

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

**CARIBBEAN
ARCHAEOLOGY**

Edited by
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and
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CHAPTER 2

CARIBBEAN ARCHAEOLOGY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

PETER E. SIEGEL

In addressing the trajectory of any scientific or humanistic discipline, it is important to consider the historical context in which fields of inquiry are situated. This may be eminently sensible to archaeologists in particular because many of us focus our research on evolutionary trajectories, through which key social and political institutions change in response to numerous, often intertwined, historical factors. In examining the evolutionary trajectory of an academic discipline, like Caribbean archaeology, in the same way that we study such phenomena as the evolution of political organization we are able to characterize, discuss, and assess shifting theoretical frameworks and analytical methods along numerous crosscutting dimensions, such as geographic scales, political agendas, and interpretive frameworks.

I will review the evolutionary trajectory of Caribbean archaeology from two perspectives: (1) the larger disciplinary context of thought at various times from approximately the mid-nineteenth century to the present and (2) the major interests and research agendas of archaeologists working in the Caribbean over that same time span. In doing so, I will attempt to place Caribbean archaeology into historical perspective in somewhat the same way Bruce Trigger did in his masterful survey of archaeological thought by considering "the changing relations between archaeological interpretation and its social and cultural milieu . . . [and

the] circumstances [under which] interpretations of the archaeological record have changed" (Trigger 1989:4). This review will be organized more-or-less chronologically.

The developmental trends in archaeological theory and associated methods as applied to the Caribbean are similar to the more general view presented by Gordon Willey and Jeremy Sabloff (1980), although timing between the two varies. Willey and Sabloff's (1980) overview is a useful way to present the development of archaeology to students in introductory courses. I concur with Trigger (1989:27), however, and note that explanations in archaeology did not spring out of whole cloth after 1960. In their broad definition of "archaeology," Willey and Sabloff somewhat contradict themselves regarding the privileged post-1960 role of explanation: "Archaeology is the study of the human cultural and social past whose goals are *to narrate* the sequent story of that past and *to explain* the events that composed it" (Willey and Sabloff 1980:1, emphasis in original). Narrating the story and explaining it was not within the exclusive domain of the new (post-1960) archaeologists. Narratives, plots, styles of writing, and kinds of explanations certainly changed, especially during the Context and Function phase of the Classificatory-Historical Period (ca. 1940–1960) and then again post-1960—but nearly all archaeologists have engaged in some form of explanation.

This review of Caribbean archaeology will be divided into three sections: (1) issues and interests from approximately the mid-nineteenth century to 1960, (2) post-1960s trends, and (3) current research interests.

CARIBBEAN ARCHAEOLOGY FROM THE MID TO LATE-NINETEENTH CENTURY TO ABOUT 1960

The kinds of investigations and perspectives of archaeologists working in the Caribbean from the mid/late-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century were largely typical of the Classificatory-Descriptive Period and the Classificatory-Historical Period with a Concern for Chronology in the history of American archaeology as defined by Willey and Sabloff (1980). Just as the names imply, major interests of Caribbean archaeologists during this time were in the description, classification, and time-ordering of artifacts, assemblages, and sites with the goals of constructing cultural-historical sequences across the Caribbean Basin (Rouse 1953a, 1953b). Prior to the development of absolute-dating techniques, archaeologists could only make assessments of relative antiquity based on stratigraphic excavations and associated seriations of artifacts. Using existing artifact collections and excavating strategically selected sites, archaeologists devoted considerable effort to establishing culture areas based on similarities in artifact styles and overall assemblage composition across space (Fewkes 1922; Rouse 1953a, 1954, 1955).

The culture-area concept was a powerful tool widely employed by Americanist anthropologists beginning in the late-nineteenth century through much of the twentieth century (Kroeber 1931; Steward 1955). It is still used today as a way to organize and integrate archaeological and ethnographic data at large regional scales (e.g., Oswalt 2009; Snow 2011). Julian Steward, one of the early proponents of the culture-area concept, observed that:

The culture area is a construct of behavioral uniformities which occur within an area of environmental uniformities. It is assumed that cultural and natural areas are generally coterminous because the culture represents an adjustment to the particular environment. It is assumed further, however, that various different patterns may exist in any natural area and that unlike cultures may exist in similar environments. (Steward 1955:35)

Later, Steward addressed the complicating factors of historical time depth in connection with the culture-area concept, especially since "culture centers" and "boundaries may shift" through time (Steward 1955:83; see also Rouse 1953b:66–67). In explicitly addressing archaeological culture areas, Willey also observed that "the classic problem of culture history [is] to delineate archaeological areas [compared to] a single ethnographic horizon because archaeological culture boundaries change through time. . . . Often . . . the 'cores' of culture areas remain relatively fixed, with only the borderlands expanding or retracting with the passage of time" (Willey 1966:4–5).

It is in the context of early to mid-twentieth century Americanist archaeology that researchers working in the Caribbean employed the culture area concept. Based on his 1914 survey of Caribbean artifacts in the collections of the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation), J. Walter Fewkes identified 12 culture areas: Trinidad, Barbados, St. Vincent-Grenada, Dominica, Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Kitts, St. Croix, Haiti-Puerto Rico, Cuba, Jamaica, and the Bahamas (Fewkes 1922). In doing so, he considered potential relations and interactions between the cultures of the Antilles and Central America/Mexico but concluded that "their connection has not been made out with any satisfaction nor has it been demonstrated which objects are the most ancient; whether the West Indian was derived from the continental, or vice versa, or whether both independently originated is one of the unsolved problems of American archaeology" (Fewkes 1922:58–59). In summarizing his survey, Fewkes "distinguish[ed] three cultural epochs in the West Indies": (1) the earliest-known occupants of the islands were "cave dwellers" who produced "great shell heaps" and pottery, (2) "the agricultural West Indian," or "Tainan," who produced fine ground stonework "not excelled elsewhere in the two Americas" and pottery that "was more highly developed in the Lesser Antilles than in the Greater," and (3) a "mixed race" of "agricultural and Carib elements." Based on his reading of the ethno-historic documents, Fewkes (1922:268) suggested that the "caveman, Tainan, and Carib" were all present at the time of contact.

M. R. Harrington, also working on behalf of the Heye Foundation, conducted fieldwork on Cuba in 1915 and 1919 (Harrington 1921). In placing his results into a

larger regional framework, Harrington concluded "that we must look for the point of origin and modern relatives of the more advanced Antillean tribes, that is, the Tainan Arawak, and the Carib . . . in northeastern South America" (Harrington 1921:423-424). He then "suppose[d] that there has been a series of [three] waves of migration starting out from South America, and spreading from island to island up through the Lesser to the Greater Antilles," accounting for the Ciboney (Fewkes's "cavemen"), Tainan, and Caribs (Harrington 1921:423-424). Harrington's ideas concerning "waves of migration" out of northeastern South America came to be a powerfully accepted notion by Caribbeanists for decades and, as will be discussed later, in modified forms is still promoted. In the "Origins of the Tainan Culture," Sven Lovén (1935:24) also discussed "immigration of the Arawaks to the West Indies . . . in waves."

