National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See Multiple Property Documentation Form (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Ball Court / Plaza Sites of Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Ball Court / Plaza Sites of the prehistoric Early Ostionoid (pre-Taino) (AD 600-1200) and Late Ostionoid (Taino) (AD 1200-1500) periods village sites

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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. See continuation sheet for additional comments.

Arch. Lilliane D. López - SHPO
Puerto Rico State Historic Preservation Office

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Date of Action
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1. Introduction.

Early European chroniclers in the Antilles made reference to large enclosed clearings within Taino villages (Las Casas 1909, Oviedo 1851-55). The most detailed descriptions of these structures and the activities associated with them were produced in the early sixteenth century by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1851-55) and Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas. Las Casas wrote that

"there was a large clearing, better swept and smoother, more long than wide, which in the tongue of these islands they call batey, the penultimate syllable being long, which means the ball game. There were other houses too very near to this clearing, and if the town was a very large one there were other clearings or courts for the ball game which were of lesser size than the main one."...

...There was a clearing, usually in front of the lord's door, very well swept, thrice longer than wide, fenced by small mounds one or two hand-breadths in height.

The ball was called in their tongue batey, the letter e being long, and the game as the place where it was played they also named batey. (cited in Alegria 1983: pp.8-9)

Scholars have cautioned against the indiscriminate classification of any prehistoric, level clearing, regardless of shape or size, lined with stones or earth, as a ball court (Walker 1997, personal communication). However, since no critical archaeological investigation has been carried out that directly addresses this classificatory issue, Ball court/Plaza sites in the Caribbean are geographically, temporally and physically defined below for the purposes of this nomination.

Archeological work has shown that the distribution of ball court/plaza sites in the Caribbean is limited to eastern Cuba, Hispaniola (Haiti and the Dominican Republic), the Turks and Caicos Islands of the Bahamas, Puerto Rico, and St. Croix, in the U.S.
Virgin Islands. The largest number of known ball court sites are to be found on Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. In these areas, ball court sites are associated with prehistoric Early Ostionoid (pre-Taino) (AD 600-1200) and Late Ostionoid (Taino) (AD 1200-1500) period village sites, and often form the central feature of the site.

Most sites only have one plaza, although some of the larger Puerto Rican sites contain multiple ball courts. The ball court/plaza usually consists of a leveled square or rectangular shaped surface area surrounded by large stones (some engraved with petroglyphs) raised on edge or a pavement of flat stones. Some plazas, however, were only lined with earth embankments. Some artifacts claimed to be associated with the ball courts/plazas, in addition to Early and Late Ostionoid (or pre-Taino and Taino) period ceramics, are stone collars, elbow stones, round stone balls, and zemis (three pointers) or stone idols (Ekholm 1961, Stahl 1889). However, the association of these stone artifacts with ball courts/plazas is still debated (Walker 1993, 1997).

Early sixteenth-century Spanish descriptions of ball courts and the ball game, both called batey, indicates they were the central feature of the larger Taino villages. These descriptions suggest the intent of the ball game was for settlement of disputes between Taino chiefs, and had a ceremonial oracular function, in addition to recreation. The ball courts represented not only a degree of technological competence in their construction, but also a political and organizational ability to oversee their execution, probably at the level of a chiefdom.

Current research on ball court sites includes topics such as: identification of the area of origin of the ball game and ball court into the Caribbean; clarification of the dating of ball court sites; and ethnohistorical study of the role of the ball game in the sociopolitical context of Taino culture (Curet 1997, Oliver 1997).
2. Background narrative of the culture history of archeological sites in Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands associated with ball courts/plazas.

There are two parallel systems of classification currently used by Caribbeanists in distinguishing the prehistoric and early historic Native American peoples of this area of the Caribbean. The first system is archeological and is based on a classification of chronological sequencing of artifacts, primarily pottery. In this system, the prehistoric Saladoid Period (ca. 350 BC to AD 600), for which the evidence of ball courts is presently not proven, is followed by an Early Ostionoid period (AD 600-1200), and a Late Ostionoid period (AD 1200-1500). In the second system the classification system is based on ethnohistorical information obtained by applying to the Late and Early Ostionoid period sites and remains the names of the peoples mentioned in the historical sources, such as the Tainos in the Greater Antilles and the Caribs in the Lesser Antilles. Therefore, the Early Ostionoid period is called in this system pre-Taino, and the Late Ostionoid is called Taino (Rouse, 1992).

**Saladoid Period**

Around the fifth century BC, scholars believe a migration of people, whose culture exhibited the cultural traits of ceramics, agriculture, and sedentism moved from mainland South America northward up the Lesser Antilles and west into Puerto Rico, and Hispaniola. This culture, termed the Saladoid culture, appears to have established itself initially in the southernmost Lesser Antilles as early as ca. 500 BC and reached the area of the U.S. Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico by ca. 350 BC. Radiocarbon dating for these two island areas indicate the Saladoid period, or Cedrosan Subseries, lasted from ca. 350 BC to AD 600. The relatively rapid movement of the Saladoid culture into the Lesser Antilles and the eastern half of the Greater Antilles appears to have displaced or absorbed the Archaic period cultures that preceded the Saladoid Period.

The Saladoid period is further subdivided by ceramic styles on Puerto Rico as Hacienda Grande (350 B.C.-A.D. 400), and Cuevas (AD 400-600), and in the U.S. Virgin Islands as Prosperity (AD 1-350) and Coral Bay-Longford (AD 350-550). Differences in the dating for
the Saladoid in Puerto Rico may be due to different introduction dates of Saladoid ceramic styles.

