The Potential for Colonial Period Archaeology in La Libertad, Peru

Ross W. Jamieson

College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

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THE POTENTIAL FOR COLONIAL PERIOD ARCHAEOLOGY
IN LA LIBERTAD, PERU

A Thesis
Presented To
The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Ross William Jamieson
1990
APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Author

Approved, August 1990

Norman F. Barka

Marley R. Brown III

Judith Ewell

Department of History
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements ..........................................vii

List of Figures .................................................viii

Abstract .............................................................ix

Introduction .......................................................2

CHAPTER I: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE SPANISH COLONIAL PERIOD
IN THE AMERICAS.

Introduction .......................................................5
The Current Status of Research .........................6
Architectural Preservation and
Reconstruction as Goals .................................10
The Emphasis on Artifacts ..............................12
Locating and Classifying Sites ......................16
CHAPTER II: THE HISTORY OF SPANISH COLONIAL PERU.

Introduction ...........................................38
Peru in Spanish America ..........................39
Conquest .................................................40
Ecology, Land Use, and Food ....................41
The Ethnicity of La Libertad’s
Population..................................................43
  The Spanish ........................................43
  The Africans .......................................44
  The Indians .......................................45
Cultural Interaction .................................48
Economics ..............................................51
Urban Life ..............................................55
Women and Gender .................................57
Summary ...............................................58

CHAPTER III: THE COLONIAL PERIOD IN LA LIBERTAD, PERU.

Introduction ...........................................60
The Era of Spanish
Conquest, 1533-1572 .................................63
From Encomienda to Commercial
Agriculture, 1573-1619 ...............................74
A Diverse Agricultural
Prosperity, 1619-1687 .................................78
Sugar Boom and Bust, 1688-1759 ...............81
The Late Colonial
Period, 1760-1826 ....................................84

CHAPTER IV: A RESEARCH DESIGN FOR COLONIAL LA LIBERTAD.

Introduction ..........................................94
The Scale of Research ...............................95
Holistic Research .................................100
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# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Map Showing the Location of the Department of La Libertad, Peru</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Map of the Department of La Libertad, Peru</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE POTENTIAL FOR COLONIAL PERIOD ARCHAEOLOGY
IN LA LIBERTAD, PERU

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis was to outline the potential for archaeological research focussing on the Spanish colonial period in the modern Peruvian Department of La Libertad.

A general outline of the current status of both Spanish colonial archaeology in the Americas, and Peruvian history, gave a background to the study.

From published sources on the colonial period in La Libertad, a history of the region was constructed, with an emphasis on those subjects of interest to the archaeologist.

This historical sketch was then used to formulate research questions which could be addressed by archaeologists working in the region. The research foci for these questions were largely taken from the current work of North American historical archaeologists.

From this outline of possible research questions the contribution which archaeological research in La Libertad could make to further knowledge of Spanish colonialism in the Americas is evident.

A comparison of this potential to the current questions being asked by both Latin American historians working in Peru, and Spanish colonial archaeologists working throughout the Americas, suggests that further cooperation between these
disciplines, through research such as that proposed for La Libertad, could be helpful to both.

ROSS WILLIAM JAMIESON

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN VIRGINIA
THE POTENTIAL FOR COLONIAL PERIOD ARCHAEOLOGY
• IN LA LIBERTAD, PERU
INTRODUCTION

My undergraduate interests had always focussed on North American historical archaeology, but in the summer of 1989 I could not pass up the opportunity to participate in prehistoric excavations in Peru. In travelling through the northern part of the country for this project, and particularly in the Department of La Libertad, where the project was located, the incredible preservation of Spanish colonial remains struck me.

Trujillo, with its imposing cathedral, intact section of seventeenth century defensive city wall, and large numbers of surviving colonial residences is impressive in itself. The towns of the surrounding countryside, and particularly those in the Andes, were if anything more striking in their preservation of colonial features. The general lack of threats to the integrity of these remains, such as bulldozing for subdivisions, ubiquitous huge farm machinery, or the laying out of huge highway projects so familiar to those who live and conduct archaeology in North America, was also striking.

This thesis is an attempt to outline the immense potential which exists in Peru, and specifically in the Department of La Libertad, for the colonial period archaeologist. What began as a simple observation has become an attempt to demonstrate that this potential lies not only in the material remains themselves, but in the immense Spanish colonial documentation which has formed the basis of extensive modern research in Latin American history, and in the impending maturity of
Spanish colonial archaeology in the Americas, forming a base which the material remains of colonial Peru could complement and add to.

As a North American with little experience in either Latin American history or Spanish colonial archaeology, I have unfortunately had to place a largely North American perspective on this work. These limitations are not as great as they may at first appear. The work of North American scholars on Latin American history is extensive. The work of North American archaeologists on the colonial period in Latin America is unfortunately much less extensive, and largely restricted to the northern "borderlands" of the Spanish empire. My lack of knowledge of the sources for colonial archaeology conducted largely by national governments in many Latin American countries is an unfortunate bias not easily corrected in a short period of time, and is due largely to my lack of familiarity with, and lack of access to, Latin American publications in Spanish. My greatest wish for the future is that more cooperation between North American and Latin American archaeologists with an interest in the Spanish colonial period will occur. To this end, Kathleen Deagan's (1984) effort at cooperation with her Peruvian counterparts has hopefully begun a promising trend.

This thesis is, then, an attempt to see how a colonial archaeology of La Libertad could fit into the current and future research of both archaeologists and historians.

The first chapter summarizes the current status of research in Spanish colonial archaeology in the Americas, with emphasis on changing directions in such research, and the current increase in interest in the period.
Chapter II outlines the current status of research on the colonial period in Peru, stressing social and economic historical scholarship which will undoubtedly be of great importance to colonial archaeologists.

The third chapter uses published primary and secondary sources to outline the colonial history of the area within the modern boundaries of the Peruvian Department of La Libertad. The emphasis on land use, demographics, technology, and economics give priority to the type of evidence which relates most directly to archaeological research.

Chapter IV outlines how the historical data could be used to formulate an archaeological research program for colonial La Libertad. This is intended as an idealistic example, showing the great potential for colonial archaeology both within the Department, and implicitly for Peru in general.

The final chapter concludes the thesis, with a brief discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the current state of historical and archaeological research on the Spanish colonial period, with the suggestion that a well thought out program of colonial period archaeology could further the goals of both disciplines.
CHAPTER I

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE SPANISH COLONIAL PERIOD IN THE AMERICAS

Introduction

In order to formulate a research design for colonial archaeology in the province of La Libertad, Peru, it is necessary to have a working knowledge of the Spanish colonial archaeology which has been carried out in the Americas up to this point, and the research questions which this area of inquiry has addressed. Such research has largely been separate from the research of historians, ethnohistorians, and anthropologists on the documents of the Spanish colonial period, and so that body of research will be addressed in the next chapter. It is hoped that a comparison of the emphases in archaeological research with those of documentary research will lead to a more useful research design for colonial archaeology in La Libertad, Peru in the concluding chapters of this thesis.

A comprehensive summary of the archaeology of the Spanish colonial period throughout the Americas is difficult given the lack of synthesis of extant research. The publications on the topic are clearly divided into two areas. Those published in North America, in English, largely deal with North American and Caribbean
sites, and those excavations in Latin America carried out by North American scholars. The other area of literature is that published by Spanish language scholars in Latin America, usually dealing with excavations in their own country.

The emphasis of this thesis is on Peru, and so an attempt has been made to review domestic publications from that country, although this attempt has been far from comprehensive. The emphasis of this chapter will be largely on North American sources in English; a body of data more accessible to the North American scholar. The work emphasised for most areas of Latin America is that carried out by North Americans, and largely leaves out the undoubtedly significant contribution of Latin American scholars to the discipline. Where known, however, Latin American contributions are certainly included. It is hoped that in future a more comprehensive synthesis will be carried out, which would be an invaluable tool for all those involved in Spanish colonial archaeology.

The Current Status of Research

The upcoming five-hundredth anniversary, in 1992, of the landing of Columbus in the Caribbean has stimulated increased emphasis on the history and archaeology of the Spanish presence in the Americas. With the publication of works such as the multi-volume series Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands West (Thomas 1989b and forthcoming) the influence of the Columbian Quincentenary is increasing the quantity of research and publishing on the Spanish colonial period. The research reflects many differing viewpoints, and
many groups have an emotional investment in the period as well. Statements such as that "it is hardly surprising that few American Indians are rushing forth to embrace a Quincentenary fiesta extolling Hispanic righteousness in the Americas" (Thomas 1989a) are evidence of the depth of feeling involved.

An event such as the Quincentenary tends to emphasize the unique, early, or glorified, in the archaeological or historical record, instead of being guided by more general long-term research goals. The search for Columbus’ 1492 stopover point of La Navidad in Hispaniola (Deagan 1989) and the identification of Lucayan Indian sites in order to reconstruct the route of Columbus’ first arrival in the Bahamas (Keegan 1989) both attempt to solve specific research problems, but contribute little to our knowledge of Spanish colonialism in the New World.

Such efforts are, however, only a minor part of the scope of archaeology that has been carried out on Spanish colonial sites. Ranging from the southern United States to southern South America, and from Columbus’ first landing in 1492 until the independence of the Spanish American colonies in the 1820s and 1830s, the Spanish colonial experience in the Americas involved millions of people over more than 300 years. Many different research goals have been set out over the past fifty years, and with the increasing amount of data available and a large number of researchers focussing on the Spanish there are many goals that have been accomplished, and new ones set out.

The communication of research results to the general public is often not a stated goal in Spanish colonial archaeology, except in cases such as St. Augustine,
Florida, where reconstruction is a primary goal (Deagan 1985a:9). At sites where
reconstruction is the main consideration tourism is an important force in the
funding and emphasis of archaeological research. The well-known California
Missions in the United States, and the Jesuit missions to the Guaraní in Paraguay,
made famous in the film The Mission, are both important sources of tourist
income (McNaspy 1987:402). Such restorations and museum displays are the
sources of much of the public's impression of the Spanish colonial period.

Spanish colonial archaeology suffers greatly from various problems impeding
serious research. In the area of academic research, Spanish colonial archaeology
forms a very small part of the archaeological research conducted by major
archaeological institutions, which understandably concentrate on prehistory.
Colonial archaeology tends to fall through the cracks between disciplines, as
archaeologists concentrate on prehistory, and historians concentrate on documents.
David Hurst Thomas feels that "For decades, historians, cultural anthropologists,
and ethnohistorians have discounted the possibility of learning anything useful
from archaeologists. And until recently, they were justified in this doleful
assessment." (Thomas 1989a:7). Michael Moratto's recent text California
Archaeology is a very competent summary of California prehistory, but gives no
coverage to the archaeology of the Spanish presence (Moratto 1984).

Even when it is carried out, Spanish colonial archaeology can suffer from
second-rate execution, or various other restraints. The California Missions are
some of the most extensively excavated Spanish sites in the Americas, and yet
archaeological research at California missions "has been unevenly applied and has been employed either in field methods classes or as a correlative to fabric restoration above grade" and "formal publications are few in comparison to the number of completed projects" (Kelly and Kelly 1984:218). Academic research in the Caribbean and Florida is hampered by the search for treasure by salvage companies, which has led to the destruction of important Spanish shipwrecks (Cockrell 1980:336). In Central America Spanish colonial archaeology has often been conducted as an adjunct to prehistoric excavations by North Americans (Graham et al 1985; Miller and Farriss 1979; Pendergast 1985). Within Mexico City colonial period remains often end up being salvaged as urban development overtakes them (Besso-Oberto 1975; Cabrera et al 1976; López Cervantes 1974). At the Jesuit mission of Trinidad, Paraguay, the Indian residences were partially excavated by a trained archaeologist, but he then pulled out due to government pressure to create a tourist site more quickly. The rest of the rooms were hastily excavated by untrained workmen (McNaspy 1987:404).

In Peru colonial archaeology has received very little attention. Marion Tschopik's 1940s work on the historic site of Inca Uyu, a small excavation in Chuquito, Peru was never fully analyzed, and even at the time the work was done Tschopik admitted that it would not be published due to time constraints and a greater interest in the prehistoric period (Tschopik 1950:203). The 1974 excavation of an historic period building at Pajatambo, Peru, was the result of its accidental discovery by the prehistory oriented Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project
Colonial archaeology carried out by Peruvians themselves appears to have garnered little attention. The major Peruvian journals Revista del Museo Nacional, Arqueológicas, Revista Andina, and Historia y Cultura do not appear to have ever published the results of excavations at a Spanish colonial site. The 1983 founding of La Sociedad de Arqueología-Histórica del Peru, funded by the Instituto Nacional de Cultura, UNESCO, and the OAS is, however, a promising step. It has brought together diverse projects by the federal Instituto Nacional de Cultura and others under one society, creating a forum for the presentation of research. The heavy emphasis on churches and grand colonial houses in the work associated with the society is not ideal, but is a solid foundation for historical archaeology in Peru (Deagan 1984:37).

Architectural Preservation and Reconstruction as Goals

Much of the work carried out in Spanish colonial archaeology has emphasized the preservation and reconstruction of colonial architecture. In the 1910s some of the earliest work on southwestern U.S. missions, stabilizing the extant architecture, had begun (Cordell 1989:32-33). The first colonial archaeology in the Southwest was done in the 1930s for mission and fort restoration, largely as federally funded employment programs (Deagan 1982:155, 1985b:78; Hester 1989a:202; Hoover 1985:95). Reconstruction was not the only goal, however, even in the early period, and in the 1930s a large-scale research excavation without any intention of reconstruction was undertaken to uncover the Franciscan mission to the Hopi at Aguatubi, located in modern northeastern Arizona.
At the time, such work was the exception rather than the rule, and even into the early 1960s the main focus of excavation at La Purísima Mission in California was architectural reconstruction (Deetz 1978:185). The San Bernardo Mission excavations in the 1970s were mainly aimed at delineating the building locations and functions (Eaton 1989:252). In St. Augustine the 1974 to 1976 excavations were carried out because of a lack of data for proposed historical reconstructions (Deagan 1980:25). In the 1980s research at St. Augustine has continued to have a significant component devoted to reconstruction (Manucy 1985). Research in the Caribbean has until recently largely been focussed on the reconstruction of colonial towns (Deagan 1985b:82-83). The government of Mexico is also very interested in restoring historic standing structures (Díaz-Berrio F. 1974; Oliveros M. 1978). Two missions in Paraguay have had small residence wings reconstructed in order to house religious museums (McNaspy 1987:406-408).

In Peru research into the colonial period largely emphasizes the restoration of "important" colonial buildings, although opinion is slowly changing toward a focus on work other than the restoration of stone architecture (anonymous 1978-1980:10). In Cusco a large-scale survey of architecture sponsored by UNESCO was carried out with largely preservationist goals, and researchers lamented the loss of some streetscapes of an earlier era (Azevedo 1982). Colonial architectural studies, especially dealing with churches and large stone colonial houses, are well developed in Peru (Gisbert 1985). The loss of heritage buildings of course
depends on the level of development which occurs, and in Peru the Andes, with often difficult access routes from the coastal urban centers of the country, preserve colonial features to a much greater extent than in many areas of the Americas. The constant rebuilding with original techniques of an Inca bridge at Huánuco since it was first described in the 1590s shows the level of preservation present in some areas (Thompson and Murra 1966). Even in a region as removed from modern development as the Eastern Andes, with the cordillera of the mountains separating it from the more heavily developed coast, "both the material remains and the older, nonmaterial cultural institutions are rapidly disintegrating under the impact of modern communications, technology, education, land reform, and 'progress' in general. (Thompson 1980:51).

The Emphasis on Artifacts

Artifact analysis is another major focus of archaeological research, as the identification of artifacts is obviously one of the first steps in any area of archaeology. Items of interest to collectors outside the realm of archaeology tend to be fairly well documented. The monetary value of coins and traditional focus on coin collecting ensures that they are one of the best studied artifact classes, although largely by those outside archaeology (Pompa y Pompa 1975; Nesmith 1944, 1955). Weaponry, furnishings, works of art, and other items are also of obvious value to collectors, and thus receive considerable attention.

Ceramics were one of the first artifact categories to gain the attention of
archaeologists, due to their ubiquitous nature in the archaeological record.
Maiolica, the tin-glazed earthenware present throughout the empire, is the major type of ceramic that has been studied, although even into the 1960s very little was known about the maiolicas found in the New World, and particularly their sources of manufacture (Lister and Lister 1982:vii). John Goggin carried out a comprehensive attempt at maiolica typology using collections from the United States, the Caribbean, Mexico, Ecuador, Venezuela, Colombia, and Spain in the 1950s and 1960s (Goggin 1968:v). His excavations at Panamá Vieja, Panamá, revealed two maiolica kilns, thus helping to delineate the manufacturing technology (Long 1964:104). Mexican maiolica had first been studied in the 1910s, however, by the decorative arts expert Edwin A. Barber (Goggin 1968:10). Excavations in the 1970s in Guatemala City, Guatemala were concerned with creating a typology of the maiolicas found (LaPorte 1977). Florence and Robert Lister have become the world experts on maiolica. In Mexico City they conducted a large scale study of maiolicas recovered during city works projects, and their research has revealed American maiolica industries in Mexico, Guatemala, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru (Lister and Lister 1982:viii). There was a probable Peruvian maiolica industry from the sixteenth century onward, possibly restricted to Andean districts such as Ayacucho and Cuzco (Lister and Lister 1974:46-47,49). One application of high-technology in archaeology has shown that the origins of particular pieces of maiolica can be traced through gamma-ray thermoluminescence, although in most cases the
decoration is a useful enough indicator of the place of manufacture (Vaz and Cruxtent 1975).

The large earthenware storage jars known as olive jars are another class of ceramics that has received considerable attention. Initial work in classifying olive jars was once again taken up by John Goggin, whose 1960 study incorporated data mainly from the Caribbean. Other studies in greater detail have since elaborated his work, including James Stephen's 1985 study which used the 600 jars recovered from a 1724 shipwreck off the Dominican Republic as a basis for his research. Some studies have begun to move away from classification into research on the reasons for stylistic change. Russell Skowronek's study attempts to show olive jar changes as necessary for the changing Spanish seafaring technology and practices in the sixteenth century (Skowronek 1987).

