

BAHAMIAN CERAMICS

Julian Granberry and John Winter

ABSTRACT

Present inventories of aboriginal ceramic wares of the Lucayan Islands suggest the hypothesis that these wares may constitute a separate Palmettan Ostionoid ceramic subseries consisting of at least three separate ceramic styles —Abaco Redwares, Crooked Island Ware, and Palmetto Ware— whose stylistic origins stem from eastern Cuban Ostionan and Hispaniolan Meillacan and Chican sources 600-1200 A.D.

RESUMEN

El inventario cerámico aborígen de las Islas Lucayas sugiere la hipótesis que este inventario constituye una subserie Palmettano de la serie cerámica Ostionoid con al menos tres estilos — Abaco Redware (Abaco Rojo), Crooked Island Ware, y Palmetto Ware — con orígenes estilísticos en los estilos cerámicos Ostionanos de Cuba oriental y en los estilos Meillacanos y Chicanos de la Isla Española de los años 600-1200 A. C.

RÉSUMÉ

L'inventaire céramique aborigène des Îles Lucayes suggère le hypothèse que cette inventaire constitue un subsérie Palmettane du série céramique ostionoid avec trois styles —Abaco Redware (Abaco Rouge), Crooked Island Ware, et Palmetto Ware— avec leurs origines stylistiques en les styles céramiques Ostiones de Cuba orientale et en les styles Meillacane et Chicane de l'île de Saint-Domangue des années 600-1200 ap J.C.

INTRODUCTION

In 1993 there are at least eleven professional archaeologists working in the Lucayan Islands, their work coordinated through the Department of Archives of the Bahamas Ministry of Education and Culture. It is, therefore, something of an anomaly that very few individual sites have been professionally excavated anywhere in the archipelago except on San Salvador and Middle Caicos. For those which have been so excavated there are almost no thorough excavation reports. The closest one can come to a standard site report is the doctoral dissertation of Charles Hoffman (1967). Even the vast Pigeon Creek site on San Salvador has been only partly reported in the published literature (Rouse 1982).

This lack of publication has made it impossible to present an unfragmented description of either Lucayan paleoethno-graphy or Lucayan prehistory. William Keegan's recent (1992) *The People Who Discovered Columbus: The Prehistory of the Bahamas* does not, in spite of its sub-title, fill the gap. We need something akin to Patrick V. Kirch's excellent *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks* (1985) for the Hawaiian Islands. Such a coverage has yet to be written.

The present article can not, and would not presume, to resolve this situation. It hopes, however, to lay at least the groundwork for one facet of such a comprehensive view of Lucayan paleoethnography and prehistory — the nature of locally— produced Bahamian ceramic wares and the possible origins of their characteristics.

PALMETTO WARE

There have been nine detailed descriptions of locally-made Bahamian ceramic wares and trade-wares found in Bahamian sites. All, without exception, have been based on small data samples from single islands, groups of islands, or even single sites and, with the exception of Sullivan (1974) and Sears and Sullivan (1978), intended as provisional. There has been *no* archipelago-inclusive listing of all locally-made wares. Unfortunately many professional and lay readers alike are unaware of this and have taken the descriptions —at least since Sears and Sullivan's 1978 analysis— as final, complete, and inclusive of all Lucayan wares.

The first attempt to describe Bahamian ceramic wares and organize them into some kind of systematic whole was the senior author's *A Preliminary Ceramic Typology and Chronology for the Bahamas* (Granberry 1952). This analysis was based on a corpus of 2,276 sherds, only 223 of which came from anything resembling a stratigraphic context (Gordon Hill Cave, Crooked Island). The sherds came from a total of 61 sites, all but 16 of which were cave, non-habitation sites. Of the 16 open village sites, 15 were in the Turks and Caicos and 1 on Long Island (Glenton). Of the sherd sample 1,276 sherds were igneous-rock tempered trade-wares from the Greater

Antilles; only 1,000 sherds were of local manufacture. These specimens came from Great Abaco, San Salvador, and Crooked Island.

An attempt was made to arrange the characteristics of this sherd sample in a traditional *type-and-series* system. The resultant descriptions were highly overblown, the types representing a limited sample from selected northern and central islands. The terms *Bahamian Meillac Series* and *Bahamian Carrier Series*, used then, are both inadequate and misleading in the light of the data we now have. In the clearer light of a additional 45 years of data the specific types are, however —with the exception of the spurious *Gordon Hill White-on-Red*— empirically more appropriate now than then.

