Searching for Cayo in Dominica

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Abstract: In January 2008 a small team of the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, The Netherlands, co-operating with dr. Lennox Honychurch of the Dominica Museum, Roseau, surveyed part of northeast Dominica in order to identify settlement sites of the Cayo complex, which can be ascribed to the Island Caribs of protohistoric times. The area investigated is situated some 6-15 km north of the present Carib Territory which houses a thriving community of (mixed) descendants of the historic Island Caribs. In all five sites were examined by surface collecting and test pitting, all of which appeared to be pottery deposits of variable extent and partially multicomponent in character. Three sites could be identified as yielding different amounts of Cayo pottery fragments. The general unattractivity of Cayo pottery due to its drab colour and sparseness of decoration may have been the cause that the ceramics of this late-prehistoric to protohistoric complex have long remained unrecognized by archaeologists, be it avocational or professional, in the Windward Islands.

Résumé: En janvier 2008 une petite équipe de la Faculté d’Archéologie, l’Université de Leiden, Pays-Bas, collaborant avec dr. Lennox Honychurch du Musée de Dominique, Roseau, examinait la partie de la Dominique Nord-Est pour identifier des sites d’habitation de l’ensemble de Cayo, qui peut être attribué aux Îles Caraïbes de l’âge de la protohistoire. Le territoire examiné est situé quelques 6 à 15 km au nord du territoire Caraïbe actuel où habite une communauté prospère de descendants mêlés des Îles Caraïbes anciennes. Toutes les cinq sites ont été examinées par recueillir en surface et par puits de sondage et tous s’avéraient être des dépôts de poterie d’une étendue variable et partiellement multicomposante de caractère. Trois sites pourraient être reconnues ayant produit des quantités variables des fragments de poterie de Cayo. L’aspect en général peu attractif de la poterie de Cayo, en raison de sa couleur et sa décoration sobre, pourrait avoir été la cause que la faïence de cette fin-préhistoire à l’ensemble de la protohistoire est restée longtemps pas reconnue par les archéologues des Îles du Vent, ni les amateurs ni les professionnels.

Resumen: En enero de 2008 un equipo pequeño de la Facultad de Arqueología, de la Universidad de Leiden, los Países Bajos, cooperando con el Dr. Lennox Honychurch del Museo de Dominica, Roseau, inspeccionó parte del noreste de Dominica para identificar sitios del complejo de Cayo, que puede ser atribuido a los Caribes de las islas de tiempos protohistóricos. El área investigada está situada a unos 6-15 km al norte de la Territorio de Caribes presente que alberga una comunidad próspera de descendientes (mezclados) de los Caribes históricos de las islas. En total cinco sitios fueron examinados reuniendo de superficie y cavando hoyos de prueba, todos los cuales parecieron ser depósitos de alfarería de extensión variable y parcialmente de carácter multicomponente. Tres sitios podrían ser identificados rindiendo cantidades variables de fragmentos de alfarería de Cayo. La vulgaridad general de la alfarería de Cayo debido a su color y la escasez de decoración puede haber sido la causa de que la cerámica de este complejo prehistórico tarde a protohistórico durante largo tiempo no se ha quedado reconocido por arqueólogos, aficionados y profesionales, en las Islas de barlovento.
Introduction

Undoubtedly the Cayo complex forms the least well-known but one of the most intriguing ceramic assemblages known from Lesser Antillean archaeology to date. First encountered by I.A. Earle Kirby at the New Sandy Bay site close to the Cayo River in northeast St. Vincent in the 1970s (Kirby 1974), subsequently Cayo ceramics were identified by the author as representing the pottery complex of the Island Caribs who inhabited the Windward Islands during late-prehistoric and protohistoric times (Boomert 1986). Nowhere the presence of Cayo is known better archaeologically than in St. Vincent, although closely related materials have been recovered also from sites in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe (Richard 2002a, 200b, 2003), Dominica (Honychurch 2004; Petitjean Roget 1978, Photos 4-5), Martinique (Allaire 1984, Fig. 3:A), St. Lucia (Hofman & Bright 2004), Ile de Ronde, Grenadines (Petitjean Roget 2001/2002:60-1), Grenada (Cody Holdren 1998:80-1,87), and Trinidad (Boomert 1986, Fig. 21:7). Besides, in 1993 Louis Allaire was able to identify Cayo pottery clearly associated with materials dating to the historic period such as glass beads and objects of iron, copper or brass and gunflint at the Argyle site of St. Vincent, including a unique Cayo potsherd with a series of glass seed beads inlaid in the rim (Allaire 1994; Allaire & Duval 1995).