Shared ceramic techniques between these areas include vessel forms, such as zoomorphic effigy vessels, trays, and platters, some vessels showing animals endemic only to South America; jars and bowls with D-shaped strap handles, censors, and bell-shaped vessels. Saladoid potters decorated their vessels with polychrome designs in white on red, white on red with orange slip, black paint, and negative painted designs. A smaller number of ceramics were decorated with designs incised into the body of the vessels.

An interesting and perhaps diagnostic lithic artifact of the Saladoid culture found at just a few sites in Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands are pendants shaped like raptorial birds endemic to South America, made from exotic materials, such as jasper-chalcedony, amethyst, crystal quartz, fossilized wood, greenstone, carnelian, lapis lazuli, turquoise, garnet, epidote, and possibly obsidian. The distribution of these artifacts throughout the Greater and Lesser Antilles and northern South America may be indicative of a Pan-Caribbean trade network of raw and manufactured goods. By ca. AD 600, however, these artifacts all but disappear.

Settlement patterns of the Saladoid culture tended to be on the flat coastal plains and alluvial valleys of Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands, probably to utilize the maritime food resources and fertile soils for growing food crops, such as manioc (also known as cassava or yucca). In the latter part of the Saladoid Period, there appears to have been an expansion into the mountainous interiors of the islands. Village patterns identified in Puerto Rico and adjacent islands consisted of a semicircular series of mounde refuse middens facing a central plaza, frequently serving as the village cemetery. It is unknown if the Saladoid people utilized the central plaza as a batey area, as no artifacts associated with the ball game are found from this period. Excavations of these cemeteries show individuals were treated equally in terms of grave goods, indicative of an egalitarian society.
Early Ostionoid Period or Pre-Taino

Until recently the Early Ostionoid period was viewed as a new migration of people coming out of the northern South American coastal area and spreading throughout the Antilles. Today, the prevailing theory among Caribbeanists is that the Saladoid culture evolved in place into the Ostionoid. The Ostionoid represents a continuation of the Saladoid Period in terms of ceramic making, agriculture, and sedentism. However, there seems to be a breakdown in cultural contact between the Caribbean Islands and mainland South America due to the lack of trade goods, such as the Saladoid exotic stone pedants, and instead the rise of regional ceramic styles in both Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands. Another change from the preceding period is the increase in size and complexity of communities in the Early Ostionoid period, with the first appearance of ball courts and a ranked hierarchy of chiefdoms that appear to have controlled specific regions.

Ostionoid/Ostionan Subseries (AD 600-1200) - The Ostionoid Period is subdivided into regional subseries, like the earlier Saladoid Period, which are defined by the distribution of specific ceramic styles. These ceramics lack the polychrome painted decoration of the Saladoid Period and instead are decorated by polishing, red slipped surfaces, applique and modeled designs (usually zoomorphic), and in the latter part of the subseries horizontal bands of geometric line-and-dot incising. The Ostionan Subseries is restricted geographically to the western half of Puerto Rico, based on the finding of ceramics specific to this subseries. Major Puerto Rican Ostiones sites include the type site Punta Ostiones, Calvache, Las Cucharas, Las Mesas, Llanos Tuna, Abra, Buenos Aires, Cañas, Carmen, Diego Hernández, and Pitahaya.

Artifacts and features associated with the Ostionan Subseries of western Puerto Rico are petaloid stone celts, zemi objects of stone, shell, and clay, petroglyph carvings, and ball courts. Beginning about AD 600, or the end of the Saladoid period, the central plaza of villages evolved into stone lined enclosures, or ball courts, or batey. These ball courts appear to have served a multifunctional public space use. Though the ball game may have been introduced from South America, the typical stone lined ball court architecture is not found in South America or the western Antilles, suggesting a local development.
Elenan Ostionoid Subseries (AD 600-1200) - Contemporary with the Ostionan Subseries in the western half of Puerto Rico, was the Elenan Ostionoid Subseries that was distributed over the eastern half of the island. Two ceramic styles have been recognized in eastern Puerto Rico for this subseries: the earliest is Monserrate (AD 600-850), followed by Santa Elena (AD 850-1200).

The Monserrate ceramic style is essentially a development from the earlier Saladoid Cuevas style, but without the elaborate decoration, such as polychrome painting. Decoration consisted of red or black painted geometric designs, and strap handles. In the following Santa Elena style, ceramics are characterized by loss of strap handles, production of mainly bowl forms, and abandoning of painted decoration and polishing of ceramics. Modeling and incising are the major style of ceramic decoration.

As with the Ostionoid/Ostionan subseries the larger Elenan Ostionoid subseries village sites have ball courts, while some sites, like Tibes, have multiple plazas and ball courts. Major sites associated with the Elenan Ostionoid Subseries are Tibes, Collores, and El Bronce (González 1984, Robinson, et al. 1985 and Rodriguez 1983).

Magens Bay-Salt River 1 (AD 600-1200) - Contemporary with the Puerto Rican subseries of the Late Ostionoid period, in the U.S. Virgin Islands we find the Magens Bay-Salt River Subseries. The ceramics, stone artifacts, zemis, and ball courts found in the Virgin Islands at this time show continuity with the Elenan Ostionoid subseries of eastern Puerto Rico. Major sites of this time period include Tutu, Magens Bay, and Salt River Bay (Alegria 1983, Morse 1990, 1995).

