness is measured two centimeters below the rim, which is for 67.21% (n=41) between 4 and 6 mm, for 18.03% (n=11) between 2 and 3 mm, and for 14.75% (n=9) between 7 and 8 mm (tab. 6). The thickness of the vessel-wall can be related to the size of the vessel and/or the properties of the clay that was used (Hofman 2005). It should be noted that the wall thickness is frequently taken in proximity with the *adorno-modelling*, which could have affected the measured thickness. For example, *adorno-models* are frequently fixed to the vessel-wall by smoothing out the clay, which can result in a thicker wall surrounding the *adorno-modelling*.

Tab. 6: Wall thickness of the adornos from El Flaco.

Wall thickness	*Nr. (T=61)*	*%*
2 mm	2	3.28
3 mm	9	14.75
4 mm	10	16.39
5 mm	21	34.43
6 mm	10	16.39
7 mm	6	9.84
8 mm	3	4.92

Diameter

Furthermore, the diameter of the vessel is determined for only forty-six *adornos*, while for fifteen of the *adorno-vessels* the diameter could not be determined. The diameter is taken from the outside of the vessel by placing the rim on a diameter template. The diameter of the forty-six *adornos* appears between 8 and 42 cm. For 56.52% (n=26) the diameter is between 18 and 26 cm (see appendix 1; fig. 44, 46 and 48), for 30.43% (n=14) it is between 8 and 16 cm (see appendix 1; fig. 35-38), and for 10.87% (n=5) it is between 28 and 30 cm (see appendix 1; fig. 39, 40 and 42). There is one outlier, which has a diameter of 42 cm (1.64%) (see appendix 1; fig. 34) (tab. 7). It should be noted that the measurement of the diameter is not accurate in the case of boat-shaped or kidney-shaped vessels, nor in the case of incurving rims (Hofman 2005).

Tab. 7: Diameter of the adornos from El Flaco.

Diameter	*Nr. (T=46)*	*%*
8-16 cm	14	30.43
18-26 cm	26	56.52
28-30 cm	5	10.87
42 cm	1	1.64

Relative size

The relative size of the *adorno-modelling* in relation to the diameter of the vessel is determined for forty-five *adornos* by calculating the percentage of the maximum size of the adorno-modelling in relation to the diameter of the vessel. For sixteen of the *adorno-vessels* the relative size could not be determined, because either the diameter of the vessel or the size of the *adorno-modelling* could not be determined. The size of the *adorno-modelling* is calculated to be between 8 to 39 percent of the size of the diameter of the vessel. The majority of the *adorno-models* are considered to be medium-sized in relation to the vessel (55.56%, n=25) (see appendix 1; fig. 36-38), 31.11% (n=14) are small (see appendix 1; fig. 34, 39 and 53), and 13.33% (n=6) are large (see appendix 1; fig. 43, 48 and 52) (tab. 8).

Tab. 8: Relative size of adorno-models from the site of El Flaco in relation to the diameter of the vessel.

Relative size	*Nr. (T=45)*	*%*
Small (8% - 19%)	14	31.11
Medium (20% - 29%)	25	55.56
Large (30% - 39%)	6	13.33

4.3 Morphological Variability of *Adorno-Modelling*

Size

From the *adornos* of which the size could be determined, 56.55% (n=151) are recorded as small (2-4 cm) and 35.96% (n=96) are medium-sized (4-6 cm), while only 1.12% (n=3) are very small (0-2 cm) and 0.75% (n=2) are very large (more than 8 cm). The remaining 5.62% (n=15) are considered to be large (6-8 cm) (tab. 9). For ten *adornos*, the size could not be determined as parts of the *adorno-modelling* are missing.

Tab. 9: Size of the adornos from El Flaco.

Size	*Nr. (T=267)*	*%*
Very small (0-2 cm)	3	1.12
Small (2-4 cm)	151	56.55
Medium (4-6 cm)	96	35.96
Large (6-8 cm)	15	5.62
Very large (more than 8 cm)	2	0.75

Place of attachment

For 213 *adornos*, it is determined where on the vessel the *adorno* is attached or formed, whereas for sixty-four *adornos* the place of attachment could not be determined. From this total the majority, 49.77% (n=106), is attached on the body of the vessel (see appendix 1; fig. 34 and 38), while 26.76% is attached on the rim (n=57) (see appendix 1;

fig. 44) and 16.43% to the rim (n=35) (see appendix 1; fig. 56 and 61). A smaller portion of the *adornos* is attached on a part of the handle (7.04%, n=15) (tab. 10). Furthermore, it should be noted that another nineteen *adornos* are not attached on a handle, but have a handle attached to the *adorno* either on top (n=4), below (n=12) or on the back (n=4). In one of these incidences, the mouth of the *adorno* is depicted on the handle that appears below the head, suggesting that the handle forms an integral part of the *adorno* (see appendix 1; fig. 65). Furthermore, the addition of a handle to the *adorno* suggests that these *adornos* were likely not supposed to be used to carry the vessel.

Tab. 10: Place of attachment or forming of the adornos from El Flaco.

Place of attachment	*Nr. (T=213)*	*%*
On rim	57	26.76
To rim	35	16.43
On body	106	49.77
On handle	15	7.04

External surface color

The paste color of the outside of the *adornos* is determined using the Munsell soil color chart. When more than one color is present, the color is taken from the part that covers a larger part of the surface of the *adorno*. The particular color of a ceramic object can be the result of the clay used, the firing atmosphere, alterations during use and/or the post-depositional environment (Hofman 2005). The majority of the *adornos* (32.20%, n=85) are fired to a light reddish brown color. Another 18.94% (n=50) of the *adornos* are fired to a very dark grey-black color, while 24.24% (n=64) are fired to a brown-dark brown color. Furthermore, the external surface color of 8.33% (n=22) are described as light brown-yellow, and the color of 6.82% (n=18) as red. Finally, 8.33% (n=22) are fired to a dark reddish brown color, and 1.14% (n=3) to a reddish grey-dark reddish grey color (tab. 11).

Tab. 11: External surface color of the adornos from El Flaco (for thirteen adornos the color was not determined as the surface is slipped).

External surface color	*Nr. (T=264)*	*%*
Very dark grey-black (HUE 10YR 3/1, 2/1, 2/2 and HUE 5YR 2/1)	50	18.94
Light brown-yellow (HUE 7,5YR 6/4, 6/6, 5/6)	22	8.33
Brown-dark brown (HUE 7,5YR 5/2, 5/4, 4/2, 4/3, 4/4, 3/2)	64	24.24
Reddish grey-dark reddish grey (5YR 5/2, 4/2)	3	1.14
Light reddish brown (HUE 5 YR 6/3, 6/4, 6/6, 5/3, 5/4, 5/6, 4/3, 4/4)	85	32.20
Dark reddish brown (HUE 5YR 3/2, 3/3, 3/4, 2/2)	22	8.33
Red (HUE 2.5YR 5/6, 5/8, 4/6)	18	6.82

Firing atmosphere

The atmosphere in which the *adorno* was fired can be determined for 196 *adornos*, while for eighty-one *adornos* it could not be determined. The majority of the *adornos*, 65.31% (n=128) are incompletely or relatively well oxidized. In addition, 15.31% (n=30) are fired through incomplete oxidation or reduction, whereas 13.27% (n=26) are fired through complete reduction. The firing atmosphere of the remaining 6.12% (n=12) is described as incomplete oxidation or complete oxidation (tab. 12).

Tab. 12: Firing atmosphere of the adornos from El Flaco.

Firing atmosphere	*Nr. (T=196)*	*%*
Complete reduction	26	13.27
Incomplete oxidation or reduction	30	15.31
Incomplete oxidation	8	4.08
Complete oxidation	4	2.04
Incompletely or relatively well oxidized	128	65.31

Surface finishing

The *adornos* are finished by means of a variety of techniques. The *adornos* are predominantly smoothed, 71.48% (n=198). In contrast, 18.41% (n=51) are lightly burnished, while 5.42% (n=15) are highly burnished. Finally, 3.97% (n=11) are covered with white slip, whereas only 0.72% (n=2) are covered with red slip (tab. 13).

Tab. 13: Surface finishing of the adornos from El Flaco.

Surface finishing	*Nr. (T=277)*	*%*
Smoothed	198	71.48
Lightly burnished	51	18.41
Highly burnished	15	5.42
White slip	11	3.97
Red slip	2	0.72

Ceramic style

The *adornos* are identified according to the different ceramic styles[3]. The *adornos* from El Flaco are predominantly Chicoid local (79.93%, n=219), while 7.30% (n=20) are identified as Chicoid non-local. Furthermore, 5.11% (n=14) of the *adornos* show a mixture of two styles: Chicoid and Meillacoid. In addition, 7.30% (n=20) of the *adornos* are identified as Meillacoid, and one *adorno* (0.36%) as Ostionoid (as identified by Ulloa Hung, pers. com. 2018) (tab. 14 and fig. 6, 7 and 8). For three *adornos* the ceramic style is unclear.

Tab. 14: Ceramic styles identified on the adornos from El Flaco) (as identified by Ulloa Hung, pers. com. 2018).

Ceramic style	*Nr. (T=274)*	*%*
Chicoid local	219	79.93
Chicoid non-local	20	7.30
Mix Chicoid and Meillacoid	14	5.11
Meillacoid	20	7.30
Ostionoid	1	0.36

Ostionoid ceramics, which are found throughout Puerto Rico and Hispaniola, developed by 600 CE, are characterized by open bowls and loop handles that rise above the rim. The vessel-walls are covered with red slip and black-banded motifs created through smudging, while patterns of incisions or punctations are rare. Furthermore, *adornos* are predominantly modelled rather than modelled-incised (Rouse 1992, 92-95).

Fig. 6: Ostionoid adorno from the site of El Flaco (FNR 1797, ID 26) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

Meillacoid ceramics, which developed around 825 CE in northern Hispaniola, are especially recognized by incurving and boat-shaped bowls (Rouse 1992, 96). The shoulders of the vessels are predominantly covered with varied rectilinear incised and punctated motifs. Common incised motifs on Meillacoid ceramics include cross-hatching, vertical parallel lines, and alternating oblique parallel lines. In addition, punctated motifs commonly occur in multiple perpendicular rows below the rim. The various motifs, composed of incisions and punctuation, were made while the clay was still wet and was not smoothed over, which resulted in rough incised lines (Rouse 1940, 57; Rouse 1992,

97). Furthermore, various anthropomorphic and zoomorphic *adornos* are frequently found on Meillacoid ceramics, which were made through modelling, incision and punctation. Additionally, extending limbs from the vessel are a diagnostic feature of Meillacoid *adornos* (Rouse 1940, 58; Rouse 1992, 97).

Fig. 7: Meillacoid adorno from the site of El Flaco (FNR 276, ID 250) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

Chicoid ceramics developed by 1200 CE. In contrast to Meillacoid ceramics, Chicoid ceramics are characterized by incised motifs that are made after the clay was relatively dry, which predominantly include curvilinear patterns, and incisions ending in punctations. Furthermore, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic *adornos* are frequently found on Chicoid ceramics. The vessels are not painted, but are commonly burnished (Rouse 1940, 59; Rouse 1992, 108-111).

Fig. 8: Chicoid adorno from the site of El Flaco (FNR 2694, ID 135) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

It is explored if any clear differences in the above-discussed morphological variables can be observed between the different styles. Ostionoid and Meillacoid *adornos* are more

frequently found attached to a larger piece of ceramic sherd in comparison to Chicoid *adornos*, which could suggest that the possible intentional detachment of *adorno-models* from the vessel is a characteristic of Chicoid *adornos*. Tab. 15 shows that 100% (n=1) of the Ostionoid *adornos* and 80.00% (n=16) of the Meillacoid *adornos* are attached to a ceramic sherd of more than 1 cm. In contrast, only 48.86% (n=107) of the Chicoid local *adornos* and 40.00% (n=8) of the Chicoid non-local *adornos* are attached to a ceramic sherd of 1 cm or more. No other recorded morphological variables show clear differences between the different styles. However, the lack of any clear differences is mainly the result of the small number of Ostionoid (n=1), Meillacoid (n=20) and mix style (n=14) *adornos* in relation to Chicoid *adornos* (n=239), which complicates the comparison of the different styles.

Tab. 15: Degree of embodiment in comparison to the different ceramic styles identified on the adornos from El Flaco.

	Chicoid local (T=219)		*Chicoid non-local (T=20)*		*Mix (T=14)*		*Meillacoid (T=20)*		*Ostionoid (T=1)*	
Disembodied	64	29.22%	7	35.00%	0	-	2	10.00%	0	-
Less than 0,5 cm	17	7.76%	3	15.00%	0	-	1	5.00%	0	-
Between 0,5 and 1 cm	31	14.16%	2	10.00%	1	7.14%	1	5.00%	0	-
Between 1 and 5 cm	90	41.10%	7	35.00%	8	57.14%	14	70.00%	1	100.00%
More than 5 cm	17	7.76%	1	5.00%	5	35.71%	2	10.00%	0	-

4.4 *Adorno-Modelling* as One Image

4.4.1 Formal Analysis of the Image

The description of the image of the *adorno-models* concerns a total of 279 images, instead of 277 objects (as discussed in section 4.1.1), for which the following variables are recorded: composition, orientation, head-shape, eye motif, nose motif, mouth motif, ear motif, face incision, top head motif, limb/wing motif and the presence of *anatopic*

imagery. Appendix 2 provides an illustrated guide to the various motifs mentioned in this chapter. The aim of the formal analysis of the image is to describe and understand the variability in the attributes used to create the image of an *adorno-modelling*. Furthermore, for this section the term *adorno* refers to the *adorno-modelling*, unless otherwise noted.

Image composition

For 98.52% (n=267) of the *adornos* a head is present, while 78.23% (n=212) of the *adornos* are composed of only the head. In contrast, the neck is only depicted on 5.90% (n=16), the body only on 2.58% (n=7), and the limbs/wings only on 17.71% (n=48) of the *adornos* (tab. 16). For eight *adornos* the composition could not be determined due to fragmentation. These data show that the head was considered important in the modelling of *adornos*, which can be explained by the belief that the locus of the soul is in the head (Oliver 2009, 68; 142). Alternatively, the head is possibly most commonly depicted because it is the easiest way to portray a being in a recognizable manner, as the head contains most of the identifying markers of a human or animal. Furthermore, the body is the least frequently portrayed element on the *adornos*, which might be because the vessel was possibly conceived of as the body of the *adorno* (see also Hofman and Jacobs 2001, 17; 31 in regards to La Hueca style ceramics). Alternatively, as noted by Barreto (2013, 123) in regards to material culture from Amazonia, the absence of the body could be due to the view of bodily forms as unstable and highly transformational.

Tab. 16: Image composition of the adornos from El Flaco.

Composition	*Nr. (T=271)*	*%*
Head	212	78.23
Limb/wing	4	1.48
Head and neck	11	4.06
Head and limb/wing	32	11.81
Head, neck and limb/wing	5	1.85
Head, body and limb/wing	7	2.58

Image orientation

The orientation of an *adorno* refers to the direction in which the being depicted is looking in relation to the vessel. The majority of the *adornos*, 78.19% (n=188), are oriented facing out (see appendix 1; fig. 34, 38) (tab. 17). This particular orientation would allow the being portrayed on the *adorno* to best "observe" its surroundings, and would allow for the users of the *adorno* to best observe the *adorno*. However, for now, it cannot be said whether it was actually considered important for the *adornos* to "see", or if it was more important for others to see the *adorno*. Furthermore, the orientation of the *adorno-modelling* may be related to the shape of the vessel. For example, the orientation facing in (5.85%, n=11) (see appendix 1; fig. 49) is only found on vessel shape A1, which is the open bowl with simple contour. This can be expected as only with an open vessel an *adorno* that is facing in can still be easily seen by the people around (see fig. 5). Finally, 15.96% of the *adornos* (n=30) are identified to be facing up (see appendix 1; fig. 39, 47 and 52). For ninety-one *adornos* the orientation could not be determined due to the absence of features indicating where on the vessel the *adorno* is located, how the sherd on which the *adorno* is fixed is positioned in relation to the vessel, or the absence of eyes.

Tab. 17: Image orientation of the adornos from El Flaco.

Orientation	*Nr. (T=188)*	*%*
Facing out	147	78.19
Facing in	11	5.85
Facing up	30	15.96

Head shape

For a total of 259 *adornos* the shape of the head is determined, while for eight *adornos* the shape of the head could not be determined as a result of damage to the head. The head shape is most commonly described as round (35.14%, n=91) or high oval (30.89%, n=80) (tab. 18).

Tab. 18: Head shape of the adornos from El Flaco.

Head-shape	*Nr. (T=259)*	*%*
Round	91	35.14
Half-round	7	2.70
Conical	30	11.58
High oval	80	30.89
Wide oval	36	13.90
High rectangular	8	3.09
Wide rectangular	7	2.70

Eye motif

Ten different motifs are identified by means of which the eyes are made. The eyes are most frequently depicted by means of two punctations (38.85%, n=101) or two incisions (25.00%, n=65), which may either resemble opened or closed eyes. In addition, the eyes frequently seem to be made through a nubbin-like motif (11.54%, n=30) or through a punctation surrounded by a circular incision (11.54%, n=30) (tab. 19). For seven *adornos* the shape of the eyes could not be determined due to damage to the part of the head where the eyes would be located. The eyes are the most frequently and most prominently depicted facial attribute on the *adornos*, which may indicate the importance of the eyes and the capability to see to the creators and users of the images. Perhaps the depiction of the eyes may also suggest that it was considered to be important for the beings depicted on the *adornos* to see. The importance of the capability to see is supported by the importance of hallucination in shamanism, which allows someone to see beyond what is immediately visible into other realms and/or one could see life manifest itself in what at first sight seems to be inanimate (Stevens-Arroyo 1988, 65-66).

Tab. 19: Eye motifs of the adornos from El Flaco.

Eye motif	*Nr. (T=260)*	*%*
Punctations	101	38.85
Punctation with circular incision	30	11.54
Incisions	65	25.00
Incision with circular incision	13	5.00
Single incision	3	1.15
Incision+punctation	6	2.31
Moulding	1	0.38
Moulding and incision	7	2.69
Nubbins	30	11.54
Perforations	4	1.54

Nose motif

The nose is made through six different motifs, while only two motifs are more frequently used, which indicates that the depiction of the nose is one of the most standardized facial features within the assemblage. Moulding (46.00%, n=46) or moulding and two punctations (32.00%, n=32) are the motifs most commonly used to depict the nose (tab. 20). For seventeen *adornos* the shape of the nose could not be determined as a result of damage to the part of the head where the nose would be located.

Tab. 20: Nose motifs of the adornos from El Flaco.

Nose motif	*Nr. (T=100)*	*%*
Punctations	4	4.00
Moulding	46	46.00
Moulding and punctation	2	2.00
Moulding and two punctations	32	32.00
Moulding and incisions	4	4.00
Nubbins	12	12.00

Mouth/beak motif

Seven different motifs are identified by means of which the mouth or beak is depicted, which suggests that the mouth, in addition to the nose, is among the facial features that are depicted in the most standardized manner in comparison to all of the other features. The mouth is predominantly made through an incision (45.52%, n=61), while the beak is variously made either through moulding, or moulding and punctation on ten *adornos* (tab. 21). For twenty *adornos* the shape of the mouth/beak could not be determined because of damage to the part of the head where the mouth/beak would be located.

The mouth is one of the least dominantly depicted facial attributes on the *adornos*, as it is commonly depicted quite low on the head with merely a fine-line incision or is largely missing altogether. However, for thirty-one *adornos* the circular incision surrounding certain facial attributes (discussed under face incision) appears to simultaneously depict the mouth (these are not taken into account in the tab. 21) (see fig. 9, left). In addition, there are five *adornos* for which the circular incision of the face incision is not completely connected into a circle, but stops below in order to depict the mouth through an incision in line with the circular incision (these are taken into account in the tab. 21, as they depict the mouth more clearly) (see fig. 9, right). This suggests that for the thirty-one *adornos*, mentioned above, the circular incision may indeed depict the mouth. Additionally, these thirty-one *adornos* illustrate the little amount of effort that is spent in portraying the mouth. Samson and Waller (2010, 427) similarly note the absence of and

insignificance attributed to the depiction of the mouth on ceramics from the Greater Antilles (see also Krieger 1931).

Tab. 21: Mouth/beak motifs of the adornos from El Flaco.

Mouth/beak motif	*Nr. (T=134)*	*%*
Punctation	7	5.22
Incision	61	45.52
Incision+punctation	1	0.75
Moulding	9	6.72
Moulding and punctation	16	11.94
Moulding and incision	38	28.36
Nubbin	2	1.49

Fig. 9. Left: Adorno in which the circular incision surrounding the eyes and nose may simultaneously depict the mouth (FNR 2711, ID 99). Right: adorno in which the circular incision is not completely connected into a circle, but stops below in order to depict the mouth through an incision in line with the circular incision (FNR 1946, ID 45) (right) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

Ear motif

Fourteen different motifs are identified that were used to portray the ear. The motifs describe one ear on one side of the head, while on the other side of the head the same motif appears. On the majority of the *adornos* the ear is portrayed through two nubbins (37.78%, n=51) or one nubbin (20.00%, n=27) (tab. 22). The two-nubbin motif and the two part moulding motif abstractly resembles the ears of someone who wears earspools, while one of these more naturalistically portrays an earspool (fig. 10). For twenty-five *adornos* the presence of ears could not be determined due to fragmentation.

Tab. 22: Ear motifs of the adornos from El Flaco (the motifs describe one ear).

Ear motif	*Nr. (T=135)*	*%*
Moulding	7	5.19
Moulding and punctation	11	8.15
Moulding and incision	7	5.19
Moulding and incision+punctation	2	1.48
Moulding, punctation and incision	1	0.74
Nubbin	27	20.00
Two part moulding	5	3.70
Two part moulding and punctation	2	1.48
Two part moulding and incision	3	2.22
Two part moulding and incision+punctation	2	1.48
Two part moulding, punctation and incision	15	11.11
Two part moulding, punctation and perforation	2	1.48
Two nubbins	51	37.78

Fig. 10: Adorno from El Flaco depicting an ear spool (FNR unknown, ID 267) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

Face incision

The face incision refers to circular incisions surrounding certain facial attributes, which possibly delineates the face. For most of the *adornos* (59.67%, n=108) the face incision consists of an incision surrounding the eyes (tab. 23). For eleven *adornos* the presence of the face incision could not be determined due to damage to the *adorno*.

Tab. 23: Face incision of the adornos from El Flaco.

Face incision	*Nr. (T=181)*	*%*
Incision surrounding eyes	108	59.67
Double incision surrounding eyes	26	14.36
Triple incision surrounding eyes	2	1.10
Incision surrounding eyes and nose	12	6.63
Double incision surrounding eyes and nose	1	0.55
Incision surrounding eyes, nose and mouth	2	1.10
Incision surrounding eyes, and surrounding eyes and nose	29	16.02
Incision surrounding eyes, and surrounding eyes, nose and mouth	1	0.55

Top head motif

The top head motif refers to any motif on top of the head of an *adorno* that is not identified as being part of any of the discussed facial attributes; as a result, it is the most varied attribute within the assemblage with twenty-two distinct motifs identified. The most commonly depicted motif on top of the head is the incision (27.85%, n=22), which possibly portrays a headband. In addition, the verical incisions on top of the head (6.33%, n=5) are recognized to depict fur/hair, while another eight top head motifs are identified to depict a headdress (see tab. 24 and fig. 11). The headdresses are incredibly heterogenous and may reflect an individual's unique identity. Finally, the triangular moulding on four *adornos* seems to resemble the shape of three-pointed cemíes or intentional cranial modification. It is argued that the practice of intentionally modifying the angle of the forehead, known as *bilobé*, was supposed to resemble the shape of the three-pointed cemíes (Stevens-Arroyo 1988, 58). Furthermore, Duijvenbode (2017, 282; 354) argues that a high prevalence and homogenous pattern of head shaping practices throughout the Greater Antilles suggests the presence of a collective social identity.

Tab. 24: Top head motifs of the adornos from El Flaco.

Top head motif	*Nr. (T=79)*	*%*
Punctation	3	3.80
Punctation and incision	1	1.27
Incision	22	27.85
Vertical incisions	5	6.33
Incision and incision+punctation	1	1.27
Incision+punctation	3	3.80
Moulding and punctations	2	2.53
Triangular moulding and incision	3	3.80
Moulding and incision	8	10.13
Moulding and incision or incision+punctation in center surrounded by another incision	12	15.19
Triangular moulding and incision+punctation	1	1.27
Moulding and three nubbins	1	1.27
Moulding, incision and perforation	2	2.53
Moulding, incision and nubbin	2	2.53
Moulding, incision and two nubbins	1	1.27
Moulding and five nubbins	1	1.27
Moulding, punctation, incision and nubbin		
Moulding, punctation, incision and incision+punctation	2	2.53
Nubbin	3	3.80
Nubbin and incision	1	1.27
Flattened head	5	6.33

Fig. 11: Adornos from El Flaco depicting a headdress (FNR 3161, ID 35 and FNR 2677, ID 101) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

Limb/wing motif

On sixty *adornos* limbs/wings are portrayed. However, the limbs/wings are depicted with such incredible diversity that it is deemed unproductive to make a classification. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the limbs of six *adornos* are depicted with joints that are made through a nubbin (fig. 12). In the assemblage of El Flaco *adornos*, nubbins frequently recur to depict the eyes, ears, and mouth, which can all be considered as openings into the body. Similarly, Roe (2004, 135; 1993, 643) identifies the depiction of joints on limbs through nubbins (or "roundels") on Chicoid wooden carvings and ceramics, and notes that they may polysemically indicate eyes, as the eyes are frequently treated in a similar manner. In addition, in Guiana, among current Carib speaking groups, such as the Waiwai, joints are viewed as the "eyes" of the body, or portals into the body (Roe 1993, 643; 2004, 135). Furthermore, according to Hayward *et al.* (2014, 222) ethnographic and ethnohistoric records suggest that the joints, and other body openings (e.g. ears, mouth and eyes), were conceived of as portals or entry-points into the body. Through these portals, spirits may enter the body (spiritual ingress), or malevolent spirits may be extracted (spiritual egress) (Hayward *et al.* 2014, 222; Oliver 2009, 68; Roe 1993, 643).

