

30TH CONGRESS
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CARIBBEAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Title: Indigenous survival through the archaeological record, in the historical region of Holguin, Cuba.

.

Author: Yosbani Rodriguez Bruzon*

Yadira Rojas Espinosa

Mercedes Martinez Fernandez

Lourdes Pérez Iglesias

*Affiliation: Work center: Departamento Centro Oriental de Arqueología. Centro de Investigaciones y Servicios Ambientales de Holguín.

E-mail: yrbruzon86@gmail.com / yrbruzon@nauta.cu

ABSTRACT

In the primitive territory of the historical region of Holguin, located in the north eastern part of the island of Cuba, studies from different disciplines, recognize an indigenous survival after the interaction generated by the Hispanic conquest and colonization. The archaeological evidences that consider this in sites with estimated chronologies from the end of the XVI century to the XIX century are: ceramics and, to a lesser extent, lithic artifacts; both elements made following the cultural traditions of the indigenous societies of the Caribbean. This paper broadens the knowledge of the indigenous survival in colonial contexts of Holguin, based on the study and interpretation of evidence from recently reported archaeological sites, with the integration and analysis of existing information from previously intervened residuaries.

Key words: indigenous survival/ aboriginal tradition ceramics/ historical region of Holguin.

INTRODUCTION

In the northeast of Cuba, is the territory occupied by the original historical region of Holguin¹. This was one of the areas where most of the indigenous population settled on the island, taking into account the list of aboriginal archaeological remains (Department of Archaeology, 2012). According to references (Esquivel & Casals, 2006), at the time of the Hispanic arrival there was a significant population archaeologically recognized as agro-potters² of aruaca linguistic tradition. Different causes resulting from the subjugation of the conquest and initial colonization had an accentuated influence on a drastic decrease of the native population, although it did not mean its extermination. There is evidence of historical documents, archaeological and anthropological results that demonstrate that this human group survived, transcending and forming part of the cultural identity.

The main studies carried out in Cuba, which have made it possible to recognize the indigenous survival from the archaeological record, have been developed fundamentally since the beginning of the present century. At the beginning, it has been a result of the rise of historical archeology, with the basic incursion in the foundational centers of some of the first villages established by the Hispanics (Santi Spíritus, Camagüey, Santiago de Cuba, Havana), the recognition and restoration of patrimonial values in colonial buildings and the study of concentrations of indigenous populations, as in the case of Guanabacoa. The fundamental archaeological element to value the subject, has been the location of ceramic evidences of local production with determined characteristics in its confection and finishing very similar to those elaborated by the natives in the Island, before the arrival of the Europeans.

In Holguin, during the first decade of the XXI century, ceramic and lithic evidences that share similar characteristics to those of the indigenous cultures of the Caribbean were found in urban properties. This resultant, impelled the accomplishment of investigations that deepened in the subject, as archaeological demonstration of the indigenous survival. The research has been directed mainly to rural areas referenced in historical documents from the 17th to the 19th centuries.

¹The initial demarcation of the historical region of Holguin was determined in the middle of the XVIII century, in the space comprised by the northern coast of eastern Cuba, between the bays of Manatí and Nipe, including inland the points of Majibacoa and the heights of Báguano to the northern shore of the Cauto river.

²This classification is taken from Tabío (1984).

For the materialization of the present one, it was important the analysis of the results obtained by the archaeological interventions, carried out fundamentally, in Casa del Teniente Gobernador and by the research projects Material culture in environments of Indo-Hispanic interaction, and Indians in Holguin Archaeology and history. Also, as well as, the study of the materials of sites reported by the project Genesis of the historical region of Holguin (1545-1700). Archaeological, geographical and historical characterization, all executed by the Eastern Center Department of Archaeology, of the Center of Investigations and Environmental Services of Holguin. The paper aims to systematize and expand the knowledge on the indigenous survival in colonial spaces of the territory of the primitive historical region of Holguin, from the identification of archaeological evidences of indigenous tradition located in these contexts.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

A literature search was conducted to locate historical and archaeological sources showing information and considerations on indigenous survival in the Holguin territory (Colectivo de autores, 2014; Calzadilla & Córdova, 2016; Novoa, 2018). It also allowed consulting texts with information applicable to the study of archaeological materials (Degan, 1987; Jardines, 2017; Roura, Arrazcaeta & Hernández, 2017; Valcárcel, campos, Jardines & Rodríguez, 2018; Rodríguez & Jardines, 2019).

The archaeological sites related in this research correspond to spaces determined as colonial, after the encomienda stage (1510-1553), in this case with chronologies comprised between the beginning of the seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth century. The residues are: San Isidoro Cathedral, Casa del Teniente Gobernador, Casa de los Reyes, Casa del Presbítero, La Caballeriza, Managuaco, Las Guázumas, Río Los Lirios, San Marcos, Granja Guayacán, Loma del Cayo de Corajo, Mina La Agrupada, Entrada de Jobabo, Las Cuevas, Bariay Abajo and Almirante.

It was necessary to interpret the typological trends of colonial pieces from some sites, based on Degan (1987) and the typological list of ceramics from the Museum of Natural History of the University of Florida, to determine chronological estimates.

A study was made of the typological and stylistic characteristics of ceramic evidences determined as of aboriginal tradition and of lithic material, coming from the sites Las Cuevas, Bariay Abajo and Almirante, reported by the project Genesis of the historical region of

Holguin (1545 -1700). Archaeological, geographical and historical characterization; which had not been studied.

In some cases, revisions of materials of previously worked sites were carried out, with the intention of locating particularities that could contribute to the considerations expressed in this result. The collection of quantitative and qualitative data from all the sites, fundamentally referred to evidences related to the material culture of indigenous tradition, allowed interpretations and inferences, essential elements to build theories exposed as results of the present investigation.

