

## ***Definition of Montego Bay Style Pottery and its Implications for Jamaican Meillacan Ostionoids***

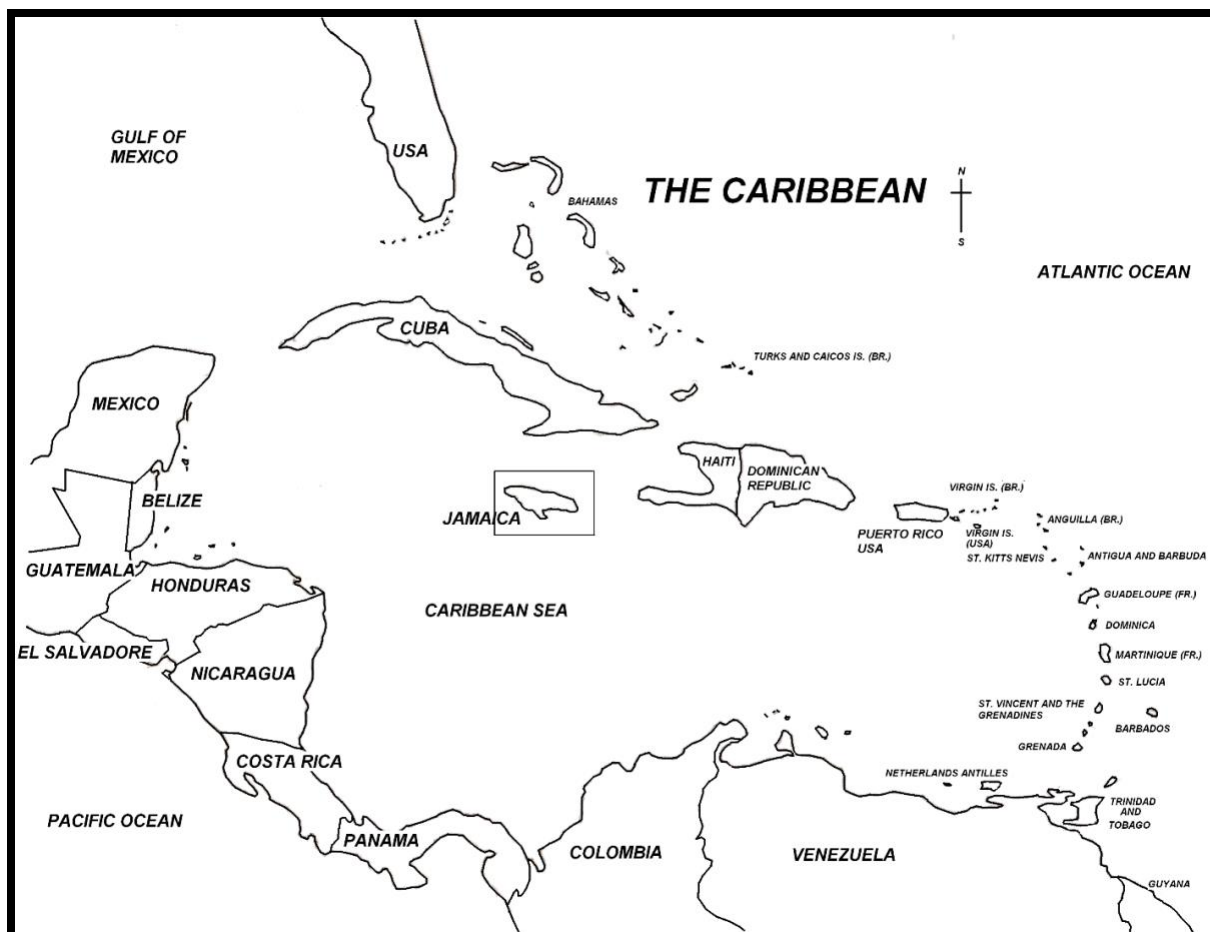
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*This article posits that Montego Bay style pottery is a Late Meillacan Ostionoid style of pottery closely related to its precursor White Marl pottery, Early Meillacan Ostionoid pottery. It was determined from excavations of Fairfield and Cranbrook sites that Montego Bay style is similar in all important features to White Marl style but for a band around the rim of the vessel (a fillet) which is present in Montego Bay style but absent in White Marl. This filleted rim differentiates the two styles. This article also posits that the fillet, whether plain or with markings, denotes a change in the socio-political status of the Jamaican Meillacan Ostionoid culture (the Taíno) from independent chiefdoms to a unified socio-political polity. Additionally, it is argued that individual chiefdoms maintained their ethnic integrity in spite of this unification, as the same motifs which were placed at the rim of vessels during the Early Meillacan Ostionoid phase continued to be used on the fillet.*

*Cet article postule que la poterie de style Montego Bay est un style de poterie ostionnoïde de Meillacan tardif étroitement lié à son précurseur la poterie de marne blanche, la poterie ostionnoïde de Meillacan précoce. Il a été déterminé à partir des fouilles des sites Fairfield et Cranbrook que le style Montego Bay est similaire dans toutes les caractéristiques importantes au style White Marl, mais pour une bande autour du bord du navire (un filet) qui est présente dans le style Montego Bay mais absente dans White Marl. Ce rebord fileté différencie les deux styles. Cet article postule également que le filet, qu'il soit simple ou avec des marques, dénote un changement dans le statut socio-politique de la culture jamaïcaine meillacan ostionnoïde (le Taíno) de chefferies indépendantes à un régime socio-politique unifié. De plus, il est avancé que les chefferies individuelles ont maintenu leur intégrité ethnique malgré cette unification, car les mêmes motifs qui étaient placés sur le bord des vaisseaux au début de la phase ostionnoïde de Meillacan ont continué à être utilisés sur le filet.*

*Este artículo postula que la cerámica de estilo Montego Bay es un estilo de cerámica ostionnoide de Meillacan tardío estrechamente relacionado con su precursora, la cerámica de marga blanca, la cerámica ostionnoide de Meillacan temprano. A partir de las excavaciones de los sitios de Fairfield y Cranbrook se determinó que el estilo Montego Bay es similar en todas las características importantes al estilo White Marl excepto por una banda alrededor del borde de la vasija (un filete) que está presente en el estilo Montego Bay, pero ausente en White Marl. Este borde fileteado diferencia los dos estilos. Este artículo también postula que el filete, ya sea sencillo o con marcas, denota un cambio en el estatus sociopolítico de la cultura ostionnoide de Meillacan de Jamaica (los taínos) de jefaturas independientes a una entidad política sociopolítica unificada. Además, se argumenta que los cacicazgos individuales mantuvieron su integridad étnica a pesar de esta unificación, ya que los mismos motivos que se colocaron en el borde de las vasijas durante la fase Ostionnoide de Meillacan Temprano continuaron usándose en el filete.*

