COLONIAL INDIGENOUS AND MESTIZO FOODWAYS: CERAMIC ANALYSIS AND ETHNOARCHAEOLOGY IN THE HIGHLANDS OF ECUADOR

by

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Abstract

Archaeological approaches regarding cultural change or continuity after the Spanish conquest of America have been focused on presenting proportions of European (majolica) vs. Indigenous (coarse earthenware) ceramic styles. This thesis provides a reconstruction and quantification of vessel forms from an 18th century household (Riobamba, Ecuador). The results are compared with inventories and interviews from ten modern Indigenous and Mestizo households in the Highlands of Ecuador, in order to understand colonial food preparation and consumption traditions. Testing colonial practices, this work proposes that Mestizo population has been politically situated to practice European foodways to maintain social status and reinforce their separation from Indigenous people. Indigenous people intentionally continue local traditions of communal feasting with the use of large pots to express their identity. The theoretical implications of these findings shed light on a complex combination of domestic practices as builders of negotiable ethnic identities.

Keywords: Indigenous people and Mestizos; colonial foodways; Andes of Ecuador; ceramic analysis; ethnoarchaeology

Dedication

Para Anita, Rafaela y las comunidades indígenas de los Andes Ecuatorianos

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Glossary

Afro-descendentes	Also referred to as Afro- Ecuadorians, are the descendents of the African population that arrived in Ecuador around the 16th century during the Spanish conquest
Amazónico	Inhabitants of the eastern lowland tropical forest
Arrocillo	Rice and vegetable soup
Arroz de leche	Sweet rice beverage
Ayllu	Quichua label for basic political and social unit in the Andes
Bahereque	Mud and paramo straw used to create wattle-and-daub
Baldes	Plastic and metal tubs
Blanqueamiento	Racial idea of using skin colour as a way to classify people
Cafecito	Combination of coffee or tea and artisanal bread
Chakras	Small farm fields
Chicha	Fermented drink made from corn
Cholo	During the colonial period, people with Indigenous appearance in skin colour and clothes, but who did not claim legal recognition as Indigenous. The modern use of cholo and longo as labels in Andean Ecuador refer to people that have a *White-mestizo* culture and also preserve Andean practices.
Colada	Sweet dense beverage
Costeños	People from the coast
Criollos	Spanish-descended people born in the New World
Curiucho	A mix of boiled tubers
Ejidos	Common land for agricultural activities inside cities during the colonial period.
Fonda	Household business for selling food
Guagua olla u ollita	Quichua and Spanish names for small pot
Hacendados	Rural large-scale landlords
Indianidad	A reference to the perceived cultural and racial inferiority of Indians.
Indígenas	Indigenous people, modern label for American natives
Indigenismo	Modern pro-Indigenous political and intellectual movement
Indio	"Indian": Spanish 16th century label to group native populations as a labour force that was also obliged to pay tribute
Kukayo	Quichua name for lunch brought to work.
Locro	Potato soup
Lojano	People from Loja province
Longo	See cholo
Machica	Sweet barley potage
Manga	Quichua name for pot
Mestizaje	Racial and cultural mixing
Mestizo	Label referring to a racially/culturally mixed person

Mestizo limpio	"Clean mestizo": In the colonial period, a first-generation mixed-race individual
Minga	Communal work
Mita	A colonial system whereby all taxpayers had to work a prescribed number of days annually.
Mitayos	Forced labours that worked mainly in mining and textile production in the colony
Montañes	Person who comes from the mountains
Obraje	Colonial textile factories
Olla de barro o tierra	Coarse earthenware pot
Olla de dulce	Pot for preparing sweet food
Olla de sal	Pot for cooking soups and boiling tubers and vegetables
Olleros	Potters
Peones	Agricultural labourers
Plato de losa	Glazed or refined white earthenware plate
Pulperías	Informal retail outlets
Purity of blood	A faith-based social principle that discriminated against those that it identified as pagans ranking pure Christian lineages higher than lineages stained by *conversos*
Seco	Meat with rice and salad
Sedaso	Wooden or metal sifter
Serrano	People from the highlands
Silleros	Carpenters specializing in chairs
System of castas	A hierarchical system of social classification based on a combination of ancestry, racial and economic principals
Tiesto	Flat earthenware vessel for roasting
Tostado	Roasted maize
Tonga	Personal medium-size pot for transporting lunch to work.
Tulpa	Quichua name for traditional hearth
White-Mestizo	Modern label, based on racial and cultural principals, referring to the group of people that replaced colonial Criollos after Ecuadorian independence (19th century).

Chapter 1:   INTRODUCTION

As Mary Weismantel (1988) describes her perceptions of the rural Indigenous community of Zumbagua, food consumption is not just an act of eating; it is a way of creating and reproducing broader structures and individual roles. Weismantel (2001) sees colonialism as a historical process that had a huge impact on Indigenous people in Ecuador, shaping the way they portray themselves to the wider society. However, we still know very little about the formation of Indigenous and Mestizo foodways. Historical archaeologists of Latin America have discussed this process of transformation, looking at the continuity of Indigenous elements in ceramic assemblages during the colonial period, and comparing colonial and pre-contact domestic assemblages (Ome 2006, Rodríguez Alegría 2005a and b, Charlton and Fournier 1993, Charlton et al. 2005). The problem is that their comparisons have not included analysis of the ways these ceramics were used. They are limited to counting the ratios of ceramics characterized as Indigenous or Spanish (often simply taken as majolica vs. coarse earthenware) in different domestic contexts of the colonial period. Anthropological approaches (Weismantel 1988) equate modern foodways with a representation of colonial structures, thus misrepresenting the significance of tablewares to the expression of identity. This study attempts to bridge these methodological gaps, by undertaking a multi-disciplinary examination of Indigenous and Mestizo foodways, through historical, ethnographic and archaeological data.

Theoretical Background

Foodways and identities

As Weismantel (1988) and Fischler (1988) emphasize, food has a role in the identity of a person or group. Fischler (1988) points out that eating involves a principle of incorporation, because within this action we send food across the frontier between the world and the self, between outside and inside our body and "we become what we eat". Earlier anthropological studies by Levi-Straus (1977) and Mary Douglas (1966) saw eating and food as codes representing social structures, because any meal was a cultural system and even taste was socially controlled. Goody (1982), however, in his sociological approach to food and class, claimed that these structural anthropologists avoid the relationship between political economy and the historical context of food. For Goody (1982:38), food preparation and consumption are related to political differentiation of groups and individuals that respond to geographical, historical, and socio-economic contexts. Caplan (1997:3) also suggests that food is bound to social relations, including those of power and of inclusion and exclusion. Bourdieu (1977) goes further suggesting, "The upper classes use food to differentiate themselves from the lower ones. The latter, seek to emulate the former, and thus in order to preserve status differences, the upper classes change their tastes again and again" (Scholliers 2001:11). Thus, we can conclude that the preparation and consumption of food is intimately tied to broader social relationships. Cooking, distributing, and consuming food affirms, both conscious and unconsciously, individual and collective identities, and recreates cultural norms that constrain human identities. Identification involves multiplicity, flexibility, and a never-

ending process of construction (Scholliers 2001). As a never-ending process of construction, identity operates through "language and practice" (Scholliers 2001:6-7):

> Through language, people internalise the attitudes of a group and they integrate and explain experiences, memories and expectations [...] through practice, people participate vividly in the attitudes and rituals of the group [...] this may happen very consciously, openly and in a socially controlled manner, or on a more automatic evident basis. Both language and practice combine in a process of learning [...] which never stops.

Ethnic identities

This study is concerned with ethnic identities, cultural and historical "categories used to classify, separate and, in so doing, to subordinate a dialogue" (De la Cadena 2005a: 262). Individuals, groups and political systems holding or looking for a political and economically- favourable position impose categories on others in order to control them. The politics of control uses both perceived biological differences, such as race, and cultural differences, such as education, to group people and assign ethnic labels. These markers are created and combined through specific historical situations (De la Cadena 2008a). Religious beliefs, scientific knowledge and other forms of knowledge construct these markers and fit them with the appropriate categories for a specific social order. These forms of knowledge and beliefs depend on historical conditions and the place where they are occurring. "Identities are constructed within discourses and produced in specific historical institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies" (Meskell 2002: 286). At the same time, in order to make these categories part of an individual or collective identity, these labels must be accepted, recognized, or resisted. Meskell (2002:280) adds that identities are "ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations from other

individuals and collectivities". Therefore, identities are constructed by comparison with other groups or individuals, who will also choose whether or not to recognize those (Scholliers 2001).

Domestic foodways and Scale of study

These ethnic categories are recreated, accepted and reinvented by individuals and groups through everything from "everyday, to artistic and academic practices" (De la Cadena 2005a: 261), in order to be included in socio-political systems. This study proposes a micro-scale analysis concerned with daily meals as events that produce, and are produced within, ethnic identities, as categories of racial and cultural classification. "Domestic meals typically occur daily in commonly used locations, involving moderate amounts of non-exotic food and drink, and are shared only among household members and perhaps some close affiliates" (Twiss 2007: 52). In domestic meals, power relationships can be changed with more freedom than in non-domestic places. At home, an individual can create and improvise (ibid). The anthropological theory of practice (Bourdieu 1977, 1990), agency (Giddens 1979), and power (Foucault 1979) is combined in archaeology to develop a framework to understand how individuals incorporate material culture and produce tradition and social changes. Household practices are repetitive and generative incorporations of material culture constructed by negotiations and dispositions of individuals and constrained by socio-cultural conditions (Silliman 2001, Twiss 2007). These repetitive actions involve acts of remembering and forgetting, which through a cumulative effect produces changes at a micro-scale and then macro-scale. Bowser's ethnoarchaeological study of Amazonian pottery (2000) demonstrates domestic activities, as well as public activities are generative of political messages and

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should not be associated with passive, unconscious practices (e.g., Wobst 1977, Sackett 1985, 1986, 1990 in Bowser 2000). Bowser (2000:222) affirms,

> ...a strict dichotomy between active and passive, [later referring to public and private] or conscious and unconscious, oversimplifies the very complex processes through which people learn to perceive, imitate, and manipulate symbolic cues to social identity

I think using an approach of domestic practices is more compelling because it treats identity as mutable and negotiable and considers objects as *elements of social reproduction* when transmitting and continuing their use (Pauketat and Alt 2005; Silliman 2001, 2006, 2009).

Methodology

This study applies a multi-disciplinary examination of domestic foodways as generated and generative of ethnic identities. This analysis is mainly based on the historical methodology of Marisol de la Cadena (1992, 2000, 2005a, 2005b, 2007, 2008a, 2008b), who studies discourses and practices compared through different periods of local history, in order to understand the construction of cumulative ethnic identities. De la Cadena (ibid) asserts that in order to explain ethnic identities or categories of differentiation, it is necessary to define the types of markers that were used, the historical circumstances that housed them, changes and continuity in their uses, and the level of control people maintain over them.

In this study, Indigenous and *Mestizos* or *White-mestizos* are considered historical "categories used to classify, separate and, in so doing, to subordinate a dialogue" (De la Cadena 2005a: 262). We therefore need to explain how people came to be classified as ethnically Indigenous and *Mestizo* or *White-mestizo* and whether they accept these

identities through the colonial and modern history of Ecuador. In Chapter 2 historical and anthropological information is used to shed light on the political pressures of colonial society in the *Audiencia de Quito* (modern Ecuador), and the pressures of the national system on the modern Ecuadorian population. Chapter 3 introduces colonial ideologies of "civilization" as sources for ethnic and behavioural classification. Scholars have suggested that Spanish use of ceramics in the colonies and Spain during the 18th century is marked by individualized tableware (McEwan 1992; Jamieson 2000). The idea of an ideology of individualism for tableware was developed by James Deetz (1977), who postulated a pattern for late 18th century English colonies in which each person would have had his/her own table setting. On the other hand, the archaeological evidence suggests semi-individualization for serving in the pre-contact Indigenous foodways of Ecuador (Bray 2003a, 2003b). Another important proposed aspect of the colonial transition in foodways is a European separation of cooking from serving vessels, vs. an Indigenous continuum between cooking and serving vessels. The last model proposed is to test the standardization of tableware, in order to understand how much influence a colonial taste for symmetry throughout a ceramic collection is evident in the data studied here.

Historical archaeology (Chapter 4) and ethnoarchaeology (Chapter 5) provide the methodology to interpret the material culture of domestic foodways. A ceramic collection from a household in the colonial city of Riobamba (modern town of Sicalpa) is analysed. Colonial Riobamba, situated in the modern province of Chimborazo, was founded in 1534 and became one of the major providers of woollen cloth to the colonial Audiencia de Quito, controlling the largest textile workshops in the region. By 1797, the city was

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destroyed by an earthquake that made people move from the city to a new location where the modern city of Riobamba is today. Over the remains of colonial Riobamba, the present Indigenous town of Sicalpa was built (Terán 2000) (figure 1). The analysed collection is from the Humberto Site, a domestic assemblage from a house of 5-10 individuals, which was located in the colonial neighbourhood of San Blas, and dates from AD 1750 to 1797. Historical information about this parish suggests it was named the *Barrio de Indios* (Indigenous Neighbourhood), and was an artisans' neighbourhood (Terán 2000). The ceramic analysis (Chapter 4) has two parts: an assessment of the ceramic sherd families (according to fabric, surface treatment and decoration groups, and morphological classes) represented in the colonial assemblage, and the reconstruction of frequency of forms to identify changes in foodways associated with colonialism. For the first part, I propose some corrections to existing historical archaeological ceramic analyses. I have found existing colonial ceramic studies problematic in only considering decorative variables without a classification of forms (Orton 1993a). I have developed a morphological classification of the ceramics and quantified the frequency of forms by using minimal number of vessels. Individualization is studied by comparing the frequency of vessels by function, expecting the MNV of individual serving vessels to correspond with the number of household members. I investigated the separation of ceramic functions by comparing the presence of hearth blackening on different forms of vessels to examine whether particular forms were more commonly used in cooking. Finally, the level of standardization of table settings was measured through measuring symmetry in fabric, surface treatment, and decoration in a given collection.

Ethnoarchaeology is the ethnographic study of present cultures from an archaeological perspective. The objective of using this sub-discipline is to understand the relationship between material culture and human behaviour in the present and compare it to the archaeological record. The main debate on the practice of this discipline has focused on the validity of using the explanation of present social mechanisms to make analogies with the past. Nicholas David and Carol Kramer (2001:38) assert the explanations to understand social processes have to provide a medium of verification. Then to make the "relational analogies" stronger, general principles of 1) structural similarities in the variables that affected or influenced the system and 2) cultural continuity have to be considered (David and Kramer 2001:47). Ethnoarchaeology could be used to study the "mechanisms that relate variation and variability to socio-cultural contexts and to inference from mechanisms to process of cultural change" (David and Kramer 2001:50), but also this discipline can help elucidate social phenomena and material culture meanings from the point of view of the actors (ibid). In contrast, Alfredo González (2009) contends that ethnoarchaeology is an archaeology of the present or ethnography of the materiality. Ethnoarchaeology 1) produces archaeology of the contemporary world to understand modern societies and their material culture, and not just as a source of analogy, 2) does not emphasize a division between us and the others, because it involves the study of both capitalist and non-capitalist groups, and 3) does not set up a false dichotomy between past and present (González 2009). The present study investigates current patterns of individualization, separation of tableware and cooking vessels, and tableware standardization, in order to understand the combination of these models in present groups of the Highlands of Ecuador and to compare them with the

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archaeological evidence from the 18th century. Even though the introduction of metal and

plastic has replaced the use of pottery in most of the Highlands of Ecuador, these patterns

can still be analyzed within these limitations (Chapter 5). I conducted interviews, took

part in participant observation, and recorded material culture related to foodways in ten

households, distributed in five self-recognized Indigenous families in rural areas of

Sicalpa and Alausí (Chimborazo province), one semi-urban *White-mestizo* family in the

town of Puellaro, and four *White-mestizo* families in the city of Quito (Pichincha

province) (Figure 1). Ethnography of these modern foodways introduces the concept of

cumulative identities around daily practices, and provides me with a source of

comparison to the colonial collection, and discussion of these patterns, as discussed in

Chapter 6 and 7.

Figure 1. Highlands of Ecuador with study regions highlighted and other sites mentioned in the text

MAP 1: Highlands of Ecuador with study regions highlighted and other sites mentioned in the text

PACIFIC OCEAN

COLOMBIA

Puellaro

QUITO

Pichincha Prov.

Riobamba

Sicalpa

Chimborazo Prov.

Guayaquil

Alausi

N

Cuenca

Kilometers
0   25   50   100

PERÚ

Legend

■ Selected city and capital of Ecuador

● Selected sites

● Other sites

Selected provinces

Highland provinces

Provincial border

National border

COLONIAL INDIGENOUS AND MESTIZO FOODWAYS

Map 1: Highlands of Ecuador with study regions highlighted and other sites mentioned in the text
Source: Ecuador Map, scale: 1:250.000, IGM
Drawn by: Daniela Balanzategui

CHAPTER 2:INDIGENOUS AND *WHITE-MESTIZO* ETHNIC CATEGORIES IN ECUADOR

Ethnic categories in Ecuador

The first section of the 1998 Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador, titled "The People of Ecuador", states the following,

> Inspired by their millenarian history and by the memory of their heroes [...], [Ecuadorians] proclaim their will to consolidate the unity of the Ecuadorian nation through the recognition of the diversity of its regions, pueblos, ethnicities, and cultures (Political Data Base of the Americas 1998) *1*

This text differentiates two classifications within Ecuadorian society, one related to geography[2] and another to culture or ethnicity[3]. Chisaguano (2006), an Indigenous social analyst, affirms that Indigenous people consider their pueblos and nationalities ethnically and culturally different from the *White-mestizo* population. The constitution explicitly states that Ecuadorians accept, *with free will*, these classifications (Political Data Base of the Americas 1998). Article 1 ratifies "That Ecuador is a [...] sovereign, unitary, independent, democratic, pluri-cultural and multi-ethnic state" (ibid). Art. 62, 69

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[1] Inspirado en su historia milenaria, en el recuerdo de sus héroes[…], proclama su voluntad de consolidar la unidad de la nación ecuatoriana en el reconocimiento de la diversidad de sus regiones, pueblos, etnias y culturas. (Politcal Data Base of the Americas 1998).

