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The Structure and Material Assemblage of a Jamaican Taíno Residence at First Spanish Contact

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Excavations at the village of Maima in St. Ann's Bay in 2015 provide insight into both the architecture and material culture of a Jamaican Taíno household on the eve of Spanish colonisation. Situated adjacent to the first Spanish capital, Sevilla la Nueva (1509-1534), Maima was a hillside settlement spread over an area 1 ha or more in size. Construction of houses at Maima occurred on artificially constructed platforms, or on in-filled terraces of marl/limestone gravels. Block area excavation on one of the terraces exposed a circular, centre-pole structure with a diverse assemblage of ceramics and other artifacts. The house configuration and artifact suite reflect upon the nature of Taíno society, economy, daily life, and ritual practice. A small number of in situ *Spanish artifacts indicate Taíno/Spanish engagement. Rapid abandonment of the village seems to have taken place immediately thereafter.*

Les fouilles menées dans le village de Maima, à St. Ann's Bay, en Jamaïque, donnent un aperçu de l'architecture et de la culture matérielle d'un foyer taïno jamaïcain à la veille de la colonisation espagnole. Situé à proximité de la première capitale espagnole, Sevilla la Nueva (1509-1534), Maima était un village situé à flanc de colline et s'étendant sur une superficie de 1,5 ha ou plus. Les maisons de Maima étaient construites sur des plates-formes artificielles ou sur des terrasses remplies de graviers marneux/calcaires. La fouille en aires ouvertes par zone sur l'une des terrasses a mis au jour une structure circulaire centrale de poteau avec un assemblage divers de céramiques et d'autres artefacts. La configuration de la maison et l'ensemble des artefacts reflètent la nature de la société taïno, son économie, sa vie quotidienne et ses pratiques rituelles. Un petit nombre d'artefacts espagnols in situ indique un engagement taïno/espagnol. L'abandon rapide du village a eu lieu immédiatement après.

Excavaciones en el pueblo taíno de Maima en St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica, facilitan la comprensión de la arquitectura y cultura material de una residencia taíno-jamaiquina en vísperas de la colonización española. Situada adyacente a la primera capital española, Sevilla la Nueva (1509-1534), Maima fue un asentamiento en las laderas que ocupaba un área de un tamaño de 1.5 ha o más. Las casas en Maima fueron construidas en plataformas creadas artificialmente, o en terrazas con relleno de grava de roca caliza / marga. La excavación en bloque de una de las terrazas reveló una estructura circular con poste central, además de un variado conjunto de cerámicas y otros artefactos. La configuración de la casa y el surtido de artefactos reflejan la naturaleza de la sociedad, economía, vida diaria y prácticas rituales taínas. Un reducido número de artefactos españoles in situ es indicativo de interacción taíno-española. El pueblo fue abandonado de manera rápida inmediatamente después.

Introduction

On his fourth voyage to the New World, Christopher Columbus became stranded in Jamaica from 25th June 1503 to 29th June 1504. His worm-eaten caravels, the *Santiago* and *La Capitana*, were no longer seaworthy, being pulled ashore in St. Ann's Bay. In this, they are described as being "a quarter league distant" from the Taíno village of *Maima* (Morison 1963:367). Provisions from this village were central to the survival of Columbus and his crew for the ensuing year. The Spanish returned to St. Ann's Bay in 1509 to establish *Sevilla la Nueva*, the initial Spanish settlement on the island. Knowledge of *Maima* and other Taíno villages in the region no doubt was a factor in the settlement's location. From its origins to abandonment in 1534, events at *Sevilla la Nueva*

have been roughly pieced together (Wynter-Carew 1981, Morales Padrón 2003, Woodward 2006). Spanish records at the same time are all but silent for the Jamaican Taíno, contributing little to an understanding of their culture and their fate. It can be certain that European disease, forced labour through encomienda, and outright conflict resulted in substantial and devastating impacts to the Taíno over this period.

The Jamaican government in 1971 purchased the land on which much of *Sevilla la Nueva* had been established. Included within this parcel were extant structures and archaeological features from a 17th – 20th century British sugar plantation as well as a pre-European Taíno village (**Figure 1**). We identify the latter as *Maima* (Burley et al. 2017a). These sites currently configure the Seville Heritage Park, where the Taíno, Spanish, British and African contributions to the Jamaican past are interpreted to the public. As part of a larger program of archaeology at *Sevilla la Nueva*, Burley and Woodward initiated a survey and test excavation project at *Maima* in 2014.