Late Ostionoid or Taino Period

Chican Subseries: Capá and Esperanza (AD 1200-1500) - The last three hundred years of Ostionoid occupation in Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands may be traced to the historic Native American culture group called Taino that were encountered by the Spanish on the first voyages of discovery to the New World, in the 1490's.

Around AD 1200, a new ceramic style called Boca Chica emerged in the area of southeastern Hispaniola (present day Dominican
Republic. This style is characterized by complicated vessel forms, surface polishing, relatively little red painted vessels, and elaborated incised, modeled, and punctated designs. Trade ware of elaborately incised Boca Chica ceramics are found on Capá and Esperanza phase sites, in western and eastern Puerto Rico, respectively. It is believed the introduction of Chican trade wares were responsible for stylistic changes in the Capá and Esperanza culture areas, which saw the introduction of elaborate incising in the ceramics of these two areas. Rouse postulated that settlers from the Boca Chica area of the Dominican Republic may have actually established a colony in the middle of the southern coast of Puerto Rico, from which they spread their cultural influence.

The evidence suggests that, during this time period in both Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands, there was population growth which was expressed in terms both of site numbers and the size of sites. There appears to be a clustering of large sites around major ceremonial centers such as Caguana in the western mountainous interior of Puerto Rico, and Cuevas-2 in eastern Puerto Rico. This suggests these sites were centers of religious and political power that extended over large territorial units.

The Esperanza phase appears to have extended eastward into the U.S. Virgin Islands (Magens Bay-Salt River 2 Subseries), based on ceramic styles and cultural attributes like ball courts. Some authors have postulated the beginning of the introduction of Island Carib culture to the island of St. Croix in about AD 1450, displacing the Esperanza culture. A currently debated topic among Caribbeanists is the nature of this Carib culture. Some scholars have begun to question the traditionally held belief that the Island Caribs represented a new migration from South America. They suggest the Island Caribs are the product of the evolution of Taino peoples in the Lesser Antilles (Davis and Goodwin 1990, Sued Badillo 1978).

At first contact with Europeans, Puerto Rico was viewed by the Spanish as being controlled by a series of Taino subchiefs, or caciques, who were the political leaders of discrete geographical areas, and were in turn loosely affiliated with a paramount chief, in a ranked hierarchical organization. The Spanish noted that the Taino of Puerto Rico were engaged in resisting Island Carib attacks
from the area of the U.S. Virgin Islands. Ultimately, by the second decade of the sixteenth century, both Taino and Island Carib cultures in these areas were extinct.

3. **Important categories of information known to exist at Puerto Rican and Virgin Island ball courts sites, such as features and artifacts.**

The ball courts are generally quadrangular and rectangular shaped. Alegria notes that while the dimensions of ball courts are not consistent, there is a general ratio of 1:3 of width to length. However, ratios of 1:5 have been noted at a few ball courts at Caguana (1983:118). The square ball courts "are few and always are located in the center of ceremonial sites," such as the square-shaped Plaza A at the Caguana Site. These square-shaped features "could have been used for the ball game as well as for other ceremonial activities" (Alegria 1983:117). Often these "are usually delimited on two sides by upright stones (sometimes decorated with petroglyphs) or low earthen embankments faced with stones" (Alegria 1983:117).

The more common rectangularly shaped ball courts, . . . are lined on the longer sides with upright stone (sometimes decorated with petroglyphs) or low earth embankments faced with stones. In several of the rectangular courts one or both ends are closed. In a few cases the shape is more rhomboidal than rectangular, although we have been unable to determine whether this was the original plan or the result of recent alteration [Alegria 1983:117].

Artifacts which have been recovered at several ball court sites, primarily in Puerto Rico, but also in the U.S. Virgin Islands, and that appear to be associated with the ball court sites, such as Caguana, are stone collars and elbow stones. Similar artifacts depicting ball player equipment used in the Mesoamerican ball game are found in Mesoamerica, supporting the contention of that area as the place of origin for the ball courts found in the Caribbean islands. However, the early Spanish accounts make no mention of Caribbean ball players using these stone items. Another stone item that is often found at Puerto Rican ball court sites is the stone
three-pointer. According to Alegria these "had some symbolic meaning associated with the game" (Alegria 1983:118). However, the actual function of stone collars, elbow stones, stone balls and three-pointers is a topic of long and ongoing debate (Stahl 1889, Fewkes 1907, de Hostos 1926, Ekholm 1961, and Walker 1993, 1997).

Also associated with the ball court sites are Ostionoid and Taino village sites, containing the remains of house structures and ceramics appropriate to their time periods (see above discussion).

4. Cultural and environmental influences on the location and distribution of ball court sites

The first archaeological investigator of bateys was Agustín Stahl (1889). He identified the stone-lined areas, known locally at the time as juegos de bola, as Taino ball courts, which are described in the sixteenth century Spanish accounts of Oviedo and Las Casas (Rodríguez 1995:29-30). This work was followed in the twentieth century by a number of scientific investigations conducted on batey sites in the Greater Antilles by Coll y Toste (1979), Pinart (1893), Fewkes (1907), Haeberlin (1917), Lothrop (1935), Rainey (1940), Mason (1917 and 1941), and Rouse (1952).

Ricardo Alegria's study of ball courts in the Caribbean, Ball Courts and Ceremonial Plazas in the West Indies (1983), which was the first modern compilation of bateys in the Caribbean, demonstrates that the largest concentration of ball courts (72 ball courts at 27 sites) in the Caribbean occurs in Puerto Rico. Within the island the majority of the ball courts are found in the mountains, with a lesser number known on the coastal areas of Puerto Rico. However, this difference in distribution of ball courts may be due to a more intensive agricultural modification of the coastal plain than the mountainous interior.

