POVERTY, CHASTITY AND OBEEDIENCE: MONASTIC MASCULINITIES IN SPANISH COLONIAL RIOBAMBA

by

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M.A., Stanford University, 2003
B.A., University of California, Berkeley, 2001

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the
Department of Archaeology

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ABSTRACT

The colonial city of Riobamba was founded in 1534 in what is now Ecuador. The city was a major textile center and provided trade between other cities and missionary settlements throughout the Andes. In 1797, a devastating earthquake hit the region. A large percentage of the population was killed and much of the city was destroyed or covered in silt. Following the disaster, survivors were forced to move 16 kilometers away where they established the modern city of Riobamba.

This study examines life and identity in colonial Riobamba prior to this catastrophe. Interdisciplinary methods are employed in an examination of two separate religious orders that resided in Riobamba between the years 1645 and 1797. I carried out this work through archaeological excavation and archival study of historical documents. Over the course of this project, the two monasteries were extensively surveyed and thirteen units were excavated.

The following research reveals the close connection between common material culture recovered from within these monasteries and the identities of the men who routinely used these items. Traditional understandings of colonial masculinity describe gendered behaviors as rigidly defined. My research however, demonstrates that gender expectations were somewhat flexible and adapted both to the environment and the immediate needs of the group as a result male gender is expressed as multiple masculinities. This study shows that monastic men occupied a range of gendered roles while maintaining positions of relative power within the community. This multiplicity of identities troubles our current understanding of masculine behaviors and identities within this particular context.

Keywords: Archaeology; Monastic; Masculinities

Subject Terms: Archaeology, Colonial History
DEDICATION

For Damon, Eli and Sasha with love.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation could not have been written without incredible support and friendship that has spanned three countries. I could never have come this far had it not been for the love and encouragement of so many people. I am honored to have this opportunity to reflect and extend my sincere appreciation to a number of individuals and institutions.

My advisor, Ross Jamieson was vital throughout my degree process. He introduced me to the community of Riobamba and shared what is rightfully his corner of the Andes. Ross offered consistent encouragement and pushed me to look deeper. I learned from him not only how to be a more knowledgeable archaeologist, but also from his example of how to be a well-balanced and compassionate academic.

I would also like to thank the other members of my committee. Eldon Yellowhorn, Ann Travers and Mary Van Buren. Each of them provided guidance, comments and fresh eyes in the later stages of the writing process.

I must offer many thanks to Susana Cabeza de Vaca, Karen Aguilar, Elena Durango and all of the staff of Fulbright Ecuador. Their financial and emotional assistance was indispensable during our time in the field. Additional thanks go to the Instituto de Patrimonio Cultural in Quito, and the Casa de la Cultura Benjamin Carrión in Riobamba for intellectual support and use of resources. My gratitude and appreciation goes to my field crew, Efrain Cargua,
Pascual Yangol, Edgar Ninabamba, Raul Pilco, Lordes Inka, Meridith Sayre, Doug Ross, Robyn Ewing, Adriana Buctz and Damon and Eli Campbell, for all of their hard work. Thank you to Steve Campbell for his assistance with maps and graphics. My warmest affections go to Pepe and Elva, Galo and Eliana, Luiz and Christina and all of their beautiful families who made Riobamba feel a lot like home.

Lastly, I want to thank my family. My lifelong supporters and loudest cheerleaders are my parents Roy and Sharon Michaels. They have shared with me their playful curiosity and love of discovery. This has, and continues to serve me very well. My husband Damon Campbell never blinked an eye when I suggested that we move our family to Ecuador and spend the year in the field. He has been unwavering in his confidence, flexibility and affection. This dissertation would not have been completed were it not for his support. Eli proved to be a better field assistant than I ever imagined and Sasha provided that extra push towards completion. Every anthropologist should be so lucky. They have all given me a healthy dose of perspective, and for that I will be forever grateful.
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### Glossary

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<td>A regional administrative center.</td>
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<td>Alquilón</td>
<td>A short-term voluntary indigenous labor system.</td>
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<td>Basurero</td>
<td>A garbage dump.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bayeta</td>
<td>Coarse flannel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Borderlands</td>
<td>The region of the United States controlled by the Spanish from Florida to California.</td>
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<td>Botijas</td>
<td>Also called olive jars, ceramic vessels used for the shipping and storage of oil, wine, olives and other consumables from Spain.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cabildo</td>
<td>A municipal city council.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Capellania</td>
<td>Financial endowment that required the recipient to say a certain number of masses for the donor or the donor’s family.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Censo</td>
<td>An investment strategy used by religious institutions in Latin America resembling a modern mortgage.</td>
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<td>Chicha</td>
<td>Beer made from fermented corn, or the ceramic vessel used to hold such a beverage.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corregidor</td>
<td>Royal official with administrative and judicial authority.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Criollo/a</td>
<td>Men or women of Spanish ancestry, born in the colonies.</td>
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<td>Culca</td>
<td>The name given of the hill north of Riobamba that slumped in a landslide following the 1797 Riobamba earthquake.</td>
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<td>Cushca</td>
<td>See Culca.</td>
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<td><strong>Empedrado</strong></td>
<td>Stone cobbling, often used in the construction of colonial floors.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Encomendero</strong></td>
<td>The holder of an <em>encomienda</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Encomienda</strong></td>
<td>Until 1549, a grant that provided indigenous laborers to individuals as personal rewards for service or merit. (Newson 1995).</td>
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<td><strong>Escudilla</strong></td>
<td>A porringer, a round dish with flat handles, traditionally used for serving porridge.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Estancia</strong></td>
<td>A ranch for raising livestock.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Gañán</strong></td>
<td>An indigenous wage labor system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hacienda</strong></td>
<td>An estate.</td>
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<td><strong>Hanan Quito</strong></td>
<td>The Inka province extending from Quito to Riobamba.</td>
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<td><strong>Horno</strong></td>
<td>An oven or kiln, also used to mean beehive.</td>
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<td><strong>Jergas</strong></td>
<td>A type of coarse cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indios de entero</strong></td>
<td>Indigenous laborers allocated from the “Quinto”.</td>
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<td><strong>Ladrillo</strong></td>
<td>Ceramic floor tile.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lebrillo</strong></td>
<td>A large ceramic vessel with a curved body and a flared lip.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Liribamba</strong></td>
<td>The Puruhá capital city.</td>
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<td><strong>Llajtas suprasmas</strong></td>
<td>Puruhá regional centers of government.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Majordomo</strong></td>
<td>An administrator of a domestic or farming staff who acted on the behalf of a landowner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mano</strong></td>
<td>A hand-sized grinding stone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mendicant</strong></td>
<td>A classification for religious orders made up of members who have taken vows of poverty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mestizo/a</strong></td>
<td>The offspring of Spanish and indigenous parents.</td>
</tr>
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<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Metate</strong></td>
<td>A grinding bowl.</td>
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<td><strong>Mita</strong></td>
<td>A Spanish forced system of labor.</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>Mitayo</strong></td>
<td>A forced indigenous laborer working under the <em>mita</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Muro de Abejas</strong></td>
<td>Bee walls, made up of horizontal ceramic hives imbedded into an adobe or mud wall.</td>
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<td><strong>Novitiate</strong></td>
<td>A probationary period when a prospective member of a religious order has not yet taken formal vows.</td>
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<td><strong>Obraje</strong></td>
<td>A textile mill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Obraje de comunidad</strong></td>
<td>A community owned textile mill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Olla</strong></td>
<td>A ceramic cooking vessel.</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>Paño azul</strong></td>
<td>A type of fine blue woolen cloth.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Plato Hondo</strong></td>
<td>A deep soup plate.</td>
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<td><strong>Puruhá</strong></td>
<td>A group of people who in the 16th century lived in the central highland Andes in what today are the provinces of Chimborazo and a portion of Bolivar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quinto</strong></td>
<td>A tax of one fifth the value of an item, paid on slaves and silver among other things.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Regulars</strong></td>
<td>Ordinary clergy, members of one of the orders of friars who followed a set of ecclesiastical rules and lived within a religious community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seculars</strong></td>
<td>Members of the secular clergy, part of the organizations headed by bishops and archbishops.</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>Sierra</strong></td>
<td>The Andean portion of Ecuador.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tambo</strong></td>
<td>A colonial way station patterned after the Inka <em>tampu</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tampu</strong></td>
<td>An Inka storage facility or way station.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Teja</strong></td>
<td>Ceramic roof tile.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tupu</strong></td>
<td>A shawl pin traditionally worn by indigenous women in the Andes.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Viceroyalty</strong></td>
<td>A colonial administrative district.</td>
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Archaeological study of the Mercedarian and Augustinian friars who once lived in Spanish colonial Riobamba, Ecuador, is the focus of this dissertation. While studies in social archaeology show potential for eliciting valuable information pertaining to lived experiences in the past, to date, very little research of this type has been attempted in the Andes of South America. Specifically, my study uses archaeological and historical techniques to examine concepts of masculinities and power within two monastery settings.

Masculinities are expressions of male gender identities, which are defined as complex dialogues between an individual and their social and physical surroundings. Each works to negotiate and, at times, alter the other. Social identities are constructed within systems of economic, power and gender structures that influence the cultural dialogue between an individual and the larger community. Identities are created and maintained through repetitive behaviors, often times involving material objects that then enter the archaeological record. My study delves into the constructions of masculinities within both a Mercedarian and an Augustinian monastery in colonial Riobamba. My purpose is to analyze gendered institutional environments and to focus on aspects of gender construction, identity, and power as they appeared in the past.
Riobamba was established as a colonial city in a portion of the highland central Andes in the former Viceroyalty of Peru that is currently Ecuador (Figure 1). Founded in 1534, Riobamba quickly became a major textile center for trade between cities and missionary settlements throughout the Andes. Beyond the central plaza, where regular textile markets were held, Riobamba was home to mills, a hospital, a cane alcohol refinery, a prison, nine residential neighborhoods and seven religious communities (Figure 2.). Colonial Riobamba was founded in a region with a high level of geological activity. The identity of modern people in this area has been heavily influenced both by the perpetual threat of a large earthquake, and also by the memory of “the big one” and the effect that it had on families in the region, even more than 200 years after the event.
In 1797, a devastating earthquake hit the region. The force of the earthquake collapsed a large portion of a nearby mountain on the northern end of the city. Rivers changed course and flooded many neighborhoods, while mudslides buried other parts of town. Many people died in the catastrophe, but the survivors could find no refuge in a city destroyed or covered in silt. Following the disaster, the Spanish administrators in Riobamba forced any survivors to move 16 kilometers away where they established the modern city of Riobamba (Terán Najas 2000). Although a scar still marks the hillside where the landslide occurred, and local residents incorporate colonial foundations and building blocks into their modern architecture, there is very little that is generally known about the city's rich colonial past. Colonial Riobamba has since evolved into two communities, Sicalpa and Cajabamba, which together form the municipality of La Unión, populated almost exclusively by Indigenous farmers.

Current archaeological work in the city of colonial Riobamba emphasizes concepts of identity and seeks to understand, from a perspective that is socially situated, the colonial past. My research was carried out as part of a larger project led by Dr. Ross Jamieson, which combines archival and archaeological investigations. The purpose of this dissertation is primarily to study material culture and documentary records with the aim of examining the social identities of groups of religious men and the role that they played in colonial society. A secondary goal of my work is to expand upon the limited body of research conducted on Andean religious institutions as well as archaeological studies of masculinities.
While most of the topics discussed throughout this dissertation are interrelated, the body of work is presented in discreet sections. These artificial divisions allow me to make this large amount of information more accessible and useful to readers and other researchers.

Chapter two begins with a discussion about some of the key elements integrated into my research. It relates a concise history of the geographical area.
starting with the Spanish conquest and colonization of the Andean region. Local history is then presented, as it follows a specific trajectory through Riobamba’s Puruhá, Inka, and Spanish colonial period occupations. Thereafter I examine the role of religious men in colonial society and the history of the Mercedarian and Augustinian orders in Riobamba. The purpose of this chapter is to provide enough background information so that the reader can place my work within a usable historical context.

Chapter three opens with a literature review and surveys many of the works I used when thinking through issues of methodology and theory. This chapter is not intended to be an exhaustive review of all available research addressing these topics, but is instead a starting place for those interested in issues included in my dissertation. I discuss Spanish colonial archaeology on a broad scale and then more specific regional issues. I pay attention to research conducted on religious institutions, such as European convents and monasteries and missions in the Americas because it helps me define the ambit of my study. Considering the locus of my excavation, I report on attempts to ascertain gender, especially of masculinity, in the archaeological record. This chapter was designed to couch my own work within a context of academic influences and works that directed my own thinking.

In chapter four I discuss the methods I used during archaeological excavation and subsequent analysis of the artifacts unearthed. I present an overview of the sites, including a description of modern topography and land use, depositional events specific to the properties, and a synopsis of previous work
conducted on the site of the Mercedarian Monastery. I report on the dates and locations where archaeological surveys were conducted, and the criteria used for selecting locations to place excavation units. A Harris matrix for each site shows the chronological order of events across the area. My discussion then turns to more specific descriptions of the excavation of each individual unit, including a sidewall profile presenting a visual depiction of depositional events. Following the details about the excavation process is a short section describing the flotation of botanical samples collected from the two sites. This chapter ends with a description of other collected materials that are awaiting future analysis.

Chapter four includes a concise, detailed account of methodological strategies and stratigraphic findings from my excavations. These descriptions provide sufficient background to place my artifact analysis and findings within an understandable context. Additionally, this information should be useful for any future researchers wishing to expand the work that has been completed on these sites.

Chapter five is an analysis of material culture, specifically ceramics and other small finds from my excavations at the two monastery sites. I amass any available background information for each class of recovered materials. I then discuss artifacts in more specific terms as they apply to these particular sites and their relation to larger theoretical concepts addressed within the dissertation. The descriptions and tables provide the reader with insights into the line of reasoning that led to some of my interpretations and conclusions.
I report on the archival documents pertaining to the Mercedarian and Augustinian monasteries that informed this project in chapter six. I created categories of real estate transactions, farming and livestock, labor, taxes, ecclesiastical communications, communications with the community, requests, legal cases, and monastery entries based on my readings. Along with material objects, these records were essential to some of the interpretations presented in this work, and are summarized in Appendix B. The documents in this chapter are organized so that the reader can readily understand my conclusions regarding daily life in the monasteries.

In the concluding chapter, I draw together the interpretations I made in both my material and archival analysis and situate them in the theoretical framework utilized throughout this dissertation. I organize my conclusions into four subsections: masculinities, poverty, chastity, and obedience. I believe these categories represent some of the explicit cultural influences that contributed to the definition of monastic identity in colonial Riobamba. In addition to the conclusions made at the culmination of my present work, this chapter presents suggestions for directions in which the field could grow, and future studies that would complement my current research.

Summary

My study of masculinities within the Spanish colonial monasteries of La Merced and San Agustín is important to understanding the daily activities and identity of the colonial community as a whole. Within colonial cities, religious men represented about one in every ten men of European descent (Ganster 1986). As
this number is not insignificant, and since these men held positions of substantial power, the activities of priests and friars had a sizable impact on cultural expressions of acceptable behaviors within colonial society. These men led highly contemplative lives that were quite different in nature from that of secular men, and yet they managed to maintain social positions of power and respect. Thus, the range of normatively acceptable masculine behaviors was necessarily more flexible than is commonly presented in histories of the Spanish colonial period. Throughout this dissertation, I present this argument, along with supporting evidence, to compare daily life and activities within both the Mercedarian and Augustinian Monasteries of colonial Riobamba.
CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND

Spanish Colonial History

Within the colonial city of Riobamba, both the Mercedarian and Augustinian orders established institutions of power and political strength. They were able to form such strong institutions as a result of the unique history of wars and conquest that had weakened the political stability of the region preceding their arrival. Long before the Spanish presence in the Americas, many people lived in the northern Andean highlands of Ecuador. A brief synopsis of the political history of the region can aid us in understanding how conquest made way for the Spanish colonial experience.

Conquest

During the 16th century, the Spanish arrived in the Andean mountains of South America and seized control of the Inka Empire. Its geographic limits stretched along the Andean region as well as the lowlands from the south of what is currently Colombia to the northern portions of Chile and Argentina and adjacent lowlands of the Amazon basin (Bray 1992; Williamson 1992). No central agency coordinated the Spanish colonization effort. Instead it was driven by the Iberians’ desire for gold and their need for an expanded labor force motivated settlement (Newson 1995).
In December 1530, Francisco Pizarro sailed from the coast of Panama and arrived in the country that they called Peru, most likely after the “Virú” tribe that Spain’s conquistadors believed lived to the south of Mexico (Starn et al. 2005). At the time of their arrival the Inka leaders were engaged in a civil war. Pizarro and the other Spanish prospectors were able to use the resulting political instability to their advantage on the battlefield. By November 1533, Pizarro and his soldiers had taken control of the Royal Inka City of Cuzco (Hyams and Ordish 1963; Williamson 1992).

Sebastián de Benalcázar and Diego de Almagro continued the conquest into the northern provinces of Quito. By the end of 1534, Benalcázar and Almagro had claimed the provinces of Quito, thus destroying the military power of the Inka Empire (Williamson 1992).

In 1535, Pizarro established the coastal city of Lima, which allowed for greater access to goods brought in from Panama and strengthened the Iberian political stronghold. Governors in Lima organized the colony’s political and administrative institutions. The need to consolidate Spanish authority and have a more local governing body led to the creation of the Real Audiencia. In 1542 the Spanish created the Viceroyalty of New Castilla, and later changed its name to the Viceroyalty of Peru. The Viceroyalty of Peru was one of the richest and most powerful of the Spanish Viceroyalties during the 18th century (Williamson 1992).
The Northern Andes

While a part of the Viceroyalty of Peru, the northern Andes experienced the Spanish conquest slightly differently than the rest of the region. According to Oviedo y Valdés (1959 [1535]), Benalcázar and his soldiers heard of gold and silver that was stored in Quito and began making their way north. They arrived in a town near Riobamba where they heard that there were soldiers ready to stop their advance. When they reached Riobamba, 30,000 troops were waiting, and in the ensuing battle the Spaniards seized the town. They spent eight days there taking care of their wounded soldiers and horses before moving on to Quito. Diego de Almagro reached Riobamba later where he attacked the Inka town leader and killed many of its residents.

On 15th August 1534, Almagro founded the city of Santiago de Quito in order to legally demonstrate his possession of the territory (Newson 1995). The Act of Foundation stated that Santiago de Quito was founded “in the town of Rryobamba,” and later that “this founding takes place in this town of Rryobamba where we are currently located.” This suggests that the Pre-Hispanic name of the place where Santiago de Quito was founded was “Riobamba” (Terán Najas 2000:22). Benalcazár arrived and surrendered his claim, joining the other Spaniards. They then declared the founding of San Francisco de Quito at the actual site of Quito, even though they were at the time in Riobamba. The city of Santiago de Quito had a functioning cabildo [town council] sooner than San Francisco de Quito. Almagro and Benalcázar then moved their troops back south to Piura, which is now in Peru. Although Santiago de Quito (Riobamba) was left
with only 22 Spanish inhabitants and largely ceased to function as an urban
center, the location continued to function as an important *tambo* [colonial way
station] (Newson 1995).

**Viceroyalty of Peru**

Riobamba’s political organization and politics developed through colonial
period governance. The Viceroyalty of Peru was a Spanish colonial
administrative district founded in 1542. The Viceroy carried out royal decrees,
administered justice, supervised royal finances, and ministered to the spiritual
and material welfare of the Indigenous peoples (Chasteen 2006). The Viceroyalty
of Peru lasted until 1824 when the final incumbent was defeated (Williamson
1992). The Viceroyalty was further divided into *audiencias* [regional
administrative centers], with a governor ruling each district who was accountable
to the Viceroy (Chasteen 2006).

**Real Audiencia de Quito**

The Real Audiencia de Quito was an administrative center founded in
1563 within the Viceroyalty of Peru and ruled by the Spanish Crown. It included
all of the District of Quito, which encompassed the Andean highland region with
boundaries marked by the cities of Pasto to the north and Cuenca to the south
(Newson 1995). This designation as an audiencia allowed the newly founded
administration to deal directly with Madrid on some matters. In 1720, the
Audiencia de Quito was transferred to the newly founded Viceroyalty of Nueva
Granada, whose capital was in Bogotá. The Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada was temporarily disbanded in 1723, and the Viceroyalty of Peru once again gained the Audiencia de Quito. Within two decades it was resurrected and placed once again in the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada in 1739. The judicial and social regulations for the audiencia changed depending on which viceroyalty was in power, and people were forced to follow the laws of their governing viceroyalty (Williamson 1992). Lack of political confidence was a part of colonial life, and laws and rules were enforced to greater or lesser degrees depending on the location and inclination of the governor allowing for a wide range of colonial experiences.

**Evangelism**

All of these levels of social structure and their tendency to change played a role organization of institutions and within the lives of individuals within the communities. One constant in the ever-changing colonial experience was evangelism and the governing power of the Catholic Church. The conversion of non-Christians served as one of the principle justifications for Spanish colonial expansion. In the 1530s missionaries arrived in Peru. However, the civil wars between competing conquistadors, the political instability left over from the Inka regime change, and other indigenous rebellions, created a volatile political atmosphere. Therefore, Catholic evangelists chose not to expand their missionary efforts outside of the major cities until the 1560s (Williamson 1992).

Spanish hegemony was in part successful because the triumphalism espoused by the Catholic Church was the kind of cohesive force that maintains
social structure through a universal understanding of how things should be and
exerts a constant societal pressure to keep them that way. When individuals
accept their position within this structure, they participate in their own
subjugation. When enslaved Africans and Indigenous Peoples accepted the
doctrine that Catholicism was the one true religion, they at the same time
acknowledged themselves as newcomers to the truth (Castillo 1989). Not for
nothing did people refer to the Jesuit Order as the shock troops of Jesus. Political
and religious authority intersected around power, but this alliance had to
somehow be nurtured.

Monastic history was a European tradition. Spanish monarchs ruled
through a divine right that church officials recognized and in turn received the
patronage of the crown. The royal government held the authority to determine
where new churches should be built and collected ecclesiastical taxes. To
disobey Catholic teachings was an offense against God and considered a
criminal offence by lawmakers (Chasteen 2006). Triumphalism tended to
infantilize the newly converted Christians, so the Spanish placed them in the role
of children who needed to be taught the correct way to think and behave.
Regional history also played a part in individual’s understanding and
interpretations of their environment.

**Riobamba History**

Like the majority of the Americas, the region surrounding Riobamba was
occupied long before the arrival of Spanish colonists. Along with the influences of
Catholicism and the colonial governing administrations, regional history was an
influential ingredient in the development of colonial period identity. It was in part this regional history that defined the role of the religious institution within colonial Riobamba.

The Puruhá

The Puruhá were a group of people who in the 16th century lived in the central highland Andes in the contemporary provinces of Chimborazo and a portion of Bolivar. Puruhá people were agriculturalists with a diet heavy in corn, potatoes and quinoa, foods that continue to be heavily used until today. They also grew agave and traded the fibers of this plant with people living in the warmer valleys for coca, cotton and chili peppers (Newson 1995). Juan de Velasco (1960 [1789]) states that the ancient Puruhá capital consisted of three neighboring valleys, Liribamba on the north and east, in the middle, was the plain of Cajabamba, and on the south Ricbamba (the original Inka name for Riobamba). Liribamba was the Puruhá capital, and became the site of colonial Riobamba.

The Puruhá territory was more a cultural grouping than a political state, but population and geography encouraged the authority of a unified, hierarchical social structure. A 1557 account describes the Puruhá governmental structure at the time of the Spanish conquest as polities that appear to fit the anthropological definition of chiefdom. Power rested in several regionalized centers called “llaqtas supremas,” (Salomon 1980). Colonial officials estimated a population of about 3,000 people in this group. Whether this unification predated the Inka or if it was a change that came with the new leadership is impossible to tell (Salomon 1978).
The Inka in Riobamba

Local traditions relate an invasion of the Puruhá town of Liribamba by the Inka from the south sometime during the middle of the 15th century (Ortiz 2005). The primary language spoken by the Inka peoples was Quechua, which is still spoken by a large number of Indigenous peoples in the region today. Due to their proximity the Puruhá were all integrated into the Inka Empire earlier in time than groups further to the north. With the change in leadership and language, the Puruhá city of Liribamba was renamed Ricbamba (Terán Najas 2000). During Inka occupation, the town appears to have been primarily used as a hub for storing and distributing goods to other parts of the empire and housed a major tampu [storage facility].

Colonial Occupation

Even after the Spanish occupation, Riobamba remained a hub for commerce and distribution. All items traded between Lima and the port of Guayaquil passed through the city. Local industry included the production of hardtack made by Spaniards who owned granaries to sell to ships, as well as ropes made from agave fibers, textiles, and horse tack produced by Indigenous laborers to sell in New Spain (Villasante 1991 [1568-1571]).

Up until the 1580s the region supplied tribute to the crown partly in cotton cloth, relying on pre-Hispanic ties to lowland cotton growers for their raw materials. When sheep were introduced, cotton had to compete with woolen cloth, resulting in a replacement of cotton cloth production with a new wool
industry in 1560-1590. It had the effect of undermining the pre-Hispanic economic system, replacing cotton agriculture with a colonial system of sheep husbandry (Newson 1995). By the 1570s there were so many sheep being raised in Riobamba, that one observer pronounced it the “city of shepherds” (Powers 1995). In 1573, some estancias [ranches for raising livestock] in the area made claims of having as many as 80,000 sheep (Newson 1995)

Spanish law dictated that former Inka tampus became property of the city under whose jurisdiction they fell, and thus Riobamba was under the control of the jurisdiction of Quito. In 1575, the town of Riobamba was “re-established” as its own town with 24 residents (Newson 1995). The Cabildo in Quito reported that Spaniards and other Riobamba locals had spontaneously declared themselves as a city, and sent word that if challenged, they would fight for local autonomy. Quito conceded to the announcement. In July of 1575, an official act of foundation for the town of Riobamba became law (Terán Najas 2000).

Riobamba’s colonial economy rested on its textile industry. Beginning in the late 16th to early 17th century locally owned and operated obrajes [textile mills] became an important feature of this economy. These textile factories emerged from the encomenderos [Spaniards who had been given grants which provided Indigenous laborers] using mita [Spanish forced labor system] laborers. The mita was a policy in place throughout the colonial Andes. Each Indigenous community was required to provide a percentage of its population to work on a rotational basis in designated industries for a fixed wage (Newson 1995). Factories required a combination of good land to pasture sheep and a large labor
supply, which was primarily provided by residents of Riobamba and Latacunga (about 100 km north of Riobamba) (Newson 1995). Cloth produced within the Audiencia of Quito appeared all over the Viceroyalty of Peru, with the main market being Lima, where cloth was traded into southern mining areas. The cattle-raising and mining regions of Nueva Granada to the north were also big markets. Plentiful, cheap labor in Latacunga and Riobamba allowed the industry to offer lower prices for their textiles than producers in other parts of the viceroyalty (Tyrer 1988). The largest export to Lima was paño azul [fine blue wool cloth], but there was also demand for other textiles such as the lower quality bayetas and jergas. Domestic fabrics were coarsely woven cloths compared to European products, but this product supplied the Indigenous and mestizo [the offspring of Spanish and Indigenous parents] markets. These mills also produced shawls, hats and carpets (Newson 1995).

Laborers were allocated for the quinto, or “one-fifth” of the mita tributary population of a village. Workers filling this quota were often referred to as “indios de enterro”. Mill workers were mostly adult males, but children over ten years of age, women, and elderly people also contributed their labor (Newson 1995).

In 1620, Riobamba had nine community and nine private textile mills, with the former employing 2,250 laborers, while the private mills relied on 900 forced and 400 voluntary laborers (Landázuri Soto 1959; Tyrer 1988). By the 1620s there were fifty mills in operation in the Audiencia, most of them in the areas surrounding Latacunga and Riobamba.
In March of 1645 a massive earthquake struck Riobamba. Moving the town was considered at this time, but the citizens decided against it (Ortiz Crespo 1989). Velasco (1998 [1789]) states that tremors were felt throughout the early part of 1645, and that in February the big earthquake struck. Most houses were destroyed and a sizable percentage of the population killed.

The next large earthquake occurred in Riobamba in 1698. Again the community considered making a move. The damage from this earthquake was so bad that plans for new city blocks were even designed. The religious orders in town however, prevented the move to avoid losing their censos [a contractual agreement resembling a modern mortgage] on existing urban properties (Ortiz Crespo 1989).

The next and final earthquake to hit colonial Riobamba occurred between seven and eight o’clock on the morning of February 4th, 1797, and lasted three to four minutes. A report from Luis Muñoz de Guzman, president of the Audiencia (in Quito), to Minister Eugenio Llaguno Amirola (in Spain), written on the 20th, stated: “In Quito the towers of the Cathedral, Santo Domingo, San Agustín, and La Merced all fell. Most affected regions were Latacunga, Ambato, Riobamba, Guaranda, and Alausi” (Núñez Sánchez 1997). Riobamba was so thoroughly destroyed that it was described as not having “a stone on top of another stone”. The Culca or Cushca, the hill adjacent to the city, fell on the ruins created by the earthquake. The destruction to roads was so great that no word was received of the fate of Riobamba for ten days. Then on the 14th, a letter reached Quito from the Corregidor [royal official with administrative and judicial authority] of
Riobamba, stating that only one in eight of the nobility, and half of the other town residents had survived. According to a letter from the Corregidor of Riobamba the epicenter of the earthquake was the Volcano of Macas, which had been making strong subterranean noises for four to six years (Núñez Sánchez 1997).

The earthquake of 1797 is believed to have been the worst that occurred during the colonial period. More than 20,000 people died in the central part of the Audiencia. Riobamba was hardest hit of all of the cities in the region; all of its churches collapsed and the majority of its houses were rendered uninhabitable (Ortiz Crespo 1989). The effect that this moment in history had on the people of the region was profound and lasting. More than two hundred years after the fact, residents of the region talk about “the earthquake” as though it happened yesterday. Many are convinced that the wealth that once belonged to the families of these now impoverished people is buried just under the collapsed hillside, right within their grasp, but ultimately unreachable. In the span of less than four minutes of movement, the earthquake marked generations of future residents with a legacy of loss that has become all but impossible to overcome.

After the Disaster

The decision to move the city in 1797 was contentious. A debate raged between those who wanted the new location of Riobamba to be on the Gatazo Plain, as was the plan in 1745, and those who preferred the site of Tapi. A local commission decided on Tapi, largely because the local topography favored a canal to supply water to the city (Ortiz Crespo 1989), but the conflict persisted. The Tapi plains are a flat open space close to Chimborazo, at the confluence of
the Chibunga, Chambo, and Los Elenes (or Rio Guano) rivers (Ortiz Crespo 1989). The unending dispute led the Audiencia to appoint a higher-level commission, led by Bernardo Darquea, the Corregidor of Ambato to resolve the conflict (Gonzalez Suarez 1970). Darquea chose Tapi as the logical site for the new Riobamba, based on climate and landscape. The move was, however, not supported by all members of the community, and in 1799 the government had to prohibit carpenters from working on houses in the destroyed city of Riobamba (Gonzalez Suarez 1970).

**The Republican Period**

Ecuador remained a part of the Viceroyalty of Peru until 1739, when its administration was transferred to the Viceroyalty of Colombia. It was largely rural and conservative, and generated revenue from large estates supplying cattle and bananas farmed by forced labor (Borchart de Moreno 2004).

Within the colonial regime, a larger middle class began to emerge towards the late 19th century. This combination of economic and social forces fomented several attempts made to liberate Ecuador from Spanish rule. On August 10, 1809 Ecuador became the first self-governing region within the American Spanish colonies. On May 24, 1822, Ecuador declared independence from Spanish rule, and in 1830 the Viceroyalty of Colombia collapsed and Ecuador became fully independent (Townsend 2000).

The period following Ecuador's independence from Spain until 1895 when the Catholic Church was marginalized is referred to as the Republican period.
This was a period of conservative rule when leaders began to focus on establishing a set of rules for the newly founded Republic of Ecuador (Borchart de Moreno 2004). Material remains from this time period are highly diagnostic and include refined earthenware ceramics and datable glasswares. These artifacts are visually distinct from either modern or colonial artifacts.

**Religious Men**

Throughout its history, the town of Riobamba maintained a unique regional identity. While the historical context of a town plays a part in the development of the character of a community, a possibly even more important factor is the demographic makeup of the people who live there. My focus in this dissertation is the presence of religious men in Riobamba, who constituted a substantial portion of the general population. Visual landscapes in Spanish colonial centers exhibit the legacy of a worldview dominated by religion. Religious architecture dominated the cities themselves, and daily people saw a large number of residents dressed in religious costumes. Priests had a noticeable presence in the urban environment, unlike nuns whose lives were entirely sequestered from the larger community. Religious men were integrated into public life and had direct contact with ordinary citizens (Gibbs 1989). These men in part stood out in busy urban settings because they were set apart by their distinctive manner of dress, which took the form of long robes. Secular men wore black robes that reached to their heels. Regulars wore similar vestments, but theirs varied somewhat in color or detail in accordance with the regulations of a
particular religious order (Ganster 1986). These two groups, regulars and seculars, represented the majority of working churchmen in a given community.

Regulars were ordinary clergy who could perform mass weekly and at church festivals. As members of an order, friars followed a set of ecclesiastical rules and lived within a religious community. Regulars took formal vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Their vow to live their lives in poverty is what differentiated regular orders as Mendicant. Seculars were members of the clergy, and consisted of the organizations headed by bishops and archbishops. They were religious bureaucrats who ran the business of the church. These were men who had not taken formal evangelical vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, but they made vows of chastity and obedience to their bishop. Seculars were tasked with tending to the daily spiritual needs of community members. In addition to these friars and secular clerics, there were also a large number of brothers who had not taken formal religious vows. Instead, they expressed their devotion to the church by wearing the same type of robes as the clerics and working with friars and seculars as support staff (Schwaller 1987).

