PREHISTORIC CULTURES OF CUBA

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IN RECENT years a considerable amount of archaeological research has contributed to our knowledge of the Antilles. Especially valuable in this field are the numerous works of Osgood,[1] Rouse,[2] and Rainey,[3] all of the Peabody Museum of Yale University, whose valuable investigations and excellent monographs have brought new life to the archaeology of the Antilles.

Nevertheless, much remains to be done, and important discoveries relating to Antillean problems will probably yet be made. Cultural relationships between the Antilles and the two adjacent continents constitute one of the primary historical problems of great importance. The affiliations of the Antillean cultures cannot be established until the archaeology of such points of possible contact as Venezuela, Yucatan, and Florida is more fully known.[4] Data on the Floridian peoples and their cultures have been particularly scant, but recently evidence has been accumulating in support of the view that there were prehistoric contacts between the Antilles and the United States and Mexico. Something of the archaeology of Venezuela is also beginning to be known from the work of the Peabody Museum in that country. Trading connections existed between Yucatan and Cuba, but the diffusion of cultures seems to have been negligible.

Furthermore, in order for the archaeology of Cuba to be completely known we must establish its natural connections with the other Antillean islands by studying the distribution of the cultural traits within carefully defined geographical areas. Unfortunately, it is difficult to obtain evidence of radiating diffusion in the Antilles because they are a chain of islands rather than a single land mass.

Fundamentally, there are two well-defined cultural horizons in the Antilles; the first an archaic one lacking ceramics and agriculture and with implements of shell or stone made in a paleolithic technology, the second marked by agriculture and ceramics and some polished stone artifacts. Of course, it must be taken into account that these primitive horizons cannot have come into existence at specific historic moments but, on the contrary, must have developed continuously over many years and possibly some centuries, as is shown by the differences found in the horizons.

[1] Osgood, 1942*a*, 1942*b*, 1943; Osgood and Howard, 1943.
[2] Rouse, 1937, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942.
[3] Rainey, 1935, 1941. [4] Gower, 1927.

ARCHAIC CULTURE OF THE ANTILLES

The earliest migration must have been small in size and its progress must have been very slow on account of the means of transportation available to the men of the archaic culture. Only by jumping from island to island, we may say, did the migrants finally reach Cuba.

The first settlers of Cuba brought the knowledge of fire and the ability to produce it, a rough and very primitive shell culture, utensils of natural stones, and also, it is speculated, a rudimentary system of religious beliefs founded on magic and dread of or respect for the dead.

The first groups of people must have been intensely influenced by external factors, such as the climate, their geographic position, and the structure of the land. These shaped their economic action, limiting their diet to products easily acquired locally and affecting their division of work in the search for food. Local resources without any doubt were predominant in the physical and moral life of the individual and of his incipient communities.

Their dependence on food which could be simply collected along sheltered coasts and in shallow waters bound the Indians to the shore and forced them to move as the food supply in any sector became exhausted. This dependence upon an unstable food supply fixed in the habits of the people, as a stamp of rudimentary culture, a seminomadism that provided them only with a greater liberty of movement.

All of the other geographic elements combined with the organic resources of the various Antillean islands to make the first occupant a true "shore-man," a collector of the products of the sea more than a fisherman or a hunter, although he did not disdain easily captured animals such as the Cuban ground sloths (*Megalocnus*) of the Pleistocene, the remains of which often appear in the sites of this primitive man with handiworks of his rudimentary culture (Pl. II, *a*).

In the time scale established by Rouse[5] for Puerto Rico and Haiti, this archaic culture has been assigned to Period I. Not only does the archaic culture lack ceramics and agriculture, but it also has other primitive characteristics: the small size of the groups, their collecting economy and seminomadic life, and their custom of living at camp sites in open country resulted in an absence of permanent villages; the paleolithic techniques which they employed produced easily recognizable artifacts.

The distribution of this archaic culture during Period I in the Antilles includes Cuba, the Haitian part of the island of Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. Thus far, the culture that characterizes this period has not been found in the Bahama Islands, the Santo Domingan part of Hispaniola, Jamaica, or the Lesser Antilles, although several of its traits have appeared on the coastal plain of the Venezuelan province of Barcelona.[6]

The characteristics of this culture may be summarized as follows:

1. Camp sites in the open; these consist of small shell middens on or near the coast.
2. The contents of the shell middens always consist of shells, bones of animals, and remains of fish—that is to say, actual remains of food—together with implements and other objects of the people's industry.
3. The technology was paleolithic, in lithic material or in shell. Also found in the middens are fragments of ochre or hematite, used for red paint, and limonite, for yellow paint.

