

# First records of modified snake bones in the Pre-Columbian archaeological record of the Lesser Antilles: Cultural and paleoecological implications

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Corentin Bochaton. First records of modified snake bones in the Pre-Columbian archaeological record of the Lesser Antilles: Cultural and paleoecological implications. Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology, 2020, pp.1-16. 10.1080/15564894.2020.1749195 . hal-02981643

## HAL Id: hal-02981643 https://hal.science/hal-02981643

Submitted on 28 Oct 2020

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1	First records of modified snake bones in the Pre-Columbian archaeological
2	record of the Lesser Antilles: cultural and paleoecological implications
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8	

9 The past distribution of Boa snakes and their interactions with Pre-Columbian human populations in 10 the Lesser Antilles (Caribbean) remain enigmatic. These snakes currently have a patchy distribution in 11 the islands and are nearly absent from archaeological deposits. This raises questions about whether 12 their absence from Pre-Columbian contexts should be interpreted from a biological or a cultural point of view. In this study, I provide three new references to Boa remains from archaeological and natural 13 deposits on the islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique, most of which were manufactured into beads. 14 15 These are the first objects in the Lesser Antilles known to be manufactured using snake bones and all 16 appear to be made from *Boa*, despite a wider diversity of snakes occurring in this region. Using these 17 new observations and combined pieces of evidence from archaeological, historical, and biological data 18 sources, I propose that the extreme scarcity of *Boa* in zooarchaeological assemblages reflects their prominent status in Pre-Columbian Amerindian communities. 19

20 Keywords: modified bone, Martinique, squamate, zooarchaeology, Guadeloupe.

#### 21 Introduction

22 In zooarchaeological studies, the absence of a species from an archaeological assemblage can be 23 explained by past species distributions, taphonomic factors, or lack of interaction with human 24 communities. As a result, it is necessary to assess archaeological evidence alongside additional 25 sources of data to adequately explain a species' absence from the archaeological record. Clues may 26 surface through comparison with additional archaeological bone assemblages, but may also come from 27 historical and biological (e.g., biogeography, paleontology, modern distribution, etc.) data sources, 28 when available, for the studied periods, areas, and taxa. Such a multidisciplinary approach allows for 29 the study of both past human behaviors toward animals and changes in animal diversity and 30 distribution through time, two topics that are still generally understudied in tropical areas, despite their critical scientific importance in understanding the current mass extinction crisis (Barnosky et al., 2017; 31 32 Ceballos et al., 2017). Though islands have certainly garnered attention in this regard (Nogué et al., 2017; Steadman, 2006), including those in the Caribbean (e.g., Brace et al., 2015; Cooke et al., 2017; 33 Steadman et al., 2015; Stoetzel et al. 2016), most studies have focused only on mammals. Among the 34 less investigated taxa are terrestrial reptiles, which remain poorly known at a regional scale (but see 35

Bochaton et al., 2016a; Etheridge, 1964; Pregill et al. 1994). Of indigenous reptiles, *Boa* Linnaeus,
1758 and other snakes are among the most poorly documented given that they are only known from a
few islands (see background section). As such, their diversity and degree of interaction with past
human populations remains enigmatic.

In this paper I describe several archaeological objects, probably beads, made of *Boa* snake
vertebrae discovered on two islands in the Lesser Antilles: Basse-Terre (Guadeloupe) and Martinique.
I also present a new record of *Boa* from a natural deposit on La Désirade Island (Guadeloupe). These
finds provide a means for discussing the nature of interactions between Pre-Columbian Amerindians
and *Boa* snakes, the reason for their extreme scarcity in prehistoric archaeological deposits, and add to
the list of animals that native groups in the Caribbean used for ornamentation.

46

#### 47 Background section

#### 48 The Lesser Antilles

49 The Lesser Antilles is a chain of medium to very small islands (less than 1000 km<sup>2</sup>) situated in the 50 Atlantic Ocean between South America and the Greater Antilles (Figure 1A). The archaeological 51 record of the Lesser Antilles is known to varying degrees from island to island, with some islands having been intensively investigated (Keegan et al., 2013). Existing archaeological data document the 52 earliest human colonization of this region between 7000 and 5500 cal. BP by aceramic (Archaic) 53 54 Amerindian groups (Fitzpatrick, 2015; Napolitano et al. 2019; Siegel et al., 2015). The first populations producing ceramics arrived around 2500 cal. BP and formed the Saladoid cultural 55 56 assemblage. A second cultural assemblage called Troumassoid evolved from the Saladoid and gradually replaced it around 1500 cal. BP. This last culture survived until the arrival of Europeans in 57 58 the Lesser Antilles in 1493 and the emergence of a new ceramic style called Cayo. Amerindians were nearly eradicated from the Lesser Antilles in the 17<sup>th</sup> century during European colonization. These 59 60 different periods of occupation are represented at numerous archaeological sites in the Lesser Antilles, 61 which have yielded many different kinds of faunal assemblages (e.g., Newsom and Wing, 2004).