The number of men employed by the church in colonial cities was quite large. Although census records are often imprecise, one in ten men of European ancestry are believed to have been friars and members of the secular clergy (Ganster 1986). Thus, in colonial Riobamba, religious men formed a significant minority of the population, and their ubiquitous presence likely held some influence in establishing the character of the city.
Religious men took on varied occupations within the church, however their shared identity separated them from the rest of colonial society. The Spanish worldview separated people into two dichotomous populations: the clergy and the laity. They believed the clerical state to be divinely ordained; therefore, the distinction between religious men and laymen was divine and non-negotiable. The separation of religious men from larger society afforded them numerous privileges, but they had to live by the strict rules of their respective orders. Canonical law removed the ecclesiastic from the jurisdiction of the civil courts, which ensured that cases involving clerics would be heard by church tribunals (Ganster 1986).

For a qualified individual, becoming a regular (first rank friar) was always possible once accepted into a religious order. At this first stage of religious affiliation, a regular could at anytime leave the order or be dismissed as a result of moral or legal transgressions. Becoming a full friar however, involved going through training and a novitiate period, and then taking the solemn vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. The regular also had the option of taking the further step toward ordination to become a priest and would then be able to dispense sacraments or function in the role of a parish priest in outlying rural areas. Priesthood provided the regular with the ability to pardon sins, offer the sacrament during mass, and direct all other blessings of the church except for ordination and confirmation, which are both reserved as rights of bishops. The first step of major orders could not be taken before the age of 21 and the final
steps of ordination required that a man be at least 25 years of age (Ganster 1986).

The legal and social requirements for ordination were extensive and therefore restricted the number of men who entered the priesthood. All candidates were required to be of good demeanor, and a would-be priest had to produce character witnesses to testify to this effect. The ideal candidate had a legitimate lineage in an old Christian family with “clean blood,” that is free of Moorish, Jewish, Indigenous, or Black ancestors. His family was to be free of heretical individuals prosecuted in the Inquisition, and to be ordained for priesthood necessitated a certain level of higher education. The most highly educated priests ministered in regional and provincial centers while priests with less education tended the rural parishes. These extensive regulations had a profound effect on the social and racial makeup of the ordained men in colonial cities. The racial qualifications assured that priests would be exclusively of European (or what passed for European) descent. Educational norms of that time usually meant only individuals from prosperous families became priests (Ganster 1986). There were, consequently, very few ordained men from humble backgrounds or mixed-racial ancestry.

While the rules regulating who became regulars or seculars were less strict than those regulating the priesthood, the vast majority of religious men of all ranks were still of European ancestry and came from financially privileged backgrounds. Urban missions were far more desirable than were rural ones, and
so, the latter were reserved for friars or parish priests from a lower socio-economic background or one of mixed ancestry (Ganster 1986).

Racial and socio-economic factors created one hierarchy, but another element important to the colonial clergy was the geographic origin of colonial friars and priests. Initially all religious men in the Spanish colonies were from Spain or other European countries and either migrated to the colonies as members of the Catholic Church, or joined after their arrival. Quickly, however, *criollos* [men of Spanish ancestry, born in the colonies] became prominent in number within the church and by the last quarter of the 16th century outnumbered the Spanish born priests and friars. Church officials reserved the upper echelons of bishop and archbishop for Spanish born members to uphold the status of those offices (Ganster 1986). The predominance of *criollos* in the churches in the Spanish colonies was in part due to the lack of availability of Spanish born men to fill the positions necessary to the functioning of the church and monasteries.

While the church set idealized criteria advising who should be filling positions within the church, these conditions were not always met. Consequently, there was a divide between the idealized and realized identity. Although the church desired purity, pragmatism meant that any cleric might fill any of the diverse roles in the larger structure. While religious men were uniformly highly ranked individuals who wore dark robes and were subject to canonical law, behind this facade there existed room for variation in a person’s background, regional origin and personal identity.
Riobamba’s Mercedarians

The specific groups of religious men whom I studied for my dissertation research were the Mercedarians and the Augustinians. Both of these religious orders attracted people from somewhat diverse backgrounds who, through vows and specific regulations, worked to fit into the standardized norms of these established institutions. The Mercedarians, also known as The Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary or Our Lady of Ransom, originated in Spain in 1218. Saint Peter Nolasco founded the order as a means for rescuing and freeing Christian captives seized by the Moors on the Barbary Coast during the 13th century.

The miracle performed by Nolasco for sainthood was the founding of the order. While the church was celebrating the feast of Saint Peter in Chains, the Virgin Mary appeared to him and stated that she desired an order to be founded in her name. Its members would work for the freedom of Christians in captivity and sacrifice their lives for the cause as needed. Many of the founding members were extremely wealthy and gave up everything they owned in order to buy the freedom of prisoners. In addition to the traditional mendicant vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, Mercedarian friars took the additional “blood vow” stating that they would sacrifice their lives if necessary for the freedom of Christians held in captivity (Mercedarian Historical Survey 1997).

When conquistador Sebastián de Benalcázar arrived in Ecuador in 1534, two Mercedarian priests, Hernando de Granada and Martín de Victoria accompanied him on this voyage. Benelcázar donated a piece of land in the newly founded city of Quito to the Mercedarian order, where Granada
established a monastery. Victoria started a school that took on the responsibility for teaching Quechua to members of several religious orders to aid in their proselytizing efforts (Mercedarian Historical Survey 1997).

Mercedarian missionaries first arrived in Riobamba in 1612. They were the last of the Catholic orders to establish themselves in the city and were not immediately incorporated into the city core. Their first church was located along the southern edge of the town and they had very few members and a small number of new recruits. By all accounts, they were a low order housed within an undesirable convent. In 1718, however, the Mercedarian Church and monastery petitioned to move to the northern part of town. Their original monastery was described as sitting in a swamp, far from the central church. They had already purchased a property where they constructed a much nicer church, built entirely of stone. An earthquake in 1786 caused the Mercederian monastery to suffer damage, including the destruction of the chapel, and damage to the cloister (Pazmiño Acuña 2000). In 1797 the monastery was destroyed for the final time by the massive earthquake that hit the city. A landslide following the earthquake demolished the Mercedarian Church, as it was one of the closest structures to the hill (Ortiz 2005).

Riobamba’s Augustinians

Like the Mercedarians, Riobamba’s Augustinians were strongly influenced both by the history of the religious order as well as by that of the monastery within the region. The Augustinians were long recognized as a Catholic mendicant order named after Saint Augustine of Hippo. Saint Augustine was
born in 354 in the Roman city of Thagaste in North Africa and received his education in Italy. He is still revered for his leadership in the Catholic Church’s reformation teachings on salvation and grace. Saint Augustine, first with his friends and later with his clergy, led a monastic life. Under his rule the taking of religious vows was not mandatory, but the possession of private property was prohibited. He died in 430 but his teachings inspired “The Rule of Augustine”. His proclamations were adopted formally when Pope Innocent IV created the Augustinian order in the year 1244 (Lyon 1893). Augustine was canonized and recognized as a Doctor of the Church in 1303 by Pope Boniface VIII. He is considered the patron saint of brewers, printers, theologians, sore eyes, and a number of cities and dioceses. Among his miracles was the act of swooping down from heaven to catch a child who had fallen from a balcony (Mendelson 2000).

The Rule of Augustine dictates that friars come together to live communally and harmoniously with God calling nothing their own, preach that all things live together in oneness, honor the body as a temple for God, and engage in prayer at the appointed hours. The Rule of Augustine appears in the tenth and eleventh centuries as a basis for the reform of cathedral chapters. The early Victorine Canons adopted the Rule of Augustine in 1113 (Gutierrez 1984).

The first group of Augustinians to reach the New World arrived in Mexico from Spain in 1533 and in Peru in 1551. By 1553 they had missions in Ecuador (Augnet.org). The Augustinian monastery may have been established in Riobamba as early as 1596 (Ortiz Crespo 1989). By the late 18th
century the monastery was noted for its quality construction. Juan de Velasco wrote, “the Augustinians have a monastery, that although low, has a very decent church, with a tall and thin tower that dominates a small plaza. It is the richest monastery” (1998 [1789]).

The Monastery of San Agustín was destroyed in the 1645 earthquake. It became uninhabitable, as most of church and cloister had fallen and the stables and gardens were also destroyed. After the earthquake the friars lived in huts and gave mass in a temporary building in the street. They were, however, characterized as being the only wealthy order in the city at the time, with income of ten or twelve thousand pesos annually in sheep, estancias, houses, shops, and other goods. They were also the only order that had the money to immediately rebuild their convent (Pazmiño Acuña 2000). The monastery of San Agustín also suffered some damage in the earthquake of 1786, with repairs to the church costing 10,000 pesos (Gómez 2000). Later, the church and monastery of San Agustín would be demolished for the final time in the earthquake of February 4, 1797.

Chapter Summary

The city of Riobamba had a long and rich history prior to the arrival of the Spanish. This history met with that of the Spanish colonialists to create a reality that was both typical of the Spanish colonial experience, but also unique to its own specific social and historical context. This cultural and historical intersection greatly influenced the lives of everyone in the city, including those individuals who lived and worked within the Mercedarian and Augustinian monasteries. In
order to understand the identities and ways of life of these men understanding both the history of the religious orders and also the area prior to the arrival of the religious orders are necessary. This insight may be helpful in reading some of the choices and activities engaged in by the men within these colonial institutions.
CHAPTER 3: GENDER, MONASTERIES AND ARCHAEOLOGY

This dissertation is an interdisciplinary study of the monastic tradition within two Spanish colonial institutional settings. Pertinent to this research are works in anthropology, archaeology, history, gender studies and social theory, which inform my research within an academic context. My discussion in this chapter will review some of the previous work completed by other scholars on relevant issues including Spanish colonial and monastic archaeology, gender, masculinities and performance. Because historical archaeology is by its very nature interdisciplinary, the majority of practitioners have found it useful to draw on the strengths of research conducted in other fields. Spanish colonial archaeology has since its inception gathered strength by employing broad-based, multidisciplinary interpretations of material culture.

Spanish Colonial Archaeology

Archaeology dedicated to examining Spanish colonies has grown among North American researchers in the last four decades (Farnsworth and Williams 1992). Scholars of this field look to Kathleen Deagan and her prolific career excavating in Hispaniola and the Florida coast (Deagan 1982, 1983, 1987, 1988, 1996, 2003). Her effort established the foundation for a sustained focus on Spanish colonial archaeology in North America. While building on her legacy, others such as Charles Ewen (1985, 1991) and Bonnie McEwan (1986, 1991,
have produced a complementary large body of literature focusing on the borderlands (Florida and the southwestern United States) of the Spanish colonies. With such a strong focus on one particular geographical area, the fact that the Spanish colonies reached from the southern point of Tierra del Fuego to Vancouver Island is easy to overlook. Florida’s brand of Spanish colonial archaeology has accumulated a vast amount of information and a typology benefiting the work of most researchers within the field (Deagan 1987, 2002a). This typology, however, fails to account for regional variations and cannot be accepted as an all-encompassing interpretation of material culture in the colonies. Besides the work produced in Florida, researchers have devoted a fair amount of effort investigating the missions and presidios of California (Costello 1992; Farnsworth 1989a; Silliman 2001; Voss 2005). Other researchers have focused their efforts in Mexico and Central America (Carruthers 2003; Farnsworth and Williams 1992; Fournier-Garcia 2003) and a smaller number still in South America (Jamieson 2000a; Rice 1994,1996; Van Buren 1997,1999).

With the 1992 Quincentennial celebration of Spanish contact with the Americas the focus on history and archaeology of the Spanish colonies grew intense. Articles critiquing the disjointedness of Spanish colonial archaeology pointed out that communication between North American and Latin American researchers is generally quite poor (Williams and Fournier-Garcia 1996). North American publications and participation in academic conferences is frequently inaccessible to Latin American archaeologists and reports produced in Latin America are seldom widely distributed. Language barriers often further hinder
academic communication (Farnsworth and Williams 1992). A consequence of this lack of information flow between researchers has been a slow maturation of the field (Gasco et al. 1997). An additional consequence resulting from a heavily biased North American focus in mainstream publications is that regional patterns are commonly taken to represent a pan-Hispanic interpretation of material culture (Williams and Fournier García 1996). Deagan however, defends this perspective by stating that regardless of background or local settings, the Spanish colonial experience was typified by consistent social, political and religious patterns that marked and defined the colonial experience (2003).

North American archaeologists generally approach Spanish colonial studies by emphasizing aspects that their Latin American colleagues ignore. Traditional debates between North American scholars situate those whose work centers on the negative consequences of colonial rule against those who view the colonial efforts as a form of social progress (Williams and Fournier-Garcia 1996). In the past couple of decades researchers have additionally become aware of theoretical issues such as gender (Jamieson 2000b, McEwan 1991), caste (Jamieson 2005a, Voss 2005), ethnicity (Deagan 1983), sexuality (Voss 2000) and the roles of active agents within historical settings. Latin American archaeologists often have a much harder time gaining funding for similarly esoteric studies. Within Latin American academic circles, historical projects are consistently devalued when compared to prehistoric projects (Farnsworth and Williams 1992) and archaeologists by default focus their efforts on the restoration of large churches, forts, and homes of historically significant figures (Gasco et al.
that may attract tourist revenue. Theoretically, many Latin American archaeologists, particularly those working within Brazil, Peru and Venezuela, work within a strongly Marxist framework. This perspective implicates studies of the past in current day social inequalities (Benavides 2001; Fournier García 1990; Patterson 1994).

All of the Americas shared elements of colonial influence. The Spanish colonies established a unique history that included a simultaneous “invasion, colonization effort, social experiment… religious crusade and a highly structured economic enterprise” (Deagan 2003). However, the lived experience was not homogeneous within the colonies and differed as a result of geographical areas and natural resources, localized means of production and distribution of goods, the size of cities and their distance from central government as well as the governing bodies and religious figures who regulated daily life to greater or lesser degrees. Material culture is a reflection of identity, is intimately implicated in its formation (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984), but differences and discrepancies in material culture would directly create divergences in social relations and ways of life. Therefore, the anthropological doctrine of relativism compels practioners to examine the archaeology of the Spanish colonial experience regionally and on its own terms. All things being equal comparisons between regions might be mindful of idiosyncrasies of shared ideologies or trade routes. Our goal is to contribute studies about the remnants of Spanish colonies where archaeological research can fill the knowledge gaps.
Colonial Archaeology of the Andes and Ecuador

Very little historical archaeological research focuses on the Andes for a variety of reasons. In his 2005 review article, Ross Jamieson states that the historical importance of the Spanish colonies in the South American Andes has been obscured by the region’s immense potential for prehistoric archaeology (Jamieson 2005b). Although some efforts in Spanish colonial archaeology were taken in the earlier part of the 20th century in the Andes, the majority of research was done in the 1970s and 1980s. For only about the last twenty years can colonial Andean archaeology be called an organized research effort (Jamieson 2005b). Andean research projects have studied diverse topics, and with more frequent regional conferences on Latin American historical archaeology, the sharing of ideas and publishing results now disseminate information on a more regular basis. Research interests in the region have included: the study of religious architecture, cemeteries, landscape analysis, ceramic production, mining industries, colonial cities, and households. For a comprehensive review of historical archaeology in the Andean region see Jamieson (2005b).

Of interest here is research by Monika Therrien (1996), who excavated monasteries in Cartagena, Bogotá, and Leiva, Colombia. Jozef Buys (1997) also studied the Franciscan and Dominican monasteries in Quito, Ecuador, but the results remain unpublished to date. Prudence Rice (1994) excavated ceramic manufacturing centers in Moquegua, Peru and produced valuable analysis of large earthenware vessels used in wineries. Later she studied the production of commodities in her Moquegua Bodegas Project in the Moquegua Valley of Peru
where she investigated several wineries (Rice 1996). Ross Jamieson (2001) studied Panamanian majolica in the colonial Andes. Susan deFrance (1996, 2003) worked on diet in Torata Alta and the Tarapaya hot springs outside of Potosí, Bolivia and demonstrated the prevalence of Old World domesticate faunal species on local menus. This nascent research bodes well for potential research when the next generation of archaeological study begins.

Latin American countries face many challenges in building professional capacity in historical archaeology, and Ecuador is no exception. None of its national universities offer graduate degree programs in this discipline. Ecuadorian archaeologists working within the country usually hold degrees from universities in North America or Europe. In addition to the lack of facilities to train new archaeologists, the dissemination of information also faces the challenges that scholarly journals dedicated to the publication of archaeological research resolve (Salazar 1995). National archaeologists themselves encounter academic barriers because the books and journals needed for research are absent and their prohibitively low incomes makes acquiring these materials impossible (Salazar 1995). Consequently, like much of Latin America, the majority of large-scale archaeology projects in the country are either preservation projects of Inka monuments, or foreign-funded excavations.

To date, historical archaeology projects within Ecuador have been somewhat limited. In 1995, Ecuadorian archaeologist Ernesto Salazar even claimed that there was no historical archaeology. Regardless of this opinion, there have been notable historic archaeology projects undertaken. For example
Karen Stothert, an archaeologist at The University of Texas, in San Antonio, conducted research on the Santa Elena Peninsula. Significant findings from her work include the use of tar from naturally occurring tar pits in the area and its historic use as a sealant (Stothert 1994). She also produced one of the only archaeological studies to approach the transition from late colonial to early Republican period landscapes with her work on rural farmsteads (Stothert et al 1997).

Other historical archaeological projects continue and each fills in more details about Spanish colonial history. Some notable studies include excavations of monastic architecture in old town Quito that resulted in a published faunal report of materials from the Franciscan and Dominican Monasteries (Gutiérrez Usillos and Iglesias Aliaga 1996). In 2006, Florencio Delgado Espinoza researched colonial plazas in downtown Cuenca. Holguer Jara Chávez was an early contributor to this enterprise when he excavated churches and neighborhoods in the colonial city of Riobamba in 1984 and 1985 (Jara Chávez 1991). Ross Jamieson’s urban archaeology in both the colonial city of Cuenca (Jamieson 2000a, 2001; Jamieson and Hancock 2004) and his ongoing research, with his students in Colonial Riobamba, holds more promise in filling the details of a poorly studied era.
The Archaeology of Religious Institutions

Since my research focuses on the archaeology of two monasteries within the city of colonial Riobamba, the following discussion of the archaeology of religious institutions refers to the excavation and analysis of material culture used by religious individuals or recovered within churches and religious institutional settings. The growing body of literature on this subject includes researchers working with the goal of reinforcing biblical claims, those restoring churches and other religious buildings, and those whose interests are the more specific social aspects of religious life. Monastic traditions produce unique material culture, but these objects vary widely between religions and also geographical regions. For that reason, my discussion here is limited exclusively to the archaeology of Catholic institutions in the Americas.

Spanish colonialism and Christianity share parallel historical expansion, and the missionary evangelist was indispensable to both. Catholic churches, monasteries, convents and missions were among the most important physical structures during the colonial period and hold a large amount of information vital to understanding the institutional powers and social structures of this historical period. One caveat for researchers advises against viewing European Christianity as a uniform monolith (Graham 1998). There was no unified standard of Christianity, and regional variations were common and should not be viewed as evidence of resistance against a standardized norm. Contrasting religious experiences across the Spanish colonies is inappropriate; each experience must be regarded as unique. Research techniques and theoretical models used in one
region can open avenues of inquiry and provide valuable insights within distinct geographical contexts, but they are not interchangeable.

Much of the archaeological research to date examining colonial religious orders and institutions has looked at the missions in California, the Southwestern United States, and Mesoamerica. Under the strictest definition, mission archaeology would include only those religious institutions found in Alta California and Paraguay. These missions are defined as church supported ecclesiastical spaces of sufficient size to maintain all of the daily activities of a group (Snow 1967). Elizabeth Graham, of University College London (1998) expands upon this definition to encompass less than ideal mission situations. Her definition of the mission experience covers churches and institutional settings with limited resources as well as colonial communities. Taking advantage of this broader definition and allowing for greater ecclesiastical diversity draws in a larger number of colonial settings for comparison. While less structured Caribbean missions and Andean churches and monasteries have typically not been included as mission archaeology, useful comparisons can be made between geographical regions. Although researchers approach their work from different angles, their interests intersect over the role that missionaries and the church played in transforming indigenous ways of life and restructuring colonial society (Graham 1998). The archaeology of churches and missions throughout the Americas deploy different modes of study and acknowledge varied parameters. Unequal access to resources and funding has created a body of published academic literature strongly biased towards North American projects. The
research conducted and published in Latin America is fairly recent or has been conducted in conjunction with architectural surveys or prehistoric projects without the production of formal publications. What follows are a few examples of the attention that archaeology of religious institutions receives in different parts of former Spanish colonies.

**California and American Southwest**

California has twenty-one missions that are iconic symbols of the state’s idealized Spanish history. Archaeological work conducted to recover information useful to restoration efforts holds a dual purpose of bolstering tourism. Conspicuous examples of standing mission architecture blinded archaeologists to the material culture found on these sites (Baer 1958; Graham 1998). The California missions are unique to Spanish colonial studies in that they have been subjected to investigations, such as paleoethnobotanical analysis (Bartolemé et al 1986; Burcham 1981; Heizer and Hester 1973; West 1989). They have also yielded data regarding demographics and health issues among indigenous populations (Farnsworth 1989b; Farnsworth and Jackson 1995; Jackson 1994; Walker et al. 1989). Changing interest in archaeological research instigated stronger interest in issues of identity and social structure within the missions. Kent Lightfoot, an archaeologist at the University of California, Berkeley (1998) examined the social interactions between indigenous groups and European colonists and concluded that each group continued to reproduce personal identity based on their respective cultural traditions. Stephen Silliman, an historical
archaeologist at the University of Massachusetts, Boston (2001) looked at structured labor within a California mission setting as a means for understanding hegemonic power structures and labor resistance. Barbara Voss, of Stanford University (2000) used practice theory to study the role of sexuality in California Missions. She speculated that the spatial organization of the missions was at least in part designed to monitor women’s sexual behaviors and protect new converts both from rape and also adolescent initiation practices. None of these works situated themselves within physical religious structures, but instead they examined the extension of power that the church doctrines had throughout the larger mission setting.

**Mesoamerica**

In Mesoamerica, where the church still exerts considerable influence, concern over missionizing efforts and the location of churches stems from an interest in the politics of conquest and colonization (Graham 1998). Of particular interest are colonial period churches where conversion of the Maya began (for an extensive list of church sites see Graham 1998). Many projects in the region concentrate on architecture and dedicate their efforts exclusively to the restoration of these religious structures. Reporting from such sites is generally descriptive and superficial and artifact analysis is rare. There are exceptions, of course, where artifact analysis is part of the agenda (see Lister and Lister 1974, 1987). Additionally, some archaeologists have amassed material for analysis following their initial excavations. One such example is the work with Spanish *botijas* [ceramic olive jars] excavated from the Santo Domingo Monastery in La
Antigua, Guatemala after the original Dominican structures were incorporated into a hotel (Carruthers 2003). However, most countries in Latin America are poor and have limited resources to divert to studying material culture.

The Caribbean

Interest in the mission period of the Caribbean region began with Mark Boyd in Florida (1939, 1948). He worked with Spanish documents and collaborated with archaeologists to investigate Florida’s mission period. This collaboration between archaeologists, historians and ethnohistorians helped to add depth to narratives and made Spanish documents both in their original context and in translation more accessible (Hann 1993; Thomas 1991). Work of this type created a Floridian brand of mission archaeology, with most researchers coming from The University of Florida and Florida State University. This extensive work resulted in an impressive collection of Spanish colonial archaeological publications produced from work in this region. Research in the Caribbean has continued to integrate ethnohistory with archaeological analysis and has opened research avenues to concepts of gender, acculturation and mestizaje. Work on the sites of St. Augustine, Puerto Real, and La Isabella temporally span the entire Spanish colonial period and have provided numerous insights into social life during their occupation. While daily life in the Spanish colonies was heavily influenced by the power of the Catholic Church, explicit studies of religious institutions are notable. McEwan (2001) provides a comprehensive review of the archaeology and history of religious institutions in
La Florida. Studies of architectural remains (Jones and Shapiro 1990; Marrinan 1993; Saunders 1990, 1993, 1996) have helped to define structural patterns common in religious structures. Bioarchaeological studies have looked at burial practices (Larsen 1990) and the physical effects of the missions on indigenous populations (Hutchinson et al. 1998; Larsen 1990, 1993, 1997). Archaeologists agree that they have not yet exhausted the research potential of the Caribbean.

**The Andes**

Similarly to Mesoamerica, historical archaeology in the Andes struggles in the shadow of the region’s indigenous history and is further hampered by a lack of funding. Those projects conducted on religious institutions usually occur during architectural restoration. Jamieson (2005b) provides a comprehensive list of Spanish colonial churches, monasteries and convents that have been excavated in the Andean region. He observed that several Andean cities bear the stamp of UNESCO World Heritage Sites based on their standing colonial religious architecture. Ironically, the urgency of many of these architectural restoration projects begin with accelerated excavation but usually produce no publications. An exception to this rule is the faunal report from the extensive excavation of the Franciscan and Dominican monasteries in Quito, Ecuador (Gutiérrez Usillos and Iglesias Aliaga 1996). Other work that eludes publication are Evelyn Nimmo’s thesis on gender and status within the Conceptas convent in Cuenca, Ecuador (Nimmo 2003), as well as her ongoing doctoral work on the Conceptas convent in Riobamba, Ecuador.
Like the work in La Florida, many projects examining religious architecture often involve mortuary analysis. From the 16th century until the establishment of burial reformation in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, burial in colonial urban centers occurred under the floors of churches, within cloisters and other parts of monasteries (Jamieson 2005b). Many studies of this nature cite Ubelaker’s analysis of a colonial burial population of over 200 individuals in the San Francisco Monastery in Quito, Ecuador (Ubelaker 1994a; Ubelaker and Ripley 1999). These data, combined with samples from the Dominican Monastery and Bethlamite hospital also in Quito (Ubelaker and Rousseu 1993), have produced information useful for comparative craniometric research of New World skulls. As well, they provide comparative demographics of disease between prehistoric and colonial populations in Ecuador (Ross et al. 2002; Ubelaker 1994b, 1995; Ubelaker and Newson 2002).

While each of these regions experiences a unique historical trajectory, complete with its own set of academic obstacles, the findings from one study can often times be helpful in the examination of archaeological materials recovered from religious institutions in other parts of the New World. Acknowledging and understanding the specific history of a given region is a good first step, but the publication and distribution of a study’s results for the benefit of researchers throughout the larger colonial empire is clearly valuable to the field as a whole.

**Archaeology of Monasteries**

No two monasteries are identical, but they exhibit enough similarity that one friar’s habits might be repeated regardless of geographical distance. Thus,
research conducted on one site can guide the direction of research elsewhere. With this in mind, my archaeological investigation of two Spanish colonial monasteries will benefit from a brief overview of parallel research. Although historical research on Catholic religious institutions in the New World is extensive, the archaeology of monasteries and convents receives somewhat more limited attention. While some archaeologists have conducted research on monasteries and convents in Latin America, the majority took place during church restorations or salvage projects (Caruthers 2003; Escobedo Ramirez et al. 1995; Fournier Garcia 1990). Due to their genesis, these studies have placed little emphasis on the social elements of religious life. In this regard, some of the work conducted on medieval European religious institutions provides a better reference for an archaeological project such as this one, which examines elements of social relations and identity within monastic settings.

Archaeologists working on medieval European monastery sites imbue their research with a range of topics that is not bound by prior lines of inquiry. Like their Latin American colleagues working at monastery sites, some of the excavators of European monasteries emphasize spatial reconstruction (Daniels 1986, 1988). Some even use geophysical surveying techniques to interpret rural monastic complexes in southern Germany (Herbich et al. 1997). While these sorts of reconstruction projects provide a large amount of valuable information, they say little about the social life or identity of the people who lived within these institutions. More applicable to my own work is the research of Roberta Gilchrist, (1993, 2000, 2004), a researcher at the University of Reading in England, who
examines concepts of social agency. Her research delves into the relationships that religious women held with society, how they dealt with questions surrounding sexuality. She arrives at her interpretations by studying architecture and the spatial layouts of churches and women’s convents in Medieval England. While Gilchrist’s work focuses on the internal lives of religious women, it is directly relevant to my own. Her analysis of material culture, architecture, and landscape, which emphasizes agency and historical change within the structure of institutions, provides a framework for how I interpret my own data.

Much of the other socially oriented archaeological work in medieval European religious complexes takes on the challenge of osteological analyses. Polet and Katzenberg (2003) used stable isotopic analysis of human skeletal remains to ascertain diet in a monastic community on the Belgian coast during the Late Middle Ages. Their analysis suggests that differences in human diet may have been related to social status. Simon Mays (1999) subjected human skeletal remains to a biophysical comparative analysis of laymen and their monastic brethren in an assemblage from medieval York, England to analyze any differences in activity patterns between them. While osteological studies such as these are not directly applicable to my own research goal, they do provide insights into monastic relationships and identities, and the results of these studies have been well worth considering alongside the interpretations from my own research.

Archaeological work on monastic institutions has contributed a wealth of observations regarding the spatial dimensions of churches and monasteries.
However the next step is to synthesize these data with the goal of understanding the daily life patterns and identities of the people who lived in these institutions. I posit that monastic archaeological studies in the New World can benefit by emulating these European monastic studies. The resulting interpretation can then concentrate on some of the more human habits emanating from of religious life.

**Gender in Archaeology**

**Early Feminist Anthropology**

Studies of gender and masculinities within anthropology originated in the social liberation movements of the 1960s. Ethnographic accounts of women and their activities became standard features within feminist anthropological literature. Mid-twentieth century ethnographers began to question the structural and symbolic positions of women in society. Through the two decades that followed, civil rights movements encouraged a second wave of anthropological feminism. Its advocates saw parallels between sexual and racial oppression (Visweswaren 1997). Social sciences and humanities wondered explicitly about the absence of women and their accomplishments in both academic and popular discourse. Structuralist points of view tended to draw dichotomies between men and women where the former were equated with culture and the latter nature, men with outside interpersonal interactions and women with inside homemaking (Levi-Strauss 1966). A new generation of anthropologists challenged the
conclusions of their elders and proposed explanations that were sensitive to
gender as a flexible trait.

Anthropology had developed as the study of people and culture, and since
men held the monopoly on cultural interactions, thus men’s activities loomed
large whereas women received incidental mention. Omitting women placed
priority on the male experience, and created the illusion that men were
universally involved in more valuable activities than women. In reaction to
traditional androcentric ethnography, feminist anthropologists deliberately
prioritized female experiences, placing an emphasis on gender roles and the
patriarchy in women’s lives (Ortner 1974; Rubin 1975; Collier and Rosaldo 1981).

Critiquing ‘Man the Hunter’

As a result of a politically charged academic environment prevailed in the
late 1970s and early 1980s, feminist thought infiltrated its way into the sub-field
of archaeology. One instance was the reaction to Lee and Devore’s 1968 volume
*Man the Hunter*, which inspired the collection of papers published as *Woman the
Gatherer* (1981). It drew upon numerous examples to illustrate that women were
not simply inconsequential background characters in hunter-gatherer societies
(see Dahlberg 1981). Works such as these openly critiqued archaeology’s
unchallenged acceptance of the ‘man the hunter’ model. Two influential
archaeologists, Margaret Conkey and Janet Spector, published their article
“*Archaeology and the Study of Gender*” (1984) that stands as the first work of
feminist archaeology. Conkey and Spector critiqued the androcentrism in archaeology and suggested new approaches to archaeological interpretation that would include gender inclusive models of the past. They cited the greater value placed on men’s activities over women’s and questioned the universality of strict gender roles in their call for new information about the long-term history of gender relations. Their article prescribed the basic guidelines for conducting feminist archaeology in the subsequent decade (Voss 2000a). Most early feminist archaeological studies examined gender and labor (Rice 1991; Lydon 1993) and gender status indices (Spector 1991). There was also a strong interest in finding the products unique to women in the archaeological record by readdressing androcentric biases in more traditional interpretations and placing strong emphasis on contributions made by women in the past (Gero 1991; Wright 1991). Other studies still attempted to understand how events such as climate change, the introduction of agriculture, or state formation processes affected women in relation to status (Claassen 1991; Hastorf 1991).

In 1991, Conkey and Gero claimed that if there were to be a principle focus for gender archaeology, it was to problematize ‘underlying assumptions about gender and difference’ (Conkey and Gero 1991:5). Since its inception, gender archaeology out grew its fledgling status and matured in unanticipated directions. In 1997, just six years after describing an agenda for the subfield, Conkey and Gero conceded that there existed no one unified methodology for studying gender and no shared body of theory for data analysis (Conkey and Gero 1997).
Expanding Gender

Gendered approaches to archaeological study have become more nuanced than ever before. The field has expanded to include topics such as gender as agency (Dobres 1995; Gillespie 2001), sexualities (Voss and Schmidt 2000; Voss 2006), queer archaeologies (Cobb 2005; Dowson 2000; Voss 2000a), and masculinities (Alberti 2006; Harrison 2002; Joyce 2000). The 1980s brought new attempts to move gender studies beyond essentialist depictions of the differences between men and women (Rosaldo 1980). Perhaps because of its alliance with feminism, gender archaeology, with a few notable exceptions, remains the study of women. Much of its literature utilizes feminist critiques to examine women, the construction of femininity, and gender roles in the past. Cultural anthropologists, sociologists and historians have expanded the application of gender studies to include the use of feminist theories to critically examine and de-normalize masculinities and "male" behaviors (Connell 2001; Gutmann 1996). They have thus obtained a more comprehensive and realistic view of gender constructions. For example, the term masculinities, rather than masculinity, allows for a spectrum of variation removing itself from a binary structure of gender classifications. While studies examining male gender identity are beginning to appear in the archaeological literature (see Alberti 1997, 2006; Harrison 2002; Joyce 2000), they remain few and far between. My dissertation will contribute new insights regarding Spanish colonial monastic masculinities and the roles that male gender identities played within the monastery walls.
Implied in the term gender is that individuals see themselves as a biological sex and a social grouping (Visweswaren 1997). In archaeological theory, gender traditionally means the cultural manifestation of biological sex. If people are neatly divided into a simple binary model they are either one gender, or they must surely be of the other. The concept of discreet binary categories for sex and gender is no stranger to criticism for its essentialist point of view (Fausto-Sterling 2000; Martin 1994). Gender implies a culturally constructed identity couched within the norms and expectations of a given culture. Unlike a rigid social structure, but more of a process of structuring subjectivities (Visweswaren 1997). Like a cultural artifact, gender augments social identity and is influenced by socio-economic, class and ethnic factors. Gender norms and expectations vary both between and within cultures. While there is structure to what is normative and acceptable gender behavior within groups, specific gender identity may be as unique as the individual. Monastic men within a colonial setting exemplify this proposition. As a result of their vows and contemplative practices they balanced a life of celibacy with institutional power to create a group identity that epitomized masculine honor and strength. On an individualized level, the performance of masculinity was displayed in a variety of ways exemplifying the idea of multiple non-binary gender identities.