Artifacts are one of the basic forms of data for the archaeologist, so that their categorization is a necessary step when beginning research in a new geographical or chronological setting. When work began on the sixteenth century component of the city of St. Augustine, artifact classification was one of the first priorities, and the discovery of "material patterns" is still a goal (Deagan 1978, 1985a:8). Kathleen Deagan is now completing "a synthesis of existing information on the classification, dating, origins, functions, and distributions of Spanish colonial material remains", the first volume of which covers ceramics and glass, with a second volume in preparation covering the remaining artifact categories. The collections used for the study are from Florida and the circum-Caribbean area.
In Central America colonial ceramics have now been treated to extensive classification (López Cervantes 1976, 1978; Rovira 1984). This is often carried out in order to form local chronological sequences (Charlton 1970; Luján Muñoz 1982). Studies of specifically wares produced locally in Mexico have also been carried out (Müller 1981). At Coapa, Mexico the artifactual evidence has been used somewhat differently. This involved an attempt to create a "material culture baseline" for the sixteenth to eighteenth century in order to compare it to the prehistoric material culture (Lee 1979:208). This makes sense in an excavation dealing with an Indian town far from Spanish influence, where the artifacts may have changed little under Spanish rule.

In Peru researchers have recently realized that the artifacts of the colonial period are an important source of data. Artifacts from daily life in the colonial period are not extensive in Peruvian museum collections. The heavy losses of such Peruvian cultural materials to private collectors in earlier years are now being felt by those attempting to research colonial material culture (anonymous 1978-1980:9-10). In the Andes, excavations show that during the early colonial period olive jars were frequently present, as was glazed pottery, and oriental porcelain which would have been technically illegal to import until the nineteenth century (Tschopik 1950:204).

Interaction between the European colonial powers is quite evident in Spanish colonial artifacts. Italian maiolicas and the stylistic traits associated with them
were evident in Spanish America throughout the colonial period, due to the heavy Spanish-Genoese trade (Lister and Lister 1976). By 1704 Spanish mission sites in Florida have identical beads to those on French and English sites of the period (Smith 1983:147). By the 1790s with the industrial revolution the English dominated the world ceramic tableware trade (Miller 1980:1). The massive increase in English tablewares on Spanish sites in the late eighteenth century has been noted on many sites, both in the peripheries of the empire and in Mexico City, at its very core (López-Cervantes 1974). The rise of the English ceramic industry and the inability of Spain to keep its colonies supplied are the major reasons behind this. In 1793 trade with certain other nations became legal for some Spanish colonies, creating an even greater diversity of artifacts (Deagan 1987:104-105). That such late material is unfortunately not always seen as particularly useful by archaeologists is clear at Lamanai, Belize, where David Pendergast found in his Spanish colonial excavation that "In the top stratum there were also bits of English crockery and metalwork, but the lower levels were mercifully free of such material." (Pendergast 1985:3).

With the publication of Deagan's work on artifacts of Florida and the Caribbean, and the accumulating work of many other Spanish colonial period archaeologists, a new era is perhaps beginning. Enough data has been collected since the 1950s that archaeologists can now begin to confidently identify Spanish colonial artifacts, and move on to other research questions.
Locating and Classifying Sites

Locating sites and placing them in a defined category is another goal of past and current research. A wide range of sites has been excavated over time, but these tend to be of certain limited types. All sites in North America were part of the "Spanish Borderlands", or the northern frontier of the empire. This frontier area encompassed the Southwestern U.S., California, Northern Mexico, Florida, and parts of the Caribbean (Thomas 1989a:3).

In Alta California Spanish permanent settlements in the form of missions were only begun in the 1770s so that all work done in the area refers to the late part of the Spanish colonial experience (Deetz 1978:160, Hester 1989b:225; Walker et al 1989:358). The Alta California missions were all Franciscan, and have had considerable excavation carried out on them, whereas the three eighteenth century towns which existed in colonial Alta California; Los Angeles, San Jose, and Branciforte, all founded between 1777 and 1797; have been largely ignored by archaeologists (Hoover 1985:106,109).

The missions to the Hopi in modern northeastern Arizona were much earlier, founded in the early 1600s and then abandoned after the Puebloan uprisings of the 1680s (Adams 1989:85; Montgomery et al 1949:51; Spielmann 1989:110). In the Lower Rio Grande region and in eastern Texas the missions were founded in the early 1700s (Corbin 1989:274; Eaton 1989:252). Excavation of small eighteenth century subsidiary mission ranches populated by Indian neophytes is an important recent contribution to expanding the types of sites investigated in the southwestern
United States (Costello and Hornbeck 1989:319; Fox 1989). Another addition to southwestern site types is the discovery of private estate fortresses, set up by frontier landowners in northern Mexico who could not rely on the protection of government troops (Williams 1985:121).

In the southeastern U.S. the emphasis has been on missions, forts and the two towns of St. Augustine and Santa Elena (Deagan 1985b:78). Work on contact period Indian villages of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has also been undertaken (Smith 1977). St. Augustine was founded in 1565 and has been continuously occupied ever since, the only Spanish town in the United States with a continuous occupation since the sixteenth century (Deagan 1980:22-23). In the 1972 to 1977 period the archaeology at St. Augustine concentrated on the well-documented eighteenth century remains (Deagan 1985b:80). Archaeological work on the sixteenth and seventeenth century periods of the town has been ongoing since 1977, and excavations of contemporary Indian villages have also been carried out (Bostwick 1977; Deagan 1985a, 1985b:81; Reitz 1985; Scarry 1985; Smith 1977). The occupation of Santa Elena was restricted to the late sixteenth century, but the town was the capital of La Florida throughout this period. Santa Elena provides a comparable collection to that from the early period in St. Augustine. Ongoing excavations at the site, in modern South Carolina, had as their initial goal locating the townsite and two forts known from the historical record, and in later years have concentrated on identifying more structures within the townsite (South 1980:3,1983:3). The Spanish mission system was as well
developed in Florida as it was in California. It has not gained the same attention in modern times, perhaps because not a single mission building survived in Florida, in comparison to the extensive surviving architecture in California. This is probably due to both differing environmental conditions and the earlier period of occupation of many Florida missions (Thomas 1988:78-79). Many of the 38 Franciscan Missions in La Florida, dating to the late seventeenth century, have been identified archaeologically (Thomas 1988:81-83). David Hurst Thomas has been excavating for more than five years at Santa Catalina, a mission occupied from 1566 to 1680, on the Georgia coast (Thomas 1988:84-85).

In the Caribbean the emphasis is on Spanish towns (Deagan 1985b:82-83,85; Ewen and Williams 1989; López y Sebastián 1982). For North American researchers in the Caribbean the emphasis has been on the extremely early sites, as this was the area first populated by the Spaniards. Thus the 1493-1520 period can be investigated in this region and nowhere else in the Americas (Deagan 1989:46; Ewen and Williams 1989:66). Puerto Real, Haiti, which was founded in 1503, has revealed sixteenth century data useful for comparison to St. Augustine (Deagan 1985b:85; McEwan 1986:44). Caribbean researchers themselves have concentrated on a longer period of time in the development of the Spanish colonial Caribbean, creating a more comprehensive picture of urban development, particularly at Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic (Ortega 1972, 1974).

In Central America the concentration by North American researchers on the archaeology of prehistoric sites which continued in use in the historic period has
created a body of data on the pueblos de indios, or Indian towns known to the Spaniards. These range widely in date, extending from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries (Charlton 1969; Graham et al 1985; Jones et al 1986; Lee 1979; Miller and Farriss 1979; Pendergast 1985; Rice 1986:288).

In Paraguay some work has been done on the Jesuit missions, which date to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (McNaspy 1987).

In Peru excavations by both domestic and North American researchers have concentrated on large churches in urban centres, and colonial houses which have been declared national monuments (Deagan 1984). Certain other site types have, however, on occasion been excavated. The excavation at Inca Uyu, an unfinished Inca building which contained an early sixteenth century conquest period midden, is a rare example of Peruvian urban excavation at a site which was not of traditional "historic" significance (Tschopik 1950). The excavation at Pajatambo, Peru, an eighteenth century roadside hostel, was another unique if minor site. Roadside stops clearly tied to colonial roadways but without standing architecture do not generally gain the attention of colonial archaeologists (Beck et al 1983). Prudence Rice has been heading a survey in the Moquegua Valley in southern Peru since 1985 to map the locations of sixteenth through nineteenth century wineries, which dominated the colonial economy of the valley (Rice 1989). Work carried out by Peruvians in urban areas tends to cover a wide timescale, but with a seventeenth and eighteenth century bias (Deagan 1984).

Overall, a bias of site types excavated is evident on a regional basis.
Throughout the southwestern U.S. missions have been the main emphasis, with late eighteenth and early nineteenth century dates in California, and earlier dates in other areas of the southwest. In Florida and the Caribbean Spanish towns have been concentrated on, as well as the Santa Catalina Mission. In Central America North American researchers have concentrated on postconquest Indian towns, ranging from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, while Mexican researchers have had a much wider range of interests, including both urban sites and the rural sites of the Spanish. In the future it is hoped that a wider range of sites in all regions can be tested, so that more interregional comparative data can be used to further overall research questions.

Moving Beyond Early Goals

In the last twenty years Spanish colonial archaeological research has been moving beyond the identification, classification, and dating of sites. At St. Augustine Charles Fairbanks began a program of what he termed "backyard archaeology" in the early 1970s, beginning an emphasis on household middens rather than architecture as a way of discovering the way of life of the people of the town (Deagan 1982:160; Fairbanks 1977). This emphasis on "daily existence" has been continued in the excavations at Puerto Real, Haiti (McEwan 1986:44). It is now becoming evident in Peru that such an emphasis on daily life, rather than simply on architecture, is needed (anonymous 1978-1980:11).
A wide variety of research questions have begun to be addressed. One goal is to further knowledge of the technology used in the Spanish colonial era. Wrecks in the Caribbean have given researchers extensive data on the technology of seafaring, such as rigging, weaponry, etcetera (Arnold and Weddle 1978; Keith and Simmons 1985; Smith et al 1985). As no scale plans of ships before 1587 are known, data on hull shape, size, and other details can only be found through archaeology (Doran and Doran 1978:375). Hide tanning, milling, tile making and blacksmithing practices have been revealed at mission sites in California (Costello and Hornbeck 1989:311; Deetz 1978). In Mexico City the colonial aqueduct system has received considerable attention due to salvage excavations at the Castillo de Chapultepec (Brannif and Cervantes 1966; Cabrera et al 1976). In Peru archaeological work has begun to look into wine production (Rice 1989).

The shortages of materials at Spanish frontier sites is also shown in the archaeological record. A lack of Spanish imported goods is very evident at Texas missions (Hester 1989b:225). Reliance on local Indian goods was one way of overcoming such shortages, and at St. Augustine the reliance on aboriginal ceramics increases throughout the seventeenth century, probably because of the unreliability of government resupply (King 1984:81). Smuggling was another way of overcoming such shortages. Archaeology at St. Augustine has revealed illegal trade with the British throughout the city’s history (Deagan 1982:160). At the missions of eastern Texas a lack of Mexican maiolica and the predominance of French faience indicates illegal trade with the French (Corbin 1989:274). At the
later California missions illegal trade with Alaska is evident (Costello and Hornbeck 1989:318).

Research has also focussed on indicators of the status of different households within a site. Excavation at St. Augustine revealed status through artifact assemblages, particularly ceramic tableware, in comparison to the historical record (Deagan 1982:9). The documented eighteenth century households were used to delineate how social variability is reflected archaeologically in things such as diet, acculturation, and the persistance of Hispanic traits (Deagan 1985b:80). Faunal and botanical remains showed status variability, with the conclusion that the very poor relied on local wild foods, those of middle status relied heavily on domestic foods, and the wealthy had a wide variety of both (Reitz and Scarry 1985:95). A similar approach has been taken at Santa Elena and at Puerto Real, Haiti, and the two sites have been compared to St. Augustine, showing St. Augustine to have been a settlement of overall lower socio-economic status than either of the other two (Deagan 1985a:29-30; McEwan 1986:45; South 1983:3). At Santa Elena the low status of the military when compared to civilians is said to be shown by the relative lack of porcelain at the fort in comparison to the domestic housing (South 1983:70). Faunal remains were also taken as status indicators at the site, with a low proportion of domestic animals taken as an indication of lower status households (Reitz 1983:93). At Puerto Real, Haiti, a systematic sampling of the entire town established the relative status of the households (Ewen and Williams 1989:73). At Coapa, Mexico, a different approach judged the socio-economic
status of the household purely by the type of construction of the house (Lee 1979:220). In Peru the extant museum collections of colonial artifacts, heavily weighted toward heirloom or high status objects, are a known bias which is in need of correction (anonymous 1978-1980:10).

Finally, the issue of the non-human biological exchanges that occurred with the new communication between Europe and North America is a research question that has barely been touched on by archaeologists. One fascinating study has, however, looked into the cockroaches preserved on the 1554 wrecks off the Texas coast, showing how both European and American species quickly spread to both sides of the Atlantic (Durden 1978).

Human Remains

The analysis of human remains is another source of data for the Spanish colonial period. Such remains are very useful for analysis of diet, disease, mortality, and other health issues. One issue which skeletal material can contribute to is that of Indian deaths due to diseases introduced by the Spanish (Milner 1980:50). Historic period Indian villages in Alta California show high subadult death rates, while at Gran Quivira Pueblo in the southwest U.S. the skeletal material shows a distinct seventeenth century decrease in life expectancy for the Indian population (Spielmann 1989:110; Walker et al 1989:352).

Changes in diet can also be studied. Alta California mission burials show a massive change in the stable isotopes in bone collagen, showing a change from a

It has been found at St. Augustine that through physical remains the extent of mestizaje, or Spanish-Indian intermarriage, can be judged. This is found to be much greater at St. Augustine than it was with early British colonists in North America (Deagan 1982:166).

The emphasis at Coapa, Mexico, was on the continuity of prehistoric community groups into the historic period. An attempt was made to link historically known linguistic groups and physical remains to late prehistoric physical remains (Lee 1979:212). At least one early colonial period cemetery has been excavated by Mexican archaeologists, a mass grave from approximately 1555 found in an agricultural field (Romano 1975).

There has been an ongoing project in Peru by Marvin Allison and other researchers, which has the advantage of being able to use mummies, naturally preserved in the desert environment, and dating to all periods of Peruvian history and prehistory. Blood group work using both prehistoric and pre-1700 colonial period mummies has shed light on issues of which blood groups were present prehistorically, and how such blood groups were affected by the population upheavals of the colonial period (Allison et al. 1976, 1978). In a study of more direct relevance to colonial period specialists 67 mummies of the 1580 to 1650 period from a cemetery near Ica in the Pisco Valley of southern Peru were autopsied. This work showed that the local lifespan significantly decreased in colonial times (Allison 1979:77). Only one in fifteen burials were male, probably
showing the devastating local effect of Spanish forced labour, moving males out of their communities (Allison 1979:81). Fractures showed a 500 percent increase from the prehistoric period, probably due to Spanish beatings and labour accidents (Allison 1979:81-82). In another study by the same researchers 22 mummies from a cemetery in Pica, in what is now northern Chile, had autopsies performed on them. These were carbon dated to the 1550 to 1600 period, while the presence of mercury showed that they must postdate the 1571 introduction of the patio process of mercury amalgamation of silver to Peru (Munizaga et al 1975:1282). Twelve of the nineteen adults showed "black lung", consisting of emphysema and pneumoconiosis brought on by the presence of iron, silver, copper, silica and copper salts particles in the lungs. It is presumed that these were miners. The other seven individuals seemed to suffer no lung damage, and it is presumed this was because they had not participated in mining (Munizaga et al 1975:1287). One individual also had extremely high lead and mercury levels in the tissue, probably evidence of work in smelting ore (Munizaga et al 1975:1290). Such bodies, preserved in the arid coastal environment, show dramatic potential for revealing the health of people in the Spanish colonial period.

** Ethnicity, Adaptation and Acculturation **

The presence and continuing use of precolumbian technologies in the Spanish colonial and later periods, sometimes continuing into the present, has been extensively documented. From the wrecks of 1554 on the Texas coast it was
found that Mexican agave fiber textiles were being used on ships in the sixteenth century (Vreeland 1978:404). "Colono-ware", exhibiting combinations of Spanish and aboriginal traits, is known from colonial sites in the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela (Deagan 1987:103-104). At Coapa, Mexico the Indian town relied mainly on Indian ceramics and lithics right up to its abandonment in 1680 (Lee 1979:220-221). In the central Peten and Belize sixteenth and seventeenth century Maya communities mentioned in historical records often do not seem to contain any Spanish ceramics (Rice 1986:288).

Early post-contact Inca sherds at Inca Uyu in Chuquito, Peru, showed no change from the prehistoric types (Tschopik 1950:204). Local Aymara ceramics in the same region, largely unchanged from prehistoric types, also occur in colonial deposits. Aymara ceramics continue being manufactured into the twentieth century (Tschopik 1950:205). Handmade earthenwares, many using pre columbian techniques and styles, are still produced in many areas of Peru (Bankes 1985; Chavéz 1985; Collier 1967; Litto 1976). At Pupuja in the southern Andes ceramic bulls are made which can be traced stylistically back to Inca stone llama carvings (Rice 1987:466). In Rapayan, Peru pre columbian architectural stoneworking techniques continued in colonial buildings, and are still seen in modern peasant houses (Thompson 1980:49). The eastern Andes are seen by Donald Thompson as an area where many pre columbian practices continue in use, but "Soon this living cultural continuity will disappear, and with it the last vestiges of Pre columbian times in the remote hills of the Andes will fade away."
Economic necessity is one common hypothesis for the continuing use of such technologies. The use of stone tools and Indian ceramics at nineteenth century California missions has been surmised to be due to a lack of Spanish imported manufactured goods (Hester 1989b:225). The predominance of Indian ceramics in many St. Augustine assemblages has often been attributed to the lack of regular government supplies, so that Indian ceramics were substituted for Spanish earthenwares (Bostwick 1977; King 1984:81). The lack of Spanish ceramics in the Andean highlands in Peru is also surmised to have led to the Spanish use of ceramics manufactured by the Indians (Tschopik 1950: 199).