Since that time no further work has been undertaken at the Cayo sites of St. Vincent and only sparsely elsewhere in the Windward Islands, reason for the Caribbean Section of the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, The Netherlands, to initiate a modest archaeological project intended to further archaeological and ethnohistorical research into the Island Carib occupation of the Lesser Antillean archipelago. As a first stage of this project a small team of Leiden University, co-operating with dr. Lennox Honychurch of the Dominica Museum, Roseau, surveyed part of northeast Dominica in order to investigate suspected settlement sites of the Cayo complex in January 2008. The area investigated is situated some 6-15 km north of the present Carib Territory which houses a thriving community of (mixed) descendants of the historic Island Caribs or Kalinago as they called themselves.

Cayo and the Island Caribs

The recognition of the Island Carib ceramic complex formed an archaeological bone of contention throughout most of the second half of the previous century. While in the first instance the pottery of the Suazan Troumassoid subseries (then still called the Suazoid series or tradition) was felt to represent Kalinago ceramics (McKusick 1960; Bullen 1964), subsequently the author tentatively identified the little-known Cayo complex of St. Vincent as such, using archaeological and ethnohistorical data (Boomert 1986). Although thereupon the ‘Island Carib Problem’ was discussed while fully ignoring this evidence by Davis & Goodwin (1990), the ensuing recovery of Cayo ceramics from various sites between Grenada and Guadeloupe next to Allaire’s discoveries on St. Vincent settled the matter quite conclusively. Research should now focus on the recovery of many more Cayo sites in the Windward Islands, preferably by combining ethnohistorical investigation with archaeological reconnaissance. Besides, the vexed question why it has taken so long to identify Island Carib ceramics should be answered while the temporal and cultural relationship between the various Suazoid and Cayo pottery complexes in the Windwards has to be further analyzed.

One aspect of the problem, our knowledge of the Kalinago ceramic complex for as far it can be reconstructed from the documentary evidence has recently been studied to greater depth
than previously (Harris 1995; Hofman & Bright 2004). As noted previously (Boomert 1995), the nomenclature of the various Island Carib vessel shapes, recorded by seventeenth- to eighteenth-century authors such as the Anonymous of Carpentras, Breton, Rochefort, du Tertre, du Puis, De la Borde, Labat, and the Anonymous of St. Vincent, shows an interesting distinction between two gender-related functional earthenware categories. Vessels typically associated with the male sphere of activities carry names of Cariban linguistic affiliation while forms connected with the female occupations in Island Carib society are indicated by Maipuran Arawakan or European names. The male-associated vessels include well-finished, more or less ceremonial ceramics, used for communal use during meals, the preparation of cassava beer or for serving the latter during drinking feasts, while the female-related earthenware comprises only purely domestic vessels next to griddles.

This dimorphism in Kalinago vessel nomenclature accurately reflects the distinction between the gender-affiliated registers employed in Island Carib society in which the men, though speaking basically Northern Arawakan, used a largely Kaliña (Mainland Carib) or Kaliña-derived vocabulary, while the women employed a fully Arawakan lexicon (Hoff 1994, 1995). As is well known, part of the Island Carib myths of origin ascribe this linguistic situation by postulating that the men in their society are descended from Cariban-speaking warriors who once immigrated into the Windward Islands from the area of the Galibis, i.e. Kaliña, of the Guianas, more specifically the lower Maroni River in northeast Suriname and northwest French Guiana. They would have extinguished the men and married the women of the original inhabitants of these islands who spoke a Maipuran Arawakan language closely related to Lokono or True Arawak of the South American mainland and south Trinidad. It is well to realize that contrary to the commonly held view, the Island Carib narratives on their origin are certainly not unanimous in claiming this scenario. To the contrary, one of the versions recorded holds that in fact the Windwards were uninhabited at the time of the Island Carib immigration from the Guiana coastal zone (Gullick 1980).

The Cariban names characterizing the male-related Island Carib vessel repertoire suggested to Allaire (1977, 1984) that the origin of this portion of their pottery complex had to be sought in the Guianas. Though his reasoning cannot be accepted without qualification, the linguistic resemblance is certainly indicative of a mainland connection. Besides, Allaire’s and the author’s study of Kalinago pottery manufacture as well as vessel morphology and decorative patterns clearly suggests that the early historic Island Carib ceramic complex developed parallel to that of the present Kaliña Indians of the Guianas out of a late-prehistoric ancestral tradition common to both. This latter ceramic assemblage could be identified as the Koriabo complex, an offshoot of the Koriaban subseries of the Guianas, itself forming part of the Polychrome Tradition or Marajoaroid series of Amazonia (Boomert 2004). As much of the Cayo pottery of the Windward Islands shows typically Koriabo vessel shapes and decorative motifs, the author has concluded that this insular complex forms a derivation from the Koriabo ceramics and, consequently, represents the Kalinago pottery tradition. Besides, just as much Koriabo pottery in the Guianas a number of Cayo potsherds from St. Vincent appear to be tempered with caraipé, i.e. the burned bark of the Licania tree, which is indigenous to the Guianas and Trinidad, but unknown from the Windward Islands (see Boomert 1986, 1995).