When the same corpus was reanalyzed some years later (Granberry 1955 and 1956), two broad ceramic styles, using the analytical frame employed by Rouse elsewhere in the Caribbean, were described. These were called, because of their obviously close similarities to the wares of neighboring Haiti, *Bahamian Meillac* and *Bahamian Carrier*, considering both but areal varieties of the Haitian Meillac and Carrier styles in what were then called the Meillacoid and Chicoid ceramic series of the Greater Antilles. In 1955 that was what the available data indicated, though it was noted that there were many similarities between Bahamian Meillac and the Meillacan Bani style of central Cuba and to an unnamed Meillacan style found at the Cayo Ocampo and Cantabria sites near Cienfuegos in south-central Cuba.

The fourth and fifth published descriptions of Bahamian wares are those of Charles A. Hoffman (1967: 43-70; 1970: 12-20), who described the ceramic specimens for the Palmetto Grove site on San Salvador, basing his analysis on a corpus of 5,250 sherds from that site and a collection of sherds from other San Salvador sites from the Wolper collection on that island. Though noting the presence of both trade-wares from the Greater Antilles and at least one additional locally-made ware, he devotes the bulk of his description to a single ware, to which he gave the name *Palmetto Ware*. In addition to the clear Meillac-like characteristics of this ware, he noted similarities to Cuevas and to Elenan Ostionan wares of the Virgin Islands and eastern Puerto Rico and to late Ostiones wares in western Puerto Rico. He neither states nor implies that this ware is diagnostic of the archipelago as a whole nor that it is the only locally-made ware.

In the sixth published description of Bahamian wares, James MacLaury's *Archaeological Investigations on Cat Island, Bahamas* (1970) two pottery types — *Palmetto Plain* and *Palmetto Decorated* (pp. 37-38) are defined and described. MacLaury notes (p. 36) that 'the dominant ware on Cat Island is the same as that called Palmetto ware by Hoffman on San Salvador.' His analysis was based on a corpus of 6,028 sherds, all from Cat Island. Like Hoffman, MacLaury does not imply that Palmetto wares are the only locally-made wares occurring in the archipelago.

The seventh published description, in Shaun Sullivan's *Archaeological Reconnaissance of Eleuthera, Bahamas* (1974: 29-44), defines and describes four ceramic types comprising a Palmetto Series — *Palmetto Plain*, *Palmetto Mat Marked*, *Palmetto Molded Applique*, and *Palmetto Punctate-Incised*. His corpus included 1,415 sherds from Eleutheran sites as well as sherd collections, numbers not specified, from Cat Island, San Salvador, Long Island, Great Exuma, Rum Cay, and New Providence (Sullivan 1974: 30). Unlike earlier authors, Sullivan does explicitly generalize from the Eleuthera sample to the entire archipelago.

The eighth and most thorough published statement, one which also explicitly states that it is systematizing ware descriptions for the entire archipelago, is Sears and Sullivan's important *Bahamas Prehistory* (1978). The authors use the *type-series* method and place the same four types described by Sullivan in 1974 in a *Palmetto Series*. The sample corpus for the analysis consisted of approximately 13,000 sherds, the largest by far yet used.

It was the Sears and Sullivan article which led to the widespread uncritical assumption that Palmetto Ware was the only locally-made aboriginal pottery in the Lucayan archipelago. Such an assumption probably arose from the authors' stated island coverage — the entire island chain.

In point of fact, however, the large northern islands of Grand Bahama and the Abacos were not included, nor were the major central islands of southern Long Island, Crooked Island, Acklins Island, and Mayaguana. In the southern islands Inagua was not included. In addition, rather than reexamining Rainey's material from the Abacos, San Salvador, and Crooked Island, it was simply assumed (p. 11) that only Palmetto Ware was present in that collection.