[2] The three interior geographical regions of Ecuador include people from the highlands, identified as *serranos or andinos*, inhabitants of the eastern lowland tropical forest, called *amazonicos (*amazonians), and people from the coast, classified as *costeños* (coastal people). The regional classification also involves cultural, racial and ethnic markers studied under the term of *regionalism* (regionalism). See González 2000

[3] Considering ethnic markers, Indigenous people and Afro-descendents are organized into 14 nationalities and 17 *pueblos.* Pueblo and nationality are Indigenous and Afro-descendent organizations that share spiritual, cultural, social, and political history. Different from pueblos, nationalities speak a native language. Pueblos and nationalities are internal organizations subject to the state (Confederación de Nacionalidades Indigenas del Ecuador 2001). Afro-descendents, also named as Afro- ecuadorians, are the descendents of the African population that arrived to Ecuador around the XVI century during the Spanish conquest.

and 191 also refer to cultural and ethnic differences, as the framework of the Ecuadorian nation (ibid). Three years after the 1998 Constitution established Ecuador as a multicultural nation, the Population and Housing Census (*Censo de Población y Vivienda* 2001) asked Ecuadorians about their racial or ethnic identity. According to the survey results, 77.42% of the Ecuadorian population recognized themselves as *Mestizos*, 10.45% as white people, and just 6.83% as Indigenous people (Instituto de Estadísticas y Censos 2011). Indigenous analysts, social investigators, and Indigenous authorities discussed the validity of the 2001 census and argued that the *White-mestizo* society and its leaders had biased the survey. In their opinion, the dominant *White-mestizo* population intended to portray an ethnically homogenous society in order to exclude the diversity of Indigenous people from state political organization. As a response, the Confederation of Ecuadorian Indigenous Nationalities (Confederación de Nacionalides Indígenas del Ecuador 2001) claimed that approximately 10% to 12% of the Ecuadorian population is Indigenous. The census also showed that 10.45 % of the population considered themselves white, in terms of their skin colour, daily life practices, and culture. This group consciously negates any historical relationship with Indigenous people. Studies of racial conflict in Ecuador conclude that Ecuadorians still employ the same ethnic categories: *Mestizo*, *Indio* and *white,* as was the case during the colonial period (Beck and Mijeski 2000). *White-mestizo* society still attempts to subordinate Indigenous people, by using these colonial rules when they classify current members of Ecuadorian society (ibid). State and Indigenous movements' discourses and official national classifications contrast with the collective and individual acceptance of this order by individual people. Today in Ecuador national,

collective and individual differentiations and recognitions merge in a multi-categorical concept called ethnic, racial or cultural identity.

This chapter is concerned with the historical transformation of pre-Hispanic natives into colonial urban Indigenous people or *Mestizos*, and the persistence of colonial norms of classification in the Indigenous passage towards modern Indigenous or *White-mestizo* life. In order to understand these processes, this section starts by explaining the application of Spanish colonial politics of classification, and the collective or individual reactions of Indigenous- *Mestizo* people to these impositions. The first part of the chapter focuses on two colonial Andean cities, Quito and Riobamba, as regions of intense ethnic mobility.

Historical review of politics of differentiation in Ecuador
From ethnic lords to *Indians*

For this study, colonialism is considered a process of transformation, the product of interaction between groups with different levels of power. This interaction combines the application of projects of control, designed by the central colonial power, and the reaction of colonized people and colonizers to these impositions (Dietler 2007). In the case of the Andean region of South America, Spanish colonialism was a monarchical organization within a framework of Christian evangelization that used alliances with Andean authorities, relocation, or "reduction" of local communities into nuclear settlements, and the reproduction of European cities in the colonies as administrative centres. Through these politics of control, the colonial government extracted labour and tribute, supported social differentiation, and promoted the conversion of natives to Christianity (Silverblatt 2004).

The conquest of the northern portion of the Inca Empire started in 1534 with the arrival of the conquistadors under the command of Sebastian de Belalcazar in what is now Ecuador (Gómez and Marchena 2000). According to archaeological and ethnohistorical studies, when Spaniards arrived in the northern highlands of Ecuador, people were organized in distinct ethnic polities that had particular languages, traditional practices, and differentiated sets of material culture, such as ceramic styles. These investigations identified at least six polities that occupied the highlands of Ecuador during the *Período de Integración* (Integration archaeological period, 1500 B.P.). Starting from the northern border of Ecuador, these groups were named *Pastos*, *Caranques*, *Panzaleos*, *Puruháes*, *Cañaries*, and *Paltas* (Bray 2003a, 2003b, Caillavet 2000, Jijón y Caamaño 1997, Salomon 1986). These societies, called *señoríos étnicos* (ethnic lordships) or *cacicazgos* (chiefdoms) were ruled by one or various elite leaders called chiefs or *señores* (lords). The elites maintained their status through political and economic strategies. Their principal economic focus was on intensive agriculture and interregional exchange. In the Ecuadorian Andes, chiefdoms exploited a variety of ecosystems under a micro-vertical socio- economic organization. These groups were organized through a pan- Andean system of reciprocity and redistribution (ibid). The Incas arrived in Ecuador around AD 1450 and conquered the southern chiefdoms of the highlands, but did not achieve the same control along the northern territories (Bray 2003a). The Inca state controlled the colonized populations through alliances with their chiefs, imposition of *Quechua* as the official language, and obligation to pay a tribute that principally consisted of agricultural products (Murra 1972, Salomon 1986). The Inca conquest of Ecuador was still very recent when the Spaniards arrived. Early Spanish

chronicles reported that these polities still preserved their languages, traditions, territories and local organization (Cieza de Leon 1998).

Despite the existence of at least six different ethnic groups in the Ecuadorian Andes, the colonizers imposed the term *Indio* (Indian) to refer to the colonized, regardless of their ethnic ascription (Wilson 2000). During the second half of the 16th century, under the Viceroyalty of Toledo, the state imposed the name *Indio* to group native populations as a labour force that was also obliged to pay tribute, and work as *mitayos* (forced labours), mainly in mining and textile production (Gómez and Marchena 2000). Wilson (2000: 241) argues that the Spaniards used the categorization of *Indio* in order to separate themselves from the natives and form a Republic of Indians and a Republic of Spaniards. This division represented a medieval classification of people in entities that conceived *a fundamental distinction [...] between those apt for governing and those apt for service*, the Republic of Indians subordinated to the Republic of Spaniards. The term *Indian* brought the homogenization of these six local ethnicities in Ecuador, along with the Incas, and hundreds of other native societies in the American colonies. The new category was related to an economic classification, but was also infused with Spanish ideas of supporting the hierarchical social order and following the principle of *purity of blood.*

Early colonial cities and Indigenous migrations

During the conquest, various cities were founded with Cuenca at the southern end of the new *Audiencia de Quito* (Ecuador), Riobamba in the centre of this territory, Quito as the capital, and Guayaquil on the coast (Ayala 2008, Jamieson 2009). The three cities of the highlands were built over Inca or pre-Inca structures, and they were considered

strategic settlements during the conquest campaign (Jamieson 2009, Sevilla 2003). The foundation of the cities on pre-Hispanic constructions was a way to reaffirm Spanish control over the colonized people (Sevilla 2003).

Spanish colonial chroniclers were impressed by the isolation of the cities in the highlands of the Andes. The geography of the valleys between high mountains enclosed the cities and maintained their isolation from the main colonial administrative centers of Santa Fe de Bogota (Colombia) and Lima (Perú) and the centre of Andean colonial precious metal extraction in Potosí (Bolivia)(Minchon 2007). These places were considered secondary colonial cities. Despite their isolation, these northern regions administrated by Riobamba and Quito controlled significant textile production during the 17th century (Jamieson 2009, Phelan 1995). According to Minchon (2007:18), this isolation produced a local identity in Quito, where the mixing between rural and urban was evident in urban spatial distribution. During the 15th century, this spatial organization was clearly defined. It consisted of a grid-patterned layout of city blocks around the central plaza, with peripheral parishes. In the center, where the elite resided, public activities related to religion, trade and administration took place. For instance, in Quito, the central parishes were El Sagrario, San Marcos, Santa Prisca and Santa Barbara (Espinosa 2009). The peripheral parishes were more rural, and Indigenous in makeup. They produced staple goods, worked as artisans, and provided the material and foodstuffs that kept the centre of the city habitable (Glave 1989, Jamieson 2009, Simard 1997). Artisans were concentrated in Indigenous semi- urban neighbourhoods. In Quito, San Sebastian and San Blass were considered the semi-urban neighbourhoods where *Mestizos* and Indigenous people worked as artisans (Espinosa 2009). In Riobamba, the San Blas

neighbourhood was named as an Indigenous- artisans' neighbourhood. This mixture between rural and urban inside the cities was reinforced by the assignation of common lands called *ejidos,* for agricultural activities and grazing on the margins of the city (Landázuri et al 2010).

The movement of Indigenous people to the cities started during the early 15th century and continued throughout the later epochs of the colonial period (Simard 1997). Indigenous people went to the city to work as *mitayos* (labourers) in the construction of buildings, avoiding work in the mines of Potosi, or escaping from the exploitation of the *hacendados* (land owners). Since the Spaniards arrived with the idea of taking the opportunity to exploit Indigenous labour and accumulating wealth through Indigenous tribute payments, most Spaniards were not involved in manual labour. Gómez and Marchena (2000:49) affirm that Spaniards believed manual work was a "dishonourable exercise; these activities were to be assigned to the Indians*",* not to the Spaniards. In the early colonial period, the role of artisans became associated with Indigenous people. The authorities supported their permanent residence in the cities for purposes of domestic service and construction. The Indigenous population attracted by urban opportunities settled along the periphery of the cities (Simard 1997; Minchon 2007).

The *Casta* system, purity of blood and early *Mestizaje*

The colonial relationship between race and class has been defined as a system of *castas.* It was a rigid and hierarchical model that combined the economic and social status of individuals and ethnic characteristics assigned to them (Wilson 2000). For example, it classified Spaniards as the highest category of the elite, followed by the *Criollos* (Spanish-descended people born in the New World) as the next highest status,

followed by other groups down through the non- elite Indigenous people. Under this hierarchical model, Spaniards insisted on following a faith-based social principle of *purity of blood* in order to restrict any movement from one *casta* to another. Wilson (2000) also affirms the state used this doctrine to prevent the biological mixing of the two Republics. However, according to Burga (2000), this is not exclusive to the Spanish colonial system; hierarchical pre-Hispanic societies also based the control of social movement from one class to another based on similar principles.

The principle of maintaining *purity of blood* for the Spaniards and Indigenous people was combined with a program of evangelization that promoted the non-contamination of the native spirit (De la Cadena 2007, 2008a, 2008b; Jamieson 2009). The Catholic Church wanted to separate natives from the moral dangers of the cities (Jamieson 2009). The evangelization program promoted a moral salvation of the *Indian* condition, by transforming their souls (De la Cadena 2005a). After the conquest, Spaniards formed the elites in the cities based on their relationships to the first conquerors. Elite status for a Spanish individual was based on the prestige achieved during the wars of conquest, more than on their noble ascendency.

The interactions between Spanish and Indigenous people in markets, plazas, and intermarriage blurred social boundaries and were the beginning of the early mixing between the two groups. Minchon (2007) provides evidence of early mixing: in the 16th century city of Quito, some artisans of Indigenous descent had already lost their native names and adopted Spanish last names. Among these mixed societies, differences were also marked by cultural norms of behaviour. Defining the proper way of acting became the central strategy of differentiation (Jamieson 2000, 2009; Sevilla 2003). Some factors

that determined peoples' classification in urban places were clothing, posture, and table manners, among other things. Sevilla (2003) recounts Quito testimony accusing *Mestizas* of wearing luxurious clothes in the central plaza, a core public place. The court argued that their clothes were not appropriate to their lower status, and that their clothes should instead indicate that they were not Spanish. People of Indigenous descent were also accused of "using clothes from white people" (Minchon 2007). Minchon (2007) also outlines how Indigenous people sent their children to domestic service in the city in order to have them learn "good manners". *Mestizo* was initially a social category used to classify pagans who went against these principles, thus violating the caste hierarchy in the city (De la Cadena 2005a). Spaniards accused *Mestizos* of promoting disorder, laziness, and bad manners (De la Cadena, 2008a). This classification was more about moral accusations, mixing cultural and biological characteristics into moral concepts, like decency (De la Cadena 2005a). The association of *Mestizo*s with these characteristics persisted throughout the following centuries.

De la Cadena (2005a: 267) sees *Mestizos'* responses to the politics of classification as a *transgression of the political order*. For example, Indigenous elites and the first *Mestizo*s outlined their antiquity and their relationship with native or Spanish noble lineages in order to get the same opportunities as obtained by the Spanish elites (Gómez and Marchena 2000). Indigenous authorities also allied themselves with Spaniards to gain access to elite status. In the Peruvian cities, Quito, and other highland cities the Indigenous elites lived in the centre of the city (Burga 2000, Wilson 2000). Other responses came from Indigenous intellectuals, such as Eugenio Espejo and Garcilazo de la Vega, who responded to this politics of classification, while they moved

from one class to another through their involvement in intellectual activities (Burga 2000, De la Cadena 2005a). Urban natives and *Mestizo*s also accumulated wealth, and some Indigenous figures, especially artisans in the service of the Spanish population, could purchase properties in the city centre (Simard 1997).

Demographic changes and textile production

During the 17th century, textile production became the main industry in the Audiencia of Quito. This production was managed in textile factories, called obrajes that forced Indigenous people to work in shepherding and textile manufacture. This activity was principally controlled by the hacienda system in rural places. However, some obrajes were located on the periphery of highland cities. A textile called paño azúl was the principal fabric production exported to throughout the viceroyalties of New Granada and Lima (Phelan 1995).

As colonial cities grew in the 17th century, neighbourhoods with mixed populations increased (Simard 1997). Quito was one of the cities with a more mixed population, compared to Peruvian cities. The increasingly racially-mixed population did not identify themselves as *Mestizo*s, but instead remained on the cusp between the *Criollo* and Indigenous ethnic groups (Minchon 2007). By the last part of the century, epidemics had severely affected the demographic growth of earlier decades. The Indigenous population was the most vulnerable group, and the cities lost considerable labour force. The textile industry was also affected, and by the 1770s, textile production in the highlands was in crisis; epidemics had decreased the Indigenous population, at the same time that the Spanish empire had gone into economic decline. When English and French textile imports began to compete with the textiles of the *Audencia de Quito*, the prices

decreased and it was the end of textile production in the region (Phelan 1995).

Agriculture replaced textile production in the highlands; but this activity was not enough to protect the region from further economic problems.

New regulations and ethnic mobility

The intensification of agriculture on urban peripheries had an impact on the relationship between the rural population and urban society. This fluid interaction between rural and urban economies, and formal and informal occupations, reflected the different strategies that people employed to alleviate the late colonial economic crisis. During the last part of the 18th century, there was a large amplification of the informal economy in the cities. The rise of informal retail outlets called *pulperías* in Quito exemplifies this growth of the informal economy. Formal traders in the cities, who were mostly *Mestizo*s and *Criollo*s, began avoiding taxation through increased dealing with informal traders, or even moving their entire trade into the informal sector. This involved selling goods from their homes, and negotiating with Indigenous people as a fellow. These strategies often involved performing, pretending to be, or changing from one ethnic category to another. In cities such as Quito, Indigenous and *Mestizo* populations dominated the informal economy. Indigenous women, who were employed in domestic service, participated in it. Some of them stole products from elite houses where they worked, and sold them in the plazas. Minchon (2007) also presented the case of a *Mestiza* domestic servant, accused of renaming herself with an Indigenous first name and dressing as a native, in order to negotiate (*regatear*) with other Indigenous women who sold potatoes in the central market of Quito.

The increasing presence and economic clout of *Criollo* and Indigenous people in the cities led to blame being laid on them for the failures of the socio-economic system. In 1776, new regulations, called the Bourbon Reforms, encouraged the assignation of formal Indigenous identities to mixed-race peoples throughout the Spanish colonies, in order to increase tribute payments and prevent social disorder. The state started by implementing population surveys, to identify the Indigenous people who were obligated to pay taxes. This system excluded *Mestizos* from tribute payment, but many poor *Mestizos*, *mitayos*, artisans and others were classified into the Indigenous group. The status of not being Indigenous thus began to assure better economic conditions and better opportunities for the urban poor. Therefore, people who were assigned the formal label of *Indian* by the survey began to present formal claims to authorities requesting to be recognized as non-Indigenous people. These claims have been documented as *Declaraciones de Mestizos* (*Mestizaje* claims). These are evidence of a growing move from an Indigenous identity to a *Mestizo* one on the part of the urban poor. Among these documents, the word *Mestizo* was not common; petitioners simply asked not to be associated with the Indigenous population (Minchon 2007).

As in past centuries, the term *Mestizo* preserved its negative meaning, with a strong implication of social instability. This system of classification applied labels such as *mulato*, *cholo*[4] and *unspecified* to refer to many *Mestizo*s and Indigenous people (Minchon 2007). The terms "*montañes*"[5] or "*Mestizo limpio*"[6] referred to mixed-race individuals, but only those who could show direct descent from a Spanish man and an

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[4] *Cholo*: referring to people with Indigenous appearance in skin colour and clothes, but who claim to be recognized as Indigenous.
[5] *Montañes*: person who comes from the mountains
[6] *Mestizo limpio:* clean *mestizo*

Indigenous elite woman. *Mestizo*s who were descended from previous generations of

*Mestizo*s were considered "new *Mestizos*," a lower category than the direct descendents

of Spanish-Indigenous unions (Minchon 2007). The differences between new *Mestizo*s

and *Mestizo limpio* implied the principle of *purity of blood* persisted into the 18th century.

The *Mestizo Claims* documents emphasize a relationship between physical

appearance, clothing, manners, economic status, and occupation. People also employed

racial features regarding physical appearance as part of their arguments. Some individuals

argued they had a lighter skin colour [7] and a non-Indigenous physiognomy, in order to be

recognized as more Spanish than Indigenous. In terms of their descent, they also referred

to their Spanish relatives, especially parents, uncles and brothers. Most of the claims

mentioned that they dressed in a Spanish style. In order to refuse a claim, the authorities

also supported the decision by using testimonies about the petitioners' clothes, e.g., "He

does not use shoes and wears clothes as an Indian" (Minchon 2007). Some *Mestizaje*

including potters, barbers, chair carpenters, and textile workers[8] were not allowed to

avoid paying tribute, because they had *Indian occupations*. Other manual occupations

such as silversmith and formal merchants[9] were more associated with non-Indigenous

occupations. Some artisans' claims were also accepted because of their "prestige" among

elite circles. They used as evidence their high socio- economic status and houses in the

centre of the city or elite neighbourhoods; Spaniards or *Criollo*s vouched for them as

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[7] The racial idea of using skin colour as a way to classify people. This has been called *blanqueamento.*
(whitening) in the Andean literature.
[8] *Olleros* and *botijeros:* potters
Barberos: barbers
Silleros: chair carpenters
Tejedores u obrajeros: textile workers
[9] *Pulperos:* formal merchants
Plateros: metal workers

"*decent people*" or "people of good reputation". For example, an Indigenous barber gained his claim because *Criollos* declared in his favour as a person of respect (Minchon 2007). In terms of the language, speaking *Quichua* during the colonial period was not exclusive to Indigenous people; therefore, this marker did not influence the authorities' decision[10]. As a result poor *Mestizo*s, *Mestizo*s wearing Indigenous clothing, those with darker skin colour, those with no legally recognized children, and people working at *Indian* duties were classified as Indigenous people. These claims implied that some Indigenous people were attempting to renounce their purity of blood in order to avoid paying tribute.