62 These zooarchaeological assemblages document the subsistence strategies of past human populations but also, to a certain extent, past species distributions. These data are of special interest in the Lesser 63 64 Antilles, a region whose terrestrial biodiversity was impacted by a massive extinction crisis starting in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This crisis affected several taxa, including terrestrial and flying mammals (Cooke et 65 al., 2017), birds (e.g., Gala and Lenoble, 2015; Olson, 1978), and squamates (e.g., Bochaton et al., 66 2015; Pregill et al., 1994). Zooarchaeological assemblages also indicate environmental disturbances 67 68 related to Pre-Columbian populations and their introduction of exogenous taxa to the islands 69 (Bochaton et al., 2016b; Giovas, 2017).

#### 70 Snakes in the Lesser Antillean archaeological record

71 Snake remains are recorded in around half of the zooarchaeological studies of Lesser Antillean 72 Amerindian deposits. These taxa are, however, are often represented by very few remains (e.g., 73 Bochaton et al., 2019; Giovas, 2016; Healy et al., 2003; Newsom and Wing, 2004; Reitz, 1994), do 74 not indicate consumption by Amerindians and thus appear to reveal little about past economy and 75 subsistence (Bochaton et al., 2019). In addition, the lack of comparative collections has hampered 76 taxonomic identification, such that snake remains discovered in archaeological contexts are rarely 77 identified beyond the family level (Colubridae sensu lato). Some authors nevertheless have attributed 78 snake remains to the genus Alsophis Fitzinger, 1843 (Carder et al., 2007; Crock and Carder, 2011; Wing et al., 1968) which is, along with the genus *Erythrolamprus* Wagler, 1830, one of the two genera 79 80 of colubrid snakes occurring in the Lesser Antilles. Some of the rare species-level identifications come from Saint-Martin, where the endemic species Alsophis rijgersmaei Cope, 1869 was recorded 81 (Newsom and Wing, 2004), and from Guadeloupe, where two species of Alsophis (Alsophis antillensis 82 (Schlegel, 1837) and Alsophis sp. 2) and one species of Erythrolamprus (Erythrolamprus juliae cf. 83 copeae (Parker, 1936) were recorded (Bochaton et al., 2019). Much work is still needed to better 84 85 understand the diversity of colubrid snakes in the archaeological record of the Lesser Antilles, but the 86 data concerning other snake families and especially boid snakes are even scarcer. Indeed, the rare 87 traces of their past occurrences have only been found on Marie-Galante, where an endemic species 88 was present at least during the Pleistocene (Boa blanchardensis, Bochaton & Bailon, 2018), and

Antigua where putative *Boa constrictor* remains were discovered in two Holocene deposits (Pregill et al., 1988). *Boa* snakes currently occur on two islands in the Lesser Antilles, St. Lucia and Dominica, where they are represented by two endemic species, *Boa orophias* Linnaeus, 1758 and *Boa nebulosa*(Lazell, 1964) (see Henderson and Powell, 2009). Additionally, there are historical sources describing possible *Boa* snakes on Martinique (Labat, 1724) and possibly St. Vincent (Moreau de Jonnès, 1816), but these records were never supported by historical specimens or fossil evidence.

## 95 The past distribution of Boa snakes in the Lesser Antilles

96 Modern, historical and fossil records provide a patchwork view of the past distribution of *Boa* snakes in the Lesser Antilles (see Table. 1). However, since Boa snakes colonized the Lesser Antilles from 97 98 South America and reached at least as far north as Antigua, they likely colonized most, if not all, of 99 the islands between Tobago and Antigua. Indeed, most Lesser Antillean squamates of South American 100 origin colonized the different islands using rafts of floating vegetation, which lead to their progressive 101 dispersal from the southern islands to the northern islands following marine currents (Calsbeek and 102 Smith, 2003; Hedges, 2006; Lescure, 1987). The most likely hypothesis is thus that the current patchy 103 distribution of Boa in the Lesser Antilles reflects numerous relatively recent extirpation or extinction 104 events. Following this hypothesis, we would expect to recover *Boa* remains in Pre-Columbian Lesser 105 Antillean archaeological deposits. This is, however, not the case, and *Boa* snakes were never identified 106 in any Lesser Antillean archaeological deposits with the exception of a putative occurrence (cf. Boa 107 constrictor) at the Indian Creek site in Antigua (Steadman et al., 1984a). This absence is very difficult to understand because we currently do not know if Boa snakes were present on the different islands 108 109 during Pre-Columbian periods or if they were only absent from coastal areas where most of the archaeological deposits are situated. There is also a possibility that they were avoided by Amerindians 110 111 and thus absent in archaeological deposits.