As opposed to the archaeology of women, the term gender archaeology acknowledges that all individuals are situated within culturally constructed gender identities. I believe that if the intention of gender archaeology is to produce an accurate depiction of gender constructions, performance and regulation, then
scholars must strive to include masculinities as well as femininities in this discourse.

**Masculinities**

In her 1952 book *The Second Sex*, Simone De Beauvoir stated that in all societies, men are defined as actors or subjects, while women are defined in relation to men. “He is the subject [hunter, farmer, soldier]… she is the other [mother, mate, wife]” (1952: xvi). De Beauvoir’s analysis became an integral part of the literary canon for second wave feminist activists and scholars. When social scientists began to look at gender from a feminist perspective they drew upon literature and concepts used in women’s studies departments to address gender inequities prevalent within their respective disciplines. As gender studies grew and matured, analyzing and dissecting gender identities of women alone placed men and masculinities into a new unmarked category of other (Knapp 1998a). While acknowledging the inequalities, power struggles, societal constraints and cultural differences at work in the creation of the category of “woman” is essential, so is understanding the cultural processes involved in the creation and reproduction of men, both as individuals and as a marked category. Privileging the study of one gender category while ignoring all others does little to show the power of gendering processes.
Studying Men

Problemetizing normative masculinity is in and of itself a challenge. Early feminist archaeologists’ goal of locating women in the archaeological record does not transfer to the study of men. Men have always been highlighted in studies of the past. Their presence has been assumed, even though it has been viewed as a neutral, universal existence devoid of issues of gender or race (Joyce 2004; Knapp 1998a; Wylie 1991). Feminist archaeologies brought women to the forefront of narratives about the past in order to trouble the notion of men as the universal historical subject. To ignore issues of masculinity is to leave in place the concept of a monolithic normative male identity (Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994; Knapp 1998a). A renewed focus on the activities and identities of men however, carries with it the unfortunate consequence of placing a newfound value on the concepts of men and masculinity, which in western society, already tend to be overvalued (Alberti 2006). A valid concern held by some researchers is that in creating equivalence between men’s studies and women’s studies, men will be allowed to reoccupy the role of representing society as a whole (Hearn 2004; Solomon-Godeau 1995). Alberti (2006) suggests that the key to including narratives about men without reinstating a vision of normative masculinity is to acknowledge that masculinities are fluid, permeable and historically situated. Furthermore, if masculinity is culturally and temporally contingent and changing, there can exist no study of masculinity that is not also a study of other simultaneously constructed and situated subjects. That is to say, that men cannot be studied outside of their relationships with the larger community, including women.
**Masculinity in Anthropology**

Anthropology is by definition the study of “man”. However, during the 1980s anthropologists began studying men as engendered persons (Gutmann 1997). Anthropology’s first major study of manhood was published in 1980. In his volume *Metaphors of Masculinity*, Brandes takes the stance that male identity is formed in relation to women. He makes the argument that although women may not always be physically present, and even when they are not included in men’s conscious thoughts, the existence of women is a fundamental element in understanding men’s self-awareness (Brandes 1980). Gutmann (1996) supports this thesis and argues that the majority of men for most of their lives understand their male identity in relation to female identities.

Two distinct methodological approaches have traditionally been used in the anthropological study of masculinities. One treats exclusive men’s events, exclusively male organizations, and male-only locations. The theory behind this approach is that by eliminating the presence of women, one can study what is at the core of masculinity and male behaviors. The other approach includes descriptions and analysis of women as integral and important to the study of manhood and masculinity (Gutmann 1997). The starting position of this school of thought is the assumption that men removed from women do not possess a more authentic form of masculinity. The first approach includes studies such as those by Gilmore (1990), whose work uses a structuralist perspective to imply an underlying “deep structure” of masculinity that is thought to exist on a cross-
cultural level that maintains constancy throughout history. The alternative explanation details the flexibility and fluid nature of masculinities within specific spatial and temporal contexts. Proponents of this theory accept that a universal male perspective simply does not exist (Yanagisako and Collier 1987). Understanding masculinity by adding women’s voices and experience may seem paradoxical, but without a female presence being male has no point of reference. Thus, masculinities develop and transform and have little meaning except in relation to women, female practices, and identities (Gutmann 1997). While a male gendered space may be dominated by the presence of people who identify as men, without women they are nothing. Performances of normative female behaviors also work to delineate a range of actions and activities that may be inappropriate for men and so reinforce a manufactured distinction between male and female identity.

Anthropological studies of masculinities typically focus on a wide variety of tropes and themes ranging from cultural area studies and depictions of normative masculinity in particular regions (Gutmann 1996; Huang 2006; Vale de Almeida 1997), gendered divisions of labor (Nakatani 1995; Sideris 2004), gender subcultures (Auslander 2006; Kulick 1998), and parenting (Coles 2002; Gutmann 1996) to name a few. Rather than an updated version of the battle of the sexes, anthropologists seek to decipher the enigma of how and why males become masculine.
Masculinities in Archaeology

While archaeological studies of masculinities remain far from common, there exists a small but growing body of research. Works that focus explicitly on masculinity include general theoretical pieces (Alberti 1997, 2006; Ceasar 1999; Knapp 1998a, 1998b; Knapp and Meskell 1997; Meskell 1996; Nordlaladh and Yates 1990), and studies of the formation of masculine identities (Harrison 2002; Joyce 2000; Shanks 1996; Treherne 1995; Yates 1993). Much of the archaeological research on masculinities comes from classical archaeology (see Alberti 1997; Foxhall and Salmon 1998a, 1998b; Shanks 1996) and historical archaeology (see Hadley 1998; Harrison 2002; Wilkie 1998). With the exception of Joyce’s (2000, 2004) work on the Classic Period Maya in Honduras, there are no accessible studies explicitly examining masculinity in Latin America and none focusing on the Spanish colonial period.

Gender Performance

One theory that has had an influence on contemporary archaeological gender studies is that of gender as performance. Before the advent of third-wave feminism, anthropologists viewed gender as the cultural expression of biologically determined sex (Perry and Joyce 2001). Gender was an invariable element, a state of being rather than an act of doing (Hawkesworth 1997). Judith Butler rejected the notion of static gender identity when proposing the concept of gender as performance to argue against assumptions that gender processes contain inherent natural or presocial meaning (Butler 1990, 1993). No true
gender identity exists behind expressions of gender; rather identity is formed by the expressions that are often believed to be the result (Butler 1990). Gendering is an ongoing process that involves "stylized repetition of acts" through time (Butler 1990:179). Gender is an intentional and performative act executed in a socially contingent, dramatic manner to construct social meaning. Gender performance involves repetitive actions performed in public forums where postures, gestures, movements, dress, interactions with objects, production of goods and the manipulation of space are the actor’s repertoire (Butler 1990). As material objects are implicated in gender performance, archaeologists are well positioned to examine these gendering processes. As a result of the repetitive nature of gendering processes, common types of material culture documented in the archaeological record represent the mechanisms that regulate gender identity (Perry and Joyce 2001).

A combination of explicit ritual performance and the implicit performance of repeated everyday activities conspire to regulate gender within social mores. Formalized ceremonialism offers the citational imagery of gender performance by displaying an unobtainable ideal for emulation (Butler 1993). Everyday reenactments of this idealized performance are aspirational rather than achievable, but the gender performances can inspire actual change within individuals. Ritual or ceremonial performance provides one physical location where gender ideals are presented as examples for emulation in everyday life (Perry and Joyce 2001). Beyond providing a citational example, sanctioned public performance also works to regulate normative behaviors by providing an
arena to evaluate an individual’s compliance with stated ideals. This combination of citational public performance and repetitive emulation of that performance is relevant to a study of religious institutions where explicit citational identities are clearly expressed.

**Caste Identity**

One element of an individual’s identity is caste. In studying masculinities within the Mercedarian and Augustinian monasteries, this work examines concepts of identity in a Spanish colonial context. Categories of gender, race and class crystallized within a milieu conscious caste. As early as the 1600s in New Spain writers were already commenting on the system of social castes based on the desire to maintain pure bloodlines (Cope 1994). People from the geographical regions of America, Iberia and Africa were thought to form natural racial groups. These concepts of blood purity had a large influence on the organization of the Spanish colonies in the Americas. Laws were structured around the existence of two republics: the *República de españoles* [Republic of the Spanish] and the *República de indios* [Republic of the Indians]. Enslaved Africans formed a separate legal group (Mörner 1967). These legal categories formalized physical criteria for power inequity between colonizers and colonized, as well as slaves and their owners (Voss 2005). In the Spanish colonies, caste labels gave order to groups of individuals using complex variables such as legal status, ethnicity, racial categories, and economic roles (Jamieson 2005a). These neat categories were however, quickly complicated by a growing number of castes including those for free African slaves and people of mixed ancestry.
Although skin tone played a major role in determining caste and thus one’s place in society, it was not the exclusive deciding factor of caste identity. Other influences on caste were elements such as lineage, class, mannerisms and material wealth (Cope 2004; Loren 2001). Castes were also strongly influenced by gender and sexual identities, particularly by masculine honor (Voss 2005).

**Masculine Honor**

Historians of the Spanish colonies trace ideological lineages surrounding masculine honor to practices in Europe that were then transplanted to the Americas in the 15th and 16th centuries (Gutierrez 1993; Hurtado 1999; Twinam 1999). Masculine honor was in part accrued through sexual conquests outside the family and also by protecting female relatives from engaging in dishonorable sexual relationships (Gutierrez 1993). The system of castes worked to define honorable and dishonorable sexual relationships. Unlike social categories based solely on skin color, caste was a relatively fluid concept that could change depending on an individual’s economic and social mobility through marriage or the birth of a child (Jamieson 2005a; Powers 1998). Caste was a powerful determinant of social identity, particularly for individuals or families performing the socially expected functions of their standing. This resulted in the strict social enforcement of normative behavior.

Bacigalupo (2004) provides an example of the Spanish perception of idealized sexuality and gender. She cites Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan in her description of the Spanish ideal in masculinity. They argued that “distinctions were drawn to differentiate between Spanish and Indigenous peoples,
Christianity and witchcraft, reproductive sexuality and sodomy, and masculinity and effeminacy as a means for policing boundaries between the Spanish self and abject Indigenous.” Terms generally associated with Spanish honor and manhood included “noble, generous, brave and smart” (Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan 1863[1673]: 107, 157-159). Christian norms associated masculinity with austerity, resistance to sexual appetite, and mastery of impulse towards pleasure (Halperin 2000), although in practice many Spanish soldiers engaged in conspicuous extramarital affairs and fathered children with Indigenous women. Markers of masculinity had their celebrants in the barracks, reinforcing the acceptance of alternative expressions of sexuality and gender performances.

An idealized image of masculine honor was presented as a citational edict, something aspirational but never truly achieved (Butler 1993). Men instead, through their direct interactions with women gained an alternative form of social capital (Bourdieu 1984), which translated as power and influenced their gender identity as well as their caste. Although public performance (i.e. religious services, the judicial system etc.) explicitly stated otherwise, a strong powerful man was generally expected to have many sexual partners and prevent their female relatives from doing the same. Out of wedlock male sexual behavior was a manifestation of power and control. Sexual conquest reified one’s masculine power as it indicated that the man had won a competition over the woman’s male relatives who could not keep him away. It also reinforced a false distinction between men and women. Men could choose between masculine honor, sexual conquest or a combination of the two and negotiate a more complex gender
identity. Women, on the other hand, were publicly viewed as having no control over their sexual impulses and needing a male relative to ensure their chastity and social value. Caste and honor centered on the family and social standing within the community. A man’s responsibility was to protect his family’s caste status for future generations both through his own reproduction and also by maintaining the chastity of the family’s women.

Household behaviors were strongly gendered. Those who cooked and collected herbs were believed to necessarily engage in “receptive intercourse” with men (Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan 1863[1673]; Ovalle 1888[1646]; Smith 1855). Spaniards also viewed the practices of politics and warfare as inherently masculine. The heroes of such events were masculine kings and strong knights. Piety and spirituality were the qualities of good women (Bachigalupo 2004).

**Religious Masculinity**

Priests and men living within religious institutions necessarily lived in a separate social context and experienced their gender identity differently than their civilian brothers. Religious men did not have traditional family units and took a vow to refrain from sexual behaviors. Therefore they minimized the divide between citational performances and the expectations of actualized masculinity. As a result of their vows of celibacy, those living within the monastery necessarily formed their gender identities absent from sexuality (Gilchrist 2000). Since they had neither sexual exploits to brag about nor family honor to protect, religious men often came closer to the goal of citational masculine honor thus accruing value within the community as men of restraint and temperance. Although
religious men experienced gender differently than other men in the larger community, they were not considered effeminate or lacking in social status. Priestly authority emanated from their holding institutional religious power. For example, Jesuits considered themselves “soldiers of Christ” who battled against vices, temptations and sins of the devil (Olivares 1864), drawing a direct analogy between their way of life and the masculine vocation. Vows of obedience, poverty and chastity encouraged both physical and emotional closeness between religious men while at the same time creating a safeguard against same sex relationships. Priests viewed their brotherhood as masculine because they rejected those things feminine and womanly (Bacigalupo 2004).

Explicitly stated rules surrounding masculine honor and gender identity were performed and repeated with regular frequency within monastic settings. Public services used ritual, mannerisms and dress to reinforce the sobriety and physical restraint associated with honorable masculine behavior. Religious masses became an arena for public performance where priests could use their moral authority to pontificate on proper ways to live and behave within society. These public performances were responsible for planting kernels of ideals surrounding honorable behaviors and reinforcing them on a regular basis. However those behaviors repeated on an everyday basis outside of the public eye did the most to establish and reinforce how particular individuals could and should behave.

Many archaeologists believe that material culture plays an active role in identity formation. Instead of certain people choosing to use particular objects,
the objects themselves play a role in selecting the people who use them (Alberti 2001; Joyce 1998, 2001). Within a monastery, repetitive behaviors such as prayer and meditation consciously reinforced the ideals both of masculine honor and the contemplative religious life. Religious art and imagery surrounded priests as physical reminders of pain, suffering, humility and stoicism. Equally important in defining these men, are the objects that they conspicuously eschewed. Institutional wealth and land holdings that were managed and controlled by the men living within the monasteries (AHCC/R 1746; AHCC/R 1746d; AHCC/R 1749g; AHCC/R 1753d; 1766a) contrasted starkly with vows of poverty. Landholdings provided a means of providing for the institutions as well as for the men living within them and gave the institutions a larger degree of power in the communities (Cushner 1980, 1982). It was through this balance between the prescribed life of auster humility, and the reality of economic power and control, that each individual defined themselves within the range of possibilities for gender and identity.

Religious men provide a strong example of non-binary genders. They embody the exception to the normative heterosexual binary division that breaks down the reality of the structure (Butler 1990; Fausto-Sterling 2000). If there are individuals who do not fit into the binary structure, it is clearly not as natural as was once believed. Colonial association between gender performance and sexuality dictated that if a man displayed behavior considered inappropriate for men, it raised doubts about his heterosexuality because it contradicted the stereotype for masculinity and the heterosexual binary norm. Religious men lived
outside this sort of critique. “The Catholic priest was the only national male personage who acts as an intermediary with the divine and who holds authority, yet he wears skirts and has a sexuality distinct from that of the ordinary family man” (Bachigalupo 2004).

While religious men clearly believed themselves to be real men, they followed a different set of gender expectations than other men in the colonies. Priests performed different versions of masculinities than civilian men who also existed within a range of acceptable norms. Spanish mores dictated that masculinity be associated with resistance to sexual appetites and self-discipline. Through their vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, priests were perhaps closer to obtaining these Spanish ideals than any other men in the colonies. Like all individuals, the actualized individual gender identities of each man varied. Some were closer to obtaining priestly masculinity than others, but they shared a common goal of temperance and restraint.

**Monastery Organization**

Within the city of colonial of Riobamba there were six religious institutions that housed men and one for women. All of them were located within a few blocks of the main plaza (Figure 6). It is difficult to assess the exact number of individuals who lived within these institutions, because many important documents regarding religious activities remain inaccessible to secular researchers (Gibbs 1989). The majority of monasteries were two story cloisters built around two patios. Examples of typical constructions are seen in figures 3-5.
Figure 3, San Francisco Monastery, Quito, Ecuador

Figure 4, Santo Domingo Monastery, Oaxaca City, Mexico
As a result of living in an uncloistered environment, religious men performed their daily tasks in regular contact with people outside of their orders. For members of many monasteries, duties included operating hospitals, running schools and universities, teaching the fundamentals of Catholicism, staffing orphanages or serving as parish priests. Religious orders often owned farms and haciendas where a particular friar would be given the responsibility of overseeing the property. The order’s numbers were in many cases however, insufficient to have a friar physically present at each rural property (Cushner 1982). Daily activities for priests and friars living within the monasteries instead included giving masses, engaging in meditation and religious study, and facilitating the clerical side of the order’s financial pursuits, in most instances from a distance.

Just as the priests and friars had access to the outside world, the monastery was not the exclusive realm of the religious men. In addition to a range of friars from diverse backgrounds, the monasteries housed servants,
slaves and numerous other laborers (Cushner 1982; Gibbs 1989). In most cases the bulk of manual labor within the monastery was preformed by paid outside laborers while the friars held positions of greater responsibility (Gibbs 1989).

Religious men within the monasteries were by no means a monolithic entity. Among the friars, regional elite families were often well represented. Individuals from privileged families might preserve a collection of private possessions or hold a *capellanía* [an endowment that required the recipient to say a certain number of masses for the donor or the donors family] or other ecclesiastical endowments that provided them with a generous fixed income. These endowments were provided by family members with the purpose of maintaining an heir in the clergy who could give regular masses on their behalf (Taylor 1996). Individuals from the middle sector might have been able to pay to support themselves within the monastery, but without the additional possessions, servants or private residences that those in the wealthier sector might have possessed. Poorer clergy members might have had difficulty fulfilling their obligation to support themselves within the monastery (Gibbs 1989). Within a society were wealth was a clear reflection of status, caste, and power, those who brought with them to the monastery a higher level of wealth quickly filled the upper ranks of religious hierarchy.

**Summary**

The study of Spanish colonial monastic men represents a field of research that is inherently multidisciplinary. Drawn into this discussion are issues of religion, performance, caste, gender, as well as the individual histories of place.
Consequently, the expertise of a variety of researchers and theorists outside of the field of archaeology, have contributed many insights for this body of work. I have discussed these influences throughout this chapter. The conclusions in a study such as this can only be improved from this kind of multidisciplinary approach.
CHAPTER 4: METHODS

This chapter recounts the methodology used in the excavation and processing of artifacts recovered from the Mercedarian and Augustinian Monastery sites. In the following pages I describe the survey that was done on the sites of the Mercedarian and Augustinian monasteries, how locations for excavation were selected, and the information that was gleaned from each site and unit. Along with these descriptions are included maps and Harris Matrices of each site as well as sidewall profiles from every excavated unit. During the excavation process, soil samples were collected from each recorded context, and this chapter also describes the process used to extract floral remains from these samples. The intention of this chapter is to place my material culture and interpretations within a context where they can be easily followed and understood.

Field Work

The excavation portion of my research was completed over two field seasons spent working in Sicalpa, Ecuador. Initially, I spent three months in the field, from May 15th through August 15th 2004, and the second season lasted ten months, from September 24th 2005 through July 16th 2006.

Excavated contexts whenever possible consisted of stratigraphic layers. In several instances however, stratigraphy did not become apparent until post-
excavation analysis were complete. Sediments were sifted through rocker screens made of 1/8-inch metal mesh. A Munsell soil color chart was used to identify the sediment color from each context, supported by detailed notes. Digital photographs recorded the matrix upon completion of each level, and I drew all recorded features and the sidewalls of each unit. I kept a field journal that included information regarding the weather, field conditions, purchases, the names of workers involved in the excavation of each unit, as well as community relations during our time in the field.

In addition to other excavation techniques, a soil sample was collected from each excavated context with the exception of those contexts made up of modern plowzone. Unless otherwise noted I treated the turned soil as one stratum and I discarded it without screening. These soil samples were later floated using a SMAP (Shell Mound Archaeological Project) flotation machine (Pearsall 2000) and samples were separated into heavy and light fractions for future botanical analysis. During the 2004 field season I collected 3-liter soil samples, which proved inadequate. Preliminary flotation showed that botanical yields from these samples were relatively small, so I increased the quantity of soil to 5-liter samples during the 2005 and 2006 excavations.
Excavation 2004

During the 2004 field season I focused on surveying the area and selecting locations suitable for placing my excavation units. Figure 6 illustrates a modern municipal map of Sicalpa showing the locations of the town’s colonial monasteries and convent.

Based on my survey consults I selected a portion of the colonial Mercedarian Monastery for my first excavation (Figure 7). This property is located directly north of the Sicalpa River and is currently divided into four agricultural fields with three different property owners. The easternmost of these four properties contained some of the original church walls. In 1984 and 1985 Dr. Holguer Jara Chávez excavated the interior portion of the church and a small area just west of the church walls. His 1991 report outlining this work included photographs of some floors uncovered in the Merced Church and a few artifacts he recovered. It does not, however, indicate exactly where on the site he excavated nor did he include further details about excavation techniques or findings (Jara Chávez 1991). A steep cliff-like bank along the northern edge of the Sicalpa River clearly revealed both the stratigraphy of the site as well as the outer walls that would have defined the Mercedarian property. The property boundaries match closely with the current property lines indicating that modern agricultural fields maintain boundaries similar to those of the original colonial grid.
Figure 6, Sicalpa Municipal Map, (based on Jara Chávez 1991)
Between June 21st and 25th 2004, I surveyed the four agricultural fields corresponding with the colonial property and measured the perimeters. Each of the agricultural fields was treated as a distinct site. Beginning with the easternmost I named them “Merced”, then “Casita” and west of that “Antonio”, followed by “Segunda” at the far western end of the property. Members of the Pumayallo family own all four of the fields. A generation ago they had originally
belonged to a single owner and upon his death were divided among his three children. This land is considered very good for agriculture because an irrigation ditch runs along the northern edge and the fields have access to running water.

Manuela Pumayallo was the owner of the Merced property, and for the majority of the year she used it to grow alfalfa to support her guinea pig ranch. Merced measured 32 X 51 X 30 X 46 meters. For my survey I used a 10 cm bucket auger at 5-meter intervals across the site to test for possible excavation locations. Each auger hole was numbered and marked with a nail and a piece of flagging tape for later mapping. In total I made seventy auger tests around this site. I collected bucket auger samples until I reached sterile soil or if I reached some obstacle such as large rocks and could go no further. If the auger hit an impassable rock, another perforation was made in an attempt to locate a better sample. After the third attempt in a single location we moved on to the next area on the grid. Units that produced colonial deposits to depths of 1.8 meters or greater, and were comparatively rich with ceramics, tile and bone were marked as possible locations for excavation. About half way through the survey of the Merced site I learned that the southern portion of the site, which represented the interior of the Mercedarian Church, had been excavated during the 1980s in a very crude manner using picks and shovels. The landowner walked my crew through the site and showed us exactly where these excavations had taken place. Included in the previously excavated area was the majority of the southern half of the Merced site and about 10 meters extending into the southern end of Casita. Auger tests confirmed that the terrain in these areas had in fact been
disturbed as the sediments were much softer and artifacts were mixed with modern debris to a much deeper level than in other locations on the site.

Based on the artifact density and the depth of undisturbed colonial deposits, I selected several locations on the Merced site for possible excavation. During this field season I excavated two 1X1 meter units to a depth of about 180 cm respectively (Figure 7).

The site of Casita measured 8 X 46 X 7 X 38 meters in total; the field was divided into northern and southern portions with a small adobe house measuring 5.6 X 5 meters in the middle. I sank twelve auger holes on this site in 5-meter intervals. Similarly to Merced, the southern portion of Casita showed signs of disturbance from previous excavation. Casita is owned by the Pumayallo family collectively and is sometimes used to graze sheep. It is considered unfavorable for tillage. The area has been used to dispose of rocks from the other agricultural fields and crab grass grows in abundance.

Due to the highly disturbed nature of the auger samples taken from the Casita site and extremely shallow artifact layers, I did not place any excavation units here.

The site of Antonio measured 20 X 40 meters. I dug thirty-two auger holes in this property at 5-meter intervals. The site of Antonio appeared to be undisturbed and contained many cultural deposits over 2 meters in depth. This site is owned by Antonio Pumayallo and is used to grow onions when the onion market is strong. Otherwise it stays fallow and is pasturage for sheep.
The site of Antonio revealed several auger holes with high artifact density that appeared to be favorable locations for excavation. During 2004 a single 1X1 meter unit was excavated on this site. During the 2005-2006 field season I opened a second unit on the Antonio site that measured 2X2 meters square, with an additional 1X1 meter extension on at the northwest corner (Figure 7).

The fourth agricultural field I named Segunda. It measured 20 X 37 X 20 X 39 meters. During the 2004 field season this site supported a verdant alfalfa crop and during the 2005-2006 field season carrots and onions grew there. Consequently we were denied access for survey, excavation and mapping.

Segunda Pumayallo owns this field that runs along the western portion of the Mercedarian property. The western end of this field is marked by a subterranean stone wall which clearly demarcates the boundary of both the modern and colonial property.

As a result of having no access to the site of Segunda, I did not extend data collection beyond my visual survey. However, I would expect to find undisturbed archaeological deposits very similar to those in the site of Antonio and the undisturbed portions of Merced.

Several additional auger holes in the sites of Merced and Antonio showed a great deal of promise for the recovery of undisturbed colonial deposits, architectural information, and insights into the layout of the monastery. Unfortunately, we were not allowed to continue excavating any of these sites. Towards the beginning of October 2005, Antonio Pumayallo informed us that he wanted to plant onions in his field and that in order to continue excavating on his
property we would need to pay him a large amount of money. My project did not have sufficient funds to pay landowners on a weekly basis for the use of their properties, so we were asked to backfill our unit and discontinue excavation on this site. As the landowners of each of the sites making up the Mercedarian property are members of the same family, they rejected our request to excavate in any of the adjoining properties either. Therefore, while a fairly extensive survey of this monastery has been completed, the full archaeological potential of the Mercedarian property remains unknown and a great deal of latent information remains.

**Merced Site Orientation**

Today the location of the Mercedarian Monastery, which is made up of the sites of Merced, Casita, Antonio and Segunda consists of agricultural fields where the plowzone covers the entire area. Across the site, this extends to about 30 cm below the ground surface and contains modern refuse such as plastic and nails. Below the plowzone layer each of the units contains a considerable amount of 19th century Republican period ceramics mixed with colonial materials. This layer spans the whole site to a depth of about 50-60 cm below the ground level. Colonial deposits are found below this level and extend to a considerable depth. Due to the modern slope of the land colonial period deposits are much deeper at the southern end of the property and shallower on the northern side. Materials deposited along the southern edge reach 240 cm below the surface, while those in the north reach about 160 cm in depth. Remnants of colonial architecture include standing church walls on the southern side of the site of Merced and
what may be dormitory structures across the site of Antonio. The northern end of Merced appears to be made up of colonial gardens.

The Harris Matrix is a technique for visually depicting chronological events across archaeological sites. The matrix represents relative position and stratigraphic contacts of observable contexts (Harris 1989). During the excavation I assigned a unique number for the purpose of identification to each context across each of the sites. Once excavations were complete, I consulted the Harris Matrix for each site. The numbering system used for these matrices was different from that of the original context numbers, and in cases where a stratigraphic event occurred within more than one unit context, they were combined to form a single context within the Harris Matrix. Figure 8 shows the result for the site of Merced.
Figure 8, Merced Harris Matrix, a visual representation of the temporal relations of excavated contexts

**Merced Unit 1**

This was the first unit excavated on the Merced site. It was a 1X1 meter square that was given the arbitrary number of 90 to begin the first context. From 0-20 cm below surface this unit consisted of modern dark gray plowzone that I excavated in arbitrary 10 cm increments. At 20 cm the sediments became compact and less disturbed marking the end of the plowzone.
From 20-60 cm below surface the unit revealed dry dark grayish brown, somewhat rocky, sediment that I excavated in arbitrary 10 cm levels until the soils became black in color at 60 cm. Artifacts in this layer were a mixture of colonial and Republican period materials. These contexts seem to represent a Republican period occupation, dating between 1830-1895 roughly.

Between 70 and 140 cm below the surface this unit consisted of rich black sediments with humus and carbon inclusions. A collapsed stone wall was recorded in this unit along with a large amount of animal bone and colonial period household refuse. The colonial provenience speaks of a garden located to the northern end of the Mercedarian church. Like most colonial period gardens it was also a dump for household garbage. A stone wall bordered at least one of the edges of this garden. This excavation proceeded in arbitrary 10 cm levels until soils became very hard.

From 140-160 cm below surface sediments were made up of black paleosol with heavy cracks from seismic movement. This layer was excavated in arbitrary 10 cm contexts until sterile soils were reached. The hard subsoil located beneath this garden cracked during the earthquake because unlike the softer sediments in higher levels it was unable to move with the shifting earth.

During an earthquake, either that of 1797, or one of the many earlier occurrences, the ground shook causing large cracks and air pockets in the soil. The garden wall also collapsed either during the same seismic event or at a later time. The fallen wall was then covered by sediments and Republican period debris, and finally by a cap of modern plowzone.
Figure 9, Merced Unit 1 sidewall profile

- **Context 90**: Modern agricultural
- **Context 91, 92**: Dark grayish-brown, hard
- **Context 93, 94**: Dark grayish-brown, sandy
- **Context 95, 96, 97**: Dark grey with flecks of yellow and plaster
- **Context 98**: Dark gray
- **Context 99, 100**: Very dark gray, domestic refuse
- **Context 101**: Black
- **Sterile Soil**
**Merced Unit 2**

I opened a second 1X1 meter unit on the Merced site. Descending from 0-20 cm below the ground surface the unit featured a mottled dark grayish to brown modern plowzone. I excavated this layer as an arbitrary 20 cm context until I reached a more compact and less disturbed level. Figure 10 illustrates graphically the following discussion.

Below this plowzone, from 20-80 cm below the surface, I unearthed black sediments of medium compaction that had tile inclusions and flecks of yellow clay. Artifacts recovered from this layer dated to both the colonial and Republican periods, which is consistent with the accumulation of 19th century Republican period refuse deposited in the area.

The matrix between 80 and 196 cm below the ground surface of this unit consisted of densely packed, medium-hard very dark brown clay-like sediments with inclusions of carbon, tile and a wide range of artifacts. The sediments in this layer are believed to represent one of the mudslides that occurred following the 1797 earthquake that destroyed the colonial city. As mud poured down from the hills, artifacts became trapped and were pushed along in the strong current. When it dried it formed a very densely packed hard layer with artifacts incorporated throughout. This level was excavated in arbitrary 10 cm contexts. At approximately 175 cm in depth the unit was divided in half and the western half of the unit was excavated to the natural end of this mudflow context at 196 cm in depth. The sediments excavated in this half of the unit remained very much the
same as those in the rest of this level. They were dense, clay-like and contained a mixed assemblage of artifacts.

Excavation of this unit offered an opportunity to observe a small portion of what occurred in the aftermath of the 1797 earthquake. While this unit does not provide evidence conclusive enough to identify the colonial use of this cultural area, it reinforces the documentary statements that following the earthquake, the rivers changed course and mud flowed through the town. My belief is that the mudflow I discovered in this unit occurred in the aftermath of the 1797 earthquake. The artifacts removed from this cap of clay-like sediments were trapped by the force of this river of mud and pushed along by tide until the church wall. Directly south of this unit the debris flow stopped its descent. Following the earthquake and mudslide, Republican period, modern materials, and finally an agricultural layer covered this unit.

**Antonio Unit 1**

The third and final unit excavated during the 2004 field season was a 1X1 meter unit in the site of Antonio. Because the stratigraphy on the Merced site appeared to be very similar to that of the Antonio site, I discarded the plowzone sediment without screening. This 30 cm layer was too churned up and displayed no provenance information.

Although the site of Antonio contained very similar stratigraphy to Merced, it was a discreet site and so an independent Harris Matrix was produced for these contexts. Figure 11 displays my analysis in a graphic format.
Figure 10, Merced Unit 2 sidewall profile

- Context 120, 121: Modern agricultural
- Context 122, 123: Dark brown, clay with tile inclusions
- Context 124, 125: Black, lumpy clay with yellow subsoil inclusions
- Context 126: Very dark gray, hard mud with lime and rock
- Context 127: Sandy
- Context 128: Mud flow
- Context 129: Black, hard mud
Figure 11, Antonio Harris Matrix, a visual representation of the temporal relations of excavated contexts
Under the plowzone, from 30-50 cm below surface, the sediments were very dark brown and of medium compaction. Artifacts from this level were a combination of colonial and Republican period materials. At this depth I dug two 10 cm levels, through a matrix that appeared to represent fill from the Republican period occupation. This layer gave way to gravely sediments that measured 10 cm in thickness.