Enlightenment and capitalism

This period was, in Western Europe, the time of the rise of the Enlightenment, a rationalist movement that emphasized reason and science in the study of human culture and the natural world. This led to the introduction of a new politics for classifying people worldwide, using "scientific" concepts, such as race, to explain categories of social differentiation. De la Cadena (2005a) asserts that when scientific knowledge justified and explained social classification there was a change in the focus of the principal of purity of blood from the spiritual to the biological. However, new classifications still evoke faith-based and moral taxonomies, even in our global, neo-liberal era (ibid:262).

Enlightenment ideas were also concerned with theories of social evolution and the superiority of western society. Those precepts reinforced hierarchical classifications, stating that Indigenous people were at the bottom of the colonial social pyramid, beneath

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[10] Minchon (2007) summarizes seven types of cases over more than 200 claims. 1) descendant from a Spanish father and a Indigenous mother, 2) descendant from Indigenous father and Spanish mother, 3) Indigenous individual dressed as Spaniard, 4) Spaniard dressed as Indigenous people, 5) individuals with no clear ethnic ascendency, 6) indigent white individuals, 7) people who are recognized for their good actions or prestige without referring to their ethnic background.

*Mestizo*s, with *Criollo*s and Spaniards at the top. After the 18th century, faith and scientific knowledge had "intertwined to organise a classificatory order that expresses itself through modern idioms of civilisation and progress" (ibid: 262).

During the mid-18th century, a deep change also was taking place globally. Capitalism produced a complex range of transformations and provoked the emergence of early modern European society, promoting a complex domestic life (Johnson 1995, Mullins 2004). For instance, the early modern domestic space included separation of cooking and serving activities, individualized table manners, and a preference for matched, mould-made sets of tableware (Johnson 1995). Table manners were important practices for *Mestizo* society in Quito, in order to be accepted in the social circle of the elite. Juan Pablo Sanz (2010) [1882], an inhabitant of San Roque made a compilation of European table manners and cooking preparation norms applied to the Spanish colonies.

Summarizing the colonial period, Indigenous peoples were placed into and out of social groupings according to the changing politics of the state. From distinct pre-Hispanic polities all Indigenous people were colonially classified as Indians, but they then began to move into the category of *Mestizo*. Colonial Indigenous people were organized under principles of faith and class hierarchies. When they achieved a better understanding of the colonial system, Indigenous people and "people in the middle" started moving from one category to another. As a response, the state applied a racial classification based on various markers to incorporate stable boundaries between Indigenous and Spanish people. Finally, the combination of enlightenment ideas and sophistication during the 18th century brought scientific justifications for classifying people, and a faith in social evolution toward civilization.

Indigenous people and *White-mestizo* society

Considering the 2001 census that started this chapter, most of the modern Ecuadorian population is divided into three groups of people in racial and cultural terms: the Indigenous and Afro-descendent minorities, and the rest of "Ecuadorian society", generally called *White-mestizo*. These identities have been a result of an historical process that involved the colonial and postcolonial politics of difference. After Ecuador was declared an independent republic in 1830, as in the rest of the Latin American countries, it was necessary to consolidate a national identity. Therefore, people were encouraged to participate as Ecuadorians under certain principals that allowed the new order to build on colonial social categories. In countries such as Ecuador, the homogenization of the population meant that the *Mestizo* category absorbed some of the diversity of colonial categories.

However, in the need to mark differences related to social and economic status, the society built, under colonial rules, norms related to class, education, and race. This classist order used racial categories to group people. For instance, poor *Mestizos* were called *cholos*, the *Mestizo* elite were considered as nominally *White- mestizos*, and middle class Indigenous people became *Mestizos* (Paredes 1949). In addition, Ecuadorian Indigenous people still suffered from labour exploitation through economic and social obligations to the state and the dominant groups of society. During the republican and modern eras, some Indigenous people were moved out of the cities and relegated to the service of landowners, while others adopted a *Mestizo* identity in order to stay in the

cities and adapt to the new system (Clark 1998) [11]. In order to maintain the subordination of Indigenous people, the state and *Mestizo* populations emphasized cultural differences based on levels of education, public health, and cultural norms, to cast "the others" as totally distinct (Sharp 1996). This process presents a paternalistic position of *White-mestizo* society in relation to the Indigenous population, as a new form of domination.

During the 20th century, moral and rational reasons to classify people were built into the education system, with solutions presented by Latin American leaders and intellectuals to save the *Mestizo* soul and convert *Indians* into citizens. In Peru and Mexico, *indigenismo* (a |) was intended to rescue Indigenous people from their ignorance and their "Indianness", while insisting on keeping their "spirituality". This relates to ideas of evolution and progress applied to a naturalized culture of Indigenous people that could be fixed by education in order to achieve civilization. There was also an objective of maintaining purity of spirit, as a moral principal (De la Cadena 1992a, 2000, 2005a). In the case of Ecuador, after the second half of the 20th century governments encouraged the country's modernization. After the period of Agrarian Reform (1964- 1973), the government took on the problems of marginalization and poverty of Indigenous people (Betrón 2006). Education and technology were taken as solutions that would move Indigenous Ecuadorians from uncivilized and ignorant lives towards lives integrated into modern *White-mestizo* society (Beck and Mijeski 2000). The state also continued to consider Ecuadorian Indigenous people as children, without full rights of citizenship (Confederación de Nacionalides Indígenas del Ecuador 2001). Government plans of giving Indigenous people science and technology in order to rescue them have been

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[11] Another way of staying in the city was to work in domestic service. The result is a chain of generations of maids working in houses of *mestizo*s, starting with servants under life-long job contracts, and continued today by domestic staff who maintain conditions of servitude in relation to their *mestizo* employers.

enshrined in national programs. They incorporate foreign strategies, such as education, into local systems of organization. They also eliminate some traditions and rescue others from the past, according to the political position of each scheme (De la Cadena 2005a).

De la Cadena introduces the term Indigenous culture or Andean culture to describe modern Indigenous strategies used by formally non-Indigenous people. "Indigenous culture broadly includes *Cuzqueño* [from Cuzco] commoners who are proud of their rural origins and claim Indigenous cultural heritage, yet refuse to be labelled Indians" (De la Cadena 2000: 7). According to the Peruvian case, Indigenous people rejected racial purification, whether biological or cultural, and instead accepted *Mestizo* categories for achieving better life conditions. Ecuadorian Indigenous movements claim that being an Indigenous individual is not about speaking a native language, wearing Indigenous clothing, or living in particular housing; it is instead a process of feeling that you identify with your own history (Macas 1993, in Beck and Mijeski 2000).

As part of global policies of differentiation since the 1970s Indigenous people in Ecuador have gained recognition as Fourth World and/or formerly colonized people. This concept of Indigenous people reinforces strong perceived differences in "worldview" between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Ecuadorians. In 1986, Indigenous people formed the first pan- Andean Indigenous political organization, called the *Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador* (CONAIE). Since this time, Indigenous organizations have become much more visible on the national stage. CONAIE fought legally including wording in the 1998 Constitution to enshrine the idea of Ecuador as a country with cultural and ethnic differences. Beck and Mijeski (2000) states that the Indigenous political movement, researchers working on Indigenous themes, and the state,

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through discourses built over the last thirty years have created a new stereotype of what it is to be an Indigenous individual in Ecuador today. Today the concept of race still reaffirms the condition of inferiority of Indigenous people in relation to the *White-mestizo* majority (De la Cadena 2005a, Politis 2006). However, Indigenous people also invoke prejudices about *Mestizo*s continuing from the colonial period. In the view of many Indigenous people, *Mestizo*s have replaced Spaniards and *Criollo*s as dominant group representative of a centralist government and an oppressive political system. Indigenous people create their identities based on marking differentiation from other groups, particularly *Mestizo*s, as a reaction to global modernizing process of homogenization (Beck and Mijeski 2000). Their response to *Mestizo* society is also a political strategy to mark their ethnic boundaries using discourses and practices that refer to cultural and racial authenticity (Benavides 2004, 2008; De la Cadena 2000, 2007; Gnecco 1995, 2002, 2008).

Chapter Summary

The colonial system which grouped diverse peoples under the term *Indian* meant the homogenization of the native population. However, diversity still exists within Indigenous organizations. The name *Indian* was a category assigned because of the economic and cultural objectives of the colonizers. This classification resulted from the Spanish belief in maintaining biological and cultural borders between the two groups, and keeping the subordinated in a separate group that was not allowed to mix with the dominant class. This process was also intimately related to a program of Catholic evangelization of the Indians. The intense interaction of Spaniards and natives encouraged by constant migration to the city was the beginning of cultural mixing. The mixing or *Mestizaje* was at first associated with disorder and the people and practices

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involved in it were unrecognized by colonial society. However, these people in the middle, who did not explicitly define themselves as *Mestizo*s during the first centuries of the colonial period, saw the opportunities that ethnic mobility allowed in moments of crisis. Indigenous people also at times identified with this process of *Mestizaje* and tried to move themselves into the middle ground. When urban Indigenous people and groups who were not clearly ethnically defined, were pressed by the system to be classified, some of them responded with claims negating any relation with Indigenous people. The people in the middle used any kind of differentiation markers related to their physical appearance, clothing, practices and others to be considered as non- Indigenous. The situation of middle people changed when they allied with the *Criollo* groups and became the representation of the new nation. At that time, the boundaries between Indigenous people and *Mestizo*s grew stronger and Indigenous people remained the subordinate group. They developed within the national system as a marginalized part of society. The state applied several political efforts to transform Indigenous people into citizens, through systems such as education. However, these politics were also marked by the belief in a better-civilized society that could save Indigenous people from their ignorance. As a response, Indigenous people created and reinvented their identity, remembering, accepting and resisting practices and labels. The last ten years have opened up opportunities for Indigenous political intervention in the national government. In 2010, another census was made and the category of *White-mestizo* disappeared (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos 2011). This does not mean, however, that people still do not recognize themselves as *White-mestizos*.

The following chapters analyzes colonial and modern household from the highlands of Ecuador. The aim is to understand how the material culture related to foodways is a medium to celebrate the Indigenous or *White-mestizo* identity. Chapter 4 and 5 include the study case of an 18th century household in the colonial city of Riobamba followed by chapter 6 that analysis the case of modern houses in rural households of Chimborazo, and urban households of Pichincha. Chapter 7 discusses the comparisons of the archaeological and ethnographic data.

CHAPTER 3: COLONIAL FOODWAYS

Chapter two explained the colonial politics of ethnic differentiation and its influence on present regulations in the construction of ethnic identities in Ecuador. This chapter starts by discussing how historical archaeologists have analyzed material culture to understand colonial ethnic identities. I propose the examination of daily practices of food preparation, consumption and serving, instead of simply using stylistic attributes of ceramics to understand the construction of Indigenous and *Mestizo* identities. I describe three European practices introduced to the Indigenous table: separation of vessel functions, individualization of table settings, and the standardization of tableware.

Ethnic identity and domestic material cultural

Historical archaeologists who study the Colonial period investigate archaeological remains to reveal cultural change or continuity during and after a period of contact. Archaeological studies of the Spanish colonies have previously used ceramic decorative styles as representative of distinct ethnicities (Spanish, Indian or *Mestizo*), and thus as markers of continuity or change (Ome 2006, Rodríguez-Alegría 2005b, Charlton and Fournier 1993, Charlton et. al. 2005). Silliman (2009:213) questions assigning ethnic categories to material culture. He suggests seeing material objects as constituents of practices and as challenges to practices (ibid: 214). Therefore, taking the presence or absence of categorized objects as markers of cultural change or continuity obscures practices. Many archaeologists of Spanish colonial domestic material culture suggest that

urban Indigenous people produced and used exclusively "traditional" native coarse earthenware for cooking and eating. In contrast, Spaniards are believed to have only used imported ceramics, called *loza* (or glazed wares) or majolicas and metal pots for cooking. Historical approaches to colonial foodways still affirm Indigenous colonial urban homes used only coarse earthenware vessels in food preparation, coarse earthenware bowls and wooden spoons for eating, and gourds for drinking (Rodríguez 2001, Pazos 2010, Olivas 2010). However, historical archaeologists focus also on the interaction between Indigenous people and Spaniards within elite households, in order to understand how ceramic usage resulted in *Mestiza*je (cultural mixing) or the continuity of Spanish traditions (Deagan and Koach 1983, Jamieson 2005b, Rodríguez Alegría 2005a, Voss 2008). Deagan's work from the Circum-Caribbean region (1987, 1996, 2003, 2004) presents the thesis that Indigenous women who married into, or worked in, colonists' households, introduced the preparation of native food in Indigenous cooking pots to Spanish and *Criollo* houses (Deagan 2003). For Deagan, first contact settlement ceramic assemblages suggest, "residents of 16th century Spanish town sites in much of America used Indian pottery as their dominant cooking ware" (Deagan 1996:143). Spanish vessel forms for cooking, such as *pucheros, cazuelas*, *escudillas*, *morteros*, and *anafres* were absent at these sites (ibid). In contrast, there is a predominance of *metates*/*manos* (grindstones), and griddles for processing maize. Deagan (1996) accredits this absence to the limited number of Spanish women in the colonies during the first century of the colonial period (McEwan 1992). Therefore, native women introduced the use of Indigenous ceramics for Indigenous and Spanish food preparation. According to Jamieson (2000), these studies associate less visible areas of the households, such as the

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kitchen, to Spanish-Indian acculturation and syncretism. In contrast, Spanish tableware dominated public areas, such as the dining and living rooms. Jamieson (2000) calls these public displays a conservative maintenance of Spanish values through material culture.

Historical and archaeological evidence of Spanish individuals using Indigenous items in their tableware has contradicted Deagan's conservative thesis (Jamieson 2005a; Rodríguez-Alegría 2005b, Charlton and Fournier 1993, Charlton et al. 2005). Rodríguez-Alegría (2005a) proposes that in four Spanish houses in 16th century Mexico City Spaniards shared activities including eating with public Indigenous authorities to maintain their socio-political status. This interaction was demonstrated by the presence of Indigenous tableware, called red-ware, in significant proportions in comparison to majolica ceramics. According to Rodríguez-Alegría, the presence of Indigenous ceramics in Spanish houses suggests the intention to welcome Indigenous guests. Charlton et al. (2005) confirm that Aztec tableware and food preparation vessels were used by the elites in the centre of Tenochtitlan in the first century of Spanish colonization. Mexican historians have disputed Rodríguez-Alegría's evidence, arguing that Spaniards had a strong desire to maintain their values throughout the entire colonial period (Van Young in Rodríguez- Alegría 2005a). Without fully supporting the conservative thesis, I agree that historical evidence of these Spanish foodways has to be considered. Rodríguez-Alegría also presents evidence from poor Spanish houses, where Indigenous tableware was not proportionally significant compared to majolica tablewares. This suggests that Spanish and *Criollo* people more at risk of losing their status preferred to use traditional European tablewares in colonial Mexico City. This also means not all Spaniards nor *Criollos* were in an economic position to purchase Indigenous tableware, suggesting that these types of

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objects were exotic acquisitions in 16th century Mexico City. In a 17th century urban

context in the main plaza of Cuenca, Ecuador, "a significant proportion of red slipped

coarse earthenware bowls and other vessels were also recovered, suggesting the elite of

the city used such vessels extensively" (Jamieson 2000). These recent studies argue that

simple ethnic categories applied to ceramics hide the meanings assigned in the process of

production and use of this material culture. In contrast, analyzing the process instead of

first applying ethnic categories suggests pottery produced by Indigenous people could be

incorporated into such elite activities as shared dinners and feasts (Jamieson 2000).Many

researchers of Spanish colonial foodways emphasize that people intentionally

differentiated themselves using ceramics. At the military and residential site of El

Presidio, California (1776- 1810) Voss (2008,2009) evidence suggests that Mexican and

African-American people placed "a high value on stewed and simmered foods,"

supported by the significant representation of serving bowls and soup plates, in order to

indicate a difference between their food and the native preparation of tortillas.

In conclusion, some historical archaeologists have discussed this process of

cultural transformation, looking at the continuity of Indigenous elements in ceramic

assemblages during the colonial period (Ome 2006, Rodríguez-Alegría 2005b, Charlton

and Fournier 1993, Charlton et al. 2005). The problem is that these comparisons have not

studied the transformation of uses of ceramics. These studies are limited to presenting the

quantities of Spanish and Indigenous ceramics in the colonial houses as markers of

continuity or change. This study will reconstruct ceramic forms and their frequency as

indicators of foodways to test the process of the introduction of Spanish manners into

Indigenous households in the colonial Andes, and study how Indigenous people appropriated, assimilated, or rejected these impositions (Dietler 2007).

Civilization and good manners

During the 18th century in the Andes, elite households incorporated new objects into daily use and public acts as part of a new mentality of ostentation. Chinese porcelains, inscribed pewter plates, crystal glasses and cups, and silver cutlery became more common. Eighteenth century Andean paintings of Christian divinities, and Catholic figures in the act of eating displayed the introduction of novel material culture in Spanish colonies. Knives, forks, spoons, crystal cups and porcelains are present (Pazos 2010:161, Rodríguez 2001). Spanish colonial society, especially the Spanish elite, were influenced by the Bourbon Reforms and increasing mercantile relationships between Spain and the colonies, which brought new ideas of civilization to the Americas. The Enlightenment brought ideas of social evolution, portraying civilized European society as the ultimate goal of progress. Civilization was represented through differentiating European society from non-western primitive people, such as the Native Americans. Civilized society was characterized by a new style of life that involved hygiene, complex domestic manners, and sophistication, originating from Renaissance European beliefs (Elías 1986). In the Andes, one of these precepts was displayed in the "French style" in urban society. As mentioned, the rebuilding and construction of houses and ornaments in a French style (*afrancesado*), was part of this civilizing program. In addition, Kingman (2006) affirms the first sanitation reforms in Quito started with the Bourbon Reforms. In a comparative case in North America, Deetz (1977) proposed that the change from a chaotic habit of

throwing food residues outside the house to a controlled refuse- disposal pattern are routines that expressed an increasing 18th-century social consciousness of order.

The French style of preparing and serving food were also introduced during this period. However, cooking and etiquette manuals only appeared in the 19th century in the Andean region (Anonymous [1866] in Zapata 2010, De Reminteria y Fica [1851] in Zapata 2010, Sanz 2010[1882]). By the 19th century, Enlightenment social norms in the Andes were well established; therefore, table manners and the vessels involved in these practices became very visible in historical documentation. There is extensive 19th century evidence of Andean use of cutlery sets, crystal glassware, silver plates, and English and French porcelains (Pazos 2010, Zapata 2010). An example published in Quito, as mentioned in chapter 2, is Juan Pablo Sanz' 1882 compilation of French and English table manners and cooking applied to the Spanish colonies. A *Mestizo* inhabitant of the San Roque neighbourhood of Quito, he was also an architect who introduced French style building in Quito. His book, "The Cooks' Manual" outlined proper eating habits, referring to this etiquette as part of the steps that "cultivated and civilized people" should follow. Pazos (2010) affirms the increasing emphasis on civilization and urbane norms began in Europe in the 16th century, first demonstrated in the book titled "*De civilitate morum puerillium"* (About the urbanity in the manners of children) by Erasmus of Rotterdam.