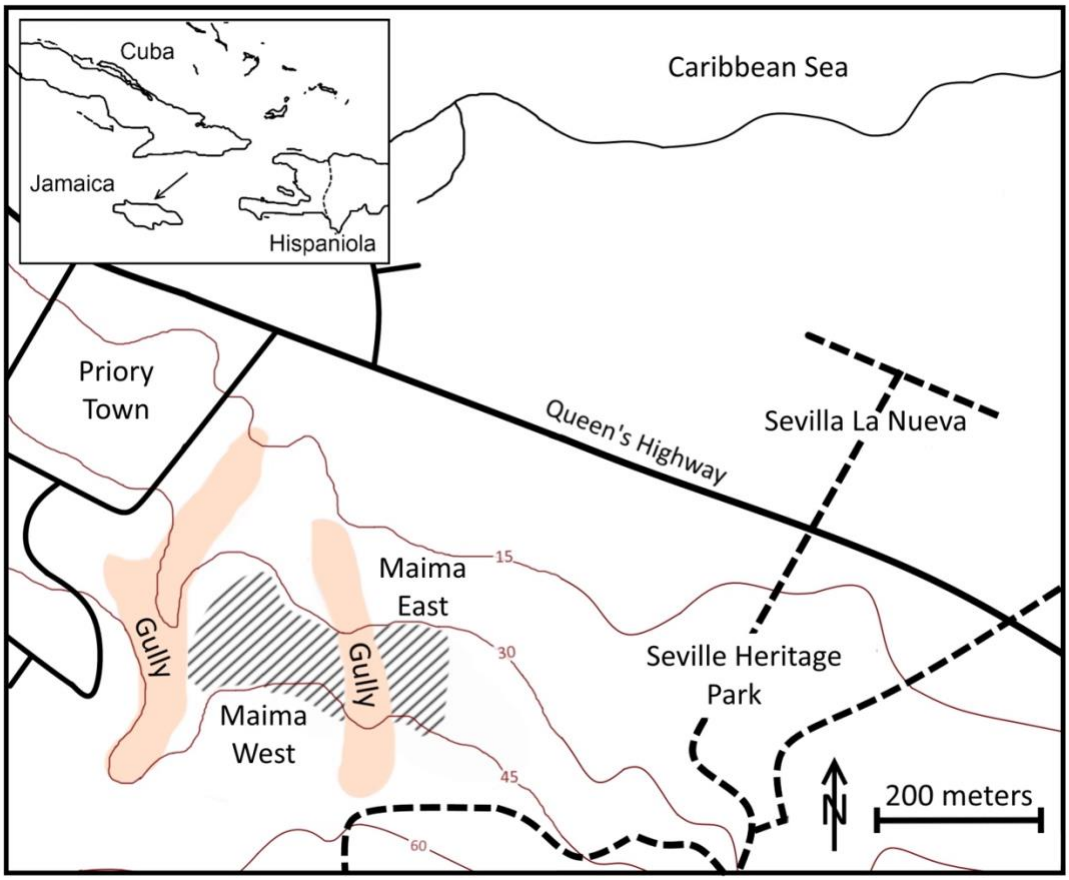

Figure 1. Taíno village of Maima, Seville Heritage Park, St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica. The Sevilla la Nueva settlement also extends to the south of the Queens Highway.

The Maima project recorded artificial terraces and platforms on which houses had been built. Excavations in 2015 tested a number of these, including the full exposure of a terrace and residential features for House 10, as it was defined in the field (Burley et al 2017b). The artifact assemblage recovered from House 10 includes ceramics typical of the White Marl phase (Howard 1965). A smaller but diverse collection of other artifacts was recovered, including Spanish items illustrating Taíno interaction with the residents of *Sevilla la Nueva*. In the following paper, I examine the House 10 data, as these reflect upon the nature of Taíno daily life and society on the eve of sustained Spanish presence.

Site Context

Much of Jamaica's early archaeology was conducted by a core of dedicated amateurs (see Allsworth-Jones 2008). Jamaican archaeologist George "Tony" Aarons (1984) provides a summary of the surveys, discoveries, and varied interpretations of several of these individuals in their efforts to identify the village of *Maima*. Suffice it to say that that the hills to the west, south and east of St. Ann's Bay have a scattered but continuous distribution of Taíno occupation sites. As leadup to the Columbus quincentennial, the Jamaican and Spanish governments initiated a collaborative archaeological venture at *Sevilla la Nueva* (Woodward 2009). Between 1981 and 1987, survey and excavations were carried out by Spanish archaeologist Lorenzo E. Lopez y Sebastian. Lopez (1986) also initiated test excavations at the Taíno site northwest of the Great House on the Seville Estate. As we were able to document in 2014 and 2015, this site is large, it has a degree of time depth, and it is exactly a quarter league (1.4 km) straight line distance to an optimal location on St Ann's Bay for a beaching of the Santiago and La Capitana (Burley et al 2017a). It also is located no more than 800 m from *Sevilla la Nueva*. The presence of *in situ* Spanish items, and a rapid abandonment of the village coeval with Spanish settlement, provides as strong a case for *Maima* as can be made with archaeological data.

Our objectives in 2014 were to record site extent through surface survey, shovel tests and controlled test excavation. *Maima* extends over an approximate area of 1.5 ha on upland terrain overlooking the Caribbean Sea. A deeply cut gulley dissects it into east and west segments. *Maima* East is situated within bush and vegetable gardens on the Seville Estate; *Maima* West now occurs within a densely settled unsanctioned village. The probability that the site extends even further to the west across still another gulley into the suburb of Seville Heights is suggested in a survey by S.T. Tyndale-Biscoe in the early 1950s (Aarons 1984: 29). The most significant aspect of the 2014 project was the discovery of platforms and terraces for residential construction, as noted. This feature type heretofore had gone unrecognized in Jamaican archaeology.

The 2015 project had several goals, including preparation of plan view and contour maps for *Maima* East. This area incorporates six, almost step-like natural terraces, on which 12 potential house features were identified. If constructed platforms and house terraces were leveled surfaces upon which houses were built, they potentially represented a canvas onto which architectural features were imprinted. This led to the almost complete excavation of the House 10 terrace surface, the partial excavation of House 7, and single 1 x 1 m test excavations at three tentatively identified houses. Settlement pattern and feature descriptions have been published previously (Burley et al. 2017b). The excavation of House 10 revealed a centre-pole circular house with a 4 m diameter and floor area of 12.5 m^2 **(Figure 2)**. In a relative sense to house sizes recorded elsewhere in the Greater Antilles (Samson 2010), this seemed shockingly small. Yet the partial excavation of House 7, and limited data from elsewhere in Jamaica, are comparable (Burley et al. 2017b: 12). House 10, thus, may provide a template for the Jamaican Taíno residential type, at least in scale. In this, it defines a nuclear family occupation as opposed to a larger extended family group. This is in line with interpretations of Curet and Oliver (1998: 222) who, for Puerto Rico, report a change in house sizes from large communal structures to smaller ones sometime between 900 and 1200 AD.