## 112 Materials and Methods

113 Archaeological

114 The archaeological/subfossil material of *Boa* investigated in this study corresponds to vertebrae 115 collected on Martinique and Guadeloupe (French West Indies). Seven of these remains were collected 116 from the site of Dizac Beach on Martinique, one is from the site of Basse-Terre Cathedral on 117 Guadeloupe Basse-Terre Island, and one was discovered at the site of Pointe-Gros Rempart 6 on La 118 Désirade Island.

119 The archaeological open-air site of Dizac Beach is located on the southern coast of la 120 Martinique (Figure 1C) on the Dizac Beach (14° 28'29.276" N, 61° 2'18.016" W, WGS84). This site 121 was the object of several excavations, the last one conducted by N. Vidal between 1989 and 1992 (Vidal, 1991, 1998, 2003). These last excavations reveal that the site was a culturally homogenous 122 middle/late Cedrosan Saladoid settlement (Berthé and Bérard, 2013). The four <sup>14</sup>C dates obtained on 123 queen conch (Eustrombus gigas) shells indicate an occupation period between cal. AD 415 and 690 124 125 (ARC-999, ARC-1016, ARC-1017, and ARC-1018, see Vidal, 2003). The zooarchaeological material of this site was previously studied by Grouard (Grouard and Bérard, 2005), but the Boa remains 126 presented here were not previously identified. Boa remains in this assemblage were discovered in 127 128 2017 during a re-analysis of the faunal material. The seven recovered vertebrae were recovered from 129 squares I4, J4, and J5 at depths between 208 and 234 cm in the undisturbed Cedrosan Saladoid layer. The archaeological site of Basse-Terre Cathedral (BTC) (15° 59'43.191" N, 61° 43'47.662" 130

W, WGS84) is located in downtown Basse-Terre on Basse-Terre Island (Guadeloupe) (Figure 1B). It 131 is an open-air deposit corresponding to a colonial cemetery and earlier Huecan/Cedrosan Saladoid 132 133 Amerindian settlement. This site was first assessed by T. Romon in 2001 (Romon, 2001) and extensively excavated by D. Bonnissent in 2002 (Bonnissent and Romon, 2004). The site yielded 134 135 several Pre-Columbian layers, dated to the Early Saladoid, which contained a rich assemblage of 136 vertebrate and invertebrate faunal remains previously investigated by Grouard (2007). As at Dizac, 137 Boa remains were not previously identified. The newly identified Boa vertebra fragment recovered 138 from this site was recovered from the Cedrosan Saladoid stratigraphic unit 1086.

The site of Pointe Gros Rempart 6 (PGR6) (16° 19' 41.56"N, 61° 0' 49.18"W, WGS84) is a
pit cave deposit located near the southern coast of La Désirade Island (Guadeloupe) (Figure 1B). This

141 site was first excavated by M. Boudadi-Maligne in 2011 (Boudadi-Maligne et al., 2016) and was the object of a second excavation in 2016 by A. Lenoble. Unlike the two previous sites, PGR6 is not an 142 143 archaeological deposit. The accumulation was mostly formed by biotic activity, which led to the inclusion of some artifacts that likely fell into the cavity from an archaeological deposit located above. 144 The sedimentary infilling of PGR6 consists of four layers dated to the Pre-Columbian ceramic periods 145 (Layers 4 and 3), to the Colonial period (Layer 2), which on la Désirade starts with permanent French 146 147 settlement in AD 1728 and extends to modern times (Layer 1). A ceramic sherd recovered in a Pre-Columbian layer is not diagnostic enough to derive a precise estimate of the age of the basal part of 148 the deposit. Nonetheless, a radiocarbon date of 1443–1651 cal BP (1960±30 BP, Beta-407191; 149 Boudadi-Maligne et al., 2016) obtained from Layer 3 indicates that the final part of the Pre-Columbian 150 period is represented at the site. The faunal material recovered during the first excavation of this site 151 was recently studied and contains many remains of several squamate taxa, but no Boa remains 152 153 (Boudadi-Maligne et al., 2016). The Boa vertebra presented here was recovered from layer 4 during the second excavation of the site. 154

#### 155 *Study methodology*

The full faunal assemblage of each reported deposit was investigated to search for *Boa* remains.
Investigated remains were analyzed using a binocular microscope NIKON SMZ 445 to observe their
surface condition. Taxonomic identification of the remains was performed using the published
anatomical criteria of the Boidae family (Hsiou and Albino, 2009; Rage, 2001; Szyndlar and Rage,
2003), the *Boa* genus (Albino, 2011, 2012), and the Lesser Antillean *Boa* species (Bochaton and
Bailon, 2018). The nomenclature used to describe the anatomical structure of the vertebrae follows
Hoffstetter and Gasc (1969) and Szyndlar (1984).