It is noteworthy that not the entire Cayo ceramic repertoire can be interpreted as emanating from the Koriabo complex of the Guianas. Instead, one particular vessel shape, Vessel Form 4 of Boomert (1986), cannot be ascribed to this mainland ceramic tradition. It comprises more or less biconical bowls of medium proportions showing concave necks and restricted
composite contours, often decorated with punctated or nicked small knobs at the corner point (see Boomert 1986, Figs. 3:4, 5:4, 10:4). Form as well as ornamentation of this vessel shape show close similarities to the Late Chicoid bowls of Hispaniola, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, especially those included by García Arévalo (1978, Fig. 2, Lam. III:b-c) in his ‘cerámica criolla’ category of historic times. This cultural link with the late-prehistoric Indians of the Greater Antilles may originate from the capturing of Taino women by the Island Caribs which together with the raiding of Lokono (Arawak) women from the mainland and Trinidad can be taken to have been responsible for a continuous reinforcement of the Maipuran Arawakan element in Island Carib society. Otherwise, it might be ascribed to Taino Indians who escaped from Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands due to Spanish pressure in the contact period (Alistair J. Bright, pers. commun.).

Although the mainland affiliations of Cayo ceramics suggest that the major theme in the Island Carib myths of their origin are historically correct, doubtlessly the Kalinago settlement in the Windward Islands formed only the ultimate outcome of already existing relationships of intermarriage, trade, and ceremonial exchange, thus cementing rather than disrupting long-established patterns of interaction and communication between the mainland and the Lesser Antilles. Clearly, the formation of the Kaliñá/Kalinago/Lokono sphere of interaction, closely knit by ties of kinship, ethnicity, language, exchange, war, and culture, which encompassed the Windward Islands, Trinidad and the littoral zone of the Guianas, had its roots in Troumassoid times. Indeed, if the Tobago evidence is exemplary for the Windward Islands, the gender-related division of Island Carib ceramics had its precursors in the Troumassoid series of the Lesser Antilles. Both subsequent Tobagonian Troumassoid complexes, Golden Grove and Plymouth, show a division into basically two distinct wares with specialized functions and, consequently, different occupational and gender associations, i.e. a male-related high-quality ware serving purposes of more or less ceremonial character and a female-affiliated coarse ware with purely domestic functions (Boomert 2005, 2007; Boomert & Kameneff 2003).

Northeast Dominica was selected for investigating archaeological sites yielding Cayo ceramics by the Leiden team as it is adjacent to the present Carib Territory and shows similar environmental characteristics. The Carib Territory consists of 1530 ha of heavily wooded hilly country crossed by deep ravines and rocky streams, extending along some 13 km of rugged, irregular coastline. Its population is concentrated in seven coastal hamlets, of which Salybia forms the administrative centre. These villages, which are distinguished by generally widely dispersed houses, are connected by the winding coastal road running from Marigot to Castle Bruce (Kouanari) and beyond. In addition, scattered dwellings are found along the hillsides. The bay of Salybia is the only landing of some substance for the fishermen among the Caribs. At present houses are of Dominican Creole type, raised 0.5-1.5 m from the ground on piles, with flooring and walls of hardwood boards and galvanized iron sheeting for roofs (Honychurch 2000:10; Taylor 1938). They typically shelter nuclear families. Each house (muinan) has a mud courtyard behind it with a separate kitchen and latrine. As Hoogland (1984) notes, organic debris is generally disposed of by dumping it on sloping ground beyond the yard while metal and glass are thrown on top of a rubbish pile next to the yard. Food remains such as chicken bones and fish are fed to pigs or dogs.

The traditional Island Carib village showed a quite different layout. As described by seventeenth- to eighteenth-century observers such as the Anonymous of Carpentras, Breton, du Tertre, Rochefort, Labat, and Le Breton (cited by Lafitau), it consisted of a large men’s (assembly) house with a small plaza in front, surrounded by smaller family dwellings. The men’s
The men’s house served as a daily meeting place for the men of the village, as a place to receive and accommodate guests, to hold communal feasts, and occasionally to bury deceased (male) members of the community. The men used to spend part of the day in the assembly house, discussing matters of war and peace from their hammocks. Women entered only to serve meals or to wipe the (dirt) floor. The only contemporary representation of an Island Carib (or Kalina) village is shown on a unique ink and watercolour manuscript map, probably drawn by Willem Mollens, the Dutch governor of the Courlander settlement at present-day Plymouth on the leeward coast of Tobago, dating to 1656 (see Boomert 2002). This map, the original of which was destroyed during the Second World War, shows the Amerindian village at the back of the Courlander fortress Jekabs (Jacob), called after the Duke of Courland (present Latvia). The village consists of a rectangular, entirely closed, building with thatched roof, obviously the men’s house, occupying the centre of an open square which is encircled by a series of (perhaps twenty) round family houses with conical, thatched roofs (Fig. 1). The drawing suggests that the walls of both the men’s house and the family huts were made of closely-sets poles or reeds. The structures are overshadowed by a tree of considerable size. Dark-skinned, sparingly clad Indians, holding spears in their hands, are shown inside the village.