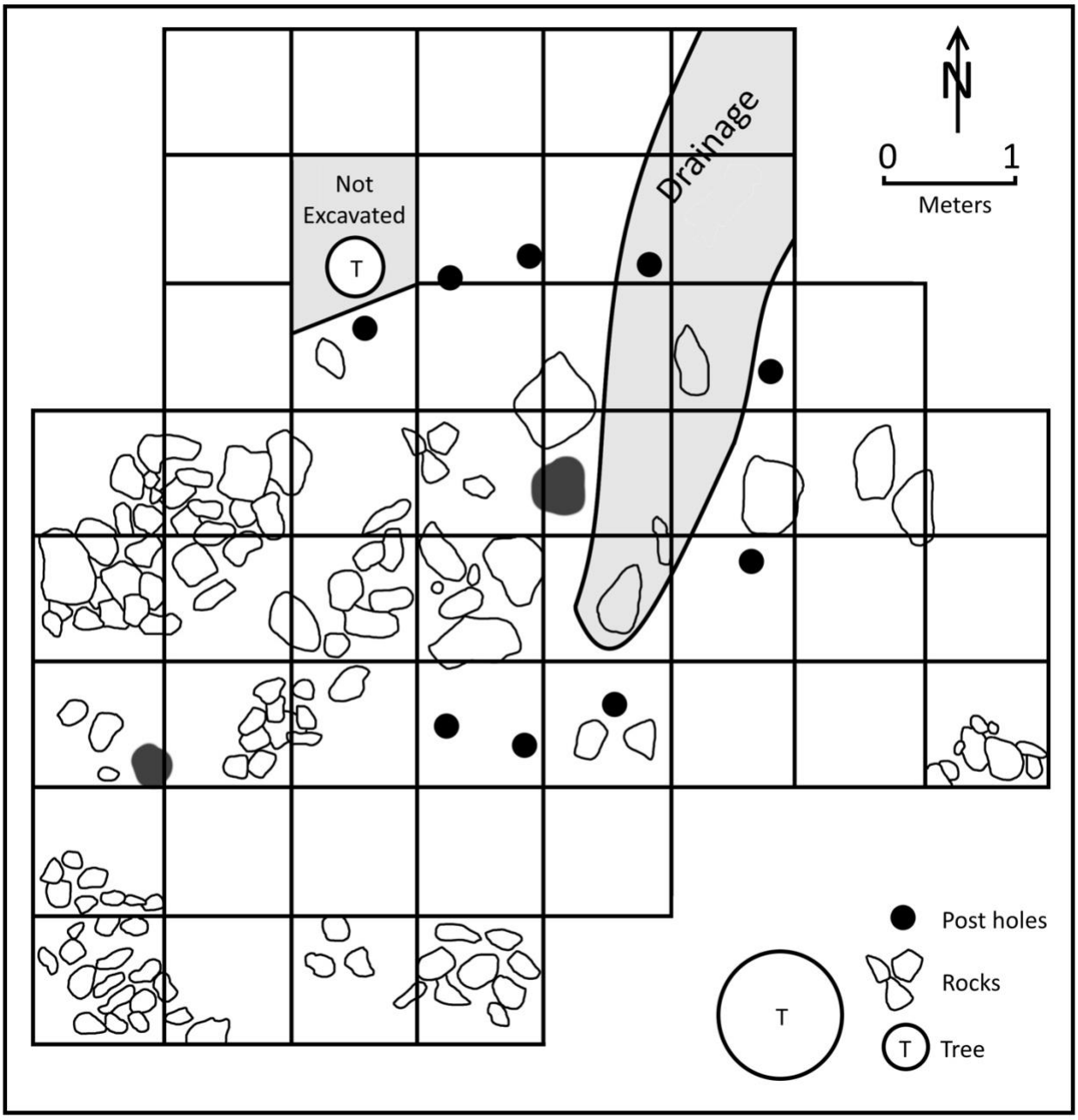

Figure 2. House 10 excavation plan and architectural features, Maima east 2015. The door location is interpreted to be on the western perimeter where post holes were not identified (Burley et al. 2017b). This is opposite the prevailing wind direction.

The House 10 terrace was constructed of limestone/marl/clay aggregate with larger limestone chunks forming the base. A loam of variable thickness accumulated on the terrace after the site was abandoned. Small hand tool excavations removed this as a single stratigraphic unit; the upper 10 cm of terrace fill was subsequently excavated as a second stratigraphic unit. Provenience for artifact recovery was maintained by stratum within 1 x 1 m units. Exposure of the terrace surface revealed the posthole pattern defining House 10. It also revealed an uneven surface with protruding limestone rock as well as a natural drainage feature cutting through the platform. The original occupation surface would have incorporated

compacted marl, silts, and clay, as encountered at other of the house features. Rainwater runoff, unfortunately, had scoured house floor deposits removing finer sediments. Charcoal samples for radiocarbon dating of House 10 were not acquired. Radiocarbon dates from House 8 suggest initial site occupation no later than 1032-1154 AD (68.2% probability). The beginning of terrace construction, at least for House 8, began in the interval 1291-1395 AD (Burley et al. 2017b: 344).

The House 10 Assemblage

The House 10 artifact collection is large, including 11,568 ceramic fragments as well as 444 nonceramic specimens. The latter is dominated by flaked stone, but overall diversity in artifact types supports its interpretation as a household assemblage. The nature of some material implies an unplanned and rapid abandonment of the area without removal of household goods. As later described, this importantly includes a unique concreted boulder with inward spiral core. This specimen was recovered from the house entrance, a position hypothetically ascribing it a spiritual or emblematic importance. How long House 10 had been lived in prior to its abandonment is difficult to infer. A thin buildup of refuse midden on the house perimeter, and the lack of evidence for house refurbishment implies a shorter rather than longer occupation span. All of this in consideration, and with one exception to be noted, this assemblage provides an opportunity to gain insight into the material world and its potential use within a Taíno domestic unit. It is as close to a moment in time as we might expect in Taíno archaeology without cataclysmic or intentional burial.

The exception has been the downslope flow of water since site abandonment. This not only removed finer floor sediments, but any small or lighter materials incorporated within that floor. In consequence, whatever faunal remains may have been present were for the most part removed or destroyed, with only 46 specimens recovered. The more limited excavations at House 7, by comparison, had a NISP faunal count of 1203 dominated by fish (1,020), but also including hutia (*Geocapromys brownii*), bird, and a single dog element (Henry 2017: 188). Virtually all this bone is light weight and diminutive in size. Smaller beads of shell or bone, or implements made of bird bone including needles (Allsworth-Jones and Wesler 2012:15), similarly could have been impacted at House 10. These types of specimens, though, were not recovered elsewhere in the 2015 excavations.

Ceramic Vessels in the Domestic Sphere

The 2014/2015 excavation of the House 10 terrace recovered a range of ceramic vessel forms as well as appliqué fragments including handles, lugs, notched bands, and various other modeled pieces (**Figure 3**). Based on decorative application and other attributes, these closely associate with the White Marl phase (900 AD – contact) as presently defined (Allsworth-Jones 2008, Wesler 2013). Ceramics are low temperature, open-fired earthen wares. With exception of modeled pieces and casabe griddle fragments, vessels are coil built with smoothed surfaces. They mainly incorporate a temper mix of calcareous sand with lithic inclusions, but where crushed shell and grog (crushed ceramic fabric) are also employed. The vast majority of fragments are undiagnostic body sherds (n=9,854) with most (98%) under 30 mm across.