Fig. 12: Adorno from El Flaco with the depiction of joints on both limbs (FNR 2926, ID 139) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

Anatopic imagery

Finally, anatopic imagery is recognized on a number of *adornos* from El Flaco. Thirty-one of the images on the *adornos* can be turned around 180 degrees to reveal another but similar image, in which certain facial attributes are shared by both images. Two of these images even appear to depict a mouth on both ends of the face, one depicts ears on both ends of the face, and one feet or paws at both ends of the limbs in order to facilitate the possibility of looking at it from different angles. Furthermore, among these images, four seem to depict the mouth with the encircling incision of the face incision, as noted above, which also facilitates the possibility of inverting the image to reveal another image with a second mouth on a second face. In addition, one *adorno* can be looked at from different angles to reveal three completely different images. On this particular *adorno* the limbs of one image appear as the ears of another (fig. 13). Another *adorno* reveals two similar images when looked at from another angle, and both of these images can be inverted to reveal another similar image each.

Fig. 13: Adorno from El Flaco which shows three distinct images when looked at from different angles: a turtle, a bat, and the limbs of a frog (FNR 1946, ID 45) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

Roe (2004, 105) calls this phenomenon "artifactual dualism" or "dual-view" perspective, while "anatopic representation" more specifically refers to the possibility of inverting an image to reveal other images that share certain facial attributes. Such anatopic imagery is found among the Cedrosan Saladoid, in Elenan Ostionoid to Chicoid ceramics, but also on other media, such as rock art (Roe 2004, 105). These images are thus not "static", but provide a kinetic view of the so-called "manifest" and "hidden" reality, in which the viewer has to move the object around or move themselves around in order to change the angle of perception and shift the image (Roe 2004, 108-109). Such double vision is suggested to be associated with shamanism in which one may see mirror images of this world and other worlds (Roe 1997, 148).

Furthermore, Oliver (2008, 167-169) associates anatopic imagery ("anatropia") with the conception of the divisible person and multi-naturalism. A person is considered divisible when some of their parts or substances belong to other beings (e.g. human beings, ancestors or non-human beings) and vice versa, which is established through a process of reciprocal exchange (Oliver 2008, 167). Anatopic imagery, then, visually and

dynamically portrays the multiple natures and divisibility of persons, as different characters or parts of a person become visible or hidden by rotating the image along its axis (Oliver 2008, 168). An *adorno* is given as an example, which depicts an anthropomorphic being from one angle, but when turned around displays a frog-character (fig. 14). Thus, the single figure has two different natures; each nature is either shown or hidden depending on the perspective of the viewer. In other words, together the frog and the human are one person, while their personhood or nature can change depending on one's point of view. This transformation is, therefore, not complete, but temporary and reversible, for it can change back when the viewers' perspective changes (Oliver 2008, 169).

Fig. 14: Adorno from the site of Vacía Talega, Puerto Rico, with two natures: one of a human (left) and one of a frog (right) (after Oliver 2008, 169).

The arguments by Oliver (2008) suggest that it may be incorrect to consider the *adorno-modelling* from El Flaco that reveals three different animals when looked at from different angles as consisting of three distinct images, as it was likely conceived of as one being and one image with multiple natures. Nevertheless, in order to be able to describe the different motifs used for each face it is considered necessary to separate the image into three images. However, for the next section in which the beings depicted on the *adorno-models* are identified, this particular *adorno* from El Flaco is considered and recorded as one being rather than three.

4.4.2 Identification of the image

The identification of the images on the *adorno-models* initially was intuitively made. Afterwards, the intuitively made identifications were grouped together, from which it was recognized that there are certain attributes to the images, as described above, that recur in each group. These recurring attributes are linked to certain attributes that are recurring

within particular species, and based on these links the particular species portrayed on the *adornos* are identified. Below it is described which species can be recognized on the *adornos*, and by means of which recurring attributes they are identified as such.

From land to water and back

Forty-five *adornos* are interpreted to portray the image of the turtle (tab. 25). There are a number of distinctive attributes on the *adornos*, which allow for the recognition of the image of a turtle. Foremost, turtles can be identified by the particular manner in which the head and flippers are portrayed in relation to each other, which is evident on eighteen *adornos*. Furthermore, images of turtles are recognized by the depiction of a ridge in between the eyes towards the mouth on twelve *adornos*. In nature, this ridge can be observed on beak-like turtles, such as the hawksbill turtle (*Eretmochelys imbricata*) and the green sea turtle (*Chelonia mydas*). In addition, thirteen *adornos* depict a semi-ovoid mouth, which can also be observed on beak-like turtles when their mouths are opened (see fig. 15). Furthermore, fourteen *adornos* stand out for their rather rough and robust form, because of a pronounced forehead and/or chin, in combination with a mask motif (i.e. incision surrounding eyes). The head of the leatherback turtle (*Dermochelys coriacea*) is similarly rough and robust with a pronounced forehead and chin. Finally, five turtle *adornos* appear to depict both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic features. These *adornos* are identified as zoo-anthropomorphic based on the depiction of a nose that is placed relatively high on the head. The placement of the nose high on the head is characteristic of the turtle, and can be seen on the leatherback turtle (*Dermochelys coriacea*) and the fresh-water slider turtles (*Trachemys* sp.), while the shape of the nose is distinctive of a human nose.

Fig. 15: Example of a turtle adorno from El Flaco (FNR 176, ID 136) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

In addition, nine images of frogs are identified on the *adornos* (tab. 25). Images of frogs can be recognized by the distinctive U-shaped (or half round) snout of the frog, which appears on seven *adornos*. In addition, four of these frog *adornos* are depicted with nubbin-like eyes, which resemble the protruding eyes of the frog. Furthermore, frogs are identified based on the distinctive flexed limbs clinging to the vessel-wall, which can be seen on six *adornos* (see fig. 16).

Fig. 16: Example of a frog adorno from El Flaco (FNR 1246, ID 80) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

Finally, two crocodilian images are identified among the *adornos* (tab. 25). These are recognized as such by means of the presence of a flat prolonged head with nostrils at the end, which is distinctive of the crocodile. Additionally, incised patterns on one of the *adornos* possibly indicates the scales on the skin of the crocodile (see fig. 17). One *adorno* is identified to portray the lizard (tab. 25). The *adorno* is recognized as a lizard because of the depiction of large (in relation to the size of the head) eyes, and the cylindrically shaped head that tapers towards the snout. Furthermore, the particular stature of the animal on the *adorno* reminds one of that of the lizard, as it appears to be still and it seems to attempt to blend in with the environment by hiding under a flower that is depicted on top of the head, while the animal clamps its claw-like feet to the rim of the vessel (see fig. 18).

Fig. 17: Example of a crocodile adorno from El Flaco (FNR 3269, ID 69) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

Fig. 18: Example of a lizard adorno from El Flaco (FNR 1499, ID 145) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

Tab. 25: Frequency of beings identified on the adornos from El Flaco that inhabit the liminal space between land and water.

Identified image	*Nr. (T=57)*	*%*
Turtle	45	78.95
Frog	9	15.79
Crocodile	2	3.51
Lizard	1	1.75

From land to sky and back

Thirteen images of owls are identified on the *adornos* (tab. 26). Images of owls can be distinguished by means of the distinctive ear-tufts protruding from the top of the head, which are identified on six *adornos*, and can currently be observed in the natural environment on the screech owl (*Megascops*) (see fig. 19). Owls are, additionally, recognized based on the combination of a round, or wide oval, head and relatively large eyes in relation to the size of the head. Furthermore, three of the owl *adornos* depict a small beak, and for two more *adornos* the beak may have broken off. Seven more *adornos*, in addition to the owls, depict a beak and laterally placed eyes, which is distinctive of a bird. However, these *adornos* cannot be identified more specifically.

Fig. 19: Example of an owl adorno from El Flaco (FNR 2590, ID 78) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

Ninety *adornos* are identified to portray the image of a bat (tab. 26). Images of bats can be recognized by the distinctive depiction of the ears. The fruit-eating bat (*Artibeus jamaicensis*) and the big brown bat (*Eptesicus fuscus*) have ears that are round below and become more pointed upwards, which is observed on twenty-four *adornos* (see fig. 20). This particular characteristic of the fruit-eating bat and the big brown bat results in a separation of the ears into two parts on the *adornos*, which may eventually have resulted in the ears of these bat species being more abstractly depicted by two nubbins. On some bat *adornos*, the lower part of the ears are depicted by a nubbin, while for others the upper part is nubbin-like, but a bit elongated. The two-nubbin motif is seen on twenty-five bat *adornos*. This motif possibly refers to the human character of bats, as the two nubbins abstractly resemble the ears of someone who wears earspools (see also García Arévalo 1992, 41; Oudhuis 2008, 52; Waldron 2016, 49), while on one of the bat *adornos* the earspool is more naturalistically depicted (see fig. 10).

Fig. 20: Example of an adorno from El Flaco depicting the fruit-eating bat or big brown bat with ears that are round below and become pointed upward (FNR 2731, ID 279) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

In contrast to the fruit-eating bat and the big brown bat, the free-tailed bat (*Molossus molossus*) has round ears that are laterally attached to the top of the head, which is observed on twenty-two *adornos* (see fig. 21). Furthermore, the ghost-faced bat (*Mormoops blainvillii*) does not have ears that visibly protrude from the head. Ten *adornos* depict features characteristic of the bat, but are also depicted without ears.

However, the absence of the depiction of the ears does not necessarily entail that it concerns a ghost-faced bat, as it is possible that the choice was simply made to not depict the ears. In addition, for seven *adornos* it cannot be known how the ears were depicted because of the manner in which the *adorno* was disembodied from the vessel. However, one of these *adornos* is depicted with an upturned nose, which is distinctive of the leaf nosed bats (*Phyllostomidae*), including the fruit-eating bat.

Fig. 21: Example of an adorno from El Flaco depicting the free-tailed bat (FNR 1350, ID 141) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

Furthermore, images of bats are recognized based on the distinctive wings and/or limbs of the bat, which appear on fifteen *adornos* (see fig. 22). Among these *adornos* of the bat with wing/limbs, nine are attached to or on the rim in a similar manner to lugs. In addition, *adornos* are identified to depict bats because of the appearance of laterally placed and prominently visible nostrils on twenty-two *adornos*, and by a pronounced forehead and snout on forty-eight *adornos*.

Fig. 22: Example of bat adorno with limbs from El Flaco (FNR 2551, ID 57) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

Remarkably, on seven bat *adornos* a particular motif appears on top of the head. This motif consists of an incision, or an incision with punctation, which is surrounded by another incision (see fig. 23). It is unclear to what part of the bat this motif may refer to and, therefore, it possibly is a product of the creativity of the creator. In addition, eleven bat *adornos* are identified as zoo-anthropomorphic based on a high oval or conical shaped head, a human-like mouth or nose, and/or the appearance of an earplug or headdress/headband. One of these zoo-anthropomorphic *adornos* has eyes that are completely hollowed out, which gives the impression of a skull.

Fig. 23: Example of a bat adorno from El Flaco with a particular motif on top of the head (FNR 2685, ID 137) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

Tab. 26: Frequency of beings identified on the adornos from El Flaco that inhabit the liminal space between land and sky.

Identified image	*Nr. (T=110)*	*%*
Owl	13	11.82
Unidentified bird	7	6.36
Bat	90	81.82

From land to water and from land to sky

One *adorno* portrays a being that has three natures; that of a bat, turtle and frog (see fig. 13). Taken together, this particular being has the ability to move freely along all three of the planes of the cosmos. This *adorno* suggests a particular connection between the bat and the turtle, which are the two species that are most prominently present within the assemblage of *adornos* from El Flaco.

On land

Two dog-like images are identified based on the combination of a relatively short and round snout with nostrils, and ears on top of the head that taper towards the snout (fig. 24). In addition, thirty-two anthropomorphic images are recognized by means of a number of characteristics. One of these characteristics is the distinctive human nose that appears slightly below the eyes, which is observed on seventeen *adornos*. Furthermore, anthropomorphic images are recognized by the presence of a conical or oval shaped head on twenty-one *adornos*, and ears that appear around the height of the eyes on eleven *adornos*. In addition, particularly distinctive of anthropomorphic images is the mouth that is depicted through an incision that is slightly upturned at the end on fourteen *adornos*, or through moulding and incision that creates the appearance of lips on twelve *adornos.*

Fig. 24: Example of a dog adorno from El Flaco (FNR 3282, ID 174) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

Furthermore, five of the anthropomorphic *adornos* appear to depict headdresses, and another two possibly depict headbands, which, according to the chroniclers were only worn by caciques (Rouse 1992, 11-12). Another five of the anthropomorphic *adornos* appear with a particular triangular or knob-like moulding on top of the head, which could refer to the shape of mountains and/or cemíes, or the modification of the skull. Additionally, one is portrayed with large hollowed eyes, which could be an indication of a trance (fig. 25) (tab. 27). Three anthropomorphic images seem to be merged with zoomorphic features, of which two depict a human face with the particular ears of the bat that are round below and become pointed upward, while another human face is portrayed with wings and a beak-like mouth that is characteristic of the bird. Furthermore, one of the anthropomorphic *adorno*s gives a skull-like impression, as the lower part of the head is thinner than the upper part, and the eyes are large with deep punctations resembling the eye sockets.

Fig. 25: Example of an anthropomorphic adorno from El Flaco with a triangular motif on top of the head and large hollowed out eyes (FNR 2754, ID 13) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

Finally, it should be noted that three of the *adornos* that are identified as anthropomorphic could have been interpreted as depictions of monkeys. Among these anthropomorphic images, the mouth prominently protrudes from the face, which resembles the snout of a monkey (see fig. 26). However, I did not identify these images as depicting monkeys, but as human faces with exaggerated mouths, because monkeys were not abundantly present on the island of Hispaniola and do not appear to play a prominent role in the narratives or cosmological beliefs known on the island, while the majority of the beings identified on the *adornos* do. In addition, on 87.50% (n=28) of the anthropomorphic images a mouth is portrayed, while the occurrence of a mouth within the assemblage of the *adornos* that depict a head is 46.44% (n=124), which indicates that possibly more significance was attributed to the human mouth in comparison to that of other beings identified on the *adornos*. The significance attributed to the mouth explains why the mouth among the anthropomorphic images is more exaggeratedly portrayed on the *adornos*. Similarly, Waldron (2011) has noted that simian characteristics closely resemble stylizations of anthropomorphic images, which complicates the identification of monkeys, even such attributes as laterally located nostrils, and stylized noses could resemble nose ornaments.

Fig. 26: Example of an anthropomorphic adorno with headdress, and a mouth that is portrayed in a manner in which it prominently protrudes from the face (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

Tab. 27: Frequency of beings identified on the adornos from El Flaco who inhabit the space of the earthly plane.

Identified image	*Nr. (T=34)*	*%*
Human	32	94.12
Dog	2	5.88

Unidentified images

For seventy-five *adornos*, which comprises 27.08% of the total assemblage of *adornos* (n=277), the image is not recognizable. Twenty-eight of the *adornos* are unrecognizable because of their high fragmentation. Additionally, there are twenty-seven *adornos* of which the image could not be recognized as the image is too abstract in the sense that there are only a small number of motifs present that do not display any distinctive characteristics from which a particular animal can be identified. Furthermore, the image of twenty *adornos* are unidentifiable not because they are too fragmented or too abstract, but probably because I am not part of the intended audience. Some of these images possibly depict a combination of different characteristics of different animals in one

image, which makes it nearly impossible for an unintended viewer to identify the different animals.

Finally, it is explored whether any clear differences can be recognized in the frequency at which particular images are identified per ceramic style. Remarkably, the image of the turtle is significantly more frequently portrayed on the Meillacoid (46.67%, n=7) and Ostionoid *adornos* (100%, n=1). In contrast, the image of the turtle is substantially less frequently depicted on Chicoid local (19.61%, n=30) and Chicoid non-local *adornos* (10.00%, n=2). Additionally, the bat is the most prominently depicted image on the Chicoid local (49.67%, n=76) and Chicoid non-local *adornos* (65.00%, n=13), while it is absent on the Meillacoid and Ostionoid *adornos* (tab. 28). Furthermore, the depiction of headdresses is only identified on Chicoid local *adornos*. The change from the dominance of the image of the turtle to the significance of the bat, and the increase in the depiction of headdresses, is discussed further in chapter 6, as it is possibly related to changes in sociopolitical organization.

Tab. 28: Identified images in comparison to the different ceramic styles identified on the adornos from El Flaco.

	Chicoid local (T=153)		*Chicoid non-local (T=20)*		*Mix (T=12)*		*Meillacoid (T=15)*		*Ostionoid (T=1)*	
Turtle	30	19.61%	2	10.00%	5	41.67%	7	46.67%	1	100%
Frog	3	1.96%	0	-	2	16.67%	4	26.67%	0	-
Crocodile	1	0.65%	0	-	1	8.33%	0	-	0	-
Lizard	0	-	0	-	1	8.33%	0	-	0	-
Owl	11	7.19%	1	5.00%	0	-	1	6.67%	0	-
Bird	6	3.92%	0	-	0	-	1	6.67%	0	-
Bat	76	49.67%	13	65.00%	1	8.33%	0	-	0	-
Turtle/bat/frog	1	0.65%	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Human	23	15.03%	4	20.00%	2	16.67%	2	13.33%	0	-
Dog	2	1.31%	0	-	0	-	0		0	-

4.5 Connecting the *Adorno-Modelling* to the Vessel

In an attempt to connect the *adorno-modelling* to the vessel to which it was/is attached, we can look for any correlations that can be found between the vessel shape and motifs on the vessel-wall with the image identified on the *adorno-modelling*. Within the sample of the El Flaco *adornos* of which the vessel can be reconstructed, there does not appear to be a clear correlation between the vessel shape and the image identified on the *adorno-modelling*, as particular images do not seem to have a recurring relation with a particular vessel shape. However, vessel shapes D1 and D2 only occur with *adorno-models* depicting bats (n=4), vessel shape C3 only occurs with *adorno-models* depicting turtles (n=2), and vessel shape B1 only with an *adorno-modelling* depicting a lizard (n=1).

Furthermore, punctations on the vessel-wall only appear in combination with *adorno-models* depicting frogs (n=3). In addition, there is a particular motif on the vessel-wall consisting of incisions (and incision+punctation) in curvilinear pattern which only appears on vessels with *adorno-models* of bats (n=11) or humans (n=4) (see fig. 27). This particular motif resembles a motif that is identified on top of seven bat *adornos*, as discussed above, which consists of an incision, or an incision with punctation, that is surrounded by another incision (see fig. 10, 22 and 23). Therefore, it is possible that this motif has a particular association with bats. The occurrence of this motif on the *adorno-vessels* with anthropomorphic imagery possibly refers to the isomorphism between the bat and the souls of the dead. This has already been suggested because of eleven incidences of zoo-anthropomorphic bat images and the presence of two anthropomorphic images with bat ears, and the commonly used two-nubbin motif to depict the ears of both the bat and a human.

However, these numbers are too small to conclusively say that there is a particular association between the vessel shape and vessel-wall motifs with particular beings identified on the *adorno-models*. It requires more research and a larger sample to engage with the *adorno-modelling* in association with the vessel in order to establish if these associations do exist.

Fig. 27: An example of adornos from El Flaco that depict a particular motif on the vessel-wall, which can be similarly observed on top of the head of a number of adornos (left: FNR 2694, ID 135, right: FNR 2672, ID 96) (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by author).

Furthermore, in regards to thirteen of the *adornos*, on which the modelling of a turtle is identified, the vessel appears clearly as the body of the turtle, because of the manner in which the head and the flippers protrude from the body of the vessel that already resembles the carapace of a turtle (see appendix 1; fig. 37, 40, 41, 53, 54 and 57). Therefore, these vessels can be considered as effigy vessels. The majority of the *adorno-models* that depict the heads of the turtle are also less fragmented as they are still attached or embodied to relatively large pieces of the vessel in comparison to *adorno-models* depicting other animals, which suggests that possibly more significance was attributed to the body of the turtle in comparison to other animals depicted on the *adornos*. Within the assemblage of *adornos*, only the bodies of the turtle and the frog are portrayed. However, in contrast to the turtle *adornos*, the body of the frog is depicted on top of the body of the ceramic vessel, and, thus, the vessel does not appear as an effigy vessel as is observed in the case of turtle *adornos*.

4.6 Concluding remarks

The morphological analysis demonstrates a great diversity in the morphological variables of the *adornos*, which reflects a seemingly low level of standardization in production. Furthermore, from the formal analysis and identification of the image of the *adorno-modelling*, it becomes clear that there is a contrast between the diversity in motifs used to create the *adorno-models* and the number of distinct species identified. The diversity of the motifs used is great, even within the motifs identified there is a lot of diversity in how they are executed, and hardly any *adorno-modelling* of a particular species seems to use exactly the same motifs, although some recurring patterns in the motifs used can be found. In contrast, the number of species identified is rather low. This indicates that there was likely a limited number of species or cosmological themes available to the creators of the images, but that the potter was relatively free to express these ideas and the image of a particular species as they considered fitting. Similarly, Petitjean Roget (1997, 101-102) observed this contrast between a great variability in motifs used, and a restricted number of cosmological themes chosen from the infinite amount of themes available. In addition, the limited number of themes or species identified suggests the presence of similar ideas in regards to which species are significant enough to be portrayed on the *adornos*, and possibly a shared cosmology among the inhabitants of the site of El Flaco.

The beings that are recognized on the *adornos* from El Flaco play a prominent role in the cosmos and the creation narratives (i.e. turtle, frog, lizard, bat, owl and dog), as described in the cosmological frame of reference (see section 2.4). This supports the expectation that the imagery on the *adornos* can be connected to particular cosmological concepts (as already suggested by Moravetz 1999; 2005; Oudhuis 2008; Petitjean Roget 1975a; 1975b; 1997; Waldron 2010, 2016; Wauben 2016). Additionally, as expected, most beings that are recognized on the *adornos* from El Flaco portray liminal beings. Attributes of different beings are also frequently merged together into one *adorno*, in particular in regards to turtles and bats, which supports the expected relation of the imagery on the *adornos* to metamorphosis (see section 2.4.1 Liminality and Metamorphosis).

Furthermore, an attempt has been made to connect the *adorno-modelling* to the vessel. However, the sample appears to be too small to be able to make any conclusive remarks on the association between the vessel and the *adorno-modelling*. Nevertheless, it seems to

be a fruitful endeavor to engage with this relation, as it holds possibly valuable information and can help in the identification of different species on the *adornos*. If more scholars start recording and sharing information in regards to the link between the *adorno-modelling* and the vessel, the sample will grow larger, which is expected to provide the possibility to increase our understanding of how the vessel can be related to the *adorno-modelling*.

In the next chapter, it is discussed whether any patterns can be observed in the spatial distribution of the above-discussed variables within the site of El Flaco.

5. Archaeological Context

5.1 Introduction

The archaeological context of the *adornos* recovered from the site of El Flaco is concerned with their spatial positioning in relation to each other, and in association with the remnants of past activities (e.g. burials, hearths or postholes) at the intra-site level. These relations and associations are predominantly determined by the horizontal spatial positioning of the *adornos*, as the horizontal distribution is expected to provide a more accurate view in comparison to the vertical distribution, because the vertical distribution has been recorded according to arbitrary layers of 10 cm. The time-span that one deposited layer of 10 cm represents can be incredibly variable and is not determinable with the data available (pers. com. Jaime Pagan Jimenez 2018). Nevertheless, occasionally reference is made to the vertical distribution in order to provide a general view of the vertical relational positioning of *adornos*.

Information on the archaeological context of the *adornos* is expected to show in what activities *adornos* were used, which provides the possibility to make inferences on the potential social roles of *adornos*. Therefore, for the interpretation of the archaeological context of the *adornos*, the site of El Flaco is divided according to levelled areas, mounds, and remaining areas, which are sub-divided according to specific areas of activity (e.g. burial, cooking or housing). For each area it is explored if any patterns can be identified based on the variables that have been recorded within the formal analysis (see chapter 4) (e.g. recognized image, style or relative size). The particular sector-numbers and unit-numbers of these areas are mentioned in order to clarify the location of the specific area within the map of the site (see appendix 3). Additionally, appendix 4 provides a map of the distribution of the *adornos*. Furthermore, it is examined if the archaeological context can shed light on the high degree of fragmentation of *adornos*, and if there is evidence that the *adorno-modelling* potentially played a separate role from the vessel.

However, it should be noted that the identification of these different activities from the archaeological record, in which *adornos* potentially played important roles, is not straightforward. The main issue in the study of the archaeological context is the distinction between primary and secondary contexts, and if secondary contexts can be

connected to their primary contexts of use. Schiffer (1972, 161) describes primary refuse as refuse that "is discarded at its location of use", and secondary refuse as refuse that is deposited "away from its location of use". In this research, however, the terms primary and secondary context are used, instead of primary and secondary refuse, because it cannot be assumed that all recovered *adornos* from El Flaco were deposited as refuse. *Adornos* found in their primary context are deposited in their location of use, while *adornos* recovered in a secondary context are deposited away from their location of use, which can be either the result of the actions of the indigenous inhabitants of the settlement of El Flaco or as the result of site formation processes. An *adorno* that is recovered within its primary context of use allows for the role that the *adorno* may have played before deposition to be more easily inferred. However, when an *adorno* is deposited within a secondary context, the interpretation of its potential use is mainly based on speculation. Occasionally, a secondary context can be directly related to a primary context of use, but most commonly, this connection can only be tentatively made based on the assumption that materials are deposited adjacent to primary contexts of use. However, other considerations than least-cost principles may have played a more important role (see Beck 2006, 30). Furthermore, as noted by Mackowiak de Antczak (2000, 37; 79), the archaeological context refers to the possible final functional meaning of a particular object, while prior function(s) or role(s) may be just as, or even more, important.

5.2 General Distribution of *Adornos*

5.2.2 Levelled Areas

The excavation of the levelled areas at El Flaco revealed the remnants of a large number of postholes, which have been connected to a variety of structures. These structures include two large round houses of approximately 9-10 meters in diameter, and a number of smaller structures (3-4 meters in diameter), which have been recognized as cooking huts (*bohios*) based on the presence of fireplaces or hearths within (Hofman and Hoogland 2015, 8-9; Hofman *et al.* 2018, 210; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 128-129). The main structures that have been identified are numbered from 1 to 5 (see fig. 28).