RESULTS

Indigenous survival in Holguin territory: historical information

At the beginning of the Hispanic conquest of Cuba, there was a predominant indigenous population archaeologically recognized as tainos, farmers or agroalfareros of aruaca linguistic tradition. In the Holguinero territory, according to the references in Columbus' diary, there was a large population distributed in different types of settlements and spaces³ (Esquivel & Casals, 2006). Due to the reconnaissance carried out on the island, the population in this area had to be verified, which is why Diego Velázquez appointed Francisco Morales to settle in Maniabón. In 1513, the Adelantado arrived in the territory of the current municipality of Banes and met with aborigines from Baní and later from Barajagua (Portuondo, 2012). Part of the indigenous people of the region were transferred to found the town of San Salvador de Bayamo in 1513 (Pichardo, 1971).

The form of conquest and domination established by the Spaniards during the first half of the 16th century in Cuba was based fundamentally on the establishment of encomiendas. In the territory of Holguín, it is known that in 1526 Manuel de Rojas had Indians entrusted to him from Bani and in 1528 Gonzalo de Guzmán had a village of Indians near Bocas de Bani (Valcárcel, 2012). There are other references that state that in 1527, Diego de Ávila and Manuel de Rojas also had encomiendas in the Banes area, which had previously belonged to Alonso de Mendoza and Juan Mosquera (Novoa, 2008). In 1539, the treasurer Hurtado was the encomendero of Alcalá (Pichardo, 1945), the year in which three estancieros were killed by the Indians (Portuondo, 2012).

³Based on the data provided in the 1970s by Juan Pérez de la Riva, it is possible to calculate and obtain an approximate number of 21,300 aborigines living in the Holguinero region by 1510 (Pérez, 2004).

In the middle of the 16th century, when the application of the *encomienda* officially ended, the indigenous population of the territory of Holguín, as well as that of the rest of the Island, had a drastic decrease, although it should not have meant its extermination and the impossibility of integrating the survivors to other schemes of administration and colonial dominion⁴. By Royal Decree in the second half of the sixteenth century, the Cabildo of Bayamo was instructed to refrain from granting land for aboriginal residences in the northern part of its jurisdiction⁵. The location corresponds to the demarcation occupied by the historic Holguin region (Calzadilla & Córdova, 2016; Novoa, 2018).

There is documentary information corresponding to the XVIII century, where the presence of Indians in the demarcation of Holguín is recognized. Among the sources are the books of baptisms, marriages and deaths of the church of San Isidoro. Between 1713 and 1819, 274 baptisms were recorded in the parish of San Isidoro whose father, mother or both, were declared and recognized as Indians (Vega, 2014).

In a 1775 census on the rural population of the jurisdiction of Holguín, a total of 137 individuals are listed as Indians, of which 58.39% correspond to males and 41.61% to females. The existence of 35 marriages is declared, of these, 20 were between whites and Indians, 11 only between Indians and 4 between Indians and pardos. Most of them resided in the Ejido of the city of Holguin (81.02%), a minimum in the area of Uñas (4.38%) and the rest in lands of the current municipality Calixto Garcia (14.6%). Although most of the men were farmers, a few are shown with the category of *mayorales* (Novoa, 2014).

In the middle of the XIX century, José María de la Torre published in his *Compendio de Geografía Física Política Estadística y Comparada de Cuba*, that individuals of the autochthonous race could be found although in little number, among other places of the Cuban east, "... in the fields of Holguín" (1854, p.54). From the second half of the 19th century onwards, it is very difficult to find individuals catalogued as Indians in official documents and speeches. This may be due to the fact that the privileges granted to them by the king were repealed. The inexorable passage of time and the demographic dynamics were

⁴The Hispanic colonization, from the 1530s onwards, included, in addition to the establishment of *encomiendas*, other forms of dominion and administration of the land through *estancias*, sugar mills and cattle ranches, the latter being the most recurrent in the Holguin area (Ávila, 1865; Novoa, 2008; Pichardo, 2012).

⁵The demarcation of the town of San Salvador de Bayamo included land in the central west of the east of the island, including the north and south coasts; so the original territory of the historic region of Holguín was under its domain until it was segregated in 1752 (Calzadilla & Córdova, 2016).

determining elements for the indigenous remnants to be diluted among the components of the formation of the nationality. Beyond any social category and physical characteristics, the unitary concept of Cuban was imposed, which marked the course of the Island.

Evidences related to the indigenous materiality in colonial archaeological sites of the Holguinero territory

The work methods employed determined the existence of 16 archaeological sites⁶, with chronologies of the colonial period that present evidences considered as samples of the indigenous survival in the Holguin territory. The residues have been intervened from the end of the XX century to the present, in correspondence to interests of restoration in buildings of the city of Holguin, as it was in the Lieutenant Governor's House, San Isidoro Cathedral and House of the Kings, and in the fundamental thing to the results in the last 10 years, of investigation projects previously enunciated.

⁶The archaeological sites are: Catedral San Isidoro, Casa del Teniente Gobernador, Casa de los Reyes, Casa del Presbítero, La Caballeriza, Managuaco, Las Guázumas, Río Los Lirios, San Marcos, Granja Guayacán, Loma del Cayo de Corojo, Mina La Agrupada, Entrada de Jobabo, Las Cuevas, Bariay Abajo and Almirante.