Rim sherds large enough to identify vessel form were classified as jars (n=50), bowls (n=216), cups (n=12), boat form (n=34), and platter (n=1). Jars were differentiated from bowls based on their larger size (d =< 300mm) and straight to incurved rim orientations. Admittedly, however, their differentiation was intuitive, and it may be a spurious distinction relative to overall use. Cups might also be small bowls but their size (d=> 100 mm) and typically straight to slightly everted rim provides a more reliable interpretation. Boat shaped vessels, as described by Rodney-Harrack (2006: 148) have a distinctive rim course where ends are elevated and often converge “with cylindrical or flat handles that flare at the tips”. These vessels do indeed take the shape of a boat, often with decorative application or adorno features added to bow and stern. The single platter was circular, large, and shallow without defined shoulder.

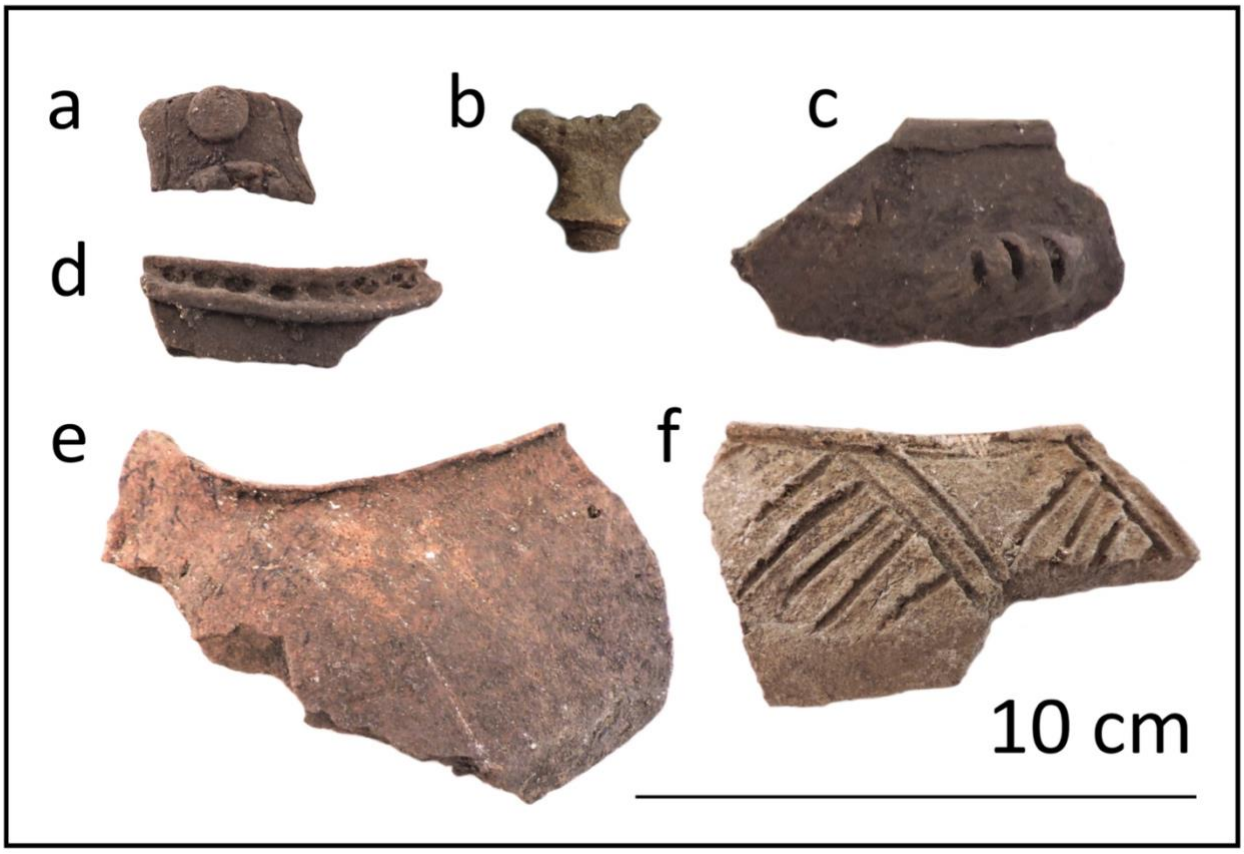

Figure 3. House 10 Domestic Ceramics. a – incised lug/handle with button, b – fishtail insert for boat vessel end, c – filleted rim with serrated lug on shoulder, d – rim with punctates, e – rim and rounded shoulder of a jar, f – rim/shoulder sherd of carinated bowl with incised open alternate oblique parallel line decoration.

Rodney-Harrack (2006: 149) describes surface decoration as "the most distinguishing feature of Taíno pottery." Decorative features within the Maima assemblage include incision, appliqué modelling, punctation of the rim, and notching of the rim, shoulder, lugs, and boat handles/ends. Incised motifs are simple geometric applications involving open or closed triangles, cross hatch as well as horizontal and diagonal lines. On decorated vessels with carinated shoulders, the carination break serves as a zone marker with incised motifs occurring above. Rim sherds with fillets were rare with but six specimens present, two of these having incised horizontal lines. The number of decorated vessels as represented by sherd counts is low, with decorated sherds inclusive of isolated lugs and other applications accounting for only 1.5% of the assemblage. Decorated rim sherds however are 6.1% of the overall rim total.

With perhaps the exception of boat shaped vessels, this collection seems standard fare for household tasks, including storage, food preparation and cooking, serving, or as eating or drinking vessels. There was no evidence for specialized water jars/bottles nor vessels with spouts, though the larger jars might have provided some ability for water storage. The boat-shaped vessels are common in White Marl phase sites but rarely have reports given insight into their use. The more elaborate ones with adorno, side lugs or other decorative elements surely had service beyond the kitchen, perhaps as receptacles central to ritual, or as ornate presentation vessels. Duerden (2008: 280) documents their use as mortuary pots, describing and illustrating examples from Goat Island and Richmond Hill caves with human crania positioned inside. Other examples from these and

other burial caves also may have been employed as containers for funerary offerings.