David Hurst Thomas characterizes the study of acculturation as "one particularly effective thrust" of recent historical archaeological research (Thomas 1989a:8). Such studies in general use Robert Redfield’s definition of acculturation as "changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" when two cultural groups begin to interact. It is, however, often the case in the literature that "one group is generally considered dominant", a factor which colors the emphasis of research in many cases (Reitz and Scarry 1985:5). With a proper, neutral definition of acculturation, a view of aboriginal culture simply filling a vacuum where Spanish colonial culture had not penetrated can be discarded. Instead Spanish colonial America can be seen as a different culture, resulting from the influences of both the pre columbian inhabitants and the Spanish colonists.
The impact of the missions on the Indian population has become a major focus of southwestern U.S. mission archaeology (Hester 1989a:203). James Deetz made one of the first attempts to look at cultural interaction in his study of the acculturation of Indians at the nineteenth century La Purísima Mission in California. He looked at artifact assemblages in the neophytes residence to see how much Indian technology was being used, and in general concluded that Indian male activities had been more altered by European influence than had those of the females (Deagan 1982:163; Deetz 1978). Burials and ceramics on Hopi mission sites in modern northeastern Arizona show Spanish influence during the seventeenth century mission phase, and then a reassertion of Puebloan traditions after the missionaries were driven out (Adams 1989:85). Changes in Puebloan faunal assemblages are also obvious at mission sites (Spielmann 1989:110). At a subsidiary mission ranchero in the eighteenth century southwest U.S. it was found that the Indians, who were not under any direct Spanish supervision at the ranchero, maintained the same material culture as at the central mission. The author takes this as an indication that the Indians would not return to their old way of life as soon as they were left without supervision (Fox 1989:265). Data on the material culture of the Indians at small rancheros is important, but such a conclusion seems somewhat simplistic, in that there are many other factors in a person's acceptance of a way of life besides the direct supervision of others. Rather weak evidence has also been used to formulate the assertion that mission manufacturing sites show a lack of Indian manufacturing skill. Large ceramic
waster dumps and a lime rich formula to compensate for inexpert lime kiln operation could have many other explanations besides a lack of Indian skill (Costello and Hornbeck 1989:314).

Seventeenth century southeastern U.S. Indian villages have been found to contain Spanish trade goods, but such goods are not seen as indicating any large scale acculturation of those living in the villages (Smith 1977). The presence of non-local aboriginal ceramics from as far away as Georgia in sixteenth century urban St. Augustine assemblages shows that the Spanish certainly had extensive trade relations with the Indians (Piatek 1985). In the forts at Santa Elena, however, Stanley South feels the abundant Indian ceramics present were the result of "tribute and acquisition" (South 1983:66, 1988:59). His view that "the primary goal of the Spanish colonial system was to utilize energy flow through economic control, fortification for protection of the settlement and to control the native people through the mechanism of conversion into the Catholic faith" creates a much more hegemonic view of the Spanish in the southeast (South 1988:31). Another reason proposed for the presence of Indian ceramics at St. Augustine was the extensive intermarriage between Spanish men and Indian women that occurred (Deagan 1985b:81).

The foodways of both the Spanish and Indians is another area in which acculturation is evident. Elizabeth Reitz concludes that the Spanish at St. Augustine took up the Indian reliance on fish and deer, added their own chickens and hogs which did well in the area, and abandoned an initial emphasis on sheep,
which would not survive. This adaptation is clear even in sixteenth century deposits (Reitz 1985:64-65). At Santa Elena the reliance on wild foods was heavy, with very few domestic faunal remains (Reitz 1983:93). Documentary sources are largely lacking on the subject of plant agriculture at St. Augustine, but excavation since 1979 has revealed a heavy emphasis on maize, beans, and squash, with subsidiary items such as lima beans, chili peppers, peas, figs, watermelon, and peaches. The Iberian emphasis on grains was abandoned in this area. In general the plant foods used were largely the beans, squash and maize of precolombian Florida, with supplementary exotics introduced from Central America and Europe. This assemblage also seems to have been dominant at Santa Elena (Scarry 1983:117-118,1985:71-79). At St. Augustine the adoption of Indian foodways is seen as central to the development of local criollo culture, and to Spanish survival in the region. The increasing Indian ceramics in eighteenth century deposits may reflect acceptance of this new way of life (Deagan 1985a:29-31; Reitz and Scarry 1985:5).

In contrast to this the large scale conversion to rangeland habitat and the massive changes in Indian diet at southwestern U.S. missions seems to show a much greater dominance of Spanish economic and food procurement practices (Costello and Hornbeck 1989:315). Estuary and lake sedimentation rates in Alta California suggest a doubling in the historic period, as rangeland replaced forest. Firescars on living trees show a reduction in frequency in the Spanish period, as Indian deliberate burning to rejuvenate the forest was halted (West 1989:338-
Mission faunal remains show much less variety than in prehistoric village fauna (Walker et al. 1989:353). In Mexico as well archaeology has shown a massive increase in soil erosion rates during the period of introduction of Spanish livestock and plough agriculture (Street-Perrott et al. 1989).

Religious practices are also an indicator of acculturation processes. In the Alta California missions some artifacts and burials show a persistence of Indian religious beliefs (Costello and Hornbeck 1989:316-317). The chapel at Tancah, Mexico was Christian, but was constructed using Maya techniques, with an Early Classic pot buried in a cache directly under the altar, showing the religious syncretism of the Maya builders (Miller and Farris 1979:229,235). At Tipu in Belize the Itza rebellions continued until the 1690s, and Maya religion was practiced well into the historic period (Jones et al. 1986:43,47).

There is one major cultural group which has so far been ignored in this research into cultural contact. It is interesting to note an almost total lack of archaeological research into African and African-American culture in Spanish America, despite the large population of slaves and freedmen of African descent in several regions of Latin America who were an integral part of the colonial process. Deagan mentions this as one focus for future research, and it is hoped that other researchers may follow this lead (Deagan 1985a:31).

The view that researchers take on issues of ethnicity and acculturation is very dependant on the overall perspective of the researcher. Early work in the southwestern U.S. often created a view of the Indian as primitive, with extremely
ethnocentric conclusions. In the excavation report on the Aguatubi Mission, a
Hopi-Spanish integrated style of bowl showed an "imitation ring-base applied to
ape (sic) European wheel-made pottery" (Montgomery et al 1949:Figure 30b).
The Spanish were, to Ross Montgomery and others, a civilizing force, symbolized
by "the lonely desolation of Aguatubi, that for all its ruin still shows forth the will
and power not so much to conquer as to organize, conserve, and develop, which
is the true test of a high civilization" (Montgomery et al 1949:239). Some
southwestern U.S. researchers such as Jack Eaton still seem to feel that the
transition of Indians from what he defines as "primitive" to "civilised" is the
central question of research dealing with the Spanish missions, in that "The
transition that the Indians on the frontier had experienced, from a simple hunting
and gathering lifeway to a regimented and confined mission life with its
complicated and demanding religious concepts, was a remarkable experiment that
in the main was successful throughout the mission period." (Eaton 1989:257).
Questions such as whether Indian lifeways were "simple", and what constitutes the
"success" of the mission "experiment" are very relevant to such a premise for
research.

A revision of the way Indians are viewed by most researchers means that the
colonized Indians are now generally taken into account as logical human beings.
For example, Caddoan ceramics in European forms at Texas missions "seem to
indicate that someone was commissioning aboriginal manufacture or that local
potters were creating European-style forms to enhance trade" (Corbin 1989:274).
The Indians did have their own opinions of the Spanish, and Indian hatred of the Spanish was a reality in at least some cases, as is shown by the preponderance of violent scenes against Spaniards and missions in the Indian rock art of the Middle Rio Grande (Turpin 1989). A realization of the validity of Indian culture and the destruction of it by the Spanish can, however, turn into an anti-Spanish bias. Harry Tschopik exemplifies this anti-Spanish bias, which is a somewhat traditional anthropological viewpoint, in his characterization of the Titicaca area of Peru at the period of conquest: "Military conquest, of course, followed swiftly, and in the wake of Spanish soldiers, miners and missionaries hastened to over-run Aymara territory...Next came the Jesuit church-builders and the Spanish encomenderos, and with them the systematic exploitation of the Aymara by church and state alike." (Tschopik 1950:199).

Some form of balance must be created between these two opposing views of Indian-Spanish interaction, and to a certain extent such a balance is beginning to emerge in the viewpoint of archaeologists of the Spanish colonial period. Kathleen Deagan feels that at St. Augustine, at least, Spanish and Indian culture blended into a new, unified culture. The archaeology at St. Augustine "has provided an enlightening glimpse into the blending and co-existence of peoples and cultures - one of the earliest examples of the 'melting pot' process which has been and still is so characteristic of America" (Deagan 1980:30). This is a process which Deagan sees as enabling St. Augustine to "ensure its endurance for more than 400 years" (Deagan 1980:25). Other researchers see the Spanish
efforts at colonialism as more deliberate, and less of a "blending" of cultures, in that "Spain undertook the single largest and longest program of enculturation ever attempted" (Hoover 1985:93). That the Spanish undertook the violent conquest and exploitation of huge numbers of people in the Americas is undeniable and too benevolent a view of the interaction of cultures in the Americas would be incorrect. To gain a picture of daily existence in the colonial period, however, the extensive peaceful interactions between these cultures must also be explored.

The Spanish Mental Template

Kathleen Deagan feels that "Historical archaeology frequently allows a more direct observation of the techno-environmental aspects of colonial cultures than is usually provided by documents." (Deagan 1985b:86). There are however many other questions which could be addressed, especially with such a rich combination of documentary and artifactual data available for the Spanish colonial world. Deagan has concluded that the formal Iberian spatial template was important in the way that colonization occurred at St. Augustine, an issue which could be fruitfully pursued in much greater detail by archaeologists (Deagan 1985a:29). The missions of eastern Texas in the eighteenth century show a remarkable repetitiveness in their identical construction, topographic positioning, and even compass orientation of the buildings, indicating to James Corbin "that the Spanish were as rigid in dealing with the local environment as they were with the indigenous inhabitants of the area" (Corbin 1989:274). David Hurst Thomas has
gone into this issue for the Florida missions, looking at the government ordinances which resulted in these planning similarities (Thomas 1988:108). A greater emphasis on how the Spanish viewed the world they lived in, and how this affected their daily lives and dealings with other cultures, is an important area of research left largely untouched by archaeologists of the colonial period.

**Comparative Colonialism**

The comparison of Spanish colonial experience in the Americas to Spanish experience elsewhere, and also to the experience of other European colonial powers, is another important area in need of much more emphasis. Stanley South has stated that comparison of Santa Elena to British colonial sites is a long-term goal of his project, but he has not yet come to any conclusions on the matter (South 1980:4, 1983:3). At St. Augustine some comparisons between the Spanish and British in the southeastern U.S. have been arrived at. Mortuary behavior has been shown to have been different between seventeenth and eighteenth century Spanish and British colonists (Deagan 1982:166). Subsistence practices in the southeast are seen as common to both British and Spanish sites, showing that subsistence adaptation overrode initial cultural differences in food production in this region (Reitz and Honerkamp 1983:22). Intermarriage between Spaniards and Indians was commonplace at St. Augustine, but it occurred less frequently in British colonial situations (Deagan 1982:166). In general Anglo-Americans are seen as having incorporated aboriginal traits into their lives on a much smaller
scale than the Spanish (Deagan 1985b:82). Comparative colonial experiences have not been covered in any detail by historical archaeologists, and should be a major focus in the future.

The Archaeology of Spanish Colonialism

From a solid knowledge of the types of sites and artifacts to be encountered in excavating Spanish colonial sites, research questions are now being undertaken which can help delineate the Spanish experience in the Americas. Such issues as Indian-Spanish relations, food production, and basic technology have all gained considerable attention in recent years. An increase in the variety of sites excavated, and greater emphasis on how the Spanish experienced the empire and how it compares to other European efforts at colonialism, are important areas of research for the future.
CHAPTER II
THE HISTORY OF SPANISH COLONIAL PERU

From Lima to the most remote corner of the country spread the smothering snow of stamped paper. It was the national ill. In law codes, and on stamped paper, part of the tragedy of Peru has been written [Alegria 1941:164].

Introduction

The colonial period in Peru, from the initial landing of the Spanish on the north coast in 1532 until the end of the Wars of Independence from Spain in 1826, has left an extremely rich documentary record. This has been extensively studied by historians interested in a vast range of research questions. Although more traditional history emphasized the military and political aspects of colonial Latin America, a great emphasis on social and economic history has come to dominate the discipline since the mid 1960s (Gonzales 1988:200). This scholarship creates an impressive background from which to look at the archaeological record of colonial Peru, which has had so much less emphasis.

The work of Latin American historians on Peru will be outlined in this chapter, in order to give a comparative basis to the work of Spanish colonial archaeologists outlined in Chapter I. English language, and particularly North American, works
will unfortunately be emphasized once again, as they are the easiest to gain access to. Latin American history is a well developed discipline in North America. It will become evident that the topics which Latin American historians have studied are far too numerous to outline in any depth in this single chapter. The volume of the work of Latin American historians is surpassed only by the volume of Spanish colonial archival records still to be considered by modern academics.

Peru in Spanish America

In the previous chapter the discussion focussed on the colonial archaeology of regions such as the southwestern and southeastern United States, Mexico, and the Caribbean. It is proposed that a comprehensive program of colonial archaeology be carried out in northern Peru. Within the Spanish colonial world Peru was a very different place than the areas which North American Spanish colonial archaeologists have concentrated on up to this point.

James Lockhart and Stuart Schwartz (1983) have created a classification system for the different regions of Spanish America. In this system central Mexico and Peru are the only "core" areas in the Spanish colonial world. These cores are defined by their rich mining resources and sedentary Indian populations, both of which allowed the Spanish to create a stable network of cities very early in the colonial period (1983:253). All other areas were "fringe", or transitional to it (1983:254). Finally, at the edges of the fringe zones were the "frontiers", where the Spanish interacted with Indian groups that were still largely independent of

These distinctions clarify the differences which will be encountered when considering the archaeology of La Libertad in comparison to that of a region such as California or La Florida, both of which were fringe zones, with the frontier close at hand.

Latin American historical research on the core areas of the empire has considered a much wider range of questions than Spanish colonial archaeology has. An outline of that historical research will be invaluable in showing the potential for Spanish colonial archaeology in La Libertad.

Conquest

Research begins with the period of conquest, when the Spanish and Indians first encountered one another. The conquest period has been extensively covered in the literature.

One of the most horrifying aspects of this contact was the transmission of epidemic disease to the Indians, causing untold numbers of deaths both in the initial few years, and for the following centuries. Various attempts have been made to determine how many people died (Cook 1981; Dobyns 1963; Friede 1967). Numbers are difficult to pin down, but it is certain that the decline in population, particularly in the first 200 years after the conquest, was massive, and marked by severe epidemics (Spalding 1984:177).

Recently there has been more emphasis on the detailed, local level effects of
forced labor, migration, and epidemics on individual communities (Saignes 1984). The importance of epidemics to events in colonial Peru was great. Epidemics at least partially created the huge Indian population declines which led to the ending of the encomienda tribute system simply because there were not enough tribute payers, and to the policy of reducciones, or relocation of Indians into towns, particularly in the 1570s period. Epidemics also resulted in large-scale abandonment of the Inkaic agricultural system in some regions; a system which had produced the bulk of the Andean food supply (Mörner 1985:80-81).

Ecology, Land Use, and Food

The creation of a Spanish colony had profound effects beyond the human element. An increasing interest by historians in the interaction of people with the environment led to research into how European colonialism in the Americas changed the natural world, human interactions with nature, and the biology of the people themselves (Crosby 1972,1986). This ecological approach is now being applied specifically to Peruvian questions, such as how ecological zones affected Indian tribute requirements to the Spanish, and how guano fertilizer, used by the Indians before the Spanish arrival, became an important resource in the colonial world (Hidalgo Lehuede 1985, Julien 1985). An interest in ecological interaction may prove very useful to archaeologists, as has already been shown in studies of Spanish colonialism in the southwestern U.S. outlined in the previous chapter.

Ecology is intertwined with issues of land use, a more traditional area of
historical research, and one covered extensively in the Latin American literature (Mörner 1984; Super 1988). The initial agricultural basis for the Spanish was the encomienda system, whereby the Spanish extracted tribute from the Indians, who were still largely on the land they had held in the precolumbian period. Changes occurred quickly, however, as commercial haciendas for the production of crops such as wine, olives, grains, and livestock were created. The system changed both because of the decreasing number of Indian tributaries due to disease, migration, and other forms of labor, and the increasing numbers of Spanish immigrants looking for wealth (Davies 1984; Keith 1970; Spalding 1984:138). The religious orders, particularly the Jesuits, were very involved in hacienda agriculture (Cushner 1980).

In the highlands livestock and grain dominated the hacienda system (Jacobsen 1982). Highland agriculture was often related to creating a food supply for the local mining centers, which is very different from production of export crops (Mörner 1984:197). The dichotomy between agriculture intended to supply the local markets, and the commercial agriculture intended to supply exports, is important to an understanding of the agricultural system (Mörner 1984:211). Study of the agricultural system is important to an understanding of the cultural interaction in the Spanish American countryside, and the Spanish domination of that interaction.
The Ethnicity of La Libertad’s Population

Population statistics on ethnic background create a somewhat surprising picture to many. It is well known that the initial Spanish colonists were very few in number for a considerable period, but the later statistics are less well-known. In 1792 approximate figures show that three-quarters of Peru’s inhabitants lived in the sierra, or mountain area, perhaps twenty percent on the coast, and only five percent in the eastern slopes and jungle areas. In the sierra the population was over 60 percent of Indian background, twenty percent mestizo, 15 percent Spanish, and only 3 percent of African descent. On the coast, however, thirty-five percent were Indian, thirty percent African, twenty percent Spanish, and fifteen percent mestizo in background (Mörner 1985:100). If research into the colonial period were to be carried out largely according to population, then the vast majority of research should be on the Indian and mestizo populations of the sierra. On the coast the Indians were still the largest group, with those of African descent forming a significant group which outnumbered those of Spanish descent. Thus coastal studies could be well-served by more emphasis on those of African descent, who were largely coastal hacienda and urban slaves.

The Spanish

The cultures which came together in colonial Peru created an entirely new society, and in order to understand it the origins of these cultures must be understood.
The Spanish who formed the elite of colonial society have generated a large part of the current historical literature. Prosopography, or the collective biography of influential groups, has been dominated by studies of the Spanish segment of the larger society (Bronner 1986:8). Examples of this type of work include Ida Altman's (1989) study of the origins of the Spanish who came to Peru in the conquest period, largely from certain regions of Spain such as Extremadura, and Keith Davies (1984) study of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century landowners in the Arequipa region, an important elite class with many ties to the viceregal authorities in Lima (Davies 1984).

The Africans

As is the case with Spanish colonial archaeology, people of African descent have not received much attention in Latin American historical studies. In urban studies Woodrow Borah is surprised to note that the African segment of the population "has received less attention than one might expect" (1984:550). Even the most basic historical questions on black and mulatto women have yet to be addressed (Lavrin 1984:349).

The number of slaves imported to Latin America was the first big issue tackled by historians (Bowser 1984:358). This was followed by research into the slaves' role in the overall economic system, which has been the emphasis of Bowser's work (Bowser 1984:365). A "rather sterile academic debate" over Frank Tannenbaum's thesis that Latin American slaves were treated better than
their United States counterparts may be what has kept historians of slavery away from more substantial issues (Bowser 1984:368).