It is, however, in the 18th century that "modern manners" were introduced in Latin America. In the North American case, Deetz (1977) proposed that household architecture, decorative objects, food preparation, and consumption habits, all followed the evolution of a new, Georgian, mindset. For Deetz the change of style, form, and

physical arrangement was caused "by cultural reasons that are beyond recovery, either by logic, hypothesis and deduction, or endless guessing" (Deetz 1977: 23). According to Hemphill (1999) manners are the norms that are imposed by a social system in order to control and mark differences between people. In Europe, the civilizing process from medieval to modern society is described by Elías (1986) as a step to control one's impulses and emotions, in a development of habits of restraint. For example, the use of spoons and forks for eating is seen as a way to repress one's natural propensities of eating with hands (ibid). However manners are not just a part of a system of regulation, but these precepts also have a creative function in that they generate the feelings that help people to assume their social roles (Hemphill 1993:4). For example, during the 17th century in the North American colonies, the production of increasingly diverse and affordable items made it possible for common people to imitate   traditional manners of the elite. Elites then responded by adopting new social practices, possessing and displaying novel objects in a particular order to exhibit a distinct social status (Shackell 1992). Elites abandoned traditional habits and attempted to acquire objects that are more fashionable and English manners, a phase that Shackell (1992) has called the introduction of European Modern Discipline. In early modern European society, norms related to domestic space included the separation of cooking and serving activities, individualized table manners, and a preference for matched, mould-made sets of tableware (Johnson 1995). In this context, my study investigates these three norms in the Spanish- Andean colonial city of Riobamba, through ceramics.

Three colonial foodways

The first aspect of foodways that I will investigate is the Spanish separation of cooking and table vessels. This process was a consequence of the separation of cooking and serving activities. According to Rodríguez (2001), the division between kitchen and dining room was already established in elite and middle class houses before the 18th century. This contrasted with low class, mostly Indigenous houses that used one large room where all the activities (cooking, eating and working) took place (Rodríguez 2001, Minchon 2007). This new style is marked by an exclusive use of Spanish-style plates, cups, and bowls for consumption. Deagan and Koach (1983) presents evidence of plain coarse earthenware as the principal source material for pots used over the fire, e.g., at the Puerto Real site in the Caribbean, the 60% of coarse earthenware pots had hearth blackening on the exterior. Jamieson (2000) shows evidence that at urban sites, only 3% of Cuenca majolica presents hearth blackening on the exterior. This percentage suggests the major role of the majolica as tableware, and occasionally as cooking vessels. In contrast, 41% of native Andean unglazed ceramics had hearth blackening on the exterior, more related to cooking activities. However, Charlton and Fournier (1993) confirm that glazed pots were used in kitchens of early colonial Mexico Valley urban sites. Andean 19th century cooking manuals (Anonymous [1866] in Zapata 2010, Sanz 2010 [1882]) also included glazed pots for cooking. Pazos (2010) presents a list of ceramics for sale in 16th century Quito, printed by the *Cabildo*, from the Spanish potters Baltazar de Medina and Juan Fernandez that included large glazed pots[12].

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[12] Olla grande vidriada (Pazos 2010:167)

The second pattern that I am interested in is individualization. North American historical archaeologists have described examples of individualization based on the change from the medieval communal pattern of eating to individualized consumption. Deetz (1977) argued the pattern showed a one- to- one match, with each person probably having his own plate (Deetz 1977: 60). This contrasted with an initial pattern when people shared a single dish or pot on the table. During the first years of the English colonial period, when one-pot meals were the norm, food preparation vessels were proportionally more representative in the archaeological record compared to tableware. During the first sixty years after the English arrival in North America, society presented a folk pattern of behaviour in food consumption, which involved communal, one-pot meals, resulting in food preparation vessels being more heavily represented in the archaeological record of early English colonialism. After 1680, teawares and a proliferation of Staffordshire drinking vessels began to appear in English cargoes ships en route to the New Word (Pogue 2001: 48). Finally, between 1700 and 1730, a higher percentage of beverages vessels compared to food preparation pots is evidence. The change from a communal pattern of eating to a more individual way of consumption is reinforced by the increased proportion of more formal dining items in contrast to food preparation pottery in the 18th century archaeological record (Pogue 2001). Eighteenth century English colonial dining habits included multiple dishes, knives, forks and spoons for each person. However, Spanish individualization seems to differ from English and French manners, the Conde of St. Malo in his *Voyage to Peru* (1753) wrote about the table manners in the Spanish colonies and the European explorer was impressed about how the elite in Lima used their fingers to eat instead of forks. McEwan (1992) argued

that individualization was already present in the 16th century in the Spanish colonies which was related to a Renaissance tradition (Lister and Lister 1987). When the Spaniards arrived in the Americas, these patterns of behaviour were firmly in place by the 16th century in urban areas of Spain (McEwan 1992). This change took place in British and French tableware two centuries later (Deetz 1977, McEwan 1992). Therefore in the colonies the presence of majolicas in the form of plates, bowls, salt cellars, and glass goblets (McEwan 1992), demonstrated a Spanish Renaissance pattern of behaviour. Spaniards brought the Renaissance pattern from Spain as an essential component of etiquette and propriety (ibid.).

By the 17th century in Spain, cities including Seville presented a new cosmopolitan taste for more luxurious tableware, in the form of Talaveran majolica, in contrast to the rustic majolica of earlier eras. There was an increase in the consumption of a wider variety of individualized tableware including plates, porringers, water jars, platters, wine cups, cruets, and salt cellars (Lister and Lister 1987). This was a result of Seville's ties to ceramic production for the landed nobility and foreign merchants. It was an echo of Renaissance decorative art that was popularized by nobility (Lister and Lister 1987:102). In the 16th century Cuenca, Ecuador example, few drinking vessels were represented in households. According to Jamieson this suggests drinking vessels would have been used communally by guests (Jamieson 2000). During the 18th century, drinking glasses and glass bottles gained much more popularity and were present even in more modest homes in Cuenca (Jamieson 2000). There is also the historical evidence of 25 silver spoons, 15 silver forks, and a boxed set of 7 knives in one of the richest houses

in Cuenca. Personal cutlery has also been considered an indicator of individualism, but there is no mention of individual place settings (Jamieson 2000).

I am also interested in standardization as a measure of the presence of table settings, i.e., plates, cups and bowls that matched in style and decoration. The norm of using plates, bowls and cups with the same fabric and decoration in the English colonies satisfied a taste based on the ideal of more symmetry in the distribution and appearance of objects (Deetz 1977). In 16th century Seville, new lines of pottery were produced including majolica tableware in increasing numbers, with an emphasis on promoting standardization (Lister and Lister 1987). This contrasted with the model of having variety in fabric and decoration of bowls displayed in the table for pre-contact natives. Pazos's (2010: 167) 16th century potters' list from Quito included a reference to a set of white and thick glazed tableware[13] , a smaller set of the same kind[14], and a set of the same kind for kids[15]. Evidence of these patterns also occurs in paintings produced in Quito and Bogota that represented, as mentioned before, material culture displayed on the table. These paintings focused on Christian scenes, such as the *Last Supper* and *The Wedding at Cana,* and showed the standardization of table settings and individual place settings.

Chapter Summary

Previous archaeological investigations have analysed the incorporation of imported and Indigenous material culture in Spanish colonial urban sites throughout Latin America. The imposition of European norms, such as the separation of tableware and cooking ceramics, and the individualization and standardization of tableware, and the

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[13] Un servicio vidriado blanco, ancho y fornido (Pazos 2010:167)
[14] Otro más mediano (ibid)
[15] Otro servicio chico de niños (ibid)

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relationship of these measures to social differentiation is explored through the historical literature. However, the analysis of the impact of these practices is still speculative, especially the impact in non-elite colonial houses. Therefore, the next chapter involves the testing of these three models through the ceramic analysis of an 18th century Ecuadorian domestic assemblage, the Humberto Site. Chapter 5 analyses the impact of these norms through ethnographic research in modern houses in the highlands of Ecuador.

CHAPTER 4: AN 18TH CENTURY INDIGENOUS-*MESTIZO* TABLEWARE ASSEMBLAGE: THE HUMBERTO SITE

This chapter describes the application of three models for the analysis of colonial ceramics: separation of tableware and cooking vessels, individualization of tableware, and standardization of tableware. In order to reconstruct these practices, the ceramic assemblage from an 18th century domestic site, named Humberto, is analysed. The analysis of the collection involves a typological and morphological classification of sherds, quantification of forms, and interpretation of their frequency and characteristics.

The Humberto site: the context and ceramic collection

The Humberto site is today an agricultural field on the outskirts of the community of Sicalpa (Figure 2). Historically, this area was part of the San Blas parish (1750-1797 D.C), a potters' neighbourhood also called the Barrio de Indios (Indigenous neighbourhood) located in the southwestern part of the colonial city of Riobamba (Terán 2000, Jamieson and Beck 2010). Rodríguez (2001) portrays the Indigenous urban neighbourhoods of the Northern Andes, in cities such as Quito and Riobamba, as filled with large one-room houses for domestic and workshop activities. The 1768 census from Quito (Santa Barbara neighbourhood) illustrated that 78.9 % of non-elite homes, including the Indigenous and *Mestizo* populations, had four or fewer household members because of population decreases due to economic decline, epidemics, and ethnic mobility (Minchon 2007). This indicates that the Humberto site was probably a three or four

person household, living in a large one-room building where Indigenous or *Mestizo* individuals lived and possibly worked as potters.

The *Sicalpa Historical Archaeology Project* in 2003 and 2004 surveyed and excavated the town of Sicalpa in order to reconstruct colonial life in the centre and periphery of the city of Riobamba (Jamieson 2009). The excavation of the Humberto site was an opportunity to recover data from an urban household that could be compared with work on other Spanish colonial sites (ibid). This site was excavated in June 2004, including excavation of a 5 m^2 sample of the colonial house covered by construction material from the roof collapse. Five meters west of the house, a 4 m^2 area of the associated colonial period midden (large pit with domestic refuse) was excavated, removing a volume of 2,400 litres of deposit. The residues of this colonial occupation yielded a ceramic assemblage of 1,758 sherds, with a total weight of 17.9 kg. The analysed ceramics come from contexts associated with a colonial occupation. Most of the ceramic collection (85.7%) is from the midden (contexts 6, 8, 9, 20, and 21). The rest of the assemblage comes from house construction contexts (contexts 18, 22, 23, 24, 27, 30, 31, 33, and 34) and house collapse contexts, assumed to be from the 1797 earthquake (contexts 5, 26 and 28)[16]. The ceramic assemblage was curated in the local museum of Sicalpa until June of 2010. In order to investigate and better preserve these remains, the collection was transferred to the San Francisco University Lab in Riobamba during the course of this study. In the 2004 excavation, sherds were already washed and preserved in plastic bags according to their location. However, sherds were washed again and labelled on a site-by-site basis. The materials were labelled using the provenience data in the

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16 Context 5 has been designated "Possible Colonial," because the remains are mixed with Republican ceramics.

following order: number of the context, name of the site, and an individual number for each sherd (e.g. 9HUM125). The fragments that could inform on vessel morphology were classified as diagnostics including rim sherds, bases, handles and spindle whorls.

Figure 2. Humberto site location at Sicalpa, Chimborazo Province
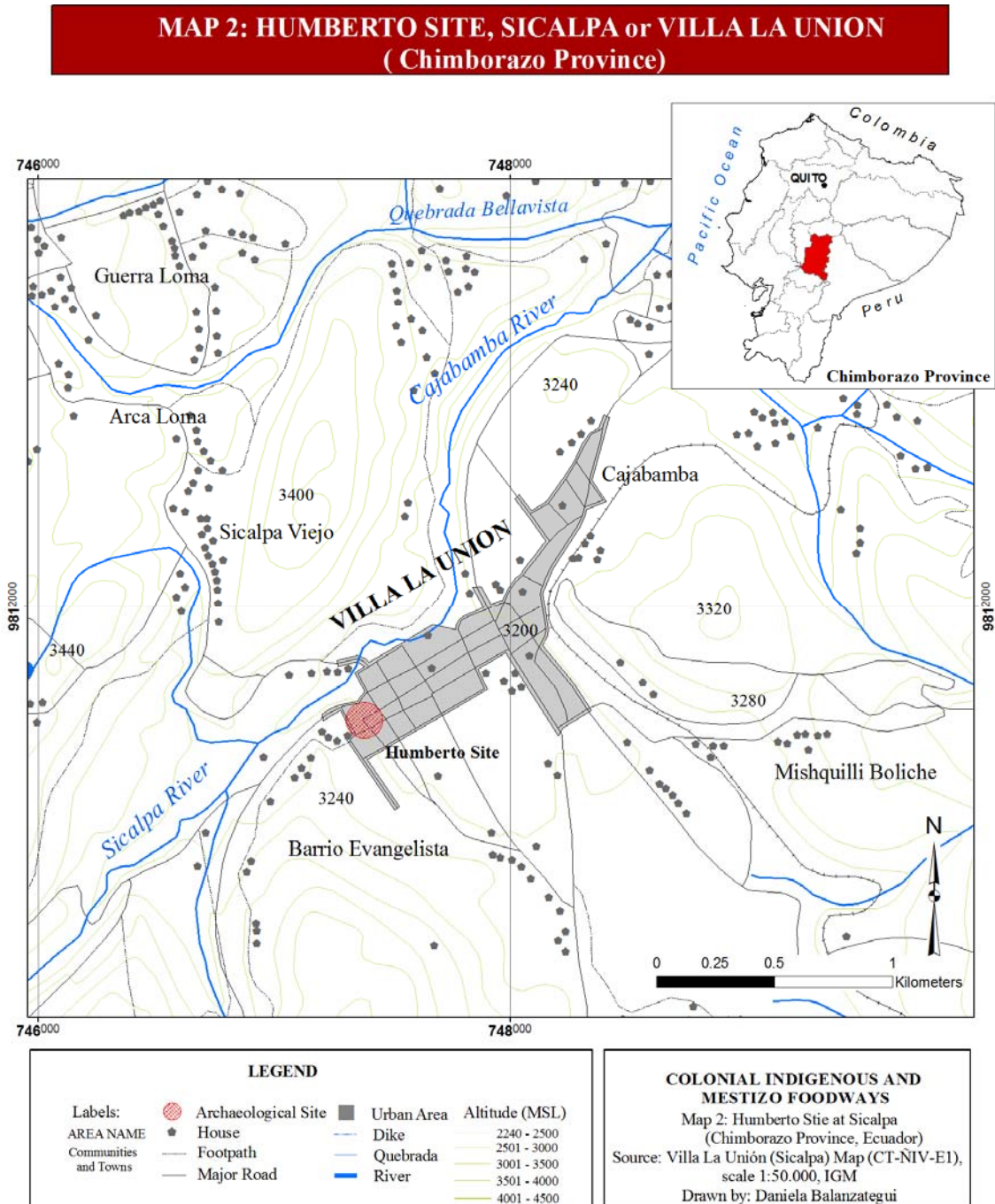
Ceramic analysis

The Classification of Sherd families

Culbert and Rands (2007) build a classification method to investigate Mayan ceramics that includes surface treatment, vessel shapes, and paste analysis. Two separate classifications were used in this study to investigate foodways: the first based on a combination of fabric, surface treatment and decoration; and the second on vessel morphology. In this study, all sherds from the household excavation were analyzed, intending to gain a more accurate classification, learning from the local ceramic fabrics, and testing the use of weight instead of sherd counts for assessing proportions of ceramic remains from the assemblage (Orton 1993a, Sinopoli 1991).

First, sherds were classified into two basic paste categories: coarse earthenware and porcelain. Coarse earthenware, 99.9% of the ceramic weight, was then grouped in sherd families using surface treatment and decorative attributes. These characteristics are the result of stylistic decisions of the artisans and the workshop that elaborated them (Orton 1993a, Sinopoli 1991). Surface treatment and decoration of vessels also "tell us something about the scale of production and labour investment, that is, whether a vessel was hurriedly and casually produced or carefully and intensively finished" (Sinopoli 1991:63). Painting, glaze, and designs or other extra details over the surface treatment were considered as decoration attributes. Therefore, according to surface treatment and decoration the coarse earthenware group is further divided into unglazed coarse earthenware (UCE) and glazed coarse earthenware (GCE). UCE was divided in four subfamilies according to surface treatment: plain; red painted and red slipped; burnished; and polished. GCE was classified in seven subfamilies according to the glaze colour:

white, cream, greenish-cream, pinkish-cream, yellowish-cream, green, and colourless glaze. Table 1 summarizes the sherd family classification and weight in grams. Percentage of sherd families is calculated from the total and percentage of subfamilies is calculated from the weight of each family.

Table 1 Weight of sherd families and subfamilies

WEIGHT OF SHERD FAMILIES AND SUBFAMILIES			
SHERD FAMILY and Subfamily	**Subfamily weight**	**Family weight**	**Percentage**
Plain UCE	*12,164.5*		*76.0%*
Red painted and red slipped UCE	*1,608.2*		*10.1%*
Burnished UCE	*1,133.8*		*7.1%*
Polished (UCE)	*1,091.9*		*6.8%*
UNGLAZED COARSE EARTHENWARE (UCE)		**15,998.4**	**89.36%**
White glaze	*52.5*		*2.8%*
Cream glaze	*382.7*		*20.2%*
Greenish-cream glaze	*181.3*		*9.5%*
Pinkish-cream glaze	*180.9*		*9.5%*
Yellowish-cream glaze	*361.4*		*19.0%*
Green glaze	*691.5*		*36.4%*
Colourless glaze	*49.2*		*2.6%*
GLAZED COARSE EARTHENWARE (GCE)		**1,899.5**	**10.6%**
COARSE EARTHENWARE		**17,897.9**	**99.97%**
PORCELAIN		**5.1**	**0.03%**
TOTAL		**17,903**	

Each sherd family includes the percentages of sherds weighed according to fabric variables (Orton 1993a). Fabric attributes include the texture and colour of paste, which depends on the clay attributes, but also on the process of firing the pots. I have chosen these attributes by following published Spanish colonial ceramic typologies (Deagan 2011, Lister and Lister 1987). Other variables related to methods of manufacture are not included because erosion affects the visibility of manufacturing marks. The fabric variables were narrowed to paste colour, size of inclusions, and distribution of inclusions,

obtained by visual inspection of sherd cross-section and comparison with Munsell soil colour charts. Paste colour is a consequence of the mineral composition of clay and the firing process (Rice 1987, Shepard 1980). Paste colours were classified in 7 groups, based on Munsell colour charts: (1) black, (2) brown, (3) yellowish red, (4) pale brown, (5) red, (6) gray, and (7) white (Appendix 1). Paste texture depends on the distribution of inclusions and size of sand particles. Distribution of inclusions in temper is measured on a scale from 1% to 50% according to Munsell charts for the distribution of inclusions. The percentage represents the degree of uniformity of particle size distributed in the paste. One percent is the highest degree of uniformity and 50% indicates that the inclusions were poorly sorted and varied widely in size. I have simplified the classification in two groups: a) 1% to 10% when the paste presents inclusions of the same size with a high degree of uniformity, and b) 15% to 50% when the paste has poorly sorted inclusions of varying sizes. Size of sand particles was categorized as very fine, fine, medium, coarse, or very coarse based on Munsell particle size charts. In general, vessels with more uniformly distributed and finer particles will have a lower porosity and harder paste (Sinopoli 1991).

