THE BEST ENEMY IS A DEFUNCT, DRILLED AND DECORATIVE ENEMY:
HUMAN CORPOREAL ART (FRONTAL BONE PECTORALS - BELT
ORNAMENTS, CARVED HUMERI AND PIERCED TEETH) IN PRECOLOMBIAN
PUERTO RICO

INTRODUCTION

In many ways, current work in Greater Antillean archaeology is revolutionizing
the received paradigms of local culture history and process. One area of intellectual
ferment is the role that agonistic displays and interaction (a cultural continuum from
ritualized intra-societal interaction to actual inter-societal raiding, Chagnon 1983),
may have played among the hitherto-regarded "pacific" Taino Indians of Hispaniola
and Puerto Rico and their archaeological precursors.

Despite ample documentation of Puerto Rican Taino aggressivity (Alegría
1976), raiding or warfare did not figure in any of the models of population interaction
until a number of discoveries made in the Centro de Investigaciones Indígenas del
Puerto Rico (CIIPR) collections and excavations from Hacienda Grande and
Maisabel began to suggest otherwise. Moreover, these artifacts and features show
agonistic interaction occurring at a very early level, that of the initial horticultural
peopling of the island by Cedrosan Saladoid populations at 2-300 B.C. (Siegel
1989a: Figs. 16, 18). Indirect evidence for this interaction continues to persist at
least until early Elenoid times (circa 900 A.D.), and may extend into the proto-
historic (circa 1200 - 1400 A.D.) and historic eras (circa 1492 - 1520).

The artifactual evidence for this agonism rests in both carved human modified
bone and modeled ceramic artifacts.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL PUZZLE AND ETHNOHISTORICAL CLUES:
CARVED HUMAN BONE IN THE GREATER ANTILLES

The existence of several classes of carved human bone artifacts from early
Saladoid through epi-Saladoid (Collores-Monserratean-Tibes styles) times may
corroborate the osteological evidence for agonism from Hacienda Grande and
Maisabel. Two alternative hypotheses, however, might also explain these transforms:
the "technological deterministic" and the "ancestral talismanic" arguments. The first
suggests that due to a paucity of large bone derived from the impoverished island
fauna, only a few species were big enough to provide raw material for bone work:
manatees, dogs and people. Since we do find worked bone from all three of these
species, human bone may have simply been utilized as a materia prima without
other significance. However, I have already argued against this assumption
concerning the perforated dog canines that are another feature of these sites
(Walker 1984), and would regard a simple "industrial" usage of human bone, without
any motivating symbolic associations (Estrada 1973), as similarly unlikely.

The second argument, the "ancestral talismanic" one, is less easy to dismiss.
This is the use of human bone in a "commemorative" sense, as protective talismans
of dead ancestors. Yet it too can be rejected for these particular classes of objects because of two independent factors: integrity (whether the object is intact, like a whole skull, or reduced, as in a skull-plaque), and use-context (whether the object is static, sequestered within a hut, or kinetic, carried about as corporeal decoration). The ethnohistoric and ethnographic data suggests that only whole curated skulls were ancestral mementos. The most famous of these artifacts from the Caribbean is the cotton cemi full-figure effigy from Hispaniola. Inside the effigy's head is a real human skull (Gómez and Ballesteros 1978: 127-136) showing that this figure was the "house", or body, of the curated skull of a powerful ancestral spirit. We also know that Columbus observed a human skull being kept in a basket suspended under the roof of a house. The skull was covered by another overturned basket as a "top." This instance happened near Baracoa in Cuba during Columbus's first voyage (Lóven citing Navarette, Vol. 1, Nov. 29, 1492, p. 223). As Lóven (1935: 552) notes, a similar observation was made in Hispaniola: "When on his second voyage Columbus returned to España, the Spaniards again saw heads preserved in a basket (esportilla) in the huts of the residence town of Guarionex. From this they came to the conclusion that these heads were those of the parents of the hut's owners" (cited from Chanca in Navarette, Vol.1, p. 363).

In contrast, carved objects made from human teeth, the skull and other bones are items of corporeal adornment with "emulative" (the appropriation of the slain enemy's power) and "performative" (the advertisement of the warrior's ferocity) functions. Thus, I argue that small items of portable, wearable display made from modified human bone should not be lumped together with the above examples of intact, curated "ancestral" human bone.