Most of the bateys in Puerto Rico are found in the mountainous interior. We have information on 35 courts of different sizes. Court remains are very rare on the coast, with only two sites -

Lack of archeological remains on the coast could be explained by the fact that the coastal plains have been
intensively cultivated with sugar cane since the 16th century, destroying all evidence of ball courts. The interior of the island, especially the small valleys between the rivers, was densely populated during the Taino occupation of the island. These areas have been used primarily for coffee growing, cultivation of which does not require total clearance of the land, thus preventing destruction of the rows of stones which mark the bateys [Alegría 1983:115, 117].

In recent years the number of known and suspected bateys were studied by Juan González (1986), in conjunction with his study of the Tibes Site, outside of Ponce, Puerto Rico. González found 144 ball courts at 128 sites, distributed throughout 38 municipalities on Puerto Rico (Rodríguez 1995:30). A more recent tabulation of known and suspected bateys was done by Miguel Rodríguez (1995) which indicates 182 ball courts, grouped at 153 sites, in 41 municipalities on Puerto Rico, but this does not include ball courts in the U. S. Virgin Islands. The recent increase in the number of bateys is attributed to cultural resource management activities. It must be assumed that future cultural resource activities and monitoring of federally assisted projects by the State Historic Preservation Offices of Puerto Rico and the U. S. Virgin Islands will disclose the location of other ball court sites.

Ball Game Ceremonialism in Taino Culture

The European arrival to the Caribbean islands in the last decade of the fifteenth century, produced the first historical literature on the Taino peoples and their customs. Customs strange to Europeans such as head deformation; the elaborate burials of Taino chiefs, or caciques, with their favorite wives; the holding of areytos, or elaborate ceremonial celebrations; the use of tobacco; purported cannibalism by the Caribs, and the playing of a ball game, called batey, on a specially prepared open surface; were noted in the early chronicles (Alegría 1983:1). The first historical account of this last activity dates from the first voyage of Columbus who returned from the Caribbean, in 1493, with a rubber ball "large as an olive jar," used by the Taino in their ball games (Las Casas 1909:159). According to Las Casas:
In this Island of Hispaniola and the torrid lands grows a tree which not having looked for, I never saw, which when the trunk is wounded drips a kind of gum in large white drops; of these they press many together which then clung to one another and turn black as pitch, and having made this gum into a wad as large as they will, they then make it smooth and round with a stone, commonly leaving it as large as one of our air balls. This turns into a substance resembling dough but not so hard and very heavy; this bounces as high as perhaps twice the height of our air balls and for a quarter of an hour it ceases not to bounce. Many of these were here and in all these islands and before I came hither I had seen one in Seville as large as an oil jar, taken thither by the old Admiral [Columbus] [1909:159].

Batey is a Taino word that referred to the rubber ball, the ball court, and the ball game (Alegria 1983:14). According to Las Casas; who appears to have equated all centrally located open spaces as ball courts:

The towns in these islands were not arranged along their streets, save that the house of the king or lord of the town was built in the best place and upon the best site. In front of the royal residence there was a large clearing, better swept and smoother, more long than wide, which in the tongue of these islands they call batey, the penultimate syllable being long, which means the ball game. There were other houses too very near to this clearing, and if the town was a very large one there were other clearings or courts for the ball game which were of lesser size than the main one [Las Casas 1909:121].

The ball was called in their tongue batey and the letter e being long, and the game as well as the place where it was played they also named batey [Las Casas 1909:538].

The playing of the batey ball game in the West Indies appears to have been restricted to eastern Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, and some of the Bahamas Islands and U.S. Virgin Islands, based on the archeological remains of actual ball courts and ethnohistorical accounts of early explorers. These areas were the traditional
homeland of the Taino peoples and their culture at contact (Alegria 1983:5).

Early accounts by Spanish explorers noted that the game was played by two teams equal in number, but with varying numbers of players. According to Las Casas, who observed the batey on Hispaniola:

Twenty or thirty stood at either end of the long enclosure. Those at one end would toss the ball to those at the opposite extreme and it was then smitten by whoever was nearest: with the shoulder, if the ball flew high, which made the ball return like lightning; and if it flew close to the ground, quickly putting their right hand to the ground and leaning on it, they would smite the ball with the point of a buttock which made the ball return more slowly. Those of the opposite side would likewise send it back with their buttocks, until one or the other side committed a fault according to the rules of the game [Las Casas 1909:538].

The objective of the game was:

. . . those at one extreme [of the ball court] should make it pass to the other in front of their opponents, and that these should make it pass to the other in front of their opponents, and that these should pass it beyond the limits and positions of the former. And they cease not until the ball rolls on the ground, whether because no player smote it betimes or that the ball did not bounce or because it was so far that none could reach it and it stopped of its own accord. And to make this victory, one stroke is made. Then they who were served on the last round now serve the ball to the other group. And after so many strokes have been marked, those among them who made certain wagers pay or receive the prize which among both parties was previously accorded [Oviedo 1851:166].