163

## 164 **Results**

## 165 Taxonomic identification and morphology of the remains

166 The investigated vertebrae have been attributed to an undetermined species of the genus *Boa*, as they 167 conform to several osteological criteria of Boine snake vertebrae: they are strongly built, short and 168 wide, with a non-depressed neural arch that has a strongly notched posterior margin, a thick zygosphene, low inclination of the articular facet of the prezygapophyses, a vertebral centrum shorter 169 than neural arch width, and well defined precondylar constriction (Albino, 2011; Hsiou and Albino, 170 2009; Rage, 2001; Szyndlar and Rage, 2003). Investigated vertebrae also feature small paracotylar 171 172 foramina and present a zygosphene wider than the cotyle, which are characteristics of the genus Boa 173 (Albino, 2011, 2012). A specific attribution of investigated specimens is out of reach due to poor 174 preservation of other diagnostic features. The anterior margin of the zygosphene is straight in all 175 vertebrae, but this condition cannot be assessed on the vertebra from La Désirade. This feature is 176 characteristic of continental Boa constrictor, and Boa nebulosa from Dominica, but is absent in the fossil Boa blanchardensis described on Marie-Galante (Bochaton and Bailon, 2018). The vertebra 177 178 from La Désirade presents a relatively low neural spine similar to those observed in B. nebulosa and 179 B. blanchardensis, but not in continental B. constrictor (Figure 2).

Regarding the sizes of the investigated vertebrae, the bone from La Désirade was the only one 180 well-preserved enough to derive a measurement of its centrum length (5.48 mm), and thus estimate the 181 total length of the complete individual at around 1.35 m. This bone, however, is too fragmented to be 182 included in a morphometric analysis, as are all the other vertebrae investigated. The vertebrae 183 184 collected on the Dizac Beach site, though impossible to measure accurately, all seem to be of similar 185 size, indicating they could all correspond to a single individual. This individual is roughly estimated at 186 180 cm in total length based on the overall size of the vertebrae. The single vertebra from Basse-Terre 187 is likely to have been part of an individual around 150 cm in total length, but a precise estimation is also impossible. The sizes of the investigated Boa individuals (below 180 cm of total length) fall 188 189 within the size range of Boa nebulosa, which currently occurs on Dominica.

190

## 191 Surface alterations

Among the investigated vertebrae, the specimens collected in Basse-Terre and Martinique
archaeological deposits present alteration marks suggesting the remains were worked. Such traces
were absent on the vertebra collected at PGR6 (Figure 2).

195 The bone from Basse-Terre Cathedral is a well-preserved vertebral neural arch presenting 196 asymmetric and irregular fracture planes, which indicates the vertebra was probably unintentionally 197 broken (Figure 3A). The bone likely was, however, intentionally polished, as indicated by the perfect 198 flatness of its dorsal and lateral margins. Dorsally, the polishing has erased the neural spine and the 199 posterodorsal part of the roof of the neural arch, which makes the zygosphene facets visible in dorsal 200 view. Abrasions on the left and right lateral sides are asymmetrical. On the left side, a small part of the 201 posteromedial area of the prezygapophyseal facet is still visible, but the lateral area of the neural arch 202 has been erased. On the right side, the abrasion seems to have been a little stronger. but the 203 anterolateral part of the fragment is broken. These abrasions give the neural arch a sub-circular shape 204 in anterior view. An ochre color residue of unknown nature is present on the preserved parts of the 205 prezygapophyseal, zygantrum, and zygosphene facets. This well-marked residue is exclusively 206 localized in the above-mentioned articulation areas, which could indicate sustained contact with other 207 vertebrae throughout the deposition process. Indeed, if this ochre deposit was originally present on the 208 whole vertebra, there is a possibility that it could have been protected from contact with soils on 209 contact areas between several vertebrae. It is possible that the ventral part of the Basse-Terre object 210 was also polished, as observed on the Dizac specimens (see below), but this part of the vertebra was 211 not preserved. I propose a reconstruction of what could have been the shape of the complete object (Figure 3B). 212