In the Antilles, during Period I, we can establish two cultural areas—a western one that comprises Cuba and Haiti, and an eastern area that comprises Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. They are so different that they can be considered to have distinct origins, the first in Florida, the second on the coast of South America.

The Guanajatabey of Cuba

We have named the natives who were in possession of this archaic culture in Cuba "Guanajatabey," a term used in the old chronicles of the conquest of Cuba by Oviedo, Herrera, Las Casas, and Pedro Martyr de Anglería, as well as in documents of the epoch, to refer to the sylvatic Indians who occupied the extreme western parts of the provinces of Pinar del Río in Cuba and of Guacayarima in Haiti at the time of the discovery and conquest.

Father Las Casas[7] described the Guanajatabey as follows: "Some Indians at the end of Cuba, who are like savages, that in no way treated with those of the island (Cuba), nor they have houses, they are continuously in caves, unless when they go out to fish." Diego Velázquez,[8] when he informed the King of Spain in 1511 of the conquest of Cuba, said, "There are two Provinces in the western part of Cuba, and one of these is called Guaniguanico, the other, Guanahabibes. The latter is situated at the western extremity, where the natives lived as savages, having neither houses nor farms, subsisting on game, captured in the mountains, or on turtles and fishes."

These accounts, and the report made by Columbus during his second voyage along the southern coast of Cuba, lead us to apply the name Guanajatabey to the archaic Indians, whose language, the "Lucayo," Columbus' interpreter Diego could not understand. Guanajatabey is the proper name for those Indians rather than Ciboney, the name erroneously given to them by Harrington.[9]

The Guanajatabey culture cannot be homogeneous nor uniform in time and space, precisely because of its archaic character. It is very old in Cuban territory. Its distribution over the whole sea shore, in places where food is available for gathering, is well demonstrated. Association of Guanajatabey remains with bones of animals belonging to the Pleistocene fauna, extinct at the time of the discovery, such as the *Megalocnus*, *Nesophantes micrus*, *Boromys*, and other smaller species has been frequently noted. This association demonstrates the great antiquity of the culture.

The Cuban Guanajatabey culture as a whole embraces three distinctive aspects which, in order of antiquity and in terms of principal places of occurrence, can be listed as:

1. Guayabo Blanco (Cienaga de Zapata, Santa Clara).
2. Cayo Redondo (Guanacahabibes Peninsula, Pinar del Río).
3. Maniabón, Banes, Oriente, and many other places.

Culture of Guayabo Blanco.—The objects and implements of this aspect, the most archaic of all, were found principally in the "funerary mound" of Guayabo Blanco by the writer in 1913 and comprise an industry typically of shells—gouges, cups, tips, and plates.[10] With

[5] Rouse, 1939, 1942. [6] Osgood, and Howard, 1943.
[7] Las Casas, 1909. [8] Navarrete, 1825–1837. [9] Harrington, 1921.
[10] Cosculluela, 1918.

the exception of a very small amount of rough lithic material, such as hammers composed of natural stones of sufficient weight and volume for man's purpose, the implements were all made from shells, especially from those of the conch *Strombus gigas* (Pl. II, *b*).

Culture of Cayo Redondo.—A more evolved aspect of the Guanajatabey culture was discovered by Professor Osgood in 1941 at the place of residence of the Guanajatabey during the Ciboney and Taino epochs.[11] Objects and implements shown on Plate II, *c* and *d* are characteristic of this culture.

The specimens of stone are numerous: picks, hammer-grinder, polishing stone, mortars, milling stones, sharpening stone, stone balls, hand ax, and a ceremonial stone. Among them, the most notable is the ceremonial stone, shown on Plate II, *d*. This has two ear-like protuberances, and resembles similar objects found in the Lesser Antilles and subsequently discovered by several investigators in other parts of Cuba, within the area of distribution of the Guanajatabey culture.

Although Osgood's collection from Cayo Redondo includes some shell tools, like the typical gouge, the greater number of the industrial implements were made of stone, in contrast to the situation in the Guayabo Blanco aspect.