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**Figure 1: Map of the Caribbean (Source: Conolley 2011).**

## Introduction

This article draws heavily from this author's PhD thesis where he analyzed Montego Bay style pottery. According to the Irving Rouse model, there were two Ostionoid subseries present in Jamaica: Ostionan (Little River/Redware) and Meillacan (White Marl) (Rouse 1992). The Montego Bay Style has been traditionally viewed as a variant of White Marl Style. Previous literature was not clear on a definition of Montego Bay style pottery, though it addressed other aspects of the style. The objective of this thesis was to shed light on the issues of definition, emergence and significance. The thesis determined that Montego Bay style pottery is a Late Meillacan Ostionoid ceramic differentiated from White Marl pottery, the mainstream Jamaican pottery, by the presence of a filleted rim and an emergence sometime after AD 1070. It further determined that both White Marl and Montego Bay pottery shared similar

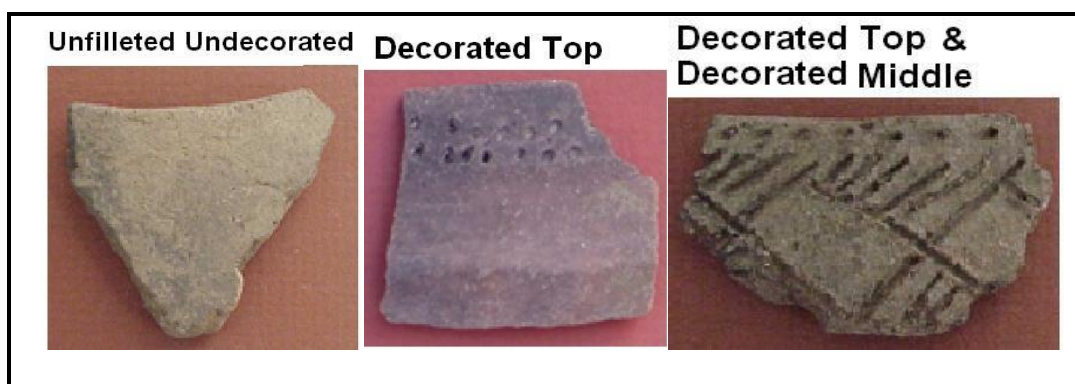
decorative features indicating a relationship between motif patterns and chronological or regional variation.

## Definition

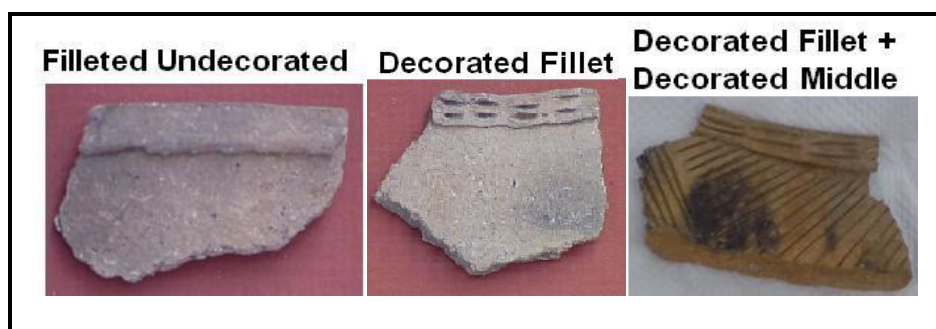
Montego Bay pottery is a style of pottery originated and used by the Late Meillacan Ostionoids of Jamaica circa AD 1070, and it is the very pottery that defines them. The ceramic vessels of these Late Meillacan Ostionoids were similar in most respects to those of the Early Meillacan Ostionoids who were defined by their use of White Marl style pottery. Of note is that the White Marl site situated approximately 4.8 km (three miles) east of Spanish Town on the Jamaican south coast is the type site for White Marl pottery. The vessel forms and decorations of both styles were similar but for an applied band around the rim of the vessel referred to in Jamaican literature as a "fillet". This fillet was the defining mark of Montego Bay pottery. On a

Montego Bay pottery site, for example, pottery with filleted rims is seen throughout the stratigraphy, from both the upper and lower horizons, and may account for a small percentage of all potsherds collected. On such a Montego Bay pottery site most of the rim sherds obtained would have fillets. In contrast, on a White Marl site, there would be no occurrence of filleted pottery, neither in the upper nor lower horizons,

that is 0% filleted pottery. Such unfilleted vessels, however, although not having a filleted rim may nonetheless contain markings or decorations. Markings or decorations may be present on pottery with filleted rims as well as on pottery without filleted rims. This means that both White Marl and Montego Bay pottery may be decorated (**Figures 2 and 3**).



**Figure 2. White Marl Pottery (Early Meillacan Ostionoid) (Source: Conolley 2011:162).**



**Figure 3. Montego Bay Style Pottery (Late Meillacan Ostionoid) (Source: Conolley 2011:163).**

#### ***Decorative attributes***

Decorative attributes (including incisions) were observed in the classification tables (Table 1) of both Cranbrook and Fairfield sites. In both these Cranbrook and Fairfield sites, decorative/incised attributes appeared in the lower horizons. (Figure 2 and Figure 3). As fillets were located only in the upper horizons of the Cranbrook site (the heterogeneous site) and not in the lower horizons; and decorated/incised pottery located in the lower horizons were observed without fillets (Figure 2.), it was evident that decorative/incised pottery may appear without fillets. This meant that decorations did not have to be accompanied by fillets.