If, in brief, one looks at the actual provenience of the 13,000 sherds in the Sears and Sullivan sample, one will find that they come almost exclusively from San Salvador (Hoffman's corpus), Eleuthera (Sullivan's 1974 corpus), Cat Island (MacLaury's corpus), and Middle Caicos (on which Sullivan was then working). Thus, like all the ceramic typologies before them, the Sears and Sullivan typology turns out to be island-restricted, though be it from a large and representative sherd sample, and though be it done in an extremely professional and thorough manner.

The ninth published description and analysis of Bahamian ceramic wares is the senior author's *The Gordon Hill Site, Crooked Island, Bahamas* (1978). It is no better than the rest in that it concerns the analysis of sherds from a single site.

In summary, descriptions of locally-made Bahamian ceramic wares have to date been incomplete in that none has covered all known varieties of locally-made wares. Secondly, while *Palmetto Ware* is a legitimately defined and described locally-made ware, the term has been uncritically applied to all locally-made wares, usually without examination of samples of the wares in question. Alternately, all non-Palmetto wares have uncritically been lumped as 'trade ware', in spite of the fact that some are shell-and/or limestone-tempered and could therefore have been locally-produced.

PALMETTAN WARES: ANALYTICAL SCHEME AND HYPOTHESIS

The present article attempts to reassess all ceramic data available from all the islands in the archipelago. It intends to be pan-Lucayan. It includes all currently known locally-made pottery styles, but does not preclude the addition of other styles as more data is recovered through excavation, nor does it set itself up as the *correct, one-and-only, or final* statement on the subject. It is a 1993 assessment and suggestion. It does not include demonstrable trade-wares — those which contain igneous temper material.

We agree with Rouse (1980: 97, 1992: 99-101) that at present there is neither sufficient artifactual nor general site data from the Bahamas and Turks & Caicos to *firmly* establish Palmetto Ware as a single-style Palmettan Subseries of the Ostionoid Series, coordinate with the Ostionan, Elenan, Meillacan, and Chiclan Subseries.

Nonetheless, on the basis of Rainey's data from Abaco, San Salvador, and Crooked Island (Granberry 1952, 1955, 1956, 1978), Hoffman's data from San Salvador (1967, 1970), and Ber- man and Gnivecki's data from San Salvador (1991), as well as from the examination of the collections made by Herbert W. Krieger on Long Island (U. S. National Museum), by Ian Lothian and David Bethell on Great Abaco (The Abaco Historical Preservation Society), by David Knowles and others on Grand Bahama (privately curated), and by the junior author on San Salvador and Crooked Island (Winter 1978), we feel it possible to define at least three rather distinct styles of locally-made Bahamian ceramics, of which Palmetto Ware, though preponderant, is only one.

From analysis of this ceramic inventory it may be hypothesized that locally-made Bahamian ceramic wares constitute a single *Palmettan Subseries* of the broader *Ostionoid Series*, and that the subseries contains at least three distinct styles: *Abaco Redware*, *Crooked Island Ware*, and *Palmetto Ware*.

The hypothesis leads to the following series and style statements, all of which must be tested by further excavation and analysis. In such analysis visual examination and macroanalysis will not be sufficient to resolve the manufacturing provenience of many specimens. Those forms of inspection must be accompanied by trace-element analysis of the paste and, where called for, petrographic analysis of temper materials.

PALMETTAN SUBSERIES STYLE DEFINITIONS

Abaco Redware

Definition as a Style: This paper. Cf. *San Salvador Plain Red, San Salvador Incised Red* (Granberry 1952: 13-14); possibly also Berman and Gnivecki 1991: 8, 9. See Fig. 1a-f, Fig. 2a-e. Specimens from Great Abaco (Rainey, Lothian and Bethell), Grand Bahama (Knowles *et al.*), and San Salvador (Rainey, Winter, and possibly Berman and Gnivecki). Sherd # = approx. 150.

Paste: Bahamas Red Loam, without inclusions other than temper.

Method of Manufacture: Coiled and fired in a 60-75% oxidizing environment.

Temper: Small to moderate sized crushed *Strombus*, *Codakia*, or *Lucina* (10% of paste).

Texture: Moderately to finely granular, protruding inclusions of small to moderate size.

Hardness: 3.5 to 5.5 on Moh's scale. Average between 4 and 4.5.

Color: Paste light to dark grey. Oxidation norm = approximately 60%.