Culture of Maniabón (Banes).—In the year 1941, Rouse located a great number of camp sites of the Cuban Guanajatabey along the sea shore of Oriente Province. In content these shell middens are very similar to those found by Harrington.[12] According to Rouse, camp sites in the open have an interesting distribution. All are on the coast. With the exception of one site on the peninsula of Ramón and two on the bay of Manatí, they are concentrated in a small area in the north-central part of the Maniabón Hills. Six are clustered around an inlet. It is noteworthy that the sites clustered together are extremely close, never more than 150 meters apart.[13]

Pieces of flint are the commonest materials at the sites found by Rouse; traces of ochre, probably used for paint, have been found in two places, and pieces of coral, the shapes of which suggest rasps, in six. There are fifteen hammerstones, the majority of which are irregular pebbles. A hammer-grinder, stone balls, a hand ax, and an undrilled pendant of a simple type complete the list of stone artifacts. The remaining objects are of conch shell and include gouges, blades, lip, plates, and tips, but the relative rarity of gouges and the absence of cups is surprising.

[11] Osgood, 1942*a*. [12] Harrington, 1921.
[13] Rouse, 1942, p. 131.

Differences in the three aspects of the Cuban Guanajatabey

It is logical to assume that the three aspects of the Cuban Guanajatabey culture were not contemporary; on the contrary, one must have succeeded the other. When studied in detail, each one can be assigned on the basis of its characteristics to a certain time or epoch.

The culture of Guayabo Blanco is typically a culture of shell; the man who possessed it could not use stone as the material for his implements, for it was more difficult to work than was shell. The cultures of Cayo Redondo and Maniabón, which followed, are typical lithic cultures, since implements of stone predominate and there are very few artifacts of conch. This fact represents, indeed, a cultural progress which modern man cannot duly appreciate. The stone implements of Cayo Redondo are very crude, without any artistic sense. Only a rudimentary principle of symmetry can be found in them, but they are becoming better in Maniabón.

In the culture of Guayabo Blanco there cannot be found any stone balls, stone hand axes, mortars, grinders, or picks; that is to say, all the instruments necessary to work stone are absent. Thus, it is a typical shell culture. Cayo Redondo and Maniabón represent a more advanced aspect of the same culture, although not with the development in the stone industry that came about in Haiti and which is described below.

Objects of personal ornamentation, like beads, appeared principally in the last aspect of Maniabón. There are also stone balls, perhaps of ceremonial significance, in both the Cayo Redondo and Maniabón cultures, but they are absent in Guayabo Blanco, the most archaic of them all.

The existence of paint indicates possibilities beyond the basic pattern of covering surfaces, especially in woods. The baton of wood found by Harrington in Lake Malpoton in Pinar del Río and illustrated in Plate II, *e*, is one of the few recorded examples of the decorative art of the more primitive people which might have

been painted.[14] The presence of red and yellow paint in the sites points to its use for coloring the face or body as personal adornment.

At Cayo Redondo nothing was recovered to indicate that the people had acquired artifacts from other people. In other words, no trade could be demonstrated.

In cultures similar to Maniabón at the camp site of Monte Cristo, described by Harrington,[15] are some specimens of flint more elaborate than those of Cayo Redondo; a knife, a scraper, and a tip of an arrow reveal the progress in the lithic industry of the Guanajatabey in Cuba. There is also a very good shell ax of almond shape from the Loma del Rizo.

Relations with Haiti

In Haiti, the excavations of Rainey and Rouse[16] have revealed the existence of a somewhat more advanced culture, the Courí, which is characterized principally by three types of flint artifacts—daggers, knives, and scrapers. The typical shell gouge of the Cuban Guanajatabey does not appear; substituted for it is the stone hatchet. The reason that the Courí culture is much more advanced than that of Cuba is simple; the Cuban Guanajatabey lived for centuries alone, isolated without any exterior contact, as is demonstrated by the absence of intrusive forms among their implements and utilitarian objects, while the Haitians maintained a continuous trade with the peoples who occupied the chain of smaller islands connecting their homeland with the coast of Venezuela and South America.

The Archaic Man of Guayabo Blanco

The mound burials at Guayabo Blanco provide information on the people who possessed the most primitive culture of Cuba, showing that they had somatic characteristics, as well as cultural features, which distinguish them from the peaceful Arawak who in Period III invaded the Antilles. The Guanajatabey culture is very old in Cuba, but evidence of the occupation of the island before the Christian era is very uncertain.

Head deformation was not practiced by the Guanajatabey, as Plate II *f* shows. The skull was normal, sub-brachycephalic in form, and very massive, with great facial development and a very pronounced lower jaw; all this indicates a man of considerable height and a strong and healthy constitution, as might be expected in view of his phosphate-rich diet of molluscs.