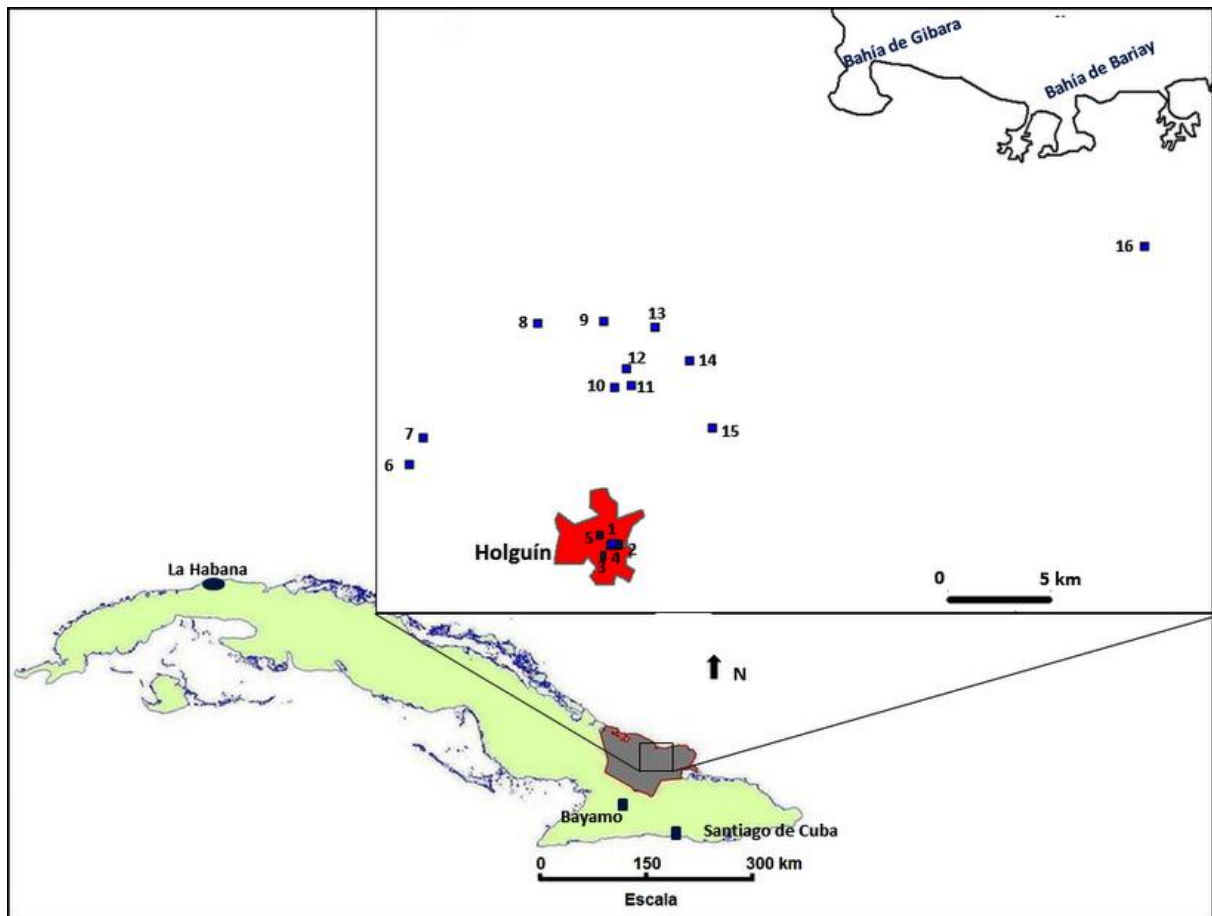


Figure 1: Location of the archaeological sites, in the original historical region of Holguín, in Cuba.

Legend: 1-Catedral San Isidoro, 2-Casa del Teniente Gobernador, 3-Casa de los Reyes, 4-La Caballeriza, 5-Casa del Presbítero, 6-Las Guázumas, 7-Las Cuevas, 8--Managuaco, 9-Entrada de Jobabo, 10-Mina La Agrupada, 11-Loma del Cayo de Corojo, 12-Granja Guayacán, 13-San Marcos, 14-Río Los Lirios, 15-Almirante y 16-Bariay Abajo.

The archaeological sites Catedral San Isidoro, Casa del Teniente Gobernador, Casa de los Reyes, Casa del Presbítero and La Caballeriza, are located within the urban area of the present city of Holguín and the rest, in rural spaces less than 15 km from the city except Bariay Abajo, distant about 30 km to the northeast of the same one. The residuaries are characterized for being in the fundamental thing, domestic locations, with variations in the occupational range of the space; there are sites with vitality during centuries, while others respond to very specific moments. In the city, in general, the residuary sites present a significant vertical stratigraphy, while in the rural area, everything indicates a predominance of surface deposition of materials. Only the sites Catedral San Isidoro, Casa del Teniente Gobernador, Casa de los Reyes, Casa del Presbítero and Managuaco have been excavated; in the case of La

Caballeriza, evidence was recovered, and the rest is limited to the exploration and collection of surface materials.

The fundamental archaeological element obtained in the archaeological sites for the consideration of indigenous survival are the ceramic remains, and to a lesser extent, lithic objects, which present characteristics of the pre-Columbian cultures that inhabited the territory. In the case of ceramic evidence, it has been called aboriginal tradition ceramics (CTA) (Roura, Arrazcaeta & Hernández, 2006).

Ceramics of aboriginal tradition

One of the most important colonial residuaries in the Holguin region is Casa del Teniente Gobernador, located in what is considered the oldest building in the city of Holguin, built around the third decade of the 18th century. As part of a restoration process, archaeological interventions were carried out during 2007 and 2008, inside and outside the building. Excavation unit VII was the most interesting as it had the deepest stratigraphic profile and was in a good state of preservation. A total of 993 CTA samples were obtained from that unit, which are present from the deepest to the superficial strata, being more significant in the intermediate stratigraphic segment (82-100 mm) (Jardines, 2017). These evidences were associated with colonial ceramics determined as chronological elements, with correspondence from the beginning of the 17th century to the second half of the 19th century (Jardines, 2017).