The seven vertebrae from Dizac Beach are poorly preserved and were subject to much dissolution, probably because of the acidic nature of Martinique's volcanic sediment (Figure 3C). As a result, their surface is strongly altered and the vertebrae are partly broken, despite being mostly complete. Such dissolution alterations could also correspond to digestion activity; however, the occurrence of strictly flat polished areas on all the remains is not consistent with digestion processes. Indeed, Dizac vertebrae present, to a variable extent, polished surfaces similar to the specimen from 219 Basse-Terre, yet these vertebrae seem to have been the object of less work than the fragment from the BTC site. Indeed, polished surfaces are only present on the dorsal and/or ventral surfaces of these 220 221 vertebrae and seem absent from the other parts of the bone. It is unclear, however, whether the lateral 222 sides of all the vertebrae were altered considering their poor level of preservation. Six of the seven vertebrae were polished on their dorsal part, which erased their neural spine and sometimes the 223 posterodorsal part of the neural arch. Ventral abrasion was unambiguously observed on two 224 225 specimens, but impossible to assess on five of the vertebrae. Such abrasion erased the hemal keel as 226 well as the anterior part of the condyle, which gives the centrum a flat ventral margin (Figure 3C, 3D).

227 This intentional shaping of the vertebrae to give them a more circular or quadrangular shape 228 could indicate that these remains were used as beads and that people took advantage of the natural 229 shape of the objects to string them together. A string could indeed be inserted in the neural canal, 230 making it unnecessary to perforate the bones. This kind of object has not previously been described in any Antillean Pre-Columbian archaeological context. However, the historical chronicler J.-B. Du 231 232 Tertre (1654, p. 356) testifies that Amerindians "boiled [snakes] so they could retrieve their vertebrae to make nice cordons" (personal translation from French). As such, it seems unsurprising that 233 234 archaeological snake vertebrae may have been worked into beads, and in fact, beads made from other 235 materials (bone, shell and stone) were also observed at the BTC site (Bonnissent and Romon, 236 unpublished data).

237

#### 238 **Discussion**

These three occurrences of *Boa* are the first reported identifications of the genus on the islands of Martinique, Basse-Terre, and La Désirade. On Martinique, the past presence of a now-extinct *Boa* was strongly suspected considering historical mentions of the snake on the island (Labat, 1724), but direct evidence of this was lacking until now. The situation on Guadeloupe's islands is more complex considering that *Boa* snakes were never mentioned by chroniclers who described the 17<sup>th</sup> century fauna of these islands (Du Tertre, 1654; de Rochefort, 1658) (see Table. 1). This taxon was also never recorded in the numerous zooarchaeological assemblages of Guadeloupe (Grouard, 2001, 2007). A

fossil *Boa* did occur on Marie-Galante Island, but was restricted to the Pleistocene period and never
identified in any Holocene natural or archaeological assemblages (Bochaton and Bailon, 2018). The
vertebrae recently collected at PGR6 on La Désirade and at BTC on Basse-Terre are thus the first
Holocene record of *Boa* on Guadeloupe.

250 A prerequisite to any archaeological interpretation of these newly discovered *Boa* bones is to 251 discuss their origins. Indeed, as far as rare taxa and manufactured bones are concerned, the possibility 252 of human introduction of exogenous non-living animals or animal parts must to be considered 253 (Giovas, 2017; Laffoon et al., 2014). The vertebra collected at PGR6 was part of an assemblage 254 accumulated by a nocturnal raptor, probably a medium-sized owl. It is thus very likely that the Boa 255 individual recovered at this site was caught on La Désirade. Indeed, the nearest island currently inhabited by Boa (Dominica) is 90 km away from La Désirade, which is inconsistent with the usual 256 257 hunting range of owls (e.g., within 5 km of its nest for the Barn owl; Taylor 2004). However, the origin of the worked vertebrae recovered on the Basse-Terre and Martinique cannot be demonstrated. 258 259 This is not a major issue for Martinique since the past occurrence of *Boa* on this island is supported by historical descriptions (see Table. 1). However, assessing the potential past occurrence of Boa snakes 260 261 on Basse-Terre Island requires attention to biogeographic data.