A contemporary of Fewkes and Harrington was Theodoor De Booy, who conducted extensive excavations across much of the West Indies. De Booy disagreed with Fewkes's contention that there were cultural connections between the Virgin Islands and the Greater Antilles based on similarities in pottery styles: "The writer cannot agree with the statement made by . . . Fewkes that 'Santa Cruz and St Thomas have cultural resemblances in their antiquities to the Porto Rican or Jamaican area' . . . no pottery object was found on either St Thomas or on St John that in any degree resembles ceramic specimens from either Porto Rico or Jamaica" (De Booy 1919:20-21).

Gudmund Hatt (1924:40) also worked in the Virgin Islands and based on his comparative studies of artifact assemblages across the Antilles noted that:

[T]wo different cultural movements have met and mingled on these [Virgin] islands. One of them coming up along the chain of the Lesser Antilles, is characterized by certain ceramic traits, as the use of painted decoration, loop-handles . . . and . . . annular bases. . . . Another movement must have come from the Tainan area and is characterized by other ceramic traits, e.g. . . . boat-shaped vessels, . . . incised ornaments and elaborate pottery handles, shaped like fantastic anthropomorphic or zoomorphic heads and reminding more of Porto Rico than of Trinidad.

In Hatt's work, we see an early awareness of more than unidirectional movements of people within the islands, foreshadowing interests to come decades later.

In her study of Antillean cultural "affiliations," Charlotte Gower concluded that "similarities between Antillean culture and that of South America are so strong as to indicate the southern continent as the source for most, if not all, of the West Indian population," although she also suggested that "traces of South American-Antillean culture in the southeast [United States] are too great to be purely fortuitous" (Gower 1927:48). Suggestions of Antillean-North American connections have been entertained sporadically over the decades with little convincing evidence (e.g., Harrington 1921; Keegan 1987; Lathrap 1987; Siegel 1991; Sturtevant 1960). Julian Granberry observed long ago that:

Much has been made . . . of the fact that both the Florida Indians and Lucayans exhibited artificially deformed crania . . . but these factors . . . are hardly conclusive enough to warrant the theory that the 2 areas were *culturally* affiliated [and that

the] . . . similarity of carved designs on some Bahamian duhos to paddle-stamped designs on Southeastern pottery types . . . is not very close and, again, is not conclusive evidence. (Granberry 1956:130, emphasis in original)

Common to these and other early twentieth-century investigations are narrative descriptions and comparisons of artifacts and ethnographic/ethnohistoric accounts of Native American customs, supplemented by drawings and photographs, to support cultural connections or lack thereof, referred to as "trait-distribution" studies (Siegel 1996:682). In 1933, Cornelius Osgood initiated the Caribbean Anthropological Program in order "to resolve the historical problems of the aboriginal populations of the West Indies and related peoples in North and South America" (Osgood 1942:5). Much of the research conducted within the framework of this program was published in the Yale University Publications in Anthropology (YUPA) monograph series.

Irving Rouse, a student of Osgood's, completed his Ph.D. dissertation in 1938, and it was published in two YUPA monographs (Rouse 1939, 1941). The first monograph, entitled *Prehistory in Haiti: A Study in Method*, became a milestone publication in at least two respects: (1) for Caribbean archaeology, it represented a way to systematically characterize, classify, and compare assemblages of artifacts within and across islands and to relevant mainlands; and (2) Rouse's method of modal analysis, detailed in the monograph and further developed and applied throughout his career, became a much-discussed technique in the evolving field of archaeological systematics and artifact classification (e.g., Dunnell 1971; Read 1982).

As Willey and Sabloff (1980:100) observed, "Rouse was more conscientiously explicit in describing and explaining all his seriation operations in great detail. No other work in American archaeology up to that time . . . had shown such a self-conscious awareness of archaeological assumptions and procedures."

Alternative to Rouse's method of modal analysis, other researchers in the Caribbean preferred to take a typological approach to pottery classification (e.g., Bullen 1962:2-17; Haag 1965; Sears and Sullivan 1978:11-15). "The pottery type system is designed to show differences in pottery which correlate with differences in either time or space. . . . One would expect that some types would be constant over a wide range of time or distance while others would be much more limited in their distribution" (Bullen 1962:3). It would appear that modal and typological approaches to ceramics are equally valid, as long as each technique is applied consistently and with clear definitions. Sears and Sullivan (1978:14) stated, "There is no theoretical reason why the two approaches can't simultaneously contribute to the reconstruction of culture history." In fact, Rouse (1939:42-56) employed both typological and modal approaches in his original study of Haitian assemblages.

In the same year that *Prehistory in Haiti* was published, W. C. McKern published his influential study in artifact classification, *The Midwestern Taxonomic Method as an Aid to Archaeological Culture Study* (McKern 1939). On the Midwestern method, Rouse observed that the "technique made it possible to formulate static

units of culture . . . and to point out the descriptive relationships between these units. The present [modal analytic] technique, on the other hand, has been used to reconstruct the *history* of certain individual traits of each cultural unit, and thereby to indicate *how the traits changed from unit to unit*" (Rouse 1939:138–139, emphasis added). In this observation, we see the formative interest by Rouse in systematically "inferring population movement from cultural remains" and tracing evolutionary trajectories of production methods within specific classes of material remains (Rouse 1986).

Rouse died in 2006 and he was active in archaeology nearly to the end. Over approximately 65 years of engagement in Caribbean archaeology, Rouse applied the modal-analytic technique, frequently in collaboration with others, and developed and repeatedly refined cultural-historical frameworks at scales ranging from individual islands to groups of islands to the entire Caribbean region, including northern South America (Rouse and Allaire 1978; Rouse and Crucent 1963). It is worth noting a comment made by Rouse in summarizing a Wenner-Gren conference on ceramic studies: "[T]here is a need to convince many anthropologists that ceramic studies extend beyond simple description and classification, and I certainly think that we have succeeded in doing that" (Rouse 1965:274).