Some work has been done on African slaves and freedmen in Latin America, but Frederick Bowser is the only historian who has studied black slaves in Peru. His research deals only with the pre-1650 period, and is largely economic, with little data on African-Peruvian culture or living conditions (Bowser 1973; Bronner 1986:48-49; Pescatello 1975). The family life and family structure of Africans has largely been ignored by historians (Stoner 1987:113).

Not all those of African descent were slaves. Free blacks existed in Peru from the very early period, both as free people who immigrated from Spain, and as former slaves. Africans took part in many sectors of the economy, including artisanry such as blacksmithing and pottery making, street vending, running inns and restaurants, and as members of the military (Bowser 1973). Considering the large segment of the population which was of African descent, more emphasis on them would seem valid in research.

The Indians

The contribution of ethnohistory was to create a large body of work on the Indians of Peru. In 1955 John Murra, an anthropologist, finished his Ph.D. dissertation, an attempt to reconstruct the workings of the Inka state from the sixteenth century documentary record. Since that time work on Indian culture has become a major subdiscipline in its own right. It is unfortunate, however, that
this work has largely focussed on the sixteenth century (Campbell 1986:193-194; Wachtel 1977, 1984). Ethnohistory has been responsible for a florescence of work on Indian culture, but the interaction of that culture with the dominant Spanish culture of the colonial period has not been fully explored.

Indian society was based largely on the ayllu, or descent group. The Ayllu controlled land, and was the basis of local organization in the Andean region. Ayllu organization was not destroyed outright by the Spaniards, but slowly became part of the Peruvian colonial system. The concept has been quite fluid since the conquest, which perhaps contributes to its continued use up to the present (Ossio 1981). The ayllu is still a part of Andean social organization, and has been widely researched both as an historical phenomenon and as a modern ethnographic system (Castelli et al 1981). The ayllus have, however, lost considerable power over time, especially in regard to land, which slowly passed from their communal ownership into private hands (LaLone 1985). Not all of the Indians became powerless in the colonial period. Local Indian leaders, or kurakas, created a system of empowerment both in the traditional sense over their own communities, and as mediators between the Spanish and the local Indian labor forces. Successful kurakas often moved into commerce, "so that by the eighteenth century they were also merchants and landowners" (LaLone 1978:126). Important kurakas had a certain amount of both secular and sacred power, as they were usually allied to powerful local healers/religious practitioners, in counterpoint to the local Spanish priests (Millones 1979).
Inequality characterized the vast majority of relationships between Spaniards and Indians, and at times to violent reaction on the part of various groups. The study of the revolts and revolutions of various Andean Indian and mestizo groups has been the focus of a number of historians, often looking at such events from a Marxist or Marxian perspective (Stern 1987).

Inka opposition to the early Spanish built quickly, and in 1536 Manco Inka led a force of between 100,000 and 200,000 against the Spanish and their allies at Cuzco and Lima. The Inka were defeated, and Manco retreated to the montaña and set up the Neo-Inka state, which raided Spanish settlements until its destruction by Viceroy Toledo in the 1570s (Stern 1982:28,76).

Revolts were particularly common in the eighteenth century, perhaps as a backlash to Bourbon imperial reforms (Mörner 1985:89-90), although earlier small-scale actions are also known. Such revolutionary activity has often been the focus of research in its own right (Godoy 1985; Stern 1987a). Steve Stern has characterized such studies as "analyzing moments of violent collective action as transitions or ruptures within a long-term trajectory embracing varied forms of resistance" and "assessing the ideological and cultural dimensions of domination, political legitimacy, and rebellion" (Stern 1987:xi).

The revolts which occurred in colonial Peru were on occasion far from minor skirmishes. The Juan Santos Atahualpa rebellion lasted ten years, from 1742 to 1752, with frequent military assaults by Santos' millenarian group from the eastern montaña region on Spanish settlements. The two year Tupac Amaru II
civil war of 1780 to 1782 had an estimated cost of 100,000 lives (Stern 1987b:34). These are just two of many revolts and skirmishes which occurred throughout the colony. Many of these can be related to millenarianism, in the form of a belief in the imminent return to the earlier days of the Inka. That an early 1750s rebellion in Arequipa was led by a local kuraka with a shrine of mummies as his basis of power shows the long-term continuation of prehispanic beliefs and systems of power in the colonial period (Salomon 1987).

The final revolutionary actions of the colonial period were the Wars of Independence, severing ties to Spain in the 1820s. These highly political actions have been interpreted in widely varying ways, ranging from the influence of nationalism and high-minded enlightenment thought in throwing off the Spanish yoke, to a half-hearted acceptance of foreign-instigated independence, brought on by poverty and the disinterest of the Spanish Crown, with little popular groundswell (Anna 1979; Lynch 1973). These events mark the end of the colonial period, and thus the end of the period of relevance to this thesis.

Cultural Interaction

The study of the interaction of the Spanish with the Indian societies they encountered is greatly influenced in the literature by the preconceptions of the researcher on the subject. George Kubler appears to be very advanced in his 1940s view that "The interpenetration of Indian and European patterns produced a Colonial culture within which Quechua behavior was both continuous and
adaptive." (Kubler 1963[1944]:331). This outlook is, however, tarnished by views of the Quechua expressed elsewhere in the paper. Their attempts to gain legal status in land ownership have been trivialised: "Legal paper exercised a fascination over the Indians; it was regarded as a talisman, and to the possessor it made little difference whether the paper resolved the litigation for or against his interests." (Kubler 1963[1944]:379). To Kubler Quechua "theogony did not survive intact, but underwent certain processes of deformation [sic] and reemphasis." (Kubler 1963[1944]:396). More modern studies are still variable in their overall view of how Indian culture has interacted with the dominant Spanish. Nathan Wachtel is still concerned with "acculturation", as the Indians were "Hispanicized" through the colonial period, but keeping many of their "traditions" (Wachtel 1984:231). A view of Indian culture as more dynamic and adaptive is beginning, however, to gain prominence. James Lockhart and Stuart Schwartz (1983:165) see the colonial period for the Indians of Peru as

(Leaving aside their vast contribution to general Hispanic American culture and society) ... partly the story of an ultimately declining corporate group and partly that of people making a broad series of successful adaptations to a new situation.

This seems a reasonable generalization, although why their "vast contribution" should be left to the side, and the Indians still considered separate from "Hispanic-American culture" is not explained. Perhaps more valuable is Brooke Larson's characterization of the colonial process in the Andes as "powerful extraregional forces of change that seemed to suck the region into the vortex of the expanding
European economy", but with the qualifier that "...Andean people conditioned the impact of those world-historical forces and sometimes set in motion counterforces that contained or limited the erosive effects of mercantile colonial pressures at the local level..." (Larson 1988:6).

This cultural interaction led to the formation of a unique Hispano-American culture. Interethnic marriage, with the creation of the mestizo or mixed race segment of the population, is important to any understanding of this culture. The subject is difficult to study historically, as official documents often do not record the children of such unions (Bronner 1986:12).

Religion is another area in which the conflict of the two cultures is evident. A complex religious structure built up through the colonial period. On the surface the Catholic Church dominated this structure, with a "subversive" undercurrent of indigenous "idolatry". In reality, the effects of prehispanic religious and social values influenced colonial religion. In doctrine and in artistic expression, Andean Catholicism shows both acceptance, adaptation, and misunderstandings in the syncretism between Catholicism and native Andean religion (MacCormack 1988). One example of this is Copacabana, an Inka sacred site which has become a huge Catholic pilgrimage site. An Inka descendant carved the image of the Virgin of Copacabana in the colonial period, and the Virgin then took on the ability to speak, and to cure illness, just like a prehispanic wak'a or spiritual shrine (MacCormack 1984). Such religious beliefs could be used in the secular world as well. The belief that the site of Pacariqtambo was the location where the Inka had
originated gained local Inka special status from a Spanish court in the 1560s (Urton 1990).

There is also an economic aspect to this cultural interaction. Many of those who were from mestizo backgrounds filled the middle economic strata, of clergy, skilled artisans, and poor landowners. This group has fallen through the cracks in the historical literature, between the studies of elite Spaniards and those of Indian culture (Bronner 1986:45).

Economics

Fiscal history is an active new field in Latin American history. The huge fiscal records of the Royal Treasury have not been put to great use in the past, but are now being heavily researched (Klein and Barbier 1988:35,37).

Peru is one part of Spanish America that has received considerable attention from economic historians. The taxation and debt financing of the seventeenth century, and the relationship of economic and political considerations have been the major topics of research (Klein and Barbier 1988:39). Economic historians have shown particular interest in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as Peru gained more economic independence from Spain (Fisher 1985; Gootenberg 1990; Jacobsen and Puhle 1986).

The greatest initial economic goal of the Spanish was "from the outset, the extraction of precious metals" (Mörner 1985:49). Mining centers throughout Latin America have been studied by historians, with their haphazard and almost
anarchic growth and decline creating massive changes in populations, settlement patterns, and economics almost overnight (Bakewell 1984; Bronner 1986:26).

The extractive and processing techniques of the industry, and both the forced and paid Indian labor used have all received detailed historical attention (Bakewell 1984).

The economy of Potosí, the largest early silver mining center in Peru, has gained considerable research attention (Tandeter and Wachtel 1983; Bakewell 1988). The silver at Potosí was discovered in 1545, and from that time until the 1560s the mining was largely done through prehispanic techniques, taking ore from the surface and refining it in small, wind-blown smelters.

By the 1570s, however, the surface finds were exhausted, and in the horrific period from that time until the early 1600s forced Indian labor, in unimaginable conditions, mined Potosí using Spanish excavation and smelting methods. After this period paid labor became more common, but working conditions remained terrible, and Potosí has remained a central argument in the "black legend" of Spanish colonial mistreatment (Bakewell 1988).

The colonial economy was dominated by silver, but agricultural and other concerns diversified it to a certain extent, creating an overall economic system of interest to researchers (Brown 1986; Gibbs 1979). The first economic enterprises to be established after the mines were the obrajes or textile factories, small scale forced labor manufacturing efforts which helped Spain’s extreme cloth shortage by keeping Peru self-sufficient in basic textiles through the tribute labor of Indians.
The tribute lists of the Royal Treasury have given extensive data to researchers on sixteenth and seventeenth century Indian population figures and labor requirements. Indian labor has been extensively studied (MacLeod 1984). The taxation of Andean Indian communities and the unrest it engendered are common historical topics. Data on Indian tribute has, however, begun to be challenged as to its accuracy, as many Indians may not have been included on the lists (Klein and Barbier 1988:40).

The artisan class formed another segment of the economy, largely urban in nature, and very important to the society as a whole. This "middle class" has, as stated above, been largely ignored in the historical literature, and when they have received attention, it has largely been restricted to the well documented late eighteenth century, a period when local crafts were being replaced by largely imported manufactured goods (Bronner 1986:47).

Another of the major economic factors in the colonial period was the role of smuggling and illegal trade. Darrell LaLone sees the illegal Peruvian trade with New Spain, the Philippines and China as "an attempt to gain a position in the world system more central than that of Spain herself" (LaLone 1978:58). He sees the entire colonial era "as a pivot between the evolution of Andean modes of resource use and allocation and the incorporation of the Andean world into the modern world system" (LaLone 1978:56-57).

Economic information is crucial to the historical archaeologist. The data in
the Royal Treasury accounts in particular "offer one of the best set of records of a Western European society in the prestatistical age by providing usable data for reconstructing local economic history" (Klein and Barbier 1988:55). These records cover the late sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, and combined with other documentation, provide a wealth of material which so far has been used to study the Spanish empire as an economic system, but which could also be used to reconstruct large segments of the local economy of a region such as La Libertad (Klein and Barbier 1988:55). This type of local economic history would be of great use to colonial period archaeologists.

The study of economics should go beyond even this, and into the exploitation which was the result of the economic system. Michael Taussig would have us never forget that the role of terror is important in the creation of colonial reality for all participants (Taussig 1987:5), a theme which runs, often implicitly, through much of the historical literature. One type of terror is the "imputation of mystery and the demonic by the more powerful class to the lower-by men to women, by the civilized to the primitive, by Christian to pagan ...-such an old notion, so persistent, so paradoxical and ubiquitous" (Taussig 1987:215).

Many people suffered varying forms of exploitation in colonial Peru, something which should remain an important focus of research. Tribute and state labor was one area where exploitation was evident (Spalding 1982). This was particularly horrifying in the mine labor of Indians (Bakewell 1985; Cole 1985). Religious conversion also involved exploitation. Debate within the Catholic
Church over whether authority or reason should be the driving force in Christian conversions eventually created a simplified "missionary Catholicism" in the Andes, using authoritarian tactics to gain conversions (MacCormack 1985). These issues are complicated, but if an accurate history is to be constructed the issues of inequality and exploitation, and the reasons and background for them, must be emphasized.

Archaeological remains, especially in the historic period, can often provide information on status, class, trade networks, and many other economic issues. Perhaps they can even go beyond this, to provide information on the exploitative aspects of the colonial period.

Urban Life

Colonial Latin American urban life has been taken up as a separate area of historical research, looking into race, gender, class, status, social conventions, employment, and many other issues specifically in the context of towns and cities (Borah 1984:549; Hoberman and Socolow 1986). Latin American colonial urban studies have become very common in the recent literature (Borah 1984:535).

Great attention has been paid since the 1940s to the origins of the Latin American urban grid layout, in a rather sterile academic debate which dominated urban studies for a short period (Borah 1984:542; Morse 1984:68). This was followed by an emphasis on the sixteenth century founding of cities by the Spanish, a period which has gained considerable attention (Morse 1984:72-81).
Municipal government policies and the power structure of urban government have been a recent research focus (Borah 1984:543-544). The important issues of public works, policing, sanitation, hygiene, and urban medical care have all received little attention from urban historians up to this point (Borah 1984:552), which is unfortunate as these basic issues of daily life are one of the mainstays of archaeological research.

Architecture is a popular topic in urban studies (Borah 1984:543). Unfortunately the study of architecture suffers from a severe bias toward the elite. This is clear in statements such as that "Ninety per cent of what is interesting in Spanish colonial architecture falls into the category of religious architecture..." (Bayón 1984:709). Bayón’s summary article on colonial Spanish American architecture goes on to explore just this, and in his discussion of Peru only religious buildings are mentioned (Bayón 1984:728). This point of view is valid for the decorative arts expert, for whom the rather plain majority of domestic residences of the colonial period pale in comparison to the grand churches and cathedrals. For the historian or archaeologist, however, an emphasis on all types of architecture will be necessary if any conclusions about architecture’s relationship to the overall society are to be reached. This wide-ranging emphasis is only now becoming a legitimate area of study. Valerie Fraser asserts in her groundbreaking book that "It is among the smaller, less assuming buildings, especially those outside the main colonial centres, that we must look for evidence of what was considered essential and what dispensable in architecture." (1990:11).
Fraser goes on to give a very comprehensive overview of the cultural factors which were all-important to the development of Peruvian colonial architecture.

Statistical studies form an increasing part of urban history. As parish registers and religious and civil padrones, or censuses, are much more common for the late eighteenth century, statistical urban studies tend to be restricted to the late Bourbon period (Borah 1984:536). This detailed level of research often extends to the creation of block by block maps of late eighteenth century cities, with land use, class, economic activities, population densities, and other features included in the analyses (Borah 1984:538; Bronner 1986:13). This type of historical work will be of immense value to historical archaeologists in undertaking urban archaeology.

For Peru, basic primary data on the layout and population makeup of colonial urban areas is now becoming available in published form for major centers such as Lima (Moreno Cebrián 1981) and Cuzco (Aramburú de Olivera and Remy S. 1983; Moreno Cebrián 1981; Villanueva Urteaga 1982). Such data is extremely valuable to colonial period archaeologists working in urban areas, where household or neighborhood level data creates a solid basis for archaeological investigation.

**Women and Gender**

An emphasis on women in the colonial period began among Latin American historians in the early 1970s. This has included studies of women’s role in
various facets of the colonial world. Within the realm of family history, the
dichotomies of the patriarchal versus the matriarchal, and the nuclear versus the
extended family have been explored (Lavrin 1978; Martin 1983; Stoner
1987:101,111). The social networks, degree of freedom within society, and
differences in the lives of women of different racial and class backgrounds have
also been researched (Burkett 1975). The main focus of research is still
unfortunately on elite women, and particularly those of the nineteenth century, for
whom much more detailed documentation exists (Lavrin 1984:321; Stoner
1987:111). Sexuality and marriage have been looked at, issues which were of
great importance to women whose major source of empowerment was through the
domestic sphere (Lavrin 1984:324, 1989). The extensive involvement of women
in the economic system, as artisans, retail traders, etcetera, has also gained some
attention (Bronner 1986:41-42). Convents have also been studied, as places in
which elite women could retreat both for religious reasons, and to escape
economic or physical hardship in the domestic sphere (Lavrin 1984:342). The
need for further studies is very evident, especially of women of the early colonial
period, and of ethnic groups and social classes other than the Spanish elite.

Summary

Historical research on Peru has been carried out on a very wide range of
topics, and with varying degrees of success. Far from fulfilling the traditional
stereotype of historical concentration on the elite and political, Latin American
history has in the last thirty years built up an impressive array of contributions in
the fields of social and economic history which will be of great importance to any
colonial archaeology undertaken. The time is long overdue for archaeological
research to complement the findings of Latin American history.
Chapter III

THE COLONIAL PERIOD IN LA LIBERTAD, PERU

Introduction

The modern department of La Libertad, in the Republic of Peru, was created after Peruvian Independence in 1826. It is made up of three quite distinct geographical zones. The coastal area is desert, bisected by four river valleys, which are from north to south the Jequetepeque, Chicama, Moche (also known as the Chimu and the Santa Catalina in the colonial period), and the Virú. These valleys have been rich agricultural regions since prehispanic times, with wide stretches of desert separating them.

The highlands of La Libertad consist of two areas, the first being west of the Marañon River. This area rises from along the coast to mountains over 4000 masl. There is considerable agricultural land in the valleys, and crops are grown even in high mountain elevation zones, with potatoes and quinua grown in the highest regions.

The second highland area, the colonial province of Pataz, is a 10 to 40 km wide strip of highland separated from the main highland area by the Marañon River, and bordered on the east by the descending slopes of the Andes into the
jungle of the Amazon Basin. It is similar to the western highland area in geography, but is significant in its considerable distance from the coast, the geographical separation created by the Marañón, and proximity to the lowland jungle.