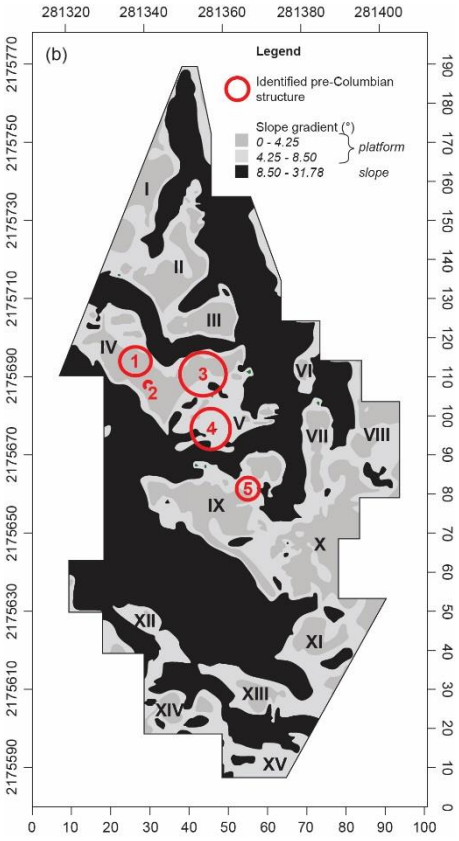

Fig. 28: Circular structures identified at the site of El Flaco (Hofman 2017, 40).

Housing

The excavation of the levelled area in which structure 1 (sector 93, unit 18) and structure 2 (sector 83, unit 18) are located did not reveal any *adornos*. It is still possible that *adornos* were used within and surrounding these structures, but these *adornos* were likely deposited in the mound located to the west of the structures, rather than left on the household floors. In contrast, surrounding structure 3 (unit 12 and 15, sector 84, 85, 86, 94, 95 and 96) and 4 (unit 2, sector 75 and 85) a total of eight *adornos* (2.91%) were found (see tab. 29). Three of these *adornos* were recovered to the east of structure 3, and four in between structure 3 and 4 (see appendix 4). The space between structure 3 and 4 has been described as a sweeping area, which represents the accumulation of material that has been swept away from the household floors. In addition, one *adorno* appears within what has been described as "a pit with two postholes, one on each side of the pit" (F85-17, 75-131 and 75-132), of which the upper five cm contained a few pieces of ceramic. The postholes found in association with the "pit" seem to be part of the outer row of the

house (see fig. 28). This particular *adorno* portrays a turtle, which is interesting considering the potential association of the turtle with shelter, as discussed in chapter 2. Samson (2010, 158; 265) also discusses the presence of a Chicoid *adorno* within an external posthole of a roundhouse at the site of El Cabo (southeastern Dominican Republic), and argues that this was part of the deliberate and structured deposition of particular objects within postholes, principally including objects of bodily adornment. However, the exact nature of the "pit" from El Flaco is unclear, but it is possible that it reflects the deliberate deposition or burial of the *adorno* and a few other pieces of ceramic, as identified at the site of El Cabo.

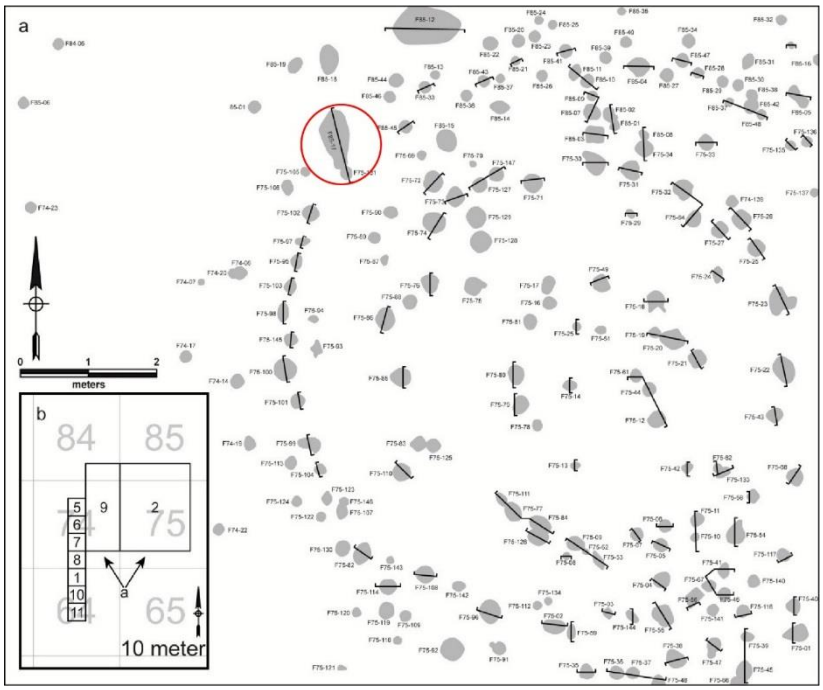

Fig. 29: Surface drawing of the postholes belonging to structure 4 with F85-17 in the red circle (copyright NEXUS1492).

Cooking

Furthermore, twenty-two *adornos* (8.00%) have been recovered from the levelled area on which structure 5 is located (sector 66 and 56, unit 13, 14, 16, 23 and 30) (see tab. 29 and appendix 4). Structure 5 consists of a circular row of posts with a large hearth in the center. Most of the *adornos* within this area appear towards the south of the structure, although one *adorno* was found within the structure.

In addition to the five main structures, there are four levelled areas that revealed a large number of postholes, which have not been connected to form larger circular structures, but may be the remains of shelters and other structures related to cooking activities. For example, to the north of the site (sector 05, unit 83 and 52), a number of postholes can be connected to form two small circular structures. The center of one of these structures contained a significantly large amount of charcoal (39.2 g) and a large amount of ceramic spread throughout unit 83 (11,214.2 g), which suggests that this area probably was used for cooking (weights from Hofman and Hoogland 2016, 12-16). Sixteen *adornos* (5.82%) have been recovered from this area, of which two were from the center of the structure with the large amount of charcoal, while the others were found surrounding the structures (see tab. 29 and appendix 4). This possible cooking place is referred to as hearth 1.

Furthermore, to the south of the site (sector 47 and 37, unit 34) a large number of postholes have been identified. However, these postholes are not easily recognized to form a particular structure. Nevertheless, these posts probably served a function in relation to the large number of hearths, consisting of fire-cracked stones, which continue throughout most of the unit (F47-01). Twenty-four *adornos* (8.73%) were revealed by the excavation of unit 34, which most likely are located in their primary context of use within the cooking area, as it does not appear as if the *adornos* were swept away to accumulate on the margins of where the cooking activities took place (see tab. 29 and appendix 4). This is the largest number of *adornos* found within one possible cooking place. In addition, one human burial has been found within this unit (F47-223), but no *adorno* appears to be located directly in association with the burial. This possible cooking place is numbered as 2.

Similarly, in unit 44 (sector 55) and in unit 45 (sector 56) a large number of hearths and a large number of postholes, of which some can be connected into small circular structures, have been recognized. These units only revealed three *adornos* (1.09%), which were possibly used in relation to the hearths (see tab. 29 and appendix 4). Considering the limited number of *adornos*, it is likely that most of the *adornos* that were used within this possible cooking place were deposited in a place of secondary context. In addition, there is a mound located directly towards the south of the unit, and the *adornos* that were found appear in close proximity to this mound. This area is referred to as hearth 3.

Finally, in sector 54 (unit 77), a large number of postholes have been identified, but not definitely connected to structures. However, three hypothetical smaller circular structures, and three possible windscreens for the cooking area in the southeast of the unit, have been recognized. The southeastern area of the unit, in which several hearths and a burial have been recovered, is considered part of one of the mounds, and is therefore discussed together with the mounds. Nevertheless, because of the cooking area in the southeast of unit 77, it can be argued that also the structures identified in the north of unit 77 served a function related to cooking activities. In addition, unit 77 contained a significant amount of ceramic (67,422.6 g), animal bone (3,158.3 g) and charcoal (255.6 g), which suggests that large-scale cooking activities took place in this region (weights from Hofman and Hoogland 2016, 12-16). The zooarchaeological remains include rodents, birds, dogs, crabs, fish, iguanas, lizards, snakes and turtles (*trachemys* sp.) (as identified by Gene Shev 2018). Within this area fifteen *adornos* (5.45%) have been found, without taking into account the *adornos* from the southeastern part of the unit (see tab. 29 and appendix 4). However, the *adornos* deposited in the mound in the southeastern part of the unit most likely served similar roles to the *adornos* from the levelled area, considering their close spatial association to the possible cooking area in unit 77. This possible cooking place is numbered as 4.

Eventually, a total of eighty-eight *adornos* (32.00%) appear to have been deposited on the levelled areas, of which eighty were likely used within cooking activities, and eight within or surrounding the roundhouses (see tab. 29). Most of these *adornos* represent materials that have been swept towards the edges of the levelled areas in order to keep the household floors clean. Thus, the *adornos* from the levelled areas were mainly found within secondary contexts, which can be connected to their primary context of use within or surrounding the structures and hearths on the levelled areas. However, in order to keep the area clean, the materials that would accumulate on the edges of the levelled areas from sweeping were perhaps occasionally collected and deposited on one of the mounds. Therefore, it is possible that more *adornos* were used within or surrounding the structures for housing than have been recovered from the levelled areas.

5.2.3 Mounds

At the site of El Flaco, *adornos* have been recovered from six mounds that surround the levelled areas, which are named from A to F (see tab. 29 and fig. 30). The stratigraphy of

the mounds show the remains of a variety of domestic and ritual activities, such as cooking, the deposition of waste, and human burial (in units 32, 61, 65, 69 and 77) (see section 4.1.2) (Hofman and Hoogland 2015, 9; Hofman *et al.* 2018, 211; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 129).

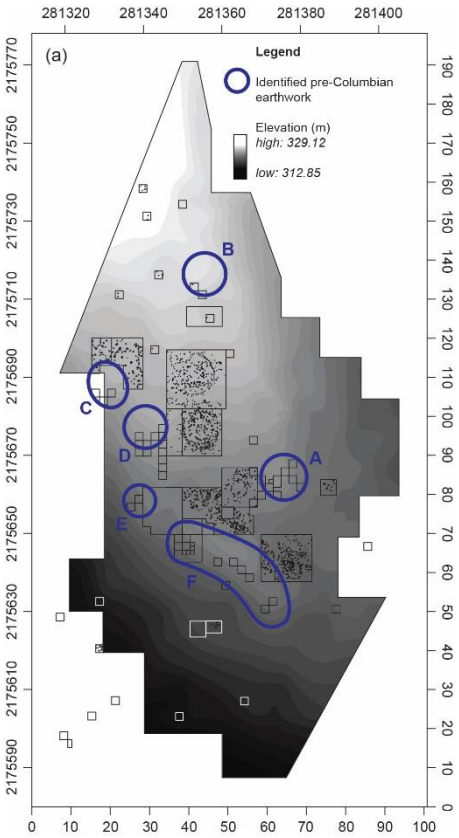

Fig. 30: Mounds identified at the site of El Flaco (Hofman 2017, 40).

Mound F (sector 36, 37, 44, 45, 46, 54 and 55, unit 35, 37, 38, 40, 44, 61, 63, 67, 69, 77 and 85) is the largest mound, which is located to the south of hearths 2, 3 and 4. Refuse from these possible cooking areas may have been deposited in mound F for its close proximity. Seventy-four *adornos* have been excavated from the mound, of which one (0.36%) was found in the eastern part of the mound, six (2.18%) in the center, and sixty-seven (24.36%) in the northwest (see tab. 29 and appendix 4).

The excavation of the northwestern region of mound F unearthed twelve of the seventeen human burials. Additionally, the northwestern region of the mound contained the largest number of *adornos* found throughout the site of El Flaco (see tab. 29), which suggests that the *adornos* may have played an important role in burial ceremonies to assist the

dead in their travels across the realms of the cosmos. However, within the northwestern region, only two *adornos* have been found in close proximity to a burial (F54-66) (see fig. 31). Remarkably, the two *adornos* both portray the image of a bat, supporting a relation between the bat and the dead, as has already been suggested in chapter 2. In contrast, the majority of the *adornos* within this region appear in association with the large number of hearths, which are interpreted to be closely connected to the burials (see fig. 32). Therefore, it is argued that in this area intense cooking or feasting activities were organized for the ancestors (Hofman and Hoogland 2016, 18). This is supported by the large amount of ceramic (75,301 g), faunal remains (7,655.5 g) and charcoal (446.15 g) collected from the area (weights from Hofman and Hoogland 2016, 12-16). Similarly, Righter (2005, 24-26) and Lundberg (2002, 196) argue that ceramic at the Saladoid Tutu site in St. Thomas was not placed with burials as offerings but served a function within the burial ritual.

Fig. 31: Burial F54-66 with adorno near cranium in red circle (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by Menno L. P. Hoogland).

Fig. 32: Hearth F45-33 with adorno in circle (copyright NEXUS1492, photographed by Menno L. P. Hoogland).

In the center of mound F, only two hearths have been identified, but the *adornos* from this region do not appear in association with these hearths. Nevertheless, one of the *adornos* was found in what has been recognized as an ash layer, which may reflect a layer of refuse that has been burned or the remains of a hearth of which the stones were taken to be reused in another location. Finally, the southern part of mound F contained one Ostionoid *adorno* (as identified by Ulloa Hung, pers. com. 2018), which was found at a depth of between 70 to 80 cm, and did not appear in association with any features.

The second mound, mound E, (sector 53, unit 75) is located to the west of unit 77. Within this mound four *adornos* (1.42%) have been unearthed, of which three appear in relation to a hearth along with a relatively large amount of animal bone (see tab. 29 and appendix 4). The hearths and large amount of animal bone suggest that mound E was likely most commonly used for cooking activities. In addition, mound A (sector 67, unit 57 and 17), which is located directly to the west of structure 5, contained three *adornos* (1.09%) (see tab. 29 and appendix 4). The stratigraphy of mound A revealed a variety of hearths and ash layers, and one human burial (F67-08/11). Two of the *adornos* were found in association with the hearths, while the third *adorno* was found in proximity to the burial.

Mound D (sector 73 and 74, unit 70-74), which is located to the west of structures 3 and 4, revealed sixty-one *adornos* (22.81%). This is the second largest number of *adornos* found within one particular region of the site (see tab. 29 and appendix 4). Furthermore, the mound revealed a large number of hearths, to which most of the *adornos* were found in association with. In addition, the excavation of mound D unearthed two human burials. One *adorno*, which portrays the image of a frog, was found in close proximity to one of the burials (F74-11). The presence of an *adorno* depicting the image of a frog, possibly in association with a human burial, suggests a relation between the frog and the dead, which has not been recognized in chapter 2 based on the study of ethnohistoric accounts. In addition, one *adorno* was found within a hearth (F73-12) that seems to be closely associated with another human burial (F73-15). Perhaps this mound, and its *adornos*, served a similar function to the northwestern region of mound F because of the high number of *adornos* and hearths in association with human burials.

Furthermore, mound C (sector 82, 83, 92 and 93, unit 18, 25, 27, 32 and 33), which is located directly to the south of structures 1 and 2, revealed twenty-one *adornos* (7.64%) (see tab. 29 and appendix 4). The stratigraphy of the mound shows the remains of a few hearths and ash layers, including fourteen *adornos* in close proximity to the hearths. Furthermore, within mound C, one human burial (F82-15) was excavated, but no *adorno* was found in close proximity to the burial, as the burial was located at a depth of 110 to 120 cm, whereas the closest *adorno* was found at a depth of 80 to 90 cm. Finally, mound B (sector 15, unit 84), located directly to the north of hearth 1, contained one *adorno* (0.36%) (see tab. 29 and appendix 4). This mound most likely consisted of refuse from hearth 1, because of its spatial relation and the relatively large amount of animal bone recovered from the mound.

Eventually, a total of 164 *adornos* (59.64%) have been recovered from the mounds, of which the majority (n=128) were found in mound D and the northwest of mound F, in association with the remains of what has been interpreted as an intense cooking or feasting activity for the ancestors (see tab. 29). In addition, within these mounds, three *adornos* were uncovered in close proximity to a human burial. Another twenty-four *adornos* were found in mounds A and C, which contained a multitude of hearths and burials, but in smaller numbers. Furthermore, mound B and E revealed five *adornos*, which were found in association with remains of cooking activities. Finally, for seven

adornos from the center and south of mound F, it is unclear in what activities the *adornos* may have played a role.

5.2.4 Remaining Areas

There are a number of remaining areas, which have not been identified as mounds and do not show the remains of any structures. The first of these areas is located in the southwest of the site (sector 21, unit 59). Unit 59 revealed one *adorno* (0.36%) in association with a hearth, along with a large piece of griddle and a high amount of animal bone (37 g), which suggests that the *adorno* served a function related to cooking (see tab. 29 and appendix 4).

Furthermore, unit 78 (sector 25) (referred to as area 2) revealed a hearth and two *adornos* (0.73%) in proximity to the hearth (see tab. 29 and appendix 4). Remarkably, both *adornos* portray the image of a turtle, and one of the squares within the unit contained the largest amount of turtle bones throughout the site (60 g). The turtle bones were burned and may have been from the same individual (as identified by Gene Shev, pers. com. 2018). In addition, within unit 49 (sector 68) (referred to as area 3), five *adornos* (1.82%) were found in F68-01, which was described as "a concentration of mostly shell and some ceramic" (see tab. 29 and appendix 4). It is remarkable that all five of the *adornos* are identified to portray the image of a turtle, while nowhere else in the site such a concentration of one particular image can be found. However, it is unclear for what purpose this area was used and the role of the *adornos* therein. The presence of exclusively turtle *adornos* within these areas could suggest that particular activities took place for which certain abilities attributed to the turtle were needed, such as its ability to move from land to water. Alternatively, the deposition of turtle *adornos* in these areas could serve a similar role to the deposition of the turtle in between two postholes, as identified above, which was possibly related to the protection of the house (these issues are further discussed in the following chapter).

In the fourth area (sector 64 and 74, unit 1, 5, 7, 8, 10 and 11), fourteen *adornos* (5.09%) have been found in proximity to a number of ash layers (see tab. 29 and appendix 4). This area may have been part of mound D, or consisted of materials swept away from structure 3 and 4. Finally, unit 31 (sector 76) (referred to as area 5) revealed one *adorno* (0.36%)

which was possibly related to mound A or structure 4, because of its spatial proximity (see tab. 29 and appendix 4). Furthermore, no features were identified within this unit.

Tab. 29: Distribution of the adornos from El Flaco over the levelled areas, mounds and remaining areas (for two adornos the location within the site is unknown).

	Nr. (T=275)	*%*
Levelled areas (total):	**88**	**32.00**
Structure 3 and 4	8	2.91
Structure 5	22	8.00
Hearth 1	16	5.82
Hearth 2	24	8.73
Hearth 3	3	1.09
Hearth 4	15	5.45
Mounds (total):	**164**	**59.64**
Mound F, east	1	0.36
Mound F, center	6	2.18
Mound F, northwest	67	24.36
Mound E	4	1.45
Mound A	3	1.09
Mound D	61	22.18
Mound C	21	7.64
Mound B	1	0.36
Remaining areas (total):	**23**	**8.36**
Area 1	1	0.36
Area 2	2	0.73
Area 3	5	1.82
Area 4	14	5.09
Area 5	1	0.36

5.3 Distribution of Variables

In regards to the different activity areas that have been identified above, it is explored if any patterns can be recognized in the distribution of the variables as recorded in the previous chapter (e.g. recognized image, ceramic style, diameter, relative size, vessel shape, degree of embodiment, place of attachment, external surface color and surface finishing). Considering that the different activity areas contain significantly unequal amounts of *adornos*, it is deemed efficient to compare the percentage of a particular attribute present in one activity area with the percentage of that attribute present within the entire assemblage. This is done in order to see where a particular attribute is notably more or less present (see appendix 5 to 10 for the frequency of occurence of particular

attributes within the identified areas)[4]. Thus, the percentages provided in this section refer to the percentage of a particular attribute present in one particular area in comparison to the other attributes of a certain variable present, unless otherwise noted.

Recognized image distribution

Generally, the various images identified on the *adornos* are found widely spread throughout the site, and in association with a variety of activities. No clear patterns in the distribution of the recognized images can be directly seen, as no image of a particular being is significantly more present in one area in comparison to other areas, or is significantly more frequently associated with one particular activity. There is only one exception found, as mentioned above, in unit 49 (sector 68) five *adornos* are recovered that are all identified to portray the image of the turtle (at a depth of 10 to 30 cm), and in unit 78 (sector 25) two *adornos* are found that both depict the turtle (at a depth of 10 to 20 cm). In addition, although not the most frequently identified image, the turtle is the most widespread throughout the site, as in all areas, in which an *adorno* is found, the image of the turtle is present (except for mound B, which held one *adorno* depicting a dog). In contrast, the turtle is least prominently present in mound D (10.87% of the *adornos* identified in this area depicts a turtle, n=5), and the northwest of mound F (11.76%, n=6) (see appendix 5). Both of these areas revealed burials in association with a large number of hearths, which suggest that the turtle possibly was conceived of as less important in burial ceremonies in comparison to other activities or other animals. This can be supported by the creation narratives recorded by Pané, in which the turtle does not appear to be associated with the dead, but does seem to be related to shelter and cooking (see chapter 2). Therefore, the turtle *adornos* can be expected to be more prominently present in activities related to shelter or cooking, rather than the dead. However, another explanation could be that, within burial ceremonies, a larger variety of images on *adornos* was appreciated, as in both areas the largest variety of images (of seven different beings) on *adornos* is recognized.

Furthermore, there are only a limited number of frogs found throughout the site of El Flaco. The frog is most prominently present in the area surrounding structure 3 and 4 (33.33% of the *adornos* in this area depict a frog, n=2) and in mound D (8.70%, n=4). In addition, the frog is identified in the area of structure 5 (0.67%, n=1) and in the northwest of mound F (3.92%, n=2) (see appendix 5). This suggests that the frog may have been

mainly associated with the dead, as it is most commonly present within the mounds for which it is suggested that burial ceremonies took place, and one frog *adorno* is found in close proximity to a burial in mound D. However, *adornos* depicting the frog are also identified surrounding a circular structure for housing, and a structure that covers a hearth, which suggests that the frog may also have a relation to, or a role in, shelter and sustenance.

The image of the crocodile is only recognized twice within the assemblage. One of the *adornos* depicting the crocodile is from the area surrounding structure 5, while the other one is from the northwest of mound F. The two crocodile *adornos* do both appear in proximity to a hearth. However, the hearths are found in different regions and are differently shaped, and, therefore, likely served a slightly different function. Furthermore, only one *adorno* depicting a lizard is identified, which appears in hearth 2. In chapter 2, it is suggested that the lizard may have played an important role in providing sustenance as it was consumed as a delicacy throughout the Greater Antilles (Alegría 1997, 20). Thus, the archaeological context supports the relation between the lizard and sustenance.

Owl *adornos* are most prominently present surrounding the burials and hearths within the northwest of mound F and in mound D (n=9), which indicates that the owl may have played an important role in association with the dead, as is suggested in chapter 2. However, *adornos* portraying the image of the owl are also present in hearth 2 (n=1), mound C (n=2) and in remaining area 4 (n=1), where the *adornos* are found in association with hearths and ash layers (see appendix 5). Similarly, seven *adornos* from the assemblage are identified to depict a bird, which are most prominently present within the northwest of mound F and in mound D in proximity to the hearths and burials (n=6). The seventh bird *adorno* is found in hearth 4, in which it appears slightly outside of the northwestern region of mound F. However, because of its close spatial proximity, this *adorno* likely also played a role within the activities of mound F. Thus, bird *adornos*, including the *adornos* depicting the owl, possibly played an important role in ceremonies related to the dead, which has already been suggested in chapter 2.

The image of the bat is most frequently identified within the assemblage of *adornos* from El Flaco, and is also prominently present in most of the different identified areas throughout the site. However, *adornos* portraying the image of a bat are most notably present within hearth 2 (61.54%, n=8) and in remaining area 4 (60.00%, n=6) (see

appendix 5). In addition, as mentioned above, two bat *adornos* are found in close proximity to a human burial. Thus, although bats have mainly been interpreted to be associated with the dead based on ethnohistoric accounts, the context of the *adornos* from El Flaco seems to suggest that bats were possibly associated with a variety of activities, not only burials. However, this is difficult to ascertain, as it is unclear if these *adornos* are found in their primary context.

Anthropomorphic images are found in a variety of contexts. However, these images are most prominently present in the center of mound F (40.00%, n=2), surrounding structure 3 and 4 (33.33%, n=2), and in hearth 1 (22.22%, n=2). In addition, anthropomorphic images are prominently present in the northwest of mound F (19.61%, n=10) and in mound D (19.57%, n=9), which suggests that *adornos* depicting anthropomorphic images served a role in a variety of activities (see appendix 5). Finally, only two dog-like images are recognized within the assemblage of *adornos*. One of these *adornos* is found in mound D, and the other one in mound B, which suggests that the dog *adornos* possibly played a role in cooking activities and with the possible burial ceremonies taking place in mound D.

Thus, from the archaeological context of the *adornos* it appears that no particular being recognized on the *adornos* has one singular association with a particular activity or has one role, as all the different images appear widely spread throughout the site and are found in association with the remnants of a variety of activities. In addition, it is explored if any clear patterns can be observed in the distribution of images portraying beings that move from water to land relative to beings that move from land to sky. It appears that within hearth 4, the northwest of mound F, mound D and in remaining area 4 the image of beings that are found in the liminal space between sky and land are more prominently present in comparison to beings that are found in the space between water and land[5]. This suggests that interaction with the celestial realm was possibly considered more important within burial ceremonies. However, in general, the images of beings from different liminal spaces are evenly distributed over the site of El Flaco, which could suggest that it was recognized that interaction with both the celestial realm and subterranean waters was necessary in order to maintain a balance within the cosmos. Furthermore, anatopic imagery, anthropo-zoomorphic imagery, images of headdresses, different compositions and different orientations of *adornos* appear evenly distributed over the site of El flaco, as

no concentration of these particular images can be found in one particular area of the site nor in association with particular activities.