The Taíno burén is a thick clay griddle as much as 0.5 m or more in diameter used to cook *casabe* (bammy), a type of bread made from the root of manioc (*Manihot esculenta*). This was central to Taíno diet, and a principal food provided by the people of *Maima* to Columbus during his 1503-1504 sojourn in St. Ann's Bay. The 110 burén sherds excavated at House 10, thus, seems limited given the overall size of the ceramic assemblage. If these sherds were able to be reassembled into complete griddles, they would account for no more than two vessels at most. Food preparation activities must have been carried out elsewhere, in a kitchen area divorced from the residence. The absence of a cooking hearth on the House 10 terrace alludes to this as well. The partial excavations at House 7 recovered only 57 burén fragments, similarly pointing to food preparation in specialized facilities away from the house.

Expedient Flaked Stone Tool Production and its By-products

The production of flaked-stone tools and related debitage comprise the largest assemblage of non-ceramic artifacts in House 10. This includes 400 specimens with a combined weight of 10.2 kg. All but 12 of these are of light tan to cream coloured chert, the exceptions being quartz. Exposed quartz veins or nodule quartz are rare on the Jamaican north coast but do occur (Sawkins 1869). Chert, on the other hand, is a locally abundant tool stone found as nodules or in tabular form within the bedded limestone formation of the Clarendon Block, Jamaican White Limestone Group (Robinson and Mitchell 1999). This material is malleable with excellent qualities for percussion flaking. Within the assemblage there are no formalized tool types or styles, with expedient tool production and use identified by use wear or intentional retouch on flakes (n=36) or cores (n=12) (**Figure 4**). Flake tools are interpreted as cutting or scraping implements with three having a flaked notch. Core tools are formed on larger pieces where multiple flake scars identify a core reduction strategy. The overall size or shape of these implements suggest a possible use for cutting, scraping, cleaving or as a pick.

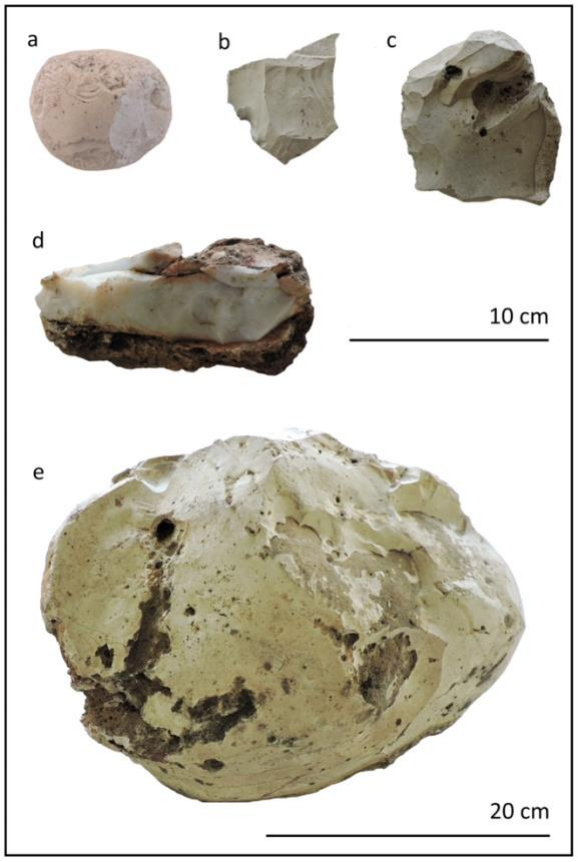

Figure 4. House 10 Lithics. a – chert handstone that has been flaked and potentially used as a hammerstone, b – chert core tool with notch, c – chert core tool with prepared edge for cutting/scraping, d – quartz core, e – large chert core.

Debitage consists of cores (n=37), flakes (n=218) and shatter (n=97). Shatter is produced by nodule fragmentation prior to core preparation, with blocky, angular fragments having no identifiable flake attributes. Cores are of various sizes, with some rather large specimens. All are reduced through hard hammer percussion. The larger cores imply stock piling, where abundant material is available for the quick production of useable flakes as needed. It is probable that several if not many of the flakes identified as debitage were employed as cutting tools, but where incidental use wear is not evident. Tools and debitage are distributed widely across the House 10 terrace. There are two areas however with overall higher frequencies suggesting tool production and probable use. One (ca 1 x 1.5 m) occurs in the southeast corner of

the house. The other is on the southern terrace edge outside of the house, integrated within limited midden deposits.

A Taíno Residential Tool Kit Beyond Flaked Stone

The remainder of non-ceramic artifacts from the House 10 excavations relating to a household use or task specific tool kit are varied. Most are artifacts associated with food preparation, including hand stones (n=8), smaller mortars (n=3), shell scrapers (n=11) and, possibly, staghorn and plate coral fragments (n=12) (**Figure 5**). Also present was a petaloid celt, a fragmented net weight, two abrasive stones, and lithic curiosities (n=7), the latter being small stone oddities without modification.