Cayo Sites in Dominica

In spite of the continuous presence of Amerindians on Dominica from prehistoric times until at present, the archaeology of the island has long been a neglected field of research. Although reconnaissance surveys were conducted in Dominica as early as the 1960s, systematic archaeological excavations were not made until a few years ago. Partially this may be due to the difficulty of recognizing site localities caused by the heavy precipitation and luxuriance of the tropical forest on the island resulting in locally extensive erosion and deposition of dense layers of earth covering sites. In all over 40 archaeological site locations have been registered, the majority of which represent midden deposits, pottery scatters and individual finds. In addition, grinding platforms are known while recently the thus far single petroglyph site from the island was discovered (Honychurch 2000:29-35, pers. commun.; Lenik n.d.). Although some individual stone artifacts, exhibited in the Dominica Museum, Roseau, show morphological resemblances to Archaic specimens from the Leeward Islands and beyond, the identifiable archaeological sites date from the Ceramic Age. Recent research has shown close similarities between the Cedrosan
Saladoid pottery encountered at the earliest of these sites, Soufrière, and the ceramics from Fond-Brûlé on Martinique, suggesting dense interaction between both islands (Bérard 2007).

Dominica is situated at the centre of the Lesser Antilles island chain. It is a heavily forested volcanic island featuring a long, north-south running chain of nine volcanic peaks of more than 1000 m in height in its interior. Seismic activity is frequent; the most recent magmatic eruption took place some 450 BP. Besides, the volcanic origin of the island is still very evident in its sulphur deposits, hot water springs and gas vents. High peaks, thickly forested slopes, deep valleys and river gorges characterize Dominica’s interior. Precipitation is heaviest in the central part of the island and on its windward side. The latter receives an annual rainfall of some 2500-3000 mm. Hurricanes hit the island at irregular times: in all some twenty over the past two hundred years. Dominica has a remarkable range of natural habitats, ranging from littoral woodland and dry scrub woodland in the eastern and western coastal zones of the island, respectively, to deciduous forest, tropical rain forest and cloud forest in its interior, all of which interspersed by freshwater swamps, mountain crater lakes, rivers and waterfalls. Dominica is considered to have the most diverse assemblage of wildlife in the Lesser Antilles (Evans & James 1997a, 1997b; Zamore 2000).

The northeastern littoral of Dominica shows an alternation of extended sandy beaches, eroded reddish cliffs, rocky points and small river valleys, gradually giving way to the island’s rugged and mountainous interior. Here Dominica’s most extensive coral reefs are to be found. As everywhere on the Atlantic (windward) coast of the island, the inshore waters can be rough and unpredictable (Crask, 2007:3). This is the case particularly near the mouths of rivers such as the Melville Hall River and the Toulaman or Tweed River both of which debouch into Londonderry Bay. At present most of the country is under banana, coconut and food crop cultivation by small farmers; in the times of plantation agriculture especially sugar cane, limes, coconuts and cocoa were grown. In addition, fishing forms a major source of income for the local population which is scattered in small villages such as Calibishie, Wesley and Marigot. At present (eco)tourism is a growing industry, especially on the northern littoral. From here Marie-Galante, Guadeloupe and Les Saintes can be viewed almost continuously.

In January 2008 the Leiden team surveyed and partially testpitted in all five sites known to be yielding Cayo materials (Fig. 2). Using Honychurch’s Dominica site numbering (Honychurch 2000, Fig. 2:3), they include from north to south: (1) Woodford Hill (DOM-8), (2) Eden (DOM-9/10), (3) Sophia Bay (DOM-11), (4) Walker’s Rest (DOM-12), and (5) Melville Hall (DOM-13/14). All materials encountered during our surveys of these sites are kept in the archaeological depot of Fort Shirley at Cabrits National Park, Portsmouth. Briefly, the sites can be described as follows.

**Woodford Hill**

This site occupies part of the lower stretches of the Woodford Hill River, north of the stream, and formerly extended from the river to the sandy beach across the coastal road, ending at the sand quarry at the western slope of the bushy Pointe La Soie headland (Fig. 3). The Woodford Hill River originates at Constant Spring in Dominica’s Northern Forest Reserve and debouches into Woodford Hill Bay at the site location, west of Pointe La Soie. The river is navigable for canoes over a distance of about 1 km. Its lower reaches are swampy, full of crab holes and grown with *bwa mang* trees (*Pterocarpus officinalis*), an evergreen tree with huge buttresses which can reach a height of some 25-30 m (Fig. 4; Evans & James 1997a:19). Ruins of nineteenth-century sugar estate buildings and warehouses are to be found at both sides of the coastal road. According to local information, at the sea side the river has changed its course and
much land has disappeared here over the past twenty years or so, forcing road diversion towards
the interior.