What have been described above are two types of sites or villages. Firstly, there is the homogeneous Montego Bay site or village which would have been founded as a village after AD 1070 and therefore contain Montego Bay pottery

throughout the stratigraphy. By definition, therefore, a homogeneous Montego Bay site could not be occupied prior to the emergence of the Montego Bay style, AD 1070. An example of such a site was Fairfield, Montego Bay, the type

site for Montego Bay style pottery. Then secondly, there is the homogeneous White Marl site or village. Such a village would have White Marl style pottery throughout the stratigraphy, both in the upper and lower horizons with no presence of filleted pottery. A third consideration is the heterogeneous site. In this case, there is an absence of filleted pottery in the lower horizons and the presence of filleted pottery in the upper horizons. Such heterogeneous sites indicate initial occupancy by Early Meillacan Ostionoids (users of White Marl pottery) followed by occupancy by Late Meillacan Ostionoids (users of Montego Bay pottery). An example of such a site is Cranbrook in St. Ann. Heterogeneous sites would be occupied prior to AD 1070 continuing into the following centuries transitioning from Early Meillacan Ostionoid to Late Meillacan Ostionoid socio-political status.

A simple rule of thumb in identifying a Late Meillacan Ostionoid site is determining whether it is homogeneous or heterogeneous. If a filleted rim is obtained from the site, that site is Late Meillacan Ostionoid. In light of this understanding of Montego Bay style pottery, numerous sites throughout the island, not previously defined as Montego Bay sites ought to be reviewed. This includes the type site of White Marl pottery, the White Marl site near Spanish Town, from which filleted pottery has been obtained.

### History of the Search

Prior to this present author's research, many other archaeologists have investigated Montego Bay style pottery. Robert Howard first identified the style in the 1940's when he inspected sherds unearthed during construction excavations at the Montego Bay Country Club at Fairfield in the 1930s. According to Howard, Montego Bay style pottery was characterised by its coarse texture, zoomorphic designs and unsmoothed incised lines which formed geometrical patterns comprising linear lines for the most part - almost no curves or circles. While

Howard made no overt mention of filleted rims as an attribute of the style (Howard 1950:145), he included the filleted rim in the record of rim profiles he investigated. So as to follow up on Howard's characterization of Montego Bay style, this author (as part of his PhD research) catalogued, classified and analyzed the rim profiles identified by Howard as well as other features he identified as Montego Bay style, namely, texture (and inclusions, in the event that inclusions may have affected surface texture) of diagnostic sherds, all decorative features, all incisions, affixations and punctates in his own assemblages from the Fairfield and Cranbrook sites. Additionally, based on a reference by James Lee regarding his observation of the beige color of Montego Bay sherds (Archaeology Jamaica 1967b:2), this author also recorded color groups of the diagnostic sherds. Of all these features and attributes, the filleted rim proved most helpful in the understanding of Montego Bay style.

Paste texture increased in harshness gradually through time (**Figure 4**); Colour A (beige) increased in frequency gradually through time (**Figure 5**); mean sherd thickness decreased in width marginally through time (**Figure 6**). Temper itself did not change through time (**Figure 7**). The full significance of these findings in paste texture, color, sherd thickness and temper are not discussed here. What is relevant to the present issue is that where changes occurred, they were not abrupt but gradual changes. Such changes, of a gradual nature, indicate internal transition rather than an externally imposed change as would occur from the influx of a new people with a new culture. The single change of significance was the appearance of the fillet. Once it appeared in the stratigraphy, it increased in frequency over time. This indicated that White Marl and Montego Bay shared the basic ceramic type, thereby eliminating the theory of cultural differentiation and migration. It also implicated the fillet as the attribute which was symbolic of significant change.

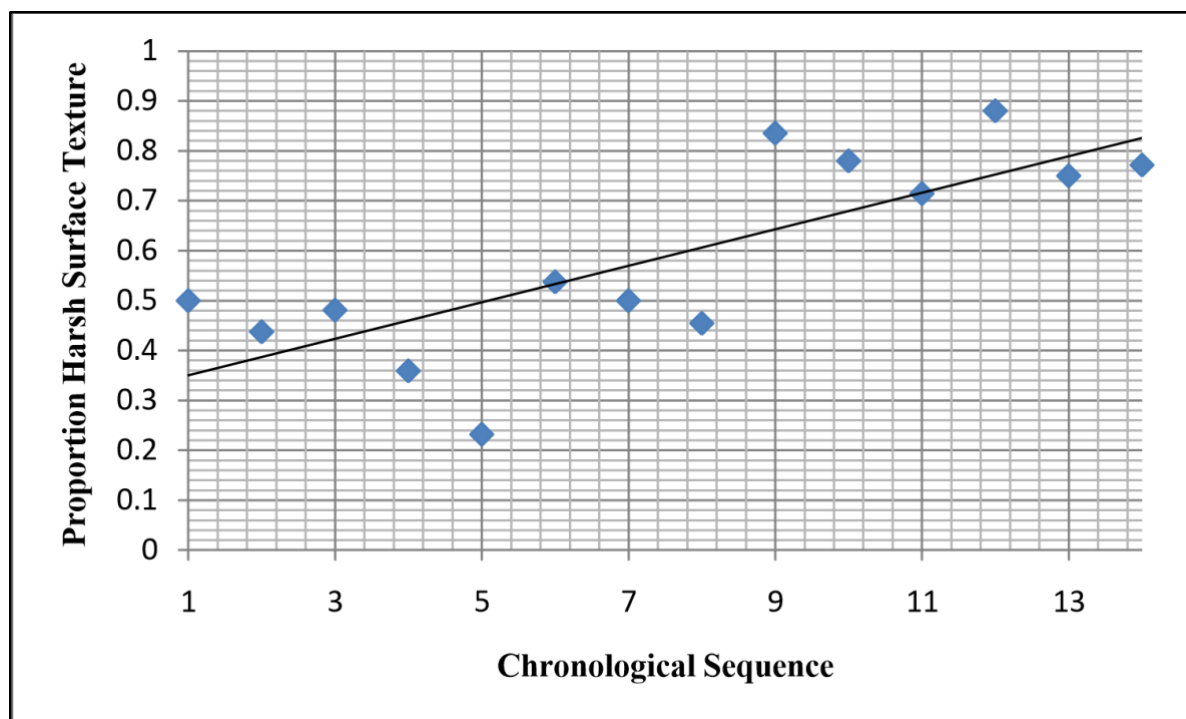


Figure 4. Percentage of sherds with harsh exterior paste texture by time (Source: Conolley 2011).