Surface Texture, Color, and Finish: Exterior surfaces moderately polished. A smooth, thin, buff-red clay wash-like slip, loosely united with the paste, occurs on both exterior and interior surfaces.

Vessel Form: Inconclusive. Sherd curvatures suggest round bowls approx. 20 cm in diameter.

Shoulder: Occasionally there is a narrow shoulder, in some cases inturned, beginning not far below the rim.

Rim: Rounded, occasionally bevelled on the interior side. Bevelled rims sometimes have a slight outward flare. Slight taper toward the lip. Folded or strip-appliqué rims also occur.

Base: Insufficient evidence.

Thickness: 6 to 14 mm. Average between 7 and 10 mm.

Decoration: Approximately 25% of the sample shows decoration by cutting, straight-line incision or punctuation. Lines are thin and moderately rough and seem to have been made while the clay was still moist. The most characteristic designs are cross-hatching without intersection, groups of parallel oblique lines, and half-diamonds. Lines are usually widely spaced. Lines of punctuation may occur just below the rim. Decoration is confined to the area immediately below the rim. Small, incised lugs are occasionally present, and a single, low handle occurs on one specimen from San Salvador.

Geographical Range: This ware has so far (1993) been found only in the northern and north-central region of the archipelago—Grand Bahama (Knowles *et al.*), Great Abaco (Rainey's collection at the Yale Peabody Museum, Lothian and Bethell), and San Salvador (Rainey's collection at the Yale Peabody Museum, Winter, possibly Berman and Gnivecki 1991: 8, 9).

CROOKED ISLAND WARE

Definition as a Style: This paper. Cf. definitions of *Bahamas Plain Red* and *Bahamas Incised Red* (Granberry 1952: 14-15) and of *Read Slipped* (Granberry 1978: 38). Cf. also Hoffman (1967: 43, 58; 1970: 15), Berman and Gnivecki (1991: 8). See Fig. 1 g-q. Definition based on specimens from San Salvador (Hoffman, Winter, and, possibly, Berman and Gnivecki) and Crooked Island (Rainey). Total sherd # = approx. 200.

Paste: Bahamas Red Loam. Small limestone and temper inclusions.

Method of Manufacture: Coiled and fired (paste in a reduction environment).

Temper: Moderate sized crushed *Strombus*, *Codakia*, *Lucina* (10% of paste).

Texture: Moderately to finely granular with small inclusions.

Hardness: 5 to 5.5 on Moh's scale. Average between 4 and 4.5.

Color: Paste, particularly at the core, is black.

Surface Texture, Color, and Finish: Surfaces are well polished. A thick, shell-tempered, dark

brick-red slip, applied before firing (in an oxidizing environment) to a probably sun-dried, unsmoothed vessel, is firmly united to the paste.

Vessel Form: Inconclusive. Sherd curvatures suggest round or boat-shaped bowls approx. 30+ cm in diameter with straight sides. Necked jar-forms are indicated by a small number of sherds.

Shoulder: Occur only on necked jar-forms.

Rim: Rounded or flat, at times with complex bevelling. There is sometimes a slight taper toward the lip.

Base: Insufficient evidence.

Thickness: 6 to 14 mm. Average between 10 and 14 mm.

Decoration: Approximately 10% of the sample shows decoration by cutting, straight-line incision, engraved incision, or punctation. Lines are relatively wide and moderately rough and seem to have been made while the clay was still moist. Simple lugs, rim horns, and low handles also occur, as do sigmoid appliqué strips (Berman and Gnivecki 1991: 8; possibly Hoffman 1970: 14). Decoration is confined to the upper sides of the vessel.

Geographical Range: This ware has so far (1993) been found only in the central islands of the archipelago — San Salvador (Hoffman, Winter, Berman and Gnivecki 1991: 8, 9), Long Island (Krieger's collection at the U. S. National Museum), and Crooked Island (Rainey's collection at the Yale Peabody Museum).

PALMETTO WARE

Definition as a Style: Hoffman (1967, 1970), Maclaury (1970), Sullivan (1974), and, especially, Sears and Sullivan (1978). Cf. also *Gordon Hill Plain*, *Gordon Hill Incised*, *Gordon Hill Check-Stamped* (sic!) (Granberry 1952). Fig. 1 r-z, Fig. 2 f-k. Definition based on specimens from all islands in the archipelago and from all collections. Total Sherd # = 30,000+.