The site was discovered by Clifford Evans during his archaeological survey of Dominica
in 1966 and registered as ‘Pointe La Soie’ (D-11). Evans collected some plain, eroded potsherds
with a poorly mixed, sandy paste, showing Troumassoid-like scratch marks, from the site’s
surface. Besides, he describes pieces deriving from flat-based angular walled vessels. In addition,
Evans encountered some stone pounding and grinding tools as well as European ceramics and
metal fragments (Evans 1968). In 1977 the site was visited by Henri Petitjean Roget. According
to his sketch map (Petitjean Roget 1978, Pl. V:19), he collected pottery fragments from the
surface of the site along the river, on the Pointe La Soie headland and the beach of Woodford
Hill Bay. Besides, Petitjean Roget encountered some human bones, obviously deriving from a
burial, at a depth of 80 cm below the surface of the site at a location where the river had cut away
some of the Pointe La Soie headland, close to the present bridge across the river. The pottery
found is described as red painted; it includes specimens with clearly Cayo decorative motifs such
as nubbins showing gashes or punctations applied with a hollow reed (Petitjean Roget 1978,
Photo 5).

The partially multicomponent character of the Woodford Hill site is suggested by the
recovery of a typically Cedrosan Saladoid head lug in the 1990s (see Honychurch 1995:16,
2000:30,34). The presence of Cayo materials at the site was again shown in 2004 when two
almost complete medium-sized jars of Cayo Form 5 (see Boomert 1986, Figs. 3:5, 5:5, 6:1, 7:6-
7) were found by Andre Samuel, a student of the Dominica Youth Environment Service Corps,
at an eroded part of the headland, close to the bridge (Honychurch 2004, pers. commun.). The
recovery of these vessels formed the incentive for the Leiden team to survey the Woodford Hill
site in 2008. Finally, a surface search of the site was made by Benoît Bérard in 2007, resulting in
the collecting of a modest amount of pottery which at present is kept in the Fort Shirley depot.

Our survey first encompassed a careful surface search of the entire tract of the site. This
resulted in the identification of an area showing the highest concentration of potsherds, just
behind a derelict warehouse south of the coastal road. Subsequently, a 2x1-m testpit (Unit 1) and
a series of in all fifteen 30x30x50-cm shovel tests, situated roughly at distances of 5 m from each
other, were excavated, controlled in 5-cm artificial levels (Fig. 5). The excavated soil was dry-
screened using fine-mesh (2-mm) sieves. Testpit and shovel tests yielded a thick, dark brown
layer of humus-rich clayey sand, at a depth of about 70 cm below the present surface resting on
grey blue sand. Crab holes were common. Only the upper 35 cm yielded cultural materials,
including a modest amount of potsherds, stone flakes, chips of charcoal, animal and fish bone
fragments, and shells among which West Indian top shells (Cittarium pica), Thick lucinas
(Phacoides pectinatus), Star shells (Astraea sp.), nerites, and chitons. Unfortunately, the
prehistoric materials appeared to be interspersed with modern European pottery, glass and pieces
of metal.

**Eden**

This site occupies various locations close to the Eden River mouth, about 1 km south of
Crompton Point. The Eden River originates in the hilly interior to the west of Wesley and
debouches into Eden Bay, just north of Rough Bay, the name of which is illustrative of the
navigational conditions offshore this part of northeast Dominica. Eden Bay is a suitable site for
landing canoes; it is flanked by two islets. The site was discovered by Clifford Evans in 1966 and
at the time registered as D-8. Evans encountered potsherds, some stone artifact fragments and
European materials on the beach close to the mouth of the Eden River. This is the Eden 1 site
(DOM-9) as listed by Honychurch (2000, Fig. 2:3). Part of the pottery is described as plain, showing a poorly mixed, sandy paste, orange-coloured walls, Troumassoid-like scratch marks and being completely oxidized, thus resembling that of Woodford Hill to a certain extent (Evans 1968, Fig. 2a-d). Besides, Evans found possible griddle fragments and Saladoid-like potsherds showing incised and modeled decorative motifs, including zoned-incised-crosshatched pieces (Evans 1968, Fig. 2o,q), suggesting that at least this part of the site represents a multicomponent deposit.