Over approximately the past 30 years, modifications and alternatives have been proposed to Rouse's approach to classification of artifacts and assemblages specifically and interpretations of Caribbean pre-Columbian history more generally (reviewed in Siegel 2010a). In a particularly scathing critique, Thomas Patterson (1991:4) observed that Rouse's "hegemonic framework for interpreting the pre-Columbian history of the Antilles . . . is reductionist . . . [and] focuses on the products of observable behavior . . . rather than the social relations, actions, and circumstances that structure and constrain this behavior." Patterson (1991:5) argued that "Rouse's views" inhibited the development and exploration of "the kinds of questions asked by historians concerned with social or political-economic processes—e.g., class or state formation." He promoted other perspectives exemplified by the *modos de vida* and *arqueología social* schools to further alternative approaches to the study of Caribbean pre-Columbian history (Patterson 1991; Veloz Maggiolo 1992).

People did come to the islands at some point before Columbus, and Rouse's interest was in addressing the timing, geographic distributions, and context of multiple migrations (Rouse 1986, 1992). However, an exclusive focus on temporal-geographic models (time-space systematics) was no longer satisfactory for many archaeologists with ever-expanding interests such as the complexities of population dispersals, adaptive strategies, issues of gender, sociopolitical dynamics, class formation, or interregional interactions (e.g., Curet and Hauser 2011; Fitzpatrick and Ross 2010; Hofman et al. 2007; Keegan 2007; Moscoso 1999; Sanoja and Vargas 1983; Siegel 2010b; Sued-Badillo 1989).

Shortly after Rouse (1939) published his landmark study, another milestone in Caribbean archaeology appeared in the literature. Inspiration for much recent research into subsistence economics in the pre-Columbian West Indies stems from Froelich Rainey's (1940) precocious study of the Crab and Shell cultures. Rainey was

interested specifically in cultural systematics and migrations, rather than subsistence patterns per se: "[T]he abrupt change in the type of food refuse substantiates the inference that some time elapsed before the arrival of the immigrating group, since direct contact would undoubtedly result in a carry-over of the food complex, at least for a certain time, before giving away to a gradual change" (Rainey 1940:61). Based on evidence available at the time, Rainey concluded that the Crab culture (now called Saladoid series) originated in lowland South America. Marked distinctions in the assemblages of the Crab and the following Shell cultures (Ostionoid series) indicated to Rainey population replacement rather than in-place development or group interactions, ideas clearly linked to those of Harrington (1921) and Lovén (1935). Similarities in key aspects of the two assemblages suggested to Rainey that the Shell culture also derived from the same South American heartland: "clay griddles, modeled head lugs on the rims of vessels; rectangular and semi-lunar lugs; the relation between boat-shaped and oval bowls; the relation between loop and D-shaped handles; polished stone implements; and the absence of flint tools. . . . The similarities can best be explained by a common source of diffusion rather than by direct contact" (Rainey 1940:182).

It was for later generations of archaeologists to investigate the implications of the crab and shell remains from the explicit perspective of subsistence adaptations. Following Rainey's (1940) study, it is safe to conclude that time-space systematics continued to dominate Caribbean archaeology for at least the next 20 years, with minor exceptions in settlement pattern studies.

CARIBBEAN ARCHAEOLOGY AFTER ABOUT 1960

Trends in Caribbean archaeology after about 1960 can be traced by reviewing the proceedings of the biennial International Association for Caribbean Archaeology (IACA) meetings beginning in 1961. From 1961 to 1983, these conferences were called the International Congress for the Study of the Pre-Columbian Cultures of the Lesser Antilles. Beginning in 1985, the name was changed to the Congress of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology, reflecting the larger regional context for expanding research interests, as well as the importance of historical archaeology. As of 2010, 22 proceedings have been published. I will discuss the proceedings by year of the conference rather than when they were published because of inconsistent lag times between conference and publication dates.

Reviewing the Proceedings through time reveals an increasingly broad range of interests, including time-space systematics, purely descriptive, materialist, symbolic, and explanatory. To assess research trends of investigators working in the Caribbean based on the Proceedings, kinds of studies were tabulated by year. Categories of studies include: time-space systematics, ethnohistory, rock art, ball courts/ceremonial plazas, symbolism/religion, acontextual artifact analyses,

speculation or nonsense, historical overviews or biographical sketches, archaeoastronomy, physical anthropology, ethnographic/ethnoarchaeology, technological/stylistic, artifact function, heritage management/public interpretation, demographic, regional settlement patterns, subsistence, environmental reconstruction/cultural ecology, historical archaeology, sourcing/trade, site structure/settlement organization, and sociopolitical/economic organization/processual (Table 2.1).

Frequently there is considerable overlap between two or more categories. For example, the development of trade-and-exchange networks may be linked to issues of sociopolitical evolution. Or heritage-management studies may be related to a range of other categories. In the interest of characterizing general research trends, each article was classified with a primary focus and in many cases a secondary focus. For instance, a study focusing directly on migrations of people into the Caribbean was placed within the article topic of "time-space systematics" (Article Code TS) for its primary interest. If that study addressed artifact style or technology as a basis for the migration argument, then its secondary interest is characterized by Article Code TC. In a number of cases, articles could only be assigned to a primary focus with no secondary interest. Undoubtedly, there is a certain amount of inter-observer subjectivity in this exercise. An article that I may classify with a primary focus on environmental reconstruction/cultural ecology (Article Code ER) may be considered by someone else to be a prime example of a subsistence study (Article Code SS). My guess is that if closely related article codes were grouped together inter-observer differences would decrease. Further, others might devise alternative classification schemes in characterizing 46 years' worth of archaeological investigations. But then this is true of any taxonomic exercise.

One problem with this analysis is that Caribbeanists publish in more venues than the proceedings of Caribbean conferences. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to identify every publication in Caribbean archaeology since 1960. In total, 952 articles have been published in the Proceedings, ranging from a low of 8 in 1961 to a high of 91 in 2003 (Tables 2.2 and 2.3). Time-space systematics clearly have preoccupied much of the attention of Caribbeanists over the decades, reflected by 27.2 percent and 25.9 percent of the total primary and secondary topics, respectively (Table 2.4; see also Tables 2.5 and 2.6). As a primary topic, time-space systematics (TS) dominated the Proceedings through 1997 (Tables 2.2 and 2.3). In 1999, TS was slightly surpassed by cultural-resources (CR) investigations (15.3 percent, 18.6 percent, respectively; Table 2.3). TS was tied with cultural resources and environmental reconstructions (ER) in 2001, was exceeded by processual studies (PS) in 2003, and was dominated by historical archaeology (HA) as the primary topic in 2005 and 2007 (Tables 2.2 and 2.3). A number of excellent problem-oriented/processual studies in recent years were conducted within the framework of historical archaeology. In these cases, articles were classified as PS for the primary topic and HA for secondary. To help visualize popularity trends, cells in the percentage distribution tables were highlighted that equaled or exceeded 10 percent (Tables 2.3, 2.6, and 2.7).