Various accounts of the early Spanish do not credit the Taino batey game as having ritual significance, believing that its practice was solely for recreation. Most of these chroniclers did not realize the ceremonial importance of the batey ball game, but they did
describe certain episodes during the conquest period indicating the Taino used the outcome of the game for making important decisions, such as going to war or making peace; and the prize for victory was a sacrificial victim, granted to the winning team (Alegría 1983:4, Wilson 1990). The earliest example of this is contained in a story told by a companion of Christopher Columbus, Diego Méndez, in his account of the Tainos of Jamaica, where he states

and having finally arrived at this island, while waiting for the sea to grow calm that I might continue my voyage, many Indians gathered and decided to kill me and take the canoe and all that I had in it; and so my life was wagered at their ball game to see to which of them it would befall to carry out this task [Fernández de Navarrete 1825:470].

The chronicler Gonzalo Oviedo relates how in Puerto Rico the cacique Aymamón captured a young Spaniard, Pedro Suárez, "and ordered his people to gamble for him at batey and that the winner of the game should be given the honor of killing him" (Oviedo 1851:471). In another Puerto Rican incident, Oviedo records

It fell to Agueybana, who was the greatest lord of the island, to kill don Cristóbal de Sotomayor, his owner, whom the cacique himself served and to whose share he had been allotted as I have already said, and in whose house he was; and they gambled for him at the ball game or what they call games of batey, which is the same thing [Oviedo 1851:472].

Such incidents clearly demonstrate that the batey was more than just recreation, but that the victor was awarded the privilege of executing an important prisoner, or someone who had been condemned to death (Alegría 1983:12).

The archeological remains of ball courts are found throughout the American Southwest, Mesoamerica, and much of South America, in addition to the West Indies. Ethnographic accounts from the sixteenth to the early twentieth century indicate marked similarity in the ball game rules of these areas and in the layout of the ball courts (Alegría 1983). The earliest evidence of a ball court was found at the Olmec site of San Lorenzo, in Mesoamerica, and
possibly dates back to 600-400 BC, although clay figurines of ball players have been found in archeological contexts in the Olmec area dating from ca. 1500 BC (Alegria 1983:145). By the Pre-Classic Period (800-200 BC), ball courts are found as far north as the Valley of Mexico, and they made their appearance in the Mayan area of Mesoamerica by ca. AD 400 (Alegria 1983:141). Around AD 700, ball courts were being constructed at the Snaketown Site, in Arizona, which is contemporaneous with their first appearance in the West Indies on the island of Puerto Rico (Alegria 1983: 146, 150).

Ricardo Alegria considers that the batey game was introduced into the Caribbean from Mesoamerica based on the finding of stone "collars" and "elbow stones" found in both areas. Fragments and complete examples of these objects have been found at ball court sites in Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands. The wearing of such objects on the hips and elbows of the ball players possibly served to protect the player from the impact of the solid rubber ball and enhance the striking power (Alegria 1983:150, Ekholm 1961). According to Alegria,

The association between stone yokes and the rubber ball game in Mesoamerica establishes a definite relationship between the Antillean stone collar and elbow stones and the aboriginal game. The two probably formed part of the players' paraphernalia. Chronologically as well as stylistically the stone collars and elbow stones are associated with the most elaborate zemis or three-pointed idols of the Taino [Alegria 1983:150-151].

The Antillean stone collar and elbow stones are most often found at sites in Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands dating from the Taino period (AD 1200-1500). However, the fact that they are not mentioned in the Spanish chronicles may indicate that their use had been discontinued by the time of European contact (Alegria 1983:151). As in Mesoamerica, where certain sculptured stone objects were considered part of the ceremonial paraphernalia of the game, excavations at ball court sites have produced three-pointed stone zemi spirit figurines, and round stone balls that possibly "had some symbolic meaning associated with the game" (Alegria 1983:151). In addition, the numerous petroglyphs found on stones bordering the ball courts and plaza, "is another clear indication
According to Ricardo Alegria, the existence of ball courts is an indicator of several aspects of Taino culture in terms of societal organization, sophistication of technology, and sociopolitical development.

The rubber ball game of the Taino is also of great significance for establishing the level of cultural development achieved by them. Competitive games between two teams are not present in all societies; their existence requires complex sociopolitical and technological development. They are a form of challenge for young players, as well as a means of fulfilling their basic need for admiration and prestige. The game, as we are informed by historical sources, was very dangerous, for the players were likely to die on the court from being struck by the solid rubber ball. The competition between two teams of different villages or moieties in a way substituted for warfare, providing the victorious players with the prestige and honor that warriors obtained in battle against the enemy.

The construction of courts and ceremonial centers required a high degree of technical development, specialists to plan and design them, and a large labor force to work in the relocation of several tons of displaced earth and the transportation from distant river beds of huge boulders, sometimes weighing more than a ton. This kind of work could be carried out only in a stratified society with a powerful chief to direct large numbers of workers, and with specialists with the authority and knowledge to design and supervise the construction of the court. Such a society would have to produce food above the subsistence level to feed the laborers, who in some cases were working outside their own villages and were not involved in the local production of food.

The rubber ball game of the Taino of the Greater Antilles, with its complex of traits, is a significant clue to understanding the cultural sophistication of
Taino Mythology and the Zemi (Cemi) Cult

Christopher Columbus's second voyage to the New World (1493) was intended to establish a Spanish colony on the northern side of the island of Hispaniola (present day Haiti and the Dominican Republic) as a follow-up to his initial voyage of discovery. Seventeen ships, carrying some 1,500 colonists arrived at Hispaniola in November of 1493, only to find the Taino Indians had killed the men Columbus had left behind when the flagship Santa Maria was lost on the first voyage of 1492 (Sauer 1966:72)

The second voyage to the Indies had not gone well: little gold had been found, neither the spice nor the hardwoods sent back to Spain had proven to be profitable, and even after nearly a year on the island of Hispaniola, the colonists still could not find enough food for all their numbers [Stevens-Arroyo 1988:71].