The lowland South Amerindian ethnographic evidence also lends credence to the early Spaniard's deduction. Indeed, I advance the structural hypothesis that Sequestered Human Remains in the Hut: (are to) Ancestral Talismans: (as) Transportable (wearable) Carved Artifactual Human Remains: (are to) War Trophies. Rephrased, these carved human frontal bones are more likely to have been war trophies because of their "wearable" nature, rather than static, sequestered ancestral talismans.

THREE CLASSES OF HUMAN BONE "TRANSFORMS" IN PUERTO RICAN PREHISTORY: CARVED INCISORS, FEMUR FIGURINES AND FRONTAL BONE PECTORALS AND/OR BELT ORNAMENTS

All of the objects that were carved from human bone and recovered from early horticultural contexts in Puerto Rico are a kind of simple artifact I identify as"naturefact transforms" or "transfacts." One transfact type is the perforated human incisor (Alegría, Personal Communication, 1983), used perhaps as a necklace, belt or ligature dangler (because the perforation was in the root, and not in the exposed area where osteodontic mutilation = decoration could have been employed). The only other similar artifact to these human specimens are the perforated dog canines found throughout the sequence from late Saladoid to Taino times, in Puerto Rico and in Hispaniola. Indeed, one Taino cotton belt from Hispaniola is decorated with pendant pierced dog teeth (Alegría 1980: 11). This pattern of co-occurrence is also characteristic of the South American lowlands, where dogs are related to jaguars and jaguar teeth are the paragons of masculine jewelry, the
objects of highest status and value (as ear ornaments, Roth 1924: 416, on the Carib of the lower Cuyuni River, Guyana, as a Belt; Goldman 1948: 785, on the Cubeo, or as a necklace, Ibid.: 776, on the Tukano; Brett 1853: 57, on the Guianan Carib; Fejos 1943: 35-36, on the Yagua; Roe 1989c, on the Shipibo; Rabineau 1975: 170, on the Cashinahua - in the form of ocelot teeth; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971: 150, on the Desana, etc). This association derives from the large tearing canines that are the symbols of the jaguar's power and ferocity. Therefore, when modern warriors want to share that power, they paint their mouths to look like a jaguar's snarl! The brave Jivaro (Shuar) warriors, tsánkram, who own tsantsa shrunken heads (and wear them like skull pectorals), for example, paint the corners of their mouths black so that they seem elongated like the maws of jaguars (Pellizzaro 1980: 82). The same can be said of jaguar claws, which are also worn as necklace elements by men (Gregor 1977: 121, 157, 164, 167, 171, on the Mehinaku).

Not only does one kill a jaguar with a war spear, not a game arrow, one must atone for the death of the giant cat as one does after shedding the blood of a human enemy (in the Sirionó case by painting oneself the color of war, black, with genipa, Califano 1986-1987: 48). Relevant to the present discussion, the skull of the slain jaguar must also be retained and placed in a basket (bereft of its teeth, which serve as necklace elements), just like a human skull (1986-1987: 67). Indeed, "enemy" jaguar's heads are also decapitated and hauled in triumph into the village plaza (Lizot 1985: 16, on the Yanomamó) just like human heads!

I suggest that the dog came to stand for the larger and much more formidable jaguar through a process of "mythic substitution: as humans moved out into the Antilles and encountered the impoverished insular fauna. Since there never were any jaguars in Puerto Rico, if one wanted to wear carnivore teeth as necklace, collar, bracelet of belt elements, one had only dogs and people to choose from.

Pierced human tooth war trophies are widely recorded in the lowlands of South America, where they are worn as badges of status (Steward and Métraux 1948: 732, 735, on the Yameo). The connection between human teeth pried from an enemy's skull and political status is graphically described for the Cashibo of the Peruvian montaña by Estrella and Shell (1977):

[After a raid in which men, women and children were killed] ... they piled all the cadavers together to see if all had been killed. After mounding up all of the bodies, they began to decapitate them and they gathered [all] the teeth (1977: 33) ... together for their adornments" (1977: 35).[The men doing this were not just warriors, but also the war chief, the tucuricu]. When he killed his enemy, he cut [off] the head, the legs and the arms. After taking the teeth out of the cadaver [to make a necklace], they laid it out on a long [fallen] log [to expose it so that the flesh would decay] and they used the [long] bones to make a flute. Not just any ordinary man made the flute, but a valiant elder, who was especially entrusted with that task. The old man played the flute every morning and he who cut [off] the head was [also] not just any man. He was [instead] a very valiant man, [one] of [great] courage (1977: 12, trans. mine).