Paste: Bahamas Red Loam with limestone inclusions.

Method of Manufacture: Coiled and fired in an oxidizing environment (norm 70%). Griddles are mass molded.

Temper: 10 to 25% of paste with fine to large particles of crushed *Strombus*, *Codakia*, and *Lucina*.

Texture: Moderately to heavily granular.

Hardness: Average 2.5 on Moh's scale.

Color: Red; cores often incompletely oxidized and darker.

Surface Texture, Color, and Finish: Inner surfaces moderately to highly polished. Exterior surfaces less well-polished.

Vessel Form: Primarily round and boat-shaped bowls from 20-40 cm in diameter, 5-20 cm high. Flat griddles are 30-60 cm in diameter.

Shoulder: Straight or slightly incurving, never outflaring.

Rim: Bowls have rounded or thickened and flat rims, sometimes bevelled on inner edge. Often rims taper toward the lip. Griddles have rounded, unraised lips.

Base: Bowls usually have rounded bases, though flat, at times mat-marked bases also occur. Griddles are flat.

Thickness: Bowls 5-16 mm; griddles 16-32 mm, averaging 20 mm.

Decoration: Mat-marking on the lower 1/3 of the exterior of bowls and the bottom of griddles and bowls — both as a result of manufacture on plaited palm-mat surfaces of various patterns. Incised parallel lines and cross-hatching without intersection, and punctation are common forms of decoration on bowls, always on the rim and the area just below on the exterior of the vessel. Molded appliqué strips are sometimes applied on or just below the rim or on the upper 1/3 of the exterior of the vessel wall. Lugs, sometimes zoomorphic, handles of various kinds, and sigmoid strips also occur, frequently with incision on the appliqué.

Geographical Range: This ware has been found on all islands in the archipelago surveyed to date (1993) and is the dominant locally-made ceramic style.

AREAL RELATIONSHIPS OF PALMETTAN WARES

It can be said with a high degree of reliability that the characteristics of Palmettan wares stem from partly Ostionan, partly Meillacan, and partly Chican sources in the Greater Antilles (*cf.* especially Sears and Sullivan 1978: 13-16, Winter and Gilstrap 1991, Berman and Gnivecki 1991). The traits coming from all three subseries are so generalized, however, that it is impossible with the data we presently have to assign the origins of any of them explicitly to a single Ostionan, Meillacan, or Chican style.

Inasmuch as traits from more than one subseries occur at times on individual sherds, it seems obvious that Palmettan potters used examples of various Greater Antillean wares as models, adopting and adapting ware characteristics, particularly decorative motifs, from all at will. The evidence from ubiquitous Greater Antillean trade-wares, which occur in almost every known site in the archipelago, indicates an important, ongoing trade system between the Lucayan islands and at least Cuba and Hispaniola over the centuries (*cf.* Winter and Gilstrap 1991). From the fact that both Cuban and Hispaniolan trade-wares have been found on every island investigated so far it is also clear that the sources for outside ideas and artifacts were at all times multiple throughout the island chain. The characteristics of trade wares are recalled by similar characteristics on Palmettan wares. This flow of outside ideas becomes readily apparent when we learn that the Taíno dialect spoken by the natives of Guanahani in the Lucayan Islands was mutually intelligible with the dialect of the north coast of Cuba and that the peoples and cultures of both areas were 'identical' (Las Casas 1875: I, 291, 294 among others).

Palmettan wares, in short, emerge as the ceramic equivalent of a creolized language — their ware characteristics do not have a single provenience or origin in either space or time. It is, in fact, largely for this reason that we are suggesting that a separate Palmettan Subseries is indeed a reality, for locally-made Bahamian wares are neither Ostionan, Meillacan, nor Chican. They are something new, something uniquely Lucayan, and, therefore, likely best considered a subseries coordinate with the other Ostionoid subseries.

Yet, in spite of this hypothesis, it is also clear from trace-element analysis of selected trade-wares from sites in the central and southern islands that the preponderance of trade-wares have a Cuban origin (Winter and Gilstrap 1991). As early as 1956 it was obvious that Palmettan wares shared many characteristics with the Meillacan Baní wares of central Cuba (Granberry 1956: 130). Now that we have more data on aboriginal wares from eastern Cuba, especially from the Arroyo del Palo site (Tabio and Guarch 1966), the similarity between Cuban and Bahamian wares is yet more obvious (Berman and Gnivecki 1991).