Below the gravel from 60-120 cm below the surface, the unit consisted of dark brown clay-like sediments of medium compaction with inclusions of gravel, tile and construction plaster. Republican period ceramics no longer appeared in this context and consequently it is believed that undisturbed colonial deposits began at this point. I excavated through this stratum in arbitrary 10 cm increments until I reached a sandier layer.

As I dug from 120-190 cm below the surface the unit consisted of a layer of yellowish brown sand. I excavated this sandy matrix in two 30 cm levels and one 10 cm level. Although I could identify no intact tile roof, nor floor, I did find an extremely large quantity of both ladrillo (6.961 Kg) [ceramic floor tile] and teja (24.049 Kg) [ceramic roof tile] in this layer. This led me to conclude I had found the remains of a collapsed architectural structure. I am convinced this was the occupation level at the time of the earthquake. This stratum continued until I uncovered a layer of river rocks.

In the subsequent 20 centimeters, 190-210 cm below surface, the unit revealed a layer of river cobble forming an empedrado [cobbled] floor. The rocks in this unit were cleaned, recorded and photographed, but were never removed
from the unit. The 1X1 meter unit was too confined to excavate any deeper than we were, so ending depths were taken at 210 cm. This was likely not the first occupation and deposits might have continued deeper than the level of this floor.

After further excavations in 2005-2006 I gained a firmer understanding of what we had unearthed in this unit. Because sterile soil was never reached I can only speculate on any earlier uses of the site, but I clearly excavated part of an architectural structure. The *empedrado* floor at the bottom of our excavation unit was not a floor to be walked upon, but instead a foundation layer used to help create a level tile floor. On top of the river cobbles sand was spread to even the surface for laying tile and perhaps also to benefit from its insulative properties. *Ladrillo* floor tiles were placed on top of the sand. This unit did not appear to contain any sort of walls, but from remaining standing architecture, and the excavation of other units, I contend that at least some of the architectural walls on this site were constructed from cut stone and others were likely constructed of whitewashed adobe. Above the *ladrillo* floor there was often found pockets of air and the material culture remains from the room in question, and atop this a collapsed *teja* roof. This unit did not contain a clearly defined *ladrillo* floor or *teja* roof, but instead had a large quantity of the two tile types mixed together. This may be evidence of damage that occurred to the structure. Sediments found above the layer of dense tile were deposited following the abandonment of the colonial monastery in the Republican period and the top 40 cm or so are a layer of modern plowzone.
Figure 12, Antonio Unit 1 sidewall profile

Excavation 2005

In October 2005, I returned to Ecuador to continue excavating the property formerly belonging to the Mercedarian Monastery. From information gathered
during the 2004 excavations I knew that colonial deposits in this area extended to more than 2 meters in depth, and to reach sterile soil we would need to open up larger units than we had in the previous season. The unit that I selected for excavation was initially a 2X2 meter unit on the Antonio site. As excavations proceeded we opened an additional 1X1 meter unit off of the northwest corner of that 2X2.

**Antonio Unit 2**

Once again the plow zone reached from 0-30 cm below the surface level. These sediments consisted of a dark gray ashy matrix I excavated as a single arbitrary 30 cm level. Below this level the soils became more compact and appeared undisturbed.

When I reached the layer from 30-60 cm below the surface I encountered very dark gray ashy sediments. This layer I excavated in arbitrary 10 cm levels. The artifacts recovered from this layer were a mixture of colonial and Republican period materials, and I inferred that they represent Republican period fill. From about 45 cm and deeper, the southern portion of the unit became a hard packed yellow sterile soil completely devoid of material culture while the northern portion remained softer, ashy and full of artifacts. I decided to continue excavating in only the northern 1X2 while observing the sidewall in the southern 1X2 for any stratigraphic changes and possibly return to the southern 1X2 if it appeared to provide useful information. In addition, I opened a 1X1 meter unit was directly off of the northwest corner of the original 2x2 meter unit. The stratigraphy of the top
60 cm of the new 1X1 appeared contiguous with my original excavation unit and below 60 cm there was no difference.

This feature gradually gave way to another sediment type between 70-110 cm below the surface. Sediments in this stratum consisted of dark brown ashy clay. I excavated this layer in arbitrary 10 cm levels until I discovered a wall at about 105 cm. This level I surmised held undisturbed colonial period material cultural. I labeled the wall context 84 and measured it as 90 cm X 1m running north to south almost directly in the center of the unit. The sediments on either side of this context were very similar to those immediately above and I gave them the same context number. Context 84 I left in place while the sediments around it I excavated.

Below the wall, from 110-130 cm below the surface, the unit consisted of black soil of medium compaction with pockets of pink sand. In addition to the sand, I recovered carbon, pumice and masonry stone. My interpretation indicated an architectural construction with affiliated artifacts. I excavated this stratum in arbitrary 10 cm contexts until I reached a layer of floor tiles on the western side of the wall. At this point I named the two sides of the wall as separate contexts.

I reached the next stratum between 130 and 150 cm below the surface. On the western side of the wall I unearthed a layer of floor tiles capped by loose sand. I excavated there in arbitrary 10 cm contexts until I exposed a layer of river cobbles. I posit the sand to be deliberately packed on top of the river cobbles as a construction technique for leveling a floor surface before laying down floor tiles.
Although the entire tiled floor was not recovered, the three layers were recovered in sufficient quantity to clearly understand the construction method in question.

Concurrently I excavated between 130 and 160 cm below the surface on the eastern side of the same wall. Here the unit consisted of dark gray sediments of medium compaction with inclusions of pink sand pockets, pumice and masonry stone. I also found small fragments of the remains of an adobe wall that was covered in a white wash material. I dug into sediments of this stratum in arbitrary 10 cm increments until I uncovered a layer of sand. With the knowledge that there was an architectural structure on the opposite side of the wall, I concluded that this level represented materials from a collapsed building.

Figure 13, Antonio Unit 2, Empedrado floor
I continued to dig down and defined another level between 160 and 175 cm below the surface on the eastern side of the wall. The unit consisted of a layer of pink sand on which a couple of floor tiles were placed. I treated this level as a single context that ended when I got to a layer of river cobbles. A second living surface in this unit led to the insight that the wall in the center of the unit was an interior wall separating two discrete rooms. Thus, the exterior walls of this building were likely constructed of the white washed adobe material that I recovered from a shallower stratum.

When I got to the 175-207 cm level on the eastern side of the wall, the unit opened onto an *empedrado* floor constructed of river cobbles. These cobbles were excavated as a single context until a soil matrix to reveal the floor beneath. The river stones were likely placed below the sand and tile during the construction of the excavated building.

From 150-220 cm below the surface on the western side of the wall, and from 207-240 cm on the eastern side of the wall the unit consisted of very dark gray firmly packed sediments. I excavated this level in arbitrary 20 cm increments. The large number of artifacts and soil inclusions recovered from underneath the floor of this structure are believed to be a fill of household refuse that was put in place prior to the construction of the building, perhaps to act as a portion of the building’s foundation.

At this point in the excavation that we started having some serious trouble with the landowner. He insisted that to continue excavating on his property that I would need to pay him more money than we had previously agreed upon. My
budget did not allow me to pay a large amount of money for land use, and my greater concern was that if he didn’t keep our original agreement there was no telling if he would abide by a new agreement. He insisted that if I could not pay more money that we needed to backfill the unit and stop all excavations. I hastily sketched the profile of this unit before backfilling. I then mapped the coordinates using a theodolite. The sites of Merced, Casita and Segunda also became inaccessible for excavation because there were owned by members of the same family who were aware of the conflict that our crew had with Antonio Pumayallo.

Based on my excavation in this unit I surmised I found portions of two rooms and the interior wall separating them. Due to its proximity to the church and its austere collection of material remains, I submit that these rooms were part of a dormitory unit used to house friars. Unlike kitchen structures that were commonly built over dirt floors, the living quarters within colonial monasteries almost always were constructed with tile floors (Jara Chávez 1991). Although I did not reach sterile soil in this unit, we did excavate beneath the floor of the structure and revealed a layer of household refuse. I posit that this cap of fill was used to level the ground before laying the foundation of the building. On top of this fill on either side of the wall was a layer of river cobbles. The cobble layer was covered with sand and floor tiles were placed atop it. Some of the floor tiles in this unit remained in place, however it was obvious that there had been a fair amount of disturbance and much of the floor had shifted and been jumbled considerably. Above this floor I recovered artifacts including nails, ceramic sherds and glass were recovered along with clumps of adobe coated in plaster
that may have been fragments from whitewashed walls. I did not discover an intact roof, however, the quantity of roof tile increased above the layer of the floor indicating that there was a tile roof that had collapsed. Above the layer of roof tile we found Republican period artifacts and later modern.

Figure 14, Antonio 2 sidewall profile
Excavation 2006

Upon discovering that I would no longer be permitted to excavate within the Mercedarian Monastery, the trajectory of my dissertation took a new direction. I spent the next couple of months engaged in analyzing the artifacts I recovered from the Mercedarian Monastery. Meanwhile, I searched for another monastery to excavate, and it gave my project a comparative facet. To avoid similar conflicts to those that I had with the landowners of the Mercedarian site, I searched for a property that was not actively in use. I decided on excavating in the Augustinian Monastery because the comparison of these two institutions appeared promising. Considering my earlier predicament, this site was made up of two empty fields with owners who were amenable to my project goals.

The Augustinian Monastery is located on the south side of the Sicalpa River in a section of the town currently referred to as “el basurero” [the garbage dump] (Figure 6). While no longer visible, the Augustinian Church once stood in a corner lot directly west of the Inka Road (Chaupi-ñan) that was a primary Inkan corridor running from north to south that divided the colonial city. West of the church lay the monastery and gardens, but is now the location of a modern house. The property where the church once stood, and the remainder of the monastery site, is divided into three fields. Directly west of the house was the field named “Jardín”. It was planted as a garden and so was unavailable for excavations. Carlos Pilco owned the center field, which I named “Agustín” and the west most field, owned by César Mendoza, I named “César”. The site of César measured 9 X 39 X 10 X 37 meters and with a bucket auger I dug at 3-
meter intervals to determine where better to place my excavation units.

Eventually I bore 56 auger test holes in this field. I then moved to the Agustín site, illustrated in Figure 15. It measured 6 X 39 X 7 X 40 meters and I used the bucket auger at 3-meter intervals. In total I made 42 auger test holes in this pasture. Results from my auger tests indicated that modern debris extended to a depth of at least 30 cm. Therefore, I peeled off the top 30 cm of sediments from each unit without screening nor collecting artifacts.

**Site Orientation**

Today the location of the Augustinian Monastery is made up of the sites of César and Agustín, and Jardín. Both the sites of César and Agustín are pastures where pigs and sheep graze, whereas Jardín had a small garden and was excluded from excavation. The pigs in César and Agustín are quite destructive and regularly dug deep pits into the soil in an attempt to keep cool. Consequently, the top 30-40 cm of soil across the entire site was heavily churned up and mixed together modern plastics, ceramics and other household trash. Whatever survived from the 19th century Republican period was strewn about to varying depths across this field. This disturbed layer varied in depth and extended to as much as 80 cm in some parts of the property. Not surprisingly, I found modern waste, likely the consequence of soils being disturbed and moved during many years of pigs digging pits in various locations on the site.
Colonial deposits are more deeply buried and extend to as much as 200 cm below the surface at the southern end of the site and are as shallow as 100 cm below the surface in some locations at the northern end of the site. This
discrepancy in the depth of recovered deposits is likely due to the modern slope of the property. The only intact colonial architecture evident at this site was a dirt floor kitchen at the western edge of the site of César. The remainder of the property appeared to be made up of colonial gardens where trash middens were also located. A Harris Matrix was created for the site César, which is illustrated in Figure 16.
César Unit 1

This was the first unit excavated on the site of César. As illustrated in Figure 17, I started with a 1X2 meter unit. The loosely aggregated soil of the plowzone extended to 30 cm below the ground surface, then for 20 cm below it, the unit consisted of medium-soft sediments, dark grey in color with a sandy
texture. I dug in arbitrary 10 cm levels until I encountered a large increase in construction tile at about 50 cm (1.8 kg of teja and 5.9 kg of ladrillo). Considering the mixed nature of recovered artifacts, I surmised this level to consist primarily of Republican period fill.

When I got through the tiles, the sediment from 50 to 110 cm below the surface became very dark brown sandy clay that was extremely rich in construction tile, fire-cracked rocks and colonial period ceramics. This chaotic mass of construction materials, I supposed, represented household and construction refuse deposited into a trash feature. I excavated in arbitrary 10 cm levels until I uncovered a cap of cobble-sized rocks at 110 cm. I interpreted this layer as the beginning of undisturbed colonial deposits.

Below the rocks, from 110-125 cm below the surface, this unit consisted of a layer of large rocks surrounded by soft, dark gray to brown soil with a small number of colonial ceramics. These rocks did not appear to have been arranged as any form of architecture and were likely discarded building material. I excavated to the bottom of the large rocks that ended with the natural change in soil conditions.

Beneath it, from 125 to 160 cm below ground level, the matrix became a medium packed very dark sediment with lots of small rock inclusions. Construction materials and other colonial period artifacts appeared in the mix. I excavated this layer in arbitrary 10 cm increments until 160 cm when the rock inclusions disappeared. I concluded that this layer represents a separate depositional event within the same trash feature.
The final stratum began at 160 cm below the surface and continued to 200 cm. It consisted of medium packed dark brown sediments. I continued to recover colonial ceramics and other artifacts throughout this layer. These levels were excavated in arbitrary 10 cm increments until I reached sterile soil at 200 cm. At the bottom of the unit where I expected sterile soils, I found instead a large storage vessel that rested in a depression cut into the subsoil.

I surmised that this unit began as a cut made into the ground for a large subterranean storage vessel, or *chicha* possibly used to hold water. When this storage unit was no longer in use the cut in the subsoil became a convenient location for discarding household trash. Later still, unwanted rocks and construction materials from another part of the property ended up in this pit. Construction materials and rocks filled the pit, but it was used again as a trash midden for domestic refuse. Finally, this trash pit was covered by Republican period debris and modern farming waste.
César Unit 2

The second unit I opened on the César site was a 1X2 meter unit, which is illustrated in Figure 18. Between 30 and 50 cm below the surface this unit
revealed a nearly intact, collapsed teja roof. The sediments surrounding it were very dark gray in color and of a medium-soft compaction. I excavated this layer in arbitrary 10 cm increments until I exposed the entire roof, and then removed it. This roof exhibited traits common to colonial structures. The matrix surrounding the roof has, however, shifted a great deal resulting in the mixing of Republican period artifacts with the colonial era artifacts.

Below this layer, from 50 to 80 cm below ground level, the matrix consisted of dark gray ashy sediments with a very large quantity of carbon inclusions and a higher than expected presence of ceramics. Like the previous layer, these ceramics were a mixture of colonial and Republican period materials and likely represented a Republican period deposit. I excavated this level in arbitrary 10 cm contexts and ended when I no longer recovered Republican period ceramics.

Thereafter, from 80 to 108 cm below ground level, the unit consisted of a layer of medium-soft dark gray ash that I removed to reveal a large air pocket extending across the entire unit. The sediments above this air pocket I carefully excavated until I reached the layer below it. Seismic movement and the collapse of the roof of this structure likely created this unique feature. All artifacts recovered from below this pocket of air represent an undisturbed colonial context.

After excavating the colonial surface, I reached another level from 108 to 130 cm below the surface, which consisted of medium-soft dark gray sediments with large pockets of ash, containing numerous carbon inclusions. Additionally, I
unearthed a large volume of ceramics and animal bone. I had surmised that I had found a colonial Period kitchen destroyed during the 1797 earthquake. Amid the carbon deposits I discovered several charred peach pits. In modern Ecuador, peach season lasts roughly from January through March and the presence of these seeds coincides remarkably well with the date of the earthquake that destroyed the colonial city on February 4, 1797.

Underneath it, from 130 to 145 cm below the surface, the unit consisted of very hard dark grayish brown sediments with no inclusions and few artifacts. This layer I excavated in arbitrary 10 cm contexts until I reached sterile soil. Considering the previous layers, I interpreted this layer to be the hard packed dirt floor of a kitchen structure, which was a common mode of construction in colonial monasteries (Jara Chávez 1991).

I had reached what appeared to be the hard packed dirt floor of a building. Based upon material remains, represented largely by cooking and serving vessels and faunal remains, as well as much larger than usual quantities of ash and carbon, I concluded that it once formed part of a kitchen. This sequence of layers suggests that during the 1797 earthquake, the tile roof of this structure collapsed and created a pocket of trapped air between the fallen roof and the floor. The remains of the tiled roof and more modern sediments and debris then created this air pocket and a unique environment for artifact movement. As a result, Republican period and modern materials were mixed with colonial deposits to a fairly deep level.
Figure 18, César Unit 2 sidewall profile

- Context 100: Very dark gray
- Context 102-103: Lots of ash
- Context 104: Dark gray ash with air pockets
- Context 105: Large air pocket
- Context 106-108: Dark gray, carbon and tile inclusions, ash
- Context 109: Dark gray, very hard dirt floor
- Sterile soil
César Unit 3

César Unit 3 was a 1X2 meter unit near the north end of the property. After shoveling off the plough zone sediment, I reached undisturbed sediment from 30-50 cm below the surface. This layer consisted of medium-soft dark brown sediments, containing artifacts that were a mixture of Republican and colonial period materials, indicating that this layer was Republican period fill. I excavated this layer in arbitrary 10 cm contexts until about 50 cm in depth when Republican period artifacts no longer appeared.

Following the Republican layer, from 50-80 cm below ground level, the unit consisted of very dark brown sediments of medium-soft compaction. The artifact content indicated that this layer represented undisturbed colonial period deposits. Based on the medium to soft sediments and abundance of household refuse, but lack of any real stratigraphy, I surmised that I had reached a portion of a colonial garden where household trash was discarded regularly. I excavated in arbitrary 10 cm increments until about 80 cm when the sediments in the southern half of the unit became harder than those in the northern half.

Thereafter, from 80-100 cm below the surface, the unit became sterile and consisted of hard black soil, which I excavated in 10 cm arbitrary levels. The southern half of the unit became compact and devoid of all material culture at 80 cm. The northern half of the unit was also dense and sterile at about 90 cm. I continued to dig to 100 cm so as to verify that I had in fact reached sterile soil.

I interpreted this unit as a colonial period garden. The sediments were fairly uniform in their color and texture, and artifacts were recovered throughout
the soil matrix. Refuse was deposited in this garden on a continual basis and, therefore, I found artifacts throughout the unit but no evidence of any isolated instances of deposition. Above this garden lay a cap of harder sediments that may represent mudflow from flooding following the 1797 earthquake.

![César Unit 3 - North Wall](image)

**Figure 19, César Unit 3 sidewall profile**

- **Shoveled off**
- Context 150: Very dark brown
- Context 151
- Context 152
- Context 153
- Context 154
- Context 155
- Context 156
- Context 157
- Context 158: Sterile soil
César Unit 4

This 1X2 meter unit was the fourth unit selected for excavation on the site of César (Figure 15). Once I had stripped off the first 30 centimeters of earth, I reached the first layer of undisturbed sediment from 30-80 cm below the surface. This unit consisted of very dark brown, medium-soft sediments with inclusions of carbon and tile. I immediately, recognized Republican period artifacts in this layer, mixed with colonial period material culture, indicating that I had not reached undisturbed colonial deposits. This layer I excavated in arbitrary 10 cm increments until the soil became harder and I found no more Republican period artifacts.

Beneath it, from 80-118 cm below the surface, the matrix was made up of very dark brown sediments of medium compaction. Within these sediments I recovered a large number of colonial artifacts. Because artifacts appeared to be distributed fairly evenly through the unit and no real stratigraphy was visible, I concluded that this unit represented a portion of a colonial period garden where household refuse was discarded continually. I excavated in arbitrary 10 cm contexts until I reached what appeared to be a garden wall at 118 cm.

As I dug deeper from 118-128 cm below the surface, I exposed a cap of river rocks and tile spread out over the entire unit. The rocks did not appear to be arranged as a living floor or any sort of architectural work, which I interpreted as a layer of refuse that was deposited into the colonial garden. Sediments surrounding the rocks and tile were very dark brown and medium-hard in
compaction. I excavated one natural 10 cm context, which I completed when I reached the bottom of the rocks and tile.

I reached what would be the final level, from 128-180 cm below surface, which consisted of medium-hard dark grayish brown sediments. Like the previous contexts in this unit, there was no visible stratigraphy and colonial period artifacts were generously distributed throughout all levels. Given the dark, rich color of the soil I surmised that we were still working in the remnants of a garden. I excavated this layer in arbitrary 10 cm increments until I reached sterile soil at 180 cm.

This unit appears to have been a colonial garden that doubled as a trash midden. The lower contexts in the unit looked very similar to those of a garden feature. I believe that the rock structure was the wall of this garden. When no longer planted with produce, the garden area was piled with discarded rocks and tile and later household refuse. This was later covered by Republican period debris and then modern farm waste.
Figure 20, César Unit 4 sidewall profile
César Unit 5

The final unit excavated on the site of César was a 1X2 meter unit near the eastern border (Figure 15). After removing the top layer I reached the first excavation level from 30-40 cm below ground level. The matrix consisted of soft, dark grayish-brown soil. Artifacts from this context were a mixture of those modern and Republican and colonial period materials. Consequently, I excluded this layer from the colonial context and I excavated it as a single arbitrary 10 cm context until modern and Republican artifacts were no longer evident.

Once I dug deeper, from 40-70 cm below the surface, the soil remained a soft very dark grayish brown but the artifact composition became distinctively colonial. I excavated this layer in arbitrary 10 cm contexts until I reached an ashy strip appearing to run across the southern third of the unit at 70 cm in depth.

At this point I divided the unit into three portions. The northern most third consisted of soft grayish-brown soil similar in nature to the soil in the previous level. The center third of the unit was made up of hard dark brown soil, while the southern third of the unit was soft and ashy with large inclusions of carbon.

This level gave way to the next from 70-120 cm below the surface in the northern third of the excavation. The matrix consisted of soft grayish brown sediments. I recovered tile and colonial artifacts from these contexts and concluded that this unit was a colonial period trash feature. The division between this layer and the other two thirds of the unit represented different depositional events within this feature. I excavated this layer in arbitrary 10 cm levels until this layer merged back with the rest of the unit at about 120 cm.
When I reached the next layer, from 70-120 cm below the surface, in the center third of the excavation, the matrix became a hard dark brown soil. This layer was distinctive from those on either side of it. The artifacts I unearthed appeared quite similar, both in quantity and type but the ash found on both ends of the unit was absent. This layer was excavated in arbitrary 10 cm contexts until it rejoined the other layers as a continuous matrix at about 120 cm in depth.

The southern third of the excavation, from 70-120 cm below the surface was made up of very soft dark gray ash with carbon inclusions. Because the ceramics and other artifacts recovered from this layer were not burnt, I concluded that the ash was a secondary deposit into this trash feature rather than this layer representing a hearth or fire pit. I excavated this layer in arbitrary 10 cm increments until it rejoined the other layers of this unit at about 120 cm.

From 120-160 cm below the surface this unit consisted of medium-hard packed, very dark grayish-brown sediments. This layer was very similar in composition to the center third in the previous layer. In all likelihood this unit was a trash midden that extended into the subsoil. This layer and the center third of the previous layer appeared to be a mound of household refuse deposited into this feature. I excavated in arbitrary 10 cm increments until I reached sterile soil at about 160 cm below the surface.

The composition of this unit suggested continuous disposition of household trash from the monastery. A large amount of ash and burnt fuel from a cooking hearth was deposited into the midden. This ashy waste filled in the depressions on either side of the mound of household refuse creating a center
area where ash was not present and areas with ash and carbon on both of the other ends. After the deposition of cooking waste, the midden continued to be used for other household debris, and was then eventually covered by an accumulation of Republican period refuse and a layer of modern farm waste.

![César Unit 5 - North Wall](image)

*Figure 21, César Unit 5 sidewall profile*
Figure 22, Agustín Harris Matrix

**Agustín Excavation**

Formerly the site of Agustín was part of the Augustinian Monastery but in recent times it has been absorbed into the local agricultural regime. Whereas they were once a contiguous property belonging to a religious order, they were subdivided into lots that became pasturage for two new owners. Although the stratigraphic histories of the two sites appear similar, they occupy discreet modern fields and as such I created separate Harris Matrices for each site. The
Harris Matrix for Agustín is illustrated in Figure 22. The discussion that follows relates the result of my excavations at the Agustín and César sites.

**Agustín Unit 1**

The first unit I opened on the site of Agustín was a 1X2 meter unit, which I subsequently enlarged with an additional 1X1 meter unit at the northeast corner in an attempt to uncover a larger portion of what appeared to be a depression cut into the subsoil. The stratigraphy of the entire unit was quite similar, and will be described together.

After removing the top layer of disturbed soil, I reached the undisturbed level and began digging the first layer from 30-70 cm below ground level. I excavated through a medium-soft very dark grayish brown soil with inclusions of carbon. This stratum contained a large amount of construction materials and appeared to be a mixed context from which I recovered modern and Republican period artifacts. I excavated in arbitrary 10 cm levels until the soil became softer at about 70 cm and I found only colonial Period artifacts.

The nature of the matrix changed from 70-140 cm below the surface and became a soft, very dark grayish brown soil with carbon and plaster inclusions. This layer was rich with construction materials, tile and rocks. These did not, however, appear to have any sort of order or arrangement and are consistent with a trash feature where old construction materials were once discarded. This
layer I excavated in arbitrary 10 cm increments until the soil became much harder at about 140 cm.

Once again the matrix changed and from 140-160 cm below the surface it became hard packed dark grayish brown sediment. This layer continued to be rich with colonial materials and appeared to represent a separate depositional event within the trash midden. I excavated in arbitrary 10 cm contexts until the northern half of the unit became considerably softer than the southern half at about 160 cm in depth.

This change I observed indicated to me that I had reached another distinct layer from 160-175 cm below the surface. The northern half of the unit consisted of soft sediments that were dark grayish brown in color. I recovered a large number of colonial artifacts from this layer, which I contend is a continuation of the trash midden identified in previous layers. Once again I excavated in arbitrary 10 cm contexts until I reached sterile soil was reached at about 175 cm in depth.

I then turned my attention to the southern half of the unit from 160-195 cm below the surface. It consisted of hard-packed dark grayish brown soils. I observed a cut that had been made into the subsoil, from which I removed the contents. The depression in the subsoil appeared to be one quadrant of a circular feature and I decided to open a 1X1 meter unit off of the northeast corner in an attempt to uncover a greater portion of it. From my observations I concluded that this depression represented a portion of a trash feature that was excavated into the subsoil. Once I had established its broad outline, I excavated in arbitrary 10 cm contexts until I reached sterile soil. The area making up the depression I
excavated until reaching its bottom, where I found sterile soil at about 195 cm in depth.

Following the excavation of the 1X2 meter unit, I decided to open an additional 1X1 meter unit off of its northeast corner to further explore the pit feature. I removed the top layer of disturbed soil and began my systematic excavation from 30-70 cm below ground level. This layer consisted of medium-soft, very dark grayish brown sediments. I recovered from it a mixture of modern, colonial, and Republican period artifacts. My results convinced me that this layer represented a mixed context and so I did not include it in the analysis of the undisturbed colonial period deposits. I excavated in arbitrary 10 cm contexts until I reached hard, compacted soils that did not appear to contain Republican or modern artifacts were reached at about 70 cm of depth.

The matrix below 70-120 cm in depth consisted of hard, rocky, very dark grayish-brown sediments. It was rich with construction materials and tile, but I recovered only a small number of other artifacts. Like the construction materials recovered from the original 1X2 unit, these did not appear to be a part of an architectural structure. Instead I surmised that they were deposited in a trash pit as refuse. I excavated in arbitrary 10 cm increments until I reached the next layer, which consisted of softer soil.

The final strata extended from 120-197 cm below the surface and consisted of dark grayish-brown soil of medium compaction. I recovered larger number of colonial artifacts mixed with pockets of plaster and other remains from a construction project. This led me to conclude that, like the original 1X2, this unit
was a trash midden and represented the continual deposition of household and construction waste into the original pit. I excavated this layer in arbitrary 10 cm increments until I reached sterile soil. By excavating this unit I revealed another quadrant of a circular depression that had been cut into the subsoil. This depression I excavated until I reached sterile soil at 197 cm in depth.

Both the original 1X2 meter unit and the adjoining 1X1 meter unit I interpreted to be a part of the same cultural processes, very likely the excavation of clay for making ceramics and adobe bricks (Deagan 2002b). After their initial use, pits of this sort were often backfilled with household refuse. The very bottom of the units showed that a depression was excavated into the subsoil. This depression was used as a repository for household trash including faunal remains and ceramics. The unit was continually used after this point to accumulate domestic waste. The household trash level was later covered by debris leftover from a construction project or from the demolition of a structure and included tile, stone, plaster and lime. The construction refuse was later covered by ash and clay and later by a layer of modern farm waste.
Figure 23, Agustín Unit 1 sidewall profile

Agustín Unit 2

The second unit excavated on the site of Agustín was a 1X2 meter unit.

From 30-60 cm below ground level this unit consisted of soft black soil. The
artifacts recovered from this level were a mixture of colonial and Republican period materials. Consequently, this layer was believed to represent the build-up of Republican period materials. This layer was excavated in arbitrary 10 cm contexts until only colonial period artifacts were recovered at about 60 cm in depth.

From 60-107 cm below the surface this unit consisted of soft black soil. There was no visible stratigraphy and a large number of colonial artifacts were recovered throughout the entire unit. The dark rich color of the soil along with the lack of stratigraphy led to the belief that this unit represented a colonial period garden. Gardens of this era were locations to dispose of household waste and artifacts would have been discarded and worked into the soil often enough as to not leave visible signs of independent depositional events. This level was excavated in arbitrary 10 cm contexts until sterile soil was reached at 107 cm below the surface. The subsoil in this unit was cracked into a hexagonal pattern, evidence of heavy seismic motion in the area. The subsoil likely cracked because it was harder and more rigid than the softer soil in the garden that was able to move and shift though an earthquake.
Figure 24, Agustín Unit 2, Context 157, seismically disturbed subsoil
Agustín Unit 3

This unit was located directly along the southern end of Agustín unit 2.

The previous unit produced a very large amount of material remains at a fairly

Figure 25, Agustín Unit 2 sidewall profile

Agustín Unit 3

This unit was located directly along the southern end of Agustín unit 2.

The previous unit produced a very large amount of material remains at a fairly
shallow depth and the desire was to excavate further within this area. This unit was a 1X2 meter excavation unit. From 30-60 cm below the surface this unit was made up of soft very dark brown soil. From 30 cm onward, deposits appeared to be undisturbed and colonial. Because of its proximity to Agustín 2, and the soft dark nature of the soils found in this level, this unit was believed to be a continuation of the colonial garden excavated in the adjoining unit. This level was excavated in arbitrary 10 cm increments until about 60 cm in depth when the southern half of the unit became slightly harder than the northern half.

From 60-100 cm below ground level in the northern half of the excavation this unit consisted of soft very dark brown soil. A large amount of colonial artifacts were recovered from this rich soil matrix. This along with a lack of stratigraphy reinforced the assumption that this unit represented a portion of a colonial period garden. This layer was excavated in arbitrary 10 cm contexts until sterile soil was reached at about 100 cm in depth. Like Agustín 2, the sterile soil level in this unit had been cracked into a distinctive hexagonal pattern as a result of seismic movement.

From 60-100 cm below the surface in the southern half of the excavation, the unit was made up of medium-hard dark brown soil. This level also contained a substantial number of colonial artifacts and is thought to be a part of the same garden as the other half of the unit. It is speculated that the sediments in this half of the unit were harder-packed than those in the other half of the unit because they represented the edge of the garden where the soils may not have been as heavily used and turned. This level was excavated in arbitrary 10 cm contexts
until sterile soil cracked into a hexagonal pattern was uncovered at about 100 cm in depth reached the sterile soil that was cracked into a hexagonal pattern at 100 cm in depth.
Agustín Unit 4

I excavated the fourth unit near the geographic center of the Agustín site. After removing the top 30 cm of soil, I reached the first level to reveal artifacts from the colonial and Republican eras. Between 30 and 60 cm below ground level I dug through a medium-soft very dark grayish brown matrix. Considering the artifact material found, these sediments likely accumulated during the Republican period. I excavated in arbitrary 10 cm increments until the soil in the western 2/3 of the unit became much harder and I unearthed only colonial artifacts.

Once I dug through the first 60 cm below ground level the next 10 cm level in the eastern 1/3 of the unit consisted of soft grayish-brown soil. This level I excavated as a single arbitrary 10 cm level until the two sides of the unit became a continuous matrix at about 70 cm in depth.

Likewise, in the western 2/3 of the excavation, from 60-70 cm below the surface the unit consisted of dense, hard-packed very dark gray soil with a large number of carbon inclusions. I unearthed numerous colonial artifacts that convinced me that I had reached the uppermost part of the colonial mudflow that occurred following the 1797 earthquake. Ostensibly, artifacts in this level were trapped and pushed along by a river of fast moving mud. I excavated one single 10 cm level, which ended when the two sides of the unit became a continuous matrix at about 70 cm in depth.

For the next 40 cm, from 70-110 cm below the surface, the soil became very densely packed and very dark gray. I removed a significant quantity of
carbon, tile and other colonial period artifacts, which I interpreted as a
continuation of the mudflow that occurred following the 1797 earthquake. I
excavated in arbitrary 10 cm increments until a less silty layer appeared at about
110 cm.

Afterward I excavated two more 10 cm arbitrary levels to reach 130 cm
below ground level. I dug through a hard dark grayish-brown soil with sterile clay
inclusions. This level contained comparatively few colonial artifacts than in the
previous layer. It was the original ground surface that was covered by the river of
mud and debris following the earthquake. I reached sterile soil at about 130 cm in
depth.