La Libertad was chosen as an example of Spanish colonialism for three reasons. First, its various geographical zones created different challenges both for the prehispanic inhabitants and Spanish colonists. Second, the early colonial urban center of Trujillo is well documented historically, and third, the city retains many physical manifestations of its colonial heritage to today. This is also true of the rest of the department, travelling through which one sees many examples of colonial architecture still in use.

This chapter is a brief summary of the colonial history of the geographical area encompassed by La Libertad, from the first Spanish entry into the region in 1533, until Peruvian independence in 1826. Its purpose is to create a background for the archaeological research possibilities to be set out in the following chapter. The chronology is divided according to what are presumed to be significant changes in the archaeological record for the historical archaeologist in La Libertad, although these changes were chosen from the documentary record.

References to provinces in this and all other chapters refer to the colonial divisions within the larger colonial Intendencia/Bishopric of Trujillo. Colonial provinces contained within the modern La Libertad boundaries were: the Province of Trujillo and the southern part of the Province of Saña on the coast, the
Figure 1
Map Showing the Location of the Department of La Libertad, Peru
Province of Huamachuco in the highlands above Trujillo, and the Province of Pataz east of the Marañon. Huamachuco was only made a separate province in 1759, and before that date was part of the province of Cajamarca to the north (O'Phelan Godoy 1979).

Figure 1 presents a map of La Libertad, giving prominent place names referred to in the text.

The Era of Spanish Conquest, 1533-1572

This period in La Libertad marks the beginning of Spanish colonialism. A very small number of Spaniards created an outpost of empire among the predominantly Indian population. As contact continued, the blending of Spanish and Indian governmental and cultural systems occurred.

Francisco Pizarro’s brother Hernando was the first Spaniard to cross through La Libertad, in 1533. He was sent from the Inka mountain town of Cajamarca by Francisco to search for the reputed treasure at Pachacamac, far to the south on the coast. As he travelled the Inka roads through the mountains he arrived first in Huamachuco, which he described as an Indian "town" (Pizarro 1984[1533]:72). Large Inka buildings were still present in the town in 1561 when the first Augustinian missionaries arrived (Primeros Agustinos 1918:9). In travelling onward Pizarro took note of the Inka roads: "such beautiful roads could not in fact be found throughout Christendom. The greater part of them is paved. There is a bridge of stone or wood over every stream." (Pizarro 1984[1533]:73). Pizarro
Figure 2
Map of the Department of La Libertad, Peru
was obviously impressed by the level of development he encountered in the region.

The site for the northern administrative and military capital of Peru was chosen by Francisco Pizarro in the following year, 1534. He named this new city Trujillo, after the town he came from in Spain. He selected thirty-one vecinos, or citizens, who were each given a centrally located site for a house, and a garden plot on the city outskirts (Ramirez-Horton 1977:65). Pizarro chose the location of the city, it seems, largely because of its proximity to the prehispanic administrative center of ChanChan, located between modern Trujillo and the port town of Huanchaco. The city was thus close to the prehispanic ruins, the gold and silver in the burials of which were a source of wealth for the Spaniards, and also close to the port at Huanchaco (Cook 1982:137; Salazar de Villasante 1965[1571-1572?]:125). Huanchaco was a useful port, giving the Spaniards access to the region from the ocean, but it is a beach with no shelter, and thus was described in 1571 as the "worst port in the world", where many people had drowned (Salazar de Villasante 1965[1571-1572?]:125).

The *encomienda* system was the first form of economic and political interaction set up by the Spaniards to take control of the Indian people. This involved a grant, given by the Crown through Francisco Pizarro, of Indian tribute to an individual Spaniard. Each of the thirty-one vecinos of Trujillo was granted an *encomienda* in the region. The Trujillo *encomiendas* covered a huge area, from the Túcume-Jayanca Rivers in the north to the Santa River in the south, and the
entire highland region east of this area. Grants were in the form of tribute from
an Indian community defined by its geographic boundaries, to the Spaniard, in the
form of agricultural products and Indian labor. The first encomiendas were
assigned in 1534 (Cook 1982:133). Vecinos brought Indians from their
encomiendas to Trujillo to build the houses, serve as household servants, work the
gardens, and perform other duties in the city (Ramirez-Horton 1977:70).

Indian population loss was huge in the first half of the sixteenth century. The
rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, Francisco’s brother, from 1544 to 1548, resulted in
many casualties on both sides, with considerable numbers of deaths in northern
Peru (Cook 1982:135). Epidemics were perhaps the greatest killers of Indians in
the early contact period. A typhus epidemic hit the north coast in 1546, and
influenza, smallpox, and measles all ran through the population from 1558 to
1561 (Cook 1982:135-136). This combination of causes of death, particularly in
young children, caused a severe population loss seen in the greatly reduced
numbers of young adult Indians by the time of the of reducciones of 1572,
discussed below. It is probable that more land was under cultivation on the north
coast prior to the Spanish arrival than at any point since then (Ramirez-Horton
1977:46).

Trujillo was rapidly becoming more of an important Spanish center. By 1555
there were 300 Spanish families in the city, which was built in the standard
Spanish grid pattern (Cook 1982:137). There were five taverns in the city in the
1560s (Ramirez-Horton 1977:160). Land was set aside for Dominican and
Franciscan convents in Pizarro's original 1535 plans of Trujillo, and the Dominican convent was founded in 1562 (Feyjoo 1984[1763]:66-67). The Augustinian convent in Trujillo was founded in 1558, with the encomendero of Huamachuco as benefactor, and was rapidly followed by the founding of an Augustinian mission in Huamachuco in 1561 (Espinoza Soriano 1971:68; Romero 1918:xii). By 1571 there was a church and four monasteries in Trujillo (Salazar de Villasante 1965[1571-1572?):125).

The original vecinos, who were also by definition encomenderos, were by far the most powerful group in the region. All members of the Trujillo cabildo, or city council, were vecinos (Ramirez-Horton 1977:80). In the 1540s the Viceroy appointed the first salaried corregidor, or crown representative, to Trujillo. The corregidor's powers were not great, however, due to the lack of Crown control in the civil war period, and the corregidor did little to curb the power of the encomenderos (Ramirez-Horton 1977:130). The original vecinos would use their influence to gain further city lots, have their Indians build stores or houses on them, then lease these properties to later Spanish immigrants (Ramirez-Horton 1977:74). The concentration of Spanish interest to within the city of Trujillo in this period is clear from the concentration of the cabildo on business within the city up until the 1560s. Despite having jurisdiction over a large section of the northern part of the Viceroyalty, the cabildo concentrated solely on business such as granting city properties, maintaining the city water system, and founding a hospital. The running of the encomiendas was left to the individual encomenderos
(Ramirez-Horton 1977:84). The first limits on the power of the encomenderos came with the New Laws passed by Charles V in 1542. These either revoked or severely limited many encomienda privileges, in an effort to end ill-treatment of Indians. Gonzalo Pizarro’s revolt, however, and the general lack of Crown control in Peru, meant that the New Laws were never enforced to any great extent (Hanke 1965 [1949]:83,91,96). The first cabildo member who was not an encomendero was appointed in the 1550s, the first sign that the power of the encomenderos in the region would not last forever (Ramirez-Horton 1977:134).

The encomiendas were run largely from a distance. Individual encomenderos lived in Trujillo, and would have a criado, or retainer/assistant, living on the encomienda site (Ramirez-Horton 1977:85). The Indians grew the same crops they had prehispanically for their own use, plus those requested by the Spanish as tribute. Cotton was a prehispanic crop which the Spanish greatly encouraged, in order to gain cloth, which was in great demand from the earliest colonial period on. Wheat was the major crop that was introduced, and created great wealth for early Trujillo encomenderos, who exported it to other areas of the empire such as Tierra Firme (modern Central America). Flour mills were set up in Trujillo itself as early as 1550, and by the 1560s molinos, or water-powered flour mills, were present on the agricultural estates. (Ramirez-Horton 1977:74,85,91,111,165-166). The introduction of Spanish crops was not restricted to the coast, and by the 1550s there were Spanish crops being grown in abundance in the Haumachuco region (Espinoza Soriano 1977:140).
Livestock was also introduced to the encomiendas, and usually pastured on land that had been farmed before the conquest, but was now vacant due to Indian deaths. Mules, which were used for land transport in the colony, were a particularly lucrative type of livestock in the early period (Ramirez-Horton 1977:112, 115). By 1554 soap-making and the tanning of hides were ongoing industries in Trujillo (Ramirez-Horton 1977:178). A central slaughterhouse for the Trujillo meat market was set up by the 1560s (Ramirez-Horton 1977:162).

The encomiendas had a religious function as well. Each encomendero, under the terms of his grant, had to pay for a resident priest to preach to the Indians. The first churches on the encomiendas began to be built in the 1550s. Church leaders felt that the Indians should remain separate from Spanish society, so that they would not be corrupted by it during their conversion to Christianity, and to the religious community the encomiendas served this purpose well (Ramirez-Horton 1977:85,86).

The first reducciones in the region were carried out in 1538 to 1540 in the Chicama Valley. Reducciones were the forced removal of Indians by the Spaniards into new towns, removing them from their original lands. This was undertaken for many reasons, including the desire for more agricultural land by the Spanish, and the desire of the Spanish to have the Indians living in towns so that they could be more easily controlled both administratively and religiously. These early reducciones resulted in the founding of the towns of Santiago, Cao, Chocope, Chiquitoy, Licapa, and La Concepción, all in the Chicama Valley.
More Spanish immigrants arrived constantly, and began to be offered mercedes, or land grants, instead of encomiendas as rewards for military service. These were small farms, and until the 1560s were only granted in the vicinity of Trujillo, as they would not have been economically feasible if at a great distance from the city (Ramirez-Horton 1977:128).

Encomienda tribute was becoming less prominent by the 1550s. The New Laws of 1542 had combined with political pressure by non-encomendero Spaniards to make the encomienda less politically viable, while Indian population loss led to a declining basis of encomienda tribute (Hanke 1965[1949]:83; Ramirez-Horton 1977:103). To replace this, Indians from local communities were forced to give mita labor, both on municipal works and for individual Spaniards. Mitayos were paid very minimally, and influential encomenderos received more than their share of laborers from the magistrate or corregidor in charge, so that the system was not as drastically changed as it may at first appear. Forasteros or free laborers, however, were also increasing in numbers. These were largely immigrants from other areas, free of encomienda or mita obligations, who took advantage of the need for laborers to gain wage employment (Ramírez-Horton 1977:104; Ramírez 1986:40).

As more Spaniards continued to arrive, Trujillo became the nucleus for further Spanish settlement in the region. In 1559 a hospital was founded in the Jequetpeque Valley to serve the local Indian communities, and in 1561 an
Augustinian monastery was founded in the valley (Cook 1982:134; Ramirez-Horton 1977:96). The Viceroy ordered the founding of several new Spanish towns, such as Saña, along the coast in 1563, in order to encourage commercial agriculture in the region. The vecinos of these new towns were men who had not received previous Crown favors, and thus the new towns further undercut the power of the encomendero elite (Ramirez-Horton 1977:152-155). The number of Spanish families in Trujillo had been reduced to 200 by 1571, presumably because of the movement of Spaniards into the newer towns in the region (Salazar de Villasante 1965[1571-1572?]:125).

Black slaves had been present at the conquest, and in early Trujillo their numbers slowly increased. Their main role was as household servants for the elite of Trujillo. Supervision of Indian field hands in the "gardens" on the outskirts of the city was also commonly done by slaves (Ramirez-Horton 1977:111). In areas other than Trujillo, however, few blacks were found, as the field work was done by forastero or encomienda Indians, and most settlers could not afford slaves (Ramirez-Horton 1977:159).

There is little reference to the highlands during this initial conquest period. This is because the Spanish were heavily concentrated on the coast, and highland development was largely restricted to setting up encomiendas among the Indians. The Augustinians who went to Huamachucos described what was probably a typical small highland town just outside Huamachucos in the 1560s. It consisted of fifty Indian houses constructed of small stones in tamped earth. The only Spanish
The death of so many Indians on the coast resulted in the breakdown of the encomienda system, with specific difficulties such as the end of the traditional Indian maintenance of canals by 1571, which created water shortages (Cook 1982:137). By 1559 the value of tribute from the encomiendas had peaked, and began to decline (Ramirez-Horton 1977:102).

In 1572 the new Viceroy of Peru, Francisco de Toledo, undertook a massive reorganization effort, moving Indians throughout the Viceroyalty from their original communities into new towns, an effort known as the Toledan reducciones. This was carried out in order to gain Indian lands for Spaniards, and put the Indians under Spanish governmental and church control. In the Jequetepeque Valley the Toledan reducciones were carried out by the visitador Juan de Hoces, creating, for example, the towns of Cherrepe and Guadalupe (Cook 1982:134). A reserve with a radius of one league (4.2 km) around each Indian town was
supposed to be created to encompass Indian agriculture, livestock grazing, and future town expansion, but such regulations made little difference to Indians whose agricultural system was largely destroyed by being moved from the lands they had been holding, often onto clearly unsuitable terrain (Ramirez-Horton 1977:169-171). In the highlands reducciones were also carried out in 1572, some of them moving Indians out of towns founded in 1565, and into new ones founded only seven years later. Old habitations were often physically demolished in order to prevent anyone from returning to them. Towns such as Otusco and Simbal were created at this time (Espinoza Soriano 1974:90). These changes marked the end of the first period of Spanish occupation, as the colonial system changed from a few Spaniards requiring tribute from a largely intact Indian population, into a period of increasing Spanish domination of the landscape.

Archaeologically this period is marked by very profound changes. The arrival of the Spanish created "contact" period sites in which the influence of the Spanish on what are largely Indian settlements will be the major focus. New settlements created by the Spanish also appear, particularly Trujillo, and the reducciones. The early coastal reducciones and the 1565 reducciones in the highlands created two site categories: abandoned Indian households from the pre-reduccion era, and newly founded towns, made up largely of Indians, created by the reducciones.

The more sweeping reducciones of 1572 mark the end of this period. A large number of Indian household sites were abandoned and often demolished, and many towns based on Spanish ideals were founded in that year.
From Encomienda to Commercial Agriculture, 1573-1619

The balance of power was now shifting, as Indian population loss on the coast continued, and the plantation agricultural system, dominated by Spaniards and black slaves, was set up on the coast. In the highlands Indian communities survived, but became much less cohesive as the effects of Spanish reducciones and commercial agriculture began to dominate in this period.

In 1600 Trujillo had grown considerably, with 600 families of Spanish vecinos (Cook 1982:137). A census of 1604 placed the city’s Indian population at 1194, black and mulatto population at 1073, and Spanish and mestizo population at 925, the latter a distinct minority (Cook 1982:140). Black slaves were rapidly replacing Indians as the household servants of the elite, and some also lived, unsupervised, on the city outskirts, watching and working the fields or "gardens" they supervised for the vecinos (Ramirez-Horton 1977:213). The disrepair of the city canal in 1600 caused severe water shortages in the city (Cook 1982:139).

Many religious institutions were founded in Trujillo in this period. A Convent of Santa Clara was founded in 1586, and in 1608 a Bethlemite Convent and an associated women’s hospital were founded (Feyjoo 1984[1763]:70,71). In 1609 the city was made a bishopric (Alsedo y Herrera and Alsedo 1967[1786-1789]:vol.IV p.111). This resulted in the construction of a cathedral, which replaced the main Trujillo church on the central plaza in 1616, only to be destroyed by the earthquake of 1619 (Alsedo y Herrera and Alsedo 1967[1786-1789]:vol.IV p.111).
Coastal Indian population loss was large in the late 1500s and early 1600s. In the Jequetepeque Valley the number of tributary Indians dropped from 896 in 1572 to 546 in 1615 (Ramirez-Horton 1977:538). The coastal agricultural system underwent many changes. In 1578 floods destroyed much of the coastal canal system, massively disrupting agriculture, with small towns such as Moro in the Jequetepeque abandoned. A plague of locusts in the following year destroyed the crops for the second year in a row, and many Indians fled to other valleys to avoid tribute requirements (Cook 1982:134,138; Huertas Vallejos 1984:162). The encomenderos suffered little, as their great wealth buffered the effects of natural disasters. They used many different tactics to increase this wealth, such as buying wheat from their Indians at the price fixed by Toledo in 1572, and then selling it in Lima at the higher prices prevalent on the market in the 1580s (Cook 1982:134-135). They could not, however, weather the slow decline of the population on which the encomienda was based. By 1591 the encomienda was rapidly losing ground as an economic system, with only two-thirds the revenue coming to encomenderos through their traditional source of income as had been coming in thirty years earlier (Cook 1982:138). The tributary Indian populations in the highlands declined somewhat during this period, but were much more stable than those on the coast (Huertas Vallejos 1984:90). The tributaries in Cajamarquilla, deep in the eastern Andes, declined from 561 to 306 in the thirty years following 1575, although whether this was due more to deaths or to
migration into regions beyond Spanish control is difficult to say (Cook 1982:183). Overall highland Indian populations declined much less than those of the coast, with the Huamachuco population declining only 1.3% per year from the 1570s to 1600 (Cook 1982:181).

The highlands were economically important for their cloth *obrajes*, or spinning and weaving shops, and for mining. The *obraje* of Carabamba, southwest of modern Julcan, is an example of such an operation that was already a major source of cloth by the 1590s (Espinoza Soriano 1971:43). Mining in the region has been continuous since the time of conquest, with the mines in the vicinity of the town of Santiago de Chuco probably the oldest in La Libertad, worked since the sixteenth century (Espinoza Soriano 1971:46).

The increasing amount of available land due to Indian coastal population loss resulted in a new agricultural emphasis on livestock, and huge *estancias*, or livestock ranches, prospered on the coast, many running 15,000 head of sheep or goats by the 1590s, which were used for meat, tallow (for soap and candles), and hides. Soapmaking and hide tanning were now carried out on the ranches, with skilled black slaves supervising the work of Indian field hands (Ramirez-Horton 1977:160).

Sugar production began in the late 1570s, and quickly became an important source of agricultural income. Only the wealthier operations could afford to take up sugar, as heavy expenditure on black slaves and on the equipment for mills was required. Indians were banned from sugar production labor by Crown
decree, because of its dangerous nature. Many of the slaves purchased were already skilled sugar workers from other colonies (Ramirez-Horton 1977:180-182). In 1600 the coastal valleys had a large number of sugar mills in operation, but corn, wheat, and beans were also listed as major crops (Cook 1982:138).