Even today, when raiding is largely a thing of the past due to Western pacification, those few remnant groups who still live on their own terms, like the Urueu-Wau-Wau of Rondônia, Brazil, cultivate a reputation for ferocity to keep loggers and rubber gatherers at bay. The head of a sertanista FUNAI (Brazilian Indian service) encampment urges his men not to venture out of the camp after one of them has been shot by an Indian. "The Urueu-Wau-Wau love to make necklaces
of primate teeth,' he cautioned" (McIntyre 1988: 814), the clear implication being that man is one of the suitable primates for raw materials to serve as corporeal embellishment.

Another type of human bone transform is the carved femur. All of these objects are adorned with carved human figures (Figure 1a-d, 2). They seem to combine amuletic wear (1a-d has the same two upper suspension holes as 2a-d, the latter showing what the former would have looked like if it were intact) with use as a "spoon" because the medullar material has been excavated from the distal end of each artifact.

The dates for this artifact class cluster from the Cuevas phase of the Cedrosan Saladoid series to the Ostionoid series (400 A.D. to 1100 A.D.). However, both earlier and later dates are expectable for these femurs as a wider dating range is also characteristic for other modified human bone transfacts. For example, Rodriguez (Personal Communication, 1989), has just recovered a perforated human femur decorated with an anthropomorphic carving from the Cuevas phase component of the Punta Candelero site in Humacao and Alegria (Personal Communication, 1983, 1989) recovered the fragmentary specimen in Figure 1a-d from the later Monserratean contexts at Collores (Rodriguez 1983: 233, Fig. 48). Similarly, the headless specimen pictures in Figure 2e-i was excavated by Alegria during his excavations at Monserrate itself in 1947. This piece, University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras catalog number 1470, was also at least partially string-sawed, the sharpness of the calf muscle on its human depiction (2h-i) indicating that ligatures were used at the time the carving was made. The last specimen (Figure 2a-d) comes from saqueador (pot hunter) contexts in 1977 from the south coast site of Margarita (Rouse's "Carmen"). It was associated with Ostionoid material (Méndez, Personal Communication, 1982).

All of these human depictions utilize the "fetal position" convention and therefore might have some symbolic association with death since that configuration is the most common burial position for ceramic age internments in Puerto Rico. These femur transfacts functioned as amulets within the context of ancient corporeal decoration as, indeed, did the following type.

To return to ethnographic analogy with the South American lowlands, human enemy humeri were reputed to have served as the materia prima for bone flageolets throughout the Guianas (Roth 1924: 457), for both the Caribs (Brett 1853: 158, on the Kariña; Hilhouse 1978 [1825]: 38, on the Caribs in general) and the coastal Arawaks, the Lokono (Roth 1924: 593, citing Van Berkel 1695: 52-55). The latter case is especially significant in the context of this paper since the Lokono are the closest living representatives of the linguistic stock that colonized the Caribbean. However, in recent times jaguar, dog, deer or tapir have replaced the human long bone, as among the modern Waiwai with their kooso ratēn (red deer bone flutes). While it is outside the geographical and social level scope of this paper, it is noteworthy to point out here that such human bone flutes were also used in the Andes, although for the same reasons as in the lowlands where animals replaced people as the source of the raw material, llama bones have substituted for human bone in the recent past (Anonymous 1988; Beyersdorff, Personal Communication, 1988).

The next type of modified human bone transfact found in Early and Late Saladoid contexts is the carved and decorated human skull plaque. Apparently, it could be fashioned from either the parietals or the frontal bone. The finest extant
specimen carries a full face human visage carved into a frontal bone. The face is nested within concentric curved lines (Figure 3a). While its main formlines are incised into the bone, the eyes-nose and mouth region are shallowly excised. The incisions are "V"-shaped and about 1 mm in width and depth. In the elaborate specimen only one "suspension hole" has been preserved, but its symmetry argues that it was flanked by another hole drilled into the bone to the left of it. From the degree of development of the supra-orbital ridge of the skull it appears on, the "reluctant donor" of the raw material for this work of art was an adult male.