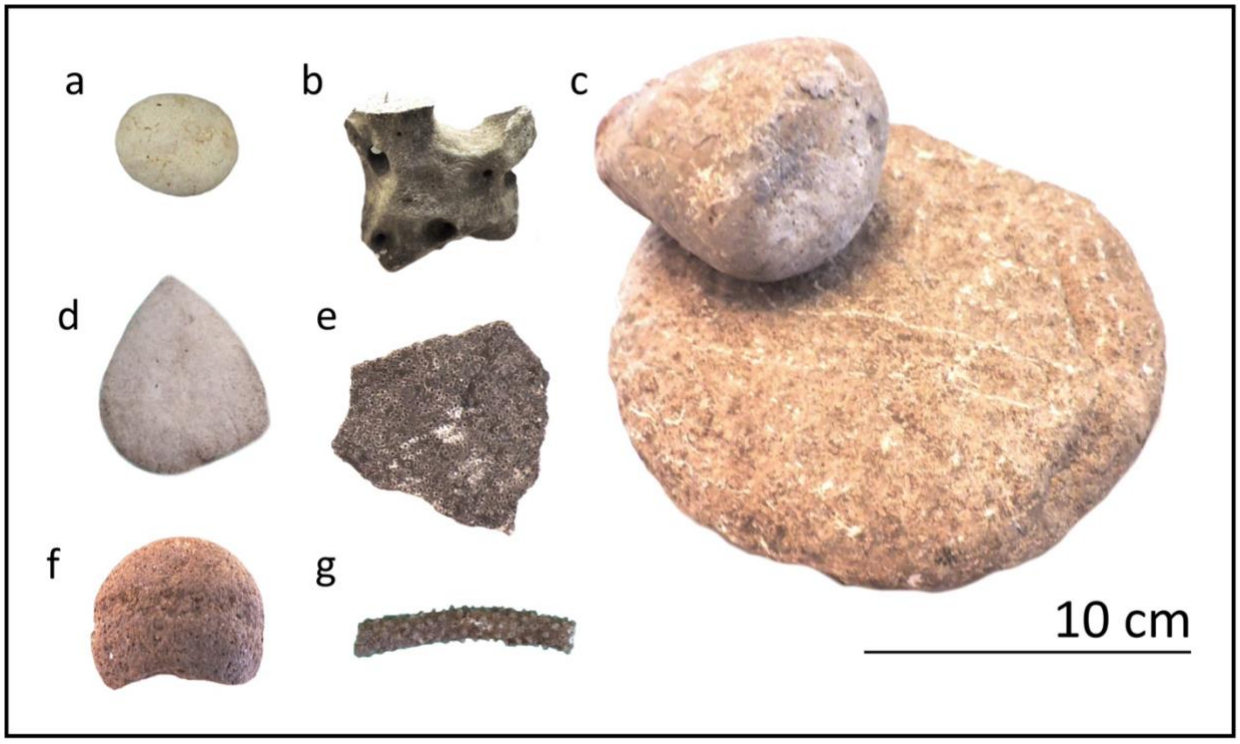

Figure 5. House 10 Tools and Curiosities. a – unmodified quartz nodule, b – unmodified lithic curiosity with perforations, c – handstone and mortar, d – petaloid adze, e – plate coral fragment, f – notched sinker stone, g – staghorn coral finger.

Hand stones are rounded to elongated cobbles of chert, limestone, or in one case, coral rock. Each is easily wielded in the hand with pitting/pecking observed on the working surfaces. These are assumed to be pestles or pounders for use in food or medicinal preparations. It is possible that a few may have been employed as hammerstones for flaking stone. Only one of the mortars is complete, it being recovered *in situ* from the house floor. This specimen is a flattened oval limestone cobble that has pitting and grinding wear on both of its flattened surfaces. The maximum length is 15.5 cm, with a thickness of 3.6 cm and a weight of 1280 g. The remaining specimens have been fractured through use. These would have been similar in size and material to the complete specimen.

Shell scrapers are best described as probable artifacts. All are valves from *Codakia orbicularis* with ventral edge damage, but where evidence for intentional preparation of this edge as a scraping plane is absent. O'Day and Keegan (2001) describe and illustrate similar specimens, suggesting edge damage results from use in peeling vegetables, scaling of fish, and similar activities. The bivalve *Codakia orbicularis*

accounts for over 70% of all bivalves at House 10 (Henry 2017) providing an ample supply of valves for scraping tasks.

The assemblage of staghorn (n=9) and plate (n=3) coral fragments might also be categorized as probable artifacts, though their presence alone indicates intentional acquisition. The staghorn corals (*Acropora cervicornis*) are small finger segments, some with tips and others being mid-sections or small branches. None have obvious use-wear. Staghorn coral fingers have been recovered elsewhere in Jamaican Taíno sites, notably including Rodney House where 165 specimens were excavated in 1978 by J.C. Wilman. As reported by Allsworth-Jones (2008: 169), Wilman believed "these had been fitted into wooden frames to make scrapers for cassava [manioc] preparation." How this grater was constructed, or its efficacy is unknown. Two of the House 10 corals were submitted to the University of Queensland for uranium thorium dating. For U/Th dates to be accurate there can be no diagenetic alteration and one must assume the corals were picked live (Burley et al. 2012). The dates of 598 ± 5 AD and 762 ± 7 AD (95.4% probability) are considerably earlier than the House 10 occupation, suggesting the specimens were collected from beach rubble rather than being harvested from the reef. The fragments of star coral (*Orbicella* spp.) plates provide a flattened surface with projecting coralites for use as a rasp-like abrader.

The single petaloid celt from House 10 is well formed, manufactured of a hard, white siltstone. It has a lenticular cross section with maximum thickness of 0.95 cm, a maximum length of 6.3 cm, and a maximum width of 4.5 cm. It was recovered from the terrace surface immediately north of the structure. Petaloid celts are commonplace in Jamaican archaeological assemblages, and a diagnostic artifact type of the White Marl phase (Howard 1950: 114). The single net weight may have fractured while being produced. It is manufactured from an extrusive volcanic lithic, presumably dacite. It has a shallow notched girdle for attachment and a weight of 90 g. An identical complete specimen was excavated from House 7. The abraders are flattened segments of sandstone with evidence for grinding/polishing. Both are similar in size with lengths of 5.9 and 6 cm, and respective widths of 3.7 and 3.5 cm.

Lithic curiosities are a collection of smaller odd-shaped pieces as well as two unmodified quartz pebbles. The former includes concretions with bulbous projections or natural perforations. That these may have been present in original site sediments is a possibility. The quartz pebbles, on the other hand, would have been acquired elsewhere. These are of sling-stone size, possibly for use as a *bola*. Though small, they also could have been part of the raw material stockpile for stone tool production, if not for use in some other fashion.

Ritual Sphere in a Taíno House

The Jamaican Taíno had a complex religious system with elaborate rituals and a sacred iconography through which gods and ancestors were celebrated, accessed, and consulted. Major rituals related to divination or healing were conducted by specialists or high-ranking *caciques* who had access to the gods and their material representations (Ostapkowicz 2012). Closely associated with and integrated into these rituals was the snuffing of *cohoba*, a hallucinogen prepared from the seeds of the tree *Anadenanthera peregrina*. How ritual and iconography translate into the household of commoners is unknown. Various specimens from archaeological contexts nevertheless have been identified as *cemís*, images of gods, ancestors, or other types of spirits. Bird bone tubes found in archaeological contexts are also interpreted as a form of snuff tube for ritual inhalation (Ostapkowicz 2020: 55-56). With an assumption that Taíno religious practice was essential at the household level, archaeological residues should similarly be present. Potentially related to these in the excavated assemblage of House 10 are four ceramic adorno with anthropomorphic/ zoomorphic representations, a ceramic tube possibly for snuffing *cohoba*, a small groundstone pallet with red ochre staining, and the large concretion with inward spiral previously noted (**Figure 6**).