The early 1600s saw the dominance of livestock, wheat, and sugar as agricultural products. In 1615 the Crown prohibited wine and sugar exports to Central America and Mexico, thus restricting the main export of La Libertad, sugar, to the domestic market, although large amounts of wine continued to be shipped to those regions from Peru as contraband (Cushner 1980:132). Other products such as soap and leather had large domestic markets and were also exported to Tierre Firme. Landowners often marketed their own products, contracting ships to Tierre Firm or mule trains to Trujillo and Lima (Ramírez 1986:104, 132). After 1600, with declining Indian populations and increasing emphasis on commercial agriculture, slave importation began on a large scale (Ramirez-Horton 1977:228).

Another minor industry, which must have created archaeological remains, was the tar wells, noted at Santa (a town just south of the La Libertad border) in 1594, where natural tar was extracted for use as ships’ caulking (Carletti 1972[1594-1596]:81). Tar pits were present all along the north coast.

A major earthquake which struck in 1619 provides a convenient archaeological boundary between this period and the next. The earthquake killed 390 people in Trujillo, and "no building nor any house was left standing" (Cook 1982:139).
Some of the vecinos were completely discouraged by this disaster, and returned to Spain (López de Caravantes 1965[1630]:252). The earthquake was very strong, and most of the buildings in the province of Trujillo, which consisted of the section of coast from the Chicama to Virú Rivers, were destroyed (Feyjoo 1984[1763]:137). This disaster may very well be evident archaeologically, as old buildings were abandoned or torn down, large amounts of rubble disposed of, and many new buildings built.

A Diverse Agricultural Prosperity, 1619-1687

Between the earthquakes of 1619 and 1687 agriculture on the coast flourished, with a mixture of dominant crops. Spanish hegemony both on the coast and in the highlands was further entrenched, and black slave importation grew.

The city of Trujillo grew in economic power as the center of this agricultural development. The local prehispanic sites were still a source of income for the city, as even in 1630 significant amounts of precious metals were found in the huacas (López de Caravantes 1965[1630]:252).

Trujillo in 1683 had a lot of seaborne trade, and supplied provisions for ships travelling from Panama to Lima (anonymous 1965[1683]:254). Foreign pirates were a constant threat in the 1600s, and were one cause of the Spanish migration from Trujillo into mountain towns such as Huamachuco (Cook 1982:139). In 1686 an adobe city wall was built specifically as a defence against pirates, one year after Lima had taken such a measure. The Trujillo wall was completed in
1687 (Bueno 1951[1784]:50-51; Dobyns and Doughty 1976:127; Feyjoo 1984[1763]:6).

Church holdings developed as well. Reconstruction of the Trujillo cathedral due to damage in the 1619 earthquake took until 1666 (Feyjoo 1984[1763]:43). A seminary college was founded in the city in 1621 (Feyjoo 1984[1763]:53). A Jesuit monastery was founded in 1626, and the buildings completed by 1640 (Feyjoo 1984[1763]:69; Gisbert and Mesa 1985).

Many estancias, solely devoted to livestock, were converted to haciendas, with mixed plantation agriculture and especially sugar, by the mid-seventeenth century (Ramirez-Horton 1977:231). This often involved larger operations buying out smaller ones which could not afford the slaves and milling equipment necessary to begin plantation-style production, and haciendas quickly grew in size (Ramirez-Horton 1977:234). Small landowners with a few hired Indians and perhaps one or two slaves, working a small farm or labor, existed in the early 1600s, but by the 1650s most had been bought out (Ramirez-Horton 1977:244, 297).

By the late 1600s Indian mita labor had become a bureaucratic nightmare to the Spanish, and was rapidly declining on the coastal haciendas (Ramirez-Horton 1977:314). Low wheat prices from the 1660s onward shut down many of the molinos, or wheat farm/flour mill combinations.

The colonial economic system included a number of minor activities, among which salt production was common along the coast. Salinas, or salt works, existed all along the coast south of Trujillo in 1683 (anonymous 1965[1683]:255).
Presumably such operations date to prehispanic times, and they still exist in La Libertad at Salinas de Chao and Salinas de Santa, both in the extreme southern part of coastal La Libertad. The technology is not complicated, with mounds of sand piled up so that the humidity within them concentrates the salt in the top part of the mound. The salt is then collected and further concentrated (John Topic, personal communication 1990).

The highlands remained much more Indian in cultural makeup. In Huamachuco in 1652 there was still a kuraka in charge of mita obligations, showing continuing Indian power in local level government (Espinoza Soriano 1974:78).

The incorporation of the highlands into the Spanish colonial world system continued, particularly with the 1630 discovery of the major ore deposits at Quiruvilca, northwest of Santiago de Chuco, still an important mine today (Espinoza Soriano 1971:46).

The earthquake of 1687 once again caused major damage to the regional colonial infrastructure. The earthquake should be visible in the archaeological record. The most profound effect of the earthquake seems to have been the almost total end to wheat production on the coast, as sediments in irrigation water appear to have made wheat impossible to grow (Ramirez-Horton 1977:330). This set the stage for the development of the dominance of sugar in the following period.
Sugar Boom and Bust, 1688-1759

Between the earthquake of 1687 and that of 1759, sugar took over the plantation system on the Peruvian north coast. The area of La Libertad was greatly affected by this, and much of the power structure in this area of the colony changed. By the late 1600s the Indian population on the coast reached a nadir, and around the year 1700 it began to slowly rise (Ramirez-Horton 1977:313).

The city of Trujillo continued to grow within its protective wall as the Bourbons came to power in Spain. A Carmelite convent was founded in 1724 (Feyjoo 1984[1763]:73). In the earthquake of 1759, however, much of Trujillo was damaged, including both the cathedral and the Jesuit church and college, which were badly damaged but not destroyed (Feyjoo 1984[1763]:43; Gisbert and Mesa 1985:74; Lohmann Villena 1984:33).

By the 1690s extremely high sugar prices created more and more sugar mills, with production even extending into the inferior sugar growing regions of the highlands, where in areas such as Huamachuco sugar mills were established (Ramirez-Horton 1977:409).

Agriculture dominated the coast. In a 1711 visita, or Crown inspection, the lands held by Indians throughout the north coast of Peru were adjusted downward once again. This visita legalized many hacienda encroachments on Indian land, and greatly reduced per capita Indian landholdings. Much of this was accomplished by allowing hacendados to convert pasturage rights on Indian land into outright ownership (Ramírez 1986:200,202).
The hacienda system was becoming more commercialized. The mita labor system had become almost unused by the beginning of the 1700s, and in 1720 it was abolished by the Crown (Ramirez-Horton 1977:314). Coastal agriculture was dominated by sugar, with trapiches, or sugar mills, dotting the valleys. Trapiches were usually combined with livestock and other crops in huge hacienda y trapiche estates (Ramirez-Horton 1977:322).

Hacienda owners who had invested too heavily in sugar began to find themselves in trouble by the mid-eighteenth century. Sugar prices began to drop after 1700, and never regained the high prices of the 1690s (Ramirez-Horton 1977:398). After 1700 in the highlands Indians set up trapichitos, or small sugar mills, to produce low grade sugar, molasses, and alcohol. These products took over much of the highland market, and highland haciendas competed heavily for the Lima sugar market, further endangering the precarious economic position of the coastal haciendas (Ramirez-Horton 1977:408). In 1701 floods and a plague of rats destroyed most of the coastal sugar crop (Cook 1982:139; Ramirez-Horton 1977:401). Floods in 1720 obliterated most cane fields, and many hacienda buildings. Disease destroyed much of the crop not destroyed by flooding in that year. This created an economic crisis which sugar producers never recovered from (Huertas Vallejos 1984:16; Ramirez-Horton 1977:398). This was followed by severe floods in 1728 (Ramirez-Horton 1977:398,402). Estate bankruptcies became common in the 1730s, and continued throughout the eighteenth century. Many of the prominent older Trujillo families lost their fortunes (Ramirez-Horton
The local land was sold to newer immigrants, often with merchant connections (Ramirez-Horton 1977:433). Crop diversification became a necessity for the economic survival of the haciendas. After the 1740s livestock became the major focus, replacing sugar as the primary coastal agricultural product. Cotton, rice, and tobacco were also important. The Crown monopoly on tobacco guaranteed the price, making it a very attractive crop (Ramirez-Horton 1977:494).

As urban and plantation needs grew, a skilled artisan class, made up largely of Indian wage laborers and black slaves, worked on short-term contracts in construction, blacksmithing, the manufacture of necessities such as copper cauldrons, and many other tasks, and the largest estates took on permanent artisans such as carpenters and ceramicists (Ramirez-Horton 1977:317-318).

In the 1750s the agricultural towns along the coast were pretty well entirely made up of cane built houses. Some towns, such as San Pedro de Lloc, were largely Indian in population (Juan and Ulloa 1758:21), some such as Virú were racially mixed, and others such as Chocope were largely Spanish and mestizo (Juan and Ulloa 1758:21-23). This period encompasses what Steve Stern has defined as the "Age of Andean Insurrection", encompassing a number of uprisings, revolts, and wars in the Andes (Stern 1987a). Within the boundaries of modern La Libertad several violent outbreaks occurred, but only one major series of incidents (Huertos Vallejos 1984:19).

In 1751 a riot broke out in the town of Huamachuco, aimed at the local
alcalde, the mayor or head of the cabildo, and alleging fraud in the collection of tribute. This was followed in 1756 by a riot at the Hacienda Santa Cruz de Carabamba, over payment of wages. Finally, in 1758 a large riot of Indians and mestizos took place in the town of Huamachuco. The rioters were opposed to Indian tribute requirements to the church, the large amount of tithe they paid, and the expropriation of their land. The alleged leaders of this incident were captured by the local militia, and taken to the Otuzco jail, but with the help of a riot by the people of Otuzco they escaped and were not recaptured. The ineffective handling of the incident by the corregidor of Cajamarca resulted in the Viceregal decision to create the separate corregimiento of Huamachuco a year later (Espinoza Soriano 1971:10-20; O’Phelan Godoy 1979:120).

The earthquake of 1759 caused extensive damage to many buildings in Trujillo and throughout the north coast (Feyjoo 1984[1763]:43,54). By that point sugar no longer dominated agriculture, but the extensive influx of slaves and the creation of huge haciendas were legacies which would last throughout the colonial period.

The Late Colonial Period, 1760-1826

In 1760 Trujillo’s population was made up of 3650 blacks, 3050 Spaniards, 2300 mestizos, and 347 Indians (Feyjoo 1984[1763]:29-31). The entire city was served by aqueducts, which began at the highest edge of the city, on the east of the city, ran under each city block, and exited on the west side. It is interesting
to note that at least the cathedral and the seminary were using the canals for sewage, so that one assumes drinking water was fetched from the large reservoir where the water initially came into the city on the east side (Martínez Compañón 1978[1789]: "Plano de la ciudad de Trujillo", "Planta de la Santa Iglesia Cathedral", "Plano y Perfil del Seminario Concular de San Carlos").

Trujillo in 1789 was approximately 40 blocks in extent, with all of the urban development still contained within the city wall. There were only a few scattered buildings outside the wall, most of them on avenues radiating from the city gates. Around the central plaza of Trujillo were the cathedral, bishop’s palace, the cabildo, the intendencia, the jail, the armory, the seminary, and the royal mail. Other city institutions included an inn; the offices of the tobacco administration; two Bethlemite hospitals, one for men and one for women; four churches, the Indian cemetery, two convents, and four monasteries (Feyjoo 1984[1763]: "Descripción (sic) del Valle del Chimo"; Martínez Compañón 1978[1789]: "Plano de la Ciudad de Trujillo"). The cathedral and the San Lorenzo church were parish churches for the Spanish, mestizo, and black population combined. The churches of San Sebastian, Santa Ana and San Estevan were all Indian churches, the latter two of which had to be abandoned after the 1759 earthquake (Feyjoo 1984[1763]:54).

In 1767 the Crown removed the Jesuits from throughout the Spanish colonies; the seminary in Trujillo was closed, and the buildings given to the bishopric to be used as the city cathedral while the original cathedral was under repair (Gisbert
and Mesa 1985:74; Lohmann Villena 1984:44).

At the end of the eighteenth century the Bourbon Monarchy brought in the intendencia system, and the Crown intendant assigned to Trujillo took considerable regional governing powers away from the local cabildo (Lockhart and Schwartz 1983:351-355).

Trujillo was the only large urban center in the region of modern La Libertad during the colonial period. Two subsidiary towns, Mansiche and Guaman, were located four to five km outside Trujillo in 1789, Mansiche with 888 Indians, 49 people of mixed race, and 2 ecclesiastics (Martínez Compañón 1978[1789]: table of "número de abitantes"). The residents of Mansiche grew vegetables to sell in the city (Feyjoo 1984[1763]:82).

The religious hierarchy in Trujillo and throughout the region gained a considerable proportion of its income from agriculture. Various orders owned 17 haciendas in the Moche Valley in 1760, conveniently close to Trujillo, as well as four in the Chicama Valley. These holdings made up twelve percent of the coastal province’s agricultural land (Huertas Vallejos 1984:117). Holdings in the upper Moche valley included the trapiche of Collambay, near Simbal, owned by the Santa Clara Convent, and the trapiche of Menocucho, owned by the Augustinians (Feyjoo 1984[1763]:86).

Coastal agriculture, despite its new diversification, never regained the economic prosperity of the late seventeenth century. The earthquake of 1759 did great damage in all the coastal valleys (Feyjoo 1984[1763]:104). Sugar prices
continued to drop steadily until 1775 (Ramirez-Horton 1977:407,410). In 1760 the Chicama Valley was the main coastal agricultural production area. The Chicama had 36 haciendas, and although seven were abandoned, the two largest had 150 and 143 slaves each. The labor forces per hacienda were much larger than those of the other valleys. In the Moche valley there were 47 haciendas, but a large number of them were only operated by day laborers. The majority had fewer than ten slaves, and only two had over 30 slaves. In the Virú valley there were only five haciendas. One was large, with 102 slaves, but the other four were all quite tiny (Huertas Vallejos 1984:94-96). In 1766 the major coastal products were listed as wheat, livestock, and com (Bueno 1951[1784]:50). In the late 1770s the Crown policy of free trade meant that Brazilian sugar could enter Peru through Buenos Aires, producing an even more competitive market (Ramirez-Horton 1977:411).

The coastal towns were declining in population as the agricultural basis for the coastal economy declined. Virú in the 1760s had a population of 373, and in the 1780s a population of 300 Indians. Its population declined throughout the late eighteenth century (Alsedo y Herrera and Alsedo 1967[1786-1789]:vol.IV p.180; Feyjoo 1984[1763]:129).

It would be incorrect to portray the coast as solely devoted to agriculture. Coastal towns such as Moche, with 473 Indian inhabitants, and Huanchaco, were devoted to fishing (Feyjoo 1984[1763]:81-83). Tambos, or resting places/inns, existed at Chao, on a section of roadway which ran through the desert south of
Virú; at Guadalupe, on the north shore of the Santa River; and one discovered archaeologically at Pajatambo, south of Trujillo. All of these examples date to the mid to late eighteenth century, but such wayside stations existed for travellers throughout the colonial period (Beck et al. 1983; Juan and Ulloa 1758:24; Martínez Compañón 1978[1789]: "Carta Topográfica de la Provincia de Truxillo").

Agriculture was economically important in the highlands as well. In 1789 Haciendas were located throughout the highland valleys, all the way into Pataz (Martínez Compañón 1978[1789]: "Carta Topográfica de la Provincia de Patás", "Carta Topográfica de la Provincia de Huamachuco"). In the vicinity of Marcabal in 1779 there were three estancias and four haciendas, the largest of which had 61 resident Indians (Espinoza Soriano 1974:231). In the Cajabamba region, part of which is within modern La Libertad, there were 22 estancias, with between 3 and 32 Indian laborers, and 17 haciendas, with three to 104 laborers. There were also four ingenios or water-powered sugar mills and one molino or flour mill (Espinoza Soriano 1974:240-241). The highlands clearly rivalled the coast in the level of agricultural production.

The province of Pataz was separated from the rest of the intendencia by the Marañon River, which was too wide to build bridges across, and was still crossed by raft in the late eighteenth century (Espinoza Soriano 1971:8). The influence of Indian cultural organization was still present in Pataz in 1789, with right and left halves, equivalent to upper and lower lineage moieties, recorded in the
organization of the town of Cajamarquilla in 1789 (Martínez Compañón 1978[1789]: "Plano del Pueblo de Caxamarquilla").

The population encompassed by modern La Libertad was clearly segregated according to the locations and types of settlements within the region in 1789. Blacks numbered 1000 in Trujillo, and all other black populations of over 50 people were in coastal agricultural centers such as Santiago de Cao, with 311 black inhabitants, and Chepén, with 308. The Spaniards were very oriented toward the city of Trujillo, with 1584 Spanish residents. The next largest concentration of Spaniards was 536 at Challas, in the Pataz region. Challas was in the center of a large concentration of late eighteenth-century mines (Martínez Compañón 1978[1789]: table of "número de abitantes").

Breaking the region down according to province gives a clear picture of the population distribution by ethnic groups. In 1793 the province of Trujillo had 6040 Indians; 2557 blacks of mixed race and 1582 slaves, making up the only large concentration of people of African descent in the area of La Libertad; 1549 mestizos; and 1434 Spaniards. In the province of Huamachuco there were 22620 Indians and 18367 mestizos, making these two groups a huge majority both within the province and in the entire La Libertad region; 2273 Spaniards; 250 blacks of mixed race and 79 slaves. In Pataz the mestizos were in the majority at 7876, with 6115 Indians, 987 Spaniards, 194 blacks, and 8 slaves. The majority of the population overall was concentrated in the Huamachuco highlands, with few people on the coast despite its overall importance to the Spanish (Huertas Vallejos
1984:106). The highland population was, however, steadily losing local Indian governmental powers, which by the end of the colonial period had all but disappeared. By 1819 there were no longer any kurakas in Cajabamba. The last kuraka to be officially recognized was Juan Peña in Huamachuco in that year (Espinoza Soriano 1974:276).