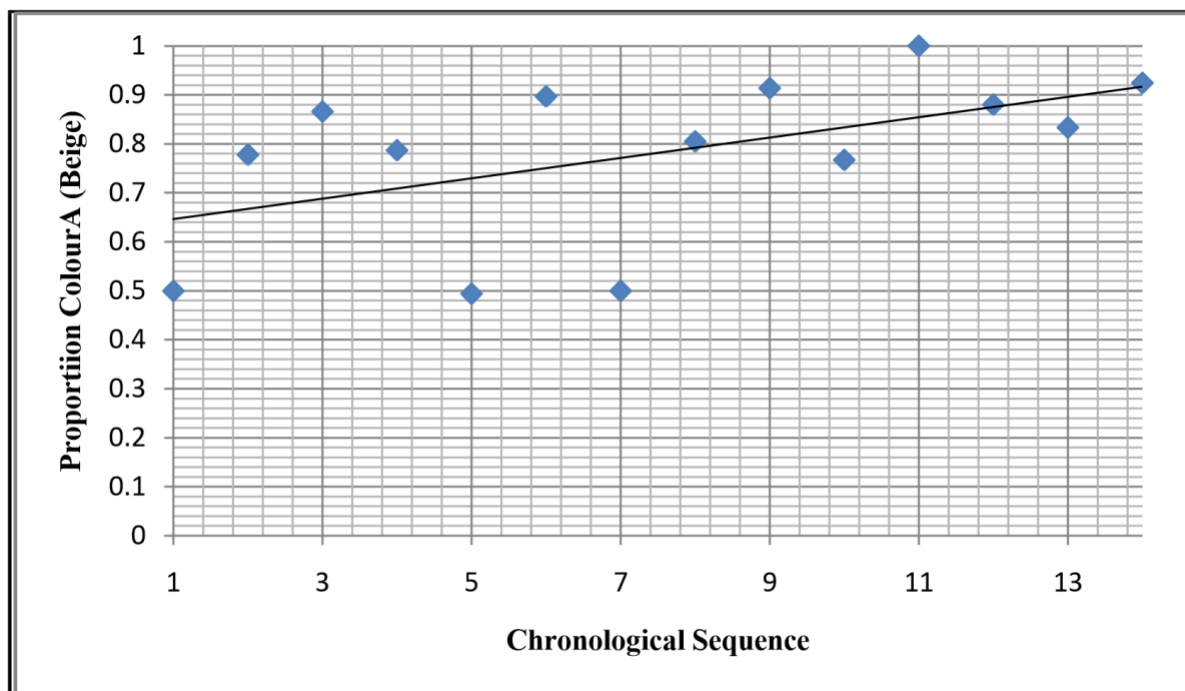
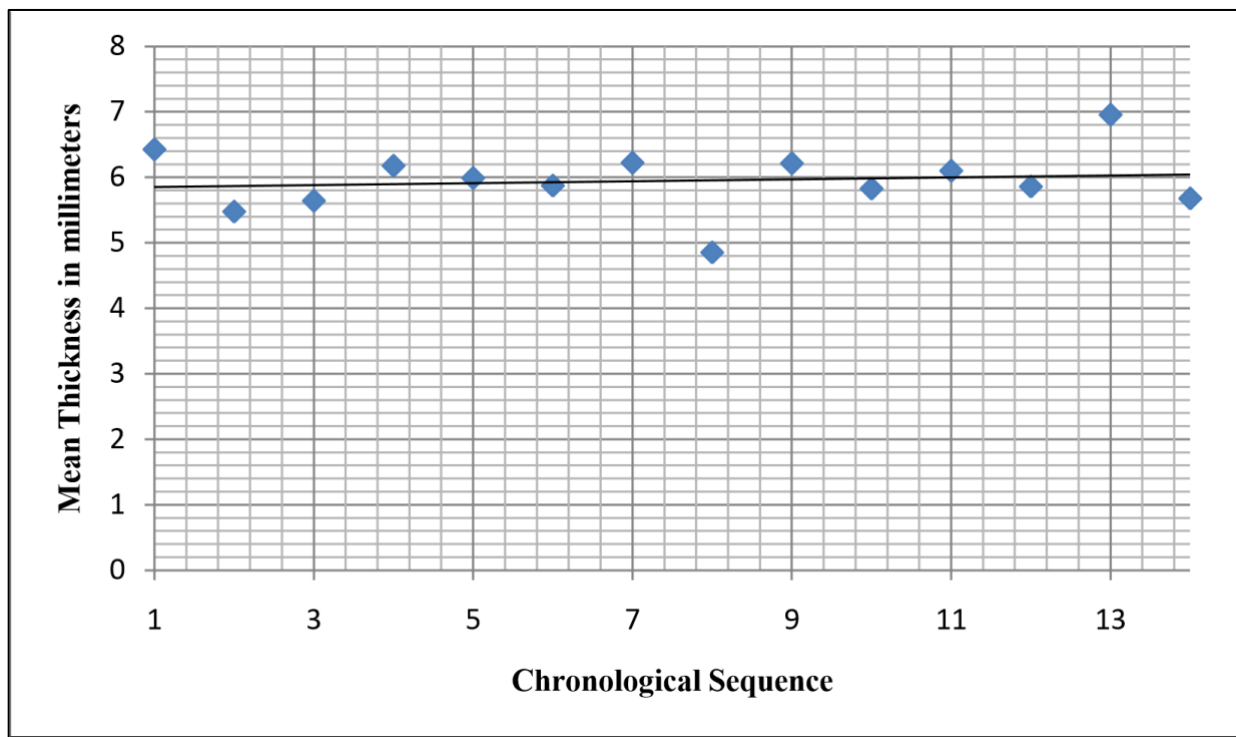


Figure 5. Colour A shows Increasing Usage throughout the Chronological Sequence. (Source: Conolley 2011).

**Colour A**

Dr James Lee (Archaeology Jamaica 1967b, 2) and Roderick Ebanks (1992, 28,29) suggested that colour of the potsherd was an indicator of the Montego Bay style pottery. They used words such as “beige” (Lee) and “light brown almost buff” (Ebanks) to describe the colour. In an effort to capture the vague colour references “beige”, “light brown” and “buff”, I have selected a number of colours from the Munsell Colour Chart that could be identified with these very general colour references. Following on this approach, therefore, what is referred to as Colour A in Figure 5 is a selection of colours derived from potsherds obtained from the sites. They are 5YR7/3 Pink, 7.5YR7/4 Pink, 7.5YR6/3 Light Brown and 7.5YR6/4 Light Brown.