This unit was fairly uniform in having a large number of artifacts trapped
within dense clay-like sediments that were extremely hard and compact. The
recovered artifacts did not appear to have any order to their deposition, perhaps
a consequence of the mudflow following the 1797 earthquake. Eye-witness
accounts describe the rivers changing course and flooding the city causing rivers
of mud to run through the area trapping anything in their path. The artifacts I
found in this context likely were buried by the debris flow. When the mud dried,
the artifacts were trapped within a harder denser matrix than that created in a
traditional trash midden. When the mudflow stopped it was eventually covered by
a layer of discarded construction materials and then by the modern farm layer.

Figure 27, Agustín Unit 4 sidewall profile
Agustín Unit 5

Finally, I got to the last unit I excavated on the Agustín site (Figure 15). It was a 1X2 meter unit near the northeast corner of the pasture. First I removed the top 30 cm of disturbed soil, then from 30-70 cm below ground level this unit consisted of soft, dark-gray sediments. Artifacts recovered from this level were a mixture of colonial and 19th century Republican period material culture. After I had excavated four arbitrary 10 cm levels, I found no more Republican period ceramics when I got to 70 cm in depth.

The layer from 70-90 cm below the surface was shallow in comparison to those above and below it. This unit consisted of soft very dark gray soil, which I excavated in two arbitrary 10 cm levels until the soil became much harder.

The next layer became apparent from 90-110 cm below the surface when the matrix appeared as a medium-hard, dark grayish-brown soil with pockets of ash and a large number of carbon inclusions. The artifacts I recovered did not appear to be burnt, which led me to conclude that the ash found in this level was deposited secondarily from another location and that this unit was likely a trash midden. I excavated two arbitrary 10 cm levels before I uncovered a cap of soft ash.

I excavated from 110-130 cm below ground as a single level. I dug through a layer of soft dark gray ash. Within this ash, I recovered unburned colonial ceramics and pieces of burnt wood. As the burnt and unburned materials appeared together, I grew more certain that this location was a secondary deposition.
I dug two more 10 cm arbitrary levels from 130-150 cm below the surface. The matrix consisted of soft dark-gray sediments mixed with a large quantity of ash. This layer also contained a considerable number of colonial period artifacts, which I inferred to be a portion of a trash feature where household waste was discarded. I reached sterile soil at 140 cm in depth.

My observations led me to conclude I had found a midden for household refuse. The large quantity of ash and carbon built up during the disposal of materials from a cooking hearth. This feature was not the cooking hearth because the majority of the artifacts found within it were unburnt. These charred materials were then covered by an accumulation of Republican period materials and then by a layer of modern farm waste.

The excavation portion of this study provided an enormous amount of information regarding the layout and physical structure of the monasteries as well as the depositional patterns of household waste. To gain further information from the recovered material culture, samples of collected materials were processed and analyzed. My analysis had also moved from the field to the laboratory. The following discussion reports on the methods I employed during this phase of my investigation.
For part of my research I relied on the flotation method for finding botanical elements, which I conducted over the month of March 2006. During my
excavation, I collected either a 3 or 5-liter soil sample from each discrete context. I then floated these soil samples using a SMAP (Shell Mound Archaeological Project) flotation machine (Pearsall 2000). I separated my samples into a heavy and light fraction for future analysis. Due to improper storage techniques between July 2004 and September 2005, several of the soil samples collected in the 2004 field season had become saturated with water. I placed these samples in the sun and dried them so that I could float them with the other samples. Unfortunately, several of these samples were destroyed. Identifying contextual information was impossible because their identification cards had become illegible and so I disposed of the samples without legible context information. Of the samples that did retain contextual information, revealed comparatively few botanical remains. Whether the saturation and drying affected the size of the recovered botanical samples is unknown, but likely (Pearsall 2000). I processed over 250 soil samples using the flotation method.

The project flotation machine was a 200-liter aluminum drum with a mesh basket that fit securely in the top. At the start of a workday I filled the flotation tank with water and then I inserted a mesh screen into the top. I then poured the soil sample into this screen. A hose under the screen added more water to the tank, and the water pressure agitated the soil sample in the screen. Sediments would sink to the bottom of the mesh basket and when the silt trap was full, I drained it through half a PVC pipe into the field. Any carbonized seeds or plant materials rose to the surface of the water and were pushed over the top of the tank into the chiffon lined basket waiting below. The water that flowed through
the chiffon was routed through half a PVC pipe away from the flotation site and into the field. I collected these plant materials and hung them from a clothesline to dry. This portion of the sample I labeled the “light fraction”. Any heavier materials such as rocks, tile, gravel or small artifacts sank to the bottom of the screen and were poured out into another piece of chiffon and set aside to dry. This formed the “heavy fraction”.

While I do not have any immediate plans to analyze either the light or heavy fraction I am cognizant of the information that these samples could provide. They might lead to insight through diet reconstruction or the crops that members of the monasteries grew and used. Potentially they would provide information regarding the daily activities, consumption patterns and health about the people who lived and worked within these institutions. Current funding and time constraints restrict botanical analysis. These samples are however, ready and are currently being curated in Riobamba, Ecuador, with the intent that this analysis be completed within the near future.

Other Analysis

In addition to the flotation and processing of botanical samples I also collected ceramics, small finds, faunal remains, and carbon samples. Like the botanical remains, the analysis of the faunal and carbon samples must wait until sufficient funds are available. They could however provide a lot of useful information for the interpretation of these two monastery sites. These samples are also currently being curated in Riobamba, Ecuador. I am anxious to be in a position where this analysis can move forward.
Chapter Summary

This chapter has described some of the techniques and choices that were made in the field and have impacted the findings and interpretations of this study. In addition to detailed accounts of the survey and excavation conducted on the sites of the Mercedarian and Augustinian monasteries, also included are maps and Harris Matrices of each site as well as sidewall profiles from every excavated unit. While it is acknowledged that research methods and technical decisions made in the field are as individual as the practitioner, it is my belief that there is enough specificity found in the details of this chapter to provide any future researchers a necessary understanding of this work.
CHAPTER 5: ARTIFACT INTERPRETATIONS

Introduction

Archaeologists regard material culture as their proxy for the past. While written documents provide information about historical events, legal proceedings, and monetary transactions, they often neglect the more mundane details that comprise the daily life of ordinary people. Archaeological analysis relies on deploying a bundle of methods designed to examine human interaction with material culture. These daily engagements sculpt the contours of human identity, shaping and reinforcing through repeated exposure to and interaction with the material things in one’s environment. Material culture bears the marks of its owner who selects and shapes it based on individual identity and preferences (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984). On a more conscious and intentional level, society reinforces its explicit social rules and mores using material culture embellishment as a form of visual propaganda. In structured institutions such as a monastery, rules surrounding social behaviors and gender in particular took on their own unique trajectory. To fit into the structure of these rules, both explicit and implied, individuals use performance in the form of repetitive behaviors acted out in public forums that emphasized postures, gestures, movements, dress, interactions with objects, production of goods and the manipulation of space (Butler 1990). As material objects are implicated in these performances, material culture studies follow their route and reports on identity, human interactions and
gendering processes, providing information that, along with the written record, can build a clearer image of the past.

In order to explore those higher levels of abstraction, I conducted my artifact analysis during the months of July 2004, November and December 2005 and between March and June of 2006. All recovered artifacts with the exception of roof and floor tile, which were weighed and discarded in the field, and those artifacts that were too fragile to be exposed to moisture, were cleaned in buckets of water and scrubbed with toothbrushes. They were then placed on sheets of newspaper in the sun to dry. Dry artifacts were separated, with all faunal remains placed in one bag and all other artifacts in another. These lowest levels of abstraction are the necessary, albeit unglamorous, first steps of material culture analysis. They may seem arduous but they encourage close observation to capture glimpses of site formation processes that will enhance my database.

Faunal Remains

The clean, dry bone from each context was weighed and recorded, and then bagged and labeled. Due to funding constraints and a lack of faunal knowledge on my part, no further faunal analysis has been completed. I understand the importance of the information that can be revealed through faunal analysis and intend to have this collection analyzed at a later date.

Ceramics and Small Finds

Once I had cleaned and separated the faunal remains, I focused my analysis on the remaining artifacts from each context. All identifiable artifacts I
placed into standard categories (Deagan 1987; Gasco et al. 1997). I studied ceramic ware with special attention to information pertaining to vessel form and size, paste color, surface treatment, manufacture technique, date of production and location of origin. I labeled each ceramic sherd and small find, using clear nail polish and with a drawing pen, I wrote down its context number to identify where it was recovered. I entered this information from each sherd or lot (lots were assigned to groups of sherds with the same identifiable information) into a Microsoft Access database, which made artifact comparison between units and sites possible. Once labeled and recorded, I digitally photographed artifacts. I took pictures of individual artifacts or lots, depending on how I entered them into my database.

**Ceramic Analysis**

Spanish colonial archaeological sites reveal the extent that ceramics were incorporated into daily life. In the case of both the Mercedarian and Augustinian monasteries, when roof and floor tile were excluded and ceramics were quantified using a simple sherd count, they represented more that 99% of all recorded artifacts. These ceramic vessels varied in the raw materials and construction techniques, vessel style, surface treatment, origin as well as the use of the vessel. Ceramics were used in construction and irrigation and farming devices, storage and cooking containers, tablewares, tools and decorative items. The selection of a certain type of ceramic to serve a particular purpose as well as the differences between the qualities of items can provide insights into the value and emphasis people placed on particular tasks. Utilitarian ceramics can fill a
specific function without needing to appear fancy or decorative. Imported or decorative tablewares may be used by some individuals to convey status or formality, while simpler tablewares might speak to frugality or humility. The items an individual uses on a daily basis are selected to convey a particular tone and to reinforce that image upon the frequent user. As such, archaeologists have continually used ceramic analysis to gain insights about the identity of the users. The vast majority of recovered ceramics were manufactured in the colonies but used the style of those produced in Spain. On both sites imported European and Asian porcelain sherds were also recovered alongside a small number of Inka sherds.

Given the austere nature of the monastic tradition, monks would not have selected material culture items for themselves. Identity inferred from material items on institutional sites such as these speaks less to descriptive and more to proscriptive characteristics. Individuals within institutions do not choose a set of plates because they have a style or design that they can identify with. Instead, dishes and other material culture items were selected for them by a designated purchaser. Through repeated use, these institutional objects work in part to shape individual identity, both that of the friars and other individuals who lived and worked in the monasteries. Friars however, often brought with them into the monasteries items of personal property and land holdings that appear to have remained their personal property. One requirement for ordination was that priests demonstrate a guaranteed lifelong means of financial support (Ganster 1986; Gibbs 1989). Consequently, some of the smaller personal items recovered from
the monasteries may in fact reflect the persistence of personal choices and individual identities.

While both the Mercedarians and Augustinians were mendicant orders, meaning the priests and friars would have taken vows of poverty, their vows did not exclude the orders from accumulating and conspicuously displaying their status and wealth. In some instances these vows did little to dissuade individuals from holding individual property or engaging in private business transactions (Gibbs 1989). Wealth invariably translated as power within the community. Within the Spanish colonies the ability to purchase and conspicuously display goods of Spanish origin signified a level of sophistication, class, and even the ethnicity of the user (Deagan 1974, 1983). Ceramics, particularly tablewares were coveted especially for such purposes. Proper table service, complete with the correct Spanish vessels, spoke to the manners and status of their owners. Material culture, however, transcends status or ethnicity through its habitual use in daily practices, such as dress or dining, to create and reify the social relationships that it is thought to reflect (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984). While the individuals who used the materials may not have individually selected them, they played a very large part in developing the identity and status of the monasteries. That is both the identities of the friars themselves, but also that of the numerous other men and women who worked within the monasteries.

Ceramic Quantification

Ceramic vessels comprise much of the body of material culture studies and the vexing issue is to winnow useful data from them. One popular method of
studying ceramics is to infer identity through quantification. For most of the
history of archaeology as a discipline, researchers have used simple sherd
counts to quantify the number of ceramic vessels on a site (Kidder 1931; Ford
1952). Many agree that this approach has its flaws since the fracture of a vessel
into a greater number of pieces does not equate to a larger number of ceramic
vessels on a given site (Byrd and Owens 1997; Chase 1985; Nance 1987; Orton,
Tyers, and Vince 1993). Several remedies have been suggested that proponents
claim will rectify this common error in archaeological ceramic analysis.

One such approach is to include sherd weight along with count to
quantifiably estimate the percentage of each vessel type present in a ceramic
assemblage (Chase 1985). While it seems to yield a viable dataset and allows for
the inclusion of body as well as rim sherds in analysis, it is contingent on
previous knowledge about the weight of whole vessels. Vessel weights of many
traditional Spanish colonial ceramic forms are available, but we have not yet
recovered a sufficient number of intact vessel forms from sites in Riobamba to
accurately understand the weights and densities of local clays and tempers.
Additionally, the majority of sherds recovered from the two monastery sites were
heavily fragmented and often the original vessel form was simply not discernable.
Such confounding variables have limited its usefulness in this case.

A second approach depends on measuring the surface area of sherds to
quantify the percentage of the intact vessel present in a given assemblage (Byrd
and Owens 1997). Again, this method is contingent on previous knowledge of
intact vessels from a site. The larger problem influencing the ceramic
assemblages from these two sites and Spanish colonial sites in general, is that domestic refuse is typically deposited in backyard gardens or trash pits. That refuse is then turned and disturbed and recycled into adobe and wattle and daub construction techniques. Consequently, Inka, Spanish colonial, Republican and modern ceramic sherds often appear together incorporated into the same modern adobe structure providing evidence that colonial artifacts are often recovered from heavily disturbed deposits. Spanish colonial ceramics are rarely recovered from primary archaeological contexts. One result of this practice is that the traditional means of calculating the minimum number of ceramic vessels (MNV) on a given site are often not applicable. When artifacts are moved from place to place with a single vessel sometimes distributed over several distinct trash features, the accurate measurement of a MNV within an archaeological context, unit, or site becomes somewhat more complicated.

Results from this method would likely provide a low estimation of the number of ceramic vessels represented in both units and sites. Despite its shortcomings I calculated the MNV of ceramic vessels on these two sites using a rim sherd calculation method originally proposed by B.J. Egloff (1973). I measured rim sherd profiles to distinguish between vessel types. The sherds of each type are then measured using a semi-circular rim diameter chart, which estimates the original diameter or the vessel and the percentage of that diameter present in a given sherd. Rim sherds only account for 11% of all ceramic sherds on the Mercedarian site and 5% of all recovered sherds from the Augustinian site. These percentages can only account for a small sample. More importantly
this technique tends to obscure vessel diversity. In my attempt to counter this imbalance, I added ceramic types that were not represented in the rim shed count to a separate one, but in all cases, I gave ceramic types without rim sherds an MNV of 1 (Appendix A). Egloff (1973) suggests that another advantage of this type of analysis is that when comparing contexts, units or sites, one can determine the degree of fragmentation based on the ratio of the percentage of rim sherds present to the size of an intact vessel. Fragmentation in rim sherds can be representative of the amount of fragmentation across the site and may provide more useful information about the larger ceramic assemblage including body sherds than with sherd counts alone.

The results of this MNV analysis were quite unsatisfactory, as there appeared to be no discernible difference between the ceramic assemblages recovered from the majority of excavation units. Based upon my visual inspection the results did not seem to be an accurate assessment. Units contained on average a MNV of one, two or three of the most commonly recovered ceramic types. Other ceramics, which were recovered in smaller numbers, but were still ubiquitous across both sites, such as botijas and lead glazed tablewares, showed in most cases an MNV of zero. Porcelain, while more rarely recovered, was certainly present, but did not appear at all in the MNV counts. Even after adding these ceramic types back into the assemblages where body sherds were recovered, the results of this analysis were discouraging. The primary flaw with the MNV counts on these two sites appears to be that with the exception of César Unit 2, this analysis was not conducted on primary archaeological
deposits. Due to the changing nature of artifact assemblages when they are transported from place to place, the number calculated from the rim sherd percentages in these ceramic collections does not equal anywhere close to the number of vessels from the original assemblage.

What I gained from this analysis however, was an understanding of the relative fragmentation rates between the two sites. I compared the percentage of the vessel rims that were recovered (Table 1). The average rim sherd recovered from the Mercedarian Monastery site represented 11%, and the average rim sherd recovered from the Augustinian site represented 10% of the rims of the original vessels. There appears to be very little difference in the levels of fragmentation of rim sherds between these two sites. If breakage in rim sherds is representational of the whole site, the fragmentation of ceramic vessels on these two sites is comparable.

Table 1, Fragmentation comparison of vessel rims

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Merced</th>
<th>Number of Rim Sherds</th>
<th>Average %</th>
<th>Agustín</th>
<th>Number of Rim Sherds</th>
<th>Average %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sum of Rim Sherd %</td>
<td>2027</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>Sum of Rim Sherd %</td>
<td>4233</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>225</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>417</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Considering the similarity in level of fragmentation between these sites, the sherd counts between them should compare favorably. Conventional studies using sherd counts to quantify ceramics have been largely discounted, since the number of sherds does not equal the number of ceramic vessels that once existed (Byrd and Owens 1997). Quantification methods proved useful for
comparing assemblages from two sites. Upon establishing the rate of fragmentation on the sites, the representational percentage of each ceramic type may provide useful information about the similarities and differences between them.

Cooking/storage wares

Locally made, low-fired, undecorated utilitarian ceramic vessels have been recovered from Spanish colonial sites throughout the New World. These vessels have been given various names depending on the region of their recovery. In the East and Southeast United States they are referred to as “colonoware”, in the Southwest United States they are “Hispanic ware” and in California “missionware”. There does not appear to be a standardized regional name for this ceramic type in Ecuador, they are simply referred to as “unglazed course earthenware”. However, in an attempt to become more specific in terminology they have also been called “ordinary terracotta” (Buys 1997), “utilitarian vessels” (Van Buren 1997), and “industrial ceramics” (Rice 1997). On the Mercedarian and Augustinian Monastery sites, the vast majority of unglazed earthenware vessels were cooking and storage containers. These vessels were roughly made and tempered with large pieces of rock and sand. Firing of these vessels was not standardized resulting in the black cores that appear within the center of many of these vessels. Cores such as these appear when there are inconsistent temperatures within a kiln at the time of firing and would not appear in a vessel that was more carefully fired. Unless the vessel appears to be heavily blackened from use at a hearth or a large enough portion of the vessel is present to
determine the form of the container, distinguishing between vessels used for cooking and those used for storage is very difficult.

**Vessel Forms and Profiling**

More than ceramic sherds from any other portion of a vessel, those from the rim can impart useful information. The original size of each vessel was estimated by measuring the angle of the rim sherd, drawing that sherd’s profile and then projecting the vessel diameter. While many of the rim sherds from this ceramic assemblage were too small to determine vessel form, there were a number of sherds where this process was possible. From rim sherd analysis, I determined that this ceramic assemblage was made up of cooking and storage vessels, bowls, *tazas* [cups], *plato hondos* [soup plates] and plates. Tablewares will be discussed later in this chapter.

**Cooking and Storage Vessel Forms**

Sherds from cooking and storage vessels fill one category that included storage containers such as *lebrillos* (large vessels with flared lips), *ollas* (cooking vessels), and *escudillas* (porringer) (Figures 29-33). Storage containers and ollas are at times difficult to distinguish, as their main difference is that *ollas* were used for cooking and storage vessels were not. Both of these tend to be larger vessels with wide mouths and curved bodies. The *lebrillo* has a curved body and a flared lip. The *escudilla* is a round bowl with flat horizontal handles. Vessels thought to
be used for cooking and for storage ranged from 12 to 22 centimeters in diameter.

Figure 29, *Olla* Storage Vessel, Merced Unit 2, Context 127

Figure 30, *Olla* Storage Vessel, Antonio Unit 2, Context 79
Figure 31, *Olla* Cooking Vessel, César Unit 1, Context 86

Figure 32, *Lebrillo*, César Unit 2, Context 107
Figure 33, Escudilla, Antonio Unit 2, Context 96

Figure 34, Unglazed earthenware cooking/storage vessel, César Unit 1, Context 86
Cooking and storage containers made up 60% of the ceramic assemblage from the Mercedarian Monastery (Table 2) and 70% of the ceramic assemblage from the Augustinian Monastery (Table 3). The people living in both of these two sites made extensive use of utilitarian ceramics for cooking and food storage. These vessels were likely kept in kitchens and storage facilities and their low profile kept them from public display, hence they were not decorative or made of high quality materials (Figure 34).

Table 2, Merced ceramic artifacts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artifact Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>% Of Assemblage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cooking/storage</td>
<td>1263</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botijas</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tablewares</td>
<td>789</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drainpipe</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.0038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spindle Whorls</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.0014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figurine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.0005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sherds</td>
<td>2096</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3, Agustin ceramic artifacts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artifact Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>% Of Assemblage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cooking/Storage</td>
<td>6139</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botijas</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tablewares</td>
<td>2491</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drainpipe</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.0014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spindle whorls</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.0013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sherds</td>
<td>8750</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Botija/Olive Jar**

*Botijas* are large ceramic shipping or storage jars of Spanish origin. These jars are often referred to as olive jars in the English language literature, although this term is not an indicator of the contents stored within the vessel (Carruthers 2003; Lister and Lister 1987). In actuality, they were the primary form of shipping vessel during the Spanish exploration and colonial period (James 1988) and would consequently have held a wide range of food products and supplies. In Spanish documents these vessels are referred to as *botijas* [storage containers] in a generic sense or *botijas de* [storage containers of] plus a more specific modifier. Typological studies that have included the examination of large assemblages of *botijas* (Goggin 1960), as well as those from firmly dated contexts such as shipwrecks (Marken 1994; James 1988), have developed a chronological scheme for these vessels. According to Goggin’s early chronology, *botijas* can be divided based on their rim and body form into three periods. The Early Style spanned the years 1500-1580 AD, The Middle Style, which included three distinct vessel forms, ran from 1580-1780. Finally the Late Style, which included four different vessel forms, and spanned the years 1780-1850 (Goggin 1960). Although Goggin’s Olive Jar type classification remains the primary resource for studies of this sort, it was refined by later scholars. Goggin’s analysis was made up of a limited assemblage of complete vessels, he worked primarily with *botija* sherds and his temporal periods were defined by archaeological stratigraphy, seriations, and paste differences (James 1988). Works such as those by James (1988) and Marken (1994) examined much larger assemblages of intact vessels from shipwreck contexts that were very clearly
dated. Many of these later works have proposed an earlier start date for Goggin's Late Style botijas, perhaps as early as 1773 (Carruthers 2003; James 1988; Marken 1994). Spanish botijas have been recovered both as fired and unfired vessels and can have glazed, slipped or untreated surfaces (James 1988).

Figure 35, Botija sherds, Agustín Unit 2, Context 153

Botijas were recovered from both the Mercedarian and Augustinian Monastery sites (Figure 35). In addition to the imported Spanish botijas, I recovered a large number of Panamanian botijas. These replicated the form and manufacturing techniques of the Spanish botijas, but were distinguishable by their compact orange paste, as opposed to the lighter colored paste of the
imported Spanish botijas. Similar vessels to these have been recovered on other sites in Riobamba and sourced using neutron activation, revealed their origin in Panama (Ross Jamieson, personal communication 2008).

On the Mercedarian site, botijas represented 2% of the ceramic assemblage (Table 2), of which 24% represented were of Spanish botijas and 76% were produced in Panama. Those imported from Spain featured exterior surface treatments consisting of orange and cream slips and plain surfaces. Panamanian botijas either received no surface treatment or were treated with a red or cream slip. There were no intact botijas recovered from this site and most of the sherds I recovered were heavily fragmented. Consequently, obtaining precise vessel forms or specific temporal periods for the vessels proved impossible. I recovered two rim sherds that were from Panamanian produced botijas. Their diameters and style indicated that they would have been from vessels similar to those in Goggin’s Middle Style (Goggin 1960).

On the Augustinian site, botijas represented 1% of all recovered ceramics (Table 3). Of these, 99% were of Spanish origin and 1% were Panamanian Botijas imported from Spain and exhibited exterior decorations that included plain, untreated surfaces and cream, orange and self slipped vessels. Panamanian botijas received a self-slip surface treatment. As at the Mercedarian site, I recovered no intact botijas, nor were there any botija rim sherds recovered from the Augustinian site. Thus, isolating accurate vessel form or narrowing their production to a temporal period became extremely difficult.
I believe that the difference between the origins of botijas on the two monasteries may be a marker of status. Botijas imported from Spain comprised 24% of the ceramic ware recovered from the Mercedarian site versus 99% for those I recovered from the Augustinian site. The number of vessels analyzed was small, but the Augustinians seemed to have greater access to imported goods that were likely prestige items such as wine, olives, and oil (James 1988) brought over from Spain.

Tablewares

For historical archaeologists, ceramic tablewares are often an integral part of understanding a group of people. Tablewares speak to the choices that people make on a daily basis and they exemplify material culture that was repeatedly exposed and integrated into everyday habits. Dinner settings demonstrate in a detailed manner what those ritualized habits may have been, while pointing to the socio-economic factors behind these decisions. After cooking and storage vessels, the second largest number of ceramics recovered at both monasteries came from tablewares. On the Mercedarian sites these represented 38% of the ceramic assemblage (Table 2) and on the Augustinian site 28% (Table 3). These tablewares have been broken down further to examine the manufacture and surface treatments to glean more information about the vessels.

Bowls

The term bowl described vessels with an open mouth and a curved body. I use it in a general sense to indicate vessels with a plain bowl rim as well as rims with exterior thickening. Most of the identifiable rim sherds came from bowls. The
majority of these vessels had surface treatments on both the inside and the outside of the vessel (Figures 36 and 37).

Exterior thickening of the larger exterior lip was the distinguishing feature found on the *plato hondo* [soup plate]. Some bowls had decorative handles on their exterior surfaces. Surface treatments of bowls varied widely and included
undecorated vessels, slips, and lead and tin glazes. Vessels described as bowls ranged in size and had rim diameters that varied from 12 to 20 centimeters across.

**Tazas** (cups)

Rim sherds described as *tazas* or cups are very similar in form to the plain bowl rims. The primary distinction between these two vessel forms was the smaller mouth diameter of the *tazas* (Figure 38).

![Figure 38, Taza, Agustín Unit 1, Context 118](image)

Sherds identified as *tazas* included tin glazed majolicas, lead glazed and red slipped vessels. The rim diameter of these *tazas* ranged from 8 to 10 cm.
Plato Hondos [soup plates]

Rim sherds described as *plato hondos* (soup plates) were portions of vessels that were originally shallow bowls with flared lips (Figure 39).

![Image](figure_39.png)

**Figure 39, Plato hondo, Antonio Unit 1, Context 73**

This assemblage included plain, polished, slipped and majolica sherds from *plato hondos*. The rim diameter of these dishes ranged from 12 to 22 centimeters across.

Plates

I determined that some sherds came from plates. These ceramics had very little curvature in the portion that represents the body. Commonly, there is a slightly raised portion at the rim. Plates in this assemblage were plain, slipped, or glazed with lead or tin. The diameter of these vessels ranges from 12 to 26 centimeters (Figure 40).
Plainwares

Like unglazed earthenware cooking or storage vessels, plain table ceramics are made of fired coarse earthenware with no surface treatment or decoration (Figure 41). Plain tablewares were generally smaller in size, made of a thinner ceramic, and often had a finer paste than either the cooking or storage vessels. Ceramics of this sort are referred to as “colonoware” (formerly colono-Indian pottery) (Mouer et al. 1999), “hispanicware” and “missionware” depending on the geographical region where they were recovered. Oftentimes, when unglazed earthenware ceramics are found in assemblages, which also contain more highly decorated tablewares, they tend to be a locally produced alternative,
usually made by Indigenous peoples or African slaves (Deagan 1987; Deetz 1988; Ferguson 1980).

![Figure 41, Plainware sherd, César Unit 5, Context 265](image)

On each of the sites of the Mercedarian and Augustinian Monasteries, unglazed coarse earthenware table ceramics represented 2% of the total tableware assemblage (Tables 4, 5). Ceramic analysis produced two categories of tablewares identified here as hollowares and flatwares. Hollowares included bowls, cups, *plato hondos*, and undiagnostic body sherds from curved tablewares. Flatwares included plates and undiagnostic body sherds from non-curved tablewares. On the Mercedarian site, 50% of these plainwares were
hollowware and 50% were flatware (Table 6). On the Augustinian site 36% of plainware vessels were hollowware and 64% were flatware (Table 7). According to Nicholas Cushner, the use of African slaves in the Andean region surrounding Quito was never widespread. He attributes this to the high cost of obtaining slaves and the readily available indigenous labor force (1982). Consequently, the potter manufacturing these dishes came from the local indigenous communities.

Table 4, Merced tablewares

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ceramic Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>% Of Assemblage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plainwares</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slipwares</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Majolica</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama Majolica</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porcelain</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead Glazed</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inka</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

Table 5, Agustín tablewares

<table>
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<th>Ceramic Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>% Of Assemblage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plainwares</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slipwares</td>
<td>683</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Majolica</td>
<td>1446</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama Majolica</td>
<td>68</td>
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<td>Porcelain</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead Glazed</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Table 6, Merced vessel forms</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Tablewares</strong></td>
<td>Hollowware</td>
<td>Flatware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
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<tr>
<td>789</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>30%</td>
<td>55%</td>
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</tr>
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<td><strong>Plainwares</strong></td>
<td>Hollowware</td>
<td>Flatware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>33%</td>
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<td>Flatware</td>
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<td><strong>Regional Majolica</strong></td>
<td>Hollowware</td>
<td>Flatware</td>
</tr>
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<td>349</td>
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<td>19%</td>
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<td>0%</td>
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<td><strong>Panama Majolica</strong></td>
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<td>Flatware</td>
</tr>
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<td>71%</td>
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<td><strong>Porcelain</strong></td>
<td>Hollowware</td>
<td>Flatware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lead Glazed</strong></td>
<td>Hollowware</td>
<td>Flatware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
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<td>22%</td>
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### Table 7, Agustín vessel forms

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<td>1%</td>
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<td>29%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Slipwares</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>363</td>
<td>252</td>
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<td>57</td>
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<td></td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Regional Majolica</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1446</td>
<td>1062</td>
<td>80</td>
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<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Panama Majolica</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Porcelain</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td></td>
<td>40%</td>
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<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lead Glazed</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>249</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Slipwares

A large number of the ceramic tablewares found on both the Mercedarian and the Augustinian sites were coarse earthenwares with a slipped surface treatment. All such tablewares appear to be locally produced with a compact orange paste and fine temper. The slipped surface was created using a suspension consisting of a small amount of pigment mixed with fine clay and
water. This mixture was then thinly applied to the vessels prior to firing. Slip colors found in these ceramic assemblages include black, red, cream, brown, orange, and a self-slip matching the color of the ceramic material.

Table ceramics with slipped surface treatments represented 26% of the Mercedarian (Table 4) and 27% of the Augustinian ceramic collections respectively (Table 5). Of the Mercedarian slipwares, 56% were either bowls or hollowware vessels and 44% were plates or flatware (Table 6). The Augustinian slipware assemblage consisted of 53% bowls or hollowware vessels and 37% were plates and flatware (Table 7). The remainder of slipware ceramics were handles and unidentifiable fragments. Slipwares were comparatively inexpensive to produce because they used all local raw materials and did not need the tin or lead necessary to produce glazed ceramics.

Majolica

Majolica ceramics were the tableware preferred by the Spanish elite in the New World (Jamieson and Hancock 2004). They are wheel produced earthenware ceramic tablewares distinguishable by their tin glazes. Archaeologists studying these colonies suggest that Spanish material culture enhanced elite identity and ethnicity by providing a template for behavioral ideals (Deagan 1974, 1983). Dining practices among the colonists led by example since proper behaviors reinforced power structures. Having the correct tablewares was an important part of this experience (Jamieson 2001). Majolica ceramics were originally produced in Spain with glaze technology borrowed from Italian and Near Eastern pottery traditions.
Majolicas studied within archaeological contexts yield answers to questions of trade between Spain’s colonies as well as issues of material culture use and status (Deagan 1998, 2001).

Majolicas recovered from the Mercedarian Monastery site comprised 43% of the ceramic tableware assemblage (Table 4) at the Augustinian Monastery site they represented 56% of all ceramic tablewares (Table 5). Mercedarian site excavations yielded a majolica collection made up of 17% hollowware and bowls and 67% flatware or plates (Table 6). On the Augustinian site, the majolica collection was 72% hollowware or bowls and 5% plates and flatware (Table 7).
Bowls and *plato hondos* [deep soup plates] were very commonly used for everyday basic meals such as soups and stews and things that could be communally prepared using a single pot. Plates on the other hand were generally reserved for fancier meals that took time to prepare and which were served in a more formal manner. Majolicas were a more prestigious form of tableware than the plain and slipware vessels and also used for table settings. The Mercedarians appeared to reserve their majolica tablewares for plates and more formal tableware pieces. These were perhaps reserved for special occasions when guests would be present. Higher-ranking friars and priests might use them
for their meals, which were better than the soups and stews consumed by the rest of the friars. Contrastingly, the majority of the majolica ceramics from the Augustinian site were bowls and hollowware vessels. This perhaps indicates that they used fancier tablewares on a more regular basis.

Majolica ceramics at each of the two monastery sites were either imported from Panama or produced locally. Panama provided the Andean colonies with the majority of their majolica ceramics until the 1670s when that industry came to an end (Jamieson 2001; Rovira 2001). The exact point when locally produced majolica became available in the Andes is not certain, but Lister and Lister suggest that highland centers such as Quito, Cuenca and Cuzco began majolica production in the mid-18th century (1974). Jamieson (2004) suggests one way to resolve this question is by understanding the unique chemical signatures of various Andean majolica. Accessing such data would also shed light on regional manufacturing and trade, which is already apparent through visual differentiation based on paste and glaze for some Andean majolicas.