The Eden 1 site was visited by Henri Petitjean Roget in 1977. However, it was registered as ‘Anse Noir’ and located incorrectly on his map of Dominica (Petitjean Roget 1978, Pl. I:24, V:24). Petitjean Roget encountered a few unidentifiable potsherds on the sand beach north of the river mouth, close to some old sugar estate warehouses. Ruins of another historic building are to be found directly south of the river mouth. Part of the former Eden Estate is presently being developed for house construction at the sea front which shows a series of heavily eroded, reddish cliffs, partly grown with dry scrub woodland and a typically littoral vegetation (Evans & James 1997a:14). Honychurch (2000, Fig. 2:3) lists a second site, Eden 2 (DOM-10), at this former estate, some 500 m south of the Eden 1 site. Potsherds apparently found at this location are kept in the Fort Shirley depot as well as materials encountered by Benoît Bérard during a visit to the Eden site in 2007. In fact, three major cliff slopes south of the Eden River, separated by erosion gullies and small valleys, yielded scattered potsherds during our survey. Especially on the pathway leading from the headland directly south of the river to its mouth many potsherds were encountered on the surface. Obviously they had eroded from the top of the slope which going downwards shows an alteration of brownish to reddish soil. The pottery collected comprises Troumassoid-like scratched pieces and clearly Cayo materials, but a Saladoid/Huecoid-like head lug was recovered as well, suggesting that the Eden site forms an at least partially multicomponent deposit.

**Sophia Bay**

This site occupies part of the lower reaches of a small unnamed river which debouches into Sophia Bay, some 2 km south of Eden 1, as the crow flies. This stream crosses a small valley under coconut cultivation in between some heavily forested hills which widens to a sandy beach excellently suitable to the landing of canoes. The site can be reached by walking along a trail passing through a series of small farmers’ plots, starting at a diversion from the major coastal road. The Sophia Bay site was discovered by Clifford Evans in 1966 and at the time registered as D-13. It is incorrectly located as to be found south of Walker’s Rest Bay on Evans’ map of Dominica sites (Evans 1968, Fig. 1). Evans encountered some crude, sandy potsherds, showing plain or Troumassoid-like scratched surfaces, griddle fragments as well as Saladoid-like pieces showing incised decorative motifs and chips of red jasper (Evans 1968, Fig. 2:e,f,r).

In 2007 the site was visited by Benoît Bérard and Stephan Lenik. Their materials are kept in the Fort Shirley depot. During our visit a careful surface search of the area yielded a modest quantity of potsherds over a distance of some 50 m at both sides of a foot path stretching parallel to the stream on its elevated south bank. Besides, sparsely distributed pieces were recovered from the coconut grove north of the river, situated at sea level, but none higher up the hills enclosing the cove. Seven shovel tests dug at various locations across the area did not yield many finds. They showed a top layer of darkbrown soil, at a depth of some 20 cm below the surface resting on more compact, light clayey sand.
**Walker’s Rest Bay**

This site occupies a small cove, surrounded by steep hills, directly south of Sophia Bay and separated from it by a rocky promontory. A narrow beach presents a suitable landing for canoes here, too. The site was discovered by Clifford Evans in 1966 and at the time registered as D-14. Evans (1968) discovered some crude, plain potsherds showing Troumassoid-like scratch marks next to griddle fragments and Saladoid-like pieces with incised decorative patterns. Judging from potsherds found at Walker’s Rest Bay and kept in the Fort Shirley depot, the site was visited by Lennox Honychurch, Benoît Bérard and Stephan Lenik (2007) as well. Our surface search yielded a limited amount of potsherds, some of which show scratching, and some griddle pieces.

**Melville Hall**

This site occupies the coastal stretch of Londonderry Bay between the mouth of a small, unnamed stream which drains a swampy area south of Londonderry Estate and the steep cliffs directly north of the runway of Melville Hall Airport, which runs parallel to the Melville Hall River, the largest stream of northeast Dominica. Two specific areas can be distinguished: (1) Melville Hall 1, comprising the beach area below the mouth of the unnamed stream which is situated some 500 m south of the lower reaches and mouth of the Tweed or Toulaman River, and (2) Melville Hall 2, the area on top of the plateau and cliffs further to the south at both sides of the coastal road. The Melville Hall 1 site (DOM-13) was discovered by Clifford Evans in 1966 who called it the Toulaman River site (D-12). Evans encountered crude, plain, sandy potsherds and Troumassoid-like pieces showing scratched and red-painted surfaces next to a modelled-punctated head lug and an anthropomorphic wall face (Evans 1968, Fig. 2:g,h). Besides, he recovered pieces deriving from (Cayo?) flat based vessels with angular side walls and one rim fragment of a lobed carinated bowl.