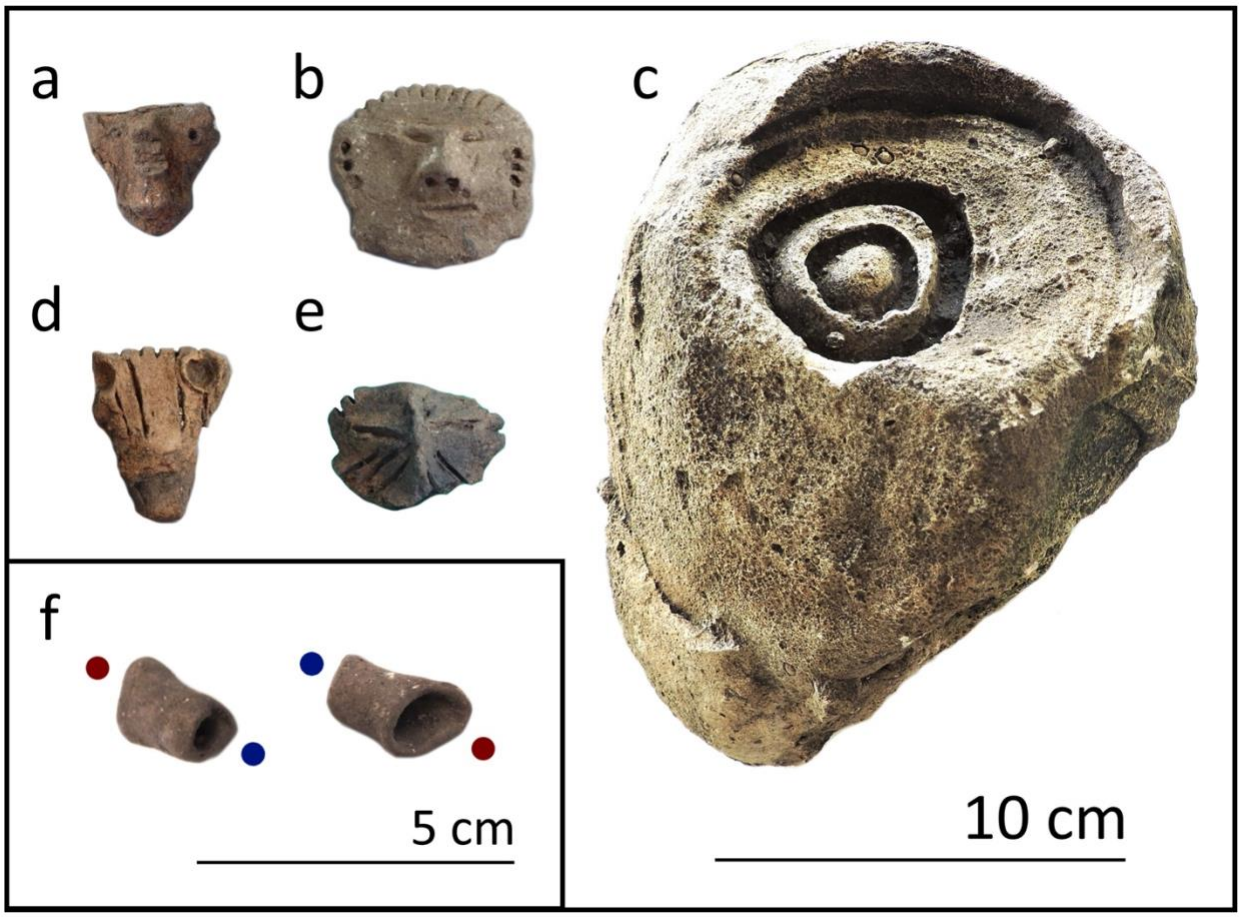

Figure 6. House 10 Assemblage with Possible Ritual Use or Representation. a, b, d, e – adorno (b anthropomorphic, d zoomorphic), c – concretion with inward spiral-like rings, f – opposite end view of clay tube.

The adorno are modeled pieces with incised or punctate eyes, projecting nose, and incised features added to the face. Three have notching that define the upper edge or sides of the head. One is clearly anthropomorphic, one appears to be a zoomorph, while the remaining two are open to question. These are smaller images, less than 5 cm across. As a group, they appear to be incarnations formerly applied to ceramic vessels. A bottle stopper type base occurs on two, these being similar to fishtail-like ends associated with boat-shaped vessels. Whether they represent *cemís* is open to debate. Over interpretation, as Saunders and Gray (2006: 168) caution, may obscure insights into the nature of Taíno sacredness and the spirit world. Yet it seems likely that they were a part of bowls employed in ritual or social events.

A single sandstone pallet fragment was recovered from House 10 with reddish surface stains attributed to red ochre preparation. Red ochre samples (n=3) additionally were recovered from House 7 as small lumps. Applications of red ochre are documented as a paint component in Taíno pictographs, in Taíno burial contexts, as body paint, and for sacred use (Keegan 2007; Schaffer et al. 2010:60-61). A use in household ritual seems probable. The ceramic tube has no comparable documentation in Jamaican archaeology of which I am aware. It is formed as a rolled cylinder, 2.9 cm long with different end diameters of 1.1 and 1.5 cm. It could have functioned as a snuff tube for *cohoba*, similar in respect to bone tubes illustrated by Ostapkowicz (2020: 56). As Ostapkowicz also notes, thicker shorter tubes alternatively may have been used as cigar holders or pipes.

Within the ritual sphere of artifacts, one specimen stands out. This is a spherical concretion (17 x 13.5 x 8 cm) with one end broken off exposing circular, spiral-like rings progressing inward. This is a unique piece, one creating excited debate as to its meaning when first exposed. It is not hard to anticipate similar discussions by the Taíno residents of House 10 when initially discovered. Taíno depiction of spirals imbued with transcendent spiritualty are most apparent in petroglyph images of La Piedra Escrita in Puerto Rico (Hayward et al. 2013). In a Jamaican Taíno context, the inset circles might also have been associated with *guey*, the sun (Atkinson Swaby 2022, pers. com). This specimen's position in the door area of the residence (Burley 2017b), nevertheless, suggests a protective role for the house or as a symbol of identity.