This specimen was excavated from the Hacienda Grande site by saqueadores (ex-Castillo Collection, now CIIPR). Because of its size and its two upper perforations, I call this type of amulet a "pectoral." A comparison of the features of the Figure 3a pectoral with human visages present in hollow Hacienda Grande style human effigy heads, such as (ex-Castillo, cat. no. 273) from Hacienda Grande, demonstrates that this earliest of the anthropomorphic bone pieces also dates to the Hacienda Grande phase.

Alegria (Personal Communication, 1983) found a similar perforated human cranial bone during the course of his 1948 excavations at Hacienda Grande. These carved human bone plaques continued to form a part of Puerto Rican Saladoid assemblages into "Epi-Saladoid" times, specifically Cuevas and transitional "Monserrate-Collores-Tibes" and Early Elenan periods, that is, up to around 800 - 900 A.D. The more simplified Monserratean pieces are perhaps represented by a decorated left parietal (Figure 1e), otherwise analogous to Figure 3a, and said to come from saqueador contexts at the Collores site (Rodríguez 1983: 234, Fig. 47, 238, Fig. 50).

An even more fragmentary find was recovered by the 1978 Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe (CEAPRC) fieldschool at the site of Monserrate, Luquillo under my direction. A perforated frontal bone, smoothed near the perforation, came from the Mound C excavations in Monserratean and Early Elenan Ostionoid contexts (Roe, Pantel and Hamilton 1985). From the placement of the perforation it appears that this frontal bone pectoral also had only two suspension holes, like Figure 3a. Rodríguez (1983: Fig. 47a, b) excavated two contemporary specimens from the Collores site.

Yet the pectorals may not have been the only such artifact carved out of the human cranial vault. A related artifact, the human modified frontal-parietal bone "belt ornament," is defined by its rounder shape, simpler geometric, curvilinear nested incised design layout, and multiple perforations equally-spaced around its periphery (the drilling, as in stone, was done from both surfaces, resulting in a waisted biconical cross-section). Figure 3b illustrates this type. It (ex-Castillo cat. no. P-4684) was recovered from the site of Matienzo, Trujillo Alto. Siegel (1989b) reports a similar circular belt ornament, but from the Hacienda Grande phase contexts at Mound 1, Maisabel. Since Stevens-Arroyo (1988: 192, Fig. 9) pictures a virtually identical artifact from Taino contexts in the Dominican Republic (being more complete than the earlier artifacts, it confirms the circular shape as well as the total number of equally-spaced perforations, nine, and the intact concentric curvilinear incised design), the late Dominican artifact demonstrates a remarkable degree of cultural continuity for this type, from the Saladoid beginning to the Taino end of the Greater Antillean cultural continuum. Cotton belts, some with frontal human masks adorned with golden incrustations, were important elements in the assemblage of Taino artifacts Christopher Columbus collected as booty and "tribute" from Hispaniola.
in 1494 on his second voyage (Alegría 1980: 11).

To summarize, the circular specimens with multiple perforations may be belt ornaments while the more figurai pieces with just two suspension holes may have been pectorals. The simpler artifacts appear to outlive the more representational pectorals, with belt ornaments continuing into Taino times while the pectorals last only until Epi-Saladoid times of the Collores style. In any event, both artifact types would have conveyed much the same message. They are worn on the front of the body and mark upper (torso) or transitional (waist) sectors of the human "somatic geography" (Roe 1989c).

The South Amerindian ethnographic literature suggests that these transfacts were not sequestered ancestral relics since the latter are whole (unmodified) and stored in the central, quintessentially "social" space of the encampment or hut. This pattern consists of curating some of the bones of the deceased, often cleaned after exhumation from primary burial (curating the bones in a cremated and ground form, as a fine powder, in a gourd container suspended from the roof thatch of the residential hut as the Yanomamö do, but only as an interim stage preparatory to periodic bouts of ritual endocannibalism that will eventually consume all the ashes in draughts of manioc beer taken as a form of eucharistic communion [albeit with vengeful intent, cf., Lizot 1985: 23-24], would leave no trace of the dead behind for the curious archaeologist to puzzle about!). These are the remains of former members of one's family or descent group who have simply passed through another rite of passage into the next stage of the life/death/rebirth cycle. Such ancestors remain relevant to and concerned with, or protective of, the living among whom they are passed down as inheritable relics (Califano 1986-1987: 66, on the Sirionó), especially if lineal kinship organizations are involved. These osteological materials are kept as "ancestral mementos" or relics. The Sirionó are famous for removing the flesh from relative's skulls, attaching the mandible to the skull by a string, and carrying the skull about with the band on its seasonal round (1986-1987: 65, 73).