Early in Spanish colonization, all majolica ceramics in the Americas were imported from Spain. At the end of the sixteenth century exports in Iberian majolica declined as port communities began producing their own majolica for distribution throughout the viceroyalties. A century later, Panama was a part of the Viceroyalty of Peru and goods produced there could be distributed throughout the administrative region. Trade between viceroyalties was discouraged, so very few of the imported majolicas in the Andes originated in other Spanish colonies (Jamieson 2001). Panamanian majolica in most cases
are easily distinguished from local tin-glazed ceramics. However, Panama Vieja, was attacked in 1671 at which point it ceased being a reliable supply source (Ward 1993). The presence of Panamanian majolicas on colonial sites is useful for identifying undisturbed contexts that predate the 1700s, in some cases majolica types can narrow the range of dates with confidence (Jamieson 2001).

**Panamanian Majolicas**

Imported Panamanian majolicas tend to have a “bright brick red’ paste with very fine, almost unnoticeable mineral temper (Deagan 1987). Production of Panama Plain majolicas in Panama Vieja began in the early 1500s and lasted through the 1670s (Rovira 2001). Panamanian plain majolicas have a thick, even, off-white tin glaze. Many of these majolicas contain a comparatively large number of cosmetic imperfections including crazing, pinholing, crawling or bare spots in their glaze (Deagan 1987; Long 1964). Potters also created a Panama blue on white where they applied a pale blue decoration atop an off-white background. Production of Panama blue on white majolicas began early 1600s onward (Rovira 2001). Common design motifs include leaf and plant designs made with curvilinear brush strokes (Deagan 1987)

A third variety of Panamanian polychrome majolicas were produced in Panama City from the 1640s onward (Rovira 2001). These majolicas used an off-white background with polychrome decorations often using swirling fronds, asterisks or dots as design motifs (Lister and Lister 1974). Deagan describes an additional style of polychrome that she has called Panama Polychrome “B”, which utilizes a lace-like motif (Deagan 1987). Typically the favored colors for
these decorations were black, green, blue and brown (Goggin 1968; Long 1964). Panama blue described one type of Panamanian majolica, which was defined by a solid blue matte exterior glaze and greenish interior, along with the typical red Panama paste. This type of majolica has only been recovered on select colonial sites and was absent from both of the monastery ceramic assemblages. In addition to visual cues, Panamanian majolicas from locally produced tin-glazed earthenwares, Jamieson and Hancock (2004) demonstrated the value of neutron activation for sourcing specific classes of ceramic.

Figure 44, Panama polychrome, César Unit 4, Context 210
On the site of the Mercedarian Monastery, imported Panamanian majolicas represented 14% of all of the majolica tablewares. Of these, 54% were identified as Panama Plain, 25% Panama blue on white, and 20% Panama Polychrome. On the Augustinian site Panamanian majolicas represented 5% of the majolica collection. From the sample I recovered, 26% were Panama Plain, 63% Panama blue on white, and 10% Panama Polychrome (Table 8). Panama Plain ceramics were among the earliest products of the Spanish colonies, even earlier than other forms of majolicas (Jamieson 2000), which means that the Mercedarian assemblage, with its predominance of Panama Plain majolicas, represents a switch to locally produced ceramics. While a smaller percentage of the total tableware collection on the Augustinian site was represented by majolicas, most of these ceramics were of the style produced later. Panama blue on white dishes indicate that the Augustinians continued to import larger numbers of foreign goods even after cheaper local majolicas became available. This example of conspicuous consumption meant the Augustinians paid a premium to import more exclusive ceramics even when a local product entered the market.
Table 8, Panamanian Majolica

<table>
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<th>Panama Majolica</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Polychrome</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
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<th>Panama Majolica</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Polychrome</td>
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<tr>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>63</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Few researchers have attempted to identify regional production centers of Andean majolicas (Jamieson 2001). As a result of this lacuna there is no understanding of loci for Andean ceramic production or how widespread this production was. Therefore, definitively stating that locally produced majolica sherds were made in Riobamba and not Quito or another surrounding area is impossible. Majolicas produced in Quito are described as having an orange paste with few inclusions, a thin uneven glaze and green decoration (Buys 1997). From this written description, tin-glazed wares from Quito sound very similar to those excavated in Riobamba and may in fact be visually indistinguishable. For this reason, the regionally produced majolicas in this study have been labeled as Riobamba or other unidentified import in origin. Lister and Lister (1987) claim that locally produced majolica appeared in the Andes in the mid-eighteenth century. They suggest that local production only began following the end of majolica production elsewhere in 1671 (Lister and Lister 1974). Other researchers, however, posit that strong evidence points to regional Andean production of
majolica earlier than this date (Fournier Garcia 1989; Vargas 1987), perhaps as early as the mid-seventeenth century if not before. In Riobamba, for example, a locally produced majolica was introduced well before the mid-eighteenth century. While the Augustinian Monastery was founded in Riobamba as early as 1596 (Ortiz Crespo 1989), and the Mercedarian Monastery petitioned to move to their final Riobamba location in 1718 (Pazmiño Acuña 2000) my excavation did not provide a context that could be dated solely by the dates of pottery introduction. I reached sterile soils at both of these sites before I discovered a context that contained either exclusively imported majolicas or one that lacked them at all. Whereas the majority of my excavated units were trash pits and garden features where mixing would been common, the relative scarcity of Panamanian sherds and the abundance of local majolicas appears to point to the two forms of tablewares being concurrently available.

**Regional Majolicas**

Regionally produced majolicas recovered in Riobamba are identifiable by their medium-light orange compact sandy paste. These vessels usually have a cream-colored or light yellow glaze. Often other colors are used in addition to the cream. Some researchers contend that regionally produced tin-glazed ceramics bore a uniformly thin glaze which contained a smaller amount of tin and decorations that were made in green and brown (Lister and Lister 1987). There exists a fair amount of variation in color and design, but the brown and green designs discussed by these authors are indeed very common. Among the colors
commonly in use are yellows, blues and purples. The blues and purples along with a visually distinctive paste clearly distinguish the regional majolicas recovered in Riobamba from those that have been identified in Cuenca (Jamieson personal communication 2007).

Design motifs on these regional polychrome majolicas often include annular rings, radiating lines, dots, wavy lines, floral designs, and leaves. In addition to polychromes, locally produced plain majolicas were recovered as well as local blue on white majolicas. Both the plain and the blue on white styles use the same orange compact sandy paste as the local polychromes. Plain styles are treated with an evenly thin, white, cream or greenish-cream tin glaze. The blue on white surface treatment also uses a thin white or cream-colored base that is then covered by a medium blue design. Annular rings, wavy lines and floral patterns found on the local polychromes also appear frequently.
On the Mercedarian Monastery site 32% of the locally produced tin-ware ceramics were regional plain, 18% were regional blue on white, and 50% were regional polychromes. On the Augustinian Monastery site 33% of the regionally produced majolica assemblage was regional plain, 9% was regional blue on white, and 58% was regional polychrome (Table 9).
Since locally produced tin-enamed ceramics appeared at a later date than imported majolicas, the technology for creating the full range of majolica ceramics was available from the industry’s inception. Consequently, the large percentage of local polychrome majolicas speaks to the preferences of consumers rather than availability. What is interesting however, is the persistence of a fairly large quantity of regional plain majolicas even when an alternative was clearly available. This may have been the result of price differences between the plain and the polychrome wares, or simply an expression of consumer desire to have undecorated tablewares. Whatever the reason, with the exception of regional blue on white majolicas which occurred twice the percentage on the Mercedarian site as on the Augustinian, regional majolica types recovered from the two monasteries appear to have occurred in relatively equal numbers.
Porcelain

Chinese porcelain from the Ming Dynasty (1364-1644) was introduced to Europe in the mid-sixteenth century initially by the Portuguese and later, more extensively by Dutch traders. Kraak porcelain was the first Chinese porcelain export that reached its market via European trade networks. The European demand for Chinese porcelain remained strong until the mid-seventeenth century when the fall of the Ming Dynasty created a shortage and European traders turned to Japanese Imari porcelain to meet their customers’ demand (Mudge 1986). By the end of the seventeenth century, Chinese export porcelain again became available to the European market.

Spain selected the Philippines for their headquarters in the Asian trade, and by 1573 regular trade routes were established. Between 1573 and 1815, one to four ships sailed almost annually from Manila to Acapulco, Mexico. In Acapulco, Asian silks and porcelains were loaded onto mule trains bound for Veracruz, on the Gulf of Mexico, where they were loaded onto Spanish ships headed for Seville. Most of the goods from these trans-Pacific shipments, however, were destined for the Spanish colonies in the New World, by way of the ports of Panama and Nicaragua. Merchants from the prosperous vicerealties of New Spain and Peru were important vendors in this trade. Silks, porcelains, spices and ivory were traded for silver from the mines in Zacatecas and Potosí. Because imported Chinese goods were readily available and were less expensive than imported Spanish goods (Kuwayama and Pasinski 2002), Spain levied a series of prohibitions and regulations against the importation of Chinese
merchandise into the Viceroyalty of Peru. Regardless, the importation of contraband Chinese goods continued and in the 1630s Lima petitioned Spain to lift the regulations on Asian merchandise. The reason they provide for these sanctions was that they were losing money on import taxes from the large quantity of goods sold in this black market (Kuwayama 2000).

Porcelains recovered from the two monastery sites were all the “hard paste” variety. They were constructed with an extremely compacted white body and a shiny clear glaze. Hard paste porcelains contained white kaolin clay tempered with finely ground feldspatic rock, and fired between temperatures of 1250-1500°C. Chinese porcelains had a clear glassy feldspatic glaze that was usually fused to the paste. Vessels were bisque fired, glazed and then fired again. When over glazed vessels are created, these vessels are fired an additional time making this type of ceramics more complex to produce and therefore more expensive. Kraak porcelain was available between 1550 and 1640 (Kuwayama 2000) and often had small imperfections including pin-holes, small bare spots or “moth eaten” edges where the glaze has shrunken a bit during firing (Rinaldi 1989). Common decoration techniques on export porcelains include under glaze painting with cobalt blue, over glaze polychrome designs, and gilding. By the mid-seventeenth century porcelain technology was advanced enough to handle mass production for the export market and ceramic designs and motifs became quite diverse and were often tailored to the aesthetics of the particular market (Kuwayama 2000).
On both the Mercedarian Monastery and the Augustinian Monastery sites, porcelain tablewares represented less than 1% of each of the ceramic tableware collections (Tables 4, 5). Of the porcelains recovered, all were hard paste Chinese tableware sherds that were extremely small in size. On the Mercedarian site 50% of these were blue under glazed porcelains and 50% were hand-painted over glazed ceramics. On the Augustinian site 60% were blue under glazed porcelains, 20% were hand-painted over glazed ceramics and 20% were undecorated white sherds. The colors used on the hand painted ceramics were red and green. There were no rim sherds among this collection and those I
recovered were all fragmented to such a degree that no positive identification of either vessel form or design was possible.

The relative scarcity of Porcelain on both sites suggests that Chinese porcelains were not daily use items for the majority of the friars living in either monastery. One researcher claims that a very large percentage of the silver mined in the Spanish colonies was traded for imported Asian goods with the Chinese paying an extremely high premium for Peruvian silver. By the latter half of the sixteenth century many Catholic orders had accumulated immense wealth from this trade and enjoyed exemptions from trade laws and regulations (Kuwayama 2000). Riobamba apparently, however, did not control any silver mines of its own and would not have had a steady supply of porcelains and other Asian goods. Potosí, with its silver mines and relative proximity may have occasionally provided the residents of Riobamba with access to porcelain vessels, but it certainly was not an extremely common occurrence. Also, while porcelain vessels may have represented affluence within monasteries in the viceroyalty, that wealth was not distributed among other branches of the order that had no access to mining facilities. The market value of these imported ceramics along with their restricted availability would have made them highly prestigious possessions. That the monasteries could afford them at all speaks to a certain degree of relative wealth and status within the community. Interestingly, there exists no difference in the percentages of porcelains recovered from the two monasteries. This is perhaps indicative not of monetary or status equality between the monasteries, but the rarity of these vessels.
Drain Pipe

Drainage or water pipes represented a very small percentage of the ceramic assemblages found on the Mercedarian and Augustinian sites, less than 1% of each. There is no accessible literature discussing ceramics of this sort, but they would have provided a means for redirecting water for plant irrigation as well as flood reduction. Colonial drainage pipes are quite distinctive. They were constructed of rough coarse earthenware and formed into a cylindrical shape and glazed with a solid green or a cream colored tin glaze.

Figure 47, Ceramic drainage pipe, Merced Unit 1, Context 98
Figurine

There was a single ‘figurine’ recovered from the site of the Mercedarian Monastery. It depicted the face and head of a man with a hole pierced through the top of his head. The body was absent. This figure was constructed of coarse earthenware and apart from the etched human features, it showed no decoration or surface treatment. I believe that this figurine was possibly a decorative handle on a ceramic vessel. The Central Bank Museum in Cuenca, Ecuador houses several ceramic vessels with heads such as these thought to be effigies of Spanish royalty (Ross Jamieson personal communication 2005).

Figure 48, Ceramic figurine, Antonio Unit 2, Context 99
Tile

*Ladrillo* [Spanish floor tile] and *teja* [Spanish roof tile] are ubiquitous artifacts on the majority of Spanish colonial sites. The tiles are constructed from locally available clay and used as construction materials. They are coarse earthenware, roughly fired and usually without surface treatment of any kind. Intact ladrillos are flat and square, rectangular or hexagonal in shape. Each tile would have been placed next to one another to form a level floor surface. Intact tejas are curved and semi-cylindrical in shape; they were placed in an overlapping pattern to form a tiled roof. An intact square ladrillo weighs roughly 3 Kg. and measures 20 X 20 X 2.5 cm. An intact teja weighs roughly 1.8 Kg. and measures 38 X 13 cm.

Both the sites for the Mercedarian and Augustinian Monasteries were rich with colonial tile. While some intact in situ tiles were recovered from both sites, the majority were fragmented and recovered from secondary refuse deposits. I weighed all the tiles I recovered and then discarded them in the field, so apart from their weight little information was collected. On the Mercedarian Monastery site I unearthed 107.21 Kg of tejas and 88.88 Kg of ladrillos whereas on the Augustinian Monastery site I excavated 472.50 Kg of teja and 759.40 Kg of ladrillos (Table 10). Between the two sites I removed 1.43 metric tons of tile.
Table 10, Tile

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<td>23120</td>
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<tr>
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<td>60296</td>
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<td>197950</td>
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<td>192500</td>
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Spindle whorls

The Spanish conquest and colonization of the Americas, and of Peru more specifically, had far reaching implications that influenced what was produced and who was responsible for that production. Systems such as the *mita*, which relied heavily on obligatory labor, had a great deal of power to shift labor organization and consequently traditional Andean gender roles and identity. This is particularly true when it comes to textile production. Karen Graubart however argues that gendered roles in cloth production were likely more flexible than the typical historical interpretations, and some men may have played a small role in cloth production (2000). Traditionally, historians contend that women have always been responsible for cloth production, and in some regions there is a great deal
of evidence supporting the idea that cloth production was in fact an entirely female occupation (Brumfiel 2006). Irene Silverblatt and other historians who have examined gender structures have provided evidence for the female role in Andean cloth production and the importance of this work and its function in the Inka economy (1987). Works such as these are extremely valuable in establishing the essential work produced by women both in antiquity and the early Spanish period, they indicate that women very likely played a substantial role in daily monastery life.

In the Andes today, spinners and weavers are almost exclusively female, although some male examples particularly in artisan communities, do exist (Graubart 2000). Graubart cites examples from the colonial period that mention women’s labor contributing to cloth making was the “natural order of things,” men often assisted in this work. Although women received credit for their large-scale cloth production, on a household level, male relatives loaned their labor to the family enterprise. Other documents acknowledge the role played by a woman’s extended family, such as elderly men and those who were otherwise unable to engage in traditional male activities often assisted in this work. A Spanish inspector once reported that while only women made cloth, men would work as assistants (Graubart 2000). Based on the number of spindle whorls recovered from across both the Augustinian and Mercedarian sites it can be assumed that while some friars may have played some small role in the spinning of wool, there is strong evidence pointing towards the presence of women on the two sites.
In the Peruvian Andes, most textile producing looms were constructed of little more than several shaped sticks organized into a dual-leased system which helps to alternate which strand of wool was woven at a given time (Franquemont 1991). As these looms would not preserve particularly well archaeologically, evidence for cloth production is found primarily in spindle whorls. Spindle whorls were usually constructed of baked clay and used as flywheels to maintain inertia for the rotating spindle while twisting fibers into thread. On the two monastery sites, the larger percentage of spindle whorls I recovered were reworked tablewares that had been shaped into cylindrical disks with holes in the center where the spindle sits while working wool into thread. The tablewares used to create these spindle whorls range from plain unglazed ceramics to fancier majolicas. In addition to the completed spindle whorls, I also unearthed a large number of reworked ceramic disks without perforations. These disks may have been blanks for spindle whorls that awaited completion, or could have served other purposes including gaming pieces or lids for small ceramic vessels.
Figure 49, Spindle whorl, César Unit 5, Context 25

Figure 50, Spindle whorl blank, Antonio Unit 2, Context 98
The discovery of spindle whorls within the compound of institutions that consciously excluded women draws me to question the basic structure of the institutions themselves. Weaving tools are not trivial instruments incidentally made for the occupation and their presence in many locations across both of the sites tells me that there was a very large female labor force. Additionally, the disks interpreted as blanks could indicate that the spindle whorls may have been constructed on site, and were not simply a possession carried into the monastery and accidentally left behind.

Cabos argues that Indigenous women engage in spinning along with whatever else they are doing at the time, whether walking or completing other tasks with their hands (1990). The discovery of these numerous spindles along with copper *tupus* recovered from both monasteries, convince me that much of the menial labor that occurred on the monastery properties was done by Indigenous women.

Spindle whorls were present at all four sites I excavated on the two monastery properties. They were also widely strewn about in my excavation units indicating that there was no one isolated location where spinning occurred. Spindle whorls were interred in primary colonial deposits, such as the Mercedarian living quarter and the Augustinian kitchen, as well as in colonial secondary deposits, such as the Mercedarian and Augustinian gardens and Augustinian trash pits. While the number of spindle whorls recovered is small compared to other artifacts such as tablewares or construction materials, they
appear to be ubiquitous across the monastery sites. Their presence was a symptom of how spinning was integrated into the daily lives of individuals who spent a significant amount of time in the monasteries.

**Glass containers**

Kathleen Deagan (1987) suggested that Spanish glassware comprised a fairly distinctive assemblage, but the majority of research focused on ornate pieces almost to the exclusion of utilitarian wares. Therefore, I was not surprised to find the fragments of several glass containers on both of the monastery sites. The majority of these shards were from utilitarian bottles and glass tablewares.

By the colonial period, glass production in Spain was a long-standing and well established tradition. Sixteenth century Spanish glass blowers had adopted some of the Venetian glass blowing techniques to create a well-respected industry. In addition to these ornate pieces, the Spanish also had an extensive utilitarian glass industry dedicated to cheaper, cruder bottles, vials and tablewares. Production was in Andalusia but the export market was its colonies. Glassware was a staple product delivered to nearly every isolated outpost of Spanish influence. It is extremely difficult to identify because large quantities of these glasswares were imported into Spain from Germany, England and France before they were shipped to the colonies (Deagan 1987). In addition to these imported glasswares some utilitarian glasswares were produced within the colonies, likely in Mexico (Toussain 1967).
While not nearly as plentiful in number as ceramics, glass containers, bottles and tablewares appeared on both of the monastery sites and were present in nearly all of the excavated units. Recovered glasswares were clear, colorless, green, blue, yellow, and amber in color. Many of the shards were too small to identify vessel form, but I recovered fragments from hand-blown bottles, tumblers and decorative bottles. In a single instance on the Mercedarian site, I dug up a piece of colorless bottle glass that had been reworked into a projectile point. I also found a piece of amber colored glass on the Augustinian site that appeared to have had flakes knapped off one edge.

In addition to utilitarian wares and very small unidentifiable glass fragments I also unearthed some ornamental pieces. On the site of the Mercedarian Monastery in what is believed to have been a friar’s living quarters I excavated a single piece of Latticinio-decorated glass. Latticinio glass combines opaque white glass with clear glass to form a design, usually stripes, twists or latticework patterns (Deagan 1987). This particular shard showed a white and clear striped pattern. The other decorative glass shard I found at the Augustinian site bore a floral pattern that was engraved on the outer side of a piece of colorless glass tableware covered with heavy patina. According to Deagan (1987) engraved glass was introduced to Barcelona from Italy in the later half of the 1500s. Flowers, scrolls and other patterns were etched into the surface of the glass using a diamond. This method continued until the second quarter of the eighteenth century when wheel engraving was introduced. Several of the other small shards may also have come from decorative glasswares, but there is really
no way to tell. However, on both sites, the utilitarian wares vastly outnumbered
the more ornate, decorative glasswares.

Figure 51, Latticinio glass, Antonio Unit 1, Context 51

Figure 52, Etched glass, Agustín Unit 5, Context 259
Panes of Glass

Small shards of flat paned glass were recovered from both the Mercedarian and Augustinian Monastery sites. The vast majority of these shards were found on the Mercedarian Monastery from the site of Antonio. Both of the units excavated on the Antonio site were destroyed architectural structures and contained collapsed roofs on top of shifted, but in situ colonial floors and in the case of one of the units an interior wall from a living structure. The glass recovered with these structural remains was likely broken during the earthquake and subsequent collapse of the dormitories. Such glass that I found at the Augustinian site was from a single unit, which contained primarily debris from a mudflow following the 1797 earthquake. This glass was all slightly irregular colorless glass with a heavy patina. None of the glass shards fragmented into pieces larger than about 5 cm in diameter, suggesting that the original pieces were likely not very large.

There currently exists little or no accessible research on Spanish colonial window glass. However, the reason glass bottles and tablewares were exclusively imported into the region is because there were no local glass production facilities. Therefore, paned glass, like other glasswares, would have been imported from Europe or Mexico. Very little window glass appeared in garden or trash features on either site because the use of glass in construction of buildings and furniture was quite rare. Glass panes were preserved and reused, hence very few fragments ever find their way into the garbage. The sheer quantity of glass panes recovered from the Antonio site of the Mercedarian
Monastery likely resulted from the collapse and destruction of an architectural structure that likely contained furnishings such as cabinets and cases with glass panels. These glass shards were left in situ when the order finally abandoned the monastery.

![Figure 53, Glass panes, Antonio Unit 2, Context 82](image)

**Nails and Ferrous Metals**

I recovered a large number of ferrous metal objects from both the Mercedarian and Augustinian monasteries. Ferrous metal refers to metal objects either made of or containing significant amounts of iron. Unless preservation conditions are ideal, iron is susceptible to oxidation. Consequently, identifying the
original form of the artifact was impossible due to the heavy oxidation and corrosion. The exception to this was nails and other fasteners. On the Augustinian site there was a single c-shaped brad that I discovered in a trash feature. On both the Mercedarian and Augustinian Monastery sites, 65% of recovered nails were identifiable as hand forged. The remainder were too heavily oxidized to clearly determine the manufacturing technique, but hand wrought nails are more typical of undisturbed colonial deposits. On both sites there appeared to be two classes of nails, longer construction nails measuring 4-5 cm in length and shorter nails that may have been used for furniture construction or upholstery measuring around 2 cm in length. Some nails were so heavily corroded they might have been broken and so appeared shorter.

Between the two sites, I dug up a comparatively large number of nails from the Mercedarian Monastery than from the Augustinian Monastery. This may be because the major excavations on the Mercedarian Monastery occurred in collapsed structures where nails were integral for some architectural features, as well as for any furniture in the room. Once the wood from these objects and structures disintegrated, the nails were all that remained. My excavations at the Augustinian site however, took place in gardens and trash features. Nails were certainly discarded in these features, but not in the same quantity that they were found within the Mercedarian buildings. Any difference in percentage of nails found on these sites may not represent a discrepancy in the number of nails used so much as a difference in the contexts that I excavated.
Tupus

Tupus are shawl pins traditionally worn by indigenous women in the Andes. They are still a part of traditional female dress. Under Inka rule, noble women wore tupus made out of silver or gold or bronze, and common people wore pins made of bone or wood (Meisch 1991). The pins were used to fasten regionally specific wool shawls across a woman’s chest. Tupus range from those that are extremely ornate and decorative to those that are simple pins.

I recovered tupus from both the Mercedarian and Augustinian sites. They were all made of copper and were quite simple in design. Some were straight copper pins and others had small metal loops at one end. Five of these pins were recovered from the Mercedarian site, and three from the Augustinian site. The
presence of articles specific to women suggests that women, and most likely
Indigenous women spent some time on the monastery premises. I found five of
these pins within contexts that conform to architectural structures. One of the
pins was recovered from a unit thought to be a kitchen on the Augustinian site,
and four were recovered from what appeared to be living quarters on the
Mercedarian site. Three of these pins were isolated finds, from garden and trash
features on both monasteries. Finding these tupus led me to speculate that
women were active participants in the daily activities of the monasteries.
Determining the nature of women’s relationship with the friars who lived in the
monasteries is difficult. What is interesting about the presence of women in the
monastery is that contemporary gender theorists tend to believe that male
identity is at least in part formed and maintained through a man’s interactions
with women (Gutmann 1996, 1997). That is to say that a person learns who they
are and how they are supposed to act by creating polarized relationships,
defining themselves by one set of rules to emulate and removing themselves
from another in a falsely contrasting dichotomy. The presence of women on the
monastery properties would have in part worked to create and reinforce male
gender identity in the priests and friars.
Worked glass

When knapped bottle glass appears on post European contact archaeological sites researchers explain the replacement as a substitution for traditional raw materials (Harrison 2003). These glass artifacts likely were manufactured by Indigenous peoples who because of work obligations within the colonial environment may not have had access to the raw materials traditionally used for these types of tools.
Knapped glass was a rare artifact on the Mercedarian and Augustinian Monastery sites. While digging at the Mercedarian site, I found one unfinished colorless glass projectile point, but the Augustinian site yielded only a single amber glass debitage flake in the same area as the old kitchen. Finding these artifacts suggested to me that there were Indigenous peoples working at both monasteries. Such rare artifacts likely means that glass knapping was not a particularly common occurrence. The projectile point was recovered from a context believed to be part of a friar’s living quarters. Perhaps the projectile point speaks to the ethnicity of the individual friar. While the majority of friars in urban locations were criollos [of Spanish ancestry, born in the colonies] occasional exceptions were made for men of mixed ancestry, particularly outside of urban centers (Ganster 1986). The projectile point may also have been an artifact that was picked up, passed from person to person, or even confiscated. Secondary deposition is much less likely with the lithic debitage. I maintain that the recovery of the lithic flake indicates that at least at some point, an indigenous worker in the Augustinian kitchen spent some time knapping amber bottle glass.
Worked bone

Amid the plethora of artifact was a single piece of carved bone I found in a garden feature on the Augustinian Monastery site. The bone was less than 3 cm in length, had been heavily polished and punctured in three places. Around each of these puncture marks were engraved circles. The left most puncture had three outlined circles, and each of the other two had a single circle. Originally this carved bone fragment may have been part of a decorative inlay in an object such as a knife handle. The scarcity of decorative items such as this may speak to its relative value.
Button

I recovered a single button from the site of the Augustinian Monastery (Figure 58). I found it in an area that originally was a garden context. This button was made of bone, specifically a vertebra of a medium sized animal, possibly a sheep or a goat. The bone was rounded and highly polished. It had carved rings around the exterior surfaces on both sides of the button with a groove cut around the center pole between the two surface sides and a very small perforation in the center. This type of button was tethered in place by wrapping a cord around its grooved center rather than running anything through the perforation. This type of button likely served as a closure for a robe or cloak.
Ground stone/ stone artifacts

I unearthed some stone artifacts from both of the monastery sites. On the Mercedarian site I found two manos [hand sized grinding stones]. One of them lay in a context where a colonial garden once grew and the other was in sediments that were deposited in a mudflow following the 1797 earthquake. Originally these manos had been local river cobbles but were selected for their size and shape. Wear from grinding was evident on both of them. On the Augustinian site I dug up a portion of a metate [grinding bowl] with which the mano pairs. This was also made of local river stone that was likely chosen for its appropriate size and shape. This artifact also exhibited noticeable wear from
grinding. *Manos* and *metates* are traditional Indigenous tools and their presence on these two sites supports evidence for the presence of indigenous laborers in the monasteries. Moreover, such tools representing indigenous technologies were very labor intensive, which would predicate against friars engaging in this kind of physical labor. An indigenous workforce likely invested their energy in activities such as food preparation and housekeeping.

In addition to ground stone tools I discovered a unique stone artifact, which looked to be a portion of a gate or pillar from a garden feature. This artifact was carved from local river stone and had a raised ring about a rounded ball-like bit. It was covered in a large amount of iron oxide, but there was no significant content of iron in the artifact itself. Instead, it may have been resting in proximity to a corroded ferrous artifact while it was in the ground.

**Lithics**

Many of the lithics I recovered from the monastery sites were masonry stone chips from the Mercedarian Monastery site. These masonry flakes were so plentiful that a sample was taken and the rest were discarded in the field without being counted or weighed. They were pink stone flakes and were mined in a quarry in the hills north of Riobamba that can be seen while standing on the Mercedarian property. They were likely discarded in the process of constructing square stone blocks, which were then used to build the church and other Mercedarian buildings. These square blocks are evident both in the standing church walls that remain on the property as well as the wall of the living quarters that I excavated in Antonio unit 2.
Among these rough masonry flakes I found two obsidian flakes, one at each the Mercedarian and the Augustinian monasteries. In addition I excavated a single flake each of chert and quartz from the Augustinian Monastery. Indigenous laborers in the monasteries likely produced these lithic remains. While the number of recovered flakes is quite small, these workers evidently had some access to resources and raw materials for producing stone tools.

Chapter Summary

During excavations, I recovered a large number of objects from both the sites of the Mercedarian and Augustinian monasteries. These artifacts varied greatly in material type, form, origin, use and value. What they share in common is that each of them was selected, used and either discarded or lost by individuals who lived or worked within these two monasteries. As a result of their number, uniqueness or clear value, some of the recovered artifacts convey more of a clear cultural meaning than others and thus have been more heavily studied and interpreted. All of the artifacts however, played important roles in forming the environment that was everyday existence of the whole range of individuals who lived and worked within these two monasteries.
CHAPTER 6: ARCHIVAL INTERPRETATIONS

Introduction

One strength of historical archaeology is that research can simultaneously incorporate the material record with the written one. Actions and repetition of specific behaviors work to reinforce an individual’s version of reality, and their identity influences the range of activities in which they choose to engage. Material culture and repeated performance are simultaneously markers of identity while also existing as elements that work to create and shape personalities. Therefore, daily activities are an important aid in understanding the identities and lived experiences of the men who lived and worked within these monasteries. Documents represent the larger moments in an individual’s life: the purchase of a piece of property, the death of a relative, or a legal dispute with a neighbor. Within the monasteries however, many of the documented events were much more common occurrences. Community members frequently approached the monasteries to ask for assistance financing a home, seeking employment or for a friar to act as a character witness in a trial. As such, written accounts that marked only the rare occasions in a typical person’s life, were commonplace and recorded the activities that occupied the friars on an ongoing basis. For this reason I felt that it was important to include an examination of archival records along with the material studies.
Research

During several visits to the Archivos de la Casa de la Cultura Benjamin Carrión Nucleo de Chimborazo [municipal archives housed in the Benjamin Carrión Cultural Center in Riobamba] in the month of May 2006, I uncovered documentary information about the daily activities of members of both of the monasteries I studied. Work would proceed by selecting a specific year and then reading through all the documents for that year looking for those that would be relevant to either the Augustinian or Mercedarian Monasteries. I narrowed my search to the years between 1718 (when the Mercedarians moved their monastery to the location where excavations took place) and 1799 (following the earthquake that destroyed the city). When I located relevant documents, I would transcribe them, give a brief synopsis and then digitize them.

In total, 61 documents directly pertaining to the Augustinian and Mercedarian Monasteries were identified, recorded and photographed. Activities at the Augustinian Monastery were discussed in 24 while I found 41 relating activities at the Mercedarian Monastery. Documents pertaining to the internal workings of colonial monasteries are notoriously difficult to obtain. Many orders keep their archives inaccessible to the general public for fear that secular historians might draw attention to negative aspects of their past (Gibbs 1989). For this reason, the majority of documents located in this study, 69%, alluded to the economic activities of the friars. Other documents included communications between the monastery officials and secular authorities in Quito or Cuenca, legal
disputes, registration of new friars committing themselves to church life and new titles and responsibilities given to existing members. Instead of creating a direct framework for understand the daily activities of the individuals in the monasteries, the archival record provided contextual information for the socioeconomic positions and statuses that the two monasteries held within the larger community. This information indirectly provided support for the material culture evidence and provided insights into the lived experiences of members of the two institutions.

In general, members of colonial monasteries led contemplative lives removed from the activities of the larger community. Catholic monasteries, however, traditionally work in two ways. In some monasteries where monks are housed, the members live very secluded cloistered lives within self-sustaining communities removed from the world at large. Mendicant monasteries on the other hand house friars who are both obligated to perform some form of ministry work, and are also somewhat dependent upon their local community for financial support. Friars are consequently more involved than monks with the residents and events within their home communities (newadvent.org). Not living a strictly cloistered existence, the lives of friars were very different from those of monks or nuns. These men performed the daily responsibilities typical of their orders, but accepted a mission among the civilians so they often worked outside of the monasteries (Gibbs 1989). The lives of these men contrasted markedly. With both groups however, routine activities orbited the contemplative and the meditative. Most monasteries had gardens where monks or friars would cultivate the soil and produce vegetables for their daily meals. Additional work included
teaching in schools or universities, running hospitals and orphanages, facilitating loans and real estate sales, speaking as an authority figure in civic disputes and the administrative aspects of farm and hacienda management.