Spanish Interaction

A small assemblage of Spanish artifacts was recovered from House 10 (**Figure 7**). This includes two shards of glass, six hand wrought nails, a small fragment of Spanish roof tile, several highly corroded fragments of sheet metal, and a metatarsal and phalange from a sheep. These can hardly be characterized as evidence for trade, gifts, or any other type of structured interaction. Rather it appears as a mixed bag, possibly pilfered or collected from discarded rubbish of the *Sevilla la Nueva* residents or, perhaps, from the Columbus caravels after abandonment. Noting the paucity of European goods at en Bas Saline in Haiti, Deagan (2004: 621) suggests the Taíno may have been indifferent to most elements of Spanish material culture. These, it is presumed, provided little in the way of economic or social advantage (also see Keehnen 2019).

The glass fragments are individually varied, being from quite different containers. The larger of the two is a curved piece of green soda lime glass with an irregular thickness ranging up to 1.2 cm. Its form, and thickness, are close to those of Venetian glass grenades of the 13th through 16th centuries (Triantafyllidis 2016: 298). These are a type of armament we might expect to find on Spanish caravels in their voyages to the New World. The piece has an iridescent patina covering both inner and outer surfaces. The second fragment is a small dark green glass flake with regular thickness (0.5 cm), and cross section. It is all but impossible to determine what this might have originated from. The illustration of similarly colored glass goblet fragments from the 16th century colony of Puerto Real in Haiti provides a possibility (McEwan 1995). The House 10 specimen has retouch along one edge indicating use as a scraper or cutting tool.

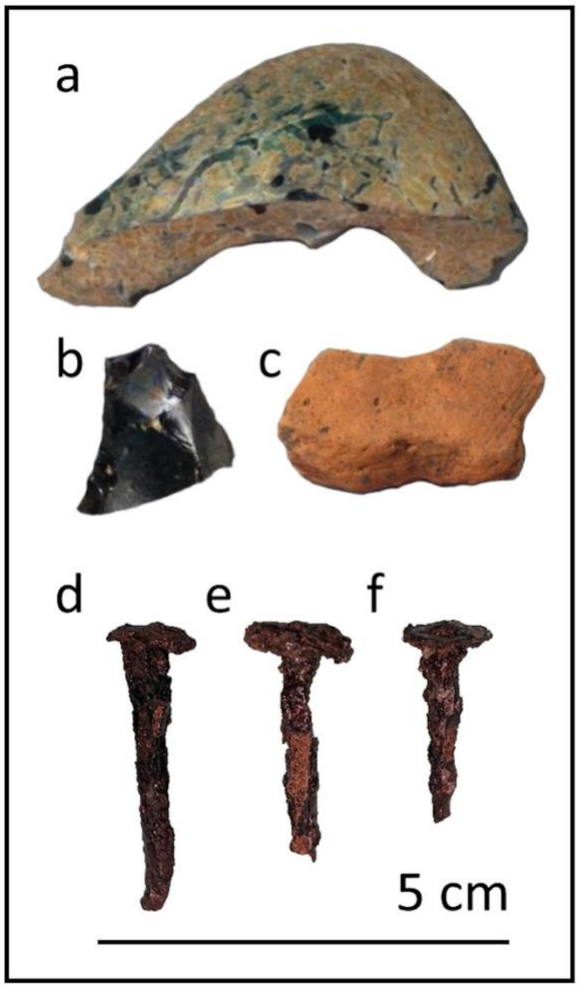

Figure 7. House 10 Spanish Artifacts. a – soda lime glass fragment, b – dark green glass shard with retouch on edge, c – Spanish roof tile fragment used as a polisher, d, e, f, - hand wrought nails.

The hand wrought nails fall within the range of variation for nails recovered from the *Sevilla la Nueva* excavations (Burley and Woodward 2020). For the most part they are highly corroded with little core metal remaining.

Two of the nails are 4.5 to 5.5 cm in length, three are between 3 and 4 cm and the sixth is a nail fragment. It is difficult to identify head form though three appear to have been flattened with one possibly of rose head type. The metal fragments are too corroded to define their original form beyond flat metal. Their most probable source is iron strapping, perhaps from a barrel hoop. The fragment of Spanish roof tile (*teja*) is small (3.2 x 1.9 x 1.3 cm) but distinguished by its reddish orange terra cotta paste. Surface striations indicate use as a fine abrader for polishing.

The metatarsal and phalange are unique, incorporated in the House 10 assemblage as oddities, not food waste. Perhaps they were retained as talismans, acquired from the discarded lower hind limb of a cloven-hoofed creature beyond Taíno conception. The identification of caprine remains as either sheep or goat is difficult. In our faunal analysis of a Spanish butchery at *Sevilla la Nueva*, DNA was successfully extracted and sequenced from six caprine left humeri (Speller and Yang 2007). All were identified as sheep (*Ovis aries)*, an identification fitting available historical knowledge for early Spanish presence in Jamaica (Wynter-Carew 1981).

Conclusion

The Taíno village of *Maima* is of recognizable consequence in Jamaican history. It was central to the provisioning of Christopher Columbus and his crew when marooned in St. Ann's Bay in 1503/1504. It also was influential in the 1509 decision to establish *Sevilla la Nueva*, the first Spanish capital in Jamaica. That the Taíno site within the Seville Heritage Park is *Maima* could be debated, albeit no other documented site fits what we know about the location or its archaeological context. It is exactly a quarter league to St. Ann's Bay, it is but 800 m from *Sevilla la Nueva*, and Spanish artifacts incorporated and used within Taíno household occupation deposits attests to interaction. Beyond its association with Columbus, however, *Maima* may have been rather ordinary on the Taíno settlement landscape. The limited accounts in Spanish chronicles imply a nested political hierarchy in which regional polities, *cacicazgos*, were integrated and overseen by higher chiefs, *caciques* (Wesler 2013: 253). That neither Columbus nor his son Ferdinand identify the name or rank of the *Maima cacique* suggests a subordinate position. The archaeological record as it has been encountered similarly is without evidence for high-ranking élites, large houses or features such as a ball court.

Beyond its history, the Taíno village within the Seville Heritage Park does have considerable importance today for its archaeological context and integrity. The identification of artificial terraces and platforms on which houses were constructed is a significant recognition. It provides the potential not only for an interpretation of the Taíno residence, but an exploration of the house floor and surrounding areas where day to day activities were taking place, where social and sacred protocols were enacted, and where all of this became deposited as material residues in the archaeological record. An account of this in terms of the material culture for a single household at the time of first Spanish contact has been the intent of this paper. It is hoped that future work either at *Maima* or other late period sites in Jamaica will add to these insights.

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