Within a month of his arrival, disease, discontent, and lack of food forced Columbus to send more than half the Spaniards back to Spain. In an attempt to demonstrate the value of the island, in February 1495, Columbus shipped hundreds of Tainos back to Spain, to be sold as slaves. The native peoples' reaction was a widespread, but brief and bloody revolt by the Taino of Hispaniola against the Spanish (Wilson 1990: 89-91).

This revolt made Columbus realize he lacked accurate information about the Taino, who at first seemed so docile, but now represented a danger to the Spanish. Columbus sent Ramon Pané, a Catalan Jeronymite priest, to live among the Tainos of eastern Hispaniola for two years in order to better learn about the nature of the Taino people. Friar Pané apparently understood the Taino language, and his manuscript, Relación acera de las antigüedades de los indios, completed in 1497, is considered the first major ethnographic description of New World Native Americans (Stevens-Arroyo 1988:74-75).

Pané’s record contains important information on the religion and myths of the Taino. However, his difficulty with the Spanish
language (his native tongue was Catalan), as well as his European and Catholic background tended to influence his observations and recordations. Also, Pané notes in his account that his observations are limited to Hispaniola and that he does not know the practices of the neighboring islands, having never visited them (Arrom 1984 p.21). Las Casas, however, expands this religious commonality to include Cuba, Jamaica, Puerto Rico and the Bahamas (Arrom 1984 p.103).

According to Irving Rouse, the eastern half of the island of Hispaniola and western Puerto Rico resembled each other in terms of archeological remains more than any other area of the Caribbean (1992:31-32). Therefore, the information collected by Pané may be assumed to be applicable to, at least, the western half of Puerto Rico, which is also where the greatest number of bateys have been identified. Its applicability to the eastern half of Puerto Rico and the U. S. Virgin Islands (Virgin Passage Area) may also be valid, since both the Mona and Virgin Passage Areas lie within what Rouse calls the Classic Taino, being (according to Rouse) "the most populous and the most advanced culturally" in the Antilles.

Nonetheless, use of Pané's account on Taino beliefs and practices has to be done with several caveats. Pané, though apparently better versed in the Taino language than the other Europeans on Hispaniola, was not a fluent speaker himself of the language. Also, though believed to be objective in his endeavors by some scholars (Stevens-Arroyo 1988:77), he was still making his observations through the eyes of a fifteenth century European Catholic priest. In addition, he was recording observations made during a period of violent upheaval in the lives and institutions of the Taino people. Finally, Pané's original account has been lost. What is known of Pané's account are summaries prepared by Pedro Mártir de Anglería and Las Casas from the original document, and an Italian translation made in 1571 by Alfonso de Ulloa of a lost Spanish copy (Arrom 1984 p.12).

A study of the Pané account, by Dr. Antonio Stevens-Arroyo, in his book Cave of the Jagua, indicated the Taino religion centered around two major myths: one about Creation of the Taino and the other about Taino Heroes (For another study of Pané's account, see Arrom 1984, 1988). The Creation Myth related how the High God, called Yaya, cast out his four sons to wander the sea and islands,
after causing the death of their mother. During their wanderings, the sons acquired knowledge of cassava, a staple of the Taino diet; and one brother, named Deminan, acquired shamanistic powers through the use of cohoba, a hallucinogenic drug, used in Taino rituals. The brothers then met a goddess, called Female Turtle, and from their progeny emerged the Taino (Stevens-Arroyo 1988:103, 116, 125).

In the Hero Myth, the Taino were imprisoned during the daylight hours in the Cave of the Jagua, on the sacred mountain of Cauta, which the Taino considered the center of the world, until Guahayona, a Taino Hero, brought a magical plant to the Taino, allowing them to emerge into the daylight (Stevens-Arroyo 1988:151). In later adventures, Guahayona met a woman, Guabonito, who cured him of an illness and conferred on him the most important symbol of Taino authority -- guanin. Guanin was a gold alloy decoration only worn by the major Taino caciques, or chiefs, as a symbol of their political and religious authority (Stevens-Arroyo 1988:190). In the role of a religious leader, the cacique was to bridge the gap between the real and supernatural worlds. The cacique was responsible for communicating with the zemi spirit stones, who were intermediaries in Taino religion between the High God (Yaya) and the real world (Stevens-Arroyo 1988:222).

The Cult of the Zemi appears to have originated in Northern South America and spread to the islands of the Caribbean with the migration of the Saladoid people and culture (ca. AD 200) into Puerto Rico (Stevens-Arroyo 1988:248). It is possible that this migration to the Caribbean islands, caused possibly by competition for natural resources in the Northern South American area, is allegorically recorded in the Taino Creation Myths, where the High God, Yaya, casts out his four sons to wander among the islands and sea (Stevens-Arroyo 1988:94).