**Figure 6. Mean Thickness of Vessel Wall Fairly Constant (very slight decrease over time) (Source: Conolley 2011).**

### Vessel Wall Thickness

In discussing Montego Bay style pottery, Howard referred to the “heavy nature of the ware itself” (Howard 1950, 145). In the absence of a clear understanding what he meant by this description, I have decided to test vessel wall thickness as a “heavy” vessel may be the consequence of a thick vessel wall. Following on this understanding, data was gathered and analysed accordingly. The Mean Size (Thickness) was plotted on a graph against chronology to determine changes through time.

<u>Code</u>	<u>Measured Size Range (mm)</u>	<u>Mean Size (mm)</u>
UA	3.4 – 5.0	4.2
UB	5.0 – 6.0	5.5
UC	6.0 – 9.0	7.5
UD	9.0 - 10.0	9.5

### Chronology

Regarding the chronology of Montego Bay pottery, Howard wrote: “What relation Montego Bay Incised bears to the main body of Jamaican pottery or what its position in the time sequence may be is impossible to determine without stratigraphic excavation. The author is inclined to place it at a somewhat later period but this is pure conjecture (1956:145).”

Following Howard’s work in the 1940s and 1950s, Ronald Vanderwal picked up the baton, conducting thorough research on Montego Bay style pottery (identified by him as the Fairfield Complex). Vanderwal, however, focused his analysis on rims and general decorative features, paying less attention to paste texture. In his analysis of filleted rims versus plain rims, Vanderwal observed that on a Montego Bay site filleted rims increased over time (Vanderwal 1968b:118-122) while plain rims decreased over time. Vanderwal’s mode-based analysis grouped the fillet with an incised attribute which he called a mode. By not isolating the fillet in his analysis he could not determine the specific role it played in Montego Bay style pottery. However, as this author analyzed each attribute independently, he was able to define the movement of the fillet (different from other incised and decorative features) through the stratigraphy (Conolley 2011). It was, therefore, possible with such attribute-based analysis, employed by the present author, to determine precisely when the fillet itself was first seen in the stratigraphy. This difference in methodology

made the difference between seeing when the fillet emerged in the strata (attribute-based) versus when the fillet+incision (Vanderwal’s Incision I and Incision II) features appeared in the strata (mode-based) (Vanderwal 1968b). However, this does not at all entirely discredit the mode-based method of analysis. For example, avocational archaeologist, the Rev. Fr. Frank Osborne, Jesuit priest and member of the Archaeological Society of Jamaica (ASJ) who dug Montego Bay sites at Bengal and Cinnamon Hill were able to conclude that Montego Bay pottery was obtained in the upper horizons of both of these sites (Lee 1976). He defined Montego Bay pottery as did Vanderwal, that is, with fillet+incision features as this was the combination of attributes that comprised his mode (Vanderwal 1968b). Osborne’s only error was that of including the incised attribute with the defining fillet. As noted in Figure 2, incisions may be present on rims without fillets, that is, on White Marl pottery rims. It turned out not to matter in this instance as the fillet was present and identifiable in the assemblage. His conclusion that these were Montego Bay sites was therefore *de facto* correct.

Regarding chronology, Vanderwal’s research on Montego Bay style pottery, indicated a start date of AD 1180 for this style (Vanderwal 1968b:136). This author was able to identify through stratigraphic excavations, and the use of an attribute-based methodology already described determined a calendric date of AD 1070 for the emergence of Montego Bay style

pottery (**Table 1**). This near convergence of dates strengthens their efficacy. While Vanderwal did not determine a calendric date for fillet emergence, he did observe an increase of fillets over time in the stratigraphy. The present author, also, observed the filleted rims increase in volume through the stratigraphy but additionally identified when the fillet emerged by dating the layer in the stratigraphy where the fillet was first observed. Radiocarbon dated charcoal provided a calendric date of 1070 AD (**Table 1**).

### Finding the Fillet

The fillet was first observed in the Cranbrook stratigraphy where it increased in volume over time. Cranbrook was one of two sites selected for archaeological excavations. The other was Fairfield. These two sites were listed in the literature as Montego Bay sites, and therefore suitable to determine definition, emergence and significance of Montego Bay style pottery.

These two sites when excavated demonstrated a sequence that proved convenient

for tabulating the chronology of Montego Bay pottery. Cranbrook, the earlier site, contained in its lower horizons White Marl pottery and transitioned to Montego Bay in the upper strata. Fairfield, on the other hand, was a later site and contained Montego Bay style pottery in both the lower and upper horizons. The mathematical configuration and sequencing of these sites has assisted in the analysis of stratigraphy and chronology (**Tables 1 and 2**). Establishing a chronology between the two sites helped in the analysis. That Cranbrook was an older site and had transitioned through non-fillets to fillets and Fairfield was a younger site starting in its lowest horizon with filleted pottery, allowed one to tabulate the two using a sequence with Cranbrook preceding Fairfield on the same graph, that is, Cranbrook was placed below Fairfield in the graph (**Table 1**). This approach was justified by principles of stratigraphy (and typology), and underlined by radiocarbon dates.

**Table 1. Stratigraphic layers of Fairfield and Cranbrook sites together with their equivalent numeric chronological sequence.**

Row Labels/Site and Site Layers	Position/Chronological Sequence Number	Radiocarbon Dates	Sample ID
FairfieldLyr 1	14	AD 1310-1370 AD 1340+/-30	BETA-221620
FairfieldLyr 2	13		
FairfieldLyr 3	12		
FairfieldLyr 4	11		
FairfieldLyr 5	10	AD 1270-1420 AD 1345+/-75	BETA-22162
FairfieldLyr 6	9		
FairfieldLyr 7	8		
FairfieldLyr 8	7	AD 1270-1320 AD 1295+/-25	BETA-248732
CranbrookLyr 1	6		
CranbrookLyr 2	5		
CranbrookLyr 3	4		
CranbrookLyr 4	3	AD1040-1100 AD 1070+/-30	BETA-238913
CranbrookLyr 5	2		
CranbrookLyr 6	1	AD 980-1050 AD 1015+/-35	BETA-248730

Source: Beta Analytic Inc.; Conolley 2011.



Both stratigraphic analysis (**Figure 8**) and seriation (**Figure 9**) have demonstrated this gradual increase in frequency of filleted pottery from AD 1070 (**Table 1, Figure 8 and Figure 9**) when it first emerged through to the contact period.