In the deepest stratum at Casa del Teniente Gobernador, the CTA differs a little from the other samples in higher strata, it has characteristics closer to aboriginal ceramics (Jardines, 2017). They possess well-smoothed surfaces, sherds with thicknesses of 3 to 4 mm corresponding to pots and bowls. External rims were located that were made from their placement on the last band of the pottery, with the incorporation of an incision at the base to highlight it, very similar to those observed in other collections of indigenous ceramics, and two small lipped handles modeled and applied on the body of the vessels (Jardines, 2017).

Another of the sites in the historic center of the city of Holguin, is Casa de Los Reyes, which has its beginnings in the second half of the eighteenth century. It corresponds to a house belonging to one of the most important families of the region, surnamed Reyes, which was archaeologically intervened in the first decade of the 21st century. The CTA found does not preserve decorative elements on the body or on the rims of the vessels and the classified handles are simple tabular, modeled and applied with depressions as decoration on their rims

and that function as supports for the vessels. The ceramics of this place present in the fundamental thing, very smooth surfaces, thicknesses that are between three and four millimeters, globular vessels of medium and small size⁷.

In the continuous north block of the current Julio Grave de Peralta Park in the city of Holguín, and facing it, is the site of the Presbyter's House. The space is related to the moment of foundation of the town of San Isidoro de Holguín, in 1720. Casa del Presbítero is one of the most recent intervention sites (2020), in which the CTA constitutes 29.2% of the sample obtained⁸. The ceramics of aboriginal tradition located, present smoothed surfaces of blackish, brownish and reddish colors; generally compact and blackish paste, with fine tempering and sand degreaser. The sherds have a predominant thickness of up to 6mm and few fragments are larger than 9mm. It is considered that the vessels were generally of medium and small size (pots and bowls) with curved backs towards the interior of the vessels, predominantly semicircular rims, appearing to a lesser extent, rectangular and acuminate⁹. According to the external appearance of the samples, the vessels were used for cooking and storing food, as well as for serving it at the table. No decorative elements were found on the body or rims of the vessels, and the handles classified were simple tabular, modeled and applied on the body of the vessels horizontally with depressions as decoration on their rims¹⁰.

In the case of the San Isidoro Cathedral site, it is the result of the interventions carried out in the religious precinct of the same name as part of its restoration in the last decade of the 20th century. There is not much information available about it and it was not possible to study the material located. At the time of excavation, ceramics classified as ordinary were obtained, which were later determined as CTA (Jardines, 2017).

La Caballeriza, is another residuary located within the city of Holguín, behind the San Isidoro Cathedral, within the space recognized as the oldest in the city. In this place, the archaeological intervention carried out in the second decade of the present century, responded to rescue works, reason why there is not a stratigraphic registry of the evidences. We obtained 1982 fragments of CTA, within which there were sherds with smoothed surfaces, dark in

⁷Archivo del Departamento Centro Oriental de Arqueología. Expediente del sitio arqueológico Casa de Los Reyes.

⁸Archivo del Departamento Centro Oriental de Arqueología. Expediente del sitio arqueológico Casa del Presbítero.

⁹*Idem.*

¹⁰*Idem.*

color due to soot, corresponding to small to medium-sized vessels (Rojas, 2018). The thickness of the pieces was between 2-8mm. Evidence was found corresponding to vessels with curved and straight backs, circular and semicircular rims, fragments of closed and globular vessels of good termination (Rojas, 2018). In some cases, some decorations were found on the rim of the ceramics, consisting of apparently alternating digital and wooden presses, as in pieces found in Havana and Trinidad.

In the rural locality of Managuaco, the homonymous archaeological site was located in 2013, 12 km north of the city of Holguín, with a chronological estimate from the seventeenth century to the present (Valcárcel, Campos, Jardines & Rodríguez, 2018). CTA samples from the site indicate the correspondence of vessels that followed globular or hemispherical contours, with a predominance of straight semicircular rims (Valcárcel, Campos, Jardines & Rodríguez, 2018). The location of handles was limited, characterized by being fundamentally horizontal tabular, with decorations achieved by alternating digital pressure or transverse incised lines (Valcárcel, Campos, Jardines & Rodríguez, 2018). No decorations were found on the body of the vessels. The prevailing thickness of the sherds is between 6 and 9 mm.

At 9 km northwest of the city of Holguín, is located the Las Guázumas waste site, related to the establishment of the Las Cuevas cattle ranch in the third decade of the seventeenth century and the operation of a hermitage between 1709 and 1716 (Rodríguez & Jardines, 2019). Of the materials obtained at that site, the CTA corresponds to 24.9%. The thickness of the same, is in 58.2% of more than 10 mm and the rest (41.8%) is between 6 and 9 mm (Rodríguez & Jardines, 2019). Eight semicircular stop rims were obtained, of which one presents external bevel and another one an external rim. In addition, three handles were counted, two of them consisting of strips applied to the surface of the vessel, lacking decorations and one of a projecting star-shaped tabular form with incised decoration (Rodríguez & Jardines, 2019).

The archaeological sites Río Los Lirios, San Marcos, Granja Guayacán, Loma del Cayo de Corojo, Mina La Agrupada and Entrada de Jobabo, are located within the former demarcation of the Guayacán hacienda, 11 km north of the city of Holguín and were studied together during the 2010s (Jardines & Rodríguez, 2017). For the present work, separate data were obtained to try to reach better conclusions. By the number of evidences and extension, the sites of greatest importance are: San Marcos, Granja Guayacán, Loma del Cayo de Corojo and Mina La Agrupada.