In 1789 curatases nuevos, newly founded church outposts, were located at Uchumarca, Bambamarca, Patay, Soledad, Vurdívullo, and Guancaspata, all in southern Pataz, in the new mining region (Martínez Compañón 1978[1789]: "Carta Topográfica de la Provincia de Patás"). Pataz was known for its gold production by 1708, but the great number of new church missions suggests a late eighteenth century mining boom (Durand 1978-1980:225). The province was dominated by gold and silver production in the late eighteenth century, as almost all the mountains in the province were reported to have small veins of gold or silver (Bueno 1951[1784]:62; Huertas Vallejos 1984:69). Mines were also still present throughout the Santiago de Chuco area in the late eighteenth century (Martínez Compañón 1978[1789]: "Carta Topográfica de la Provincia de Huamachuco"). Mining was important in the vicinity of the town of Huamachuco as well, especially at the mining center of Sanagorán. Many of the small mines around Huamachuco, however, closed down in the 1770s (Espinoza Soriano 1971:38). A new smelting system for silver was installed in 1789 at Quiruvilca, one of the most important mines in the region in the colonial period (Martínez Compañón 1978[1789]: folio 111). The huge mine at Hualgalloc, outside the
northern border of modern La Libertad, founded in 1760, became one of the most important sources of revenue for the Spanish empire, and for late eighteenth century Trujillo, after a major ore strike there in 1771 (Bakewell 1984:106; Huertas Vallejos 1984:19). Silver, gold, iron and sulphur were all important products of the province of Huamachuco in 1766 (Bueno 1951[1784]:60). Mining was an important industry, especially for the huge amount of revenue it brought into the region. Many of the mines were quite small, and did not operate for long periods of time. In 1791 there were 134 silver mines and 3 gold mines in the newly formed Department of Trujillo (encompassing all of modern La Libertad), plus 161 mines which had recently been abandoned (Descola 1968:217).

Obrajes were another important highland industry in the eighteenth century, as they had been throughout the colonial period. The province of Huamachuco was famous for its wool production. (Bueno 1951[1784]:60; Huertas Vallejos 1984:64; Silva Santisteban 1978:349). In the late eighteenth century there were 26 textile obrajes and 3 chorillos, or smaller textile workshops, in the province of Huamachuco. Only one of these was owned by a religious organization, the obraje of Chusgón, owned by the Augustinians (Espinoza Soriano 1971:7).

Pottery production was a major industry for the town of Usquil, and no doubt in other locations, in the eighteenth century. The town supplied both Huamachuco and Trujillo (Espinoza Soriano 1971:42). Overall the highlands produced a considerable portion of the wealth of La Libertad throughout the late colonial period.
The independence movement swept through Spanish America in the 1820s. Citizens in northern Peru were the most decisive advocates of independence within Peru itself. In 1820 the Trujillo city council formally swore to advocate independence, and began providing José de San Martín with troops and funds which helped his entrance to Lima in July of 1821, when he declared the country officially independent (Dobyns and Doughty 1976:141).

At the time of independence many hacendados with royalist sympathies abandoned their lands, and these became government property in 1826 (Huertas Vallejos 1984:162). A number of mines in the Huamachuco area, and presumably in other highland regions, were also closed down after independence (Espinoza Soriano 1971:38).

Independence coincided with the beginning of industrial mechanization in Peru, an important period of time for the historical archaeologist. The first steam engines in the country were imported from Britain for use at the huge Cerro de Pasco mines, north of Junin in central Peru, in 1817. These were destroyed during the revolution, but following the creation of the Republic in 1826 the first effects of industrialism began to be felt in Peru (Grieve M. 1982:25-26).

The final colonial period in La Libertad was marked by a downturn in coastal agriculture, whereas highland haciendas developed considerably. Mining was greatly expanded, particularly in Pataz, and some increases in mechanization were carried out, particularly at Quiruvilca. In 1826, with independence, Spanish colonialism came to an end, and the era of the Republic began, with industrially
produced goods soon to appear in Peru. Much of the colonial heritage of La Libertad is still evident, however, in the documentary and archaeological records of the regions within its borders.
CHAPTER IV
A RESEARCH DESIGN FOR COLONIAL LA LIBERTAD

Introduction

Historical archaeology requires research in two unique, and usually separate sets of data, the documentary and the archaeological records. The aim of this thesis is to formulate a series of research possibilities for the archaeology of the colonial period in La Libertad. This involves the reconciliation of the current state of Spanish colonial archaeology, outlined in Chapter I, with the current state of Peruvian historical research, outlined in Chapter II.

North American historical archaeology will serve as a model for this reconciliation. In the last decade the archaeology of the historic period in North America has begun to define a large number of research questions, using a wide range of both documentary and archaeological evidence. Many of these questions have not yet been considered by Spanish colonial period archaeologists. This chapter will consider possible areas of archaeological research for the colonial period in La Libertad, largely using Spanish American and North American historical archaeology as a foundation.
The Scale of Research

The size of the particular area to be studied by a research project on the colonial archaeology of La Libertad would vary depending on the topic of the research. A combination of various scales is the most appropriate for an overall research design, but each level of research requires the consideration of different issues.

At the smallest scale, the household should be an important unit of study for Spanish colonial archaeology. Charles Fairbanks' "backyard archaeology", as practiced by Deagan and others (see Chapter I), has implicitly focussed on the household, but in most cases at the level of comparison of households within the community. Another level exists; that of the household itself. With the detailed documentary and archaeological records available for La Libertad, it may be possible to apply Mary Beaudry's (1984:32) interest in the domestic cycle to Spanish colonial remains. This would involve compiling a detailed history of the residents of a household and how their lives changed over time, and comparing this to the architecture, refuse, and other archaeological remains from their activities. The household should be considered not just as an economic unit, but as a cognitive and symbolic entity in the minds of those who were a part of it, and an entity which had many outside forces applied to it. A study which relates specific household changes over time to particular individuals is usually only possible when detailed documentary records corresponding to archaeological
remains exist, and such an opportunity should not be lost out on. Once several such studies have been carried out, creating a detailed knowledge of a variety of households, comparisons can then be made between them.

At approximately the same scale as the household, the study of local craft/industrial production is another possible focus. Research on local manufacturing can be divided into several distinct, but interrelated, emphases. In North American historical and archaeological studies, the scholarship on "craft production" falls into three categories. The first is that of the product or artifact, an important category for the archaeologist wishing to develop a knowledge for the analysis of the artifacts of a region. The second is the work process, often a part of economic history or the history of technology. The third is that of the worker, looking at who the craft workers were, especially in terms of ethnicity, class, or status. These categories, although often treated separately in the literature, are greatly interrelated, and should be studied concurrently (Little 1988:266).

As an example, the colonial archaeology of La Libertad could undertake to further current knowledge of the highland cloth obrajes. The obrajes produced cloth, which is unlikely to have survived in the archaeological record, although in other industries such as the Usquil ceramic industry mentioned in the previous chapter, the product produced would be a major part of the archaeological record of the industry. In the case of the obrajes the work process is much more accessible through archaeological studies. Several obrajes near Cajamarca, north
of La Libertad, still preserve their adobe architecture from the eighteenth century, and Hacienda Porcón even has an operational foot powered wooden loom identical to one illustrated in a painting of 1789 (Silva Santisteban 1978:349, Figure 6). With such preservation the archaeologist could learn much from a survey of former obraje sites, and could recover extensive architectural, and probably even mechanical, data on the cloth manufacturing process. Combined with documentary research, a lot could be learned from the colonial obraje economic and technological developments. Finally, the issue of working conditions and the lives of workers would be addressed. Tracing the background of the workers, who for the highland obrajes were almost exclusively Indian, would be easiest through documentary records. Working conditions could be further studied from the architectural remains, and from the refuse deposits representing the goods consumed by workers at the site. Finally, if the residences of the workers were not immediately apparent at the obraje, which they often would be, documentary research might be able to link the obraje to other nearby locations where workers lived, and these sites could reveal more about the living conditions of these craft workers. Thus several separate categories of data could be explored in the study of this or any other craft/industry in La Libertad.

At a larger scale than the household or production center, the archaeology of the city is important. Urban archaeology has become a major aspect of North American historical archaeology (Cressey and Stephens 1982), and a concentration on Trujillo as an urban center would prove fruitful. Trujillo as an urban area can
be considered as a unit of study in itself, with the focus of research on the
interactions and development of the city. This requires a documentary research
focus on an overview of the city as a whole, mapping land use within the city and
its change over time, through sampling of the primary documentary records
(Cressey and Stephens 1982:54). Different neighborhoods, retailing areas,
manufacturing zones, religious properties, and whatever other activity areas may
have been present in the city should be considered, creating a picture of the city as
a whole over time. Following the documentary research, an archaeological survey
of the city of Trujillo could be undertaken using Deagan’s (1981) auger survey
technique for urban areas. Putting in a grid of auger tests in unpaved areas of the
city would determine the extent of relevant archaeological remains still existing
within the city boundaries, in the different neighborhoods being considered. This
is a relatively fast method of determining the extent of urban archaeological
remains, with little disturbance of the urban landscape. Finally, the documentary
and archaeological surveys would be combined, and a proposal for further, more
detailed studies of specific lots within Trujillo would be created, based on the
potential for specific locations to contribute to the research questions being asked,
and the level of archaeological preservation at those locations. Chosen locations
would be investigated more thoroughly through both detailed archival work and
further excavation, thus creating a useful sample of the variety of activities carried
out in Trujillo throughout its development.

A study of Trujillo as an urban center could contribute to the overall literature
on the development of urban areas. Cressey and Stephens have concentrated on the comparison of urban centers in the industrial northern United States to those of the historically less-industrialized south (1982:44). Trujillo, as a Spanish-American city founded in an earlier pre-industrial period, but continuously occupied since that time, would make an interesting study in comparative colonialism to the urban centers of North America.

Beyond Trujillo the towns and countryside of La Libertad constitute another scale of study. The towns, largely of Indian population, although some were more ethnically mixed (see previous chapter), could be considered both on a household-by-household basis, and as communities which were a part of the larger landscape. The haciendas, with large slave populations and largely self-sufficient communities, constitute another settlement category worthy of study, with possible comparisons to the extensive archaeology already carried out on the plantations of the southern United States (Singleton 1985, Otto 1984).

At the largest scale, however, La Libertad can be looked at as one unit, with a settlement pattern which developed throughout the colonial period. Regional settlement pattern analysis was developed largely in geography, and has been adopted by anthropologists, and especially archaeologists (Mouer 1987:4). Regional analysis in North American historical archaeology has now taken a prominent role. The basic premise of the regional approach to the colonial remains of North America is that local systems are nodes of regional systems, which themselves are nodes of the overall world-system (Mouer 1987:5). This
works well for the Spanish-controlled settlements of La Libertad, as the Spanish settlements are certainly extractive centers for the Spanish colonial system. Latin American urban history has also considered this issue, categorizing cities as primate or provincial, with primate cities exploiting the resources of provincial cities, which in turn exploited their own surrounding countryside (Bronner 1986:26). Each "place" is seen as a loci of production and consumption within the system (Mouer 1987:5). Thus, mapping the functions of the different communities within La Libertad, and their development over time, would be a useful large-scale project which would create a picture of La Libertad's role in the Spanish empire, and give guidance as to which communities or "places" would be relevant for more detailed study. This would be the largest scale for the colonial archaeology of the region.

All of these scales of research are appropriate, and a mixture of them would give the best long-term results. It is necessary for the archaeologist, as well as the historian, to understand both the large scale social and economic interactions which made La Libertad a part of the world system, and the intimate, small-scale interactions which created the individual households within the colony. Once the scale of research has been chosen, there are several other issues which must be considered.

Holistic Research

It is important to maintain a holistic focus on the goals of any particular
project. Much of archaeology is multidisciplinary, with archaeologists, historians, zooarchaeologists, ethnobotanists, and others making contributions to a particular project. The results of these separate studies must not be left to stand on their own. The different aspects of the research should play off of one another, creating a dynamic interchange of ideas as to how different sets of data can be compared in order to accomplish research goals. "Team effort" rather than individual contribution should be emphasized (Deagan and Scardaville 1985:34-35). With such holism in mind, the focus of the research effort could be from any one of many theoretical perspectives. The concept of the "frontier" is one such perspective relevant to La Libertad. This concept, with wide-ranging implications, gives a great deal of leeway in creating specific research designs.

La Libertad as a Colonial Frontier

The concept of the frontier is important to both historians and archaeologists of the colonial Americas. If we use Waselkov and Paul's rather loose definition of the frontier as a transitional area in which different societies meet in a zone of interaction (1980:311), then La Libertad could be considered a frontier throughout the colonial period. The definition of James Lockhart and Stuart Schwartz is, however, rather different. To them the frontiers are the areas where Spaniards "faced indigenous groups who offered them an absolute minimum of economic incentive and who at the same time were better able, for various reasons, to resist invasion or even to counterattack." (1983:287). Both definitions emphasize the
interaction of two cultures, but we could perhaps formulate a moderate definition by restricting the concept of frontier to the earliest period of contact between Spanish and Indian cultures in a region, when cultural interaction began. With this definition, the entire area of La Libertad could be defined as a frontier in the early sixteenth century, but the entrenchment of Spanish institutions in most areas by the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century ends this period. In Pataz, the remote eastern part of La Libertad, a concept of frontier could still be applied in the late eighteenth century, with many new Spanish towns founded in that period, and Indian organizational concepts still strong in the Spanish towns (see previous chapter).

The concept of the frontier leads into more specific aspects of this interaction, including changes in settlement and foodways patterns, economics, and material culture in both cultures (Waselkov and Paul 1980:316-317). All of these will be discussed further below.

Material Culture

The material remains of the colonial period in La Libertad are a reflection of the interaction of cultures in the region.

Ceramics are one example of material culture, often analyzed by archaeologists. Ceramics survive well in the archaeological record, and can be used as indicators of many cultural factors, including ethnicity, status, and trade networks. Ceramics are an important tool for archaeological research, and as
outlined in Chapter I they have been extensively studied for Spanish colonial sites. Cultural interaction at the level of ceramic manufacturing and use has created considerable debate in North American historical archaeology, with the origins of "colono-ware", or ceramics representing mixed cultural traditions, an issue (Ferguson 1980; Lees and Kimery-Lees 1979). The possibility of confusion is demonstrated by the situation in New Mexico, where pottery manufacture by Spanish colonists, although a reality in folklore and traditional archaeological reports, appears to actually be a myth, with the only locally produced ceramics made by the Puebloan Indians (Snow 1984).

Colonial archaeologists in La Libertad will need to carefully consider the origins of ceramics recovered. The work of Florence and Robert Lister and that of John Goggin will be invaluable to studies in La Libertad for their coverage of the ceramics produced by the Spanish both in Spain and the Americas. The late prehispanic ceramics of northern Peru have received considerable coverage in archaeological studies, and modern production of ceramics in Peru based largely on prehispanic techniques has been extensively studied (Bankes 1985; Chavéz 1985; Collier 1967; Litto 1976). A major gap exists, however, when the colonial period is considered. The production of ceramics by Indians, using Indian techniques, is still carried out in La Libertad, and it is assumed such production would have played an even larger role in the colonial period. The interaction of Indian and Iberian techniques is, however, not well understood. The type of ceramics produced at the ceramic center of Usquil in the colonial period, for
instance, is not specified (Espinoza Soriano 1971:42), and excavation at this or other ceramic production centers identified through documents would shed light on the interaction of Spanish and Indian ceramic manufacturing techniques in La Libertad. This is an important issue when analyzing the ceramics recovered from any colonial context in La Libertad. Correct identification of the origin of ceramics is important to the interpretation of archaeological deposits.

Economics

A focus on the economics of the colonial period is another useful way of looking at La Libertad. Historical archaeologists have recently begun to look at commodity flows in the archaeological record, a subject which has been of interest to economic geographers and historians for some time (Riordan and Adams 1985). The commodity flows of colonial La Libertad could be examined from many angles. It was a part of the Spanish colonial world system, as a supplier of precious metals to Europe through mining, and a supplier of agricultural goods to the rest of Peru through plantation agriculture, as well as a consumer of mainly luxury goods from the rest of the Spanish Americas and beyond. On a more local level the interaction of coast with highlands, Viceroyalty with intendencia, and the microeconomics of local manufacturing (see above) and trade could all be of interest.

Smuggling and illegal trade is another area of research in which archaeology may be of particular importance. The extent and nature of illegal trade has been a
subject of interest to North American historical archaeologists (Schmidt and Mrozowski 1988). In La Libertad the extent of illegal trade is not known, but with Trujillo as a seaport, and the known illegal trade of Peru with New Spain, the Philippines, and China (see Chapter II), it is assumed that extensive smuggling into La Libertad occurred. The consumption of expensive foreign smuggled goods has been associated with elites (Schmidt and Mrozowski 1988:33), and archaeological studies of elite Spanish households, both in Trujillo, the highland towns, and the haciendas, would be the most likely source of information on the extent of smuggling throughout the colonial period.

Economics can also be considered from the spatial distribution of settlement on the landscape. In North America archaeologists have examined the formation of nucleated villages as a late eighteenth century part of the move toward capitalism (Moeller 1981). This is clearly not the case in Spanish colonial La Libertad, an area in which, as in many parts of the Spanish colonial world, the nucleated centers were present from the beginning of the colonial period, and represent both preexisting Indian centers such as Huamachuco, the reducciones of Indians into towns such as Otuzco or Virú, and Spanish administrative centers such as Trujillo. This creates an entirely different economic spatial organization for La Libertad than that known to North American historical archaeologists. The economic reasons for such a pattern, and the movement of populations to newer regions, such as the population reductions on the La Libertad coast by the 1760s, or the mining boom in Pataz in the late eighteenth century (see previous chapter), would
form an interesting part of regional scale archaeological research.

Another issue within the framework of economics, but with repercussions in the study of many aspects of colonial Latin America, is that of capitalism. The extent to which colonial Latin America was a capitalist society is a debate of long standing in the historical literature. Nicholas Cushner (1980:132) sees the hacienda system as "agrarian capitalism", with reinvestment, the use of slave and salaried labor, and the large-scale production of goods for a market as his criteria. John Chance (1978:197-198) characterizes the economy of eighteenth-century Oaxaca, Mexico as "commercial capitalism", although obviously not "industrial capitalism". He feels that the urban economy of eighteenth-century New Spain relied on a "cash system of free wage labor operating within a fairly free network of international trade and communication", which replaced earlier "profits made on forced labor and head taxes". Despite his general leanings toward defining the society as capitalist, he feels that "the feudally derived sistema de castas and the capitalist-oriented economic class system...were both integral parts of the Spanish colonial experience" (Chance 1978:198). The only overall conclusion that can be made without controversy on this issue seems to be that colonial Latin America was somewhere in between the feudal organization of the Middle Ages and the industrial capitalism of late eighteenth century Europe.

**Floral and Faunal Remains**

The analysis of faunal and floral remains is an important part of historical
archaeology. They have been used extensively for studies of status, foodways, and nutrition, both within the Spanish colonial framework (Reitz 1983, 1985; Reitz and Scarry 1983) and in British-American historical archaeology (Crader 1984; Jolley 1983).