According to Rouse, during the pre-Taino period (AD 600 – 1200) zemis appear less frequently. In the Taino period (AD 1200 – 1500) use of zemis is restored (1982:52). These later zemis were large, elaborately carved stone "three pointers." Taino society in the Greater Antilles appears to have experienced a variety of social pressures. Among the causes of these pressures were possibly intrusions of Carib peoples from the Lesser Antilles; change within the Taino culture through intensive horticultural dependence on
A stone zemi was considered by the Taino as a living spirit, and in Taino religion they "occupied a central place in Taino rituals of fertility, healing and divination, and the cult of ancestors" (Stevens-Arroyo 1988:59). The most common form of zemi, including the examples recovered from Puerto Rican and United States Virgin Island sites, are three-pointed, or triangularly shaped stones used in connection with fertility of crops and human childbearing (de Hostos 1923:531). According to one sixteenth-century account of zemis

We find that when they harvested the fruits of their planting the roots of the cassava from which they made their bread, the yams and corn, they gave a certain part of the first fruits to their cemi [zemi] as a thank offering for the good received. These first fruits were placed in the great house of the caciques called caney, thus honoring the cemi because they said that he sent the rain, raised the crops, gave them children, and other abundant blessings [Las Casas 1972].
In divination ceremonies, where the cacique ingested cohoba, a hallucinogenic drug, to communicate with the Taino gods, the zemis enjoyed a central role as they were the medium for communication. However, the only human who could attempt this communication was the cacique (Stevens-Arroyo 1988:63).

In sum, the coherence of the Taino religious system was built upon several key concepts, notably the cult of the cemies, divination with hallucinogenic substances, and guanin as symbol of a growing cacical authority. Because each of the parts acquired meaning in terms of how they were related to other elements, once the Spaniards undermined one aspect of the Taino faith, they set in motion the ultimate destruction of the whole system [Stevens-Arroyo 1988:69].

Tainos lived in rectangular homes of wood and thatch that they called bohíos. The caciques, however, lived in oval dwellings called caneyes. The caney served as the residence of the cacique, and the zemis which were used in divination and healing ceremonies. Friar Pané called the caney a kind of temple, for it was in such a structure that the Tainos suggested he install his Christian statues of Catholic saints (Stevens-Arroyo 1988:129).

At the larger Caribbean ceremonial sites, such as Caguana in Puerto Rico, all of these elements of the Taino religion are found: an oval alignment of stones, and the remains of an oval-shaped caney structure, the latter yielding zemi stones. Near these was at one time a large earth mound, possibly a representation of Cauta, the Sacred Mountain, that was the Taino center of the world. These structures are the central focus of the site and probably housed the cacique, and would have been important in healing, divination, and fertility ceremonies. Nearby, but still centrally located within the site, was the large, nearly square Feature A area probably used for batey games and areyto dancing ceremonies. The east and west side of the areyto area have alignments of sandstone slabs decorated with petroglyphs, probably of characters from the Taino Creation and Hero Myths. Fanning out from the central core of the site are 10 earth and stone-lined ball courts, where, after appropriate ceremonies, the batey ball game was played.
5. Research questions that could be addressed by the study of ball court sites.

a. Settlement Patterns - Additional archeological surveys to locate ball court sites are needed to determine if the present distribution of these resources is correct. The majority of known ball courts in the Caribbean are found in the mountainous areas of Puerto Rico. This distribution pattern may be skewed by historic agricultural activities in the coastal areas of Puerto Rico and other Caribbean islands that have been subjected to land modification which has masked the occurrence of ball court sites.

Extensive field research and radiocarbon dating of archeological sites containing ball courts still is required before reliable diachronic patterns of settlement in the early Ostionoid and Taino Periods can be determined. Considering the length of time archeological investigations have been conducted on prehistoric sites in Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands, little is known about large, coastal village/ball court sites, possibly due to destruction of such sites by colonial and post-colonial agricultural activity. Additionally, little is known about the nature of sites that occur in interior mountainous or upland areas. Investigation of these would contribute much to an understanding of site function and intra- and inter-regional relationships.

- Are there differing patterns of the distribution of ball court sites typical of coastal and inland areas?

- Do settlement patterns of ball court sites change through time? Are these affected by long-term climactic change and/or sea level fluctuations?

- Do interior sites concentrate along major streams as indicated by Alegria or is this a product of our unsystematic site records?

- Were some ball court sites occupied seasonally, or year-round, or during periods of ceremonial activities?
How do the village sites associated with ball courts vary through time? For example, how far back in time do ball courts and associated village sites extend? Is there a time difference between coastal and inland sites?

What is the specific nature of public architecture (e.g., ball courts, houses for the chiefs and religious structures (caney), petroglyphs, alignment of stones, plazas, etc.) at these sites and how do they change through time?

b. Chronology - Alegría (1983) has provided the most comprehensive work for the occurrence of ball courts in the Caribbean to date. He shows that ball courts began to show up in the archaeological record ca. AD 600, with the beginning of the early Ostionoid Period and continue and expand in the Taino Period (ca. AD 1200). This dating is based on ceramic chronology and a few radiocarbon dates gathered from past archaeological investigations.

Considering the ongoing nature of the refinement of chronology and dating of sites and artifacts in the Caribbean, it is assumed that the traditional view of ceramics and settlement patterns will be enhanced by the construction of local scale environmental chronologies. For example, recent geological advances allow the construction of localized sea level and rainfall curves for the Holocene Epoch. Fluctuations in sea level or rainfall translate into significant changes in the coastal and mountain/upland environments and resources available to prehistoric peoples in Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

How should paleoenvironmental continuity and change over time be investigated?

How do the paleoclimatic and paleoecologic records relate to patterns of settlement, subsistence, and ultimately political organization?