All of the skulls have certain very prominent and conspicuous characteristics which give them a pronounced individuality; they are very massive and the bony matter is extremely dense. None of the skulls are of individuals who had lived to very old age.

Survival of the Guanajatabey in Cuba

The Spanish conquerors found the Cuban Guanajatabey in the western parts of the island, where they had taken refuge at the beginning of Ciboney hegemony. During the whole of Period II in the Antilles, marked by the appearance of ceramics in Puerto Rico with the culture that Rainey called "Crab Culture,"[17] the Guanajatabey had continued their tranquil backward life in Cuba. The new culture of Puerto Rico did not pass to Haiti and Cuba until the beginning of Period III, at which time the Guanajatabey were driven into western Cuba.

The Guanajatabey survived until the colonization of the extreme western part of the island. The first historic reference we have to their language is the statement in Columbus' account of his second voyage along the southern coast of Cuba that his Lucayan interpreter, Diego Colón, could not understand the language of the Indians of the region near Batabanó, as they spoke a different dialect. Father Las Casas' statement that in Cuba there were three languages[18] perhaps refers to the three types of Indians of the island, one of which is the Guanajatabey.

THE AGRICULTURAL TRIBES OF THE ANTILLES

In the extensive region bordering the Caribbean Sea in Venezuela and Colombia, there lived for many centuries a tribe known as the Nuarhuaco, or Arawak. Their language, already lost at the time of the discovery, gave origin to numerous branches, among them the Achagua, possible ancestor of the Cuban Ciboney. With time, these dialects became more dissimilar, until it is now difficult to correlate them idiomatically. The numerous tribes which the Spanish found occupying that region had no more in common than their Arawak origin.[19]

The expansion and migration of the Arawak population toward the Antilles took place in a very remote epoch, as is shown by the profound

[14] Cosculluela, 1944.
[15] Rainey, 1941; Rouse, 1941.
[16] Rainey, 1935.
[17] Rainey, 1935.
[18] Las Casas, 1909.
[19] Cosculluela, 1943.

idiomatic differences among their dialects which could only be effected after numerous centuries of separation and tribal isolation. The Arawak families must have moved through the Lesser and Greater Antilles until they reached Cuba, the last island occupied, because of its position at the extreme end of the route.

In the Lesser Antilles these Arawak people gave origin to the Ygneri culture by a series of waves of migration starting from South America during the former Period II. In Puerto Rico the people of the second period were the bearers of the culture that Rainey has called "Crab."[20] They colonized Hispaniola, Cuba, and Jamaica during Period III, introducing agriculture based on the cultivation of manioc. Their culture is marked, at the beginning of Period III, by the ceramics which Rouse called "Meillac" in Haiti and "Collores" in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.[21]

This wave of Arawak agricultural tribes covered the whole of the Antilles, Lesser and Greater. Furthermore, Barbados, which at the time of the discovery was uninhabited, previously supported a large Arawak population, as is demonstrated by archaeological investigations.[22] Jamaica, relatively separated from the route followed, was also occupied, along with the other islands from Florida to the coast of Venezuela.

The Arawak world not only covered all the territory of the Antilles, but also extended deeply into the heart of Venezuela and Columbia. Trade between all the islands and the continent was very intensive before the Carib invasion of the Lesser Antilles.

Cultural characteristics of the Arawak people in the Greater Antilles are as follows:

1. The village sites contain ceramics and, among them, the remains of "burens," indicating an agriculture dedicated mainly to the raising of yuca and the preparation of cassava.

2. Because of this agricultural economy, villages were situated in regions favorable for the cultivation of yuca and cassava.

3. By their agricultural economy the people were attached to the soil. They had real villages, of 1,000 to 5,000 inhabitants. The houses, circular or polygonal, were not placed in alignment, and there were no open places or plazas.

4. Objects and implements of flint are not common in this culture. The small ax or hatchet of stone is absent, and substituted for it in a general and uniform way is the "petaloid" celt. Numerous objects and implements of bone and shell are also included among the implements.

5. Head deformation—fronto-occipital flattening—was practiced.

[20] Rainey, 1935. [21] Rouse, 1941. [22] Fewkes, 1922.

The Ciboney People of Cuba

In about the twelfth or the thirteenth century of our era, Rouse has estimated from the depth of some middens in Banes, Arawak appear in possession of the eastern part of Cuba.[23] We call these families of farmers "Ciboney,"[24] on the basis of historical evidence contained in old Spanish Chronicles of the Indies and numerous documents of the Archives of the Indies.[25] In all the documents, these people are designated as Ciboney.