Table 2.1. Definitions of Article Codes.

Article Code	Article Topic
TS	Time-space systematics/diffusion/migrations/seafaring, including methods of analysis
EH	Ethnohistory, including methods of analysis
RA	Rock art, including methods of analysis
BC	Ball courts, plazas, including methods of analysis
SR	Symbolism/religion, including methods of analysis
AC	Acontextual artifact analysis (typological/descriptive for sake of typology or description but no time-space implications)
SN	Speculation/nonsense
HO	Historical overview, biographical sketch, or obituary
AA	Archaeoastronomy
PA	Physical anthropology, including methods of analysis
EA	Ethnography, ethnoarchaeology, experimental archaeology
TC	Technological/stylistic studies, including methods of analysis
FA	Functional analysis of artifacts, including methods of analysis
CR	Cultural resources/heritage management, heritage legislation, underwater archaeology, public archaeology, public interpretation, museum collections/analysis, data management, artifact conservation
DS	Demographic study, including methods of analysis
SP	Regional settlement patterns, including methods of analysis
SS	Subsistence studies, including methods of analysis
ER	Environmental reconstruction/cultural ecology/adaptation/sea level/paleoshorelines, including methods of analysis
HA	Historical archaeology
SO	Sourcing/trade, including methods of analysis
ST	Site structure/settlement organization, including methods of analysis
PS	Political/social/economic organization/evolution/processual studies/regional interaction/ethnicity, including methods of analysis

Note: All articles published in the *International Congress for the Study of the Pre-Columbian Cultures of the Lesser Antilles* and the *Congress for the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology* were classified by these categories.

Table 2.2. Frequency Distribution of Primary Topics Addressed in the *Proceedings of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology* by Year.

Year	TS	EH	RA	BC	SR	AC	SN	HO	AA	PA	EA	TC	FA	CR	DS	SP	SS	ER	HA	SO	ST	PS	Total
1961	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
1967	11	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	17
1969	10	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
1971	14	1	10	1	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31
1973	15	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	21
1975	29	3	6	0	3	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	47
1977	15	7	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	31
1979	8	8	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	1	4	1	3	2	6	0	0	0	1	43
1981	13	4	3	0	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	5	0	3	1	40
1983	7	1	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	4	1	1	0	2	1	2	0	0	1	0	27
1985	10	4	2	1	1	4	1	2	1	3	1	0	0	3	0	1	1	1	8	0	2	3	49
1987	10	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	1	0	0	2	0	25
1989	17	4	4	1	1	0	0	1	0	5	1	1	0	4	0	2	2	4	10	3	0	5	65
1991	9	6	5	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	4	0	3	1	0	6	2	4	4	2	2	54
1993	10	5	6	1	3	0	1	0	1	2	0	5	0	1	1	0	5	3	5	0	1	3	53
1995	20	2	4	0	3	0	1	2	0	3	0	6	0	6	0	1	6	3	3	1	6	1	68
1997	8	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	4	0	0	1	0	2	1	3	2	25
1999	9	0	4	0	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	2	11	0	3	2	1	4	2	0	8	59
2001	7	0	4	0	4	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	7	0	2	2	7	1	1	3	4	46
2003	11	2	10	0	6	0	0	3	0	4	1	2	1	11	0	4	0	5	9	0	7	15	91
2005	15	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	5	2	8	1	13	0	2	7	0	16	1	3	7	85
2007	4	1	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	4	8	0	0	4	1	14	2	1	2	53
Total	259	54	75	5	39	14	9	13	3	36	10	48	11	82	3	20	46	38	81	16	35	55	952

Note: See Table 2.1 for definitions of the topic codes.

Table 2.3. Percentage Distribution of Primary Topics Addressed in the *Proceedings of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology* by Year.

Year	TS	EH	RA	BC	SR	AC	SN	HO	AA	PA	EA	TC	FA	CR	DS	SP	SS	ER	HA	SO	ST	PS	Total
1961	87.5	12.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
1967	64.7	11.8	0	0	5.9	0	0	0	0	5.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	11.8	0	0	0	0	0	100.1
1969	71.4	0	7.1	0	0	7.1	0	0	0	14.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	99.9
1971	45.2	3.2	32.3	3.2	3.2	6.5	6.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100.1
1973	71.4	4.8	4.8	0	0	9.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.8	0	0	4.8	0	0	0	0	0	100.1
1975	61.7	6.4	12.8	0	6.4	2.1	0	0	0	4.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.1	0	0	2.1	2.1	0	100
1977	48.4	22.6	0	0	0	6.5	0	6.5	0	0	0	3.2	0	6.5	0	0	3.2	0	0	0	0	3.2	100.1
1979	18.6	18.6	2.3	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	2.3	9.3	2.3	9.3	2.3	7	4.7	14	0	0	0	2.3	100
1981	32.5	10	7.5	0	5	0	2.5	2.5	0	2.5	0	7.5	2.5	0	0	0	0	5	12.5	0	7.5	2.5	100
1983	25.9	3.7	11.1	0	0	7.4	0	0	0	3.7	3.7	14.8	3.7	3.7	0	7.4	3.7	7.4	0	0	3.7	0	99.9
1985	20.4	8.2	4.1	2	2	8.2	2	4.1	2	6.1	2	0	0	6.1	0	2	2	2	16.3	0	4.1	6.1	99.7
1987	40	8	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	12	0	0	8	4	0	0	8	0	100
1989	26.2	6.2	6.2	1.5	1.5	0	0	1.5	0	7.7	1.5	1.5	0	6.2	0	3.1	3.1	6.2	15.4	4.6	0	7.7	100.1
1991	16.7	11.1	9.3	1.9	1.9	0	1.9	1	0	1.9	1.9	7.4	0	5.6	1.9	0	11.1	3.7	7.4	7.4	3.7	3.7	99.5
1993	18.9	9.4	11.3	1.9	5.7	0	1.9	0	1.9	3.8	0	9.4	0	1.9	1.9	0	9.4	5.7	9.4	0	1.9	5.7	100.1
1995	29.4	2.9	5.9	0	4.4	0	1.5	2.9	0	4.4	0	8.8	0	8.8	0	1.5	8.8	4.4	4.4	1.5	8.8	1.5	99.9
1997	32	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4	4	0	16	0	0	4	0	8	4	12	8	100
1999	15.3	0	6.8	0	13.6	0	0	0	0	1.7	0	6.8	3.9	18.6	0	5.1	3.4	1.7	6.8	3.4	0	13.6	100.7
2001	15.2	0	8.7	0	8.7	0	0	2.2	0	2.2	0	4.3	0	15.2	0	4.3	4.3	15.2	2.2	2.2	6.5	8.7	99.9
2003	12.1	2.2	11	0	6.6	0	0	3.3	0	4.4	1.1	2.2	1.1	12.1	0	4.4	0	5.5	9.9	0	7.7	16.5	100.1
2005	17.6	0	3.5	0	0	0	2.4	0	0	5.9	2.4	9.4	1.2	15.3	0	2.4	8.2	0	18.8	1.2	3.5	8.2	100
2007	7.5	1.9	11.3	0	1.9	0	0	0	0	1.9	1.9	5.7	7.5	15.1	0	0	7.5	1.9	26.4	3.8	1.9	3.8	100

Note: See Table 2.1 for definitions of the topic codes. Cell values that equal or exceed 10 percent are in bold.