UNGLAZED COARSE EARTHENWARE (UCE)

This group of ceramics is comparable to the generic Unglazed Coarse Earthenware of Deagan (2011). Deagan (2011) describes UCE not as a ceramic type, but rather a broad generic category that incorporates unglazed, coarse earthenware pottery that does not conform to existing type descriptions. Deagan (2011) also adds formal and associational attributes which are critical to interpreting such vessels. Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds from Humberto weighed a total 15,998.36 grams. This group was

classified in four families according to surface treatment and decoration. Brown colour of

paste and medium particles with a distribution of inclusions in the temper between 1%

and 10% were fabric attributes shared by subfamilies, excepted by polished (UCE)

subfamily that commonly had fine size inclusions with a distribution of inclusions in the

temper between 1% and 10%.

Plain UCE

  The weight of this sherd family is 12,164.46 grams. This ceramic is plain on both

surfaces and undecorated. Deagan (1987) includes in this ceramic type most of the

"utilitarian forms", such as cooking pots. Pastes are most commonly brown (36.6%) and

the sand temper is mostly medium size with (32.8%) (Figure 3 and Appendix 3).

Figure 3. Rim sherd from undecorated UCE family (midden context)

Red painted and red slipped UCE

  The total weight of this family is 1,608.2 grams. This ceramic has red paint or is

red slipped on one surface. The most common is the combination of red slipped interior

and plain exterior surface treatment (46.5%), followed by red slipped exterior and plain

interior surface treatment (31.7%). There is also a small percentage of red slipped

combined with burnished and polished sherds. The prevalent paste colour for this group

is brown (61.0%).The sand of the paste is mostly medium size with a distribution of

inclusions in the temper between 1% and 10% (47.3%). In a few cases, relief decoration

is combined with the red paint comparable to the "Mexican Red Painted" of Deagan

(1987:43-44) from a site in Florida, suggesting its place of origin as Mexico. This type

has a "cream, buff or terra-cotta-coloured sand-tempered paste". Deagan relates this type

of pottery to forms such as bowls, jars, plates and saucers (Appendix 3 and Figure 4).

Figure 4. Body sherds from red slip UCE family (midden and construction contexts)
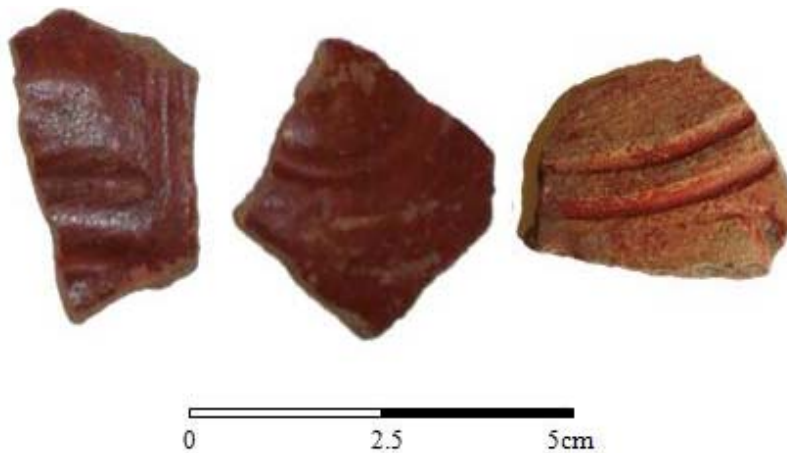
Burnished UCE

The total weight of this family is 1,133.8 grams. This ceramic is burnished on at

least one of the surfaces, and excludes sherds that are both red-slipped and burnished,

which are included in the red-slipped group. The most common paste colour is brown

(47.8%), followed by black (24.8%). Sand temper is mostly medium size with a

distribution of inclusions in the temper between 1% and 10% (46.9%) (Appendix 3 and

Figure 5).

Figure 5. Rim sherd from burnished UCE family (midden context)

0   1   2cm

Polished (UCE)

The total weight of this family is 1,091.9 grams. This ceramic is polished on at least one of the surfaces, and excludes polished sherds with red slip and burnished, which are already included in the red slip and burnished groups. The most common paste colour is brown (46.8%), followed by red (25.9%). The sand temper is mostly fine size with a distribution of inclusions in the temper between 1% and 10% (43.18%) (Appendix 3).

GLAZED COARSE EARTHENWARE (GCE)

The total weight of this family is 1,899.53 grams, representing the 10.61% of the total sherds' weight. Deagan (1987, 2011), and Lister and Lister (1977, 1987) classify ceramics with lead glaze mixed with tin or lead as *majolica*. However, differentiating lead from tin-glazed wares is difficult, therefore this study combines all glazed wares into one family. The most common is yellowish red paste with fine sand and a distribution of inclusions between 1% and 10% (44.2%). The most common decoration is the combination of interior and exterior glaze treatment (58.0%). The type and colour of glazes have been classified in seven groups according to the background glaze colour: white, cream, greenish cream, pinkish cream, yellowish cream and green; and colourless

glazed (Appendix 3 and 4). The green glaze represents the 36.41% of this sherd family (Table 1).

White glaze

White-glazed sherds have yellowish-red or red pastes, and present medium and fine sand- temper with a distribution of inclusions in the temper between 1 and 10%. This glaze includes plain white and sherds decorated with blue and green. This group of ceramics shows mostly decoration on just one side. The blue and green decoration comes in a thick tin glaze with white inclusions (Figures 6 and 7). According to the paste and glaze these appear to be "Panama Blue and White" vessels (Deagan 1987, 2011)

Figure 6. Small base presenting blue designs over white-cream thick glaze from GCE family (midden context)
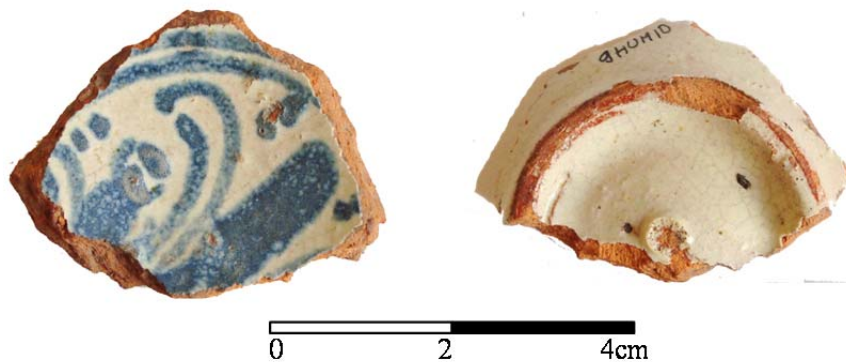
Figure 7. Rim sherd with Green designs over white-cream thick glaze from GCE family (midden context).

The plain white type is a thick glaze, a result of the addition of tin. This type of glaze is similar to "Majolica Plain White or Panama Plain" (Deagan 1987), dominant during the 16th and 17th century.   However the presence of inclusions differs from the majolica described by Deagan (1987), suggesting a local imitation of this type (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Small base presenting white thick glaze over red paste with very fine sand temper from GCE family (midden context).

Cream glaze

Cream glaze sherds have paste colours in yellowish-red or red and present medium and fine sand temper with a distribution of inclusions in the temper between 1.0 and 10.0%. Glaze is thin and poor quality, either plain or with blue or brown-green decoration (Figures 9-11). The lead glaze does not allow making fine designs as in the case of previous white tin glaze ceramics.

Figure 9. Bowl base with blue designs over white-cream thin glaze from GCE family (midden context).
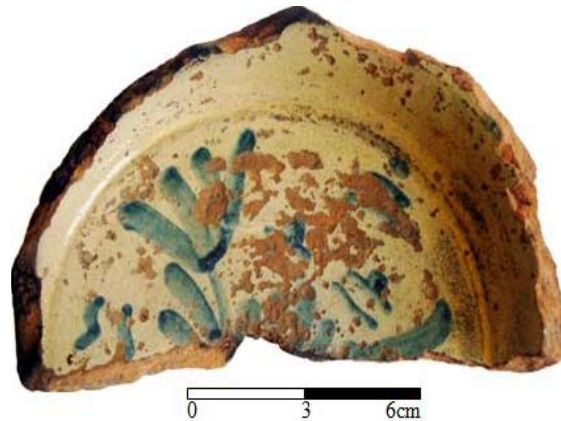
Figure 10. Sherd with brown-green designs over white-cream thin glaze from GCE family (midden context).

Figure 11. Sherd with white-cream thin glaze over red paste with fine sand temper from GCE family (midden context).

Greenish-cream glaze

Greenish cream glazed sherds have paste colours in yellowish-red and red and present medium, fine and very fine sand temper with a distribution of inclusions in the temper between 1.0 and 10.0%. This glaze has no decoration and sometimes is combined

with pinkish cream, greenish and white-cream glazes on the exterior. This group of ceramics comes in a thick tin glaze and thin lead-glaze (Figure 12).

Figure 12. Sherd with plain greenish cream thin glaze from GCE family (midden context).

Pinkish-cream glaze

Pinkish-cream glazed sherds have paste colours in mostly yellowish-red and red and present fine and very fine sand temper with a distribution of inclusions in the temper between 1 and 10%. This glaze is mostly decorated on one side only, with brown-green, blue, brown or green designs, and also plain pinkish-cream background. This group of ceramics comes in a poor quality thin glaze, applying tin glaze to both sides, but with simple decoration on just one side (Figure 13-15).

Figure 13. Small base with plain pinkish cream thin glaze from GCE family (midden context).

Figure 14. Sherd with brown-green designs over a pinkish cream thin glaze from GCE family (midden context).
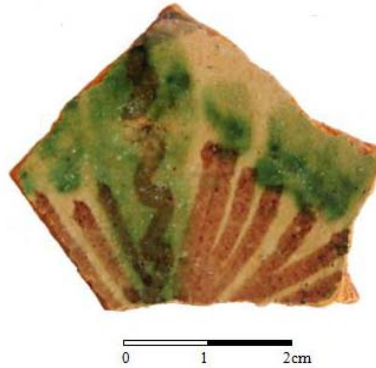
Figure 15. Rim sherd with Blue over a pinkish cream thin glaze from GCE family (midden context).

Yellowish-cream glaze

Sherds with yellowish-cream glaze have mostly yellowish-red or brown pastes and present medium, fine and very fine sand temper with a distribution of inclusions in the temper between 1 and 10%. This group of ceramics comes in a poor quality thin glaze, applying tin in both sides. A few cases have cream, brown, or green glaze combinations on the exterior. The decoration comes in brown-green, blue-brown, blue or brown design mostly in the interior. The designs are sometimes finest than previous glaze colours (Figure 16).

Figure 16 Sherd with Brown-green design over yellowish-cream thin glaze from GCE family (midden context).

Green glaze

The 36.4% of the total weight of glazed sherds are green. Green glazed sherds have paste colours in yellowish-red, red, brown and black and present medium, fine and very fine sand- tempered with a distribution of inclusions in the temper between 1 and 20%. There is most commonly a plain green background glaze on one or both sides of the sherd. In a few cases there is cream and brown glaze on the exterior. The dominant decoration is brown and green. The glaze is a thin lead or a thick tin glaze (Figures 17 and 18). Deagan (2011) and Clausen et. al (1970) identify a similar green glaze called "Marine Ware", produced between 1700 and 1775 in St. Augustine, Havana, and Panama. The paste is "orange to brownish red-coloured with coarse sand temper" and is not undecorated tin enamel. Basins and storage jars are the most common utilitarian forms related to this type.

Figure 17. Body sherd with plain greenish thick glaze from GCE family (midden context).

Figure 18. Rim sherd with plain green thin glaze from GCE family (midden context).
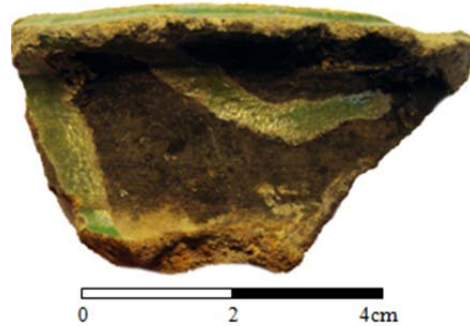
Colourless glaze

Colourless lead glaze is applied over red and brown paste colours, and presents medium and fine sand temper with a distribution of inclusions in the temper between 1 and 10%. This is often only glazed on the interior, with poor coverage and poor quality. In some cases the glaze appears to not achieve the intended colouration, with sherds showing little coverage, with a glaze colour that is almost the same as the underlying paste. Muddy exterior decoration is sometimes present (Figure 19).

Figure 19. Rim sherd with plain thin glaze from GCE family (midden context).

PORCELAIN

Four sherds of Chinese porcelain present a total weight of 5.1 grams, forming just 0.03% of this assemblage. The paste is white, thin (0.38 cm of wall thickness), smooth and translucent. Two sherds present overglaze decoration including thin red, brown, and blue lines (Figure 20).

Figure 20. Porcelain sherds, (midden context).

Morphological classification and quantification

Morphological classification involved illustration of rim sherds, rims with neck, and vessel bases, and the recording of attributes including rim direction, rim or base diameter, body angle, and rim form. Illustrations of diagnostic sherds were sorted into three morphological classes: unrestricted (U), restricted (R), and composite restricted

(CR), based on rim direction and body angle (Shepard 1980, Sinopoli 1991). Unrestricted vessels were classified according to rim diameter and direction. Restricted and composite unrestricted vessels were classified based on rim diameter, body angle, rim direction and wall thickness. According to these characteristics, a tentative function was assigned to each vessel. Some rims could not be assigned to a particular vessel morphology, however their wall thickness and rim direction allowed me to assign them a tentative form and size and group them as "composite restricted or unrestricted". These rim sherds are also included in the quantification.

North American historical archaeologists use MNV (minimal number of vessels) to quantify the number of vessels for each identified form. The procedure consists of using "the traditional system of measuring a vessel's orifice by a graded series of concentric arcs" (Egloff 1973:352). This technique measures "the fraction of the vessel's orifice represented by a single rim sherd" (ibid: 352). Diagnostic sherds that have the same decoration, form and fabric count as part of the same vessel. Shipiro (1984) argues that a bias exists in the identification of MNV, because it is much easier to identify a vessel fragment as a unique vessel if there is some decoration or other surface modification present. Plain rim sherds are less likely to be identified as minimum individual vessels. Shipiro (1984) recommends using a morphological classification based on measured drawings to accommodate all the rim sherds of sufficient size as opposed to those that represent distinct, individual vessels. In order to make a comparable study and also eliminate some of the bias, I have used the morphological classes to calculate MNV (Yentsch 1990, Shackel 1992). Orton (1993b:173) suggests using *estimated vessel equivalent* (eve) because " sherds in an assemblage that come from the

same vessel form a certain proportion of that vessel, that is they are equivalent to a certain fraction of it". However, Orton (1993b) affirms it is not possible to tell "what proportion of a vessel they represent", therefore vessel equivalent is estimated using some part of the vessel as Egloff (1973) suggests. Orton's approach clarifies that counting vessels from an assemblage is only estimation and should be considered when arriving at conclusions.

Yentsch (1990) has argued that the use of MNV of forms focusing on just one assemblage as an entity can lessen the visibility of the relationships among its elements, and the way in which they vary across time and space. Considering the MNV from a variety of assemblages makes it possible to observe variations in the cultural organization of activities at a series of sites. In this case, this assemblage could be used in a future study comparable to the investigations of the English colonies that incorporate frequency of forms from historical inventories, and MNV from diverse colonial assemblages in several periods. The frequency of sherds of each type could also be affected by post-depositional processes and by the use-life of the vessels. Vessel brokenness does not appear to affect the total weight of the sherds, nor the quantification (Orton 1993a). Mills (1989) uses information from ethnoarchaeological and archaeological studies to argue that cooking and serving vessels have comparably short use-lives when compared to storage pots, and therefore this factor will not affect the quantification of vessels.

A total MNV of 83 from the Humberto *Site* was divided into three morphological classes: unrestricted, composite restricted and restricted. Vessels in morphological classes were further classified according to size, rim diameter and body direction. Sixty six rims (from U,CR and CRU classes) were used to represent the frequency of vessels by rim

direction (Figure 21a). To determine rim direction, the border of the mouth is used as the axis to measure the angle of the rim, with vessels classified into three groups: everted (between 20 and 89 degrees), straight (90 degrees), and inverted rims (between 91 and 150 degrees). Twenty-two rims were used to represent the frequency of composite restricted and restricted vessels by body direction. To measure the body direction, the neck of CR and the mouth of R vessels were used as the axis to measure the angle of the body (Figure 21b).

Figures 21 a) Histogram of rim direction for CR and U diagnostic sherds b) Histogram of body direction for CR and R diagnostic sherds

Rim direction (degrees)   **Body direction (degrees)**

Mean 60.59
Std. Dev. 21.3
N 66

Mean 52.82
Std. Dev. 14.5
N 22

a)   b)
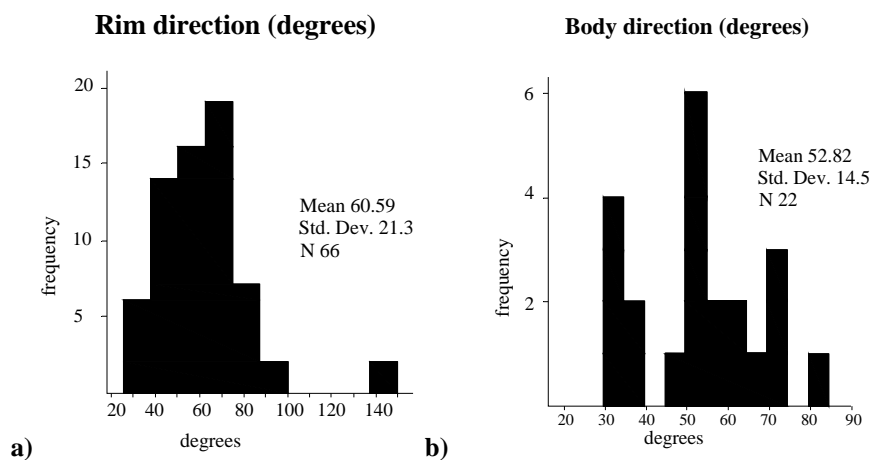
CLASS 1: UNRESTRICTED VESSELS

This assemblage presents a MNV of 49 unrestricted vessels. Two groups are identified in the unrestricted class: flatware and hollowware, according to body direction and rim form. Flatware is made up of plates or dishes, and hollowware vessel forms are rounded bowls, other bowls, cups and basins. Grouping into small, medium and large unrestricted vessels was based on rim diameter.