Ceramic style distribution

Adornos with different ceramic styles appear highly mixed throughout the vertical, arbitrary, layers at the site of El Flaco. Chicoid non-local *adornos* are found in the same layer and square as Chicoid local *adornos*, as are Meillacoid and mixed (of Chicoid and Meillacoid) *adornos* with Chicoid local *adornos*. Meillacoid style *adornos* do seem to be slightly more prominently present in the lower layers, but in mound D and the northwest of mound F, they are already present at a depth of 10 to 20 cm along with Chicoid *adornos*. Furthermore, Chicoid local *adornos* are found until a depth of 80 to 100 cm in the center of mound F, mound D, and mound C, while Meillacoid style *adornos* only reach a depth of 70 to 80 cm in mound D. At this depth, in mound D, Chicoid *adornos* are still more prominently present than Meillacoid *adornos*. Mixed style and Chicoid non-local *adornos* appear at a depth of 50 to 60 cm in mound E and D, until a depth of 0 to 10 cm in which they are spread throughout the site. Furthermore, the one Ostionoid *adorno* appears in the south of mound F at a depth of 70 to 80 cm. The mixture of *adornos* with different ceramic styles throughout the vertical layers can be explained by the deposition of materials in lenses (see fig. 33). Alternatively, the continued management of the mounds could result in the mixture of materials from distinct deposition episodes.

Chicoid local *adornos* do appear to be most prominently present within hearth 1 (93.75%, n=15), 2 (93.75%, n=15) and 3 (100%, n=3), but also in mound A (100%, n=3) and unit 78 (100%, n=2). Furthermore, Chicoid non-local *adornos* are most notably present within hearth 4 (20.00%, n=3), while mixed style *adornos* are most prominently visible surrounding structure 3 and 4 (25.00%, n=2). Finally, Meillacoid *adornos* are most notably present within remaining area 4 (28.57%, n=4) (see appendix 6).

Fig. 33: Profile of unit 75 in a mound at El Flaco, which shows the deposition of various layers and lenses (Hofman et al. 2018, 212).

Reconstructed vessels distribution

It is explored if any patterns in the distribution of the diameter of the *adorno-vessels*, the relative size of the *adorno-models* or the vessel shape of the *adorno-vessels* can be observed. However, considering the small number of vessels that could be reconstructed (n=61), the patterns that can be observed possibly do not provide a good picture. The largest variety in vessel sizes (based on diameter) and vessel shapes are found in mound D and the northwest of mound F. In addition, vessels with a complex contour (vessel shape D1 and D2) are most prominently present within these areas (see appendix 7). It is possible that within the burial ceremonies of these areas, a large variety of vessels was necessary, and more complex vessel shapes were appreciated. However, it is also possible that the presence of a larger variety of vessels is due to the significantly larger number of vessels that could be reconstructed from mound D and F. In addition, the different sizes of vessels appear evenly spread throughout the site of El Flaco, and are found in association with a variety of activities. However, within the northwest of mound F, relatively more small vessels (diameter of 8 to 16 cm) (41.67%, n=5) are found in comparison to the number of small vessels within the entire assemblage (30.43%, n=14)

(see appendix 8). Furthermore, large *adornos*, relative to the size of the vessel, are most prominently found within mound D (25.00%) and the northwest of mound F (18.18%, n=2), which suggests that within these areas it was possibly considered to be more important for the *adorno-modelling* to be visible for a larger group to be seen (see appendix 9).

Remaining variables distribution

Additionally, it is interesting to note that *adornos*, which are still attached to a vessel fragment of more than 5 cm, are most prominently present within the northwest of mound F (11.94%, n=8), mound D (14.75%, n=9), and remaining area 4 (14.29%, n=2). *Adornos* that are completely disembodied from the vessel are most prominently present in unit 78 (remaining area 2) (100%, n=2) and unit 49 (remaining area 3) (40.00%, n=2) (see appendix 10). Finally, no significant patterns are observed in the distribution of the different places of attachment, external surface colors and surface finishing of the *adornos*.

5.4 The Issue of Fragmentation

In the previous chapter, it is shown that the majority of the *adornos* from the site of El Flaco were disembodied from the vessel, which leads to the question of whether breakage of an *adorno-modellin*g from the vessel happened accidentally or deliberately, and if it is possible that the *adorno-modelling* had a separate life from the vessel. In addition, in the previous chapter, it is discussed that most commonly only one *adorno-modelling* belonging to one vessel is found, while it is assumed that most of the *adorno-vessels* from El Flaco held two *adorno-models* on one vessel. Thus, the question remains where are the second *adorno-models*? Therefore, in this chapter, it is explored whether the archaeological context of the *adornos* can provide insight on these questions.

Eight sets of *adorno-models*, each set belonging to the same vessel, are found at the site of El Flaco. A number of these are located in different locations, which suggests that these *adorno-models* were transported within the perimeters of the settlement and that the lives of the *adorno-models* might have diverged from each other and the vessel after breakage. For example, ID 211 is found in 63-82-58 (L4), while ID 160 is found in 63-82-68 (L8). This entails that ID 160 was unearthed one meter to the north of ID 211 and approximately forty centimeter deeper. It is possible that when the *adorno* was damaged,

the use-life of its fragments (ID 160) ended, while one *adorno-modelling* was purposely disembodied (ID 211) and its use-life continued. This could explain why one fragment of the *adorno* is located deeper in the soil and is attached to a larger piece of ceramic. In addition, ID 160 is positioned in an ash layer, while ID 211 is not. Nevertheless, both *adornos* are found in mound C.

Furthermore, ID 103 is found in 63-54-15 (L2), while ID 275 is found in 63-83-40 (L2). This entails that ID 275 was unearthed thirty-three meters to the north and fifteen meters to the west of ID 103, which is a significant distance, indicating that the fragments of this *adorno* may have had separate use-lives after breakage. Nevertheless, both *adorno-models* were eventually deposited in a mound in close proximity to a hearth. In addition, ID 8 (63-55-13, L3) is situated 4 meters to the north and 4 meters to the south of ID 246 (63-44-79, L2). However, both *adorno-models* are found in the northwestern region of mound F in proximity to the hearths and burials. Finally, ID 278 is excavated in 73-05-73 (L2), while ID 67 is found in 73-05-74 (L1). Thus, ID 278 is uncovered one meter to the east and ten centimeter deeper in comparison to ID 67, which is still relatively close to each other and it is possible that the disembodied *adornos* were deposited around the same time and served a similar role, as both are found in proximity to a cooking hut.

From the archaeological context of the sets of *adorno-models* that were deposited in different locations, it does not seem as if the *adorno-models* played significantly different roles, as they were still found in close proximity to each other or in different locations that could be related to similar activities. In addition, the *adorno-models* may have been interesting for children to play with. Children, or animals, might have picked up one *adorno-modelling* and deposited it in another location (Schiffer 1996, 75-79). Samson (2010, 86) additionally notes that in the present-day children living near the site of El Cabo (southeastern Dominican Republic) frequently collect *adornos* from their family *conucos*. Furthermore, there does not seem to be a clear pattern in the other four sets of *adorno-models* that were found in close proximity to each other, which could explain why these sets of *adorno-models* were found together, while the majority of the *adorno-models* are found separated or the second *adorno-modelling* is missing.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

The study of the archaeological context of the *adornos* from the site of El Flaco shows that *adornos* were found and used in a variety of contexts: within and surrounding the

houses, cooking places, and in burials. Furthermore, as discussed above, a turtle *adorno* has been found within a "pit" with two postholes, which was part of the outer row of a house. The nature of the "pit" is unclear, but it is possible that it reflects the remains of the intentional burial of the turtle *adorno*. In this example, the *adorno* may have played a role in the protection of the house, or the deposition of the *adorno* served as an expression of gratefulness to the female turtle for providing the people with shelter within one of the creation narratives, as discussed in chapter 2. In addition, two bat *adornos* and one frog *adorno* have been excavated in close proximity to a burial. Furthermore, it appears that birds, including owls, are significantly more prominently present in proximity to burials. However, these contexts do not allow for the singular association of bat=the dead, frog=the dead or turtle=shelter. The different images identified on *adornos* are all found in a variety of contexts, and in association with a variety of activities. Thus, the single context of, for example, a bat in proximity to a burial hardly provides a complete picture of the expressive and performative potential of the bat.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the majority of the *adornos* (46.55%, n=128) from El Flaco are found within mound D and the northwest of mound F, which are characterized by a large number of hearths and a multitude of human burials (see tab. 29). This suggests that *adornos* likely played an important role in burial ceremonies and feasts related to the dead. In these contexts, considering the liminality of the beings depicted on the *adornos*, the *adornos* may have played an important role in assisting the dead in their travels across the realms of the cosmos, or provided the people on the earthly plane with the ability to contact their ancestors in other realms. In the next chapter, the potential social roles of *adornos* are explored in more detail by placing the *adornos* within their social context.

6. Social Role *Adornos*

6.1 Introduction

The social roles of the *adornos* from El Flaco concern their expressive and performative potential within the social contexts of the activities, as identified in the previous chapter, in which the *adornos* played a role. As discussed in chapter 3, the expressive potential of the imagery on the *adornos* refers to their potential to express or convey cosmological and sociological concepts. In addition, the performative potential of the *adornos* refers to their capacity to act in the constitution of society and the formation of social relations, and to enact or perform an animist or perspectivist ontology (see Alberti 2012; Barad 2003; Gombrich 1999). In this chapter, inferences on the possible expressive and performative potentials of the *adornos* are made. However, it should be noted that the *adornos* probably acted out additional social roles, which I do not have access to or cannot make inferences on, as I am not a member of the society of which the *adornos* are originally part. In addition, I only have access to the context of the final deposition of the *adornos* within the site of El Flaco, while the *adornos* likely had a variety of roles throughout their lives within and beyond the boundaries of the site.

In order to make inferences on the expressive and performative potential of the *adornos*, the social contexts of the recognized activities need to be constructed (which is done under section 6.2 and 6.3). These activities mainly consist of cooking, preparing, transporting, serving and storing the substances contained within the *adorno-vessel* as a daily activity and in the context of a feast for the deceased. In addition, it is argued that the *adorno-modelling* has the potential to act independently of the vessel, and it is discussed how the expressive and performative potential of the *adorno-modelling* may have unfolded. Following, Mackowiack de Antczak (2000, 72) the social context can be constructed from archaeological and/or ethnohistorical data indicative of social group composition (e.g. sex, age, social status), task specialization and differential use of food.

6.2 Expressive Potential

The sociopolitical organization on the island of Hispaniola during the Late Ceramic Age is described, in ethnohisoric accounts, as consisting of five *cacicazgos*, which are composed of a number of smaller villages (*yucayake*). Each cacicazgo was ruled by a

paramount *cacique*, the *matunherí*, who had control over social, economic, and ritual life (Keegan 2007; 2013, 72; Keegan *et al.* 1998, 230-231; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 138; Torres 2013, 348; Wilson 1990, 4). However, Herrera Malatesta (2018, 106) proposes that there were possibly many more cacicazgos on the island of Hispaniola, but that particular conditions, such as the arrival of the Europeans, could have led to the centralization of the power of several cazicazgos under one cacigazgo. In addition, there was a division between the *nitaínos*, who were of a higher rank (e.g. caciques and behiques), and the *naborías*, who were the commoners (Keegan *et al.* 1998, 231; Keegan 2013, 73; Wilson 2007, 110). Furthermore, kinship was probably on a matrilineal descent system, in which rank was inherited through the female line, and avunculocal residence (Keegan and Maclachlan 1989; Keegan *et al.* 1998; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 137). However, Curet (2002, 275) argues that the rules of succession were likely more variable and flexible, and probably took a diversity of forms contingent on the local social and political situation.

It is suggested, based on ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence, that personal and group influence among the cacicazgos was intensified through the increased use and control over esoteric and spiritual knowledge. This was done through a dynamic interplay with behiques, particular objects from exclusionary exchange networks (e.g. three-pointed cemíes and stone collars) and command over ritual activities (Curet 1996, 116; Torres 2013, 349-350; Hayward *et al.* 2014, 209). The behique was a shaman or healer who could contact the spirits within other realms through drug-induced trances (Keegan *et al.* 1998, 231; Keegan 2013, 73). Figurative material culture, such as *adornos*, possibly expressed access to esoteric knowledge and a connection to the ancestral lineage. This was important for the legitimization of authority, because the *cacique* had an important role as an intermediary between the earthly plane and other realms (Alegría 1995, 295; Carlson 1995, 102; Hayward *et al.* 2014, 229-230; Oliver 2005, 278; Wilson 1990, 4; Siegel 2010, 318).

The increased control over esoteric knowledge and the emphasis on an ancestral link is supported by the limited number of cosmological themes identified on the imagery of the *adornos* from the site of El Flaco, which suggests that there was possibly an interest in maintaining or manipulating particular elements in the belief system. Furthermore, the dominance of the theme of the bat shows an emphasis on the ancestral link, as the bat is

argued to be associated with the spirits of the dead. However, the *adornos* likely not only emphasize or express this highly esteemed connection to beings from other realms, such as the spirits of the dead or the ancestors, but also possibly formed an actual link to other realms, which is further discussed in the section on the performative potential of the *adornos*. The importance of ancestor veneration to the inhabitants of the site of El Flaco is further supported by the suggestion that the burials from the site may have been left open up until the desiccation of the body, as recorded in burials from the Lesser Antilles (Hofman and Hoogland 2015, 9-10; Hoogland and Hofman 2013, 465). This shows that the ancestors played an important role in day-to-day social life (see Hofman *et al.* 2010, 7). In addition, the bat is the only nonhuman being depicted on the *adornos* from El Flaco with headgear and rounded earplugs, which may suggest that the being portrayed is an ancestor with an enhanced status.

The image of the bat seems to be absent on the Meillacoid and Ostionoid *adornos* from the assemblage of El Flaco, although it is the most prominently portrayed image within the assemblage. Additionally, headdresses are only identified on the Chicoid local *adornos* (see chapter 4). This focus on the depiction of the headdress and the bat on Chicoid *adornos* possibly suggests an increased significance attributed to the ancestral lineage, and possibly expresses the inhabitants' devotion to that lineage and to the cacique who legitimizes his/her authority through his/her relation to the lineage, which might be related to an increase in religious organization.

An increase in anthropomorphic imagery is also frequently suggested to be an indicator of an increase in religious organization (see McGinnis 1997; Roe 1993; Roosevelt 1997; Wild 2005). For example, Roe (1993, 12) argues that an increase in anthropomorphic imagery reflects an increasingly "human-centric" social landscape with powerful caciques. In addition, McGinnis (1997, 928-929; 945-946) identifies a transition to a greater emphasis on anthropomorphic imagery on the island of Hispaniola, which is suggested to reflect increased centralization, as caciques accumulated power. Furthermore, Wild (2005, 641) argues for a transition from strictly anthropomorphic imagery to the emergence of the dual visual manifestation of anthropomorphic faces with a bat nose as reflective of increased religious organization, which is based on a study of *adornos* from the ceramic assemblage from two sites on St. John, Cinnamon Bay and Trunk Bay. It is further argued that this transition was stimulated by a need for particular

persons to communicate with the dead (Wild 2005, 641). Similarly, Roosevelt (1997, 168-169) argues, in regards to the Middle Orinoco, for a relation between an increase in anthropomorphic imagery with the development of a ranked society, and associates anthropomorphic imagery with images of the ancestors of the elite.

The social role of feasting

The *adornos* from the site of El Flaco are predominantly found in association with the remains of what has been identified as an intense cooking activity or a feast for the ancestors (see Hofman and Hoogland 2016, 18). It should be noted that the social roles of ritual feasting throughout the Caribbean archipelago remain largely unknown (Deagan 2004, 619). Therefore, the discussion of feasting at the site of El Flaco is inspired by feasting behavior in other regions, but I return to the particular data from the analysis of the *adornos* from El Flaco and their particular context to lead the discussion. Dietler (2010, 65) defines feasts as "forms of ritual activity that involve the communal consumption of food and drink". Feasts are distinguished from daily meals by ritualization, the consumption of special foods and/or a larger scale (Twiss 2008, 419). The expressive potential of the *adornos*, as identified above, may have particularly come to the forefront during communal feasts, as feasts can play important social, economic and political roles as a platform for the articulation of social relations and the construction of values (see Dietler 1996, 89; Dietler and Hayden 2010, 4; Milner and Miracle 2002, 2). This would have allowed for the competition among emerging leaders, possibly, through the display of important cosmological imagery that emphasizes a connection to the ancestors and shows access to esoteric knowledge (such as on the *adornos* from El Flaco).

For example, certain rules in regards to access, serving sequence, cuts of meat, presentation, and seating arrangements during feasts would allow for the manifestation of social differences and the construction of social relations (Hastorf 2017, 180-182; Russell 2012, 379). Similarly, throughout the Caribbean archipelago, the hutia and iguana were a favorite animal for consumption, and were exclusively consumed by the cacique, which is suggested based on ethnohistoric accounts (Sullivan 1981, 408). Nevertheless, Keegan (2007) argues that caciques probably only controlled the distribution of the hutia and iguana during feasts. Interestingly, the analysis of the zooarchaeological remains from the 2016 excavation campaign at the site of El Flaco (conducted by Gene Shev 2018),

revealed the remains of the iguana (*cyclura* sp.) only in association with the remains of the feast in the northwest of mound F (see chapter 5). This suggests that during the feast at the settlement of El Flaco a person was present, possibly a cacique, who may have had control over the distribution of the meat of the iguana among the participants of the feast.

Thus, the feast at El Flaco was possibly an important platform for the articulation of social relations and political control, in which the cosmological imagery on the *adornos* might have had an important role in expressing access to esoteric knowledge and a connection to the ancestors to the participants of the feast. Surely, an *adorno-vessel* would have caught the eye of the participants during a meal (see Schiffer and Skibo 1997, 30). It is argued that feasting demanded more elaborate serving vessels in order to further aggrandizing behavior (Rodríguez Ramos *et al.* 2008, 58; Spielmann 2002, 197). In addition, Hastorf (2017, 129) argues for the importance of food presentation, as it would identify the event and its social value to the people participating in the event. It is possible that a larger number of *adorno-vessels*, in comparison to vessels without *adorno-models*, could have shown to its participants that a particular meal had a greater social value. These arguments raise the question of what it was like to give, share and receive a bowl of food with an *adorno-modelling* on it. Furthermore, communal events, such as feasting, were likely an important platform for the discussion of particular matters that concern a larger group than the household, such as the telling of creation narratives, ancestral stories and/or the sharing of cosmological knowledge (see Gassón 2003, 183), in which the beings portrayed on the *adornos* may have been referred to.

Additionally, a feast can simultaneously foster both social difference and solidarity, because of the bonding effect of commensality and by singing and dancing together, which is often considered as part of feasting behavior (Appadurai 1981, 496; Dietler 2010, 77; Hastorf 2017, 180-183; Russell 2012, 380). Similarly, it is suggested that in the Caribbean archipelago feasting involved dancing, singing, and offerings to spirits and ancestors (Cassá 1974, 174-177; Rouse 1992, 14-15; Wilson 1990, 23; 58). The *adornos* may have contributed to these social bonds and solidarity during communal feasts, as they can express particular cosmological concepts related to, for example, the creation narratives, which could have enforced shared beliefs and values. Furthermore, the limited number of themes or species identified on the *adornos* suggests the presence of a shared cosmology among the inhabitants of El Flaco.

Social role of food preparation and consumption in daily context

Furthermore, the *adornos* were probably used on a day-to-day basis for food preparation, cooking and consumption within the household, as the *adornos* from El Flaco are predominantly found in association with hearths and food remains. These activities are fundamental to the construction and maintenance of social relations, as the production and consumption of food are among the main activities of the household, and these activities bring people together, daily, for a prolonged period of time (Graff and Rodríguez-Alegría 2012, 2; 13; Hastorf 2017, 223-224; Subías 2002, 7; Twiss 2003). This raises the question if the *adornos* were part of these social relations, and what role they may have played in the constitution and maintenance of households as social groups. The materials used in food preparation and consumption, such as the *adorno-vessels*, potentially expressed household and/or community identity because of its everyday presence and central place in routinized activities (Hastorf 2017, 258-259), which is further discussed in the section on the performative potential.

Furthermore, the importance of the maintenance of social relations during the production of food is supported by the central and clearly designated location of the main cooking areas within the site of El Flaco, which suggests that the inhabitants of the settlement wanted to interact with one another while engaging in the time-consuming task of food preparation and cooking. In addition, Las Casas notes that indigenous women in Hispaniola would spontaneously begin singing while working together in the process of food preparation (Keegan and Carlson 2008, 93), which could have been important in the constitution and maintenance of a social bonds between these women. However, there are a few cooking locations within the site that are less open, and more private, because of a structure surrounding the cooking place, but it is still probable that food preparation within these locations was not an individual task. From the archaeological context of the site of El Flaco, it is, however, not yet clear where the food was consumed. Nevertheless, considering that there are a number of *adornos* found on the edges of the levelled areas for housing, it is possible that *adorno-vessels* were transported to these areas and that its content was consumed within or surrounding the houses together with the members of the household. However, it is also possible that food was consumed in the same location in which it was prepared.

Furthermore, there is little information available in regards to the social context of food preparation and consumption throughout the Caribbean. For example, there is minimal understanding of the gender roles that may have existed during the Late Ceramic Age on the island of Hispaniola, although, a few studies suggest that gender roles were largely nonexclusive in most activities (Guitar 1998, 36-45). Nevertheless, according to ethnohistoric accounts, women seemed to have carried out the long process of converting bitter manioc roots to bread (Roosevelt 2014, 129-137), and it is suggested that women produced pottery (Cassá 1974, 82, Guitar 1998, 41-42). Therefore, it can be argued that the production of *adornos* and food preparation in *adorno-vessels* was largely done by women.

6.3 Performative Potential

The actors in the creation narratives, which include the turtle, frog, bird, and lizard, provided the peoples of Hispaniola with all things necessary to sustain life (e.g. the ability to till the soil and to cook with fire, cassava, sun, shelter, rain/water and fish). Similarly, the body of the *adorno-vessel*, and possibly simultaneously the being depicted on the *adorno-modelling*, may have contained fish and other foods cooked with fire. In this manner, for example, the turtle does not only sustain life in primordial times in the creation narratives, but its body continues to sustain life in the form of an *adorno-vessel* and through the products it holds. Interestingly, following Bartolomé de Las Casas (1999, 61), when the cultigens (e.g. yams, sweet potato, and maize) were harvested they offered and dedicated a portion of the harvest to a cemí, as the cemí provided water, sun and nurtured the crops. Should it, therefore, not have been deemed necessary to offer a portion of the food to the beings from the creation narratives, as they provided the people of Hispaniola with all things necessary to grow crops and to cook food?

Thus, perhaps, by the containment of food in the body of the *adorno-vessel* it is not the being depicted on the *adorno-modelling* that provides food, but in this manner the creators and users of the *adornos* fed the being portrayed on the *adorno*. It was possibly important to properly thank the beings from the creation narratives in order to maintain good relations and to prevent them from becoming enraged and discontinue the provision of all things necessary to sustain life (see Binford 1978, 413 in regards to Kollutuk, a Nunamiut Eskimo site). For example, vengeance by these beings may have occurred in the form of earthquakes, volcanic activity or hurricanes, which could significantly

damage crops. Thus, commensality was possibly not merely concerned with the construction and maintenance of social relations within the community and household, as argued above, but also with the maintenance of good relations with the beings from other realms. If the *adornos* were being fed, then the *adornos* would not only portray these beings, but, in some way, are these beings.

Alternatively, the beings from the creation narratives may have been able to cause illnesses from the consumption of certain foods, if not properly thanked. For example, Stevens-Arroyo (1988, 129) argues that, in the Caribbean, the consumption of fresh-water turtle was believed to cause syphilis. The danger of becoming ill from the consumption of particular animals was possibly related to the animistic view of the cosmos, in which human qualities and social characteristics are ascribed to nonhuman beings because of the multiplicity of subject positions (Descola 1986, 87-88; Viveiros de Castro 1998, 472-473; Viveiros de Castro 2012, 106). Similarly, in perspectivism nonhuman beings often are persons as they are endowed with properties of intentionality and social agency, which is reified in their soul or spirit (Viveiros de Castro 1998, 476; Viveiros de Castro 2004, 467). Therefore, the consumption of beings assumed to be animals can be dangerous, and the animal prey first needs to be transformed into an object devoid of intentionality, rather than a subject, which can be done through cooking (Fausto 2007, 497; 504). Additionally, figurines from temporary camp-sites (1000-1500 CE) on the Los Roques Archipelago, Venezuela, are interpreted to have assumed the role of human agents by which they performed a role as co-enactors in particular rituals that were directed towards the spirits protecting hunted animals, in order to achieve conciliation and to (re)establish the relationship with these spirits. These rituals were likely deemed necessary because of the large-scale slaughter of the queen conch (Lobatus gigas), which are suggested to have been conceived of as sentient and agentive beings by the indigenous occupants of the camp-sites (Antczak and Antczak 2017, 208-209).

Furthermore, in the discussion of the expressive potential of the *adornos* it is already suggested that the *adornos* possibly not only expressed a connection to the beings portrayed, but formed an actual link to these beings and to other realms. Therefore, the liminality of the beings portrayed on the *adornos* may have been particularly esteemed during funerary feasts, in which the *adornos* possibly performed a role as intermediaries and/or mediators between the three realms of the cosmos. The *adornos* might have

assisted the dead in their travels to other realms, or were needed to construct an ancestor of the dead who can then aid the living (see Nelson 2003, 65-66). Thus, the *adornos* recovered in association with the burials may have served this particular role based on their liminality. The role of these *adornos* in the establishment of effective communication between the three realms can be supported by an argument by Keegan and Carlson (2008, 92) who note that the earliest ceramic vessels from the Caribbean had hollow *adorno-models* with small clay pellets inside, which would rattle when shaken. It is suggested that rattles were used during curing ceremonies conducted by the *behique* in order to call upon spirits from other realms (Keegan and Carlson 2008, 92). Therefore, it is possible that the rattling sound was eventually not deemed necessary for the *adorno* to establish a link with the beings from other realms.