#### Other References to Fillets

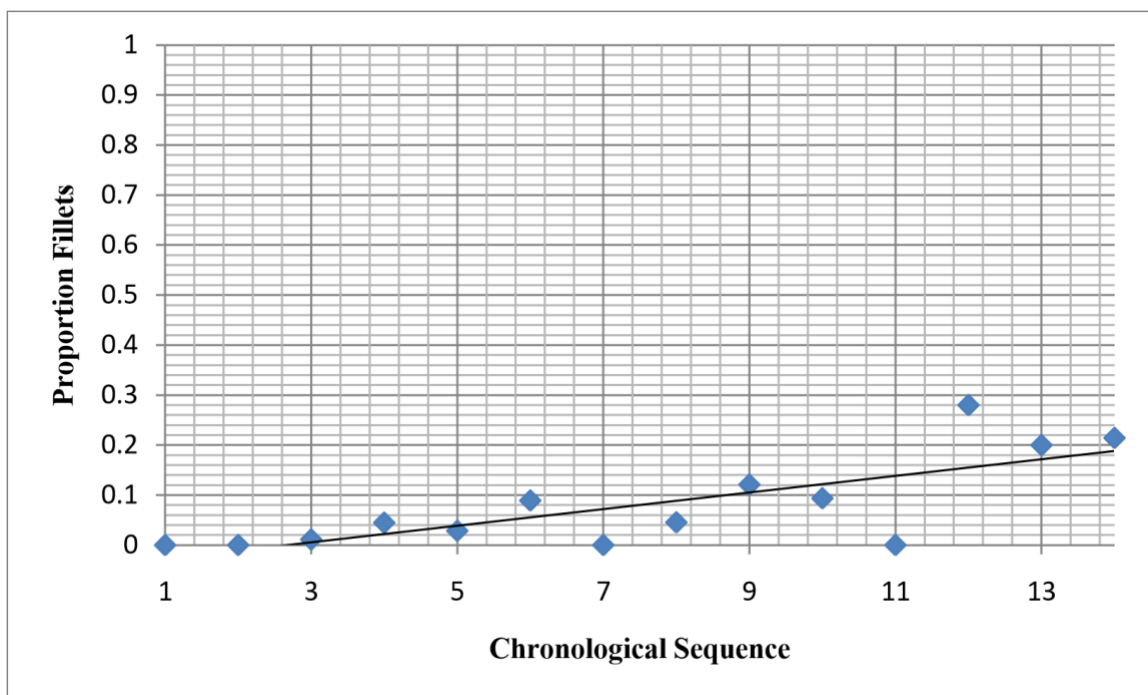
Two other sites, Bengal and Cinnamon Hill, while not excavated by this present author, were investigated by him through an analysis of assemblages curated at the Jamaica National Heritage Trust and research using documents from the Archaeological Society of Jamaica's newsletter. Both sites, Bengal and Cinnamon

Hill, contained the presence of Montego Bay pottery in the upper horizons (Archaeology Jamaica 1976:5), giving credence to a later emergence of the Montego Bay style. These two sites were excavated by Rev. Fr. Frank Osborne. The authority on Montego Bay pottery at the time was Vanderwal's Master's Thesis. Therefore, Osborne's determination that these were Montego Bay sites was sourced from Vanderwal's Thesis. Members of the ASJ, like Osborne, such as James Lee, Jack Tyndale-Biscoe, and others also referred to Vanderwal's definition of Montego Bay as containing both fillet and incision (Vanderwal 1968b; Archaeology Jamaica).

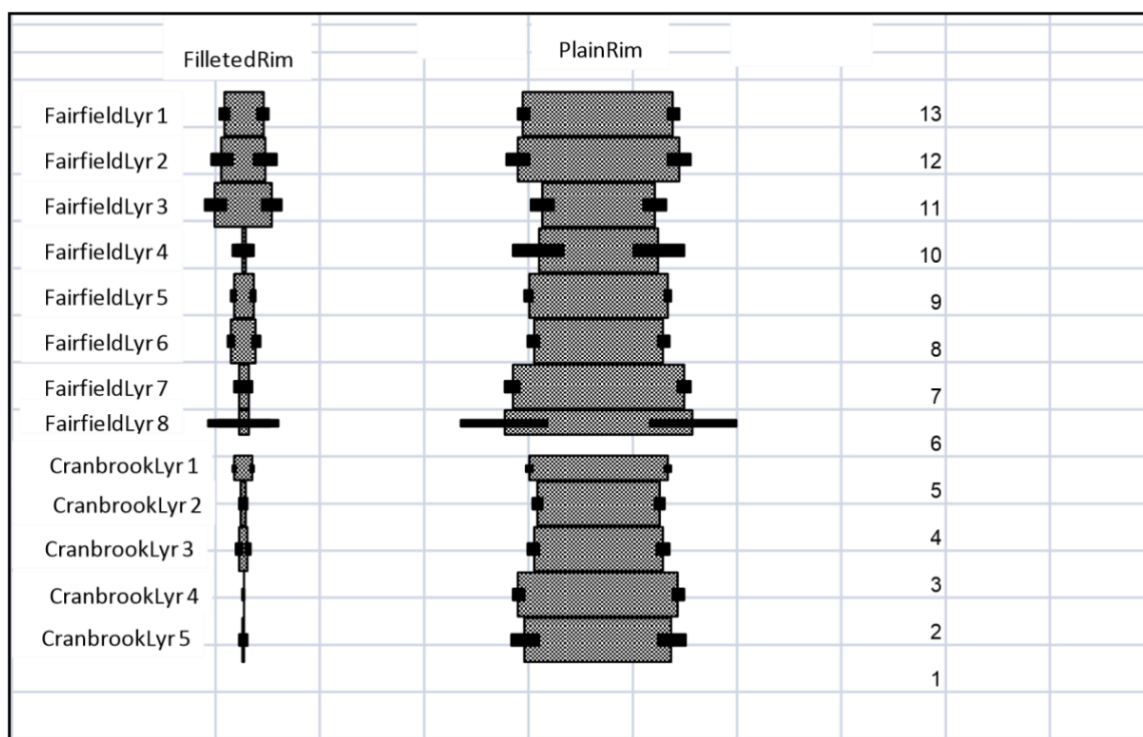
**Table 2. Fairfield and Cranbrook sites and their chronology**