In the case of Entrada de Jobabo, a small site from the last quarter of the eighteenth century and first decades of the nineteenth century, a single piece of CTA was found, corresponding to a semicircular rim (Rodríguez, 2015). Meanwhile, in Río Los Lirios, a very possible location related to the temporary establishment for gold mining (Rodríguez et al., 2022), 4 fragments of CTA sherds and a fragment of a possible burén were found. In the San Marcos residuary, a domestic location from the beginning of the 19th century, out of 105 samples obtained from the exploration, 38 correspond to CTA, 9 of them are semicircular rims.

Granja Guayacán, is a site that could be related to the main seat of the hacienda, determining so far its vitality since the second half of the XVIII century and during the XIX century; of 54 evidences obtained by exploration, 14 correspond to CTA, of which 2 are edges. In Loma del Cayo de Corojo, a possible locality linked to gold mining in the late 16th and 17th centuries (Rodríguez et al., 2022), 56.3% of the materials corresponded to CTA samples, including 8 rims and 2 fragments of possible burenes. At this site, elements that may be related to the indigenous culture were found, such as fragments of coral (1) and shell (10), although without evidence of being tools or showing traces of work.

In the vicinity of the old gold mine La Agrupada, in 2014, the residue was located and named Mina La Agrupada (Rodríguez, 2015), which is considered to have had a vitality between the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. There are references to this place in reports of ancient works attributed to the indigenous people (Broderman, 1957). In the area of the site, 33 fragments of CTA were found, representing 27.3% of the sample obtained, of which 4 are rims, 2 handles consisting of strips applied horizontally on the body of the vessel, and 3 fragments of possible burenes with thicknesses of 3 to 5 cm.

The pottery of aboriginal tradition that was collected from each of the sites of the Guayacán hacienda, present blackish pastes, compact with fine tempering, sand degreasing and with a predominant thickness of between 6 and 9 mm (Jardines & Rodríguez, 2017). Their exterior and interior surfaces are mostly smoothed and blackish in color, with a high exposure to fire, they must have belonged to small and medium-sized vessels, used as tableware of little prestige and as containers (Jardines & Rodríguez, 2017).

The last sites included in the present investigation were reported in the current decade, and correspond to: Bariay Abajo, Almirante and Las Cuevas. Bariay Abajo is located about 2.5

km east of the present town of Santa Lucía, in the municipality of Rafael Freyre in Holguín. It is a rural location, which may have been linked to the smuggling trade because it is in a strategic place near the coast, consistent with the estimated functionality of the residuary for the mid-eighteenth century and during the nineteenth century (Rodríguez et al, 2022). From explorations carried out, 202 samples were taken, of which only 3 were CTA (Rodríguez et al, 2022), corresponding to a handle consisting of a horizontally applied strip with a small modeling in the form of a fold, a semicircular rim and a sherd fragment.

Almirante is a rural settlement located 9 km northeast of the city of Holguín, where an archaeological site of the same name was located. The place has the potential of being the original seat of the hacienda of the same name, founded in the first decades of the XVII century, when very specific evidences were found in the central part of the site, characteristics from that date onwards, being accentuated until the beginning of the XIX century. Ceramics of aboriginal tradition were found throughout the site, amounting to 53 samples in total (Rodríguez et al, 2022). Although most of them are sherds, 3 rims were located (1 flat and 2 semicircular), one of them corresponding to a vessel with a curved back towards the interior.

The archaeological site Las Cuevas is to the northwest of the municipality of Holguín, near the hamlet of Purnio. The interpretation of the chronological evidences point out a vitality of the place from the middle of the XIX century, basically in its second half, until the first decades of the XX century (Rodríguez et al, 2022). Of the samples obtained, 15 fragments of CTA were counted, one of them is a sherd with a simple hand-modeled tabular handle, with a semicircular rim. In spite of the limited sample, 4 fragments corresponding to buren of a thickness of 3 cm were located.



Figure 2: Ceramic samples of aboriginal tradition. A-La Caballeriza. B-Managuaco

Lithic evidence

The pieces of lithic origin recovered from unit VII of the site Casa del Teniente Gobernador, were located in the deepest stratum of the excavation, they correspond to two preforms of micro flakes, in which the technology of indigenous tradition and a rest of workshop are clearly observed. A striker used in its natural form was also found, showing traces of this percussion on its edges and in the center of one of its faces, where there is a depression (Jardines, 2017).

In the third stratigraphic layer of unit VI of the Casa de Los Reyes site related to a chronology of the second half of the 18th century, three stone hammers were extracted in volume, a small fragment of flint that shows traces of carvings and raw material for the elaboration of flint artifacts¹¹.

In Managuaco, 67 lithic pieces were obtained with the presence of some evidence of carving, consisting of workshop remains, preforms in blades, microflakes with retouch, flakes with fine retouch and flakes with notches, among others (Valcárcel, Campos, Jardines & Rodríguez, 2018, p.259). Stone tools were also obtained in volume corresponding to a fragment of a discoidal crusher, a mortar and a striker; neighbors collected a mortar hand, which they have in use (Valcárcel, Campos, Jardines & Rodríguez, 2018).

¹¹Archivo del Departamento Centro Oriental de Arqueología. Expediente del sitio arqueológico Casa de Los Reyes.

The lithic material obtained from Las Guázumas, is represented by a mortar fragment and 13 artifacts made of flint; the latter were classified into workshop remains, micronuclei, retouched microflakes and preforms in microflakes, and are less than 3 cm long (Rodríguez & Jardines, 2019).