Of considerable importance is the fact that Arroyo del Palo ceramics are Ostionan, not Meillacan, and date possibly from as early as 600-900 A. D. (Rouse 1982: 46) and certainly from the 930-1190 A. D. time range (Tabio and Guarch 1966: 77). These dates agree with the earliest known radiocarbon dates from the Lucayan islands of 600-900 A. D., for the Three Dog site on San Salvador — in which all three styles of Palmettan ware seem to occur (Berman and Gnivecki 1991). Even if we accept a revised date in the early 800's A. D. (Berman, personal communication), the earliest known Bahamian ceramics fall within Ostionan as well as early Meillacan times.

The fact that Abaco Redware and Crooked Island Ware both have more Ostionan characteristics — red slip and sigmoid decoration in particular — than Meillacan would seem to point toward Ostionan sources for the original Island Arawak migration into the archipelago and to place it sometime in the very early 800's A. D. or yet earlier. The fact that the greatest number of explicit ware similarities of Abaco Redware and Crooked Island Ware are to the Arroyo del Palo

Ostionan style of eastern Cuba certainly seems to nominate eastern Cuba as the probable source of initial migration.

Chican wares of Hispaniolan origin entered the Lucayan islands in the company of Chican settlers and traders by at least the mid-1200's (Winter 1978, Sears and Sullivan 1978: 18-23). The impression given by the distribution of Palmettan wares is that those from the eastern, Atlantic-facing fringe of islands in the Lucayan chain show more Chican influence in decorative design than do the those from the western islands in the archipelago (Granberry 1991: 11).

The latter observation has some ethnolinguistic evidence behind it, for Inagua glosses as *The Small Eastern Land* in Taíno, while Grand Turk, called Amuana on the early maps, glosses as *First Small Land* (Granberry 1991). Since Inagua is to the northwest of Hispaniola but to the northeast of Cuba, the western islands would seem to have been initially settled from eastern Cuba. Since Grand Turk would certainly not be the 'first' land of any size to be encountered by migrants from the Cuban coast, but would be the first island of any size to migrants coming north from Hispaniola, the presence of more Chican ware characteristics, as well as more Chican trade-ware samples, in the eastern islands of the archipelago should not be surprising.

CONCLUSIONS

In summary, it is hypothesized, on the basis of the ware characteristics given earlier in this paper, their distributions, their associated radiocarbon dates, and accompanying toponymic linguistic data, that the Lucayan archipelago was probably first settled in Ostionan times from northeastern Cuba, probably to the closest island, Inagua. At a later, not yet determined, date, additional migrants from both Cuba and Hispaniola, users of both Ostionan and Meillacan wares, also entered the islands, bringing with them other ceramic wares with new characteristics. Much later, probably in the 1200's, Chican migrants specifically from Hispaniola entered the islands by way of the Turks and Caicos.

It seems likely that the first locally-made Bahamian ceramic wares were strictly Ostionan, of Cuban inspiration. It is the authors' feeling that Abaco Redware and Crooked Island ware are more representative of such early inspiration than is Palmetto Ware proper, though the spatial distribution of the three wares implies that Abaco Redware continued to be made in the northern islands until quite late and that Crooked Island Ware continued as a viable style from the central islands south for a long, as yet undetermined, period. Both perhaps survived intact in their respective sub-regions of the archipelago into historic times.

As the initial settlers adapted to the more calcareous environment ceramic characteristics also adapted. With the introduction of Meillacan wares somewhat later in time the new, hybrid, creolized wares had their beginning and became sufficiently distinct from both Ostionan and Meillacan to call them Palmettan—a new ceramic subseries, to which were later added Chican traits.

The authors hasten to add the repeated caution that the establishment of a Palmettan Subseries in the Lucayan islands is suggested as an hypothesis to be empirically tested, not as a *fait-accompli*. The sherd samples for definition of both Abaco Redware and Crooked Island Ware are pitifully small. Only continued careful excavation and analysis will verify or refute the Palmettan Hypothesis.