Table 2.4. Percentage Distribution of Primary and Secondary Topics Addressed in the Proceedings of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology for All Years Combined.

	TS	EH	RA	BC	SR	AC	SN	HO	AA	PA	EA	TC	FA	CR	DS	SP	SS	ER	HA	SO	ST	PS	Total
1 ^{0/2}	27.2	5.7	7.9	.5	4.1	1.5	.9	1.4	.3	3.8	1.1	5.0	1.2	8.6	.3	2.1	4.8	4.0	8.5	1.7	3.7	5.8	100.1
2 ⁰	25.9	9.8	.4	.7	8.7	.2	0	1.1	-.4	2.4	1.3	6.2	1.6	4.9	.6	4.2	4.9	3.8	6.9	1.6	4.9	9.5	100

Note: See Table 2.1 for definitions of the topic codes.

By deleting the time-space category, we are able to identify other topics of interest that are otherwise overshadowed (Table 2.7). With the exception of a few years (1969, 1971, 1983), analysis of ethnohistoric data (EH) was a primary focus for many studies through 1993, some of which may have been stimulated by the Columbus Quincentenary. After 1993, EH studies were of ancillary importance. Rock art (RA) studies display a rather consistent pattern of primary interest from the early to mid-1970s and then again from the early 1980s to the present, except for a decrease in 2005 (Table 2.7). A handful of studies from 1969 to 1985 (excluding 1979–1981) were devoted to artifact analyses with no apparent link to a problem or issue (Tables 2.2, 2.3, and 2.7). It is a positive trend that these kinds of acontextual studies (AC) have disappeared from the interests of archaeologists over the past two decades.

Given the ever-increasing awareness of, and funding for, heritage protection and public interpretation over the past 20 plus years, it is no surprise that there is a dramatic and sustained increase in these kinds of studies (CR) from approximately 1987 to the present (Tables 2.2 and 2.3) (Siegel and Righter 2011). The first of the historical archaeological investigations appeared at the 1981 Congress of the Pre-Columbian Cultures of the Lesser Antilles. From 1985, there was a sustained presence of historical archaeological studies published in the Proceedings with the exception of 1987. Similar trends are apparent for the interests in site structure/settlement organization, subsistence, environmental reconstruction, and processual studies (Tables 2.2, 2.3, 2.6, and 2.7).

In discussing Rainey's work earlier, I suggested that his focus on crab and shell remains was more for interests in culture history than subsistence adaptations. By the 1960s, explicit interests in paleodiet and cultural ecology had developed and in doing so archaeologists realized that it was critical "to look in more detail at other quantifiable features of the midden and their faunal material" (Jones 1989:47). Largely following the lead of Elizabeth Wing, an explosion of detailed ethno-biological studies beginning in the 1960s did just that. In addition to faunal remains, other lines of evidence were marshaled to fill in the picture of subsistence trends, including archaeobotany (initially macroremains and later microremains), human skeletal isotope analysis, human osteology/bioarchaeology, and paleoecology (see Cooper; Crespo-Torres; deFrance; Lafoon; Pagán Jiménez; Pestle, this volume). As subsistence studies became increasingly sophisticated, appropriate analytical techniques and fine-grained recovery methods were incorporated into projects, including flotation, residue analysis, isotope studies, and use-wear/functional/technological analyses (Hofman et al. 2008).

A major trend in Caribbean archaeology, commencing in the early 1980s was in the explicit interest in the formation of complex society. As in other world areas, Caribbean archaeologists frequently begin their analysis of complex society with a discussion of the late pre-Hispanic/protohistoric/contact-period complex social formations (chiefdoms) and then attempt to trace the preceding evolutionary history. As such, most of these examinations into the evolution of complex social formations have concentrated on the Greater Antilles, where ethnohistoric accounts and dramatic archaeological remains in the form of ball courts or civic-ceremonial

Table 2.5. Frequency Distribution of Secondary Topics Addressed in the *Proceedings of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology* by Year.

Year	TS	EH	RA	BC	SR	AC	SN	HO	AA	PA	EA	TC	FA	CR	DS	SP	SS	ER	HA	SO	ST	PS	Total
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1967	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
1969	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1971	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	7
1973	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	6
1975	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	6
1977	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
1979	4	2	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	2	4	4	0	0	0	0	25
1981	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	15
1983	7	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	20
1985	4	5	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	4	2	2	1	3	2	30
1987	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	10
1989	11	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	3	2	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	6	34
1991	11	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	2	0	0	2	1	2	1	1	4	32
1993	15	5	0	1	5	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	2	0	4	38
1995	13	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	3	0	0	3	2	3	2	0	3	5	43
1997	6	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	4	0	0	1	0	4	0	1	2	23
1999	17	3	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	2	2	3	0	2	0	1	1	3	5	0	2	2	46
2001	11	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	3	4	30
2003	10	14	1	0	9	0	0	2	0	4	0	4	2	4	1	2	1	1	8	1	5	6	75
2005	13	1	0	1	3	0	0	2	0	1	0	9	1	4	0	5	1	6	4	3	4	8	66
2007	4	3	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	3	0	4	1	0	4	0	2	7	35
Total	142	54	2	4	48	1	0	6	2	13	7	34	9	27	3	23	27	21	38	9	27	52	549

Note: See Table 2.1 for definitions of the topic codes.

Table 2.6. Percentage Distribution of Secondary Topics Addressed in the *Proceedings of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology* by Year.