In the case of the archaeological sites of the Guayacán hacienda, only in Granja Guayacán, Loma del Cayo de Corojo and Mina La Agrupada were lithic evidences reported, amounting to eight tools and six workshop remains, sculpted in silica and quartz material. The artifacts that were classified were: a coarse flake with notch, a pointed flake used as a perforator, a tabular core, a micro flake with notch on one of its edges, a micro flake with carving towards its basal part, a micro core and a micro point (Jardines & Rodriguez, 2017).

From the exploration works in Almirante, a fragment of a striker and 6 carved lithic tools concerning preforms, points, microcores and microtips were found, mainly located in the part identified as the oldest part of the site. In Las Cuevas, a stone hammer was found in volume.



Figure 3: Lithic evidence. A-Las Guázumas. B and C-Managuaco.

DISCUSSION

In the territory of Holguín, in spite of the verification and submission to the regime of encomiendas of its indigenous population, no villa was established as a result of the conquest, reason for which it remained marginalized of the commercial routes and of the incipient development that certain "urban" spaces of the Island could have had. These aspects must have influenced in that the indigenous remnants remained in the fields of Holguín, even in spaces that had been possible encomiendas like El Yayal and Alcalá, those that present

functional evidences during the last third of the 16th century (García, 2002; Valcárcel, 1997). The Royal dispositions of protection to the Indians of the jurisdiction of Bayamo, to which the Holguín region belonged, agree with these considerations.

This indigenous maintenance must have constituted the labor base for subsistence agriculture and cattle raising, fundamental activities developed during the first colonial centuries in the territory of Holguín. It also had an impact on the knowledge to supply themselves with resources from the natural environment and to meet the needs of daily life, among which were the containers for the storage, preparation and consumption of food.

In the archaeological sites included in this study, locally produced ceramics were found that do not show traces of potter's wheel and have similar characteristics to those made by indigenous Caribbean societies, using the cordelado technique (Jardines, 2017; Valcárcel, Campos, Jardines & Rodríguez, 2018; Rodríguez & Jardines, 2019). The recovered ceramics allow us to identify the manufacture, fundamentally, of vessels of hemispherical and globular appearance (Jardines, 2017; Valcárcel, Campos, Jardines & Rodríguez, 2018; Rodríguez & Jardines, 2019).

In the ceramic samples recovered predominate a thickness between 6 and 9 mm, being scarce ranges higher or lower. The blackish color of the paste indicates that they were burned in open kilns at low temperature in a reducing atmosphere. The surfaces are mostly well smoothed, eliminating the evidence of the coils by the action of the spatulate. The decorations on the ceramics are limited, restricted to the handles and rims. The fundamental handles obtained are horizontal tabular, with alternating digital presses as decoration; in contexts or strata that respond to chronologies of the XVII century in the fundamental, it is possible to locate stellate and teatted handles. The rims of the vessels were mostly of little complexity, conceived in a straight form with semi-circular tops, which in turn gives them greater strength; in cases such as those obtained in La Caballeriza, decorations consisting of digital pressures and transverse lines obtained from the application of wood were found. This ceramic is very similar to others found in cities such as Havana and Camagüey, where the possibility of an indigenous manufacture is considered (Jardines, 2017; Roura, Arrazcaeta & Hernandez, 2017; Valcárcel, Campos, Jardines & Rodríguez, 2018), according to its technological features and historical data of pottery production by Indians in the 16th-18th centuries.

Among the ceramic samples from some sites, mostly rural ones, there are fragments of burenas between 3 and 5 cm thick. It constitutes an interesting aspect of the indigenous culture, referred to the cultural tradition of the elaboration of cassava, an element collected in the documentary and oral information in some of the sites worked.

Within the ceramic sample stands out among the sites included in the research, the piece no.7052 of the Managuaco site, which corresponds to a ceramic of compact, hard and blackish paste, with fine temper, straight edge with semicircular top, which preserves on the outside samples of the coils of the cordage. It responds to a large vessel, deformed before or during the burning process (Valcárcel, Campos, Jardines & Rodríguez, 2018), which is glazed on the exterior and interior surfaces. The combination of the way of elaboration by technique of indigenous origin, with the surface treatment, characteristic of colonial ceramics, make it a sample of the cultural symbiosis that developed.

Although these ceramics are located in spaces that respond to different historical moments, they keep similarities in their finishing, which indicates the knowledge rooted by those who manufactured them, which was bequeathed from generation to generation to transcend the centuries. Despite the lack of petrographic studies applied to ceramics, everything indicates from the historical information that these must have been made in the Holguin region and it could have been in the same localities where they have been found or in nearby places (Valcárcel, Campos, Jardines & Rodríguez, 2018). The absence of tejares in the jurisdiction until the second half of the 18th century limits the commercial character that these ceramics could have had in this part of the island, unlike Havana (Roura, Arrazcaeta & Hernández, 2017). Although later this possibility is not delegitimized, since in some tejares there is the reference of being employed individuals recognized as Indians (Rojas, 2018).

An element considered necessary to clarify about the manufacture of the so-called CTA, is that, regardless of the fact that with the entry of African slaves arrived ancestral knowledge of their culture, which elaborated ceramics in the same way as that of the aboriginal societies that inhabited the Caribbean (Roura, Arrazcaeta & Hernández, 2017), in the case of Holguin, its influence is understood to be limited. In correspondence to the low socioeconomic development of this area during the 16th century and first half of the 18th century, the entry of Africans was scarce, unlike in other parts of the island (Calzadilla & Córdova, 2016). Slavery was restricted to domestic service and to a lesser extent to agricultural activities; with the 19th

century, this presence increased, stimulated by the boom of sugar plantations, essentially in the hinterland of the port of Gibara.