Father Las Casas said, "The natives of this island [Cuba] call themselves in their language, 'Siboneyes,' [and] 'their natives [those of Cuba] were not known in Haiti with another name than that of 'Siboneyes.' "[26] In old documents of the Archives of the Indies it is said of the Indians of Cuba: "Others [Indians] there are called 'Ciboneyes,' that the Indians of the same island [the Taino] have as servants, and so are all of said Gardens (islets at the south of Camagüey)."[27]

Harrington, in *Cuba before Columbus*,[28] wrote: "We may at least call attention to the fact that to Sr. Cosculluela belongs the credit of first publishing, in unmistakable terms, the true significance of the name Ciboney, hitherto generally accepted, particularly in Cuba, as a generic term for all the Cuban Indians, as typified by the Taino inhabiting most of the island when colonization began." At that time, I applied the name to the earliest Indians, but I am now sure that I was mistaken and that the name "Ciboney" belongs to the first Arawak people who came to Cuba, not to the old Guanajatabey.[29]

So we will call "Ciboney" the people who first appeared in Cuba with ceramics and a knowledge of agriculture, and who came to occupy the island only east of the meridian of the Bay of Xagua in Cienfuegos, where so far there have appeared only village sites of their culture.[30]

Since the time of Harrington, all sites similar to those found in Maniabón, Oriente, by Rouse[31] have been considered Taino. "There are two main reasons," says Rouse, "for

[23] Rouse, 1942. [24] Pichardo Moya, 1934, 1935.
[25] Ortiz, 1943. [26] Las Casas, 1909.
[27] Navarrete, 1825–1837. [28] Harrington, 1921.
[29] Ortiz, 1943.
[30] Morales Patiño, 1943. [31] Rouse, 1942.

identifying them instead with the sub-Taino Indians [whom we call Ciboney]. First, the earliest middens in these sites differ in culture from the middens in the Taino sites, as known in Baracoa on the eastern tip of Cuba, and resemble instead several non-Taino sites in that region. They can also be correlated with the non-Taino Meillac group of sites in Haiti, and with the comparable group of sites in Jamaica, which Harrington has called sub-Taino."[32] "The second reason," he continues, "is the depth of the sites, which demonstrates that they were settled long before the year 1460 when the migration of Tainos from Hispaniola to Cuba is said by Las Casas[33] to have taken place."

Ethnological and philological data point to the fact that the Ciboney proceed from the Achaguas branch of Arawak, while the Taino seem to have closer affinities with the Guagiro. The Ciboney culture is much older than the Taino, and in many aspects in Cuba superior to it, but we cannot forget that the Taino in Cuba did not colonize any land other than the extreme eastern region of Baracoa and never, in Indian times, passed to the west. Up to the present time, Taino village sites are not known away from that extreme eastern part of the island.[34]

The contents of the Ciboney culture found in Maniabón are illustrated in Plate II *g*, *h*. That the Ciboney in Cuba adopted many elements of the culture of their predecessors, the Guanajatabey, is indicated by the presence in the Ciboney sites of all but one of the Guanajatabey types of artifacts, and perhaps also by the fact that the Ciboney possessed, in Cuba, the principal Guanajatabey type of site. Rouse says that the Ciboney emphasis on shell work, a feature which distinguishes the Cuban Ciboney from the Ciboney of other islands can probably be attributed to Guanajatabey influence.[35]

"By far the largest number of aboriginal artifacts are potsherds; there are also a number of whole pots, more, probably, than in the rest of the West Indies combined. The pottery seems to be of two kinds: bowls and platters. The bowls were probably used as cooking vessels, since many of them bear traces of soot. Most are round, some are boat shaped. . . .

"All bowls are not decorated. On those which are, the designs are confined to the shoulder and rim.