In addition, one turtle *adorno* has been recovered deposited in between two posts of a house. This particular *adorno* may have served a role to appease the spirits of the forest in order to prevent the house from harming its inhabitants, as the materials of these spirits are used to build the house (see Brown and Emery 2008). The possibly deliberate deposition of the *adorno* suggests that it is an animated subject imbued with a life-force, and has the ability to act in society by protecting the house. Thus, the *adorno* is not necessarily inherently imbued with animist qualities, but these animated qualities may arise from particular contexts and practices (see Groleau 2009, 399). However, the question remains if this was the case for all the *adornos*, and if its life was possibly put to an end with the disembodiment of the *adorno-modelling*.

6.4 The Issue of Missing Parts

From the formal analysis of the *adornos*, it has become apparent that a significantly large number of the *adorno-models* are missing from the assemblage of *adornos* from El Flaco (see section 4.1.1 and 4.2.1). The question remains where the 261 second *adorno-models* are, of which only one *adorno-modelling* has been unearthed. It is possible that these *adorno-models* were deliberately disembodied from the vessel and buried outside of the settlement of El Flaco, or they were exchanged with the inhabitants of another settlement.

Of interest to discuss, in relation to the disembodiment and possible exchange of an *adorno-modelling*, is the particular construction of personhood by the pre-Hispanic inhabitants of Hispaniola, which is described as dividual and partible (see Bird-David

1999; Descola 1992; Harvey 2005; Stringer 1999; Viveiros de Castro 1998; 2012). Fowler (2004, 7) defines a dividual person as a person that is composite and multiply authored, in which each person is composed of different relationships. A dividual person that is also partible entails that parts of the dividual can be separated from the whole and given to another person (Fowler 2004, 78; see also Brittain and Harris 2010; Chapman 2000). In other words, some of the parts or substances of a dividual person can belong to other persons and vice versa, which is established through a process of reciprocal exchange (Oliver 2008, 167). It is possible that the *adorno-vessel* was considered to be partible and dividual, which would entail that the fragment (*adorno-modelling*) of the whole (*adorno-vessel*) can have its own value and act independently of the vessel. The idea of the *adorno* as dividual is further supported by the presence of anatopic imagery on the *adornos* from El Flaco, which is argued to be linked to the conception of the dividual person and multi-naturalism (see Oliver 2008, 167-169; Roe 1989, 296; Roe 2004).

Chapman (2000, 5; 180) argues that particular material fragments from objects, which are conceived of as dividual and partible, can play an important role in social relations through a process of exchange. It is argued that exchanged fragments of particular objects can link people together in a process of enchainment, in which the exchanged fragment maintains a relation to the whole object and to its original owners (Casella and Croucher 2011, 213; Chapman 2000, 5; 180). This brings us to the concept of the inalienable object, which describes an object that holds onto the essence of the original owner after the act of exchange, and to accept a fragment of an inalienable object from another person is to accept a part of that person's soul (Mauss 2002, 12; Strathern 1988, 191-207). In this manner, the fragment can form an integral part in the construction of social relations between different persons and/or communities. The *adornos* were possibly conceived of as inalienable objects, as Samson (2010, 271-272) argues that *adornos* may have been iconic of household identities because of their unique character. In addition, the connection between the *adornos* and the household is already suggested in the discussion of the expressive potential, as *adornos* play important roles within the context of food production and consumption, which is fundamental to the maintenance of the household. Furthermore, in chapter 4, it is argued that the *adornos* were likely part of household production.

The possibility of the exchange of *adornos* is, additionally, supported by the incredibly widespread distribution of *adornos* over the entire circum-Caribbean. Furthermore, based on the presence of non-local style *adornos*, it is shown that the inhabitants of the settlement of El Flaco were not isolated. Similarly, Ting *et al.* (2016, 385) identify similarities in ceramic recipes from the site of La Luperona and El Flaco, which is suggested to be either the result of the exchange of knowledge, raw materials, or end products. Additionally, part of the *adornos* of which the external surface color is described as light brown-yellow (n=22) (see chapter 4) appear to have originated from another location and are found widely distributed throughout Hispaniola, which could suggest that these *adornos* were items of exchange (person. com. Corinne L. Hofman 2018).

6.5 Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, not one definite proposal of the social role of the *adorno* can be given, which should neither be the goal, as the *adorno* likely performed a variety of roles depending on context. Instead, a number of possibilities of the social roles of *adornos* are proposed, which are concerned with their expressive and performative potential.

The *adornos* from El Flaco are suggested to express important cosmological concepts based on the prominent role of the beings portrayed in the creation narratives and cosmological beliefs of their creators and users, which has already been argued by other scholars in regards to *adornos* (see Moravetz 1999; 2005; Oudhuis 2008; Petitjean Roget 1975a; 1975b; 1997; Waldron 2010, 2016; Wauben 2016). In particular, this imagery possibly expressed access to esoteric knowledge and a connection to the ancestral lineage or other realms, which was possibly deemed important in the legitimization of socio-political control. The imagery of the *adornos* might have expressed a shared cosmology, which would have fostered a sense of community, and probably was important to the construction and maintenance of a household or communal identity.

In addition, it is argued that the *adornos* likely not only expressed certain cosmological beliefs, but also were actors within the cosmos. The *adornos* possibly not only portrayed the images of particular beings, but also were conceived of and could act as these beings. For example, it is suggested that the *adornos* were possibly fed by placing food in the body of the *adorno-vessel*, in order to maintain good social relations with the

adornos/beings portrayed on the *adornos*. In addition, the *adornos* potentially had the abilities associated with the liminality of the beings portrayed, by means of which the *adorno* could act as an intermediary and/or mediator between the realms of the cosmos, which might have been particularly important during funerary rites. Furthermore, the *adornos* possibly served a role to appease spirits who may do harm as a response to the killing of animate beings for the production of food or the construction of shelters. Finally, it is suggested that the *adornos* were perhaps considered to be dividual and partible, which would entail that the *adorno-modelling* can act independently of the vessel and has a value on its own. If, additionally, the *adorno* was conceived to be inalienable, which entails that it maintained a link to the whole after disembodiment and a link to the original owners after exchange, the *adorno* could have played an important role in the construction and maintenance of social relations among communities.

Although the above-proposed social roles of *adornos* are expected to contribute to a better understanding of *adornos*, there are still many questions that remain unanswered and new questions have been raised. In the following chapter, possible directions for future research are proposed to address these questions.

7. Conclusion

The main objectives of this research are to readdress the manner in which *adornos* have been approached and to contribute to a better understanding of the social roles of *adornos* within the lives of their creators and users. In order to address these objectives, an assemblage of 277 *adornos* and/or their fragments, recovered from the 2013 to 2016 systematic excavations of the site of El Flaco (10th to 15th century), directed by Professors Corinne L. Hofman and Menno L. P. Hoogland, as part of the ERC-synergy NEXUS1492 project, has been studied. New propositions have been made in regards to the conceptualization of *adornos* and the potential social roles of *adornos*. Surely, there are no definite answers and new questions have been raised. Nevertheless, these propositions are expected to have increased our understanding of *adornos*, and to have contributed to our appreciation of the indigenous Caribbean peoples' conception of human-nonhuman and nonhuman-nonhuman relations. This chapter first reflects on the main research question and the conclusions that have been drawn, secondly it evaluates the methods and theories used in the approach to the *adornos*, and finally a number of avenues for future research are proposed.

7.1 Research Questions and Results

The main research question was formulated accordingly: what are the social roles of the ceramic *adornos* recovered from the site of El Flaco (10th – 15th century), northwestern Dominican Republic? Not one definite description of the social roles of *adornos* can be given, which should neither be the goal, as the *adorno*s likely performed a variety of roles throughout their lives depending on context. Instead, a number of possibilities of the social roles of *adornos* have been proposed, which are concerned with their expressive and performative potential. These propositions are specific to the assemblage of *adornos* from El Flaco and, thus, the extent to which these roles may have been recognized over a wider region or throughout time is unclear.

The *adornos* have been suggested to express a variety of important cosmological concepts, which, in particular, are interpreted to emphasize access to esoteric knowledge and a link to the ancestral lineage and/or other realms. Additionally, the imagery on the *adornos* possibly expressed a shared cosmology, which could have been important in fostering a sense of community and/or in the construction and maintenance of a

household or communal identity. The *adornos*, however, probably not only expressed particular cosmological concepts, but likely were actors within the cosmos, as the *adornos* were possibly considered to be able to act in a similar manner as the beings portrayed on the *adornos*. For example, it has been suggested that the *adornos* were possibly fed by placing food in the body of the vessel, as a means to maintain good social relations with the *adornos*/beings portrayed on the *adornos*. The *adornos*, similarly, might have been endowed with the abilities associated with the liminality of the beings portrayed, which would allow for an *adorno* to act as an intermediary and/or mediator between the three planes of the cosmos. Furthermore, the *adornos* possibly served a role to appease spirits who may do harm as a response to the killing of animate beings for the production of food or the construction of shelter.

Finally, it has been suggested that the *adornos* were perhaps conceived of as dividual and partible persons, and, therefore, the *adorno-modelling* would have the potential to act independently of the vessel. If, additionally, the *adorno* was conceived to be inalienable, in which the *adorno-modelling* maintains a connection to the whole after disembodiment and to the original owners after exchange, the *adorno* could have served a significant role in the construction and maintenance of social relations among communities. Furthermore, the exchange of *adorno-models* could explain the large number of missing second *adorno-models* within the assemblage of *adornos* recovered from El Flaco.

7.2 Evaluating the Approach

One of the main objectives of this research was to readdress the manner in which *adornos* have been approached. Issue has predominantly been taken with the limited discussion of the archaeological and social contexts of *adornos*, the lack of engagement with the relation of the *adorno-modelling* to the vessel, and the focus on a search for representational meanings. The approach that has been used in the current study provides new insight onto *adornos* by looking further than the ethnohistoric accounts through the engagement with the archaeological and social contexts, by the conceptualization of *adornos* as consisting of both the *adorno-modelling* and the *adorno-vessel*, and by the focus on the expressive and performative potential of *adornos*. It is recognized, however, that the assemblage of *adornos* from El Flaco provides a unique opportunity to address these issues, as a systematically excavated assemblage of *adornos* is hardly available, which is probably why much research has been limited to developing an understanding of

adornos, predominantly by means of the ethnohistoric accounts. In this section I discuss the manner in which *adornos* have been approached in the current study by evaluating the method of analysis, the conceptualization of *adornos* as consisting of the *adorno-modelling* and/or the *adorno-vessel*, the consideration of the expressive and performative potential of figurative material culture, and the use of the theoretical framework of animism and perspectivism.

The method of analysis developed by Mackowiak de Antczak (2000) has shown to be fruitful, not only in the study of figurines but also in the analysis of *adornos*, because of the integration of a variety of domains of analysis into one method, which allowed for the discussion of the archaeological and social contexts of the *adornos*. The method, however, has been more flexibly applied in order for the *adornos* to lead the way, and mainly provided a means to structure the research. For example, the method demanded for the construction of a typology, which has been attempted, but the assemblage is considered to be incredibly heterogenous in its formal attributes that it was conceived inefficient to create a typology. A typology of the *adornos* from El Flaco was not considered to provide much information nor get us closer to answering the main research question.

The conceptualization of *adornos* as consisting of the *adorno-modelling* and/or the *adorno-vessel*, rather than only the *adorno-modelling*, has provided the possibility to begin to discuss the tension between the *adorno-modelling* and the vessel. A number of questions and avenues of future research have been raised in regards to this tension. Some of these can be formulated as follows: is it possible for the *adorno-modelling* to act independently of the vessel? How is the *adorno-modelling* related to the vessel? In what manner does the role of the *adorno-modelling* differ from the *adorno-vessel*? It has been proposed that the disembodiment of an *adorno-modelling* from the vessel was possibly not accidental, as *adornos* throughout the Caribbean are largely found in a disembodied condition. The main indication of the possible deliberate breakage of the *adorno-modelling* from the vessel, and the possibility that the *adorno-modelling* acted independently of the vessel, are the large number of missing second *adorno-models* within the assemblage from El Flaco. However, more research is needed in order to understand the disembodiment of the *adorno-modelling*, and the tension between the *adorno-modelling* and the *adorno-vessel*.

Furthermore, the view of *adornos*, or figurative material culture, as having an expressive and performative potential, rather than merely emphasizing representational meanings, is considered to be of significance, as it allowed for the explicit engagement with indigenous ontologies (i.e. perspectivism and animism). These ontologies recognize that nonhuman beings, such as the beings portrayed on the *adornos* and the *adornos* themselves, can be endowed with properties of intentionality and social agency. Additionally, these theories recognize that persons are not fixed entities but continuously undergo processes of change because of social relations and interaction with other beings (see Fowler 2004, 7). The focus on the performative potential of *adornos*, similarly, acknowledges that animate objects and animals can play active roles within societies, and are not fixed or static entities. Therefore, the theoretical framework of perspectivism, as developed by Viveiros de Castro (1998; 2004; 2012), was used in combination with the work by Bird-David (1999), Descola (1986; 1992; 2015) and Fowler (2004) on personhood in the approach to the nature of the social roles of *adornos*. However, the theory on personhood has provided more insight in regards to the *adornos* from El Flaco for two main reasons.

Firstly, the theories of perspectivism and animism provide two slightly different interpretations of metamorphic imagery, in which the distinctive features of different beings are merged into one, and anatopic imagery, in which different beings become visible or hidden by rotating the image. Following the theory of perspectivism the integration of features distinctive of, for example, the bat with a human face can be understood to portray the instantaneous exchange of perspectives, or coexistence of perspectives, resulting from a change in position and condition (see Viveiros de Castro 2012, 145-147). However, the theory of perspectivism, as developed by Viveiros de Castro (1998; 2004; 2012), does not allow for the development of an understanding of the merging of the bat and turtle into one *adorno*, as it only recognizes human/nonhuman metamorphosis. Alternatively, the conception of the dividual person and multi-naturalism results in a consideration of anatopic and metamorphic imagery to potentially depict the multiple natures and divisibility of persons (see Oliver 2008, 168), which does acknowledge the possibility of metamorphosis among nonhuman beings, and can explain the merging of the bat and turtle into one *adorno*.

Secondly, it has been argued that the *adornos* were possibly conceived of as dividual persons, which could act in the constitution of society and social relations. However, Viveiros de Castro (1998, 470-472), in his conception of Amerindian perspectivism, largely denies the potential of objects to be viewed as subjects. Alternatively, animism recognizes a wider range of beings and things as having the potential to possess a soul and qualities of personhood (e.g. Bird-David 1999; Gell 1998; Ingold 2006).

7.3 Suggestions for Future Research

It is expected that the study of the *adornos* from El Flaco has illustrated the value of studying *adornos* and their significance to developing a better understanding of indigenous Caribbean peoples' conception of human-nonhuman and nonhuman-nonhuman relations. There are still many questions concerning *adornos* that remain unanswered. One of the most prominent questions involves the potential deliberate disembodiment of the *adorno-modelling* from the vessel. Therefore, future research should explicitly engage with the tension between the *adorno-modelling* and the *adorno-vessel*. This can be done by, for example, experimental studies in which it is investigated how easily the *adorno-modelling* can be disembodied from the vessel, and whether different patterns can be observed between deliberate and accidental breakage. The results of the experimental study can then be compared to a sample of *adornos* from the archaeological record, in order to determine if the *adorno-models* were accidentally or deliberately broken from the vessel. Additionally, provenance studies on *adornos* could greatly contribute in the investigation of the possibility of the exchange of *adorno-models*. Furthermore, an investigation into the products that *adorno-vessels* may have contained, and if those are significantly different from the products contained within vessels without *adorno-models*, could greatly contribute to our understanding of *adornos*. In conclusion, let us not only ask about the meaning of these objects and interpret those by looking merely at the ethnohistoric accounts, as there are more questions to be asked.

Abstract

Expressive and Performative Material Culture: Investigating the Social Roles of Ceramic Adornos from the Site of El Flaco (10th -15th century) in the Northwestern Dominican Republic.

Ceramic *adornos* are found widely distributed throughout the archaeological record of the circum-Caribbean, and it has been argued that they are connected to an immensity of cosmological concepts, including the creation of the world and the roles of nonhuman beings therein based on ethnohistorical accounts (see Moravetz 1999; 2005; Oudhuis 2008; Petitjean Roget 1975a; 1975b; 1997; Waldron 2010, 2016; Wauben 2016). Moreover, the study of *adornos* is considered to hold great potential to contribute to our understanding of indigenous peoples' conceptions of human-nonhuman relations. Nevertheless, previous studies on *adornos* are few in number and, as a result, many questions concerning the cultural relevance and social role(s) of *adornos* remain to great extent unanswered. However, the systematic excavation of an assemblage of 277 *adornos* and/or their fragments from the site of El Flaco (northwestern Dominican Republic), directed by Professors Corinne L. Hofman and Menno L. P. Hoogland as part of the ERC-synergy NEXUS1492 project, provides a unique opportunity to address these issues.

The *adornos* from El Flaco are analyzed according to the method developed by Marlena Mackowiak de Antczak (2000), which combines the analysis of the form (the object and its image), content (its expressive potential) and context (archaeological and social). The main objective of this research is to contribute to a better understanding of the potential social roles of *adornos* (understood here as their expressive and performative potential) within the society of their creators and users. It is proposed that the *adornos* from El Flaco may have expressed a multitude of cosmological concepts, which are interpreted to emphasize access to esoteric knowledge, a link to the ancestral lineage, and/or household or communal identity. In this research, the performative potential of the *adornos* refers to their possible roles as co-enactors in the maintenance of good social relations with particular nonhuman beings and/or as intermediaries between the three planes of cosmos. Finally, the *adornos* are proposed to have been conceived of as dividual and partible persons, and could, therefore, have played a significant part in the maintenance of social relations among communities through the exchange of *adorno-models*.

Samenvatting

Expressieve en Performatieve Materiële Cultuur: een Onderzoek naar de Sociale Rollen van Aardewerken Adorno's van de site van El Flaco (10de -15de eeuw) in het Noordwesren van de Dominicaanse Republiek.

Adorno's kennen een wijde verspreiding over het gehele circum-Caraïbische gebied, en worden geacht als gerelateerd aan een grote hoeveelheid aan kosmologische concepten, waaronder de schepping van de wereld en de rollen van niet-menselijke wezens daarin op basis van ethnohistorische bronnen (Moravetz 1999; 2005; Oudhuis 2008; Petitjean Roget 1975a; 1975b; 1997; Waldron 2010, 2016; Wauben 2016). Daarnaast kan onderzoek naar *adorno's* bijdragen aan onze kennis van inheemse zienswijzen met betrekking tot relaties tussen mens en niet-mens. Desalniettemin is er weinig onderzoek naar *adorno's*, waardoor vele vragen inzake de culturele relevantie en sociale rol(len) van *adorno's* grotendeels onbeantwoord blijven. Daarentegen biedt de systematische opgraving van een verzameling van 277 *adorno's* van de site van El Flaco (het Noordwesten van de Dominicaanse Republiek), geleid door professoren Corinne. L. Hofman en Menno L. P. Hoogland als onderdeel van het ERC-synergy NEXUS1492 project, een unieke mogelijkheid om deze problemen onder handen te nemen.

De *adorno's* van El Flaco zijn geanalyseerd volgens de methode die is ontwikkeld door M. Magdalena Mackowiak de Antczak (2000), waarin de analyse van de vorm (het object en de afbeelding), de inhoud (de expressieve potentie) en de context (arhaeologisch en sociaal) is gecombineerd. Het hoofddoel van dit onderzoek is om bij te dragen aan onze kennis betreffende de mogelijke sociale rollen van *adorno's* (wat hier wordt beschouwd als de expressieve en performatieve potentie) in de samenleving van hun makers en gebruikers. In het onderzoek wordt gesuggereerd dat de *adorno's* een groot aantal kosmologische concepten kunnen hebben uitgedrukt, die mogelijk toegang tot esoterische kennis, een link tot de voorouders en/of een huishoudelijk of gemeenschappelijk identiteit benadrukten. De performatieve potentie van de *adorno's* is mogelijk gerelateerd aan de potentiele rol van *adorno's* als "co-enactors" in het onderhouden van goede sociale relaties met bepaalde niet-menselijke wezens en/of als intermediairs tussen de drie sferen van de kosmos. Ten slotte wordt gesuggereerd dat de *adorno's* mogelijk werden beschouwd als dividuele en deelbare personen, waardoor ze een belangrijke rol zouden

hebben kunnen gespeeld in het onderhouden van sociale relaties tussen gemeenschappen door middel van de uitwisseling van *adorno's*.

Notes

1. In the discussion of previous studies on *adornos*, I use the term *adorno* as scholars have used it before me: as referring to the *adorno-modelling*.

2. "…le référentiel commun à tous les êtres de la nature n'est pas l'homme en tant qu'espèce, mais l'humanité en tant que condition" (Descola 1986, 120).

3. It should be noted that most of the *adornos* that are identified as Meillacoid, additionally, show Ostionoid characteristics. Nevertheless, these *adornos* are characterized as Meillacoid, as they predominantly show Meillacoid characteristics. The identification of the mixture of styles and the difference between local and non-local Chicoid are part of ongoing research by Prof. dr. Corinne L. Hofman, which is why at this moment no detailed explanations can be given (pers. com. Corinne L. Hofman 2018).

4. A higher percentage of the presence of one particular attribute within a certain area is only considered to be significant when that attribute is present in the area more than once. For example, in some areas, only one *adorno* is present; as a result, the attributes of that *adorno* have a percentage of occurrence of 100%. However, considering it only concerns one *adorno*, this percentage is not necessarily as significant.

5. This is calculated by dividing the number of animals related to water by the number of animals related to the sky, identified on the *adornos*, within one particular area. The result of this equation when applied over the entire assemblage is 0.52 (57 divided by 110). A lower number suggests that animals that inhabit the liminal space between land and sky are more prominently present in comparison to animals that inhabit the space between land and water. The lowest numbers are found within hearth 4 (0.2), in the northwest of mound F (0.28), in mound D (0.33), and in remaining area 4 (0.29).

6. The second *adorno-modelling* is drawn by means of a dotted line unless two *adorno-models* were recovered. The drawings show the reconstruction of the *adorno-vessel*. Additionally, the sherd with *adorno-modelling* is drawn in the manner as it would be positioned in the vessel.

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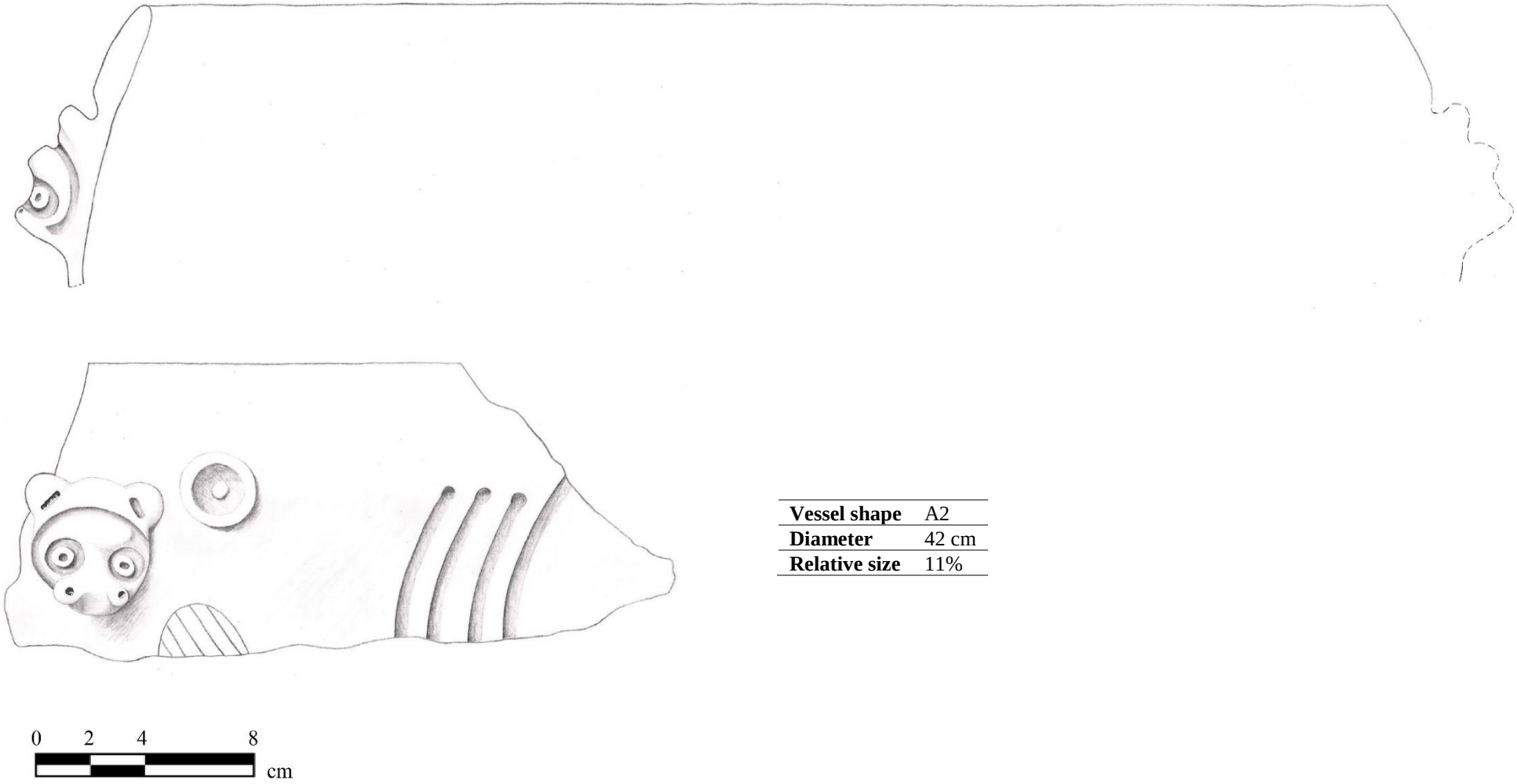
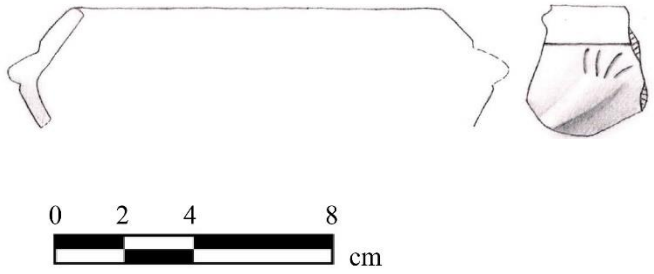
Appendix 1: Drawings of reconstructed *adorno-vessels* (copyright NEXUS1492, drawn by Finn van der Leden and author)[6]



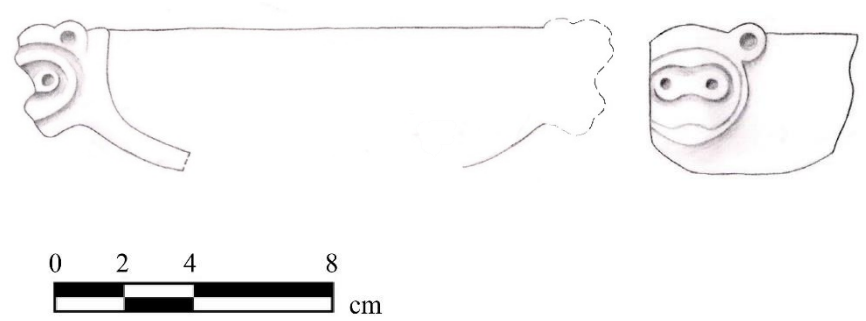
Vessel shape	A2
Diameter	42 cm
Relative size	11%

Fig. 34: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 38, FNR 2685).