Lab #	Site	Area	Unit	Depth (cmbs)	Material	<sup>14</sup> C age (BP)	cal AD <sup>1</sup>	Median cal AD
BETA-221620	Fairfield GPS position N 18 27.054; W 77 54.47	Montego Bay, St. James, Jamaica	Area 1 West	Layer 1 55 cmbs	Charcoal; charred material	530 +/- 50	1310-1370	1395
BETA-22162	Fairfield	Montego Bay, St. James, Jamaica	Section 1 East	Layer 5 73 cmbs	Charcoal; charred material	630 +/- 60	1270-1420	1355
BETA-248732	Fairfield	Montego Bay, St. James, Jamaica	Unit Trench 5	Layer 8 134 cmbs	Charcoal; charred material	680 +/- 40	1270-1320	1310
BETA-238913	Cranbrook The GPS position N18.4010; HO 77.19439	Llandoverly, St. Ann, Jamaica	Unit Area 1 West	Layer 4 60 cmbs	Charcoal; charred material	860 +/- 40	1040-1100	1070
BETA-248730	Cranbrook	Llandoverly, St. Ann, Jamaica	Area 2 West	Layer 6 140 cmbs	Charcoal; charred material	1010 +/- 40	980-1050	1015

<sup>1</sup> Calibration: BetaCal14.20: HPD method: INTCAL20.



**Figure 8. Percentage of Fillets on all Ceramic Sherds through Time at Cranbrook and Fairfield (Source: Conolley 2011).**



**Figure 9. Seriation Showing an Increase in Filleted Rims (Source: Conolley 2011).** Seriation for Figure 9 was created using of Carl Lipo's frequency seriation Excel tool (Lipo 2001; Lipo et al. 1997). There was no data for CranbrookLyr 6, therefore chronology number 1 at the bottom right of the figure is absent.

Professional archaeologists who also associated fillets with Montego Bay style pottery were Allsworth-Jones and Kit Wesler (Allsworth-Jones, Bogle-Douglas and Wesler 2007:375), and William Keegan and Lesley Gail Atkinson (Keegan and Atkinson 2006:24). Roderick Ebanks made reference to fillets in his MPhil Thesis (Ebanks 2001). Allsworth-Jones et al. (2007) noted that a feature of Montego Bay pottery was the placement of decoration on wide fillets. They pointed out that this is one of the clear differences of Montego Bay style pottery and White Marl pottery and explains how “the placement and form of the decoration on the vessels serve further to define the Montego Bay style” (Allsworth-Jones et al. 2007:375). Keegan and Atkinson (2006) also included the fillet as a part of their definition of Montego Bay pottery (Keegan and Atkinson 2006:24). In their description Keegan and Atkinson stated Montego Bay style was “also distinctive in that a wider fillet or separate band of clay (in addition to a filleted rim) is affixed at the rim and is decorated with deeply incised parallel lines on this band” (2006:24). Roderick Ebanks referred to a sherd he recovered at the Old Kings House site in Spanish Town as “restricted with an oval shape, simple contour and filleted rim” (2001:171). He noted that except for the filleted rim there were no decorative motifs (Ebanks 2001:171).

### **Significance of the Fillet**

Having established that the fillet was the identifying mark of Montego Bay style pottery, it was left to determine the reason why this pottery was so differentiated. Vanderwal in his thesis posited there were two different cultures between the north and south coasts of Jamaica (Vanderwal 1968b: 49; 103; 12-27; 149-152). Doubting there was sufficient evidence to suggest this, Allsworth-Jones et al. noted there was still a need for stratigraphic excavations to determine this cultural differentiation (2007:373). Evidently, it was not known to researchers at the time that Vanderwal himself had changed his position subsequent to the submission of his thesis. He wrote in an email to me: “a few days before I left Jamaica, some Fairfield style pots were shown to me in a small crawl space in a cave only a few hundred metres from the White Marl Museum,

which put paid to my assertion that Fairfield material was located only on the north coast. Associated was, I believe, a single burial. The entire scene was left entirely as I found it, with instructions on its locality left at the Museum” (Ronald Vanderwal, personal communication 2010). He did not offer an alternate solution, however. While Vanderwal discounted his own hypothesis of cultural differentiation, this pottery did indicate change, the nature of which Vanderwal might have identified if he had time to do so.

This present author’s research concurred with Vanderwal in that they both accepted that the change in White Marl pottery reflected a change in the polity of the people (Vanderwal 1968a; Conolley 2011). However, Conolley determined that there was no cultural differentiation but rather diffusion, that is, a socio-political change within the same culture. The observation of the fillet signalled the possibility that the fillet may have a more significant role to play in the identification and definition of the Montego Bay style than previously thought. The implication is that the fillet symbolized internal changes in the socio-political structure of the Meillacan Ostionoids from local group development (Conolley 2011:177). This present author argues for this socio-political development in his doctoral thesis (Conolley 2011) as there is evidence from stylistic variation that differences or changes are evident between villages (Conolley 2011). The direction of this research showed the applied band around the rim of the pot, the fillet, to be the single identifying mark of Montego Bay style pottery. It showed, further, that both White Marl and Montego Bay pottery contained common that is, similar, decorative features (referred to previously as motifs). Conolley (2011:165) notes in this regard: “Since decorated pottery with serrated and incised decoration was seen in layers 2 and 3, of the Cranbrook site, it is likely that the manufacture of fillets was not contemporary with the original occupation of the site, but began after various design elements had already been established as a part of the culture.”