"It would appear that the earlier pottery in Maniabón Hills lacked curved incised lines and, in particular, the ovoid design. Fragments of griddles, called burens by the Indians, are not uncommon. Net-sinkers of clay have been reported. . . . Several beads and pendants have been made from the same material. There are a number of clay idols, most of which represent women with prominent sexual organs." To these Columbus referred in his journal of the first voyage along the north coast of Cuba. "Many fragments of flint have been found and pieces of quartz are mentioned for some sites and a quartz arrowhead for another."[36]

The commonest type of stone implement is the petaloid stone celt; chisels have been found and stone hammers are widespread. Beads are the most numerous stone ornaments, and pendants have also been cut out of stone, some carved to represent the human face or the male figure. Stone masks, small idols or "zemis" of stone, large idols made from coral, stone balls or "esferolitias," and stone disks have been reported. Bone artifacts are rare.[37]

The Ciboney Indian

The Ciboney of the Maniabón region in the epoch of the discovery is described by Columbus, in his Journal of the first voyage: " . . . naked as his mother gave him birth, well formed of body, and of face, regular height, rather thin, black hair, abundant and crinite, almost like mane of a horse tail, short and with a ring of hair, on his forehead, save a few that wear it long and never cut it. . . . All painted, some of white, others of red, some only the face, others the eyes or the nose, and many the whole body. In general, they have big eyes and agreeable face, the hands thin, small feet, and the body without belly, and with straight legs, and the skin coppery, neither white nor black."

But what attracted most the attention of Columbus, as he says, is the skull: " . . . of narrow forehead and slanting backwards," due to the cranial frontal deformation.

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[32] Harrington, 1921. [33] Las Casas, 1909.
[34] Cosculluela, 1943.
[35] Rouse, 1942, p. 152. He uses the term "sub-Taino" for "Ciboney" and "Ciboney" for "Guanajatabey." We have substituted the terms dictated by usage in this article.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 140 *et passim*.
[37] Rouse, 1942.

Comparison of Ciboney Culture of Cuba and that of Haiti

The Ciboney culture of Cuba is very similar to the Meillac of Haiti; the pottery is of the same general kind, although the Meillac ceramics show an emphasis upon incision, the Cuban upon affixation, and there are differences in details. The Meillac culture lacks the carved shell work which is so characteristic of the Cuban Ciboney. The similarities, on the other hand, are so great that, according to Rouse,[38] we may attribute both the Cuban and Haitian types of culture to the Sub-Taino (Ciboney) Indians.

The Cuban Ciboney culture contains a great number of shell implements which do not appear in Haiti, and that fact possibly demonstrates a major contact with the Guanajatabey. It is very significant in this connection that all but one of the types of artifacts of the Guanajatabey culture persisted during the Ciboney period, which indicates, above all in Cuba, a major interchange of culture between the old native occupants and the new, more advanced settlers.[39]

The correlation of Period III in Puerto Rico and Haiti, based on the pottery, without any doubt appears perfect, but in the remaining artifacts there are some important differences. Apart from the ceramics, many of the artifacts of Cuba and of Haiti and Jamaica are of shell. In Puerto Rico the implements of flint so current in the western area do not appear, although the island has the finest work in stone—the so-called "stone collars" (*collares de piedra*).

THE TAINAN INVASION OF THE GREATER ANTILLES

As soon as the Arawak-Carib war commenced, tribes of the first families emigrated from the continent (Venezuela) and occupied some of the Greater Antilles, where tribes of the same origin as the Ciboney of Cuba had been established during many centuries. We know now that the Calina, a branch of the Carib tribe of the continent, occupied the Lesser Antilles and supplanted the earlier agricultural Ygneri population, and that the Carib invaders took wives from among the conquered Ygneri and killed all the men. Probably this invasion took place not more than a century and a half before the discovery of America. Some Taino families reached Puerto Rico and Hispaniola, but none ever touched Jamaica, the only island of the Greater Antilles where Ciboney culture alone flourished until the conquest by the Spaniards.

At the time of the discovery of Hispaniola, as is pointed out in the old Chronicles, the Taino had pushed back the Ciboney of Haiti and had the hegemony of at least three of the five principal chieftainships—Xaragua, Marien, and Magua. Approximately fifty years before this time, some Taino of Hispaniola reached Cuba and occupied the most eastern region of the island opposite Haiti.[40]

The Taino of Hispaniola developed their own culture, endemic to that island and the most advanced and progressive of the Antilles. To that Taino culture, Rouse has applied the name Carrier.[41] Without any doubt, the Taino culture represents the climax reached by the natives of the Antilles.

With the Taino settlement in Hispaniola and Puerto Rico begins Period IV, the last one in the prehistory of the Antilles, which ends with the conquest and colonization of the islands, first Hispaniola and then, some fifteen years later, Cuba.