Year	TS	EH	RA	BC	SR	AC	SN	HO	AA	PA	EA	TC	FA	CR	DS	SP	SS	ER	HA	SO	ST	PS	Total
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1967	33.3	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	99.9
1969	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1971	42.9	0	0	0	42.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14.2	0	0	0	0	0	100
1973	0	0	0	0	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16.7	0	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	100
1975	50	0	0	0	16.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	100
1977	40	40	0	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
1979	16	8	0	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	8	4	8	16	16	0	0	0	0	100
1981	20	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13.3	13.3	0	0	0	0	6.7	0	0	0	0	13.3	99.9
1983	35	30	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	5	0	5	0	10	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	100
1985	13.3	16.7	0	0	6.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.3	3.3	3.3	6.7	13.3	6.7	6.7	3.3	10	6.7	100
1987	40	10	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	0	0	0	10	0	0	100
1989	32.4	2.9	0	0	2.9	2.9	0	2.9	0	8.8	5.9	8.8	0	2.9	0	0	2.9	0	0	0	8.8	17.7	99.8
1991	34.4	3.1	0	0	9.4	0	0	0	0	3.1	0	9.4	0	6.3	0	0	6.3	3.1	6.3	3.1	3.1	12.5	100.1
1993	39.5	13.2	0	2.6	13.2	0	0	0	2.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.6	2.6	7.9	5.3	0	10.5	100
1995	30.2	4.7	0	2.3	4.7	0	0	0	0	0	2.3	7	7	0	0	7	4.7	7	4.7	0	7	11.6	100.2
1997	26.1	0	4.3	0	4.3	0	0	0	0	4.3	0	8.7	0	17.4	0	0	4.3	0	17.4	0	4.3	8.7	99.8
1999	37	6.5	0	0	4.3	0	0	2.2	0	4.3	4.3	6.5	0	4.3	0	2.2	2.2	6.5	10.9	0	4.3	4.3	99.8
2001	36.7	6.7	0	3.3	3.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	3.3	0	0	13.3	0	10	13.3	99.9
2003	13.3	18.7	1.3	0	12	0	0	2.7	0	5.3	0	5.3	2.7	5.3	1.3	2.7	1.3	1.3	10.7	1.3	6.7	8	99.9
2005	19.7	1.5	0	1.5	4.5	0	0	3	0	1.5	0	13.6	1.5	6.1	0	7.6	1.5	9.1	6.1	4.5	6.1	12.1	99.9
2007	11.4	8.6	0	0	11.4	0	0	0	2.9	0	0	2.9	2.9	8.6	0	11.4	2.9	0	11.4	0	5.7	20	100.1

Note: See Table 2.1 for definitions of the topic codes. Cell values that equal or exceed 10 percent are in bold.

Table 2.7. Percentage Distribution of Primary Topics Excluding Time-Space Systematics Addressed in the *Proceedings of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology* by Year.

Year	EH	RA	BC	SR	AC	SN	HO	AA	PA	EA	TC	FA	CR	DS	SP	SS	ER	HA	SO	ST	PS	Total
1961	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
1967	33.3	0	0	16.7	0	0	16.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	100
1969	0	25	0	0	25	0	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
1971	5.9	58.8	5.9	5.9	11.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100.1
1973	16.7	16.7	0	0	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	16.7	0	0	0	16.7	0	0	0	0	0	100.1
1975	16.7	33.3	0	16.7	5.6	0	0	11.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5.6	0	0	5.6	5.6	0	100.2
1977	43.8	0	0	0	12.5	0	12.5	0	0	0	6.3	0	12.5	0	0	6.3	0	0	0	0	0	63 100.2
1979	22.9	2.9	0	8.6	0	0	0	2.9	11.4	2.8	11.4	2.9	8.6	5.7	17.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.9 100.1
1981	14.8	11.1	0	7.4	0	3.7	3.7	0	3.7	0	11.1	3.7	0	0	0	0	7.4	18.5	0	11.1	3.7	99.9
1983	5	15	0	0	10	0	0	5	5	20	5	5	5	10	5	10	0	0	0	5	0	100
1985	10.3	5.1	2.6	2.6	10.3	2.6	5.1	2.6	7.7	2.6	0	0	7.7	0	2.6	2.6	2.6	20.5	0	5.1	7.7	100.3
1987	13.3	6.7	0	6.7	0	0	0	0	20	0	0	0	20	0	0	13.3	6.7	0	0	13.3	0	100
1989	8.3	8.3	2.1	2.1	0	0	2.1	0	10.4	2.1	2.1	0	8.3	0	4.2	4.2	8.3	20.8	6.3	0	10.4	100
1991	13.3	11.1	2.2	2.2	0	2.2	2.2	0	2.2	2.2	8.9	0	6.7	2.2	0	13.3	4.4	8.9	8.9	4.4	4.4	99.7
1993	11.6	14	2.3	7	0	2.3	0	2.3	4.7	0	11.6	0	2.3	2.3	0	11.6	7	11.6	0	2.3	7	99.9
1995	4.2	8.3	0	6.3	0	2.1	4.2	0	6.3	0	12.5	0	12.5	0	2.1	12.5	6.3	6.3	2.1	12.5	2.1	100.3
1997	0	5.9	0	0	0	0	0	5.9	0	5.9	5.9	0	23.5	0	0	5.9	0	11.8	5.9	17.6	11.8	100.1
1999	0	8	0	16	0	0	0	0	2	0	8	4	22	0	6	4	2	8	4	0	16	100
2001	0	10.3	0	10.3	0	0	2.6	0	2.6	0	5.1	0	17.9	0	5.1	5.1	17.9	2.6	2.6	7.7	10.3	100.1
2003	2.5	12.5	0	7.5	0	0	3.8	0	5	1.3	2.5	1.3	13.8	0	5	0	6.3	11.3	0	8.8	18.8	100.4
2005	0	4.3	0	0	0	2.9	0	0	7.1	2.9	11.4	1.4	18.6	0	2.9	10	0	22.9	1.4	4.3	10	100.1
2007	2	12.2	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	6.1	8.2	16.3	0	0	8.2	2	28.6	4.1	2	4.1	99.8

Note: See Table 2.1 for definitions of the topic codes. Cell values that equal or exceed 10 percent are in bold.

plazas suggest the presence of chiefly societies (Alegria 1983; Curet and Stringer 2010; Oliver 2009; Ortega et al. 1976; Peguero Guzmán 2001; Rouse 1992; Siegel 2010b; Wilson 1990; Torres, this volume). Recently, archaeologists have been addressing the competitive aspects of Caribbean chiefdoms and implications for geographic expansion (Crock and Petersen 2004; Hofman et al. 2007; Hoogland 1996; Siegel 2004, 2011). In so doing, it is becoming clear that Rouse's (1992) notion of the "Classic Taino" cannot be so neatly compartmentalized to the Greater Antilles (Keegan, this volume).