As for the lithic material from the sites included in the research, with evidence in its conception of an indigenous cultural tradition, although it is not abundant, it does not limit its transcendence, since it is an element that confirms the process studied. The samples obtained respond essentially to a microlithic industry, characteristic of pre-Hispanic aboriginal societies. The appropriation of pebbles was also found, basically to obtain hammers, a tradition that still survives in some rural areas. The presence of this evidence is more frequent in rural areas, despite the limited interventions. Lithic tools must have maintained their pre-colonial functionality as well as ceramics, among other aspects, due to the difficulty of obtaining metallic instruments. In the 19th century Rodríguez Ferrer (1876) exposed that in Sierra de Cuvitas, province of Camagüey, he found a family that had a stone guayo. The deepening of the archaeological investigations, would allow to increase this registry and to carry out deeper valuations, the magnitude of the works developed in Managuaco evidences the possibility of obtaining a greater number of samples.

It is estimated that the considerations made so far on the indigenous survival from the archaeological record could be expanded. There is a need to develop studies on ceramics of aboriginal tradition, including petrographic studies. In addition, to extend localities to investigate and carry out prospections or excavations, in correspondence to the obtaining of samples only in surface in many of the referred sites, as in the case of Las Guázumas, where the existence of a hermitage turned into a parish at the beginning of the XVIII century is described, to which a cemetery was attached (Ávila, 1865). To obtain an integrated result, it would be appropriate to combine the archaeological results with DNA studies of families that have existed for centuries in the localities of the archaeological sites and the application of cultural anthropology studies.

Most of the archaeological sites worked are located in the central part of the territory of the historical region of Holguín, which at the present time would be in the city of Holguín and its surroundings. Up to the moment, in these spaces or immediate vicinities, indigenous archaeological sites are not found, reason why the concession of the human occupation of these spaces corresponds to colonial moments at the end of the XVI century and in the XVII century (Ávila, 1865). It is necessary to note that they occupy a territory with a predominance

of an ecosystem of scrublands with shallow soils, which is why they were leaned of the development of sugar plantations; they are spaces with characteristics of a Creole population.

In the sites located in the current rural areas, a link of indigenous survival can be considered through the toponymy of the localities where they are located or in nearby places, examples are: Cacoyugüín, Guabasiabo, Guayacán, Güirabo, Jobabo, Managuaco, Mayabe, Yabazón and Yareniquén. In the case of the territories occupied by the haciendas of Managuaco, Yareniquén and Guayacán, a study was carried out in the previous decade, involving aspects of cultural anthropology, in which elements of indigenous identity were found, such as; use of natural elements for making utilitarian objects for household goods, cultivation of native plants for self-consumption, elaboration of cazabe, forms and constructive elements in some houses, as well as, spiritual elements that may have a connection with the indigenous legacy (Rodríguez, 2015).

CONCLUSIONS

In the primitive territory of the historical region of Holguin, several archaeological sites have been located in the last years that respond to colonial moments from the XVII to the XIX century. They are the result of interventions by restoration processes in buildings within the current city of Holguin, and by research projects that have also conceived the incursion in rural spaces. In the residuaries, ceramics and lithic materials have been obtained, elaborated following the stylistic traditions of the pre-Hispanic human groups that inhabited the territory. The sites studied are not located in aboriginal contexts, nor is the existence of such contexts recognized in their immediate vicinity, so the elements recognized as legacies of the aboriginal material cultural tradition have the correspondence of the colonial context where they are located.

In the ceramic samples identified as of aboriginal tradition, from the archaeological sites studied, it is evident that they were made using the indigenous technique of cordelado. These ceramics, in correpondence to the technology used in their manufacture, composition and appearance of the paste, surface treatment, predominant thickness, size and typology, although limited, of rims and handles, are consistent with and reminiscent of the typical ceramics of the indigenous agricultural societies that inhabited Cuba. However, the decorations on the bodies of the vessels and the diversity of forms, typical of the Cuban pre-Columbian traditions, are absent, which could be responding to the adaptability of the

colonial situation and the utilitarian value of the vessels, which must have been used for cooking food and also in service and consumption activities.

The lithic evidences elaborated by means of indigenous techniques, although they are not so abundant, indicate the reflection of a process similar to that of ceramics and support the conception of indigenous survival. The presence of the same, in diverse chronological contexts, evidences a tradition for the confection of the same. Unlike ceramics, which may have had a commercial character at a certain time, it is considered that lithic tools are a different case and indicate that in those areas or nearby localities, there were individuals with the ability to make these pieces.

The archaeological record legitimizes and agrees with the historical data provided, the result of the interpretation of documentary evidences, and certain appreciations on cultural anthropology, referring to the indigenous survival during the colonial stage in the Holguín territory. From its identification, it rescues the participation and presence of the indigenous remnants in different processes and space. It consolidates and expands the conception of the integration of the indigenous component as an indissoluble part of the regional and national identity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ávila Delmonte, D. (1865). *Memoria sobre el origen y fundación del Hato de San Isidoro de Holguín*. Primera Edición. Imprenta 'El Oriental'. Holguín.

Brodermam y Vignier, J. (1957). *El oro de Holguín: prospecto de la compañía minera y de fundición de oro cubano*. S.A. Editorial La Milagrosa. La Habana.

Calzadilla Anido, L. y Córdova Martínez, C. (2016). *De las tierras altas de Maniabón a ciudad*. Ediciones Holguín, Holguín.

Departamento de Arqueología. (2012). *Censo de sitios arqueológicos aborígenes de Cuba*. Instituto Cubano de Antropología. CITMA.

Colectivo de autores (2014). *Indios en Holguín*. Coordinado por: R. Valcárcel Rojas & H. Pérez Concepción. Editorial La Mezquita. Holguín.

Deagan, K. (1987). *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800. Volumen I: Ceramics, Glassware, and Beads*. Smithsonian Institution Press. Washington D.C.