**Real Estate**

In order to support the lifestyle of priests and friars, for whom meditation and contemplative religious study were a vocation, they recognized the need for outside revenue. Income sources came from gifts of money or property made to the monasteries either in wills or as donations. Their business extended to ranching and agriculture, cottage industries including the production of textiles and candles, and real estate transactions, with the latter making up the bulk of archival documents pertaining to economic activities within both of the monasteries. In addition to buying, selling, and renting houses and land, both the Mercedarians and Augustinians earned income through financing real estate purchases in third party lending agreements called *censos*.

When I searched the Archivo Histórico de la Casa de la Cultura, Riobamba (AHCC/R), I learned that purchasing of new properties accounted for just one of the Augustinian (AHCC/R 1766a) and two of the Mercedarian (AHCC/R 1746a; AHCC/R 1765a) documents. Details of properties sold by the monasteries to outside purchasers appeared in two of the Augustinian documents (AHCC/R 1749a; AHCC/R 1749b) and in a single instance for the Mercedarian (AHCC/R 1749c). One Augustinian document (AHCC/R 1746c) contains reference to rented property owned by the order, whereas no such transactions appeared for the Mercedarians. These are relatively low numbers
compared to the number of documents recording censos [third party financing agreements], which made up five of each the Augustinian (AHCC/R 1720a; AHCC/R 1746b; AHCC/R 1749d; AHCC/R 1765b; AHCC/R 1767a) and the Mercedarian documents (AHCC/R 1749e; AHCC/R 1753a; AHCC/R 1753b; AHCC/R 1765c; AHCC/R 1765d). Clearly, if recovered documents reflect the financial activities of the monasteries, the financing of properties was a viable source of revenue for them. Typically, these financing agreements involved the buyer putting up a sizable down payment, often 50-70% of the purchase price, and the monastery contributing the remainder of the amount. The buyer would then enter into a repayment agreement, and made either annual or bi-annual payments with interest to the monastery. Usually, the amount owed was unstated in the documents, but in one instance interest is noted as 3% (AHCC/R 1765d). One historian however, claims that the normal interest payment on a censo in Cuzco was 5% (Gibbs 1989), so there may have been some regional variation in the amount of interest paid. Financing was made on small homes, larger haciendas and pieces of farmland outside of town. Borrowers were typically individual residents of Riobamba, however, on two separate occasions the Mercedarians financed the sale of properties to the Convent of La Concepción (AHCC/R 1753a; AHCC/R 1765c). The Augustinians appeared to have been very straightforward with their lending policies, collecting money where money was owed. The Mercedarians on the other hand are recorded as accepting livestock in lieu of cash payments (AHCC/R 1751a) and forgiving loans upon the death of
the borrower if there were children involved who had nowhere else to go (AHCC/R 1766b).

Loans

Financing real estate sales was only one facet of business ventures, as both the Augustinian and Mercedarian monasteries made monetary loans to members of the community (AHCC/R 1749f; AHCC/R 1751a; AHCC/R 1765d; AHCC/R 1766c). None of these documents explicitly stated the nature of these loans, but the assumption is that they were different from the real estate financing agreements because those appeared in a very detailed and specific format. In most cases, the amount of interest the friars charged for making these loans is never stated, except in one exceptional case in which they explicitly mention a 17% interest rate (AHCC/R 1765d). In each case, it is acknowledged that the state of one’s immortal soul was compromised through holding a loan and that only discharging it would save the borrower from purgatory. A single document produced by the Augustinian monastery addressed the community and reminded borrowers that their souls were at stake and they would want to repay their debts in a timely fashion (AHCC/R 1753c). Such a symbolic sanction ensured that bad debts would not burden their bottom line.

Farming

Farming was a reliable source of income for some of the institutions in Riobamba. Like many colonial economic ventures, it fomented a hierarchical
organization, with indigenous workers being responsible for almost all physical labor on the ranches and farms. An administrator, or majordomo assigned from the monastery supervised ranch or farm operations. Provincial administrators occupied the next higher step and could set salary scales, arrange labor organization, push for the expansion of haciendas and make occasional visits to check on bookkeeping and administrative matters (Cushner 1982). In a typical Spanish colonial monastery the majority of the priests and friars were criollo [of Spanish ancestry but born in the colonies]. Caste guidelines dictated that men of this social class were exempt from manual labor. Consequently, their role in the haciendas [estates] and estancias [ranches for raising livestock] owned by the monasteries was more administrative in nature. Friars would decide whom to hire as overseers for their fields and landholdings, but the indigenous labor force provided the actual physical labor (Gibbs 1989).

Prior to the eighteenth-century, the term hacienda held a general meaning of wealth. By the middle of the eighteenth century the term hacienda held new meaning that reflected historical reality and was interpreted to mean a rural property used for ranching or agricultural activities (Patch 1985). This introduction of nomenclature was itself a product of the changing economic conditions throughout the Spanish colonies. Growth in urban centers encouraged an intensification of organized agriculture to support larger populations. Rural properties were purchased for farms that could meet the growing demand for food crops to sell in local markets and for raising revenue-producing animals (Cushner 1982). The extent to which farming was integrated into Spanish
colonial daily life varied by region and depended upon the quality of the available farmland. Some farmers even tried to grow Old World cash crops such as wheat, barley, and rye, which the Spanish had introduced to the Americas (Patch 1985). In the sierra (the Andean portion of Ecuador), the cultivation of grains was so successful that it became the mainstay of local agriculture (Cushner 1982).

Corn was the main indigenous crop, and had been long before Hispanic times. People of the Andes cultivated it for sustenance as well as for the role it played in their social and religious life. Immediately prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, the agricultural techniques of the Inka confederacy had reached the apex of production. Canal irrigation, crop terracing, and erosion control were all Inka engineering accomplishments that added to the success of corn cultivation in the region. Despite the breakdown of agricultural techniques with the Inka loss of power, corn continued to be widely produced and remained a staple food crop during the colonial period (Cushner 1982). Barley and wheat were two other major food crops grown in the Andean region that had been transplanted from Spain (Cushner 1982).

Archaeological evidence in the Riobamba area suggests that along with Old World grains, stone fruits such as peaches and plums were colonial era imports to the area. The volcanoes Chimborazo, El Altar, and Tungurahua surround Riobamba and have imbued the region with sediment that has produced mineral rich and extremely fertile soil. Despite the region’s high elevation (2,750 meters) the area was, and still is, considered desirable for agriculture. Today, broccoli, onions, carrots, alfalfa, wheat, corn and cilantro grow
in abundance on local farms. Corn and other grains grow well in the area too, but appear to be shorter in stature than similar crops at lower elevations. Barley and wheat add diversity to modern fields and have done so since colonial officials introduced these grains. In addition to Old World domesticates, indigenous farming traditions sustained a loyalty to native Andean crops such as potatoes, quinoa, amaranth and lupine, which persists to this day. With the exception of corn cultivation (AHCC/R 1746d; AHCC/R 1753d), no friar or monk wrote of growing native crops on Spanish haciendas or planting any for use by members of the monasteries. Archaeobotanical studies would provide a more definitive answer to the question of what crops were raised and consumed by these people. Andean farmers continue the practice of cultivating Old World grains and fruits, but they incorporate them into agricultural practices without replacing the cultivation of more traditional food crops.

**Livestock**

Pastoralism augmented agricultural production when livestock proved a valuable source of income for the monasteries, as well as fresh meat for the friars and laborers. Animals, particularly cattle, were raised in many rural parts of the Spanish colonies because there was a ready market for the meat in local cities. The leather and tallow were exported back to Europe (Cushner 1982; Patch 1985). While cattle were utilized in the Riobamba vicinity during the Spanish colonial period, they were not as prevalent as they were in some other parts of the colonies. Riobamba’s high elevation plus the success that residents found in raising sheep, likely were factors that selected against ranching. Cattle
are known to do quite poorly at elevations over 2,000 meters, with long-term exposure to such altitudes resulting in Pulmonary Hypertensive Heart Disease (also known as Brisket Disease), which ultimately brings on their death (Stegalmeir 2005). Many breeds of sheep, however, are indigenous to high elevation regions (>2,400m) and while they may grow slower than those living at lower elevations, it is not detrimental to their health (Risenhoover and Bailey 1988). The ability of sheep to adapt more easily than cattle to the environment around Riobamba played an essential role in their selection for introduction into the area, which in turn influenced the cultural identity of the city. Instead of producing leather and tallow like so many other colonial centers, the residents of Riobamba used the resources that were more readily available; they became shepherds whose clientele were the textile artisans spinning coarse fabrics from the wool of their sheep. Sheep were also slaughtered for their meat, most often consumed by workers and officials on the estate where the animals were kept (Cushner 1982). Newson states that as early as the 1570s, animal husbandry had become a major economic activity in the region and that raising sheep around Riobamba was so common that the town was described as a “village of shepherds”. She notes too that in 1573, official records counted over 80,000 sheep, a number which grew to over 600,000 in the early seventeenth century (1995: 207).

Farming was an indispensable part of colonial life, even among the religious institutions such as those studied (Cushner 1982). My archival research produced no documents that say whether the Augustinians in Riobamba
engaged in agriculture or animal husbandry. However, they are noted as owning farmland in other parts of the province (Cushner 1982). The one Augustinian document dealing with farmland in Riobamba was a sale agreement in 1749, citing the dearth of workers to care for the land as their motive for selling a hacienda called Rio Blanco (AHCC/R 1749g).

The Mercedarians on the other hand owned several properties where farming and animal husbandry took place. Documents attest to the Mercedarians owning rural haciendas where they grew fruit trees, alfalfa, and corn (AHCC/R 1746d; AHCC/R 1753d). They owned a large numbers of cattle, sheep, and hives of bees (AHCC/R 1751a; AHCC/R 1765a; AHCC/R 1766d). Certain documents allude to cattle foraging on haciendas outside of Riobamba in Yaruquis (AHCC/R 1765a). Their shepards also tended the large flocks of sheep they kept (AHCC/R 1751a). While actual Mercedarian labor was likely restricted solely to the management of these rural properties and even this was often done from a distance (Cushner 1982), agrarian practices provided a vital revenue source for the monastery.

**Apiculture**

Apart from the herding of sheep and cattle, the Mercedarian Monastery managed their own apiaries, each holding a number of beehives. From 1621, onwards, hives of European bees began arriving in the American colonies (Crane 1983). With the introduction of Spanish beekeeping came their traditional style hives. *Muros de abejas* [bee walls] consist of horizontal ceramic hives embedded into an adobe or mud wall. The hive was generally referred to as a *horno* [oven
or kiln] and was the cavity for nesting bees. In addition to bee walls, the apiarists also kept vertically oriented cylindrical beehives, which means that the two hive styles may have been used concurrently within the same apiaries (Crane 1983). Although references to beekeeping in Spanish colonial historical literature are few, bees were kept on rural haciendas, perhaps as pollinators for their fruit trees (Crane 1983; Patch 1985).

Beekeeping is a good match for the contemplative way of life found within the monastic tradition. Medieval European historians noted the presence of bee boles (hives of bees closely associated with a living structure) in ecclesiastical properties such as vicarages, rectories, abbeys and monasteries (Crane 1983). Keeping bees is an intellectual pastime that contributes life lessons about organization and social ordering. Tending their hives leads to an understanding of community living, while the practice itself teaches patience and the need for social hierarchy. Within colonial monasteries, bees produced honey they could sell or use themselves. Bees’ wax could be turned into church candles, seals for correspondences and used for casting gold (Crane 1983).

Some of the records I found suggest that the Mercedarian Monastery was engaged in beekeeping activities. The document in question states that 350 hives of bees were kept at a rural hacienda (AHCC/R 1766d). While this number of beehives suggests that the monastery had to have allocated a fair amount of labor to the care and upkeep of these bees, the rural location of the hacienda indicates that the Mercedarians may have again played the roles of remote administrators in the apiary industry.
Farm Labor

The friars and monks owned working farms that involved animal rearing and agricultural practices, yet the unstated topic was who actually did the manual labor. At least one Latin American historian opined, “no colonial society could exist without the employment of a subservient class of workers” (Newson 1995:185). In the sierra region, that labor force was comprised mainly of Indigenous workers. Their energy was so indispensable that when Indigenous labor shortages occurred, some Andean haciendas had to cease functioning (Cushner 1982). Unlike coastal Peru where imported slaves made up the primary labor force, the Andes had an indigenous and labor structure that incorporated many elements of the pre-Hispanic system. The gañán [wage laborer], alquilón [short term voluntary laborer] and mitayo [forced laborer working under the mita] were indigenous labor systems in which the exchange of labor demonstrated flexible relationships with the employer. Mitayo referred to an indigenous person who was forced to perform general labor, whereas a gañán was a permanent, voluntary worker employed on the same farm for a longer length of time. Alquilón described a short-term voluntary farm laborer, typically employed for one to ten days at a time (Cushner 1982). I found no documents supporting the presence of forced labor, but I cannot rule out the suggestion entirely. However, I do have documentary evidence suggesting the presence of voluntary indigenous laborers offering their services both to Mercedarian owned haciendas (AHCC/R 1749e; AHCC/R 1766e) and to the Augustinian monastery (AHCC/R 1753e). Some of these laborers were seeking paid employment; others offered their services to the friars in return for protection or legal defense. In all cases, the type of
employment agreement and length of tenure remains unclear. What became clear was that Mercedarians required much physical labor in caring for animals, haciendas, and agricultural crops. Taken together, their various enterprises would have supported a sizable indigenous labor force.

**Taxes**

No Spanish colonial could escape the infamous tax system and its intricate hierarchy. Knowing who owed taxes on what piece of land was often complicated. Documentary evidence recorded taxes owed by and to both of the monasteries. One note showed that the Augustinian monastery owed unpaid taxes to the communities of Chambo and Licto for some houses that they owned on the central plaza. They incurred these taxes with their purchase of properties from sellers from those towns. Moreover, the 1653 agreement stated that tax revenue belongs to the community where the original owner had lived (AHCC/R 1787a).

In addition to the institutions paying taxes on properties they owned, they were also able to collect taxes from other properties in the community. Despite their tax collection role, guidelines for establishing which landowners owed taxes to which institution are not always clear. Church regulations forbade friars from collecting taxes from the community, but apparently this edict was often ignored (Gibbs 1989). Mercedarian documents recall their attempt to collect tax revenue from the owners of two houses in the San Francisco Barrio (AHCC/R 1766f). While tax revenue does not appear to be a major income source for either of the monasteries, there were some instances when they were the recipients of tax...
money. Additionally, taxes kept lines of communication open between the residents of Riobamba and the larger scale governance of the Audiencia of Quito. If taxes were not paid to the proper authority, a problem was soon identified in the line of command and that some authority figure or ordinance was ignored.

**Ecclesiastical Communications**

There existed a network of ecclesiastical communications between the monasteries in Riobamba and those in Quito and other regional centers. They acted both to monitor from a distance the actions and behaviors of the religious men and monasteries in Riobamba, and to reinforce the ideals that Catholicism instilled as monastic aspirations. Within their network, Quito was the pivot and out-ranked those in Riobamba. Responsibility for teaching the lower ranked monasteries, for example, how to properly conduct evangelical effort while providing a living example for the other friars to follow, fell to the senior monasteries there. In one letter Señor Sebastian Mayorga, teacher of theology at the University of Gregorio, reminded the friars at the Augustinian Monastery to “remember certain orders, to be careful with people outside of their religion, and to emulate the honor and reputation of the saints without passing the limits of their own rights” (AHCC/R 1746e). Communications such as these provided friars with a behavioral template to replicate through their own performances, in this manner influencing the identity and lived experience of individual friars.

In another ecclesiastical communication the Augustinian monastery received notification that Doctor Don Pedro Ponce y Carrasco was being sent by
the Apostle Bishop of Quito for a visit to Riobamba where he would present a talk on religious virtue in the Monastery of San Agustín. The letter asked the Augustinians to host this emissary and to take care of all of his needs (AHCC/R 1765e). Personal visits from religious officials were perhaps an even more effective way of shaping religious identity. Not only were friars given a written outline of behavioral norms, but also they were able to witness and imitate mannerisms, gestures, ways of dress and minute movements that came to both represent and recreate the friars themselves. Personal visits brought religious officials an opportunity to observe and correct behaviors not fitting within the aspirational identity norms of the church.

Ecclesiastical communications and visits often meant a title would be bestowed on religious members that gave them delegating authority, thus ensuring that specific individuals were filling necessary roles. In one letter between the Riobamba monastery of La Merced and religious officials in Quito, the monastery was informed that Reverend Father Friar Miguel Theran of La Merced in Quito would be making a visit to confer Friar Marcos de Leon y Velasco with a license to act as an ecclesiastical tribunal and rule in secular legal cases (AHCC/R 1765f).

Communiques sometimes contained requests for favors or the assistance of branches of the order in other cities. In one such note between the monasteries of La Merced in Cuenca and La Merced in Riobamba, the friars of Cuenca asked the Mercedarians of Riobamba to accept the body of a deceased
clergy member for burial within the monastery. He was originally from Riobamba and had asked to be returned upon death (AHCC/R 1765g).

On the whole, communications occurred fairly regularly between religious communities, and they were necessary for maintaining a sense of order and hierarchy between members of a religious order residing in far flung communities.

**Communications with the Community**

Unlike communications between branches of the religious orders, those between the friars and the larger community of Riobamba were rare. I only found one communication of this sort during my archival study. It was between the Augustinian monastery and the residents of Riobamba and resembled an edict rather than a letter. In this communication Father Sebastian Mayorga reminded the community that many of them had outstanding debts owed to the Augustinians and that for the sake of their souls, they would want to repay these in a timely fashion (AHCC/R 1765c). The lack of formal communication may have been the result of geographical proximity. Physical closeness meant the oral tradition sufficed so there was no real need for an ongoing formal correspondence.

**Requests**

If the monks and friars wrote infrequently to their parishioners the opposite was not the case. Frequently community members wrote letters to ask for favors. In fact, individual requests to the monasteries distinguished the two institutions. I
found from my survey of archival letters that community members approached the Mercedarian monastery fairly often with requests for protection, financial assistance, and employment. Four of the Mercedarian Monastery documents (AHCC/R 1749h; AHCC/R 1766b; AHCC/R 1766e; AHCC/R 1766g), and three of the Augustinian documents (AHCC/R 1753f; AHCC/R 1765b; AHCC/R 1766h) were requests with only one being of the same nature as those made to the Mercedarians.

Of the three documents representing requests made to the Augustinian monastery two of them were made by individuals asking to remain in an Augustinian financed home after the death of the family member who had obtained the original loan. Each supplicant approaching the Augustinians for a favor had nowhere else to go, and made their request as a final effort because the Augustinians had already become involved in the property in question. Whether the requests made to the Augustinians regarding financed houses were granted is unknown, but this order’s reputation for turning aside such requests argues against a sympathetic outcome.

In one Augustinian document, Maria Velasco asked the monastery to continue living in the house of her deceased mother Micaela Garnica. She stated that the house was financed by the Augustinians, and that her mother’s will did not make provisions for her (AHCC/R 1766h). In another petition of the same nature, the widow of Joseph Merlo wrote to the monks and asked that she and her six children be permitted to continue living in a house that the monastery had financed (AHCC/R 1753f). In each of these cases, the women made clear that
they did not have the money to discharge the mortgages. In other words, their petitions to the monastery were out of desperation.

The third document pleading for assistance from the Augustinians involved a monastery-financed property. In this case, Diego de Seballos upon visiting an Augustinian financed property in Sicalpa discovered a pair of squatters and was wondering if the friars might assist in their removal (AHCC/R 1765b). This request is still different from some of the requests made of the Mercedarians because it involved the friars who held ownership of the piece of land in question, and did not involve a request for long-term monetary assistance. The Augustinians in this case were asked to fill the role of police and not that of caretakers and were allowed to express their authority, thus enhancing their status.

None of the requests made of the Mercedarians were of this sort. Community members did not commonly approach the Augustinians for favors, while the Mercedarians considered regular requests. This discrepancy between the numbers of requests addressed to the two monasteries may signal the Mercedarians propensity to grant them, unlike the Augustinians, even though the latter was a wealthier order and a more prestigious institution (Pazmiño Acuña 2000). Maintaining their wealth and the hierarchical status that came with money meant they gave away less of their revenue.

There could be a correlation between the numbers of requests accepted and the number that are subsequently made. If a monastery assisted every individual in need, more community members might appeal for this assistance.
Thus their strategy of denying such requests had the paradoxical benefit of enhancing the institution’s power within the community. The Augustinians were regarded as the wealthiest and most elite monastery in Riobamba. Most of their money appears to have been made by providing urban mortgages. Their elite image was perhaps reinforced through their physical separation from needy people in the community. Apart from seemingly not assisting Riobamba residents in financial need, they also appear not to own many haciendas, agricultural fields or herds of livestock which would provide employment opportunities for community members and require friars to interact with their laborers. Thus, the Augustinians had such a minor investment in the local community that they had nothing to lose by remaining aloof from local citizens.

Unlike the Augustinians, the Mercedarians were bound by their fourth “blood vow” to help those in need. While this blood vow instructed friars to lay down their own lives for those of Christians in captivity, its interpretation is not so strict. In modern Mercedarian communities the blood vow is inspirational for Mercedarian friars as it means to work for the redemption of those who find themselves in enslaving situations such as jails, at-risk neighborhoods, homes for community reintegration, and with patients with contagious diseases (orderofmercy.org/FourthVow.htm). The Mercedarians living in Riobamba during the Spanish colonial period may have felt that they were bound by their vows to help individuals requesting their protection or financial and physical assistance. This fourth vow may have made the Mercedarians more accessible to the larger community than the other religious orders in Riobamba. Moreover, the
Mercedarians are documented as owning a large amount of rural farmland where they housed livestock and raised crops; therefore they had the practical means to employ a larger number of community members. Their accessibility likely played a role for underemployed individuals seeking assistance. This opportunity to employ community members would have built stronger relationships between the Mercedarians and the larger community of Riobamba and made their order approachable by those seeking favors.

In one letter, Doña Nicolas de Garate y Ansola asked the monastery for assistance in selling a property in the town of Chambo as her husband was away and she was sad to live at a distance from her daughter in Riobamba (AHCC/R 1749e). In another case, Don Juan de Najero y Maldonado approached the Mercedarians after the death of his wife to ask for their assistance in raising his five children under the age of twelve (AHCC/R 1766g). Pasqual Cocho made a similar request after he lost his house in a fire. He petitioned the Mercedarians to care for his children who had nowhere to live (AHCC/R 1766b). Another request came from Pedro Talambay who asked the Mercedarians to protect him from his boss Pedro Dias (AHCC/R 1766e). He claimed that although he was under contract to work for Dias, he became aware that his boss was in possession of illegal weapons and that he was beaten so badly that he had blood spurting out of his head and almost died. In return for his protection and personal safety he offered his services working for them.

In contrast to the requests made to the Augustinian monastery, these petitions were very human in nature. Their total investment in local affairs likely
made the Mercedarians more accessible than the Augustinians. Their obligation to help those in need along with their emotional closeness to community members may have at least in part been responsible for their position as the lowest ranked monastery in Riobamba. In a society where masculinity was defined by power, and power was related to aloof stoicism and wealth, the Mercedarian vow to help those in need grew detracted both from their position of wealth and power. While they may have been well received and admired by the individuals they helped, in the larger colonial hierarchy, the Mercedarians were a radical order that did not garner respect.

**Legal Cases**

Legal cases attest to the close ties that the Mercedarians enjoyed with members of the community, more so than the Augustinians. From letters I found came knowledge that both monasteries were involved in a number of legal cases. My archival research neither demonstrates evidence of any legal cases brought against the Augustinian monastery nor anywhere the Augustinians brought a case against another member of the community. The Mercedarians however, were involved in legal cases both where they acted as defendant and as plaintiff. When a member of a monastery was asked to be a character witness or provide a legal defense they were acting out of a position of authority, granting others their expert perspective on a situation. When an individual friar or the monastery was involved in a legal dispute however, they proved themselves to be on equal footing with other members of the community. Both were accountable to the same rules, and could seek the same legal protection as
anyone else in the community. While the Mercedarians were ultimately protected by ecclesiastical tribunals, legal cases would never have been brought against them with if the plaintiff did not feel that they had a chance of winning.

In one case brought against the Monastery of La Merced, Doña Magdalena de la Abria accused the Mercedarians of using a piece of property in the San Francisco Barrio that belonged to her without paying for its use. She asked the Mercedarians for 50 pesos in restitution (AHCC/R 1750a). In another case, Don Juan Antonio de la Carrera y Gonzalez, owner of the hacienda San Juan, accused the Mercedarians of criminal behavior. He claimed that a group of friars showed up at the hacienda with armed troops and locked him up with the donkeys, pigs, cows and sheep and treated him like a thief and said other injurious things. He stated that the event should never have happened and asked that La Merced show some justice and set the public record straight (AHCC/R 1765h). A second document on the same subject matter follows this one. In the second testament, Juan Herrera testified and promised to tell the truth. He claimed that he had been on his way to the hacienda of San Juan to bring Don Antonio de la Carrera a letter and witnessed the whole event. Friar Juan David head of La Merced, Friar Leonardo and Friar Domingo Peñafiel and two other friars were all there. They were gathering sheep on the hacienda, they counted the sheep and there were about a hundred large and small, and eighteen to twenty pigs. Father David claimed that he had been to the hacienda three times and knew that the Indians were stealing sheep. They hit the Indigenous women on the hacienda and took all of the sheep and pigs (AHCC/R 1765i). While their
interactions with community members were not always positive ones, individuals felt that they could step forward and say something when they felt wronged by the Mercedarians. Complainants felt they could impose limits on the Mercedarians, and their actions had to be respectful of civilians.

In addition to community members launching legal suits against the monastery of La Merced, the Mercedarians also filed complaints against their fellow citizens. One such case was presented against Juan Antonio de la Carreza for grave actions and damages inflicted upon the monastery. The monastery had been preparing for a festival when de la Carreza entered the monastery and destroyed the preparations. Friar Miguel de Thezan asked that justice be brought against this individual and he be held accountable for the cost of the damages (AHCC/R 1765j). A case such as this speaks both to the physical vulnerability of the monastery, that it was not able to defend itself against the attacks of a single angry man, and also to the monastery’s relatively low status. Members did not have the authority to deal with such a case on their own and had to ask for judicial support to resolve their injury.

The majority of legal cases however, involved individuals who asked a member of one of the monasteries to act as a character witness on their behalf or who asked the monasteries to defend them in legal cases. Character witness or defense from a friar was worth a great deal, perhaps because they were thought to be closer to God and therefore more honest. Legal defenses such as these were different from other legal cases, because the friar who made the statement appeared as an expert witness and was not perceived to be an equal with either
the accuser or the accused. Both the Augustinian and Mercedarian monasteries were solicited to act as legal council. Interestingly, the only document where an individual offered to provide something of monetary value in exchange for this defense was addressed to the Augustinian Monastery (AHCC/R 1753e). The prestige alone of a statement made by a member of the Augustinian Monastery was more highly regarded than a statement from a Mercedarian. This may be the result of their higher-ranking status as a monastery, their physical and psychological distance from members of the community, which made them unapproachable and somehow more powerful, or simply those they expected money in exchange for this sort of assistance.

In one criminal case, Vincente Rodriguez who was in the Riobamba jail, asked the Augustinian Monastery for a legal defense. He claimed that Friar Narciso Delgado, Friar Bernardo Grabedo or Friar Manuel Echeberria would all be able to testify to his upstanding character. In return, once he was released from jail, he would donate to the monastery his labor worth as much as 70 pesos (AHCC/R 1753e). In another document, Doña Nicolosa Martinez de la Paz and Doña Bernadina Víctor Andino asked Friar Nicolas Grande Suarez of the order of San Agustín for his help in seeking justice. They claimed that they were “visiting a hacienda in the Valley of Guamote without their husbands when they were for no apparent reason beaten by an Indian, a mulatto named Joseph Urna and Urna’s brother”. Doña Bernadina claimed that they went to the hacienda because she knew that these people were there and she wanted them off her property. She asked for Friar Nicolas’s mercy and assistance in seeking justice in this case.
(AHCC/R 1765k). In a third case, Andres Marino asked Father Sebastian de Mayorga of the Augustinian monastery to testify against Joseph Alvarez Lindar. Much of this document was missing, but what was clear was that Marino asked for his assistance in seeking justice and apprehension of this criminal (AHCC/R 1749i). The authority and status of Augustinian friars in Riobamba placed them in an excellent position to act as character witnesses and legal defense. Because their social position was so highly valued, successful arguments made against the position of an Augustinian friar were few, if any.

The Mercedarians were similarly asked to testify in legal cases. In one document, Fray Diego Bolaños of La Merced was asked to testify against Mariano Cabos, who married the sister of the unnamed plaintiff just seven months before she died. The brother claimed that his sister owned land that should rightfully stay in their family and be his. He asked La Merced to testify that he was an honest man and that Cabos was a thief (AHCC/R 1766i). In another case, a municipal officer, Juan Antonio de la Carrera had a criminal case brought against him. He asked the members of La Merced to testify to the strength of his character, his honesty and especially his religious integrity (AHCC/R 1766j). In the case of Andres Altomirano a Riobamba resident who faced civil and criminal charges brought on by Baltazar Vallejo, Vallejo claimed that over a period of six years Altomirano had robbed his house and committed other crimes on several different occasions. Altomirano asked for members of La Merced to testify that he was in his house during all of the events in question. He stated that he was a
good man and that Vallejo was full of malice and should go to jail for making these accusations against his good name (AHCC/R 1796a).

These two religious orders had different experiences in regard to legal cases. These differences are thought to reflect disparities in the statuses and social positions of the orders. As such, these documents add material evidence to the speculation that the Mercedarians maintained a position that was more closely integrated into the everyday life of community members than was the position of the Augustinians.

Entries

The social proximity of a religious order to the community likely reflected the institution’s status, with higher ranked monasteries maintaining a geographic and symbolic distance. In her contribution to the book *La Antigua Riobamba*, Pazmiño Acuña notes that the Mercedarians were considered a low-ranked monastery at least in part because they had fewer entrants into their order (Pazmiño Acuña 2000). While this may be the case, my own documentary research produced evidence that does not support this statement. While new monastery recruits were not reflected in many historical documents, they were present. Perhaps the Augustinians did little recruitment in Riobamba because no documents record local friars entering into their monastery. By contrast, entrants into the Mercedarian Monastery included Andres Mariano in 1749 (AHCC/R 1749j), Joseph Rodriguez Cortez, Miguel Ortiz, and Joaquin Valencia in 1753 (AHCC/R 1753g), Blas Dias in 1765, (AHCC/R 1765l) and Juan David del Prado y Molino in 1766 (AHCC/R 1766k). The documents may yet be found that will
inform us that Augustinian entrants outnumbered those recruited by the Mercedarians, but they are unknown at this time. What is known is that while the number of entrants may have been lower than in other institutions, there was an influx of new entrants into the Mercedarian monastery, which was likely enough to sustain a steady number of friars.

Summary

The archaeological remains recovered on both sites reinforce the assumption that religious men led a contemplative existence. Those documents I recovered record valuable information about the economic and legal activities in which the priests and friars engaged. They showed that members of both monasteries were involved with real estate transactions and legal matters; they both made loans to members of the community and were in communication with branches of their respective orders in other communities. Documentary evidence also demonstrated differences between the two orders. The Mercedarians owned a large amount of farmland and livestock where they employed Riobamba residents as laborers. The Augustinians appeared to lack this connection with the larger community, which was demonstrated in a number of ways. These documents provide an avenue into understanding the activities of the men who resided within the monasteries. These actions provide us with insights into the character of the monasteries where they stood in the larger society.
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

Concepts of identity and masculinities are historically and contextually situated and flexible. This study has employed an interdisciplinary perspective to examine some of the elements that influenced gender identities within two particular monasteries during the 18th century Riobamba. In this analysis I have paired historical documents with the material culture I excavated during this study to discuss temporally contingent social norms and behaviors. I inferred the actions that were reinforced through repetitive citational behaviors to create a category of normatively acceptable male identity. This study also served as an examination of concepts of monastic wealth, power and status in their relation to masculinities.

Masculinities

Spanish colonial society was certainly more complex than can be explained through a simple dichotomy of dominant normative masculinity versus the subservient other. Gender is a spectrum of expressions with masculinity encompassing a portion of this spectrum that is considered acceptable male behavior within a particular culture. Masculinity is one factor of an individual’s total identity. During the colonial period identity was largely entwined with caste, which was seen as a fluid concept that an individual could change during their
lifetime. Depending on caste and societal position, behavioral expectations and identity varied. Consequently, masculine identity and the behaviors associated therein did not crystallize around specified ideals and were expected to vary both between groups of men and among individuals. Although priests and friars may not have represented the uniform modern image of colonial masculine behavior, through their own contextually contingent rules and behavioral patterns, they were as a group, very powerful men.

Although masculinities are fluid, changeable, historically contingent, and idiosyncratic, individuals fit into normalized categories where they often strive to bend their personal identity to fit into the larger grouping of normative gender and behaviors. This act of performance occurs within society at large where normative ideals are displayed and enforced through social mores. Such reinforcement is perhaps even more prevalent within an institutional setting where the rules for joining and then living within it are both implied and explicitly stated. Within a colonial monastery, citational identity and behaviors started with the extensive restrictions on who was allowed to join the monastery. These men were then required to take vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience and in the case of the Mercedarians a “blood vow”. The vows and the lifestyle that followed were reinforced by the hierarchical organization of the monasteries and church administration. New friars were accountable to those with greater seniority; all friars were accountable to priests, priest to bishops and archbishops, and the whole colonial administration back to church officials in Europe.
Masculinity and, in a larger sense identity, is developed through the daily actions of the individual. Roughly, a person’s occupation creates their persona, and obversely who they are influences what they do. This study examined the daily activities of priests and friars through the material culture they used on a regular basis, as well as colonial documents that added a greater level of detail to these men’s activities. Community members frequently approached the monasteries to ask for assistance to finance homes, seeking employment or to request that a friar act as a character witness in a trial. As such, formal documents, which marked only the rare occasions in a typical person’s life, added details to a number of the activities that preoccupied the friars on an ongoing basis.