Group: Hollow vessels

Form: Cup

Size: Small

Cups are the smallest unrestricted vessels used for individual beverage consumption. According to Lister and Lister (1977, 1987) the diameter of cups (tazas and escudillas) ranges from 7 cm, the smallest cup, to 15 cm, the largest one. Lister and Lister (1987:109) illustrate a cup with a cylindrical form and a rim diameter of 7.5 cm and a base diameter of 2.8 cm, and another with a 15 cm rim diameter and a base 5.7 cm wide. This form presents a MNV of at least 4 cups with a wall thickness between 0.4 and 0.7 cm. The body direction from the rim is around 50 degrees and has an everted rim (Figure 22).

Form: Simple Bowls

Size: Small, medium and large

The bowls are "open vessels with convex sides of greater width than depth" with simple rounded straight rim, but could also have everted rims (Beaudry et. al 1983:33). The body direction from the rim can be from 30 to 70 degrees. The expected function of this form depends upon the size. Small bowls (rim diam. 10 - 14 cm, thick. 0.5-0.8) could be used for an individual consumption of solid food or soup, medium bowls (rim diam. 15-24 cm, thick. 0.4-0.9) served for individual or communal activities of serving and consumption of food. Large bowls (rim diam. 26- 44 cm, thick. 0.8-0.9 cm) are used for communal serving and consumption of food (Beaudry et. al 1983). This form presents a MNV of at least five small, sixteen medium and two large bowls (Figure 22).

Form: Basin

Size: Large

Basin is an "open vessel with convex sides, of greater width than depth, having a brim or everted lip" (ibid:33).This form was used for "washing, shaving, and for dining" (ibid). This form presents a MNV of one basin with a diameter of 44 cm (Figure 22).

Figure 22. Classification of unrestricted forms: Cup, simple bowl and basin forms.
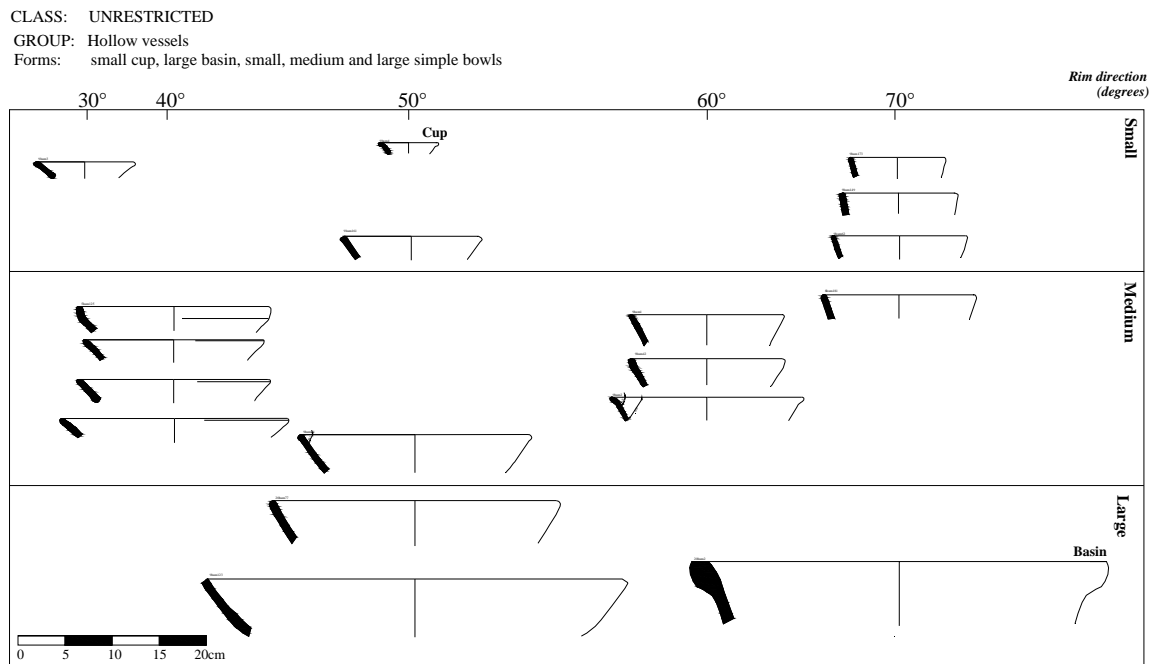
Form: Rounded Bowls

Size: Small, medium and large

Hemispherical vessels with diverse forms of rim include thick rounded, simple bevelled and others. The body direction taken from the rim ranges between 50 and 80 degrees. The size classification and function is similar to simple bowls. This form presents a MNV of at least one small, six medium and two large bowls (Figure 23).

Figure 23. Classification of unrestricted forms: Rounded bowl form.

CLASS: UNRESTRICTED
GROUP: Hollow vessels
FORM: small, medium and large rounded bowls
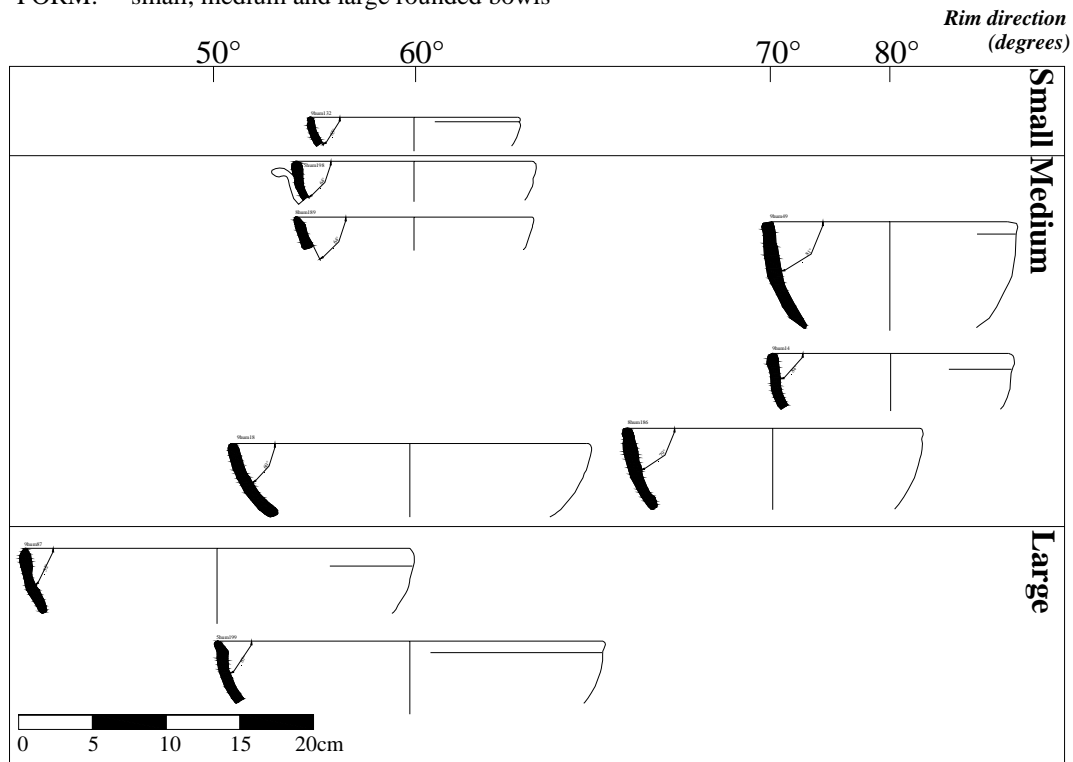
Group: Flat vessels

Form: Deep Plates

Size: Medium

Plates are "eating vessels from 17 in to 25 in in diameter with or without a

footring, made in shallow or deep forms" (Beaudry 1983). Lister and Lister (1987) affirm

deep plates have diameters ranging between 15 and 20 cm. In this classification, vessels

with a body direction of approximately 30 degrees and a diameter over 14 cm were

considered deep plates. Medium plates were used for individual or communal

consumption and serving of solid food. Large plates are expected to have a more

communal usage. This form presents a MNV of at least four medium plates and one large

plate (Figure 24).

Figure 24. Classification of unrestricted forms: Deep plate form.

CLASS: UNRESTRICTED

GROUP: Flat vessels

FORM: Medium and large deep plates

Rim direction
(degrees)
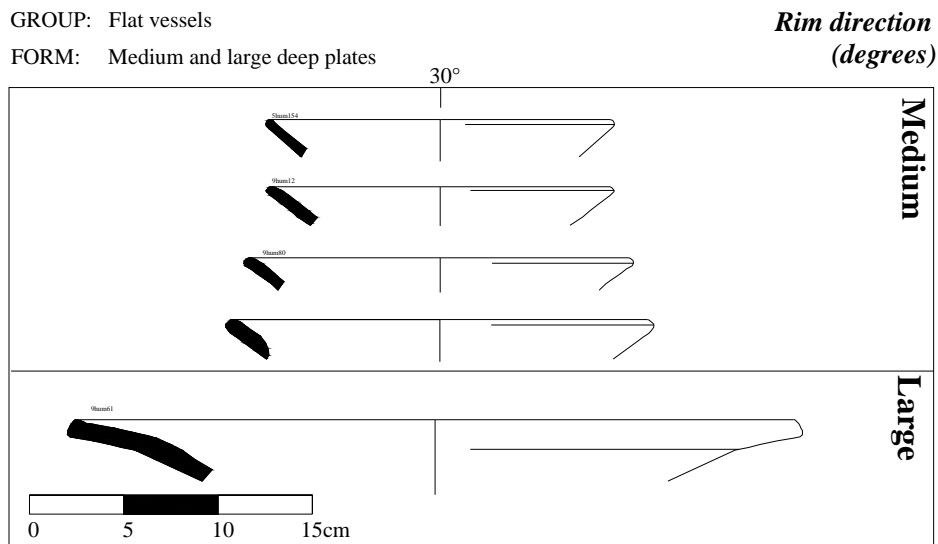
CLASS 2: COMPOSITE RESTRICTED VESSELS

Form: Jars and Pots

Size: Small or medium, large

Rim sherds with vestiges of a neck allowed me to reconstruct a composite restricted assemblage. This assemblage presents a MNV of 28 vessels, including jars, pots, and storage vessels (*cantaros or tinajas*). Composite restricted vessels were grouped in three categories based on body and rim direction: vessels with a body angle less than 40 degrees (group 1, Figure 25), between 45 and 65 degrees (group 2, Figure 26), and between 65 and 90 degrees (group 3, Figure 27). In order to identified jars or pots used as tableware, the wall thickness and neck diameter allowed to identify small or medium from the largest vessels. Small or medium jars or pots include the vessels with a wall thickness between 0.4 cm and 0.75 cm from a neck diameter between 8 and 18 cm. Vessels with a neck diameter between 8 and 14 cm and wall thickness of ?at least 0.8 cm were also included in this group. Large vessels include all vessels with a wall thickness

67

between 0.9 and 1.3 cm, and the vessels with a wall thickness of 0.8 cm and a neck

diameter over 14 cm. Small or medium jars or pots are expected for a communal food

serving and cooking. Large vessels are expected to be used for cooking and storage.

There is a MNV of 14 small or medium and 14 large jars or pots (Figures 25-27).

Figure 25. Classification of Composite restricted jars and pots, group 1

CLASS: COMPOSITE RESTRICTED
GROUP: Body angle <40°
FORM: Small-medium and large jars or pots
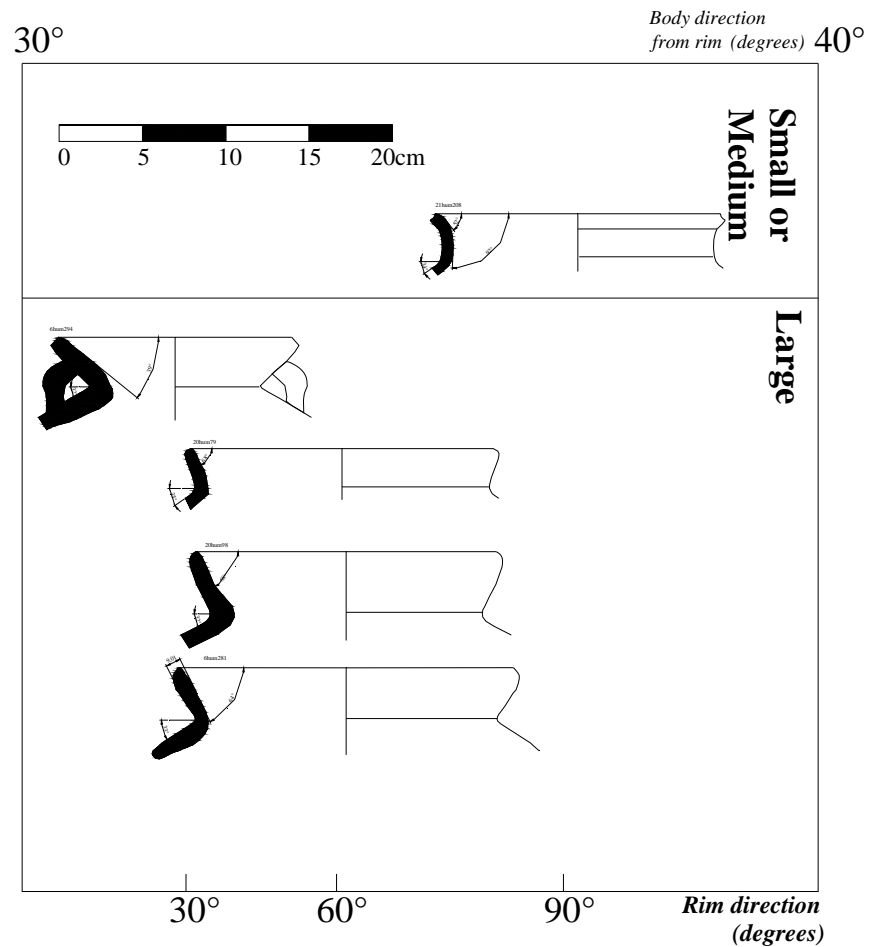
Figure 26. Classification of Composite restricted jars and pots, group 2

CLASS: COMPOSITE RESTRICTED
GROUP: Body angle >45°<65°
FORM: Small-medium and large jars or pots

40°   *Body direction*
                                                            from rim (degrees) 65°

Small or Medium

Large

20°   40°   50°   60°   70°   80°   90° *Rim direction*
                                                                                      (degrees)
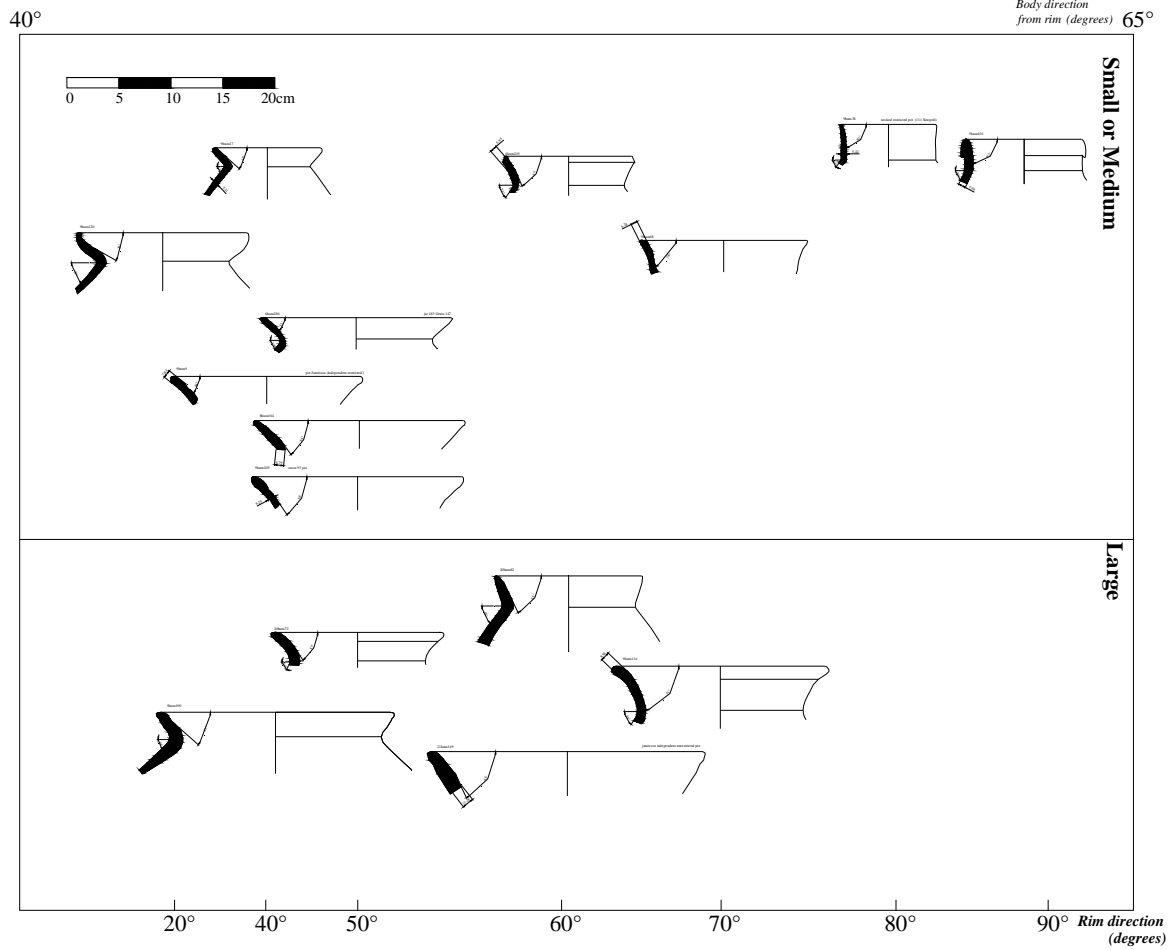
Figure 27. Classification of Composite restricted jars and pots, group 3