Esquivel Pérez, M. y Casals Corella C. (2006). *Derrotero de Cristóbal Colón por la costa de Holguín.1492*. Ediciones Holguín. Holguín.

García Castañeda, J. (2002). *La municipalidad holguinera, su creación y desenvolvimiento hasta 1799*. Primera Reimpresión. Ediciones Holguín. Holguín.

Jardines Macías, J. (2017). *Reconocimiento arqueológico de un sitio colonial urbano de la ciudad de Holguín. La Casa del Teniente Gobernador*. En: Cuba Arqueológica. Año X, núm. 1/2017. p. 24-37.

_____ y Rodríguez Bruzón, Y. (2017). *El indio en un asentamiento rural de Holguín*. En: Memorias del XI Congreso Iberoamericano de Pensamiento. Casa de Iberoamérica. Editorial La Mezquita. Holguín.

Novoa Betancourt, J. (2008). *Haciendas ganaderas en Holguín, 1545-1867*. Ediciones Holguín. Holguín.

_____ (2014). *Descendientes de indios en el Holguín de 1775*. En: *Indios en Holguín*. Editorial La Mezquita. Holguín. p.97-106.

_____ (2018). *Una aproximación desde la historia y la arqueología a la supervivencia del indio en el Holguín colonial (mediados del siglo XVI - finales del siglo XVIII)* En: *Comprender la Historia II. Visiones múltiples desde Holguín*. Coordinadores: M. San Miguel Aguilar y H. Pérez Concepción. Editorial La Mezquita. Holguín. p. 61-78.

Pérez de la Riva, J. (2004). *La conquista del espacio cubano*. Fundación Fernando Ortiz. La Habana.

Pichardo Moya, F. (1945). *Los indios de Cuba en sus tiempos históricos*. Imprenta El Siglo XX. La Habana.

Pichardo Viñals, H. (1971). *Documentos para la historia de Cuba*. T. I. Segunda Edición. Editorial de Ciencias Sociales. Ciudad de La Habana.

Portuondo Zúñiga, O. (2012). *El departamento oriental en documentos. Tomo 1 (1510-1799)*. Editorial Oriente. Santiago de Cuba.

Rodríguez Bruzón, Y. (2015). *Estudio histórico de las haciendas holguineras de Guayacán, Managuaco y Yareniquén hasta el siglo XVIII, como parte de la dinámica del poblamiento de*

las Tierras Altas de Maniabón. [Tesis en opción al grado académico de Master en Historia y Cultura en Cuba] Universidad de Holguín Oscar Lucero Moya. Inédito.

_____, Cedeño Cruz, J. E., Martínez Fernández, M., Fera Fernández, D., Vargas Acosta, Y., Rodríguez Pizonero, I., Fernández Batista, Y., & Cruz Ramírez, P. (2022). *Exploración arqueológica a territorio de haciendas establecidas entre los años 1545 y 1700, en la región histórica holguinera*. Ponencia presentada en la XVII Jornada Arqueológica. Holguín. Inédita.

_____ & Jardines Macías, J. (2019). Investigaciones arqueológicas en el hato de Las Cuevas. Caracterización del sitio Las Guázumas. En: *Memorias del XIV Congreso Iberoamericano de Pensamiento*. Casa de Iberoamérica. Editorial La Mezquita. Holguín.

Rojas Espinosa, Y. (2018). *La historia que cuenta la cerámica de tradición aborigen del centro histórico de Holguín*. En: *Comprender la Historia II. Visiones múltiples desde Holguín*. Coordinadores: M. San Miguel Aguilar y H. Pérez Concepción. Editorial La Mezquita. Holguín. Pág: 9-21.

Rodríguez Ferrer, M. (1879). *Naturaleza y Civilización de la grandiosa Isla de Cuba*. Primera Parte. Imprenta J. Noguera. Madrid.

Roura Álvarez, L., Arrazcaeta Delgado, R. & Hernández Oliva, C. A. (2006). La cerámica de tradición aborigen: ejemplos habaneros. *Gabinete de Arqueología*., 5, (pp. 16-27).

_____ (2017). *Indios de La Habana*. Aproximación histórico-arqueológica. Editorial de Ciencias Sociales. La Habana.

Tabío, E. (1984). *Nueva periodización para el estudio de las comunidades aborígenes de Cuba*. En: *Islas* No.78/1984. Pág.35-52.

Torre, J. (1854). *Compendio de Geografía Física Política Estadística y Comparada de Cuba*. Imprenta de M. Soler. Habana.

Valcárcel Rojas, R. (1997). Introducción a la arqueología de contacto indohispánico en la provincia de Holguín, Cuba. En: *El caribe Arqueológico* No.2/ 1997. Casa del Caribe. Santiago de Cuba. p.64-76.

_____ (2012). *Interacción colonial en un pueblo de indios encomendados. El Chorro de Maíta, Cuba*. Tesis doctoral, Facultad de Arqueología. Leiden University,

Leiden, Holanda. Disponible en <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/20153>. Fecha de consulta: 2012

_____, A. Campos Suárez, Y. Rodríguez Bruzón y J. E. Jardines Macías (2018). *Arqueología en Managuaco. Presencia de indios en una hacienda colonial cubana*. En: De la desaparición a la permanencia. Indígenas e indios en la reinención del Caribe. Editores y compiladores: R. Valcárcel Rojas y J. Ulloa Hung. p. 247- 277, Vol. 2. Instituto Tecnológico de Santo Domingo Fundación García Arévalo. Santo Domingo.

Vega Suñol, J. (2014). *Los aborígenes de Cuba en la etnohistoria de Holguín: un acercamiento a los libros bautismales de los siglos XVIII y XIX*. En: *Indios en Holguín*. Editorial La Mezquita. Holguín.p.78-94.