While these are isolated cases of whole skulls of fallen enemies being curated, the syntax of their spatial distribution is different. While the Sirionó ancestral skulls are taken to the very center of the social space of the group, hung near the descendant's hammock and heated over the fire as one would warm oneself or a loved one, these enemy skulls are cast out of the social space and hung on tree branches in front of the residences as warnings and martial signs (Steward 1948: 757, on the Witoto), rather than being sequestered in baskets within them. This is because the latter practice represents a performative (bellicosity) function, not a commemorative (ancestral) one. Since the space within a hut represents the secure social sphere of the in-group, a placement of such trophies outside the hut represents a continued symbolic exclusion of the enemy as an alien. This interpretation is reinforced when it is noted that other parts of the enemy's body are made into items of personal adornment, meant to accompany the adult male inhabitants of the hut when they paraded about outside it.

So strong is this logic of the "exclusion of the enemy's body parts from the body politic" that alien bones are specifically banned from social space when those bones are not the result of the alien being killed by a fellow tribesman or band member! Pérez Diez (1978-1979: 126, on the Bía-Yúkí, a divergent Sirionó group) notes a missionary's observation of the public outcry when a mentally retarded woman brought such a found bone, presumed to be of their nearest neighbors, into the camp. My argument, after all, is that such bones would proudly be welcomed...
into social space, but only if they were trophies, not *objets trouvés*!

If these distinctions hold for one's own ethic/alien (an *external*, or *inter-social* context), then the same thing happens with regard to *internal*, that is *intra-social*, segmentary distinctions. Thus the Bia-Yuki are practically unique in the ethnographic literature (there always are exceptions!) in having actual castes within band-level, Hunter-Gatherer social and subsistence context. Thus it is only the skulls of "slave owners" that are carefully curated and carried about in baskets and painted. The skulls of the "slaves" are simply abandoned in the jungle (1978-1979: 132, again, to elude the archaeologist).

In all of these cases, the most frequent part of the skeleton utilized is the whole skull (for example, Holmberg 1969: 231-237), which is kept suspended in a basket beneath the roof of the residential hut or leanto in a manner very similar to the Greater Antillean pattern described by Columbus.

In contrast, the lowland parallel of using modified human enemy bone as ambulatory satorial art *outside* social space as part of the "performative" and "emulative" aspects of the trophy head cult identifies these Antillean transfacts as was trophies.

I have elsewhere pointed out the "animist technology" of South Amerindians and their prehistoric precursors such that their artifacts are viewed in myth as the transformations of naturefact prototypes (Roe 1989b). This provides the ethos for my argument that the synthetic artifacts (the ceramic human face plaques) were skeuomorphs of the original naturefact transforms (the drilled human frontal bone pectorals), and *not* the other way around. Human body parts were minimally modified from nature for cultural messages just as bird plumes or sea shells, and with the same reverent symbolic loading.

All the principles of minimal modification from the natural world that I have already covered with regard to South Amerindian material culture are but concrete reflections of the material plane of a profound animism that invests all sentient life and even inorganic objects with spirituality. Just as animals talk like humans in myth (Roe 1988), so too are tribal aliens quasi-, infra-, sub- or were-animal entities on the periphery of Supernature, denizens of an ethnoanthropological (Magaña 1982, 1986) bestiary. They are suitable raw material, ready to be transformed. Indeed, with the perverse rule of logic, one does the subhuman enemy a "favor" by killing him and turning his overly "natural" body into a cultural artifact! Thus these Antillean transfacts are another instance of the "trophy head cult" so widespread in the Intermediate area (as in San Agustín), and in the art of the earliest civilizations of the Peruvian region (Roe 1974: 35, 38: 1982).