What is the nature of the earliest occurrence of ball courts and ball game paraphernalia in Puerto Rico, and what is the place of origin for this activity?
c. Social and Political Organization - Little archeological information exists to complement the ethnohistoric documents of the early sixteenth-century Spanish colonial accounts of ball courts and the ball game. Alegria (1983) and Stevens-Arroyo (1988) offer testable models of cultural development. There is a need for large-scale excavation to generate significant data sets before such issues can be resolved.

- What is the form of prehistoric political organization? For example, is the historic Taino complex political organization of caciques employing the use of batey games and divination using zemis, a prehistoric feature as well?

- Is there a relationship between the Saladoid open space/burial grounds and later ball courts?

- How does political organization change through time?

- What are the archeological correlates of complex sociopolitical organization?

- Can social status be detected through dietary and dress preferences?

- How early and at what frequency do large construction projects, such as ball courts, appear in the archeological record?

- What is the extent and nature of Taino political alliances? How far back in time do these alliances extend?

- Is there a prehistoric trade network that links the political organizations on Puerto Rico?

- How do the nature and boundaries of prehistoric networks shift through time?

- What roles do the mountain and coastal ball courts sites play in the trade/exchange networks?

- What do the icons on the stone rows symbolize or relate?
United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

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Multiple Property Listing: "Ball Court / Plaza Sites of Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands"

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F. Registration Requirements

The Historic Context for this Multiple Resource Nomination is Ball Court Sites of Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands. In order for a ball court site from either Puerto Rico or the U.S. Virgin Islands to be considered for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, or to be determined eligible for the National Register under criterion D in this multiple resource nomination, the property must demonstrate the following three components:

1. The property must contain, or have contained, a ball court or ball courts. The site as a whole (not just the ball court) should be included in the boundaries.

2. The property must be shown from archeological investigations to date to the appropriate Early or Late Ostionoid, or pre-Taino or Taino, period of time and contain appropriate artifacts of that period, supported by radiocarbon dates and/or datable ceramic or other artifact evidence, or artifacts associated with the ball game, such as elbow stones, stone collars etc. Ideally, the subject property should have been the subject of an archeological testing project.

3. The archeological property must have a high degree of integrity. That is, archeological investigations should be able to demonstrate the site has potential for providing information on research topics identified in this multiple resource nomination. Integrity should be demonstrated on the basis of a site visit.
G. Geographical Data

As noted above, Alegria (1983) has shown that the majority of ball courts in the Caribbean are to be found in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the Territory of the U.S. Virgin Islands. In Puerto Rico, the majority of the ball courts are known from mountainous areas along major streams. This may be an accurate distribution pattern, or the distribution pattern may be masked by the possible destruction of ball court sites along the coastal areas by historic or modern day agricultural activities. It is probable that the distribution of ball courts may change through time as future archeological investigations occur.
The following list of known Caribbean ball court sites from the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands is derived from documentation on ball courts in the site survey files of the State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs) of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the Territory of the U.S. Virgin Islands. Organization of the documentation was undertaken by staff from the National Register Programs Division with the Southeast Regional Office of the National Park Service, in conjunction with the archeological staffs of the SHPOs of Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

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**Multiple Property Listing:** "Ball Court / Plaza Sites of Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands"

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| **VIRGIN ISLANDS** |             |              |                    |
| Salt River         | 12VAml-6    | St. Croix    | NHL Designation 1960 |
| Longford           | None        | St. Croix    | Research Required  |
| Robins Bay         | 12VAml-27   | St. Croix    | Research Required  |
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Rouse, Irving


Sauer, Carl Ortwin

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SUPPLEMENTARY LISTING RECORD

NRIS Reference Number: Date Listed: 8/31/99

N/A Various PR
Property Name County State

Ball Court/Plaza Sites of Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands
Multiple Name

This property is listed in the National Register of Historic Places in accordance with the attached nomination documentation subject to the following exceptions, exclusions, or amendments, notwithstanding the National Park Service certification included in the nomination documentation.

Signature of the Keeper 9/22/99
Date of Action

Amended Items in Nomination:
F.IV Registration Requirements
Registration requirements for nominations submitted under this cover consider only eligibility under Criterion D. There is a single property type: 'Ball Courts.' No 'Plaza' site type is defined or discussed. The description of Ball Courts as a property type is found in Section E (part 3) rather than Section F.
Registration requirements indicate that site integrity needs to be high for individual sites to be eligible under criterion D, however 'high' integrity here simply means sufficient integrity to address important research questions. It is not necessarily the case that every extant site listed in section H would be eligible. The case must be made by demonstrating that each nominated property can contribute important information that could address the general research topics identified in Section E. Sites must be sufficiently intact to yield information.
Section H is corrected as follows (there may be more corrections): Both Corral de los Indios and Bajura de los Cerezos are contributing resources to the Mona Island nomination in Mayaguez county. The ball court site listed in Ponce county in 1978 is the Centro Ceremonial Indigena (not Tibes).

This information was verified with Hugh Tosteson, archeological historian, of the State Historic Preservation Office.

DISTRIBUTION:
National Register property file
Nominating Authority (without nomination attachment)
SUPPLEMENTARY LISTING RECORD

NRIS Reference Number: Date Listed: 8/31/99

N/A Various PR
Property Name County State

Ball Court/Plaza Sites of Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands
Multiple Name

This property is listed in the National Register of Historic Places in accordance with the attached nomination documentation subject to the following exceptions, exclusions, or amendments, notwithstanding the National Park Service certification included in the nomination documentation.

Amended Items in Nomination:
F.IV Registration Requirements

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