Tainan Culture

According to Rouse[42] the characteristics of the Tainan culture in Haiti are:

1. Settlements larger than those of the Ciboney, with a certain ordering of the houses that provided free spaces for streets and plazas or "bateys." The houses continued to be circular or polygonal in form, like those of the Ciboney. Rectangular houses, or "bohios," came into use after the settlement of the Spaniards in Hispaniola.
2. The ceramics offer characteristic differences from the Ciboney in numerous details. New forms, such as the water bottle, appeared. The ceramics comprise four types: cooking bowl, water bottle, griddle, and bead. Of stone are the petaloid celt—the same as that of the Ciboney—hammers, grinders, polishers, chisels, smoothers, sinkers, axes, small shovels, and flint daggers and knives. There are chisels, spades, pickaxes, and punches of shell; pendants and beads of bone; and also numerous pieces of flint.
3. Representation of zemis demonstrates a worship called "Zemiism" in contrast to the "Behiquism" of the Ciboney.[43] A more advanced aristocratic organization with specialization of labor perfectly established. In general, a well developed social organization, perhaps with the existence of private property.
4. Agricultural economy based upon yuca and maize, and also hunting and fishing.

The cooking pottery is well elaborated and,

[38] *Ibid.* [39] *Ibid.*

[40] Las Casas, 1909; Martir de Anglería, 1944.
[41] Rouse, 1941. [42] Rouse, 1941.
[43] Morales Patiño, 1943.

like the Ciboney, consists of open bowls, either round or shaped like a boat. The construction is very similar to that of the Ciboney, but the shape and decoration differ.[44] Bonework is rare; shell artifacts and stonework are similar to the Ciboney.

In the Tainan culture of Haiti is found a series of types which belong to Period I (Guanajatabey) and seem to have persisted until Period IV and to have been taken over by the Taino. Particular examples are the flint dagger and knife. The stone hatchet, the petaloid celt, and some objects of shell which belong to Period III also persisted during the whole of Period IV.

The Tainan Culture of Cuba

Father Las Casas[45] said, and archaeology confirms his assertion, that the Tainan invasion of Cuba took place not more than fifty years before the discovery—that is to say, at the middle of the fifteenth century—when Taino occupied the most eastern part of the island. They pushed the Ciboney out of Baracoa and, added the good father, "they took possession, willingly or by force, of that island, and of her people, making them servants but not slaves."

The most characteristic Tainan settlement in Cuba is the one named Pueblo Viejo (Old Town) in Baracoa, investigated by Harrington.[46] Some others, like Monte Cristo and Laguna Limones, are important also. Differences between the Tainan culture, found in the eastern region of Cuba, and the Ciboney, which occupied the island before, are the presence in the former of earth works (*cercados terreos*), sometimes referred to as "ball courts"; petroglyphs; and pottery more highly developed than in the rest of the island.[47] The Taino sites in Cuba have an average depth of only 25 to 50 centimeters as compared with an average depth of 150 to 200 centimeters in the larger Ciboney middens at Baracoa. Everything shows that the Taino occupation in Cuba was very recent in contrast to the long period of Ciboney settlement on the island.

CLOSE OF THE PREHISTORIC CYCLE

It was not until 1511 that the son of Columbus, who had succeeded in his rule of the Indians of Hispaniola, commissioned Diego Velázquez to conquer the island of Cuba. Velázquez and his men landed in a place near Maisí on the eastern end of Cuba and went to Baracoa, the largest Indian town in Cuba, where they established the first settlement. After consolidating his position in Baracoa, Velázquez sent two expeditions to conquer more territory. Narváez, one of the lieutenants of Velázquez, had the task of pursuing the Haitian chief Hatuey, who had previously incited the Indians of Maisí against the Spaniards. Hatuey was betrayed into his hands and was burned at the stake near Bayamo. Some months later Caguax, another Indian chief, was killed, and this broke all resistance of the natives, who were now leaderless and submitted to the Spanish rule.

The tragic fate which overtook these simple and innocent Indians as the result of the appearance among them of the Spaniards, whom they welcomed as gods, is a matter of familiar history. The destruction was so rapid that in less than twenty-five years the three groups—Guanajatabey, Ciboney, and Taino—estimated to number 250,000 persons in Cuba, were almost entirely exterminated.

[44] Rouse, 1939, 1941, 1942.
[45] Las Casas, 1909.
[46] Harrington, 1921.
[47] Rouse, 1942.