262 The genus *Boa* is a South-American taxon that colonized at least part of the Lesser Antillean islands from south to north following the direction of ocean currents (Hedges, 2006). This colonization 263 was probably prior to the Late Pleistocene since Boa occurred during this period on Marie-Galante and 264 265 given the morphological divergences between Lesser Antillean and continental species (Bochaton and Bailon, 2018). At that time, La Désirade, Grande-Terre, and Basse-Terre islands formed a single 266 267 island. Consequently, if Boa snakes occurred on la Désirade during the Holocene, they were likely 268 also present on the other islands, at least during the Late Pleistocene. The Late Holocene occurrence of 269 Boa on Antigua north of Guadeloupe is an additional argument that these snakes traveled across Guadeloupe's islands in the past (see Table. 1). These lines of evidence support the Pre-Columbian 270 271 occurrence of Boa on Basse-Terre Island. If we accept the past occurrences of Boa snakes on 272 Martinique, Guadeloupe, as well as on other Lesser Antillean islands south of Antigua, then past

distribution can no longer be an explanation for their near absence in Pre-Columbian archaeologicalassemblages.

275 The data presented here suggest that in addition to being very rare in archaeological deposits, 276 Boa vertebrae were manufactured into beads. This treatment seems specific to Boa snakes as such 277 bone modifications have never been reported on the more numerous colubrid snake vertebrae recovered from deposits in the region (e.g., Bochaton et al., 2019). Does this mean Boa snakes had 278 279 special meaning for Lesser Antillean Pre-Columbian Saladoid populations? Snakes feature 280 prominently in the beliefs of many cultures around the world (Hasting, 1920), but in the absence of historical sources, it is extremely difficult to infer symbolic behaviors of Pre-Columbian populations. 281 282 However, by combining Cedrosan Saladoid archaeological evidence with historical records describing the behaviors of the last Amerindians in the Lesser Antilles, it is possible to formulate some 283 284 hypotheses regarding the status of *Boa* snakes in these communities. First, considering that *Boa* snakes are mostly absent from archaeological contexts, it is reasonable to extrapolate that they were probably 285 286 not hunted or killed by Amerindians in the vicinity of their settlements. Indeed, in contrast to Boa, small and large colubrid snakes are often represented in archaeological assemblages (Bochaton et al., 287 2019). Second, considering there is no evidence for the consumption of snakes by Amerindians, the 288 289 occurrence of snake vertebrae in Guadeloupe deposits was interpreted as evidence of synanthropic behavior of snakes looking for food near human settlements. The absence of evidence of snake 290 291 consumption by Saladoid and Troumassoid Amerindians is supported by the testimony of a 16<sup>th</sup> 292 century chronicler. The Carpentras anonymous chronicle mentions that "[t]here are a lot of eels that 293 they (Amerindians) named "marssy", but they never eat them saying in their language that they are 294 sisters of snakes" (Grunberg, 2013 p. 18; personal translation from French). This mention implies that 295 Taínos did not consume snakes. The same author also reports that "[...] our Indians who see them (Boa snakes) say that, if they kill them, the harm they will do to them will be done to their 296 297 grandchildren, and they (Amerindians) made us (Europeans) kill them, because they said we had no 298 grandchildren" (Grunberg, 2013 p. 21; personal translation from French). Taíno Amerindians seem to have had a reluctance to kill *Boa* snakes and this animal was also the object of beliefs. Indeed, Charles 299

300 de Rochefort (1658) tells a story about a large snake from Dominica (certainly Boa): "The numerous 301 Caribs inhabiting this Island (Dominica) have long told those visiting this island a tale about a large 302 and monstrous snake that had its den in a cave. They said it carries on its head a shining stone like a 303 dark red garnet of inestimable worth. The snake usually hides its rich ornament with a small moving 304 skin similar to the eyelid but when it goes to drink or when it moves in its deep abyss it shows its stone 305 and all around is brightened by a wonderful fire glow emanating from this precious crown" (de 306 Rochefort, 1658 p.21; personal translation from French). These mentions suggest that Boa snakes had, 307 among all snakes, a special status and were especially feared and respected, which could explain their 308 scarcity in archaeological deposits.

309 The identification of *Boa* snakes in Lesser Antillean archaeological deposits also raises a concern about the lack of snake remains identified at the genus and species level in this region (see 310 311 background section). In that regard, it is interesting to note that the only records of *Boa* snakes in archaeological contexts originate from the few assemblages partly studied by trained 312 313 paleoherpetologists (this study, and G. K. Pregill in Antigua). The issue of the lack of archaeological mentions of Boa in the Lesser Antilles, as well as for other squamate taxa (e.g., Diploglossus see 314 Bochaton et al., 2016a), can thus also be related to the small attention paid to rare taxa, which are often 315 316 difficult to identify and of minor zooarchaeological interest. It is difficult for a single specialist to be an expert in each of the broad diversity of taxa occurring in zooarchaeological assemblages, especially 317 in tropical regions. Collaboration between several trained specialists on a single assemblage (e.g., 318 319 Pregill et al., 1988; Steadman et al., 1984b; Watters et al., 1984), would probably improve the 320 precision of zooarchaeological data. Such collaborative investment may seem costly since rare taxa are 321 of minor interest for the study of subsistence, but these should not be neglected considering their potential to address cultural and biological questions, as is the case in this work. These new data 322 323 concerning Boa snakes also raise questions about the use of archaeological data to reconstruct past biogeography by showing that the absence of taxa in archaeological deposits is not evidence of their 324 325 absence in the surrounding environment. The investigation of a combination of different types of 326 deposits formed by different accumulation processes can help to clarify this issue. Indeed, the