A study focusing on priests and friars can add significantly to an understanding of identity and its formation. Most of their regular activities were contained within the monastery walls and were contemplative in nature. There was, however, a need within these institutions to maintain a level of economic viability, and the colonial empire in general was supported by a drive to expand and grow. In order to maintain the extant monastery and to develop the means to expand further into the region, there was a need for each of the monasteries to maintain financial autonomy. While some of the money used to support monasteries came from outside gifts and donations, as well as entrance fees for joining the monastery, friars necessarily engaged in outside revenue-providing ventures. By examining these activities some major differences between the Mercedarian and Augustinian Monasteries became apparent. Unlike the
Augustinians, the Mercedarians were bound by their “blood vow” in addition to their vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, which compelled them to help those in need. While the blood vow was originally intended to instruct friars to lay down their own lives for those of Christians in captivity, it is given a generous and liberal interpretation. Mercedarians typically work for the redemption of those who find themselves enslaved by the vagaries of life’s circumstances (orderofmercy.org/FourthVow.htm). Perhaps as a result of this fourth vow, the Mercedarians residing in Riobamba during the Spanish colonial period may have felt that they were bound by their vows to help individuals requesting their protection or financial and physical assistance. This fourth vow appears to have made the Mercedarians more accessible to the larger community than some of the other religious orders in Riobamba. Additionally, because the Mercedarians are documented as owning a large amount of rural farmland where they housed livestock and raised crops, they may also have had the means to employ a larger number of community members, making them a target for underemployed individuals seeking assistance. This opportunity would have built closer bonds between the Mercedarians and the larger Riobamba community and made the friars approachable by those seeking favors. Paradoxically, this quality made them appear weak, which hurt the Mercedarians both financially and in their attempt to overcome their reputation as the lowest status monastery within the community (Pazmiño Acuña 2000).
Poverty

Social statuses, as well as expressions of power and identity, were discernible by looking at how each group of men expressed their vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, which are common to all Catholic priests and friars.

The first vow taken by all friars in mendicant orders is that of poverty. It is, however, not the purpose of this vow to have members of a religious community actually living in literal poverty. Instead, this vow is interpreted to mean that material wealth should be collectively owned. All of a friar’s material possessions were meant to support the common good of the religious community. Vows of poverty did not exclude the orders from accumulating and conspicuously displaying their status through wealth. In some instances these vows did little to dissuade individuals from holding individual property or engaging in private business transactions (Gibbs 1989). Wealth invariably translated as power within the community, and in Spain’s colonies the ability to purchase and conspicuously display goods of Spanish origin signified a level of sophistication, class, and even the ethnicity of the user (Deagan 1974, 1983). Material culture is not however simply a reflection of status or ethnicity. Through its habitual use in daily practices such as dress or dining, it works to create and reify the social relationships that it is thought to reflect (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984). Through their daily use of material objects, friars played a very large part in developing the identity and status of the monasteries, and explicit vows of poverty apparently had little effect on their desire to use and display high status Spanish goods.
Tablewares

Despite direct vows of poverty, friars and priests as well as monasteries collectively do not appear to have been exempt from the use of material culture to demonstrate status within society. This metric however, only holds true for status symbols that would have been conspicuously displayed or used in a ritualized setting, such as a dining table. Cooking and storage containers made up the majority of the ceramic assemblages from both the Mercedarian and Augustinian Monasteries. Men living and working in both of these two monasteries relied heavily on utilitarian plainware ceramics for cooking and the storage of food and other goods. Because these vessels were likely stored in kitchens and were not publicly visible they did not detract from the social status of the monasteries. Instead, relying on locally produced, plain utilitarian ceramics in the kitchen may have reaffirmed the status difference between the individuals who regularly prepared the meals (likely indigenous laborers) and those who ate the food. The presence of indigenous labor within the monastery kitchens is supported by the recovery of both tupus, and lithic debitage recovered from Agustín unit 2, which is interpreted as a portion of a kitchen feature.

Status was also implicated by the presence of imported goods, which indicate that an individual or institution held enough monetary wealth to be able to afford luxury goods. Additionally, like Iberian ceramics, the maintenance of traditional Spanish dietary patterns, which included products not available in the Andes, indicated a higher level of sophistication and power than those who did not. Spanish botijas were used to import prestige items such as wine, olives and
olive oil from Spain (James 1988). Panamanian vessels were created in the same style but using raw materials that were available within the Spanish colonies. These Panamanian botijas are believed to have also have been used as storage vessels. While they may have originally contained goods that were not locally available, they did not carry the same level of prestige as those from Spain. An analysis of botija fragments recovered from both monasteries indicated that the Augustinians had greater access to imported goods and utilized a greater percentage of imported Spanish foods than the Mercedarians.

Other imported goods included some majolicas, glass, and porcelain artifacts. Like botijas and their contents, imported material goods are believed to confer a degree of status and power on the owner.

Friars at the Mercedarian Monastery imported Panamanian majolicas for their tables to a greater extent than the Augustinians. Of these majolicas, Panama plain wares are the most common, but the assemblage from the Augustinian site is predominantly Panama blue on white ceramics. Panama plain majolicas were produced in the Spanish colonies earlier than other forms of tin-glazed tablewares (Jamieson 2000). While this may be evidence that the Mercedarian site had been occupied at an earlier date, historical records do not support this idea. Quite possibly the Mercedarian assemblage, with its emphasis on Panama Plain majolicas, represents an earlier preference for locally produced ceramics. While a smaller percentage of the total tableware collection on the Augustinian site was represented by majolicas, the majority of these ceramics were of the Panama blue on white style. Perhaps to enhance their status the
Augustinians continued to import larger numbers of foreign goods even after cheaper local majolicas became available. This evidence points to the Augustinians greater degree of conspicuous consumption as they would have paid a premium to import more exclusive ceramics even when a locally produced equivalent became an option. Such conspicuous consumption may have buttressed their assertion of power and importance within the community.

The relative scarcity of Asian porcelain finds suggests that porcelains were not daily use items for the majority of the friars living in either monastery. The market value of these imported ceramics along with their limited availability outside of colonial mining communities would have made them highly prestigious possessions. That the monasteries were in possession of them at all speaks to a certain level of privilege the institutions wielded within the community. Interestingly, there exists no real difference in the percentages of porcelains recovered from the two monasteries. This appears to be indicative of the difficulty in procuring these vessels.

Glass was another import item that was recovered from nearly every unit across both sites, whether they were tablewares or more ornamental pieces. In addition to tablewares, pane glass, used in constructing the living quarters on the site of the Mercedarian Monastery, were common artifacts. Since glass was exclusively imported from Europe or Mexico it added the luster of prestige to the institutional setting. Glass tableware advanced the desire of local elites to embrace anything European. Glass windows and room furnishings were ostentatious signs of wealth displayed to impress the community and embellish
the owner’s residence. While not quantifiable or comparable in the way that ceramic tablewares were, monasteries imported and used glass whenever possible, and that usage was an expression of wealth and conveyed status on both of the institutions.

Within colonial society, replicating the aura of Spain was good practice that grew out of the ability to import, use and display elite goods. Such products demonstrated both a certain level of wealth, and publicized the inherent elite lineage of the user. An elite origin within the community begat power that was blatantly masculine. In order to maintain their strongholds within the Riobamba community both the Mercedarian and Augustinian monasteries had to demonstrate a certain comfort with power and masculine prowess. One of the ways to extol this was through the conspicuous use of imported goods. Both of these institutions engaged in this practice to varying degrees. While the goods they used, the extent to which the practice was pursued, and the observed results varied, their attempts to present images of strong, powerful, paternal institutions was very much the same.

When goods imported from Spain were not available or were prohibitively expensive, Spanish (or perhaps criollo) identity could be expressed through the use of more locally produced goods that were manufactured and designed to mimic their European equivalents.

Botija style jars with a compact orange paste were produced in Panama. Apart from the differences in clays, they are replicas in style and manufacturing technique of those imported from Spain. On the Mercedarian site, these
Panamanian *botijas* made up the larger portion of vessels of this style whereas on the Augustinian site they were quite rare. Both Spanish and Panamanian produced vessels were used and reused to store locally available foods and supplies, the main difference being the original contents of the containers. The visual similarities in the vessel forms presented a façade of elitism. However, the fact is that a smaller percentage of Spanish *botijas* indicates that a smaller percentage of imported European food items such as olives, wine and olive oils made their way to the Mercedarian tables.

As far as tablewares are concerned, Spanish imports were very rarely recovered from either monastery site. European style tin-glazed earthenwares, or majolicas, however persisted as the preferred tablewares for the colonial elite. While a definitive starting point for regionally produced majolica is somewhat controversial, some researchers posit that there is strong evidence pointing to regional Andean production of majolica occurring as early as the mid-seventeenth century, if not before (Fournier Garcia 1989; Vargas 1987). Regionally produced majolicas were generally of a lesser quality and were visually distinguishable from imported majolicas. Therefore regionally produced majolicas could not be mistaken for the coveted imports. Instead, they were created for a local market that was largely *criollo*. Unlike the Spaniard living in colonial centers using Spanish (or similarly produced) tablewares to consume Spanish imported foods, most friars and priests living in Riobamba were *criollo* (Ganster 1986). These men were born in the colonies and many had never visited Spain. Their vicarious perception of elite Spanish heritage and its
meaning was filtered though the mannerism of other men and was not obtained through lived experience. Since drawing a distinction between elite and proper Spanish-style dining and those who may have used exclusively unglazed earthenware vessels, this performance of status changed. Within the monasteries and elite households in Riobamba the use of regionally manufactured majolicas was intended to emulate the use of majolicas produced in Panama, which were themselves a copy of those produced in Spain. Along the way both the material culture and the cultural performance of Spanish elite life became regionalized and somewhat distorted.

On both the Mercedarian and the Augustinian sites, close to half of all tablewares were regionally manufactured majolicas. These vessels were not markers of monetary wealth in the way that imported goods might have been, but they were still important indicators of identity and status. While these tablewares were readily available, they were produced to emulate traditional Spanish tablewares, which in itself was not a trivial act. Everybody would not have used these vessels; they were produced with a particular esthetic in mind that would have been appreciated by a select market. These vessels were selected for the friars and priests within the monasteries, as they acted as mnemonics for being among the Spanish elite class. The ability to set a proper table when visitors came to the monastery reinforced the friar’s place of importance within the community and doing so on a daily basis with or without visitors reinforced their self-image and how they were intended to behave. In this sense, regionally
produced majolicas were a reflection of the local interpretations of wealth, power, status, ethnicity and masculinity.

Smaller percentages of other locally produced tablewares were also recovered on both sites. These include plain unglazed ceramics, and slipwares. Traditionally, colonial tablewares were divided into a simple dichotomy with majolicas representing use by elite people of Spanish descent and plainwares use by Indigenous peoples. As Spanish colonial studies have become more developed however, simple divisions such as these have been largely discredited. The majority of researchers now accept that the creation of separate ethnic and status boundaries was more complicated and that material culture as such was considered a proxy for this division (Boyer 1997; Deagan 1998). While locally manufactured tablewares may not have translated directly as status symbols they were also not necessarily indicative of indigenous heritage either. The total number of locally produced tablewares, other than majolica, was significant. Although majolicas represented the largest percentage of tablewares, and may even have been exclusively used in formal settings or when guests were present to imply sophistication and proper Spanish lineage, other types of locally produced tablewares were also used on a regular basis.

**Cloth Production**

Woolen cloth production was a major industry for Riobamba during the colonial period. Spindle whorls were unearthed from both of the monastery properties. These artifacts were widely distributed throughout the excavated units. Their presence in various locations reveals that spinning was integrated
into the daily lives of individuals who spent a vast amount of time in the monasteries. Spinning wool is typically a female occupation and may attest to the large female labor forces within the monastery walls. Traditional spinning technique is described as a repetitive task that was done along with whatever else the spinner was doing at the time (Cabos 1990). Spinning wool was very likely a secondary activity for the Indigenous women who were employed as domestics within the monasteries. Masculine identity is defined in contrast to women and femininity (Gutmann 1997). The presence of women, particularly those hired to perform tasks that the men themselves considered unacceptable helped to define the boundaries of the men’s own identities.

**Real Estate**

Both of the monasteries were involved in a number of real estate activities. In addition to buying, selling and renting houses and land, both the Mercedarians and Augustinians earned income through financing real estate purchases in third party lending agreements known as *censos*. The financing of properties for local buyers appeared to be a fairly lucrative business and a large number of documents implicated both of the monasteries in transactions of this type. In repayment of these loans however, the monasteries were functioning from different starting positions. The Augustinians appeared to comply more strictly with the terms of their financial agreements, collecting money where money was owed. Records show that the Mercedarians, on the other hand, accepted livestock in lieu of cash payments (AHCC/R 1751a) and forgave loans upon the death of the borrower if there were children involved who had nowhere else to go.
(AHCC/R 1766b). In part resulting from the Mercedarians more lenient position regarding finances and loan repayment, they did not have the extensive financial resources as other monasteries, including the Augustinians, and necessarily the Mercedarians engaged in a range of other financial activities, such as agriculture and animal husbandry.

Farming

Although no documents explicitly allude to their activities, the Augustinians either were disinterested in agricultural practices, or this industry was a minor part of their economy. The Mercedarians on the other hand are known to have owned property where they raised both crops and animals. While Mercedarian friars likely did not engage in the physical labor associated with their haciendas, they are believed to have been responsible for labor organization and administration of the properties (Cushner 1982; Gibbs 1989). Documents show that the Mercedarians owned rural haciendas where fruit trees, alfalfa, corn and other grain crops were grown (AHCC/R 1746d; AHCC/R 1753d). Additionally, they raised large numbers of cattle, sheep, and hives of bees (AHCC/R 1751a; AHCC/R 1765a; AHCC/R 1766d). Farm work may have had an ideological element that appealed to their contemplative life.

In addition to providing revenue and food resources for the monastery, haciendas provided work for local laborers further integrating the Mercedarian friars into the larger community. While this level of familiarity may have aided the church’s missionary efforts, it did little to elevate the order in their attempt to reach the higher echelons of esteem.
By maintaining their aloofness from the larger community, the Augustinians’ strategy appeared successful in imbuing their order with that elusive social capital. Their respective positions of power and authority certainly influenced the identities of friars within the monasteries. The Augustinians were wealthier, powerful group of friars with little or no need to ingratiate themselves with Riobamba laborers. The distance they placed between themselves and the community provided an additional level of inaccessibility that reserved for themselves the image of elite power or masculinity.

Chastity

The second vow that all Catholic priests and friars would have taken is that of celibate chastity. Celibacy is intended as a means for a religious person to dedicate all of their mind, body and soul to their religious calling and to God. By taking this binding vow, the priests and friars within both of the monasteries had pledged to God that they would abstain from marriage as well as intimate and or sexual relationships with other individuals. Like all vows and social mores the rules regarding celibate chastity were not singular, deliberate acts, but reiterative citational practices that produced the effects that they named (Butler 1993). On a daily basis friars would perform chastity in the way that they understood it to exist. While there were religious men who refused to comply with proscribed behaviors (Ganster 1986) the majority did conform, and the repetition of daily rituals, prayer and meditation worked to reinforce the lives that they were living and the identities that they had adopted as reality (Bourdieu 1977).
While friars and priests may have spent the majority of their time working and meditating within the monasteries, there is evidence that they also had contact with members of the outside community and may have in some cases developed emotionally intimate relationships. Within the confines of the monastery, close intimate relationships between priests were viewed as masculine because they rejected all things womanly (Bachigalupo 2004). Encounters between friars and female community members were discussed openly in historical documents. Indicated by women approaching members of the monasteries to make requests or ask for legal support (AHCC/R 1749e; AHCC/R 1753f; AHCC/R 1766h). Additionally, on both monastery sites *tupus* [shawl pins used by indigenous women in the Andes] (Meisch 1991) were recovered from undisturbed colonial archaeological deposits. One such pin was recovered from where a kitchen would have been situated on the Augustinian site, and four were recovered from areas that were living quarters on the Mercedarian site. All the other pins were recovered from trash features. While this evidence may only lead to speculation on the specific role that women played within the monasteries, what is clear is that these men were not entirely removed from developing relationships with women.

Chastity vows in large part defined religious men’s intimate relationships with other men as well as with women. Because masculine gender identity is largely interpreted through men’s understanding of female identity (Gutmann 1996) and the chastity vow largely defined the parameters of the relationships
that they could have with women, their masculine identity was embroiled in the pledge and continuous maintenance of this vow.

**Obedience**

The final vow taken by religious men (with the exception of the Mercedarians who took a fourth “blood vow”) was that of obedience. This obedience is ultimately dedicated to God. However, because God is believed to work through human instruments, the Catholic Church teaches that one obeys God by obeying one’s superiors. The Spanish colonial worldview separated people into two distinct populations: the clergy and the laity. The clerical state was divinely ordained as described in the belief; therefore, the distinction between religious men and laymen was also divine and not negotiable (Ganster 1986). Because religious men were thought to be closer to God, laymen were by default subordinate. Therefore, a civilian risked an act of insubordination against God by going against the wishes of a member of the clergy.

**Legal Affairs and Requests**

Requests for legal defense or other favors is categorized as a form of obedience because if a friar were to accept a community member’s request or to defend them in court, they would almost certainly win their case. Because friars were considered divine, to have one intervening on your behalf was the equivalent of having God on your side. Clearly, the religious intervention held considerable influence.
One indication of the amount of power that both monasteries held in Riobamba was the regularity by which friars received requests to either provide legal defense or physical or financial protection for a person or family that was in distress. The majority of legal cases involved individuals who asked a member of one of the monasteries to act as a character witness on their behalf or who asked the monasteries to defend them in legal cases, because a character witness or defense from a friar was worth a great deal. Legal defenses such as these were different from other legal cases, because the friar who made a character statement appeared as an expert witness and was not perceived to be an equal to the litigants. Both the Augustinian and Mercedarian orders received numerous pleas to provide these legal services. Presenting a legal or character defense worked to reaffirm a friar’s position of status and importance in the community. Friars were asked to make character statements in part because their opinions were well respected, but also because their statement could mitigate the sanctions to those indicted of misdeeds. Agreeing to make too many of these statements however, devalued the importance of the friar’s opinion and likely lowered their individual status.

Propositions by members of the community directed to these churchmen were one more way in which the two institutions were distinguishable from one another. For example, citizens approached the Mercedarian monastery regularly requesting protection, financial assistance, or employment. Not so with the Augustinians who rarely heard appeals. The discrepancy between the numbers of requests made to each order may be explained by the Mercedarians’ amiable
disposition in contrast to the Augustinians in granting these requests. The Augustinians were a wealthier and more prestigious institution (Pazmiño Acuña 2000), so disbursing less of their revenue likely maintained their wealth and the hierarchical status that came with money. There is a possible correlation between the numbers of requests accepted and the number that were subsequently made. If a monastery would help any individual in need, more community members might appeal for this assistance, but denying such requests could elevate the institution’s power within the community. The Augustinians held a reputation as the wealthiest and most exclusive monastery in Riobamba. They reinforced it through their physical separation from needy people within the community. Apart from their distance from Riobamba residents in financial need, they also owned few haciendas, agricultural fields or herds of livestock and thus could not provide employment opportunities for community members and would keep friars estranged from the local labor force. This aloof separation, along with their higher status likely gave them a position that was closer to God in the social hierarchy and therefore made them a more powerful order than the Mercedarians.

While all priests and friars took the same vows of obedience to God, colonial social hierarchy was designed so that obedience was also owed to superiors of social and religious standing. This mandatory obedience formented the power that came with domination. From this the friars derived their sense of masculinity. Because caste and status were changeable elements, maintaining that higher status with continuous reinforcement was necessary. Both the
Mercedarians and Augustinians engaged in this endeavor, but the Augustinians were clearly more successful in their pursuit of wealth, power, status and masculine honor. The consequent discrepancy in prestige between the two monasteries may explain the differences in the way that members of the two orders interacted with the community or vice versa. These public interactions and behaviors shaped the way that the priests and friars viewed themselves. The way they presented themselves in turn affected the attitudes the citizenry displayed to the institutions.

Summary

The intersection of a friar’s religious vows with the Spanish colonial understanding of wealth, power, caste, and social status worked together to prevail upon group identities extant within the monasteries and the range of individual identities for their members. Through these men’s interpretations of social norms and their interactions with other people and material objects, the rules regarding acceptable behaviors for colonial religious men were established and reinforced. Like any form of identity, these ideals were fluid and adapted through time. They were additionally influenced by institutions administrative reforms that resulted in changes in the availability of resources, and the economic and social environment of the community.

Through this study I have addressed issues of masculine identities for two specific groups of men during a set time period. I submit that group identity for these men developed through a combination of set rules and regulations along with repetitive daily behaviors. On the individual level, these men reflected a
much wider range of variability. Formal codes of conduct prevailed across the Spanish colonies, but daily actions were individually tailored to the environments and resources available at individual monasteries. My study has provided some interesting insights into the regular engagements of the monasteries and consequently the men living and working within them. The differences I found between these two monasteries speak to the variability between institutional environments that might receive greater support if institutions in different geographical regions were compared. This variation suggests that there was no one form of acceptable masculine behavior either within religious institutions or in the broader colonial society. Moreover, colonial regulations that are often viewed as uniformly rigid may have been in some ways more flexible than previously believed.

Future Directions

Whereas this dissertation is reaching its conclusion, the work presented in this study is only beginning. The opportunities for expanding research both within colonial Riobamba and on the topic of Spanish colonial men’s institutions are daunting. While auger tests showed that there are a large number of desirable locations for future archaeological excavations on both the sites of the Mercedarian and Augustinian Monasteries, there is no guarantee that either of these two sites will be accessible for future excavations. The landowners of the Mercedarian property are not inclined presently to invite further archaeological studies. As of June 2006, there were also plans to level the site of the Augustinian monastery with a tractor in preparation for the construction of a new
house. If plans for this construction project materialize they will effectively make future research moot. While additional excavation units on the sites of the two monasteries may not be possible, there is still a large amount of information that can be garnered from the excavated assemblages.

A dietary analysis of the floral and faunal remains would glean additional information regarding the nutritional patterns and health of the men who resided in these monasteries. A study of this sort might offer greater insights into the consumption of regionally available food versus imported products, the adoption of European farming and animal husbandry techniques to the region and the persistence of locally domesticated crops and animals. This research may have implications regarding the respective wealth of the two monasteries and their access to resources. The results of such research could add substantial support to claims surrounding power and status.

Archeometric analysis of regionally produced majolicas from other communities has proven helpful in sourcing the location of ceramic production (Jamieson and Hancock 2004). A study such as this could provide a greater amount of information regarding local manufacturing industries and the desirability of imported goods from particular regions.

Beyond these two monasteries, the potential for future work on colonial monastic masculinities is great. There has to date been very little work in colonial Andean monasteries that has extended beyond architectural reconstruction projects. Similarly there have been very few archaeological projects examining gender identity in the Andes. The archaeological study of monasteries in colonial
history acts as an entry point for questioning long held beliefs surrounding the roles that men played in colonial society and the flexibility of those roles. A greater understanding of the activities and societal contributions made by priests and friars across the region would be valuable to the understanding of colonial society as a structured whole.
### APPENDICES

#### Appendix A

**Minimum Number of Vessels**

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Appendix B

Archival References

AHCC/R Archivo Histórico de la Casa de la Cultura, Riobamba

AHCC/R 1720a “The Augustinian Monastery financed the sale of a house in the San Francisco barrio from Miguel de Peñafiel to Doña Teodora Verunco,” June 28, 1720.

AHCC/R 1746a “Sale of two properties from Doña Estefania de Rojas y Losado to the Mercedarian Monastery,” December 3, 1746. Box 16, 2 pages.

AHCC/R 1746b “The Augustinian Monastery financed the sale of two properties in an area called Rio Blanco from Francisco de Orozco to Don Agustín de Ribera,” May 23, 1746. Box 14, 2 pages.

AHCC/R 1746c “The Augustinian Monastery rented houses in the area of Penipe called Rio Blanco to Francisco Orozco, Bernardo Beltron, Juan Morales and Jose Rodriguez.” May 23, 1746. Box 14, 2 pages.

AHCC/R 1746d “Doña Isadora Patiño left a piece of land with room to grow crops in the Valley of San Juan to the Monastery of La Merced. March 18, 1746. Box 14, 3 pages.

AHCC/R 1746e “Señor Sebastian Mayorga of Quito reminded the Augustinians to remember certain orders. To be careful with people outside of the religion, and to emulate the honor and reputation of the saints without passing the limits of their own rights.” February 9, 1746. Box 16, 1 page.

AHCC/R 1749a “Sale of a property from the Augustinian Monastery to Alferez Baltazar Borro,” [Date] 1749. Box 17, 2 pages.

AHCC/R 1749b “Property willed from Doña Maria Martinez de la Veiga to the Augustinian Monastery and then sold to Doña Josepha Albores,” April 26, 1749. Box 14, 3 pages.
AHCC/R
1749c “Sale of a property from the Mercedarian Monastery to Doctor Don Nicolas Barambio,” February 20, 1749. Box 14, 1 page.

AHCC/R
1749d “Upon the death of Ignacio de Grodes, a property and the remaining balance of 1,390 pesos and 4 reales owed to the Augustinian Monastery was transferred to Don Cristobal Lopez,” June 16, 1749. Box 14, 3 pages.

AHCC/R
1749e “Doña Nicolas de Garate y Ansola has financed a property in Chambo through the Mercedarian Monastery and is asking them to purchase it back from her.” [Date] 1749. Box 14, 3 pages.

AHCC/R
1749f “Don Cristobal Lopez de Aguilar repaid a dept of 1,390 pesos and 4 reales to the Augustinian Monastery.” June 16, 1749. Box 14, 2 pages.

AHCC/R
1749g “The Augustinian Monastery sold the hacienda of Rio Blanco to Doña Andrea Olmedo,” May 23, 1749. Box 14, 2 pages.

AHCC/R
1749h “Don Agustín de Chiniboga y Valleno solicited work on the Mercedarian haciendas.” April 10, 1749. Box 14, 2 pages.

AHCC/R
1749i “Andres Marino asked Father Sebastian de Mayorga of the Augustinian Monastery to testify against Joseph Alvares Lindar and seek justice and apprehension.” [Date] 1749. Box 17, 3 pages.

AHCC/R
1749j “Andres Mariano entered the Mercedarian Monastery.” [Date] 1749. Box 17, 2 pages.

AHCC/R
1750a “Doña Magdalena de la Abria accused the Mercedarian Monastery of using a piece of land in the San Francisco barrio that belonged to her without paying. She asked for 50 pesos in retribution.” [Date] 1750. Box 15, 2 pages.

AHCC/R
1751a “Don Bartholome de Candenasa repaid the Mercedarian Monastery a debt of 2,900 peso and 8 reales by giving them 250 sheep of assorted sizes and sexes.” September 27, 1751. Box 15, 2 pages.
AHCC/R 1753a "The Monastery of La Merced financed the sale of a property in the San Francisco barrio between Petrona de Fuen and the Convent of La Concepción." May 22, 1753. Box 15, 5 pages [incomplete document].

AHCC/R 1753b "The Monastery of La Merced financed the sale of a house from Doña Ana de [name] to Don Juan de Paredes." October 29, 1753. Box 15, 1 page.

AHCC/R 1753c "The Augustinian Monastery reminded the community of Riobamba that for the sake of their immortal souls, all debts owed to the monastery should be repaid promptly. [Date] 1753. Box 15, 2 pages.

AHCC/R 1753d "Baltazar and Raphael Guadalupe sold a property in the Valley of Guamote with room to grow vegetables and corn to the Mercedarian Monastery." October 5, 1753. Box 15, 2 pages.

AHCC/R 1753e "Vincente Rodriguez who was in jail asked the Augustinian Monastery for legal defense, in return he offered his services to the monastery upon his release from jail." December 24, 1753. Box 15, 2 pages.

AHCC/R 1753f "The widow of Joseph Merlo and her six children appealed to keep a house financed through the Augustinian Monastery." May 17, 1753. Box 15, 3 pages.

AHCC/R 1753g "Joseph Rodriguez Cortez, Miguel Ortiz and Joaquin Valencia entered into the Mercedarian Monastery." November 29, 1753. Box 15, 2 pages.

AHCC/R 1765a "Sale of property and cattle in Yaraquis from Don Joseph Vallejo y Villandrando to the Mercedarian Monastery," May 23, 1765. Box 21, 3 pages.

AHCC/R 1765b "A petition was made by Nicolas de Seballos on behalf of his brother Diego de Seballos to the Augustinian Monastery. Diego owned a property financed by the Augustinians and was asking for assistance in removing squatters from the land." June 15, 1765. Box 21, 3 pages.
AHCC/R
1765c “The Monastery of La Merced financed the sale of two pieces of property between Don Pedro Vallejo y Villandrando and the Convent of La Concepción.” October 31, 1765. Box 21, 2 pages.

AHCC/R
1765d “The Monastery of La Merced loaned Don Julian Mexia 600 pesos which was to be repaid with 100 pesos interest.” September 27, 1765. Box 21, 1 page.

AHCC/R
1765e “Doctor Don Pedro Ponce y Carrasco was sent by the Apostle Bishop of Quito for a visit to Riobamba to present a talk on religious virtue in the Monastery of San Agustín.” March 27, 1765. Box 21, 10 pages.

AHCC/R
1765f “Reverend Father Fray Miguel Theran of la Merced in Quito made a visit to confer Fray Macros de Leon y Velasco with the license to act as an ecclesiastical tribunal and rule in secular cases. December 23, 1765. Box 21, 2 pages.

AHCC/R
1765g “La Merced in Cuenca contacted La Merced in Riobamba to ask that Don Dr. Manuel Villejo y Villandrando be buried in the monastery.” January 15, 1765. Box 21, 2 pages.

AHCC/R
1765h “Don Juan Antonio de la Carrera y Gonzalez accused the Mercedarians of coming onto his hacienda and treating him as a thief. He asked them to set the public record straight.” December 24, 1765. Box 21, 3 pages.

AHCC/R
1765i “Juan Nixon testified on the Don Juan Antonio de la Carrera y Gonzalez case. He gave evidence that the Mercedarians were acting on the knowledge that de la Carrera y Gonzalez was stealing livestock.” December 24, 1765. Box 21, 4 pages.

AHCC/R
1765j “The Mercedarian Monastery brought legal charges against Juan Antonio de la Carrera for damages made to the monastery during the preparations for a festival.” [Date] 1765. Box 21, 3 pages.

AHCC/R
1765k “Doña Nicolosa Martinez de la Paz and Doña Berardine Victor Andino asked the Augustinian Monastery for help seeking justice. They went to their hacienda to take care of squatters and were beaten.” [Date] 1765. Box 21, 4 pages.
AHCC/R
1765l “Blas Dias entered into the Monastery of La Merced.” August 23, 1765. Box 21, 3 pages.

AHCC/R
1766a “Sale of property from Doña Juan and Doña Meahora de Seballos to the Augustinian Monastery.” November 19, 1766. Box 22, 2 pages.

AHCC/R
1766b “Pasqual Cocho asked the Mercedarian Monastery for protection. His house had burnt down and he had nowhere for his children to live.” [Date] 1766. Box 22, 4 pages.

AHCC/R
1766c “Dr. Luiz Sanchéz Calderon repaid a debt of 1,420 pesos and 18 reales that he owed to the Mercedarian Monastery to save his soul from purgatory.” [Date]. Box 22, 3 pages.

AHCC/R
1766d “Don Antonio de la Carrera donated a hacienda to the Monastery of La Merced which included 350 bee hives.” [Date] 1766. Box 22, 5 pages.

AHCC/R
1766e “Pedro Talambay asked the Mercedarian Monastery for protection from his boss who possessed illegal weapons and beat him badly. In return, he offered his services working for the monastery.” [Date] 1766. Box 22, 6 pages.

AHCC/R
1766f “The Mercedarian Monastery attempted to collect taxes from two houses in the San Francisco barrio.” March 20, 1766. Box 22, 2 pages.

AHCC/R
1766g “Don Juan de Najero y Maldonado’s wife died leaving him with five children under the age of 12. He asked the Mercedarian Monastery for help caring for these children. March 6, 1766. Box 22, 2 pages.

AHCC/R
1766h “Maria Velasco petitioned to continue living in a house that her deceased mother Micaela Garnica willed to the Monastery of San Agustín. April 10, 1766. Box 22, 4 pages.
AHCC/R
1766i “[name] asked Diego Bolaños of La Merced to testify for him in a land dispute between Mariano Cabos and himself. His wife owned land that rightfully belonged to his family and should be his. He asked Bolaños to prove that he was a good man and Cabos was a thief. [Date] 1766. Box 22, 6 pages.

AHCC/R
1766j “Juan Antonio de la Carrera Alquacil had a criminal case brought against him. He asked the Merced Monastery as his religion and convent to stand up for him and tell the truth that is an honest and religious man. [Date] 1766. Box 22, 4 pages.

AHCC/R
1766k “Juan David Del Prado y Molino entered into the Monastery of La Merced.” June 3, 1766. Box 22, 2 pages.

AHCC/R
1767a “The Augustinian Monastery financed the sale of a property from Doña Manuela Norona to Doña Antonia Muñoz y Sotomayor,” February 16, 1767. Box 22, 5 pages.

AHCC/R
1787a “Sr. Pedro Velasco y Vallejo Administrator of Real Tributes of the town was commissioned for the investigation fees owed by the Augustinian monastery. It was decided that because the land on the plaza owned by the Augustinian Monastery had been purchased from the communities of Chambo and Licto and according to the 1653 agreement, the Augustinians owed taxes to those communities.” June 5, 1787. Box [not numbered, 1786-1787], 3 pages.

AHCC/R
1796a “Andres Altomirano Riobamba was accused by [name] Vallejo of criminal charges. He asked The Order of Merced to testify that he was in his house during the event.” [Date] 1797. Box 16, 2 pages.
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