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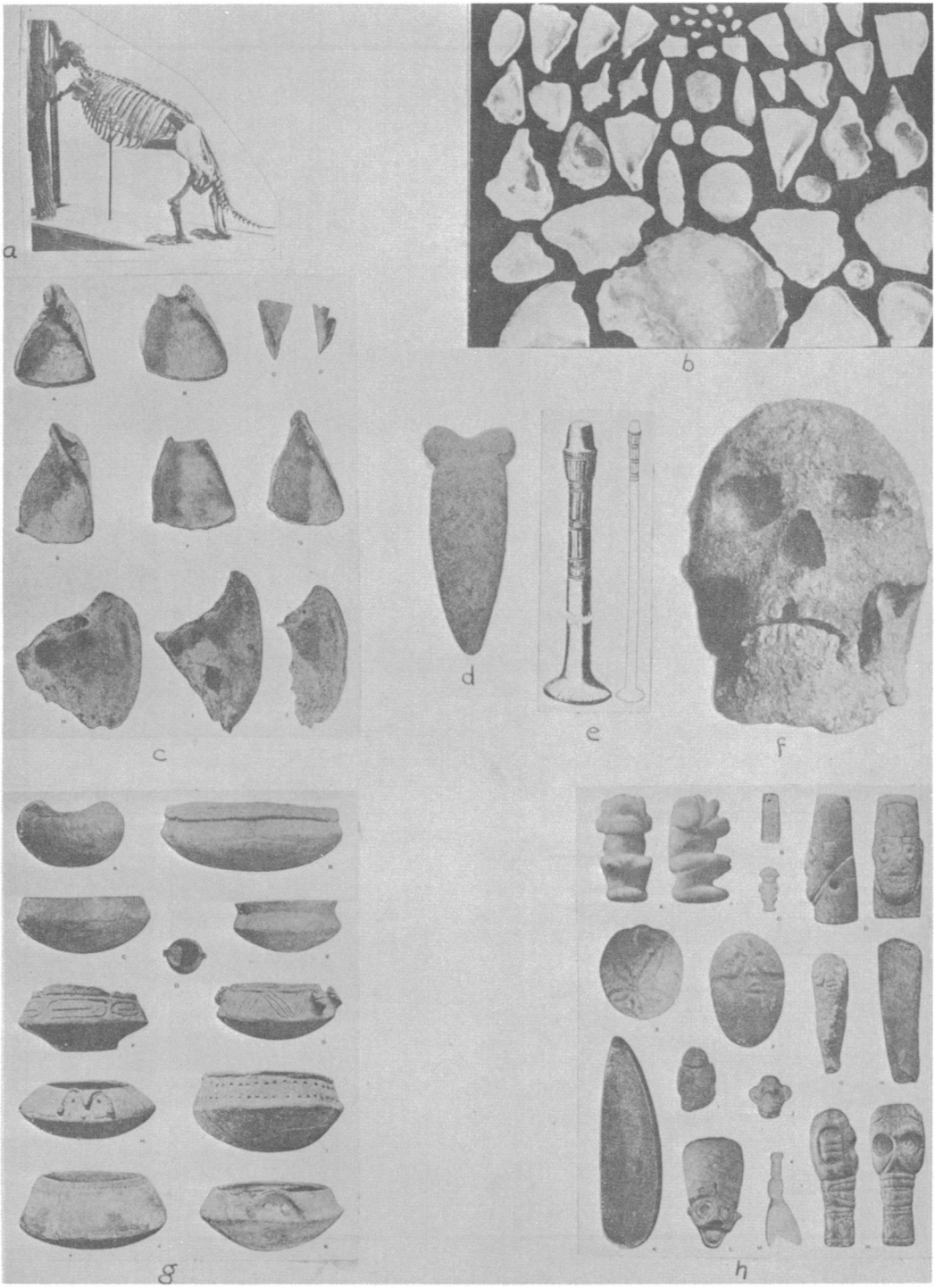
PLATE II

a, *Megalocnus* sp., found in archaic sites; *b*, Guanajatabey artifacts from Punta del Este, Isla de Pinos; *c*, shell implements of Cayo Redondo (A, gouge; B, sub-type, gouge; C, shell tip; D, sub-type, shell tip; E, cup; F, G, sub-type, cup; H, plate; I, subtype, plate; J, lip); *d*, ceremonial stone from Cayo Redondo; *e*, baton of wood, Guanajatabey; *f*, Guanajatabey skull; *g*, ceramics of the Ciboney culture; *h*, artifacts of the Ciboney culture. (*c*, *d*, after Osgood; *e*, after Harrington; *f*, after Cosculluela; *g*, *h*, after Rouse.)



Objects from archaeological sites in Cuba. (See facing page for identification.)