327 comparison of different types of deposits (e.g., natural and archaeological) can be immensely helpful
328 to sort out whether the absence of a taxon can be considered significant or related to a specific cultural
329 or natural bias.

330 This investigation demonstrates how different lines of evidence-archaeological, historical 331 and biological—can be used to propose an interpretation of the absence or extreme scarcity of a taxon 332 in zooarchaeological assemblages. Using several data sources, this work sheds light on the putative 333 status of Boa snakes for Pre-Columbian Lesser Antillean Amerindians, which could explain their 334 scarcity in deposits and use in the production of beads. These new occurrences also demonstrate the past occurrence of *Boa* snakes on several islands on which they no longer occur today. The timing of 335 336 the extinction of these snakes remains largely unknown and additional samples from well-dated contexts are needed to investigate whether or not they fit within the general model of squamate 337 338 extinctions related to modern anthropogenic impact. From a more general zooarchaeological point of view, few data document the history of interactions between snakes and humans despite these animals 339 340 playing an important role in the belief systems of numerous societies around the world (Morris and 341 Moris, 1965; Mundkur, 1983).

342

#### 343 Acknowledgment

The author is grateful to the Service Regional de l'Archéologie of Martinique (Damien Leroy and 344 Thierry Dorival) and Guadeloupe (Dominique Bonnissent) who enabled access and loaned the 345 346 material for this study. I also thank Salvador Bailon for his assistance and advice in the earliest phase of this work, Jean Lescure for the numerous discussions we had and for his bibliographic advice, 347 Sandrine Grouard for granting access to the archaeological material of the Cathédrale de Basse-Terre 348 349 site loaned by the Service Régional de l'Archéologie de Guadeloupe, and A. Lenoble for providing the 350 material recently excavated at the PGR6 site. I am also grateful to the three reviewers who provided many useful comments which helped me to improve the quality of this paper and to the editors of 351 352 JICA who proofread it and revised the English.

354	The author was funded by a fellowship granted by the FYSSEN foundation and also received support
355	from the Société des Amis du Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle. The fieldwork during which the
356	Martinique zooarchaeological material was investigated was funded by the Direction des Affaires
357	Culturelles de Martinique and the FEDER program 2016–2020 "Ecosystème insulaire tropical,
358	réponse de la faune vertebrae terrestre à 6 000 ans d'anthropisation de la Guadeloupe'' (ECSIT),
359	operated by the CNRS and funded by a European PO-FEDER 2014-2020 grant (grant n°2016-FED-
360	503), the Guadeloupe Regional Council, and the DAC of Guadeloupe.
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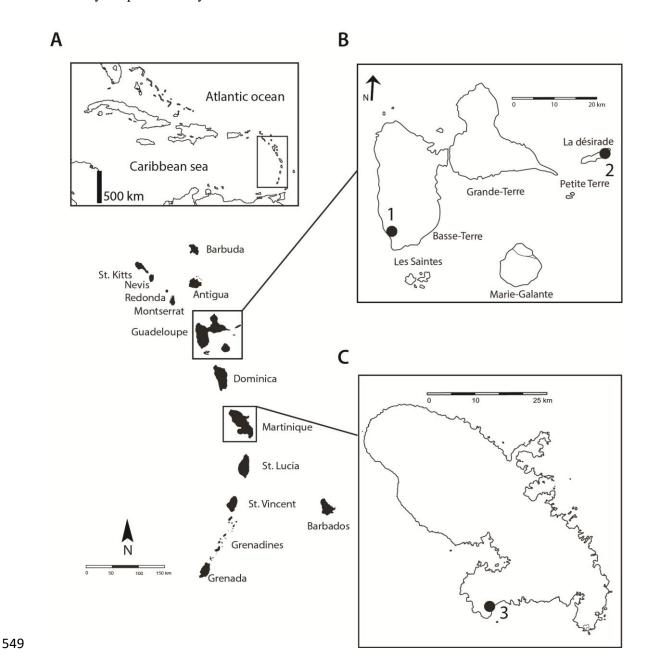
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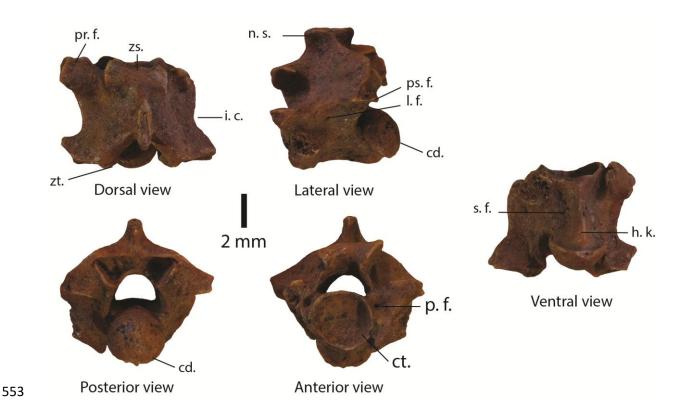
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Table 1: Summary of the fossil, archaeological, historical, and modern occurrence data of the genus *Boa* in the Lesser Antilles (islands between Trinidad and Barbuda) with the two new occurrence data
added by the present study.