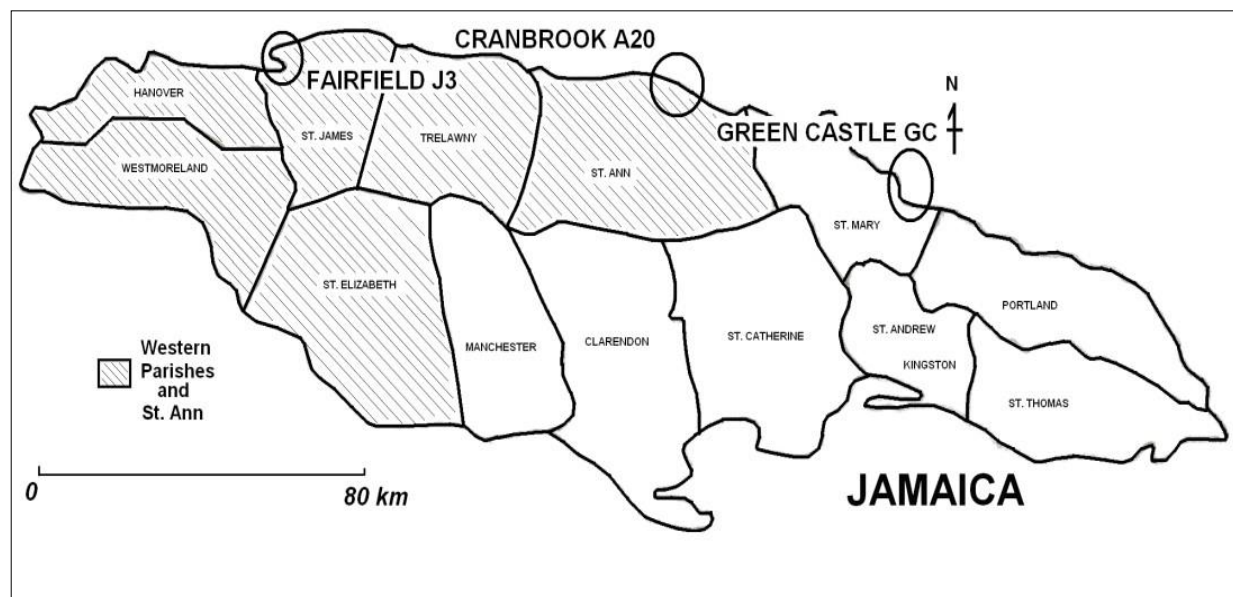
By using theories of stylistic variation, this author was able to take this hypothesis further by suggesting how it might be applied to socio-

political changes or development (Conolley 2018:655). For this analysis, Green Castle, Cranbrook and Fairfield were used. Fairfield and Green Castle tables were provided by Allsworth-Jones and Wesler, and Cranbrook and Fairfield tables provided by this present author (Conolley 2018:655). The relevant decorative features were located on the rim of the vessel, specifically in



area A of the vessel (**Figure 10**) Conolley (2011:166). The analysis showed that the dominant motif of Green Castle was punctates, the dominant motif of Cranbrook was the continuous line and the dominant motif of Fairfield was the dashed line (**Figure 11**) (Conolley 2011:177).

**Figure 10. Spatial Divisions A, B, and C** (Conolley 2011:173). Rice (2005, 265 citing Hardin 1984, figs. 1, 2) describes the spatial divisions underlying the decorations on a Tarascan ollas (pitcher/jug) demonstrating major divisions and subdivisions of the painted designs. An application of Rice's "spatial divisions" to a number of decorated vessels from the Cranbrook and Fairfield sites, demonstrates two spatial divisions namely, the fillet in Spatial Division A, and secondly, the area between the fillet and the shoulder in Spatial Division B. (Conolley 2011:166).



**Figure 11. Spatial Variations on North Coast of Jamaica – Fairfield, Cranbrook and Green Castle** (Source: Conolley 2011).

Fairfield, Cranbrook and Green Castle are located from the west (Fairfield), central (Cranbrook) and east (Green Castle) on the north coast of the island. While each of these is an individual village, it is likely that the villages around them reflected a similar pattern of pottery style. In this event, groups of villages sharing the

same motifs may be considered a region or chiefdom (box). The presence of the fillet underlying all of these motifs implies unification of these regions (Conolley 2018). This is outlined in *Jamaican Taíno Symbols: Implications for Regional Chiefdoms and their Chronology* (Conolley 2018).

#### *Summary of Socio-Political Polities*

##### *Local Group*

Green Castle, Cranbrook, and Fairfield are Taíno villages. A village is headed by a *cacique*. An independent village without affiliations with other villages has the socio-political status of local group. Such a village may be symbolized by markings located in spatial division A (see *Figure 9*). Markings in spatial division B may represent social status of class, profession or trade.

##### *Chiefdom or Region or Province*

A chiefdom is a combination of villages in close proximity to one another, such as Green Castle, Coleraine, Newry and Wentworth affiliated to each other and headed by a chiefdom *cacique*. Such a socio-political structure is at the level of chiefdom. The chiefdom is symbolized by a motif in spatial division A (see *Figure 9*) AND possibly markings in spatial division B representing social status – class, profession or trade.

##### *Unified Chiefdom*

The chiefdoms of areas encompassing Green Castle, Cranbrook and Fairfield combine to form a unified chiefdom under a Grand *Cacique*. Such a unified chiefdom is symbolized by the fillet which is located in spatial division A. Present, also, may be a motif in spatial division A, AND possibly markings in spatial division B representing social status – class, profession or trade.

The point is made here that the fillet was more important than regional markings. While evidence for this was provided for the abovementioned three areas on the north coast (Green Castle, Cranbrook, and Fairfield), this sociopolitical development may be applicable for many more areas of Jamaica as the fillet has been obtained from numerous sites throughout Jamaica. Fillets without any incisions have been identified on sites – plain fillets. The implication here is that those regions represented by plain fillets did not have motifs representing their region. Research on assemblages already curated as well as excavations on sites may determine how extensive or expansive this new socio-

political structure penetrated the island and in so doing determine how pervasive it was and, additionally, it may help to determine if other ethnic groups apart from Meillacan Ostionoids inhabited the island at this time and identify them. While not conclusive, insights into the pervasiveness of the Montego Bay style may be had from Dr. James Lee's database. The following table (**Table 2**) compiled from his database lists parishes, their location – whether on the north or south coast, potsherds with fillets that were plain, potsherds with decorated fillets and number of sites in the dataset. Of note is that pottery with filleted rims was obtained from every parish.

**Table 3. Fillets from Lee database.**

Parish	Location of Parish	Filletted plain	Filletted decorated	Number of Sites
St. Ann	North	433	56	14
St. Mary	North	223	59	13
St. James	North	126	433	9
Trelawny	North	89	24	6
Hanover	North	11	2	4
Portland	North	2	0	1
Clarendon	South	385	13	16
Manchester	South	192	5	11
St. Catherine	South	158	4	3
St. Thomas	South	132	1	8
St. Elizabeth	South	97	6	10
St. Andrew	South	43	1	6
Westmoreland	South	27	4	5

Source: James W. Lee Collection (Allsworth-Jones 2008).

### Conclusion

The differentiating feature of the Montego Bay style pottery and White Marl pottery is the presence of a filleted rim on Montego Bay style pottery and an emergence sometime after AD 1070. Also, stylistic variation

on White Marl and Montego Bay style pottery suggests a relationship between motif patterns and chronological or regional variation. Additionally, the style indicates changes in the socio-political status of the Meillacan Ostionoids (Taíno) circa AD 1070.

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