On the early ethnographic end of this widespread system, human skull and other bones and teeth from the remains of ritually sacrificed prisoners were curated (and modified) for transfacts worn in an ambulatory function *outside* social place by the warlike Tupinambá of the eastern coast of Brazil in the 16th century (Staden 1944 [1557]). As late as the middle part of the last century the Mundurucú of central Brazil were doing the same. successful warriors carried the pendant heads of their slain enemies as hunting magic and displayed them for masculine initiations. In a singularly appropriate parallel with the Antillean archaeological pieces under discussion here, in their ultimate incarnation these heads were reduced to just the teeth worn as belt ornaments (Schoepf 1985: 84-85). Thus this South Amerindian ethnographic instance shows us how we may relate this disparate Antillean prehistoric collection of human bone transfact types (drilled teeth, worked long boned
and modified skull parts) to different stages of the same artifactual life cycle!

Ethnographic reality is always more complex than the archaeological picture. Thus the archaeologist should be sensitive to the fact that he or she is often dealing with just the last stage of an artifact's life trajectory, what happens to it from the moment that it becomes a discard or a piece of refuse. This Mundurucú case demonstrates that such emotionally charged transfacts as the enemy trophy head are likely to have gone through a whole taphonomic sequence before they become the remnants (the reduced, or worked, byproducts that look deceptively like "first intentions") the collector or archaeologist recovers. From the structural point of view of this paper, however, it is important to note that even this complicating sequence would reduce itself to archaeological clarity. That is, it obeys the rules of the progression from whole head or skull to fragmented and worked portion thereof and the relationship of those stages to the transform's placement in central, static social space/peripheral, ambulatory corporeal adornment that I have already outlined.

Thus, in the first rainy season the Mundurucú trophy head is dried, the brain and eyes removed, its tight skin rouged yellow with urucu (Bixa orellana), and its eyes replaced with black pitch, the better to highlight the contrasting white of agouti incisors mounted as pupils. Lastly, feather danglers are attached as earrings. In the second rainy season the hair and skin are removed to leave the skull, while in the third the teeth are extracted and worn as belt ornaments. It is only the latter remnant, the perforated teeth, that the archaeologist would recover (and in the Caribbean has recovered)!

Even more recently, the most famous modern war trophy (albeit with the skull removed) is the famous tsantas, or shrunken heads, of the Jívaro. It is worthwhile to note that these heads are worn as pectorals by the warriors (Pellizzaro 1980: 5) in a parallel with the possible prehistoric Caribbean case under examination here. Thus it is likely that whether of bone, clay or guanin (tumbaga—a gold/copper alloy) these ancient Antillean artifacts incorporated the vital energy of the fallen enemy via both sympathetic and contagious magic in the same way as the ethnographic South Amerindian transfacts do. These Antillean plaques therefore form another part of the larger argument for the importance of agonistic interaction within this region in prehistoric and protohistoric times.

They pertain to the lowland pattern of breaking up and modifying the skull, mandible, teeth or long bones of enemies into smaller, more portable transfacts of corporeal art. These transfacts are derived from the mortal remains of the alien ethnics killed in raiding or warfare, or ritually sacrificed as prisoners. This human element is combined with animal fur, feathers, hair, seeds, insect or even reptilian carapaces, carnivore or raptor teeth, claws or talons, etc., to create composite artifacts. These collages transmit by their propinquity with the visitor's body the power and efficacy of the vanquished. Simultaneously, their visibility advertises a "performative" function (reflecting the personal ferocity and martial skills of the man as a warrior-hunter, cf. Rabineau 1975: 170) to compatriots, enemies and one's own woman alike. This "advertisement" function of "assertive style" à la Weissner (1983) paid important political (not to mention socio-biological) dividends for the successful homicide.

While the litany of these corporeal art collage items may seem ethnocentrically repulsive to the Western student, they are perceived by the Indians who wear them as objects of beauty. They all contrast in color, texture and
reflectivity with the pervasive dull, green background of the tropical foliage that encapsulates their profane lives and symbolizes the dangers of nature as an anti-cultural sphere. By being modified, these bits of the natural world come to stand for the rules of sartorial conduct, and rules are the essence of culture. By the same logic, after being technically altered these artifactual osteological remains of an alien enemy, another symbol of threatening nature, become domesticated, and "civilized." Thus the aliens become a part of one's own culture. Human corporeal art is thus a kind of symbolic "visual cannibalism," it encorporates the enemy as self; it transforms the threatening into the safe.