CLASS: COMPOSITE RESTRICTED
GROUP: Body angle >65°<90°
FORM: Small-medium and large jars or pots
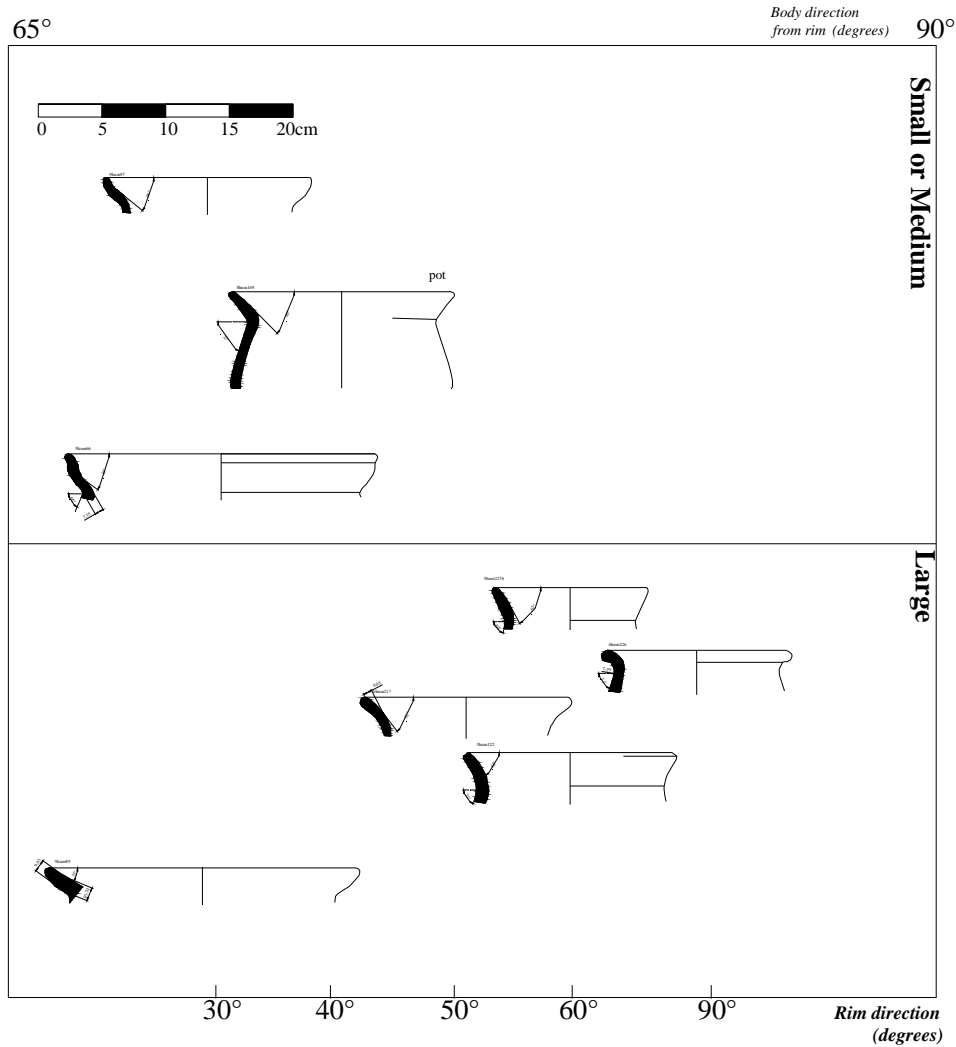
CLASS 3: RESTRICTED VESSELS

Form: Pots

Size: Small and large

A restricted orifice is generally defined as having a diameter less than the

maximum vessel (Shepard 1980). This assemblage presents a MNV of 2 restricted

vessels, which by their form probably represent pots. The small or medium pot has a rim

diameter of 12 cm and the large pot for communal cooking and storage has a diameter of

26 cm, probably for communal serving. The body direction for both vessels ranges from 30 to 40 degrees (Figure 28).

Figure 28. Classification of restricted form: Pot form.

CLASS: RESTRICTED
FORM: Small-Medium and Largepots

Body direction from rim (degrees)

30°   40°

CLASS 4: UNRESTICTED OR COMPOSITE RESTRICTED

Form: Jar and pots

Size: large
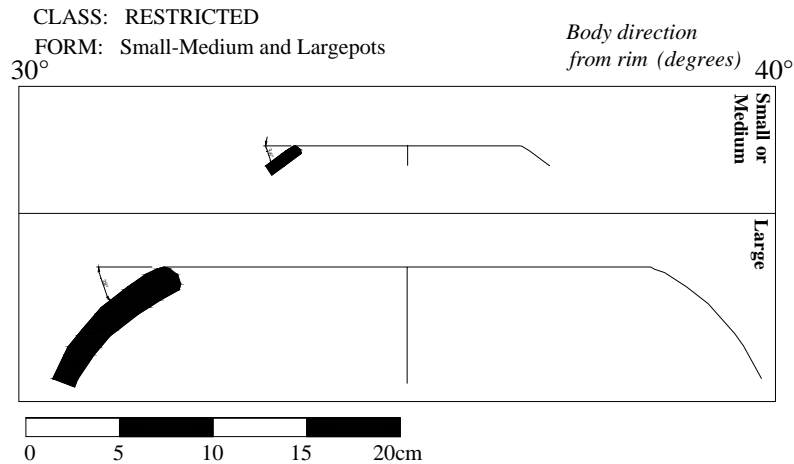
This assemblage presents a MNV of 4 unrestricted or composite restricted vessels, which by their form probably represent 3 large jars or pots and one large jar. The large jars or pots have a diameter between 14 and 40 cm with a thickness between 0.9 and 1.2 cm. The direction of the rim for these four vessels ranges from 60 to 80 degrees (Figure 29).

Figure 29. Classification of unrestricted or composite restricted forms: large pots or jars.

CLASS: UNRESTRICTED OR COMPOSITE RESTRISTED
FORMS: Large Jars or Pots

Rim direction (degrees)

60°   80°
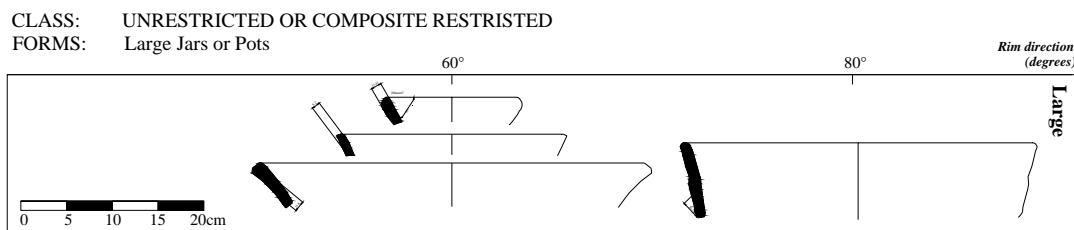
Analysis of Models

Separation of Vessels function

When there is separation of vessel functions, hearth blackening may be expected to be exclusive to cooking pots and absent on vessels such as plates, bowls and cups. In the midden (82.5% of the sample) and house collapse contexts (10.5% of the sample) between 66.8% and 74.1% of ceramic sherds were exposed to fire, according to the black colour of the paste, presence of hearth blackening, and/or black shadows over the surface. Considering the high percentage of sherds exposed to fire in the house collapse and midden contexts, a post- depositional fire could affect these contexts, influencing the results of this analysis. Sherds that had exterior hearth blackening were thus considered as the best evidence for use in cooking, with a total weight of 6.4 kg and representing 35.5% of the collection (Table 2).

Table 2 Ceramics exposed to fired controlled by presence of hearth blackening, colour of paste, and black shadows. Highlighted is the group of ceramic with exterior hearth blackening more suitable as result of hearth fire.

Context	Ceramic w/hearth black		Ceramic w/hearth black (black paste)		Ceramic w/black shadows (no hearth black)		Ceramic w/some exposure to fire	
	Weight (g)	%	Weight (g)	%	Weight (g)	%	Weight (g)	%
house collapse	950.59	50.4%	133.7	7.1%	312.30	16.6%	1,396.59	74.07%
midden	5,161.54	34.9%	844.2	5.7%	3,863.47	26.2%	9,869.21	66.82%
house construction	241.28	19.4%	6.9	0.6%	85.21	6.9%	333.39	26.82%
TOTAL	6,353.41	35.5%	984.8	5.5%	4,260.98	23.8%	11,599.19	64.79%

A total of 68.7% of the MNV in the collection have hearth blackening on one or both surfaces (interior and exterior) on small unrestricted vessels. Table 3 and Figure 30 represent the expected functions of the forms and the percentage of MNV with hearth blackening.

Table 3. Percentage of MNV with hearth blackening by function.

Suggested function	Form (Class)	MNV	Hearth Black (N.)	Hearth Black (%)	MNV (fun)	Hearth Black (N. fun)	Hearth Black (%)
beverage consumption: individual	cup (U)	4	1	25%	*4*	*1*	**25%**
solid food or soup consumption: individual	small bowl (U)	5	2	40%			
	small rounded bowl (U)	1	0	0%	*6*	*2*	**33%**
solid food consumption and serving: individual or communal	medium simple bowl (U)	16	10	63%			
	medium simple bowl or plate (U)	7	5	71%			
	medium plate (U)	4	2	50%			
	medium rounded bowl (U)	6	4	67%	*33*	*21*	**64%**
solid food consumption and serving: communal	large simple bowl (U)	2	2	100%			
	large plate (U)	1	1	100%			
	large rounded bowl (U)	2	1	50%	*5*	*4*	**80%**
cooking and serving: communal	small or medium jar or pot (CR)	15	12	80%			
	small or medium pot (R)	1	0	0%	*16*	*12*	**75%**
cooking and storage	large jar or pot (CR)	13	12	92%			
	large pot (R)	1	1	100%			
	large jar (U or CR)	1	1	100%			
	large jar or pot (U or CR)	3	3	100%	*18*	*17*	**94%**
health/ hygiene	**basin (U)**	**1**	**0**	**0%**	*1*	*0*	**0%**

Figure 30. Percentage of MNV with hearth blackening by function
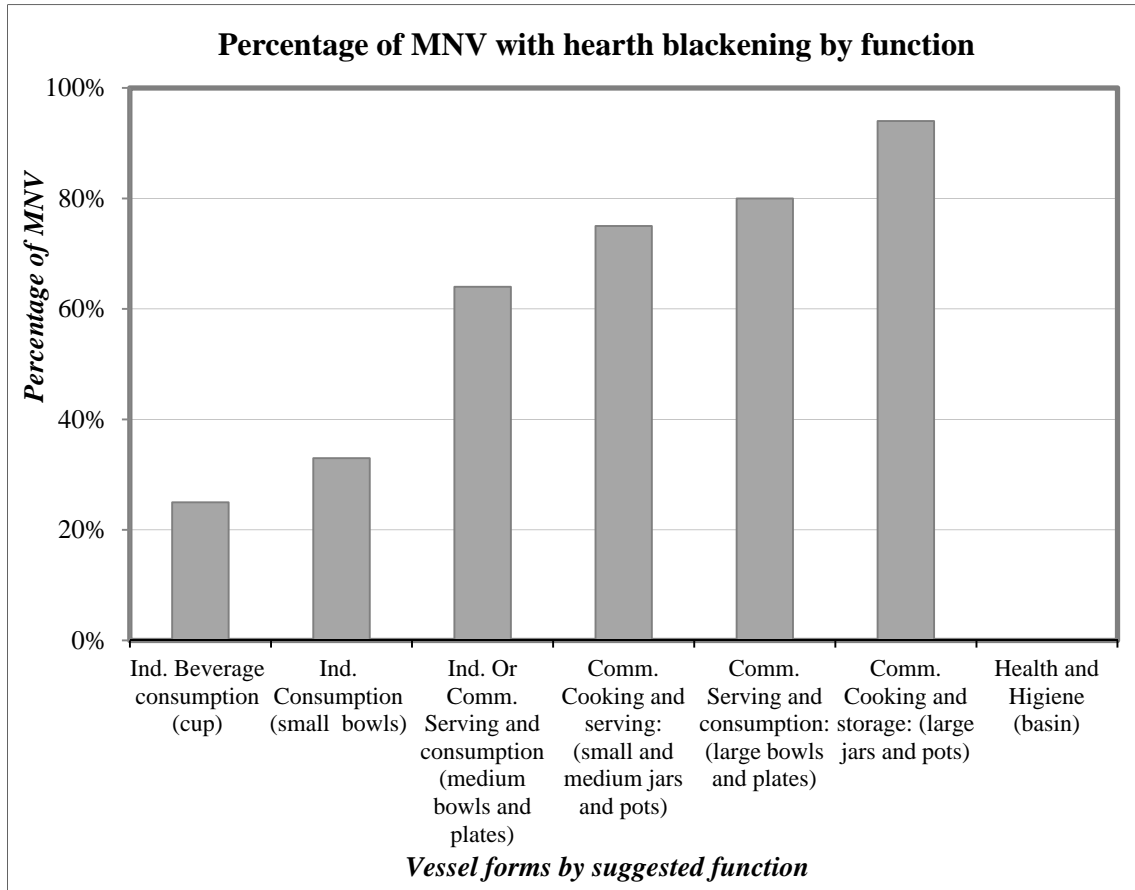
Small-diameter vessels for individual food consumption (cups, simple and
rounded bowls), the medium- diameter vessels for individual- communal serving and
eating (simple bowls, plates and rounded bowls), and large-diameter vessels for
communal serving and eating (simple bowls, plates and rounded bowls) were expected to
be used on the table. My results show cups present 25% of MNV, small simple and
rounded bowls have a 33% of MNV with hearth blackening. Medium diameter vessels
have 64% of hearth blackening, and large vessels have 80% of MNV with hearth
blackening. The results of this test suggest small diameter were mostly not exposed to the
fire, confirming in some sense their tableware function. The group of medium diameter
vessels present a not too differentiate percentage of MNV with and without hearth
blackening representing multifunctional vessels used for cooking, serving and/or eating.

Large vessels for communal serving and eating were mostly exposed to the fire, suggesting a cooking function. The expected vessels to be used for cooking and serving food (small or medium jars and pots) present 75% of MNV with hearth blackening. This means they were mostly used over fire, without excluding the possibility of also being used as tableware. The rest of the forms (large jars and pots) were expected to be more related to cooking activities and storage. This group presents 95% of MNV with hearth blackening, suggesting these forms were indeed more likely to be used over the fire than the smaller vessels listed above.

In conclusion, this test shows that the vessels used almost exclusively as cooking vessels were the large jars or pots (over 95% with hearth blackening). The group of large bowls and plates and small/medium jars/pots were frequently used over the fire (over 65% with hearth blackening), but with a significant portion (35%) were never used over the fire, so were probably used for table service. Medium-sized bowls form a middle group, which could be used without separation of functions between kitchen and table, with 64% of MNV presenting hearth blackening and the remaining 36% without. Finally, the small vessels such as drinking bowls and small simple and rounded bowls are comparable to the group of large bowls and small jars, but in this case they are used less frequently over the fire (25% and 33% of MNV with hearth blackening), with the majority never exposed to the fire. The results of analysing hearth blackening on various vessel categories shows that the small diameter unrestricted vessels (cups, small simple and rounded bowls) could be considered the most likely to be used as tableware.

Individualization

Our next concern is with the individualization of the tableware, expecting the ratio of small unrestricted vessels by number of household members to be at least 1, and a high percentage of individual vessels (small unrestricted vessels) compared to communal vessels (large unrestricted, composited restricted, and restricted vessels).

Since the number of individuals expected to have lived in the household is around three to five, and there are 10 (MNV) small-unrestricted vessels in this collection, two drinking bowls per individual were discarded in the analysed midden.

Examining percentages of vessels according to their suggested function (individual or communal) small-unrestricted vessels for individual drinking or eating (cups and small bowls) represent 12.0% of the collection. Large diameter unrestricted vessels for communal serving represents 6%. Medium composite restricted jars or pots expected for communal cooking and serving represents a 19.3%. Large communal pots and jars for cooking/ storage represent 21.7%. The 39.8% of vessels were multifunctional individual or communal medium bowls and plates (Table 4 and Figure 31).

Table 4. Percentage of MNV by suggested function and type of consumption.

Suggested function	Form (Class)	MNV	% by form	% by function
Individual eating	cup (U)	4	4.82%	
	small bowl (U)	5	6.02%	12.0%
	small rounded bowl (U)	1	1.20%	
Individual or Communal serving and eating	medium simple bowl (U)	16	19.28%	
	medium simple bowl or plate (U)	7	8.43%	39.8%
	medium plate (U)	4	4.82%	
	medium rounded bowl (U)	6	7.23%	
Communal serving	large simple bowl (U)	2	2.41%	
	large plate (U)	1	1.20%	6.0%
	large rounded bowl (U)	2	2.41%	
Communal cooking and serving	small or medium jar or pot (CR)	15	18.07%	19.3%
	small or medium pot (R)	1	1.20%	
Communal cooking and storage	large jar or pot (CR)	13	15.66%	
	large pot (R)	1	1.20%	21.7%
	large jar (U or CR)	1	1.20%	
	large jar or pot (U or CR)	3	3.61%	
Hygiene/ health	basin (U)	1	1.20%	1.2%
Total		*83*		

Figure 31. Percentage of MNV by suggested function and type of consumption.
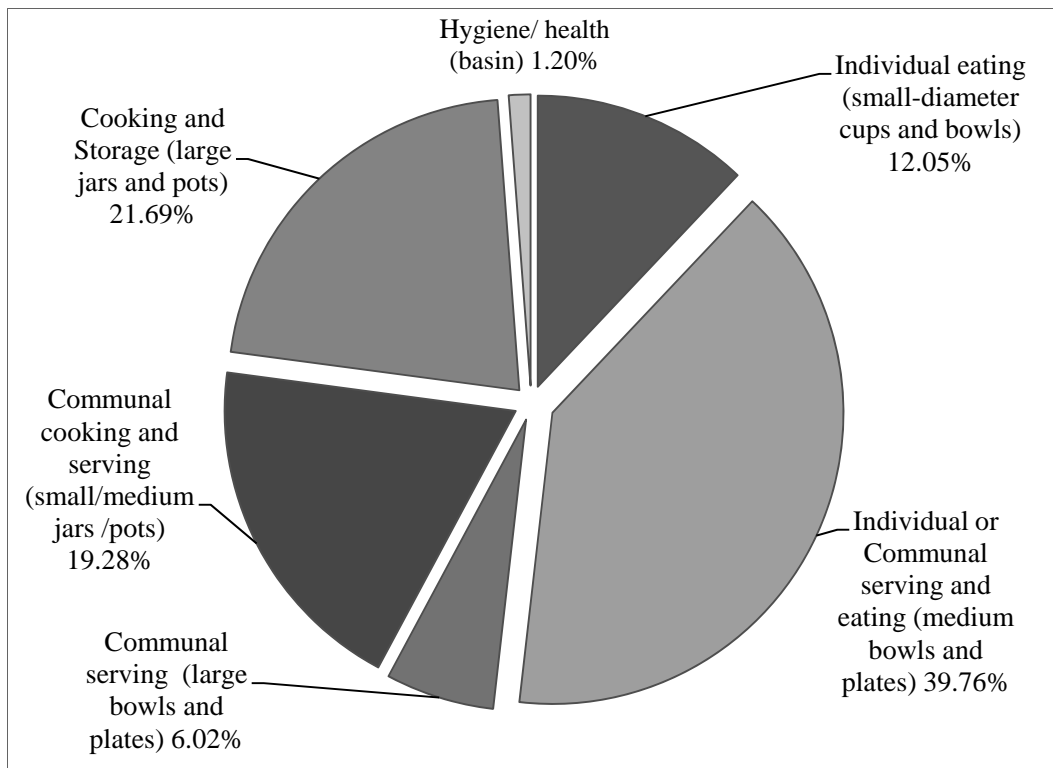
Standardization of tableware items

Lastly, standardization in fabric, treatment of surface, decoration, and morphology within tableware items was expected. Standardization could be displayed within a form (e.g., the cups could be largely made up of one type of paste colour and/or decoration), and between the forms (e.g., place settings, including cups, bowls, and plates with the same fabric and/or decoration). For investigating this process, within each group of forms, the variability of fabric, surface treatment, and decoration. There are 64 items that could be considered tableware, some of them having more than one function. The forms include small diameter eating vessels (cups, small simple bowls and rounded bowls), medium- diameter eating and serving vessels (medium simple and rounded bowls, and plates), large- diameter eating and serving vessels (large simple and rounded bowls, and plates), and medium jars or pots for cooking and serving.   The groups of large unrestricted vessels and medium jars or pots are mostly used over the fire (over 75% of MNV hearth blackened) (Table 5).