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE CURRENT STATUS OF CARIBBEAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Over about the past 25 years, Caribbean archaeologists have been addressing the broad range of topics defined in Table 2.1, with the fortunate exceptions of acontextual studies (AC) and pure nonsense (SN). Refinements to time-space systematics continue to be made as new analytical techniques are developed and data are obtained (e.g., Barse 2009; Chanlatte Baik and Narganes Storde 2002; Fitzpatrick 2006; Gutiérrez and Rodríguez 2009; Hardy 2009; Rodríguez Ramos et al. 2008). In this regard, more nuanced considerations of human dispersal patterns into the islands from the surrounding mainland and interisland/interregional interactions are being entertained (Callaghan 2003; Fitzpatrick and Ross 2010; Hofman and Bright 2010; Hofman et al. 2007).

One of the major tenets of Caribbean archaeology has been recently challenged; that is, the Saladoid cultural series did not in fact originate in lowland South America but evolved in the Caribbean islands and later settled South America (Fitzpatrick 2009). This hypothesis will generate further well-controlled excavations of appropriate sites, reanalysis of existing collections, and careful scrutiny of radiocarbon dates that previously had been discounted on the basis of being too old (Fitzpatrick et al. 2010). Based on radiocarbon dates and stratigraphic analysis in the Orinoco, Saladoid deposits in that region have been dated to approximately 2100 B.C. (Roosevelt 1980:193-196, Table 15; Rouse and Allaire 1978:Table 13.1). Rouse did present two identical early dates from a Saladoid deposit excavated in the Indian Creek site, Antigua: 2785+/-80 B.P. (I-7830 and I-7842, both charcoal; cal 1191-801 B.C., 2 sigmas) (Rouse 1976:Table 1). If these two dates accurately reflect an early Saladoid presence in the islands, we may need to revisit currently accepted ideas for the dispersal and timing of early Neolithic groups from South America.

Mario Sanoja Obediente and Iraidá Vargas Arenas have long argued that Rouse and his colleagues overestimated the antiquity of Saladoid in the Orinoco Valley. Sanoja and Vargas suggested that a more reasonable beginning date for Saladoid in the Orinoco is approximately 650 B.C., although Barse recently argued for a "first

millennium AD" date for the Ronquín cultural complex (early Saladoid) (Barse 2009:96; Sanoja Obediente 1979; Vargas Arenas 1979:447–448). The long-standing debate over the long vs. short chronologies in Orinoco Valley Ceramic Age antiquity continues now with direct implications for interpreting West Indian cultural history and social dynamics.

Another alternative hypothesis for Caribbean time-space systematics relates to the pre-Arawak Archaic basis for the protohistoric/contact-period complex chiefdoms (or *cacicazgos*) of the Greater Antilles (Chanlatte Baik and Narganes Storde 2002, 2005; Keegan 2006; Rodríguez Ramos 2010). A number of researchers are suggesting that interactions between Archaic and Saladoid cultures were considerably more dynamic than previously thought. It has been suggested, too, that post-Saladoid, or Ostionoid, cultural patterns (ca. A.D. 600/700) evolved directly from Archaic pottery producers on Hispaniola and subsequently populated Puerto Rico and other islands (Keegan 2006). The potential social, political, and economic products of dynamic interactions between what were once thought to be rather disparate groups of people may have been crucial to the development of the later pre-Hispanic complex chiefly polities.

Recently, there has been renewed interest in the culture-area concept in Caribbean archaeology as it relates specifically to interregional connections (Hofman et al. 2010). As such, ideas proposed by Steward in framing the *Handbook of South American Indians* become relevant in the context of fresh approaches to viewing the context, nature, and geographic extent of regional interactions (Siegel 2010a).

In discussing the core-and-boundary aspects of culture areas, Lightfoot and Martinez cautioned that large macroscale "models of core-periphery relationships tend to marginalize the critical role that colonial-indigenous interactions can play in cultural transformations . . . [in addition to promoting] expectations . . . of relatively homogeneous groups divided by sharp boundaries as depicted in ethnographic maps of tribal areas and colonial territories." They "emphasize[d] . . . a more balanced perspective . . . one that employs *multi-scalar approaches of both space and time* that enable us to address not only macroscale issues, but also microscale issues" (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:475, 487, emphasis added). "Multi-scalar approaches of both space and time" are precisely what Rouse devoted much of his career to, although as outlined by others in this volume there are competing perspectives on appropriate scales of analysis and interpretations of "both space and time."

The work of Corinne L. Hofman and her colleagues is providing data-based views on interisland and interregional networks of exchange and interaction (Hofman and Bright 2010; Hofman et al. 2007; also Curet and Hauser 2011). By taking a diachronic perspective on exchange and interaction, Hofman et al. (2007) are looking beyond "cores" and "boundaries" of culture areas. From an archaeological standpoint, emphasizing culture areas and thus boundaries may divert our efforts to address underlying social, economic, and political processes through time. Hofman et al. (2007) prepared a series of five maps of the Caribbean spanning the Ceramic Age (ca. 400 B.C.–A.D. 1492). As a group, these maps track changes in exchange networks and style zones over about 2,000 years of pre-Columbian history. Clearly,

the Caribbean was in the past and continues today to be a region of constantly shifting boundaries, centers of gravity, and culturally relevant geographic scales of interaction. The five maps are snapshots of Caribbean pre-Columbian history, each representing hundreds of years. One of the challenges in current Caribbean archaeology is to make explicit efforts in refining time-space systematics so that we can plausibly generate more maps with narrower time ranges (Fitzpatrick 2006; Hofman and Hoogland 2010; Altes, this volume). In doing so, we will produce ever more refined models of evolutionary change that take into consideration underlying processes like reasons for interactions and alliance networks, issues of identity, competitive feuding, class and power, expanding and contracting polities, and shifting scales of geopolitical dynamics (Ensor; Mol; Morsink, this volume). The culture-area concept may be useful for large hemispheric-based textbooks or handbooks, but it is less useful for the close investigation of trajectories of change within regions and across boundaries.

Another benefit of taking the socially informed perspective of Hofman et al. (2007) to the "rhythms" of pre-Columbian Caribbean life is that we potentially move beyond ideas of distinct monolithic migration waves of many people moving en masse across large expanses of space. Humans are social creatures and generally we do like the company of others. However, individual people, small task groups, sets of age-grade initiates, larger kin groups, entire communities, and so on, may make calculated decisions, as appropriate, based on a range of considerations (see also Torres, this volume). The shifting cultural and social contexts and historical perspectives of people through time are important to keep in mind as we consider appropriate scales of analysis, regional interactions, and mobility and exchange patterns (Hofman et al. 2007; Keegan 2007).