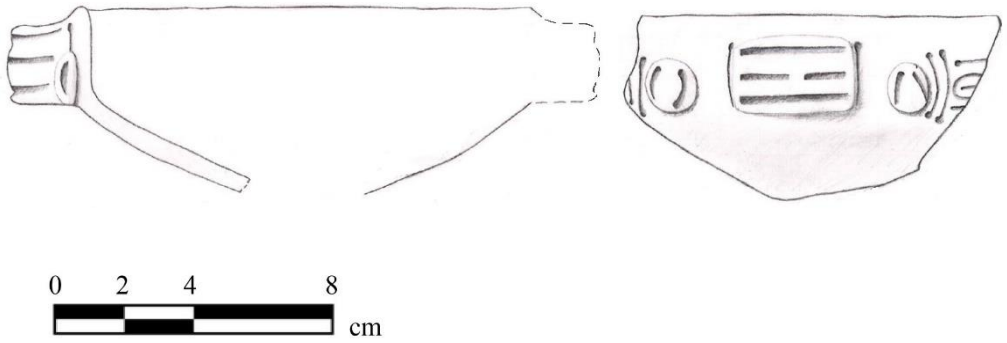
Vessel shape	B2
Diameter	10 cm
Relative size	-

Fig. 35: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 25, FNR 1156).



Vessel shape	A1
Diameter	12
Relative size	24%

Fig. 36: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 48, FNR 221).

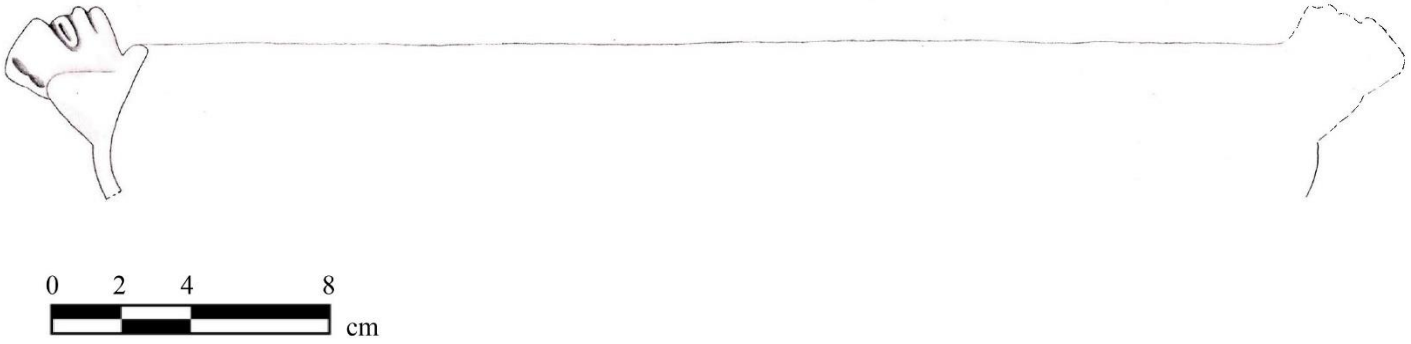


Vessel shape	B2
Diameter	12 cm
Relative size	29%

Fig. 37: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 143, FNR 2585).

Vessel shape	A1
Diameter	14 cm
Relative size	24%

Fig. 38: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 280, FNR 3144).

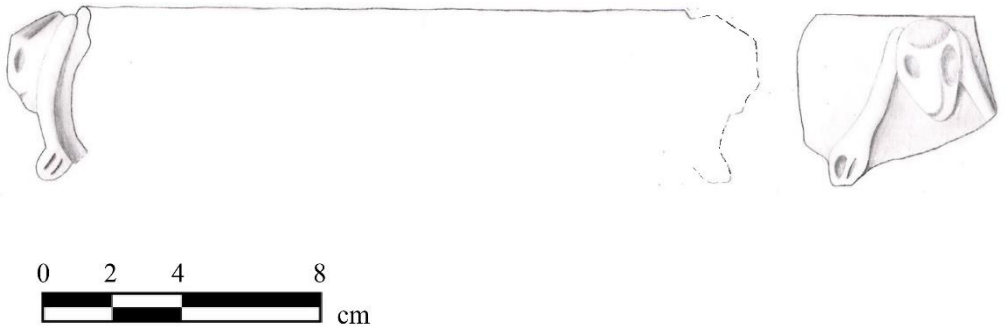


Vessel shape	A2
Diameter	30 cm
Relative size	11%

Fig. 39: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 18, FNR 2918).

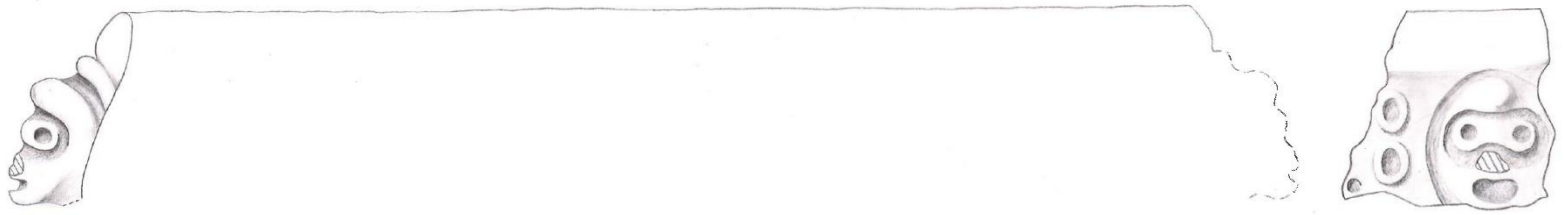
Vessel shape	A2
Diameter	28 cm
Relative size	10%

Fig. 40: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 24, FNR 154).



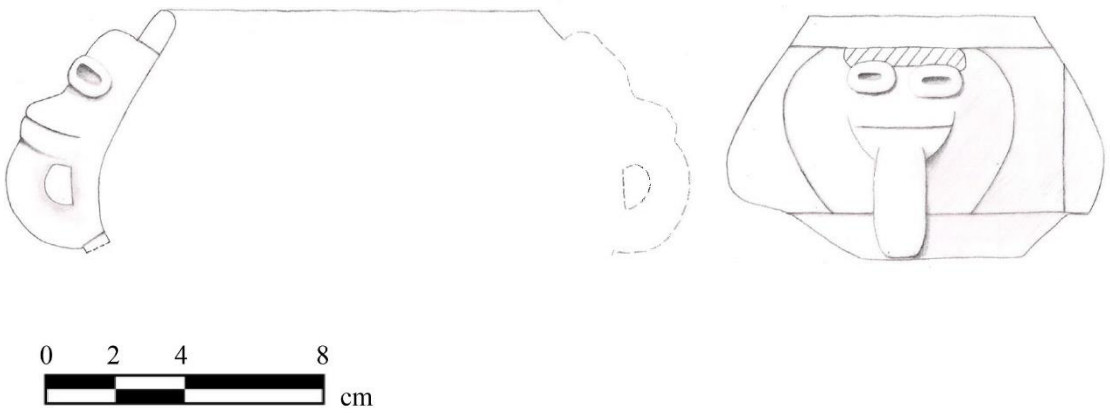
Vessel shape	A2
Diameter	16 cm
Relative size	21%

Fig. 41: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 26, FNR 1797).



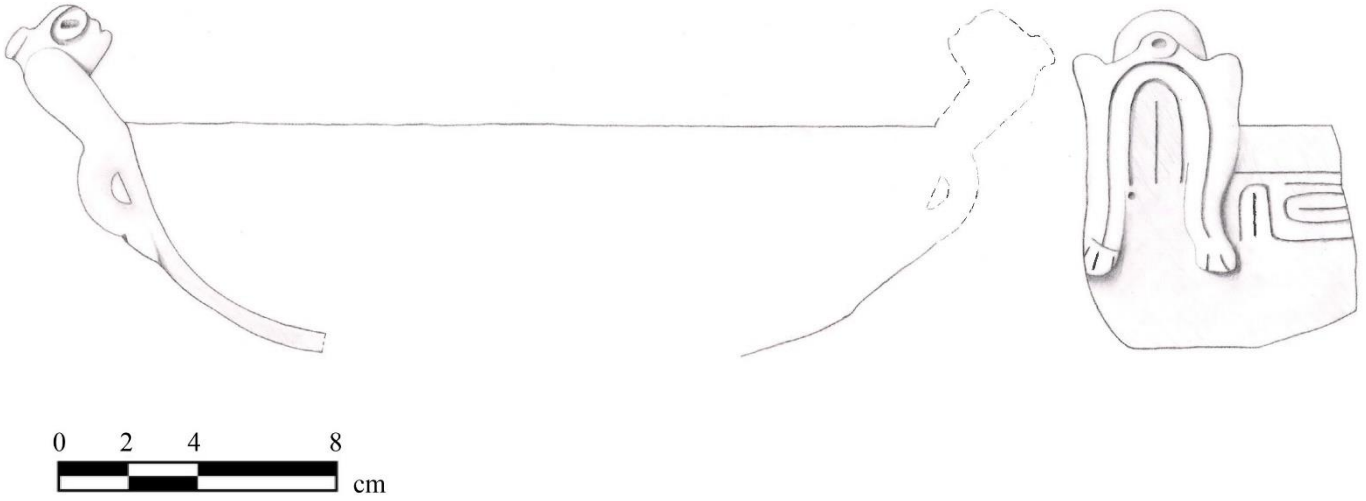
Vessel shape	A2
Diameter	28 cm
Relative size	14%

Fig. 42: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 28, FNR 3378).



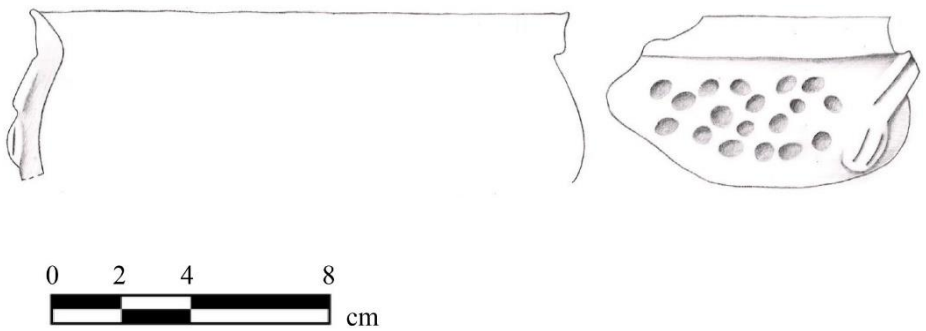
Vessel shape	A2
Diameter	10 cm
Relative size	30%

Fig. 43: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 31, FNR 2695).



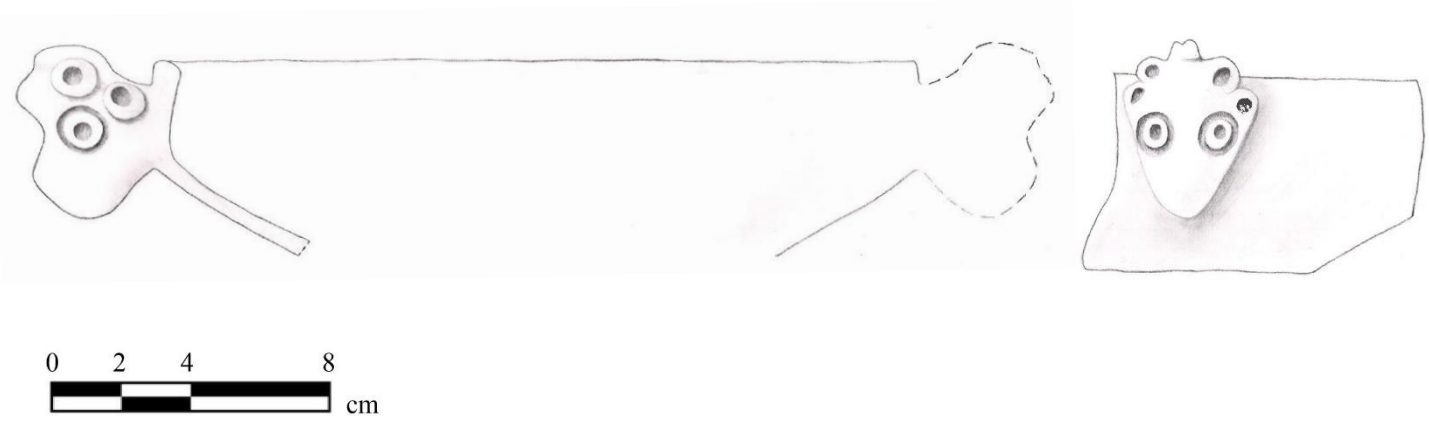
Vessel shape	A1
Diameter	22 cm
Relative size	26%

Fig. 44: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 44, FNR 2759).



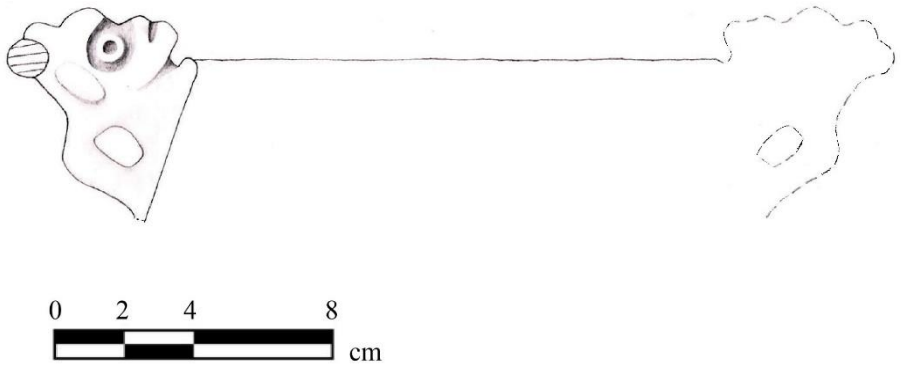
Vessel shape	B3
Diameter	14 cm
Relative size	-

Fig. 45: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 94, FNR 2672).



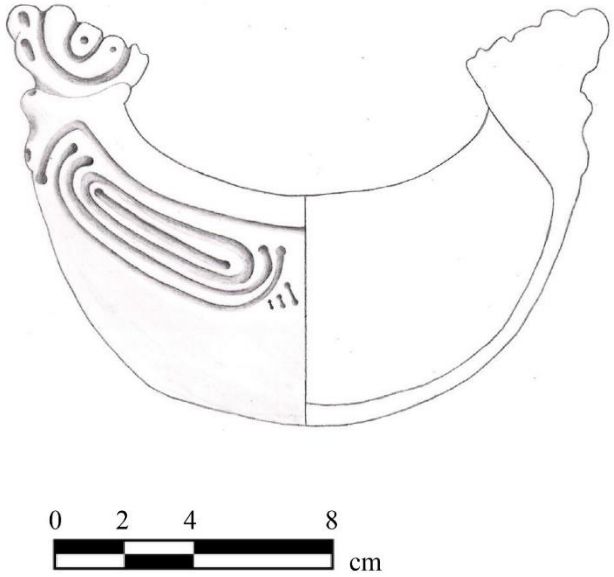
Vessel shape	B2
Diameter	20 cm
Relative size	23%

Fig. 46: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 50, FNR 2723).



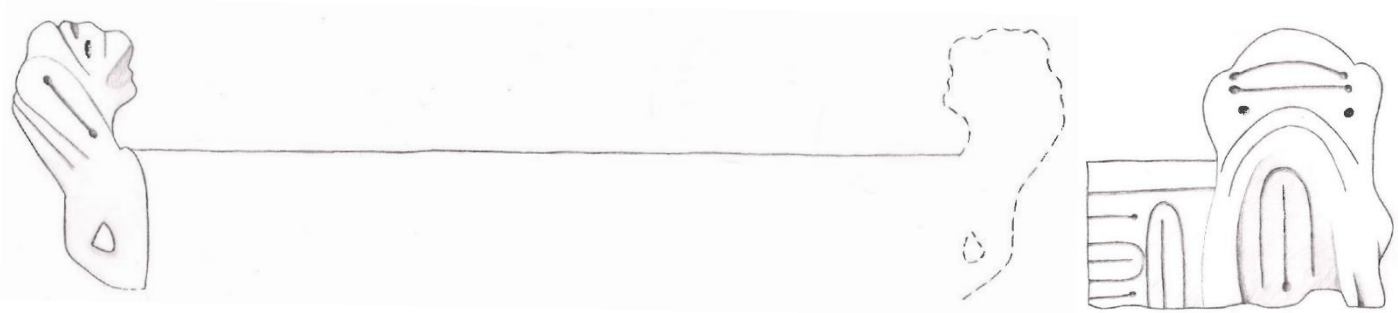
Vessel shape	A2
Diameter	14 cm
Relative size	26%

Fig. 47: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 52, FNR 2269).



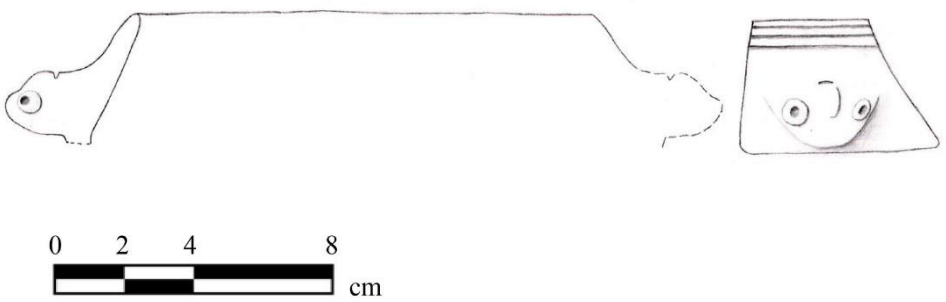
Vessel shape	B2
Diameter	18 cm
Relative size	32%

Fig. 48: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 57, FNR 2551).



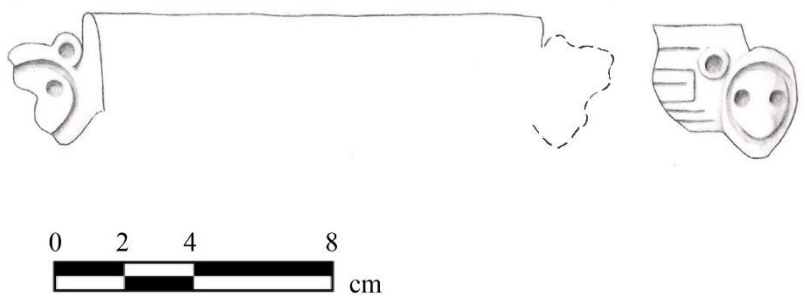
Vessel shape	A1
Diameter	22 cm
Relative size	29%

Fig. 49: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 73, FNR 2736).



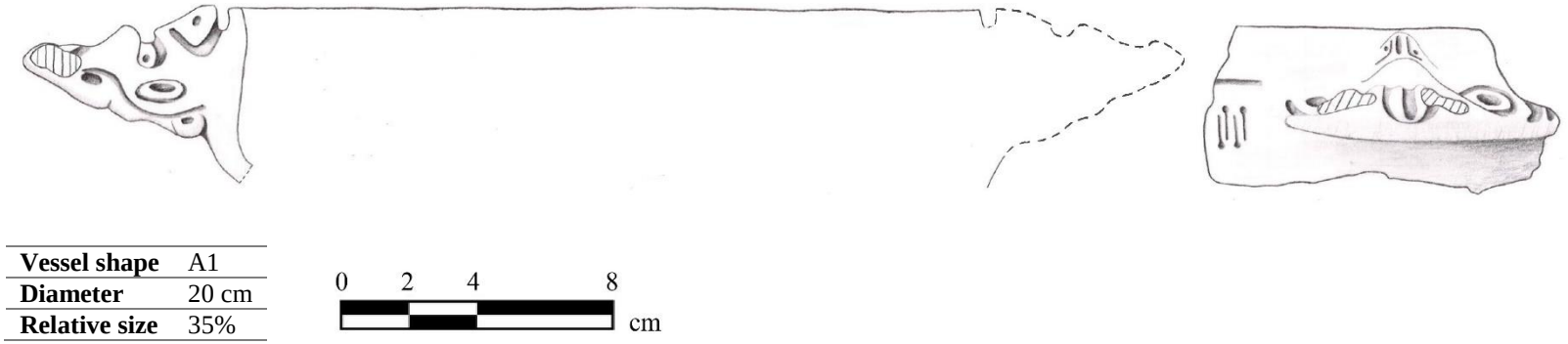
Vessel shape	B2
Diameter	12 cm
Relative size	21%

Fig. 50: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 79, FNR 2013).



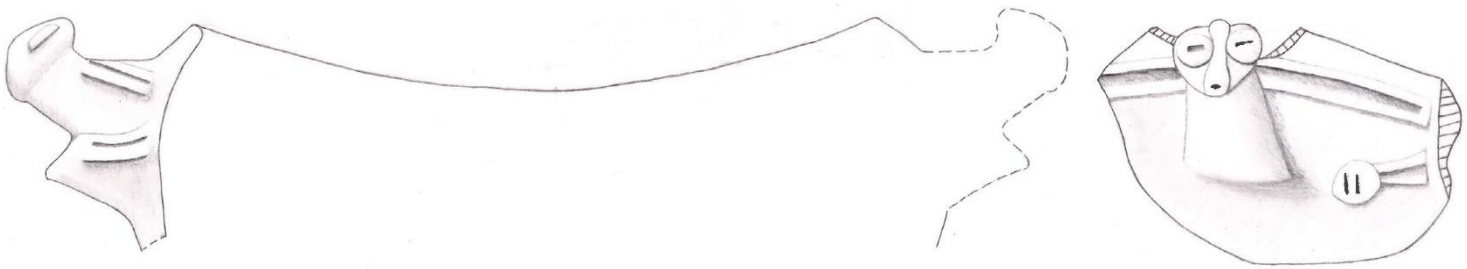
Vessel shape	A1
Diameter	12 cm
Relative size	25%

Fig. 51: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 96, FNR 2672).



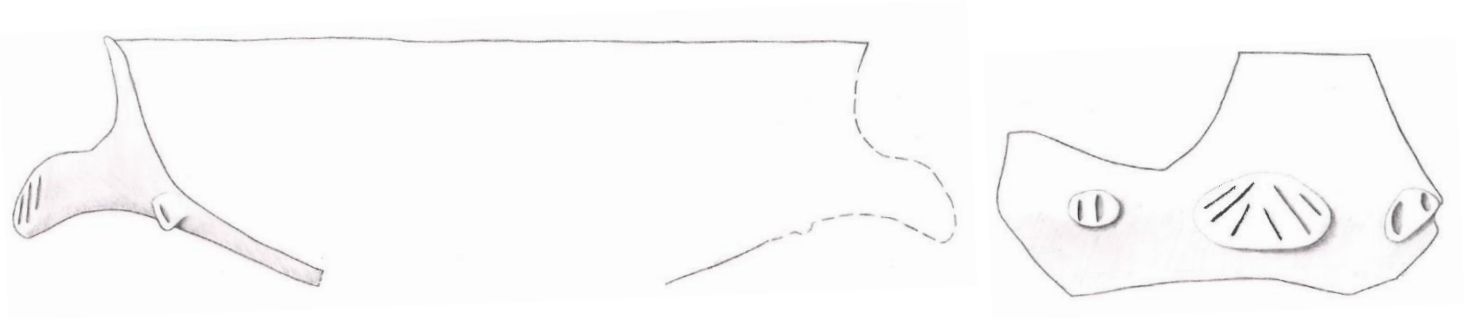
Vessel shape	A1
Diameter	20 cm
Relative size	35%

Fig. 52: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 119, FNR 2762).



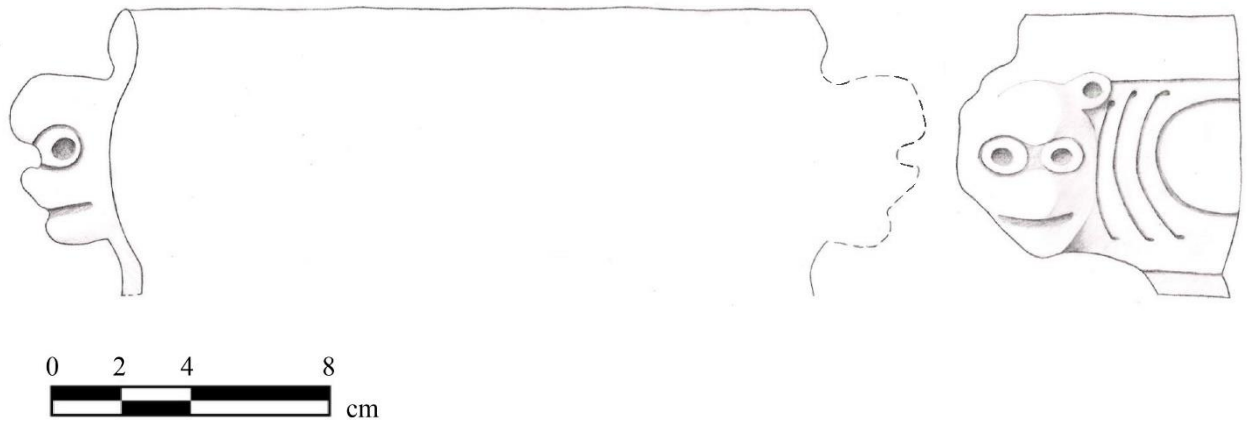
Vessel shape	A2
Diameter	18 cm
Relative size	14%

Fig. 53: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 136, FNR 176).