In 1977 the Melville Hall 1 site was visited by Henry Petitjean Roget who collected potsherds just south of the bridge which crosses the unnamed stream debouching into Londonderry Bay. His finds include Cayo-like dark grey to blackish sherds showing nicked knobs (Petitjean Roget 1978, Pl. IV:18, Photo 4). In spite of careful surface searching, no materials were encountered in this section of the site in 2008. However, some 150 m to the south of Melville Hall 1 the eroded cliff side yielded a stratigraphic profile showing brown, clayey sand intersected by a broad, horizontal layer of heavy, waterworn boulders about 100-150 cm below the surface of the ground, accompanied by numerous potsherds and patches of charcoal over an area of some 15 m along the beach. This stony layer suggests deposition due to past hurricane activity, disturbing the original stratigraphy of this part of the site. Lennox Honychurch collected some Cayo-like pottery materials here (Honychurch 2000:30,34).

The Melville Hall 2 site (DOM-14) is situated some 600 m south of Melville 1. It occupies the headland which rises slowly from the valley of the Tweed or Toulaman River to the north in order to descend again to the valley of the Melville Hall River in the south (Fig. 6). This section of the site was discovered by Henry Petitjean Roget who collected potsherds from both sides of the coastal road which crosses the plateau, noting that the road had destroyed most of the site (Petitjean Roget 1978, Pl. IV:17). His finds encompass clearly Saladoid potsherds showing red- and white-on-red painted surfaces. In 2007 Benoît Bérard and Stephan Lenik collected at this part of the site as well. Their materials are kept in the Fort Shirley depot. Our surface search of the area yielded a modest amount of pottery fragments distributed in the bushy section on top of the headland at both sides of the road as well as on the eroded cliff slopes towards the beach of Londonderry Bay. In all six 30x30x50-cm shovel tests were dug of which one at the western
side of the road and a north-south bearing row of five tests at its eastern side. They yielded dark brown, relatively loose, rooty soil and modest amounts of potsherds, changing to more compact, sterile, clayey sand at a depth of some 25 cm below the present surface.

**The Cayo Pottery of Dominica**

As the technological and cultural aspects of the pottery materials recovered during the 2008 survey are still under study at Leiden University, only a preliminary account of these materials can be given. Besides, since all sites appear to represent at least partially multicomponent deposits showing shallow stratigraphies the discussion has to be limited to the characteristically Cayo materials encountered. Cayo-like finds recovered prior to the 2008 survey at various sites in Dominica and kept in the Dominica Museum, Roseau, and the archaeological depot at Fort Shirley, Portsmouth, will be taken into account as well.

As to manufacture, the pottery found at all sites under discussion can preliminarily be characterized as tempered with moderate amounts of quartz sand and small quantities of black minerals. Whether these non-plastics can be identified as deliberate additions to the potter’s clay or natural impurities, has to be determined yet. Coiling apparently formed the primary method of manufacture. Bases were either made using moulds or by flattening out of a slab of clay. Firing took place in an open fire. Surface wall colour varies from black or dark grey to brownish red, depending on whether reducing or oxidizing conditions prevailed during firing. However, as most potsherds are surface finds, surfaces are often severely eroded as a result of which the original vessel colour cannot be determined. It is noteworthy that high proportions of pottery showing darkish surfaces due to reducing conditions of firing have been identified at several sites yielding Cayo ceramics in the Windward Islands (Boomert 1986).

The most characteristic Cayo vessel shape, the small to medium-sized jar with outcurving rim, vertical or almost vertical neck and globular body (Cayo Form 5), which represents a direct copy of the Koriabo necked jar (Form 11), was found to be present at Eden, Melville Hall and Woodford Hill. For instance, both vessels accidentally encountered in 2004 at the latter site belong to this class (Figs. 7-9). In addition, a decorated rim fragment of this type of necked jar was encountered by Steve Lenik (pers. commun.) in protohistoric context at the Indian River site on Prince Rupert Bay in 2006 (Fig. 10). Apart from Cayo, St. Vincent, and Dominica, Cayo Form 5 necked vessels are known from Martinique (Allaire 1984, Fig. 3:A) and probably Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe (Richard 2003, Fig. 4). Another typically Cayo vessel shape, the medium-sized to large jar showing a convex neck and globular body of Cayo Form 8 (Boomert 1986, Figs. 4:B4, 6:4), which closely resembles Koriabo Form 13, has been identified at the Indian River site by Steve Lenik (pers. commun.), and at Galby Bay, Grenada, by Cody Holdren (1998, Fig. 5:20). However, part of the incurving rim sherds seemingly deriving from constricted bowls, which have been found at all five Dominica sites surveyed in 2008, may actually have belonged to this type of jar.