PARALLELS OF THE CERAMIC ART (HOLLOW EFFIGY HEADS, HOLLOW EFFIGY HEAD RATTLE HANDLES AND SOLID EFFIGY ADORNO HEAD LUGS) TO THE CARVED BONE PECTORALS

The human bone face "mask" pectorals are related to a class of ceramic sculpture, flat modeled human face plaques, that also occur in early to late Saladoid contexts (Figure 4). Within the overall context of Amerindian artifactual transforms form natural material prototypes (Roe 1989b), I believe that it is most reasonable that the synthetic clay plaques are copies of a natural human bone original, rather than the other way around. These elaborate and well executed ceramic pieces are clearly Hacienda Grande phase in style and come from the type site. However, the similarities between the incised-excised bone carving and the ceramic incised and modeled examples go beyond the ceramic masks.

Indeed, whether one considers the form of sculpted, hollow figurine heads, or hollow (clay pellet rattle) paired plug effigy handles designed to be mounted to the upper vessel body wall of Hacienda Grande phase carinated restricted vessels (see Roe 1989a: Fig. 23 for a theriomorphic example), or concave-backed, solid modeled inward-facing paired "adornos" acting like lugs on unrestricted vessel rims, all of these human depictions share a number of iconographic traits. Such features include a semi-circular framing incised line that depicts the "hair line" above the facial features, horizontally projecting, rounded semi-circular "tab" ears, and an optional and similarly-configured symmetric "bump" on the crown of the head.

The hollow-backed, or concave, aspect of the adornos echoes the curious flat-to-concave, ceramic "masks" or plaques (Figure 4a-b). These objects, like the bone "belt" plaques, have multiple perforations for suspension and/or attachment of danglers (which acted as rattles when the wearer danced) around their periphery. One of these ceramic plaques in the ex-Castillo collection has actual perforated eyes and mouth, almost if it were indeed a mask, but is too small to have actually functioned as one, at least for an adult human (it could have been attached to an effigy figure). Instead, if we take the ear and chin perforations at attachment points for feathers or bead danglers, the large size of these specimens argues for a pectoral function, like the analogous bone transfacts. Their squinting or closed eyes give a distinctly "dead" appearance to all of these faces.

These ceramic plaques range from elongated flat-topped depictions with prominent, pointing yet narrow, blade-like stylized noses to round-top forms. Smaller forms are pendants and they tend toward round-topped, circular portrayals with stubbier, more naturalistic noses. Both forms share pointed chins. The slightly later Tibes specimens (González 1984: 173, a-b) differ in their even more rounded shape,
yet retain the two centrally-located suspension holes in the top of the head of the earlier, small sized, more naturalistic pendant prototypes.

Especially when compared with the concave-backed adornos the exaggerated profile of these plaques could indicate the frontal-occipital skull deformation of some of the actual human skulls after which they were patterned, perhaps to obtain a widened forehead as modern South Amerindian lowland groups like the Shipibo do. This more prominent forehead is the natural allometric result of the deformed, elegantly sloping head profile. Coupled with bangs, such as what might be indicated by the "hairline" incision on the Saladoid effigies and lugs, this broadened area presents an excellent design field for face-painting designs. Indeed, the white-on-red ancient painted lugs seem to depict face-painting designs framed by the forehead. In short, it is almost as if the two-dimensional, incised-excised front-face depiction, first nested in the middle of the naturally "sculptural" concave bone casque of the skull itself, then became liberated from its background to achieve an independent sculptural existence as a concave ceramic face plaque.

From the size and the style of perforation of the larger ceramic plaques (and the bone transfacts that acted as their prototypes) these ceramic skeuomorphs may have been worn as pectorals (large pendants worn on the chest). An alternative working hypothesis is that the bone and the larger ceramic plaques were attached as masks to god of spirit effigies made of perishable materials. If the former is correct, based on the ethnographic analogy, I argue that they were worn by adult males. Masks (guaycas) made of wood with gold or shell eye and earplug incrustations were prominent in Columbus's 1494 haul of Hispañolans artifacts (Alegría 1980: 7). Yet another possibility is Alegría's hypothesis about similarly-proportioned carved Taino stone masks serving as upper arm ligature adornments worn by ball players (Alegría 1986: 38-39). Both the comparable size and similar concave back of the modeled ceramic and carved stone examples link themselves as corporeal adornments.