In La Libertad zooarchaeological studies could be of great value. The use of seafood is one example of a subject for research. Presumably the people of fishing towns such as Huanchaco and Mansiche relied heavily on oceanic resources, but how were these resources considered by high-status Spaniards? Was fish a luxury, or largely restricted to the lower classes who could not afford the domestic meat of the estancias? How far into the highlands was seafood consumed in the colonial period, and what does this imply for trade networks and other patterns?

The domestic animals of the haciendas and estancias were very important to the colonial economy, and form another major aspect of zooarchaeological research. Did domestic meat dominate the diet of the population? How much was consumed by highland Indian subsistence farmers, with little access to the resources of the large estancias? Did slaves who worked on the estancias themselves have considerable access to domestic meat, or was it restricted? What role did hunting play in the diet?

The dominance of Iberian agricultural products is an area in which La Libertad is a prime comparative area to other Spanish colonial regions. In St. Augustine, Florida Indian agricultural products were relied on heavily, as Spanish supplies
were infrequent at an outpost so peripheral to Spanish concerns, and Iberian crops did not do well in the area (Reitz and Scarry 1985). At Puerto Real, Haiti, Iberian foodstuffs were much more prominent, showing the more central concern of the Spanish toward this important port (Ewen and Williams 1989). The early period in La Libertad would make an interesting comparison. Iberian crops did well on the encomiendas, and the region quickly became agriculturally important, but Indian agriculture was well developed, and many prehispanic crops are still staples in the highlands. The interaction of Spanish and Indian agricultural products is an important part of the study of colonial cultural interaction.

The study of "foodways", as opposed to "subsistence", has recently come to dominate historical archaeological work on food remains (Brown 1989; Gaynor 1987). This involves going beyond a simple emphasis on dietary requirements and how they were fulfilled, into the cultural norms and expectations which affected people's views of what constituted appropriate food. With the complex interaction of the influences of Iberian, African, and prehispanic Andean foodways on the colonial system, interesting comparisons could certainly be formulated. Comparing the faunal assemblage from a large colonial house in Trujillo, a coastal hacienda slave quarter, and a highland Indian household could show interesting contrasts. Combining such information with historical studies of colonial foodways, such as that of John Super, would reveal considerable information on people's attitudes toward food and how those attitudes interacted with food production in the colonial period.
Food remains are particularly subject to decay in the archaeological record, and the desert atmosphere of the north coast and fairly dry conditions of the highlands provide a prime opportunity for looking at foodways through archaeology, with a much higher probability of good preservation of food remains in the archaeological record than in many other areas of the Spanish Americas.

The Frontier

If the frontier is a zone of cultural interaction, and colonial La Libertad was a frontier, than the study of those cultures should be central to the colonial archaeology of the period. The attitude of researchers toward those cultures will be central to the premises they set up, and this must be considered before setting out a research design. As this thesis is written from a North American perspective, the attitudes of North American historical archaeologists must be considered. Archaeology suffers from the restraints of the dominant ideology of the society within which archaeologists work, and thus archaeologists must make a conscious effort to look at other time periods and cultures without forcing such data into current ideological frameworks (Wylie 1985:138).

Gender

One area in which ideological difficulties can occur is the portrayal by archaeologists of gender relations in the past, reinforcing stereotypes which dominate current archaeological thinking (Gero 1985). It is hoped that an
emphasis on revealing women's lives in the Spanish colonial period will be a
focus of Spanish colonial archaeology, and one which can overcome such
stereotypes.

In La Libertad such a focus on women would certainly be possible. In the
earliest period among the Spanish there was a disproportionate number of men in
the society, with one woman for every eight men in the Spanish segment of the
population in the 1540s (Martin 1983:15). This proportion became roughly equal
after the initial period, and it is important for archaeologists to consider what role
women, whether Spanish, Indian, black, or of mixed ethnicity, played in the
society. Historians such as Asunción Lavrin and Luis Martin have taken up this
challenge for Latin American history, and it is up to historical archaeologists to
follow suit.

The two convents of nuns in Trujillo, Santa Clara founded in 1586 and the
Carmelite convent founded in 1724 (Feyjoo 1984:70,73), are the only sites
currently known which were exclusively female institutions. In the late 1700s
there were approximately 130 to 140 nuns in the city of Trujillo, and none
anywhere else in the intendencia. The Santa Clara Convent, with 120 nuns, was
home to the vast majority of them (Feyjoo 1984:71,73; Huertas Vallejos
1984:106). The site of Santa Clara, unique in La Libertad, should be an area of
concentration in defining the cloistered, urban lives of nuns within Spanish
society.

The role of women in artisanry and manufacturing is another area where
enquiry could prove fruitful in La Libertad. One 1789 painting from the bishopric shows a woman working in her blacksmith shop, with a male assistant (Martínez Compañón 1978[1789]:folio 105). This is interesting even if it was recorded by the artist because the female blacksmith was an anomaly. It may, rather than being a unique situation, represent a flexibility on the part of the colonial "artisan class" in accepting women as artisans. The issue would be most easily studied from documents to begin with, but after locating sites such as artisan's shops in which women played a prominent role, archaeology could uncover the material culture aspects of such locations to compare to male dominated activities.

Cultural Interaction

Historical archaeology has been dominated in North America by studies of the British-American tradition, and this has created a focus on issues such as the emergence of capitalism, and the modern ideology of individualism (Handsman 1983). These issues may not be of as much relevance to the Spanish colonial archaeologist. There has been an ongoing debate since the 1960s in the historical literature as to whether colonial Spanish America was capitalist, or based more on precapitalist feudal ideals (Romano 1984:121). To Ruggiero Romano the mercedes and encomiendas seem essentially feudal in nature, and even after the encomiendas were disbanded, the myriad other forms of tying laborers to the land still creates a somewhat feudal system to Romano (Romano 1984:125-126). He feels that as barter was the essential means of exchange in the countryside, with
cash transactions restricted to the wealthy urban segment of the population, capitalism was not very well entrenched in colonial Latin America (Romano 1984:128-129). To Steve Stern, however, even sixteenth and seventeenth-century Peru had many capitalist factors within the economy. Only a small percentage of workers freely sold their labor-power for a wage, and industrial capital, based on wage-labor manufacturing, was never attempted. The Latin American economy, however, created a genuine world market, in which profit, both in money and in commodities, was the prime motivator. To Stern this is clear proof that capitalism did exist (Stern 1982:36-37). The debate may seem largely academic at first, and irrelevant to the archaeology of the region, but studies of the Spanish as an ethnic group and as a colonial power must take into consideration such ideological foundations. The 1789 paintings from the bishopric of Trujillo depicting the consumption of food and drink, in which all share from communal bowls, show that an ideology of individualism had not reached the foodways of this region by the late eighteenth century, in distinct contrast to British North America (Martínez Compañón 1978:Folios 13,55,57,60). North American historical archaeologists often use the ideologies of emergent capitalism as a key concept in their analysis, and it is one which would have to be heavily revised before being applied to the Spanish colonial world.

Spanish ideology is not the only force which shaped colonial La Libertad. The study of how the Spanish interacted with the Indian and African cultures who made up the majority of the population is the key to a complete picture of the
Ethnicity is an important concept to historical archaeology. An ethnic group is defined by an identity, used to categorize people by their presumed origin and background (McGuire 1982:160). Ethnic groups were of supreme importance in colonial La Libertad. Most colonial population statistics are divided according to ethnicity, and many conscious Spanish policies of racial segregation existed (see Chapter II). In La Libertad the distribution of different ethnic groups has been set out in the previous chapter. Such identification is largely used in a political and economic sense, and in two differing ways. The use of a group’s ethnicity by others to deny members of the group power is one aspect of ethnicity (McGuire 1982:161). Situations such as the Spanish use of those of African descent as slaves, based on an ethnic definition, is an example of such use. The use of ethnicity by the group itself, to obtain desired ends through setting up a "smaller stage" within the larger society in which to create a structure of power, is another aspect of ethnicity (McGuire 1982:171). The continuing power of kurakas on the "small stage" of highland life in colonial La Libertad (see previous chapter) represents such a maintenance of the power of the various Indian ethnic groups within the Spanish colonial system.

A comparative set of excavations could be usefully carried out between sites known to have been occupied by groups of differing ethnicity in La Libertad. Ethnic boundaries are created and maintained through symbols, both behavioral and material (McGuire 1982:160). Food remains, ceramics, and architecture are
three categories of archaeological data in which ethnicity has often been perceived. Economic status, occupation, and other issues are intertwined with ethnicity, but ethnicity itself should be an important part of archaeological research (McGuire 1982:163-164).

African-American slave sites in North America have received considerable attention from archaeologists (Singleton 1985). Black households either in the city of Trujillo, or on the coastal plantations, could be compared to sites where people of African descent lived in other parts of the Americas.

Indian sites can also be considered as a separate research topic. Colonial villages with largely Indian populations, and Indian households in the countryside, can be identified. The lives of those in largely Indian highland towns such as Otuzco or Santiago de Chuco would be compared to Indians in coastal villages like Virú or San Pedro de Lloc. The ongoing importance of prehispanic concepts of upper and lower moieties in the town of Cajamarquilla in the late eighteenth century (see previous chapter) suggests a greater continuation of Indian cultural values in the Pataz region, and comparison of Indian households in towns such as Cajamarquilla to coastal or western highland towns could prove interesting.

The separation of the colonial population into ethnic groups for study, however, tends to break up what was actually a cultural continuum and blending. Mestizaje is an important concept in any discussion of ethnicity in the Spanish colonial period, and has been explored archaeologically by Kathleen Deagan (see Chapter I). As with Deagan's St. Augustine study (1983:99-124), the study of
mixed race households may be the most fruitful in creating an understanding of what the results of cultural interaction between all three groups were. In any case, it is once again evident that a solid grounding in documentary research, in order to identify houses with inhabitants of a particular ethnicity, would be necessary before any useful historical archaeology could be carried out.

Conclusions

The topics outlined above are only sketches of the myriad possibilities for colonial archaeological research in La Libertad. It is obvious that any study should emphasize the interrelated use of the rich Spanish colonial archival sources, and the extensive colonial period archaeological remains. Whether any such study will be carried out in the near future may be largely dependent on whether the deteriorating political situation continues in La Libertad and other regions of Peru. The potential for archaeological research, which would create a more comprehensive view of the Spanish colonial period in the Americas than the one currently held by North American scholars, is immense, and it is hoped that at some point these important archaeological resources will be explored.
CHAPTER V
CONCLUSIONS

No aspect of Colonial life is so poorly studied as its material culture. It is impossible at present to effectively distinguish among Indian, Mestizo, and Creole productions; the regional manufactures are badly confused, and the periods of workmanship show great lacunae, especially in the 16th and 17th centuries.

[Kubler 1963[1944]:363]

Archaeology and History

The material culture of colonial Peru has still not become a major focus of research for archaeologists. This wonderful source of data on a major core area of the European colonization of the Americas should become such a focus for the future. If the lack of work on the colonial archaeology of Peru is to be remedied, however, the case of North American historical archaeology should be taken as a warning for those who would carry out such studies. The warning is that the differences between historical and archaeological research, as often practiced, must be carefully worked out, or worked around.

A dichotomy between the discipline of history and that of archaeology has been perceived in North America. Henry Glassie, for example, feels that the documentary record ignores those who are not literate and not members of the elite. The majority of the society is left out of the picture of the past given in
documents (1975:8). To Glassie (1975:12), the reality for this majority can only
be perceived through their material remains, in that

Their own statements, though made in wood or mud rather than ink, must
take precedence over someone else’s possibly prejudiced, probably wrong,
and certainly superficial comments about them.

Glassie’s belief that the documentary record is biased is certainly no revelation
to historians. His dichotomy of the well-documented elite versus the superficially
recorded majority has, however, been challenged by historians. Fred Bronner
specifically points out for Latin America that although the poorest segments of the
Indian or black communities are often not greatly documented, there are also other
gaps in the literature. Individuals of great or even modest wealth, who would
usually have been part of the Spanish segment of the population, consciously
controlled what was recorded in the literature. Payment to avoid legal
prosecution, to avoid the recording of illegitimate births, or to remain anonymous
in business dealings, means that the elite of Spanish colonial society may also
have many aspects of their lives unrecorded in the literature (Bronner 1986:18-
19).

The most humble members of the Spanish colonial world are certainly not the
least focussed on in the historical literature. In modern studies of colonial Latin
America it has been pointed out (see Chapter II) that the mestizo middle sectors
may in fact be the most ignored segment of the population, falling between the
extensive studies of both the Spanish elites and Indian culture. The documents,
and current historical work on them, are most certainly biased, but not in the
simplistic way Glassie sees.

The archaeological record is no more an unbiased data base than the documentary record. To Linda Patrik the material record has an elite bias, as large numbers of past peoples had minimal access to material symbols. Material symbols are also ideological in nature, and can be used to mask or subvert power (Patrik 1985:52-53). Thus archaeological remains must be interpreted by the researcher to avoid such bias, just as the documentary record must be interpreted. The practice of archaeology is value-laden, just as the practice of history is. As Ian Hodder (1986:156) states: "Although the archaeologist can be rigorous and scientific in the accommodation of theory and data, much of our definition of those data depends on ourselves."

Thus both the practice of history and that of archaeology are value-influenced, as practitioners must choose which aspects of the past to study (Deetz 1988:15).

It should be pointed out that attempts by historians or archaeologists to simply jump into the practice of the other discipline is not advisable. Spanish colonial archaeology provides an example of such an attempt. Many historical archaeologists already working in the Spanish colonial period are using documentary sources, but in a naive manner. Reliance on English translations or summaries, partial excerpts from larger archival sources, or with incomplete language training, Spanish colonial archaeologists can misrepresent the colonial documentation (Deagan and Scardaville 1985:33). Considering the difficulties which North American historical archaeologists have in interpreting English
colonial documentation (Beaudry 1988), careful analysis of Spanish colonial records is essential. There are three possible solutions to this problem: training in historical research for archaeologists, training in archaeological research for historians, or the collaboration of archaeologists with historians. The latter is often the easiest route (Deagan and Scardaville 1985:33).

As outlined in Chapter I, Spanish colonial archaeology tends to emphasize those issues most easily researched through material remains. Architecture is one obvious starting point. Many artifacts, such as ceramics and faunal remains, lead naturally into studies of foodways. Trade patterns and smuggling also lend themselves to archaeological analysis. More advanced analysis leads toward studies of acculturation, mestizaje, health, and status differences. The major gaps in archaeological research that become immediately apparent are in the areas of structural or symbolic work, which North American historical archaeology has had great success in using to integrate issues of human perceptions and cultural norms into studies of material culture, and the issue of comparative colonialism, in that Spanish colonial remains form an important source of data which could be compared to other European colonizing attempts.

Latin American, and particularly Peruvian, colonial history suffers from other shortcomings. As outlined in Chapter II, entire segments of the colonial population, such as blacks, middle-class artisans, and non-elite women have received little attention. Detailed studies of the more prosaic aspects of colonial life have tended to come from demographic historians, giving detailed statistics on
class, ethnicity, occupation, and other aspects of urban populations, but with little emphasis on issues such as technology, urban sanitation, hygiene, etcetera. For rural areas there are very few studies of daily life.

In conducting colonial archaeology in La Libertad, the strengths of both disciplines could be used to overcome the weaknesses. Combining the two disciplines could provide great insight in areas such as technology, with a combination of the economic emphasis of historians, and the technological illustrations of the documentary record, with the material remains still extant. Archaeology and history could reveal the lives of groups such as artisans, slaves, and non-elite women to a much fuller extent. This would require both more emphasis in historical research on these groups and archaeological research at the sites where they lived and worked, thus bringing a material dimension to the documentary evidence. The economic aspects of historical research could be fit into more precise trade networks, and the extent of illegal smuggling added to this knowledge, through archaeological investigation. Colonial archaeology could go even further, however, when the essential nature of material remains are considered.

**Future Research**

Archaeologists study material culture, and the way that this is to be done in La Libertad is an important consideration for future researchers. The post-processual stance of Ian Hodder may help to create a methodological outline for the study of
La Libertad’s material culture that avoids the problems which North American historical archaeologists have had. Post-processualism in archaeology is a combination of "...theories of social change in which material culture is seen as actively and meaningfully produced, and in which the individual actor, culture, and history are central" (Hodder 1985:1).

Miles Richardson’s (1982) study provides an example of a similar focus in a material culture study from modern Latin America. He outlines the way in which the attitudes of people interact with their material culture surroundings in both the traditional Spanish-American town plaza, and the market, creating behavioral differences as people move between the two. Richardson studied the plaza and market in the town of Cartago, Costa Rica, and the behavior of the people of the town when they were in these two areas. He outlines the relationship between people’s response to the appearance and arrangement of the two locales, and their behavioral changes between them. The market from a material culture perspective is utilitarian and stark, whereas the plaza is decorated but very formal (Richardson 1982:425,430). The people of the town act in a commercial manner in the market, moving quickly, trading goods, etcetera. The plaza, in contrast, is very theatrical, with people both conscious of their own behavior and appearance, and watching those around them. Richardson has thus shown that behavior of people in modern Latin America interacts with the material culture surroundings.

This type of relationship between material culture and its meaning to the individual in colonial La Libertad is essential to carrying out colonial archaeology.
The documentary record often gives explicit information on behavior that can be related to material remains. The material record can extend that information to areas not covered in documents. Henry Glassie's (1975) work on vernacular architecture gives an example of what can be accomplished. Through "reading" vernacular architecture, and comparing these "documents" to the historical changes that were taking place, Glassie was able to come to conclusions about the relationship of people to the material record, and how the two interacted on an individual level, which could then be extrapolated to the larger-scale cultural changes which were taking place. Many of Glassie's conclusions are based on the idea of a "Georgian worldview" prevalent in eighteenth-century North America, an idea also espoused by James Deetz in North American historical archaeology (Leone and Potter 1988:211). Mark Leone goes beyond this to classify this worldview as the "order of modern capitalism", "used to organize industrial labor in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (Leone and Potter 1988:214). These ideas, relating material remains to both the economic system and the worldview of eighteenth century North Americans, have created very exciting new conclusions in North American historical archaeology. The ongoing debate in Latin American history as to the relative "feudal" or "capitalist" focus of colonial Latin America, as outlined above, could be of interest to archaeologists as well. A focus on the relationship between the material culture, economic system, and worldview of the inhabitants of colonial La Libertad could bring considerable results for archaeologists, both for the study of colonial Latin America, and as
comparative material to the North American example.

Through research which takes full advantage of both documents and material remains, the dynamic interaction between the people of colonial La Libertad and their surroundings, and thus the cultural norms to which they subscribed, could be explored, and knowledge of colonial La Libertad could be greatly increased.
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