Pottery ornamentation is limited. A necked vessel of Cayo Form 5 found at Eden shows a vertical oval knob with three indentations on its largest belly diameter (Fig. 11). This type of simple modelling is known also from Melville Hall and Woodford Hill (Petitjean Roget 1978, Photos 4-5); it is reported from Cayo, St. Vincent (Boomert 1986, Fig. 10:4) and Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe (Richard 2003, Fig. 4), as well. A Cayo Form 5 necked vessel showing nicked knobs on top of a D-shaped handle has been encountered by Steve Lenik at the Indian River site, Prince Rupert Bay (Fig. 10). Besides, typically Cayo and Koriabo nubbins showing punctuations
applied with a hollow reed were recovered by Lenik (pers. commun.) at the Indian River site as well. Otherwise, such nubbins are known from Woodford Hill (Petitjean Roget 1978, Photo 5), Cayo, St. Vincent (Boomert 1986, Fig. 7:7) and Galbi, Grenada (Cody Holdren 1998, Fig. 5-20).

Incised decorative motifs are less common. The Cayo Form 5 necked vessel from Geneva referred to above shows two rectilinear incisions on top of its rim while other incised designs have been reported from Cayo, St. Vincent (Boomert 1986, Fig. 8), Sauteurs, Grenada (Cody Holdren 1998, Fig. 5-7:B,D), and Roseau, Basse-Terre (Richard 2003, Fig. 3). The latter site also yielded rim sherds showing rows of punctations (Richard 2002a:53). This motif is reported by Steve Lenik (pers. commun.) from Prince Rupert Bay, Dominica, while appliqué fillets with similar rows of punctations are known from Sauteurs, Grenada (Cody Holdren 1998, Fig. 5-8) and Ile de Ronde (Petitjean Roget 2001/2002:60).

Reviewing the Dominica pottery evidence at this stage, it should be acknowledged that the partially multicomponent character of the five sites surveyed hampers full understanding of the Cayo complex in Dominica and for that matter in the entire Windward Islands. For instance, it is quite obvious that a typically Troumassoid ceramic feature such as scratched surfaces frequently occurs at the sites discussed. As this situation is matched by the presence of scratched potsherds at other sites yielding Cayo materials in the Windward Islands, e.g. Sauteurs Bay, Grenada (Cody Holdren 1998, Figs. 5-10,12), one wonders whether this formed a pottery mode still in use some time after the replacement of Suazan Troumassoid ceramics by the Cayo complex. Or, in other words, whether a specific pottery mode such as vessel wall scratching continued to be practised following the introduction of Cayo vessel shapes and decorative motifs. After all, it is a ceramic feature well known from the historic folk pottery of the region (e.g. Drewett 1997, Fig. 4; Petersen & Watters 1988, Fig. 8). If so, it would suggest a gradual amalgamation of Cayo and Suazan Troumassoid, rather than the abrupt substitution of the latter by Cayo (Island Carib) ceramics.

Finally, the general unattractivity of Cayo pottery due to its often drab colour and sparseness of decoration as exemplified by the ceramics recovered from the five Dominica sites is noteworthy, especially if it is compared to the captivating quality of the Saladoid ceramics known from the Windward Islands and beyond. Indeed, it may have been the cause that the ceramics of the Cayo complex, most likely representing the Island Carib pottery of protohistoric times, have long remained unrecognized by archaeologists, be it avocational or professional, in the region.

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and enthusiasm during the site surveys and explorations. Finally, the author is indebted to Professor Corinne L. Hofman for valuable comments on the first draft of this paper.
Bibliography


Fig. 1. Part of an ink and watercolour manuscript map, probably drawn by Willem Mollens in 1656, showing a probably Island Carib village situated northwest of the Courlander fort Jekabs (here not shown) at present Plymouth, Tobago. Adapted from a reproduction by Mattiesen (1940, Karte B); original destroyed during the Second World War.
Fig. 2. Map of Dominica, showing archaeological sites yielding Cayo ceramics surveyed during the 2008 Leiden project.
Fig. 3. Woodford Hill, view of Woodford Hill Bay beach and Pointe La Soie headland.

Fig. 4. Woodford Hill, view of Woodford Hill River and *Pterocarpus officinalis* (*bwa mang*) woodland.
Fig. 5. Woodford Hill, map of archaeological site surveyed in 2008. Drawing Angus A.A. Mol, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University.
Fig. 6. Melville Hall, view of Melville Hall 2 site from the beach.

Fig. 7. Jar (1) of Cayo Form 5, accidentally encountered at the Woodford Hill site in 2004. Photo Tim Roosink, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University.
Fig. 8. Jar (1) of Cayo Form 5, accidentally encountered at the Woodford Hill site in 2004, also shown in Fig. 6.

Fig. 9. Jar (2) of Cayo Form 5, accidentally encountered at the Woodford Hill site in 2004.
Fig. 10. Fragment of a jar of Cayo Form 5, showing a handle decorated with nicked knobs, excavated by Steve Lenik at Indian River, Prince Rupert Bay.

Fig. 11. Fragment of a jar of Cayo Form 5, decorated with a vertical oval knob with three indentations on its largest belly diameter, found at Eden. Photo Tim Roosink, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University.