On the other hand, Rodríguez's hypothesis (Personal Communication, 1988), that the original bone transfacts are related to the Caona (native pure gold) and Guanin pectorals with human representations worn by Taíno men, is more congruent with my linkage between the bone and the ceramic effigy plaques as pectorals. This indicates that some of the later skeuomorphs could have been in ceramics, while others were wrought in gold and guanin. With earthenware ceramics being a relatively "democratic medium" available to all, and metal artifacts an inherently more precious and rare medium associated with economic and social stratification (higher ranks or classes, cf., Miller 1985: 74), perhaps the clay pectorals were worn by ordinary tribesmen who became commoners as the societies evolved through "complex tribe" to "rank society = chieftdom" levels of socio-political complexity. Caribbean ethnohistoric sources do inform us that the gold pectorals were utilized by the upper ranks of the Taíno chieftdoms (Lovén 1935: 466), and the same is recorded for the mainland. There gleaming metal pectorals were also worn by high-ranking males, as is recorded by Roth for the Surinam Carib: "In Surinam," says Stedman [1796, I: 388], "the chiefs of families sometimes wear the skin of a tiger and a silver plate resembling a croissant, called by them a caracoly" (1924: 574). If confirmed, this sequence would make these late prehistoric and early historic artifacts metallic artifacts skeuomorphs of ceramic artifacts that were, in turn, skeuomorphs of their much earlier human bone transfact antecedents. Such sequences have been recorded in mortuary artifacts in various Old World sequences.
(actual buried retainers - full-sized clay retainers - toy sized clay retainers in early Chinese contexts or buried retainers to wooden toy-sized models to wall paintings in Pharohic Egypt, etc.). This remarkable instance of possible cultural persistence establishes yet another material connection, besides that already formed by the belt ornaments, between the early Saladoid and the late Taino ends of the Greater Antillean Neo-Indian cultural continuum.

CONCLUSIONS

A review of the archaeology of Puerto Rico, Greater Antilles, reveals the same three kinds of modified human bone transfacts that appear in the current and early ethnohistorical South Amerindian ethnographic record: pierced teeth, carved and hollowed huner and skull sections. Everywhere these organic transforms are the remains of enemies, not hallowed ancestors, who are ignominiously "processed" to form portable elements of corporeal art with "assertive style" functions, just like the remains of those two animal "hunter/warrior" analogs: jaguars and hunting dogs.

Specially, two functions are supported by the literature for such corporeal adornments: an "emulative" one in which contagious magic is employed within an animistic context to absorb the vital energy of the fallen antagonist and thereby increase the efficacy of the triumphant warrior's strength. The second function of these grisley transfacts is a "performative" one, they become clacking advertisements to co-villagers and enemies alike of the bellicosity and martial vigor of the wearer. This function of human bone corporeal art augments the biological and political competitiveness of the wearer and conferee on him prestige and perhaps even reproductive fitness (especially in the aboriginal, pre-contact context of raiding for women).

The existence of these "war trophies" in Greater Antillean early horticultural pioneering contexts (Saladoid and Pre-Taino) links with Taino practice to emphasize the importance of agonistic relations in social dynamics as a heretofore neglected force in Antillean prehistory before the arrival of the Island Carib. The Insular Arawaks look a little less romantically pacific now, and a little more real.

While this critical use of the direct historical approach to ethnographic analogy, coupled with a structuralist decoding of the "warrior's wardrobe," Illuminates the function and significance of the ancient Puerto Rican bone artifacts, it may also explain the production of first ceramic and then precious metal skeuomorphs of the bone plaques in the local sequence. Thus there appears to be a stylistic and thematic similarity between the carved human frontal and parietal bone plaques with incised and excised human frontal heads, and certain large, oval ceramic plaques in the form of frontal faces and "masks" that may also have served as pectorals.

These similarities with the carved human bone transfacts even extended to smaller, round, but still concave in back, ceramic human head representations that might have functioned as pendants or upper armband adornments. Both of these artifact types may be ceramic skeuomorphs of the bone prototypes since they all appear in the same assemblages. So important were bone transfacts as symbols that artificial copies were made out of less "mortal" raw materials, perhaps so that others, not just eminent warriors and chiefs, could wear these male accoutrements yet reflect back to a basic component of masculine identity, warlike bellicosity and martial vigor.
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868
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Fig. 3.