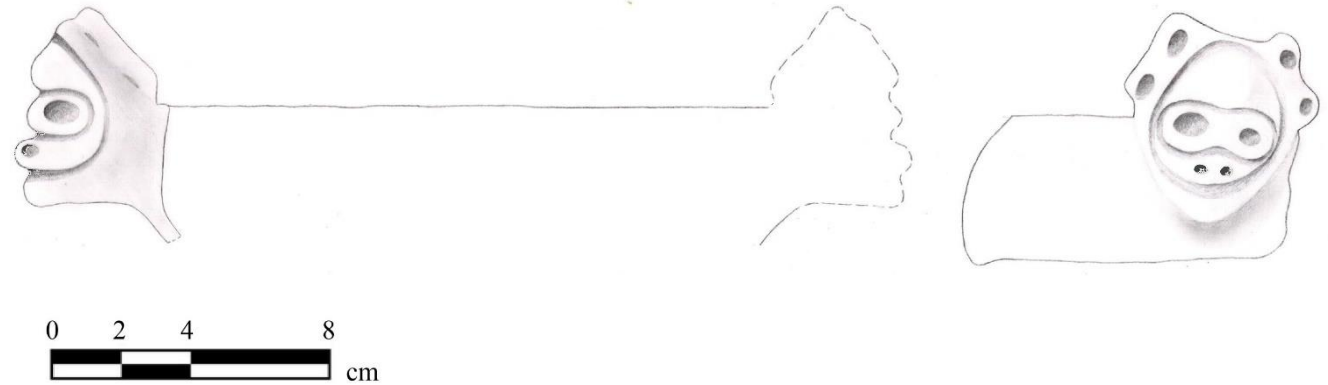
Vessel shape	A1
Diameter	20 cm
Relative size	24%

Fig. 54: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 142, FNR 2617).



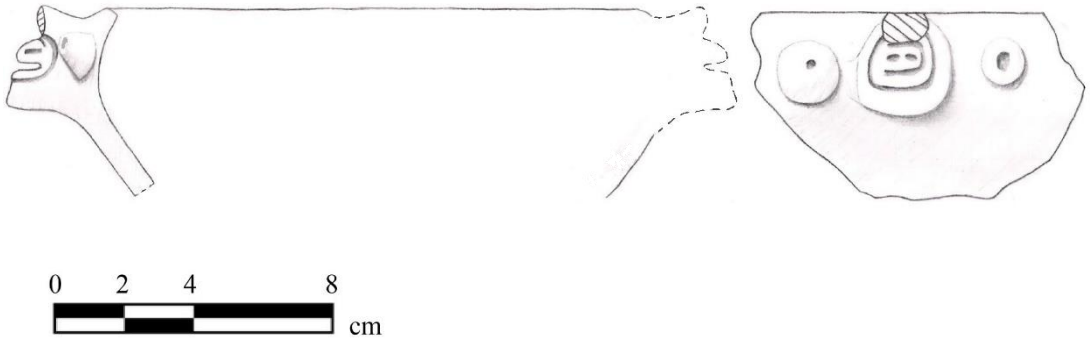
Vessel shape	D2
Diameter	18 cm
Relative size	24%

Fig. 55: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 149, FNR 3113).



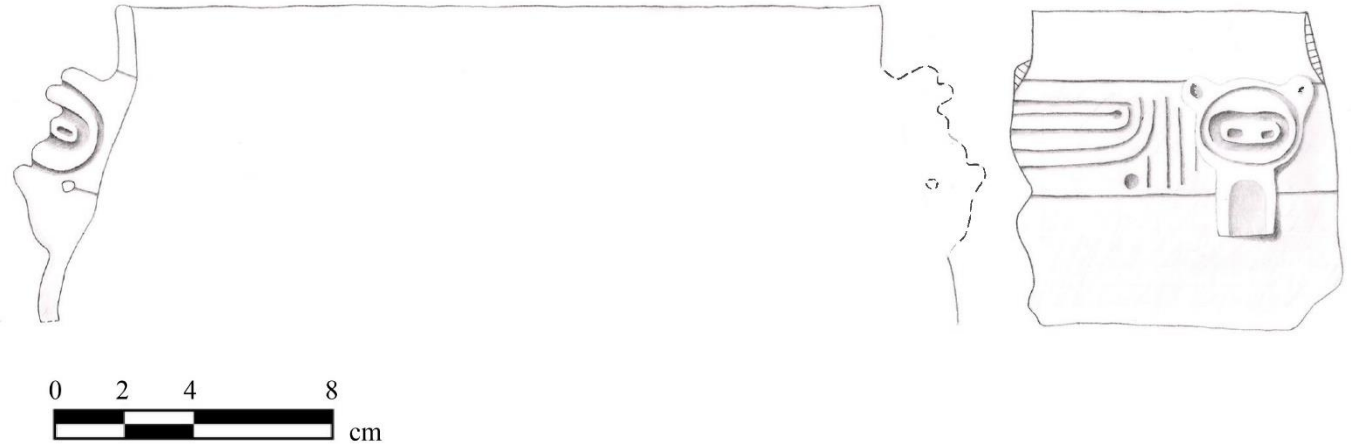
Vessel shape	A2
Diameter	18 cm
Relative size	28%

Fig. 56: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 158, FNR 2530).



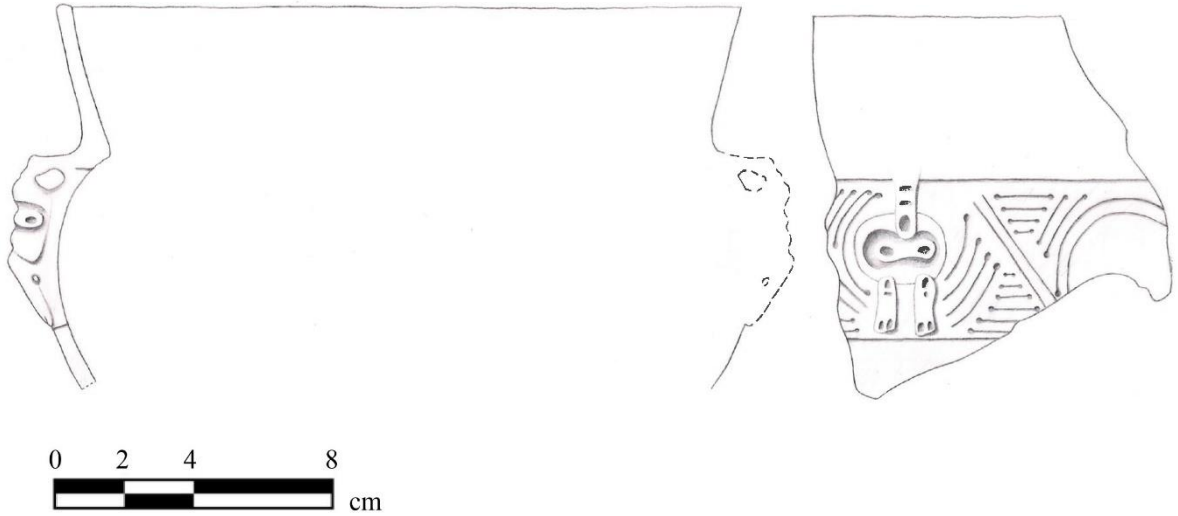
Vessel shape	A2
Diameter	14 cm
Relative size	18%

Fig. 57: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 159, FNR 252).



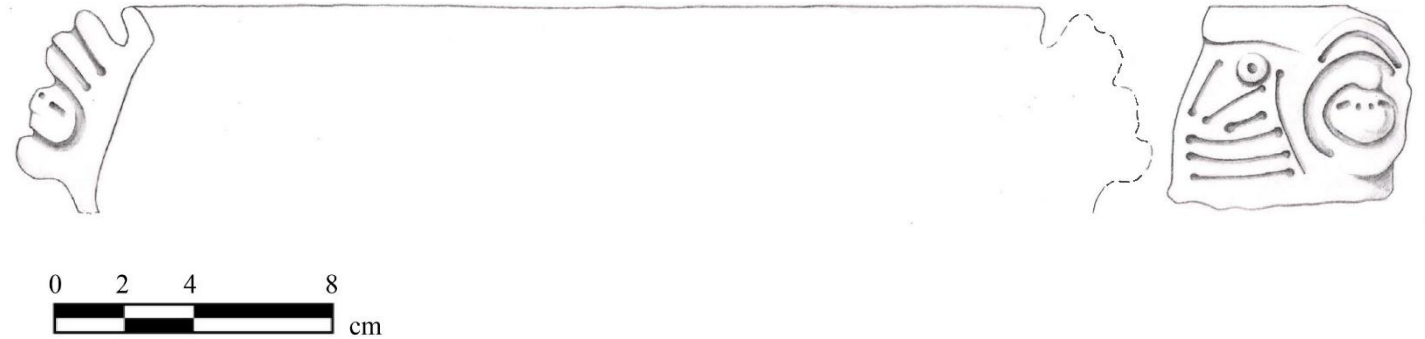
Vessel shape	D1
Diameter	20 cm
Relative size	19%

Fig. 58: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 160, FNR 1650).



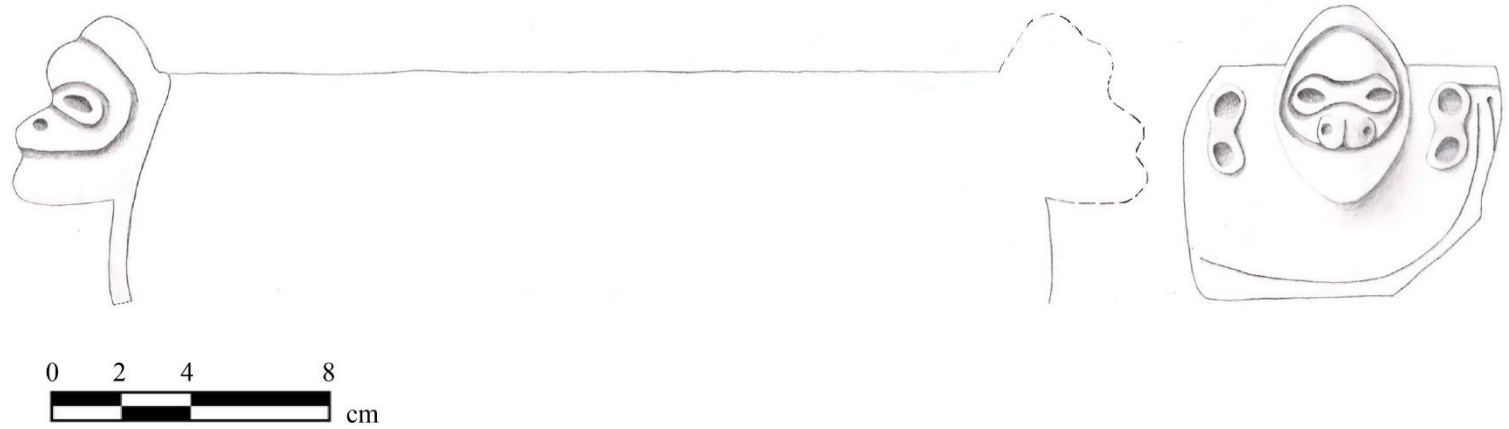
Vessel shape	B3
Diameter	18 cm
Relative size	23%

Fig. 59: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 168, FNR 1710).



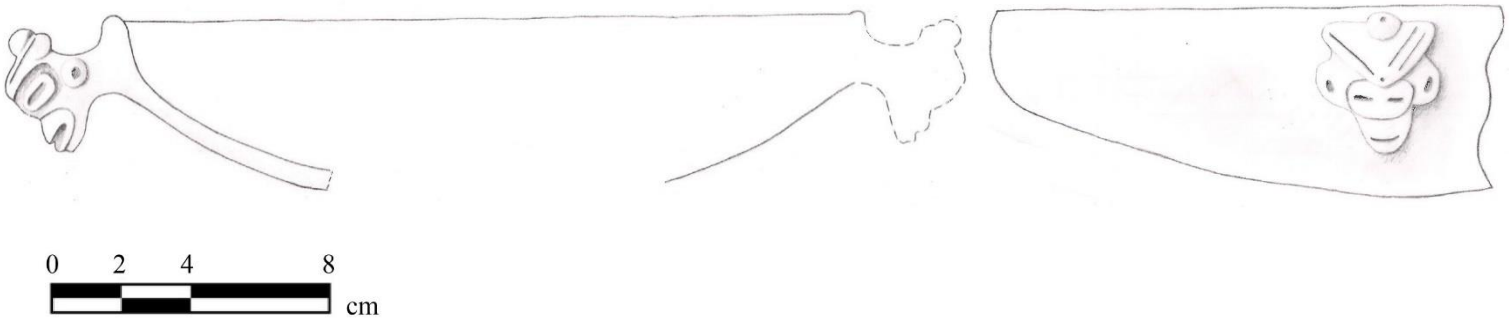
Vessel shape	A2
Diameter	24 cm
Relative size	23%

Fig. 60: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 169, FNR 2975).



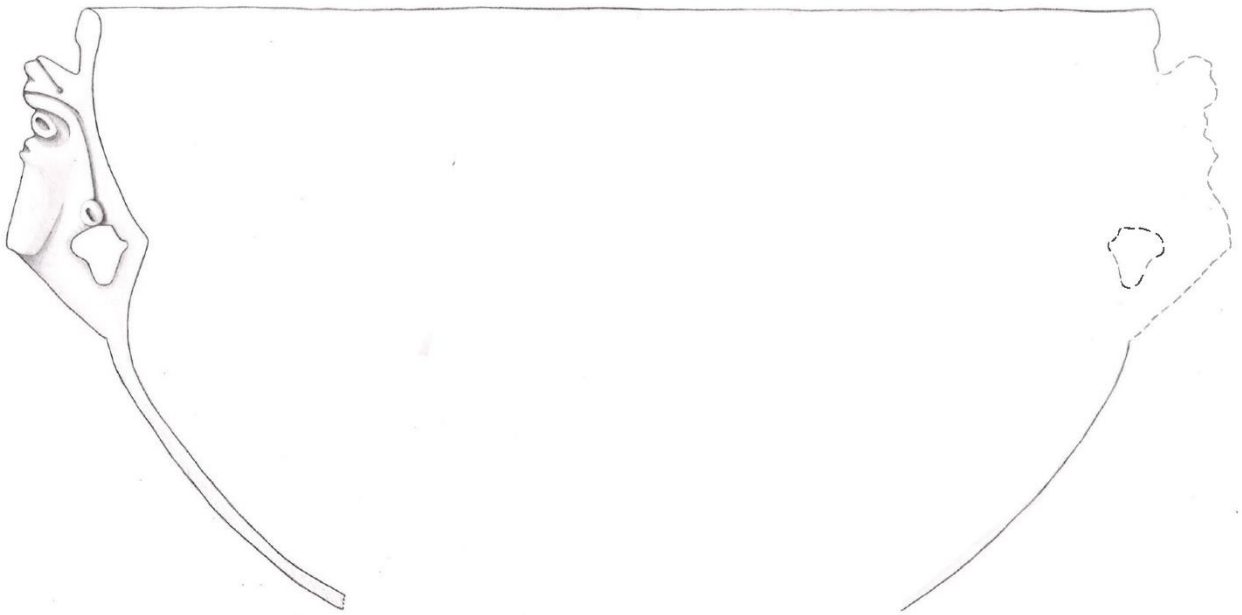
Vessel shape	A2
Diameter	22 cm
Relative size	25%

Fig. 61: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 171, FNR 2465).



Vessel shape	A1
Diameter	22 cm
Relative size	16%

Fig. 62: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 271, FNR 2287).



Vessel shape	D1
Diameter	28 cm
Relative size	14%

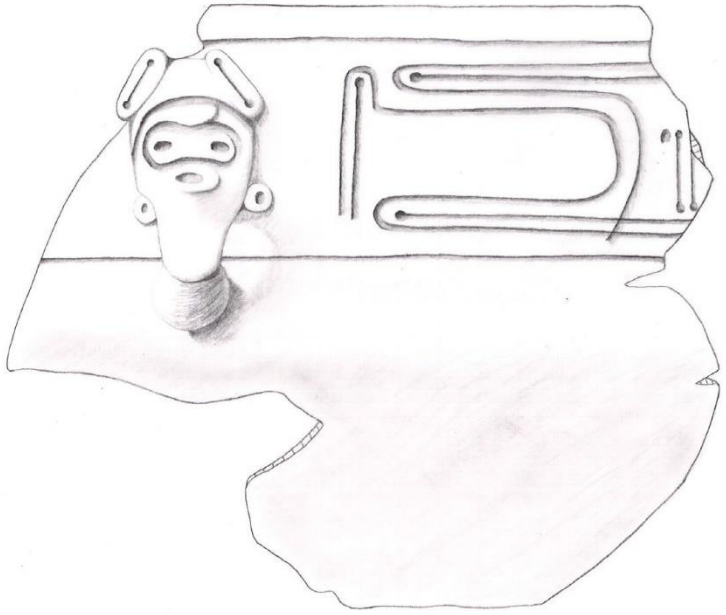
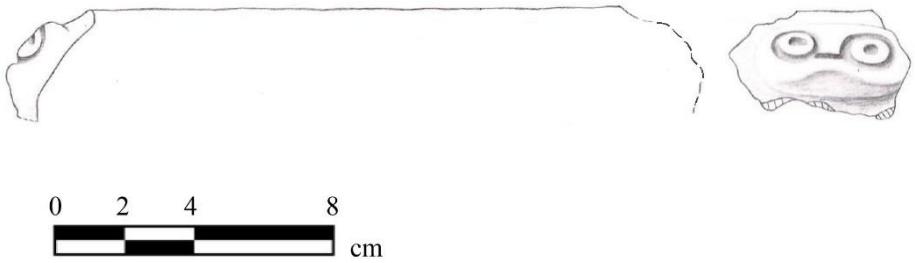
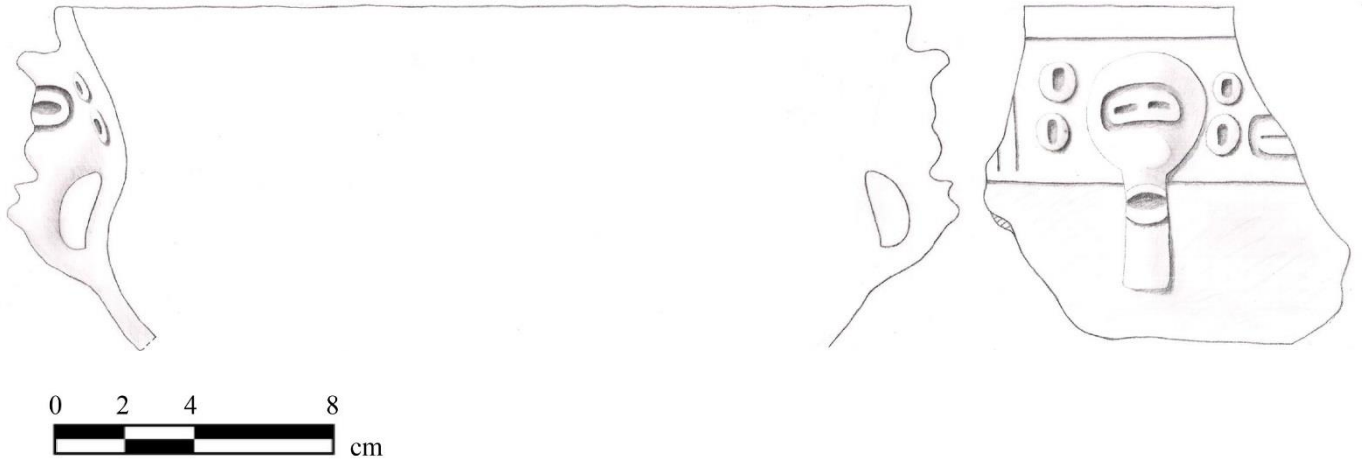


Fig. 63: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 266, FNR 3263).



Vessel shape	A2
Diameter	14 cm
Relative size	34%

Fig. 64: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 274, FNR 2738).

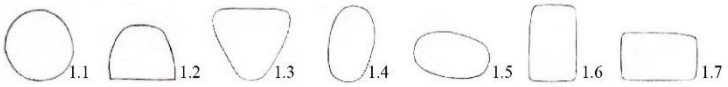


Vessel shape	B3
Diameter	24 cm
Relative size	23%

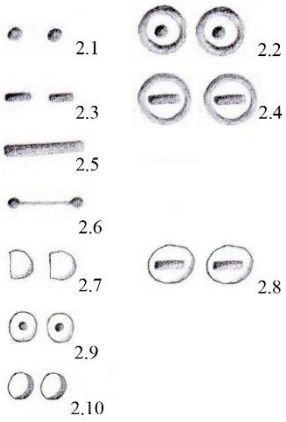
Fig. 65: Drawing of reconstructed adorno-vessel (ID 165, FNR 2709).

Appendix 2: Illustrated guide to the motifs identified in the formal analysis

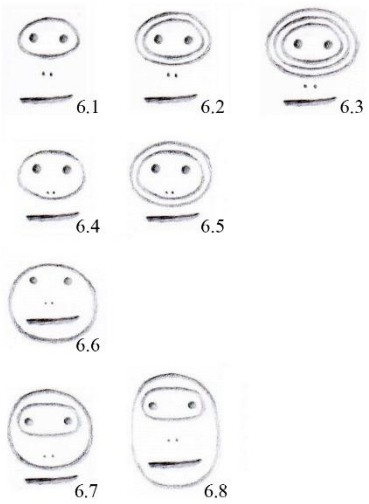
Head shapes



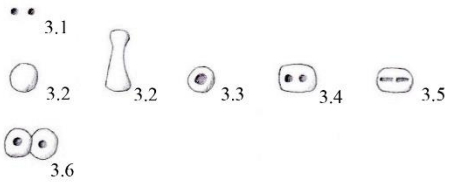
Eye motifs



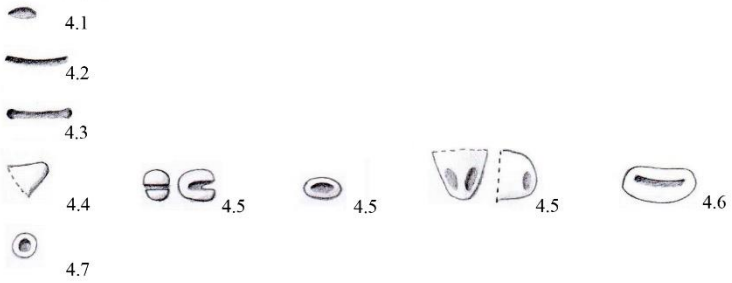
Face incision



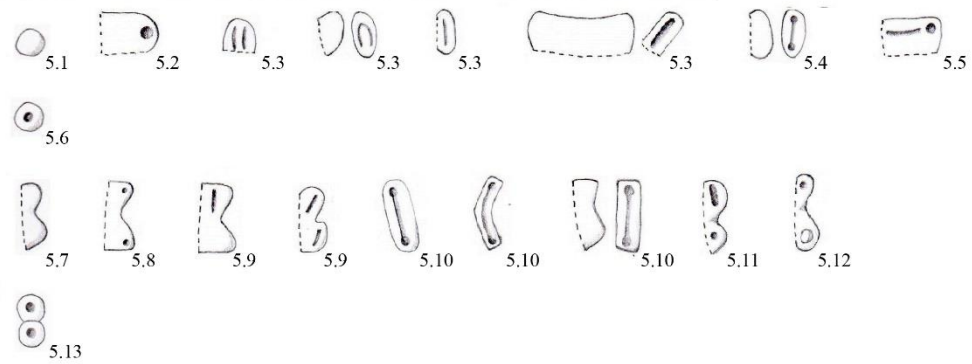
Nose motifs



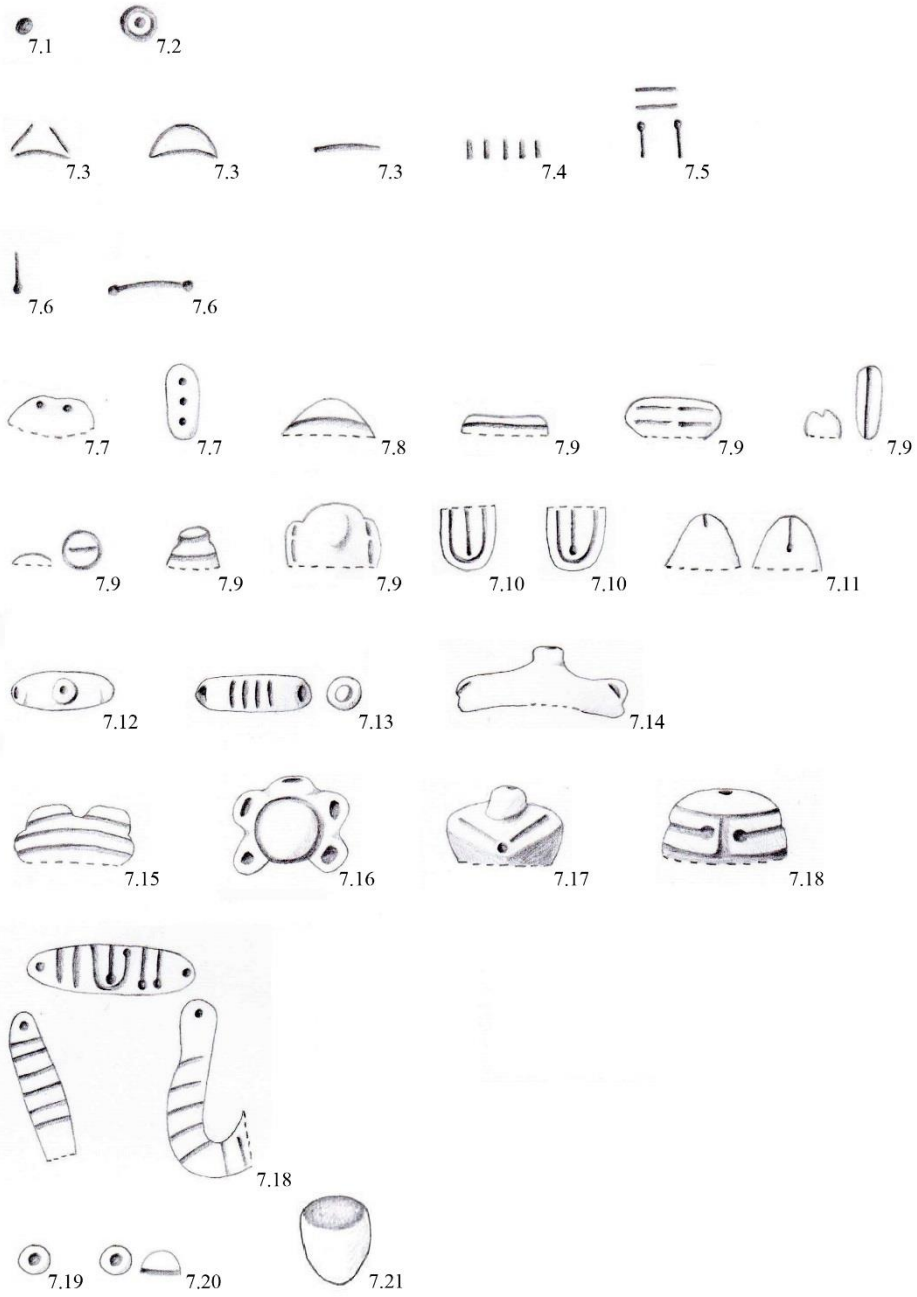
Mouth/beak motifs



Ear motifs



Top head motifs



Head shapes
1.1 Round
1.2 Half-round
1.3 Conical
1.4 High oval
1.5 Wide oval
1.6 High rectangular
1.7 Wide rectangular