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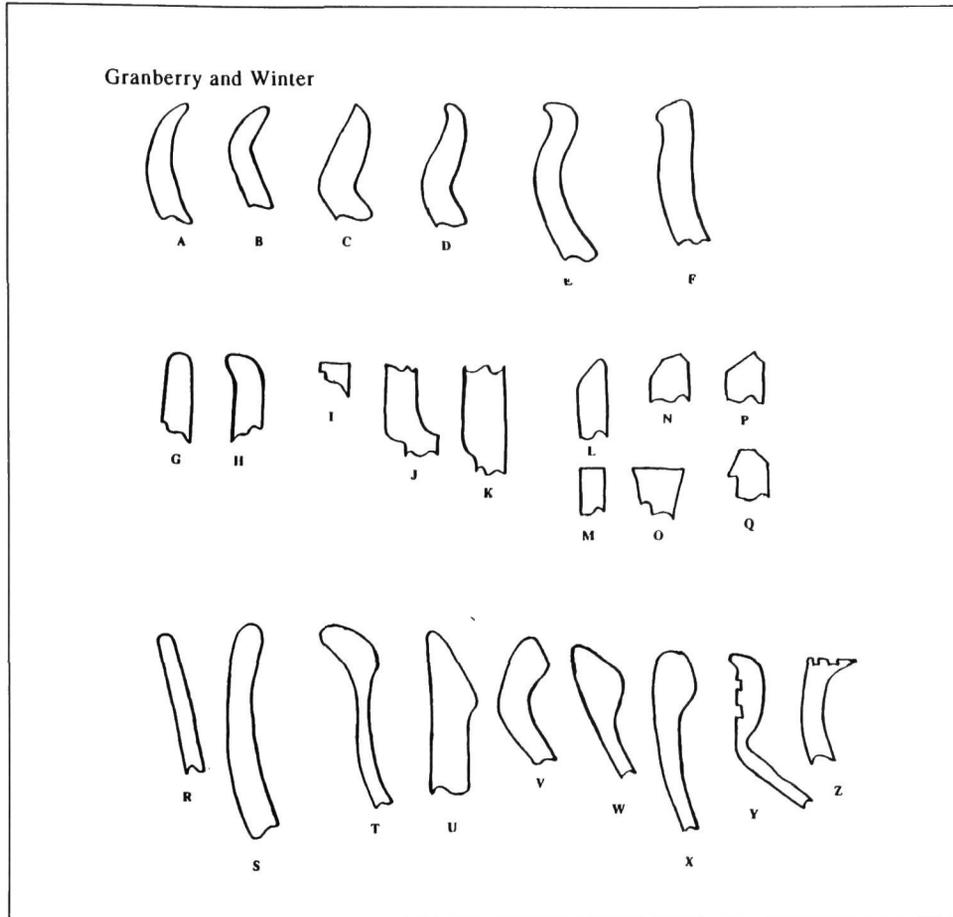


Fig. 1. RIM PROFILES: A-F Abaco Redware, G-Q Crooked Island Ware, R-Z Palmetto Ware.

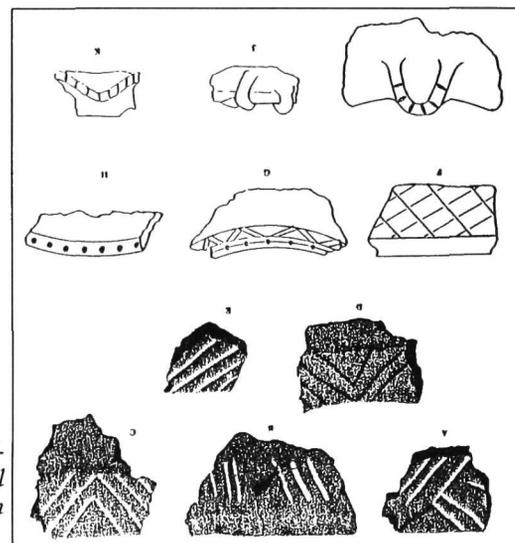


Fig. 2. DECORATIVE MOTIFS: A-E Abaco Redware, F-K Palmetto Ware. (A-E from David Bethell, *The Abaco Historical Preservation Society*; F-I from Shaun Sullivan 1974; J-K from Charles A. Hoffman 1970).