- 550 Figure 1: Location of the deposits from which *Boa* remains were recovered. A) Map of the Lesser-
- 551 Antilles, B) Map of Guadeloupe islands, C) Map of Martinique Island. List of sites: 1: Site of Basse-
- 552 Terre Cathedral; **2**: Site of Pointe Gros Rempart 6; **3**: Site of Dizac Beach.



554 Figure 2: The *Boa* vertebra recovered from the site of Pointe Gros Rempart 6. Abbreviations: ct.:

555 cotyle; cd.: condyle; h. k.: hemal keel; i. c.: interzygapophyseal constriction; n. s.: neural spine; p. f.:

- paracotylar foramen; **pr. f.**: prezygapophyseal facet; **ps. f.**: postzygapophyseal facet; **zs.**: zygosphene;
- 557 **zt.**: zygantrum.

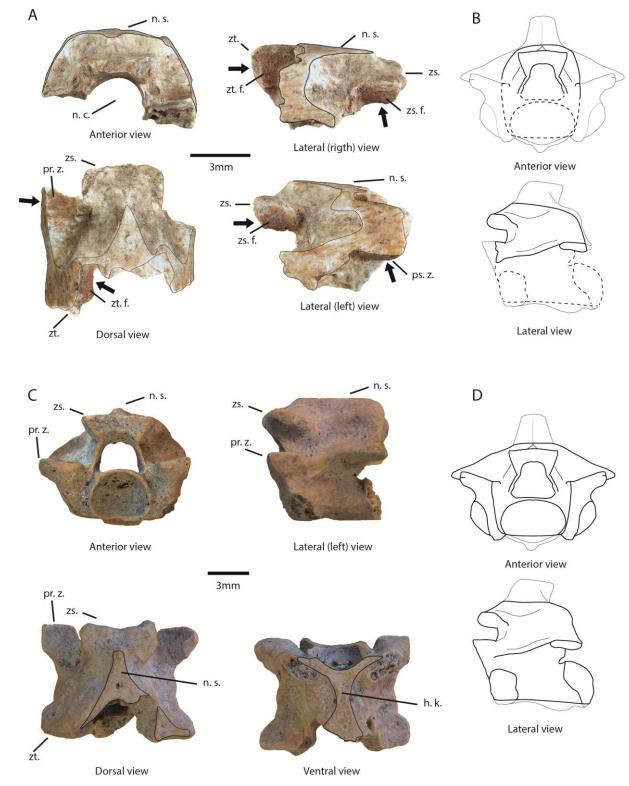


Figure 3: A) The *Boa* vertebra fragment recovered in the US 1086 of the Basse-Terre Cathedral site.
Black arrows indicate the occurrence area of the ochre color deposit. C) One of the seven *Boa*vertebrae recovered in the site of Dizac Beach on Martinique. Shadowed parts indicate the polishing
areas. B, D) Hypothetic reconstruction of what the complete objects may have looked like and which

- 563 parts of the original vertebra were preserved after it was manufactured (B the vertebra from Basse-
- 564 Terre, C- the vertebra from Martinique). Not preserved parts are indicated in dash lines to represent
- the hypothetic shape of the full objects. <u>Abbreviations</u>: **h. k.**: hemal keel; **n. c.**: neural canal; **n. s.**:
- neural spine; **pr. z.**: prezygapophysis; **ps. z.**: postzygapophysis; **zs.**: zygosphene; **zs. f**.: zygosphene
- 567 articular facet; **zt.**: zygantrum; **zt. f.**: zygantrum articular facet.