Eye motifs
2.1 Punctations
2.2 Punctations with circular incision
2.3 Incisions
2.4 Incision with circular incision
2.5 Single incision
2.6 incision+punctation
2.7 Moulding
2.8 Moulding and incision
2.9 Nubbins
2.10 Perforations

Nose motifs
3.1 Punctations
3.2 Moulding
3.3 Moulding and punctation
3.4 Moulding and two punctations
3.5 Moulding and incisions
3.6 Nubbins

Mouth/beak motifs
4.1 Punctation
4.2 Incision
4.3 Incision+punctation
4.4 Moulding
4.5 Moulding and punctation
4.6 Moulding and incision
4.7 Nubbin

Ear motifs
5.1 Moulding
5.2 Moulding and punctation
5.3 Moulding and incision
5.4 Moulding and incision+punctation
5.5 Moulding, punctation and incision
5.6 Nubbin
5.7 Two part moulding
5.8 Two part moulding and punctation
5.9 Two part moulding and incision
5.10 Two part moulding and incision+punctation
5.11 Two part moulding, punctation and incision
5.12 Two part moulding, punctation and perforation
5.13 Two nubbins

Face incision
6.1 Incision surrounding eyes
6.2 Double incision surrounding eyes
6.3 Triple incision surrounding eyes
6.4 Incision surrounding eyes and nose
6.5 Double incision surrounding eyes and nose
6.6 Incision surrounding eyes, nose and mouth
6.7 Incision surrounding eyes, and surrounding eyes and nose
6.8 Incision surrounding eyes, and surrounding eyes, nose and mouth

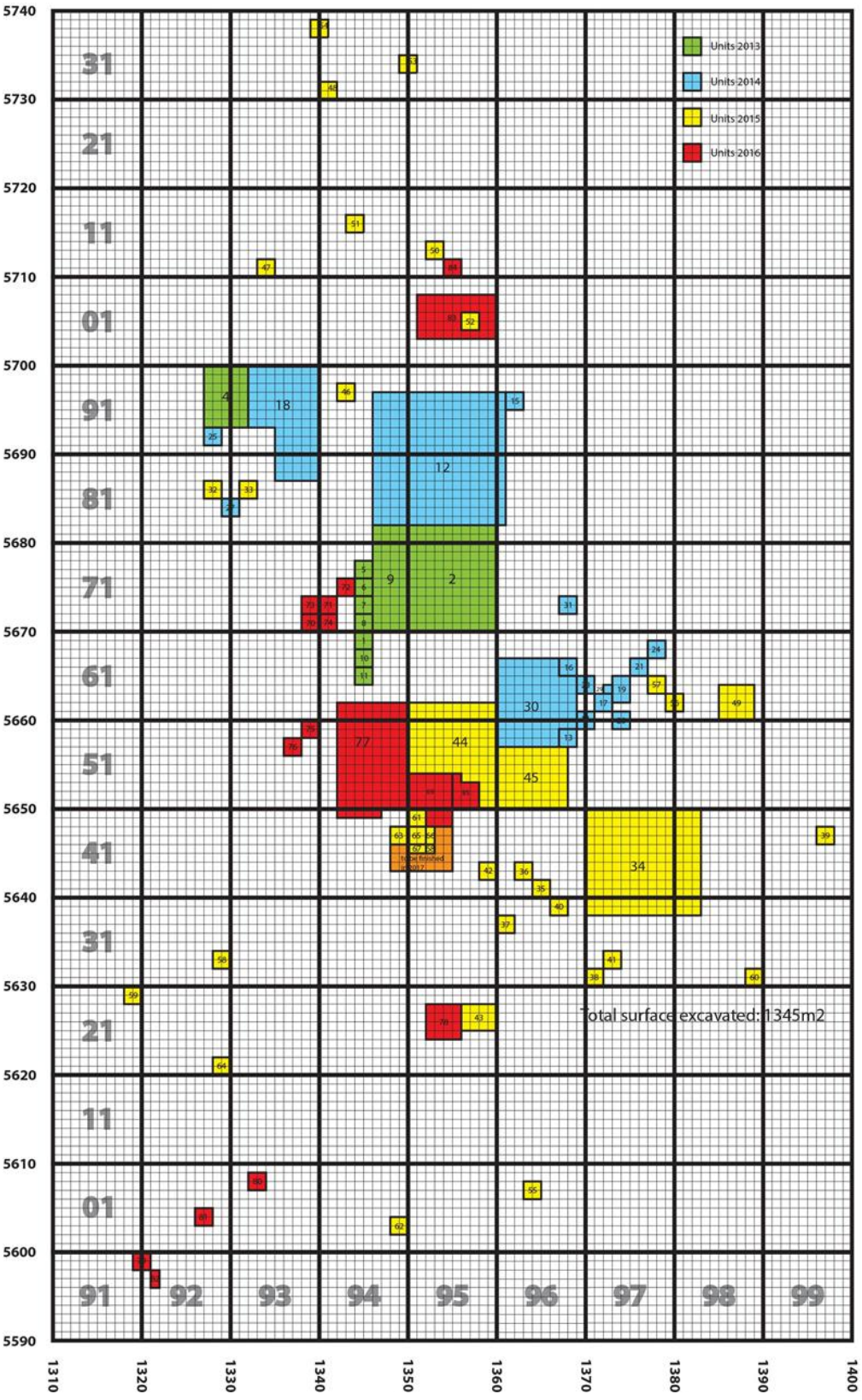
Top head motifs
7.1 Punctation
7.2 Punctation and incision
7.3 Incision
7.4 Vertical incisions
7.5 Incision and incision+punctation
7.6 Incision+punctation
7.7 Moulding and punctations
7.8 Triangular moulding and incision
7.9 Moulding and incision
7.10 Moulding and incision or incision+punctation in center surrounded by another incision
7.11 Triangular moulding and incision+punctation
7.12 Moulding and three nubbins
7.13 Moulding, incision and perforation
7.14 Moulding, incision and nubbin
7.15 Moulding incision and two nubbins
7.16 Moulding and five nubbins
7.17 Moulding, punctation, incision and nubbin
7.18 Moulding, punctation, incision and incision+punctation

7.19 Nubbin

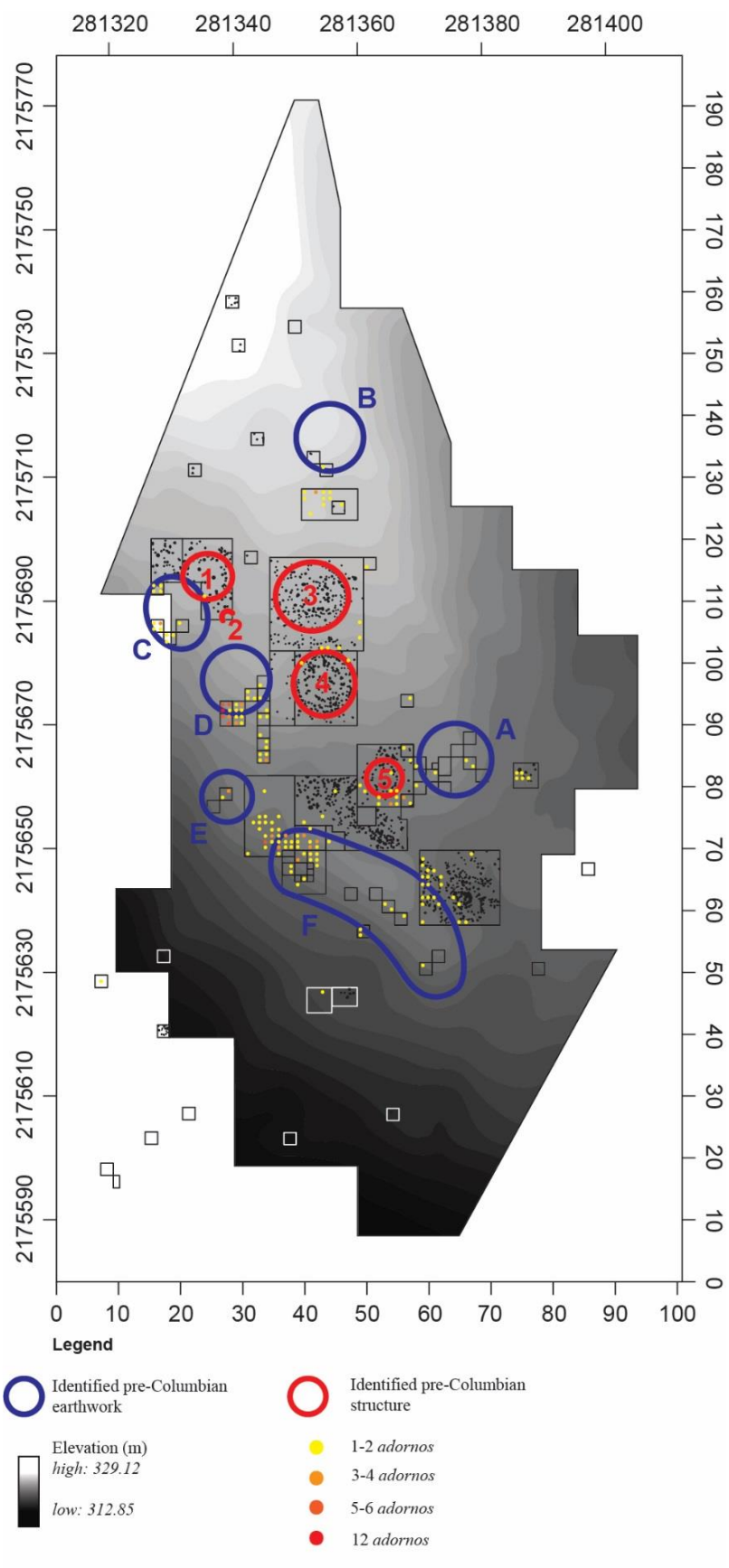
7.20 Nubbin and incision

7.21 Flattened head

Appendix 3: Map of the site of El Flaco with the excavated units (copyright NEXUS1492)



Appendix 4: Distribution of the *adornos* over the site of El Flaco in relation to the mounds and structures (copyright NEXUS1492)



Appendix 5: Distribution of the recognized images on the El Flaco *adornos* over the identified areas

Tab. 30: Recognized image distribution over levelled areas.

	Structure 3 and 4 (T=6, 2 unclear)		*Structure 5 (T=15, 7 unclear)*		*Hearth 1 (T=9, 7 unclear)*		*Hearth 2 (T=13, 11 unclear)*		*Hearth 3 (T=3)*		*Hearth 4 (T=12, 3 unclear)*	
Turtle	2	33.33%	4	26.67%	3	33.33%	3	23.08%	1	33.33%	2	16.67%
Frog	2	33.33%	1	0.67%	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Crocodile	0	-	1	0.67%	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Lizard	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	7.69%	0	-	0	-
Owl	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	7.69%	0	-	2	16.67%
Bird	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	8.33%
Bat	0	-	7	46.67%	4	44.44%	8	61.54%	0	-	7	58.33%
Turtle/bat/frog	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	33.33%	0	-
Human	2	33.33%	2	13.33%	2	22.22%	0	-	1	33.33%	0	-
Dog	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-

Tab. 31: Recognized image distribution over mounds.

	Mound F, east (T=1)		*Mound F, center (T=5, 1 unclear)*		*Mound F, northwest (T=51, 16 unclear)*		*Mound E (T=4)*		*Mound A (T=2, 1 unclear)*		*Mound D (T=46, 15 unclear)*		*Mound C (T=15, 6 unclear)*		*Mound B (T=1)*	
Turtle	1	100%	1	20.00%	6	11.76%	2	50.00%	1	50.00%	5	10.87%	5	33.33%	0	-
Frog	0	-	0	-	2	3.92%	0	-	0	-	4	8.70%	0	-	0	-
Crocodile	0	-	0	-	1	1.96%	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Lizard	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Owl	0	-	0	-	5	9.80%	0	-	0	-	2	4.35%	2	13.33%	0	-
Bird	0	-	0	-	3	5.88%	0	-	0	-	3	6.52%	0	-	0	-
Bat	0	-	2	40.00%	24	47.06%	1	25.00%	0	-	22	47.83%	7	46.67%	0	-
Turtle/bat/frog	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Human	0	-	2	40.00%	10	19.61%	1	25.00%	1	50.00%	9	19.57%	1	6.67%	0	-
Dog	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	2.17%	0	-	1	100%

Tab. 32: *Recognized image distribution over remaining areas.*

	Area 1 (T=0, 1 unclear)		*Area 2 (T=2)*		*Area 3 (T=5)*		*Area 4 (T=10, 4 unclear)*		*Area 5 (T=0, 1 unclear)*	
Turtle	0	-	2	100%	5	100%	2	20.00%	0	-
Frog	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Crocodile	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Lizard	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Owl	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	10.00%	0	-
Bird	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Bat	0	-	0	-	0	-	6	60.00%	0	-
Turtle/bat/frog	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Human	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	10.00%	0	-
Dog	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-

Appendix 6: Distribution of the ceramic styles of the El Flaco *adornos* over the identified areas

Tab. 33: Ceramic style distribution over levelled areas.

	Structure 3 and 4 (T=8)		*Structure 5 (T=22)*		*Hearth 1 (T=16)*		*Hearth 2 (T=23, 1 unclear)*		*Hearth 3 (T=3)*		*Hearth 4 (T=15)*	
Chicoid local	5	62.50%	19	86.36%	15	93.75%	21	91.30%	3	100%	11	73.33%
Chicoid non-local	0	-	2	9.09%	0	-	1	4.35%	0	-	3	20.00%
Mix	2	25.00%	1	4.55%	1	6.67%	1	4.35%	0	-	1	6.67%
Meillacoid	1	12.50%	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Ostionoid	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-

Tab. 34: Ceramic style distribution over mounds.

	Mound F, east (T=1)		*Mound F, center (T=6)*		*Mound F, northwest (T=67)*		*Mound E (T=4)*		*Mound A (T=3)*		*Mound D (T=59, 2 unclear)*		*Mound C (T=21)*		*Mound B (T=1)*	
Chicoid local	0	-	4	66.67%	57	85.07%	1	25.00%	3	100%	47	79.66%	15	71.43%	1	100%
Chicoid non-local	0	-	1	16.67%	3	4.48%	1	25.00%	0	-	4	6.78%	3	14.29%	0	-
Mix	0	-	0	-	2	2.99%	1	25.00%	0	-	4	6.78%	1	4.76%	0	-
Meillacoid	0	-	1	16.67%	5	7.46%	1	25.00%	0	-	4	6.78%	2	49.52%	0	-
Ostionoid	1	100%	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-

Tab. 35: Ceramic style distribution over remaining areas.

	Area 1 (T=1)		*Area 2 (T=2)*		*Area 3 (T=5)*		*Area 4 (T=14)*		*Area 5 (T=1)*	
Chicoid local	0	-	2	100%	4	80.00%	8	57.14%	1	100%
Chicoid non-local	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	14.29%	0	-
Mix	0	-	0	-	1	20.00%	0	-	0	-
Meillacoid	1	100%	0	-	0	-	4	28.57%	0	-
Ostionoid	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-

Appendix 7: Distribution of the vessel shapes of the El Flaco *adorno-vessels* over the identified areas

Tab. 36: Vessel shape distribution over levelled areas.

	Structure 3 and 4 (T=1, 7 unclear)		*Structure 5 (T=3, 19 unclear)*		*Hearth 1 (T=1, 15 unclear)*		*Hearth 2 (T=4, 20 unclear)*		*Hearth 3 (T=0, 3 unclear)*		*Hearth 4 (T=7, 8 unclear)*	
A1	0	-	1	33.33%	0	-	1	25.00%	0	-	1	14.29%
A2	1	100%	1	33.33%	1	100%	1	25.00%	0	-	2	28.57%
B1	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	25.00%	0	-	0	-
B2	0	-	1	33.33%	0	-	1	25.00%	0	-	4	57.14%
B3	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
C3	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
D1	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
D2	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-

Tab. 37: Vessel shape distribution over mounds.

	Mound F, east (T=1)		*Mound F, center (T=1, 5 unclear)*		*Mound F, northwest (T=15, 52 unclear)*		*Mound E (T=2, 2 unclear)*		*Mound A (T=1, 2 unclear)*		*Mound D (T=17, 44 unclear)*		*Mound C (T=2, 19 unclear)*		*Mound B (T=0, 1 unclear)*	
A1	0	-	0	-	4	26.67%	1	50.00%	1	100%	4	23.53%	0	-	0	-
A2	1	100%	1	100%	5	33.33%	0	-	0	-	7	41.18%	0	-	0	-
B1	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
B2	0	-	0	-	2	13.33%	0	-	0	-	3	17.65%	0	-	0	-
B3	0	-	0	-	1	6.67%	0	-	0	-	2	11.76%	1	50.00%	0	-
C3	0	-	0	-	1	6.67%	1	50.00%	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
D1	0	-	0	-	1	6.67%	0	-	0	-	1	5.88%	1	50.00%	0	-
D2	0	-	0	-	1	6.67%	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-

Tab. 38: Vessel shape distribution over remaining areas.

	Area 1 (T=0, 1 unclear)		*Area 2 (T=0, 2 unclear)*		*Area 3 (T=1, 4 unclear)*		*Area 4 (T=7, 7 unclear)*		*Area 5 (T=0, 1 unclear)*	
A1	0	-	0	-	0	-	3	42.86%	0	-
A2	0	-	0	-	0	-	3	42.86%	0	-
B1	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
B2	0	-	0	-	1	100%	1	14.29%	0	-
B3	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
C3	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
D1	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
D2	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-

Appendix 8: Distribution of the diameter of the El Flaco *adorno-vessels* over the identified areas

Tab. 39: Diameter distribution over levelled areas.

	Structure 3 and 4 (T=1, 7 unclear)		*Structure 5 (T=3, 19 unclear)*		*Hearth 1 (T=1, 15 unclear)*		*Hearth 2 (T=0, 24 unclear)*		*Hearth 3 (T=0, 3 unclear)*		*Hearth 4 (T=2, 13 unclear)*	
8-16 cm	0	-	1	33.33%	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	50.00%
18-26 cm	0	-	2	66.66%	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	50.00%
28-30 cm	1	100%	0	-	1	100%	0	-	0	-	0	-
42 cm	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-

Tab. 40: Diameter distribution over mounds.

	Mound F, east (T=1)		*Mound F, center (T=1, 5 unclear)*		*Mound F, northwest (T=12, 55 unclear)*		*Mound E (T=1, 3 unclear)*		*Mound A (T=0, 3 unclear)*		*Mound D (T=16, 45 unclear)*		*Mound C (T=19, 2 unclear)*		*Mound B (T=0, 1 unclear)*	
8-16 cm	1	100%	0	-	5	41.67%	0	-	0	-	2	12.50%	0	-	0	-
18-26 cm	0	-	1	100%	6	50.00%	1	100%	0	-	11	68.75%	2	100%	0	-
28-30 cm	0	-	0	-	1	8.33%	0	-	0	-	2	12.50%	0	-	0	-
42 cm	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	6.25%	0	-	0	-

Tab. 41: Diameter distribution over remaining areas.

	Area 1 (T=0, 1 unclear)		*Area 2 (T=0, 2 unclear)*		*Area 3 (T=1, 4 unclear)*		*Area 4 (T=5, 9 unclear)*		*Area 5 (T=0, 1 unclear)*	
8-16 cm	0	-	0	-	1	100%	3	60.00%	0	-
18-26 cm	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	40.00%	0	-
28-30 cm	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
42 cm	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-

Appendix 9: Distribution of the relative size of the El Flaco *adornos* over the identified areas

Tab. 42: Relative size distribution over levelled areas.

	Structure 3 and 4 (T=1, 7 unclear)		*Structure 5 (T=2, 20 unclear)*		*Hearth 1 (T=1, 15 unclear)*		*Hearth 2 (T=0, 24 unclear)*		*Hearth 3 (T=0, 3 unclear)*		*Hearth 4 (T=2, 13 unclear)*	
Small (8%-19%)	1	100%	0	-	1	100%	0	-	0	-	0	-
Medium (20-29%)	0	-	2	100%	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	100%
Large (30-39%)	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-

Tab. 43: Relative size distribution over mounds.

	Mound F, east (T=1)		*Mound F, center (T=1, 5 unclear)*		*Mound F, northwest (T=11, 56 unclear)*		*Mound E (T=1, 3 unclear)*		*Mound A (T=0, 3 uncelar)*		*Mound D (T=16, 45 unclear)*		*Mound C (T=2, 19 unclear)*		*Mound B (T=0, 1 unclear)*	
Small (8%-19%)	0	-	1	100%	2	18.18%	0	-	0	-	6	37.50%	1	50.00%	0	-
Medium (20-29%)	1	100%	0	-	7	63.64%	1	100%	0	-	7	43.75%	1	50.00%	0	-
Large (30-39%)	0	-	0	-	2	18.18%	0	-	0	-	3	18.75%	0	-	0	-

Tab. 44: Relative size distribution over remaining areas.

	Area 1 (T=0, 1 unclear)		*Area 2 (T=0, 2 unclear)*		*Area 3 (T=1, 4 unclear)*		*Area 4 (T=5, 9 unclear)*		*Area 5 (T=0, 1 unclear)*	
Small (8-19%)	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	40.00%	0	-
Medium (20-29%)	0	-	0	-	1	100%	2	40.00%	0	-
Large (30-39%)	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	20.00%	0	-

Appendix 10: Distribution of the degree of embodiment of the El Flaco *adornos* over the identified areas

Tab. 45: Degree of embodiment distribution over levelled areas.

	Structure 3 and 4 (T=8)		*Structure 5 (T=22)*		*Hearth 1 (T=16)*		*Hearth 2 (T=24)*		*Hearth 3 (T=3)*		*Hearth 4 (T=15)*	
Disembodied from sherd	1	12.50%	7	31.82%	5	31.25%	7	29.17%	0	-	2	13.33%
Attached to less than 0.5 cm of sherd	2	25.00%	2	9.09%	2	12.50%	2	8.33%	0	-	2	13.33%
Attached to between 0.5 and 1 cm of sherd	2	25.00%	3	13.64%	5	31.25%	4	16.67%	1	33.33%	3	20.00%
Attached to between 1 and 5 cm of sherd	2	25.00%	10	45.45%	4	25.00%	11	45.83%	2	66.67%	8	53.33%
Attached to more than 5 cm of sherd	1	12.50%	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-

Tab. 46: Degree of embodiment distribution over mounds.

	Mound F, east (T=1)		*Mound F, center (T=6)*		*Mound F, northwest (T=67)*		*Mound E (T=4)*		*Mound A (T=3)*		*Mound D (T=61)*		*Mound C (T=21)*		*Mound B (T=1)*	
Disembodied from sherd	0	-	1	16.67%	18	26.87%	0	-	1	33.33%	20	32.79%	6	28.57	0	-
Attached to less than 0.5 cm of sherd	0	-	1	16.67%	6	8.96%	1	25.00%	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Attached to between 0.5 and 1 cm of sherd	0	-	0	-	6	8.96%	0	-	0	-	7	11.48%	4	19.05	0	-
Attached to between 1 and 5 cm of sherd	1	100%	3	50.00%	29	43.28%	3	75.00%	1	33.33%	25	40.98%	8	38.10	1	100%
Attached to more than 5 cm of sherd	0	-	1	16.67%	8	11.94%	0	-	1	33.33%	9	14.75%	2	9.52	0	-

Tab. 47: Degree of embodiment distribution over remaining areas.

	Area 1 (T=1)		*Area 2 (T=2)*		*Area 3 (T=5)*		*Area 4 (T=14)*		*Area 5 (T=1)*	
Disembodied from sherd	0	-	2	100%	2	40.00%	1	7.14%	1	100%
Attached to less than 0.5 cm of sherd	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	14.29%	0	-
Attached to between 0.5 and 1 cm of sherd	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	7.14%	0	-
Attached to between 1 and 5 cm of sherd	1	100%	0	-	3	60.00%	8	57.14%	0	-
Attached to more than 5 cm of sherd	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	14.29%	0	-