In terms of the social context of Caribbean people, an increasingly important issue archaeologists are addressing relates to the identification of cultural diversity (Curet 2003; Keegan 2007). Samuel Wilson (1993:37) "argued that before European contact, as has been the case since European conquest, the Caribbean archipelago was probably more ethnically and linguistically diverse than is usually assumed." Perhaps one of the negative outcomes of Rouse's cultural-historical framework (or any cultural-historical framework) is that archaeologists might mistakenly assume cultural uniformity at one or more levels of the taxonomic hierarchy (complex, subseries, series).

The degree of cultural uniformity, or lack thereof, has recently become an issue in the study of Taíno culture and was the subject of a symposium organized by Antonio Curet, Daniel Torres-Etayo, and John Crock (2008). In his review of the term and concept, José Oliver observed that the "term Taíno . . . began as a colonial construction and has, since its inception in the 19th century, undergone many significant conceptual and definitional changes. . . . The Taíno and Classic Taíno classificatory categories simply hide far too much social, economic, political, cultural and material variability to reflect 'ethnic' and 'cultural' types" (Oliver and Rivera Fontán 2007:section 7:13). There is no uniform sameness of "Taínoness" wherever we identify Chican Ostionoid assemblages and in the ethnohistoric

accounts. To the contrary, there is variation in the material products of culture (ceramics to community plans to regional distributions of settlements) and how ideas and beliefs are expressed. Archaeologists studying Mississippian chiefdoms in eastern North America have addressed the same issue:

[T]he nature of Mississippian community organization is highly varied . . . [in how they] used space, the nature of their settlement distribution, the social and political structure and makeup of communities, and even their economic behavior. The paradigm of a singular Mississippian world gives way on closer inspection to a fluid, regionally distinct, and particularistic group of settlements incorporated through local historical contexts and linked through shared cultural tendencies . . . Variation is locally significant and regionally extensive. The diversity of Mississippian community organization emphasizes the historical circumstances that gird these developments. Despite the magnitude of variation that existed in these communities . . . thematic unity is evident and too obvious to dismiss. Local context cannot be separated from regional context. (Kidder 1998:123–124)

From his perspective in Mississippian archaeology, V. James Knight, Jr. (personal communication, 2011) noted: “[T]he ethnohistoric record is absolutely essential to learning much of anything about the prehistoric past. The problem arises when one uses ethnographically derived names (Taíno, Arawakan, Guanahatabey, etc.) as prehistoric units of analysis. To do so, assumes a lack of spatial or chronological disjunction of cultural features that, for me, are an empirical problem to be solved, not assumed.” Issues of Taíno and Chican Ostionoid identity—and variability in the ethnohistoric and archaeological records—relate to larger bodies of social theory concerning intra- and intercultural diversity, ranging in manifestation “from personality traits and value orientations to various kinds of directly observed behavior . . . [and which] underscore the evidence of heterogeneity of behavior” (Pelto and Pelto 1975:3, 5).

In the Caribbean, we do have distinctive styles of pottery with geographic distributions, which crosscut other aspects of [material] cultural variation. Rather than pigeonholing an ethnohistoric construct onto an archaeological complex wherever it is identified, Caribbeanists are finding that it is more appropriate to address sociocultural dimensions and underlying social dynamics, including regional interaction, trade and exchange, population expansion or contraction, political integration, competitive feuding, among others. In their Batayes de Viví project on Puerto Rico, Oliver and Rivera Fontán suggested that distinctive “iconographic themes” may be identified in rock art across *batey* (ball court) sites “dating to the same late period,” perhaps “evidence against a centralized power or authority” (Oliver and Rivera Fontán 2007:section 8:65). Oliver and Rivera Fontán’s observations may further support hypotheses of competitive chiefly polities materially expressed in distinct iconographic themes.

This leads me to my final observation about the “social and cultural milieu” (Trigger 1989:4) of current debates in Caribbean archaeology and “the

interconnectedness and interdependency of political ideology, cultural climate, social context, and archaeological practice” (Berman et al. 2005:41). These issues are now providing a “political context within which Caribbean archaeology is being performed today” (Rodríguez Ramos 2010:xii). Rodríguez Ramos (2010a:1) argued that “the colonialist template . . . [has] arrest[ed] . . . the rise of an ‘indigenous archaeology’ on the island” of Puerto Rico (see also Sued-Badillo 1992). One response to the “colonialist template” has been for indigenous archaeologists to identify alternative models in interpreting the past and to reject normative overly classificatory approaches to the archaeological record. Further, residents of the Caribbean are actively incorporating into their lives aspects of local heritage and “iconic image[s]” from the past “in their search for a national root and identity” (Oliver 2005:281; see also Siegel and Righter 2011; Laguer Diaz, this volume).

CONCLUSIONS

From the nineteenth century to the present, distinctive themes are evident in Caribbean archaeology, ranging from delineations of culture areas, timing and routes of entry of one or many groups of people from the mainland to the islands and vice versa, subsistence adaptations, variable degrees of group interactions within and across different-sized regions, sociopolitical evolution, class formation and inequality, gender and identity, and expanding domains of the past to be included within the enterprise of archaeology. Prior to the mid-1970s, there was an almost exclusive focus on the pre-Columbian past. Over the last 30 years, historical archaeology has become a major area of research with increasingly sophisticated studies of culture process, ethnicity, and resistance. Likewise, the expanding awareness of the fragility and importance of heritage resources in the face of development pressures has resulted in an explosion of heritage-management investigations. In recent years, a growing body of indigenous voices in Caribbean archaeology is expressing disdain for and resistance to the hegemony of colonialist interpretations of Caribbean pre-Columbian history. As such, new historical frameworks and visions of past social dynamics have become centers of active scholarship in Caribbean archaeology.

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CHAPTER 3

THE CLIMATIC CONTEXT FOR PRE-COLUMBIAN ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE CARIBBEAN

JAGO COOPER

In recent years, the world's climate systems have been the subject of some fierce debate and intensive research. In the Caribbean, the Caribbean Community Secretariat (CARICOM) considers that "global climate change is the most serious threat to sustainable development facing CARICOM states" (Caribbean Community Climate Change Centre 2009:6). However, this vulnerability to climatic conditions, and their variability, is nothing new for people living in the Caribbean. Therefore, if archaeological research is to be conducted into pre-Columbian populations successfully, it is important to understand how the impacts of past climate change affected the lifeways of past peoples.

This chapter will provide a brief overview of Caribbean climate and a look at climatic variability during the Holocene. This will be done by contextualizing the Caribbean within the global climate system and investigating how global climate events, such as the movement of the Inter Tropical Convergence Zone and cryospheric instability, would have impacted the Caribbean. This research will utilize the wide range of recent research focused on the North Atlantic Climate Systems to establish the variability and impact of Caribbean climate change driven by