Table 5. Tableware included for the standardization analysis.

Suggested function	Form (Class)	MNV
beverage consumption: individual	cup (U)	4
solid food or soup consumption: individual	small bowl (U)	5
	small rounded bowl (U)	1
solid food consumption and serving: individual or communal	medium simple bowl (U)	16
	medium simple bowl or plate (U)	7
	medium plate (U)	4
	medium rounded bowl (U)	6
solid food consumption and serving: communal	large simple bowl (U)	2
	large plate (U)	1
	large rounded bowl (U)	2
cooking and serving: communal	small or medium jar or pot (CR)	15
	small or medium pot (R)	1
TOTAL		*64*

Variability between forms

In examining sherd families 30 MNV are unglazed coarse earthenware (UCE) and 34 MNV are glaze coarse earthenware (GCE). Nine out of 12 forms (medium bowl/plate, large plate, all size simple bowls, medium and large rounded bowls, small/medium composited restricted jars/ pots, small/medium restricted pot) are UCE. Eight forms (medium bowl/plate, medium plate, small and medium simple bowls, small and medium rounded bowls, small/medium composited restricted jars or pots) are GCE. Comparing the UCE subfamilies to forms, seven forms (large plate, all size simple bowls, medium rounded bowl, small/medium composited restricted jars or pots, and small/medium restricted pot) are plain (UCE) and four forms (medium bowl or plate, medium and large simple bowls, large rounded bowl and composited restricted jars or pots) are red slipped (UCE). The group of glazed items (MNV 34) were analysed in more depth, because this group has much more variety of backgrounds and decorations compared to the polished, plain, and red slipped coarse earthenware. Comparing GCE subfamilies to forms, six forms (medium bowl/plate, medium plate, small and medium simple bowls, medium rounded bowl small/medium composited restricted jars or pots) are yellowish-cream glazed (GCE) (Table 6).

Table 6. Comparison between sherd families and forms, standardization analysis.

Sherd families	(U)										(CR)	(R)	TOTAL BY FAMILY
	Flat or hollow	Flat		hollow							G1,2,3		
	bowl or plate	plate		bowl			cup	rounded bowl			jar or pot	pot	
	m	m	l	s	m	l	s	s	m	l	s/m	s/m	
plain (UCE)	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	3	0	6	1	*14*
burnished (UCE)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	*2*
polished (UCE)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	*2*
red slip (UCE)	2	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	1	5	0	*12*
UNGLAZED COARSE EARTHENWARE	**2**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**2**	**13**	**1**	**30**
colourless glaze (GCE)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	*1*
cream glaze (GCE)	1	0	0	0	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	*8*
green glaze (GCE)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	*3*
greenish-cream glaze (GCE)	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	*2*
pinkish-cream glaze (GCE)	2	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	*5*
white glaze (GCE)	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	*3*
yellowish-cream glaze (GCE)	1	3	0	2	3	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	*12*
GLAZE COARSE EARTHENWARE	**5**	**4**	**0**	**4**	**12**	**0**	**4**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**34**
TOTAL BY FORM	*7*	*4*	*1*	*5*	*16*	*2*	*4*	*1*	*6*	*2*	*15*	*1*	*64*

Twenty-two vessels present a design over a glazed background. Four forms (medium simple bowls, bowls or plates, plates, and small or medium jars or pots) present brown designs in the interior and no designs on the exterior. The same medium- diameter unrestricted vessels and cups present brown-green designs (highlighted in Table 7).

Table **7. Variability according to colour of design for the glazed items.**

| Interior designs | Exterior designs | m | | | | s | | | s/m |
		bowl	bowl/ plate	plate	rounded bowl	bowl	cup	rounded bowl	jar/ pot
blue	**blue**	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
blue	**no colour**	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
blue/green	**no colour**	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
brown	**no colour**	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
brown/green	**no colour**	3	2	1	0	0	1	0	0
no colour	**blue**	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
no colour	**brown**	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
no colour	**green**	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
no colour	**white**	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Total		*7*	*3*	*3*	*1*	*3*	*4*	*0*	*1*

In examining the combination of colour of design and background for the glazed items, the yellowish cream with blue design is the only one present in more than two forms (cup, small and medium simple bowls) (highlighted in Table 8).

Table 8**. Variability according to colour of background and colour of design for the glazed items.**

Int. Glaze Backg.	Ext. Glaze Backg.	Colour of Design	*m*				*s*			*s/m*
			simple bowl	bowl/ plate	plate	rounded bowl	simple bowl	cup	rounded bowl	jar/ pot
brown	no colour	green	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
cream	cream	no design	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
		blue	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
		brown	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
		blue	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
		brown/green	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	no colour	white	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
green	green	no design	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
	no colour	no design	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
greenish cream	pinkish cream	no design	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	no colour	no design	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
pinkish cream	pinkish cream	no design	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
		brown	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		blue/green	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		brown/green	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
yellowish cream	green	brown	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	yellowish cream	no design	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		blue	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
		brown/green	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
		brown	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
colourless	colourless	no design	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total			*12*	*5*	*4*	*2*	*4*	*4*	*1*	*2*

Thin lines on the base is a design shared by medium simple bowls, bowls or plates and cups (22 MNV). Thick lines on the rim are designs shared by medium plates and rounded bowls, and small or medium jars or pots. Thin lines on the lip are designs shared by medium and small simple bowls and cups (highlighted in Table 9).

Table 9. Variability according to type of design for the glazed items.

Part of vessel	Type of design		m				s		s/m
			simple bowl	bowl/ plate	plate	rounded bowl	simple bowl	cup	jar/ pot
BASE	Dominant Figure	circle	1						
		flowers						2	
	Complementary designs	thin lines	1	2				1	
		abstract design	1						
		thin lines and abstract design		1					
RIM	Dominant Figure	circle			1				
		flowers	1						
		leaves							1
	Complementary designs	thin lines	1				1		
		curvy lines	1				1		
		semicircles	1						
		thick lines			1	1			1
		thin lines and abstract design			1			1	
		abstract design					1		
LIP	Complementary designs	thin lines	3				2	1	

Variability within forms

Medium bowls/plate, small and medium simple bowls, medium rounded bowls, and small/medium composited restricted jars/pots come in both sherd families (UCE and GCE). Medium plates, cups and small rounded bowls are exclusively glazed coarse earthenware (GCE), and large plates, bowls and rounded bowls, and small/ medium restricted pot are only unglazed coarse earthenware (UCE). Within UCE vessels, small /medium composited restricted jars/pots (MNV=13) come in diverse subfamilies, but the most representative are plain and red slip. In examining decoration of GCE vessels, medium simple bowls is the more diverse form, but the most representative are medium simple bowls with cream glazed or yellowish- cream glazed background (Table 6). Medium simple bowls are the most commonly decorated form and present five different combinations of colour for the designs. The brown-green palette for the design over the glaze background represents medium simple bowls and bowls or plates (Table 7). Cups and small bowls have mainly blue decoration (Table 7). Medium simple bowls present 11

combinations between colour of background and design (under 20%). Cups (MNV 2) are the only vessels that present one combination of colour of background (white) and design (blue) (Table 8). Comparing decoration to forms, the forms that present the greatest variety of decorative designs in bases and rim are the medium simple bowls with three different decorations on their bases (circles, thin lines, and abstract design) and four different decorations of the rim (flowers, thin lines, curvy lines and semicircles). Thin lines represent the decoration of the lip for this form. Medium bowls or plates are mainly decorated with thin lines in the base, small simple bowls with thin lines in the lip, and cups with flowers in the base. These last forms are not numerous (Table 9).

Chapter Summary

This chapter described the results of the ceramic analysis obtained from the 2004 excavation of an 18th century household in the colonial city of Riobamba (Sicalpa). The sample included ceramic fragments from three contexts: the house collapse, midden and house construction. Classification of sherds in families according to fabric, surface treatment, and decorative attributes resulted in an initial division into 99.97% coarse earthenware and 0.03% porcelain. The coarse earthenware group was classified into two families, UCE and GCE, according to attributes of fabric (paste colour, sand size and inclusion distribution). A brown paste with medium-sized, uniformly distributed, sand particles characterizes the UCE. The polished UCE group differs from this family in terms of fabric because it has a red paste colour with fine sand inclusions. The GCE has yellowish red, fine-sized sand and inclusions also distributed with uniformity. Each family was further sub-classified according to surface treatment and decoration. All subfamilies of GCE have thin or thick glazes. The white and cream glazes have the finest

designs compared to yellowish-cream, greenish-cream, pinkish-cream, green and colourless glazes. Diagnostic sherds were classified as unrestricted (U), restricted (R), or composite restricted (CR). Composite restricted and unrestricted classes (CR or UR) were reported according to rim direction and body angle. Vessel size classification within groups allowed me to assign expected functions to each form. Eighty three MNV were quantified in this assemblage. These two classifications were used to analyze the models of separation of function, individualization and standardization of table settings. The collection included small bowls and cups, which were mainly used as tableware based on the low percentage of MNV with hearth blackening. Medium unrestricted vessels were mainly used over the fire, but 40% of MNV did not present hearth blackening, demonstrating the multi-functional use of this group. Large and medium jars and pots were mainly used over the fire, as expected. Testing individualization of table settings resulted in a ratio of 2 vessels per household member. There is also a high percentage of medium bowls and large jars or pots, with the medium bowls indicating combined communal and individual serving and eating, while the large jars/pots are evidence of communal cooking activities. Standardization was analysed by a combination of classification by fabrics and surface treatment. This tableware comes in two fabrics UCE and GCE, highly represented by the plain (UCE) and yellowish red (GCE) subfamilies. Examining decoration of GCE vessels, brown and brown-green designs are present in various forms, blue designs over yellowish cream glaze background is the only one present in more than two forms. Most of the designs shared by glazed vessels are thin and thick lines. The analysis of variability within forms demonstrates most of the forms come in both families, except by medium plates, cups and small rounded bowls that are

exclusively GCE, and large plates, bowls and rounded bowls, and small/ medium

restricted pot that are only UCE. Small unrestricted pots are standardized vessels in terms

of fabric and treatment of surface, but show diversity in background glaze colours.

Medium bowls are also standardized in term of fabric and treatment of surface. In looking

only at decoration, only glazed vessels were analyzed and showed diversity of decoration.

Jars and pots were diverse in fabric, treatment of surface and decoration. Cups are the

most standardized vessel form from Humberto, showing uniformity in fabric, they are

universally glazed. They have diversity in background glaze colours, but standardize in

colour of designs, which are always blue. As a comparison to this archaeological

material, Chapter 5 will present the results of the ethnoarchaeological analysis of the

colonial patterns in modern houses of the Highlands of Ecuador.

Chapter 5:   MODERN FOODWAYS IN TEN HIGHLAND HOUSEHOLDS

Introduction

Chapter 2 describes ethnic categories such as *Indio*, *Mestizo*, and *White-mestizo* which have been used since the colonial period to classify people into dominant and subordinate groups. Individuals assume these categories as a strategy for surviving in the political and economic systems of modern Ecuador. As was argued in chapter 2, I hope to understand the relationships between formal and individual identification of Ecuadorian people and their material culture related to foodways, particularly vessels for preparing, cooking, serving, and consuming food in domestic contexts. This chapter presents the results of visiting ten families from the highlands of Ecuador: three from the Indigenous communities of La Vaqueria and La Pradera (Chimborazo province), two from the town of Alausí (Chimborazo province), one from the town of Puellaro (Pichincha province) and four from the city of Quito (Pichincha province). The data were collected through inventories of their cooking and tablewares, interviews about ethnic identities, daily meals, and the uses of cooking and tablewares, and participant observation of one or two meals for each family (Appendix 6-7).

This study provides the historical, political and geographical context of the communities where people were interviewed, as an important component of the conditions under which the fieldwork was conducted (David and Kramer 2001) (Appendix 6). This ethnographic research consists of only a small sample of Indigenous

and *White-mestizo* families, as the "rich information obtained by participant observation may well be based on work with only a few informants" (David and Kramer 2001:77). In the beginning of the investigation, a total of twenty families were expected to be included in the sample. The test should consist of families in Andean places that officially were defined as ethnically Indigenous or *Mestizo*, according to census results and local history of the sites. Andean cities and some towns in Ecuador share a *Mestizo* identity and any of them could be used as part of the sample. The group of *Mestizo* families were selected from the city Quito and semi-urban town of Puellaro, because I was most familiar with them. Indigenous rural communities of Chimborazo would provide me with the best opportunity to explore foodways in the Indigenous families. I investigated the indigenous families in Chimborazo province that were open to be involved in this study. I was interested in exploring the impact of the legacy of colonial foodways in Ecuador, in creating both Indigenous and *White-mestizo* identity today. Therefore my sample could be reduced or enlarged when the models were identified in both groups. I started with the indigenous families, after five families the models were complete. I stopped at this number, and tested the models for an equal number of Mestizo families.

I also chose units of study with at least one individual from each of three different generations (15-70) represented in the household. The material culture examined in this study is not exclusively ceramics. In rural areas of Ecuador, approximately fifty years ago, *Indigenous* and *Mestizo* peasants still produced domestic ceramics and bought ceramics from specialized potters for cooking and serving food in the household (La Vaqueria interview, August 2010). After World War II, mass production and the process of globalization had a deep impact on Andean domestic ceramics of both Indigenous and

Spanish traditions. Traditional ceramic objects such as cooking pots and bowls competed with plastic and metal vessels that were cheaper and more resistant to breakage. This situation had varying impacts in the highlands of Ecuador. Castillo (2003) states that in Azuay, urban ceramicists turned to innovative styles and designs to strengthen the pottery industry. According to my own interviews, in rural areas of Chimborazo and Pichincha, peasants replaced ceramics with plastic and metal pots, bowls and cups. The growing middle class in cities and towns replaced ceramics with metal pots and plastic vessels in the kitchen, and started using inexpensive Chinese porcelains as tableware. This chapter incorporates evidence of metal, plastic, glass, and ceramic domestic vessels to understand highland urban and rural, Indigenous and *White-mestizo* foodways.

Chimborazo households

The province of Chimborazo, located in the central highlands of Ecuador, is divided into cantons and subdivided into rural and urban parishes. Approximately 60.9% of the total population of Chimborazo lives in rural areas and 30.1% in urban places (FLACSO, 2009). The capital and principal city of the province is Riobamba. Towns such as Alausí, Cajabamba, Sicalpa, and others are also considered urban areas. In the rural parishes, most of the peasants are organized in communities. The *Law of Communities*, created in 1937 *(Ley de Comunas de 1937)*, defines a communal organization as an association of productive entities, such as the households (*ayllu*) that control a delineated territory. These entities are assigned the right to use the lands and water, designate personal duties, organize communal work (*mingas*), and manage interaction with local and national governments (Álvarez 1999). The principal activities

in the rural areas are agriculture and stock raising[17]. Chimborazo is considered one of the

provinces with the highest levels of poverty in Ecuador, according to official government

data (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos 2011). The rural peasants are the most

affected by economic conditions, and some families have migrated to cities such as

Riobamba, Quito, and Guayaquil (Sicalpa August 2010). In 2008, Chimborazo presented

the highest percent of population in Ecuador who self-identify as Indigenous people

(Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo 2008). Approximately 37% of the

308.661 inhabitants of Chimborazo province are recognized as Indigenous and are

referred to as *Puruháes* (Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador 2010,

Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos 2011). Puruhá is one of the Highland

Quichua *pueblos*[18] (*Quichuas de la Sierra*) of Ecuador. In Chimborazo, 65% of the

Indigenous population are evangelical Christians. The evangelical Indigenous movement

in Ecuador is more than an ecclesiastical group; it is a political organization created as a

response to ethnic exclusion from national political participation (Andrade 2004, 2005;

Lyons 2001; Muratorio 1980).

La Vaqueria and La Pradera

Three families were visited in La Vaqueria and La Pradera (Figure 32). One of the

Vaqueria houses had five members living in the house, but six people who ate together

daily: father, mother, two daughters, and a son living in the house and a married daughter

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[17] Most of the lands are high-altitude grasslands called *paramos* (26.1%) used for sheep pasturage, and natural grassland (18.8%), cultivated grassland in alfalfa (*Medicago sativa L.*) (18%), and crops (17.5%) such as maize (*Zea mays*), barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum)*, *habas/*fava beans *(Vicia faba)*, chochos *(Erythrina corallodendron)*, carrots *(Daucus carota),* onions *(Allium cepa),* peas *(Pisum sativum),* and wheat *(Triticum aestivum)* (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos 2011).
[18] For a description of pueblo, see chapter 2.

also eats with them (six member family, La Vaqueria)[19]. The other family from this

community has four members: father, mother, and two adolescent children (a daughter

and a son) (four-member family, La Vaqueria). The La Pradera family consisted of a

grandmother with her youngest son, his wife and two pre-school children (La Pradera

family). They live in a sector called Ligligpunku in the community of La Pradera. Her

house is also a household business (*fonda)* for selling food to agricultural labourers

(*peones*). These two communities are located in the canton of Colta, 2 km. west of the

town of Sicalpa at an altitude of 3.400 to 3.500 m. above sea level[20]. Sicalpa and the

neighbouring parish of Cajabamba are considered urban parishes of the Colta canton, at

the scale of towns. The political category of urban is mostly due to the presence of the

canton administrative building, the principal trade activities of Colta region in the Sunday

market, and their closeness to the Pan-American Highway that connects Riobamba and

Guaranda provincial capitals (Figure 32).

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[19] The families from Chimborazo and Pichincha decided to keep their names confidential. I refer to them by
number of members and their location (Appendix 8).
[20] *Villa La Union, (1:50.000) ÑI-VE1* map. Source: Instituto Geografico Militar, Ecuador (IGM)

Figure 32. Studied households at La Vaqueria and La Pradera, Chimborazo Province
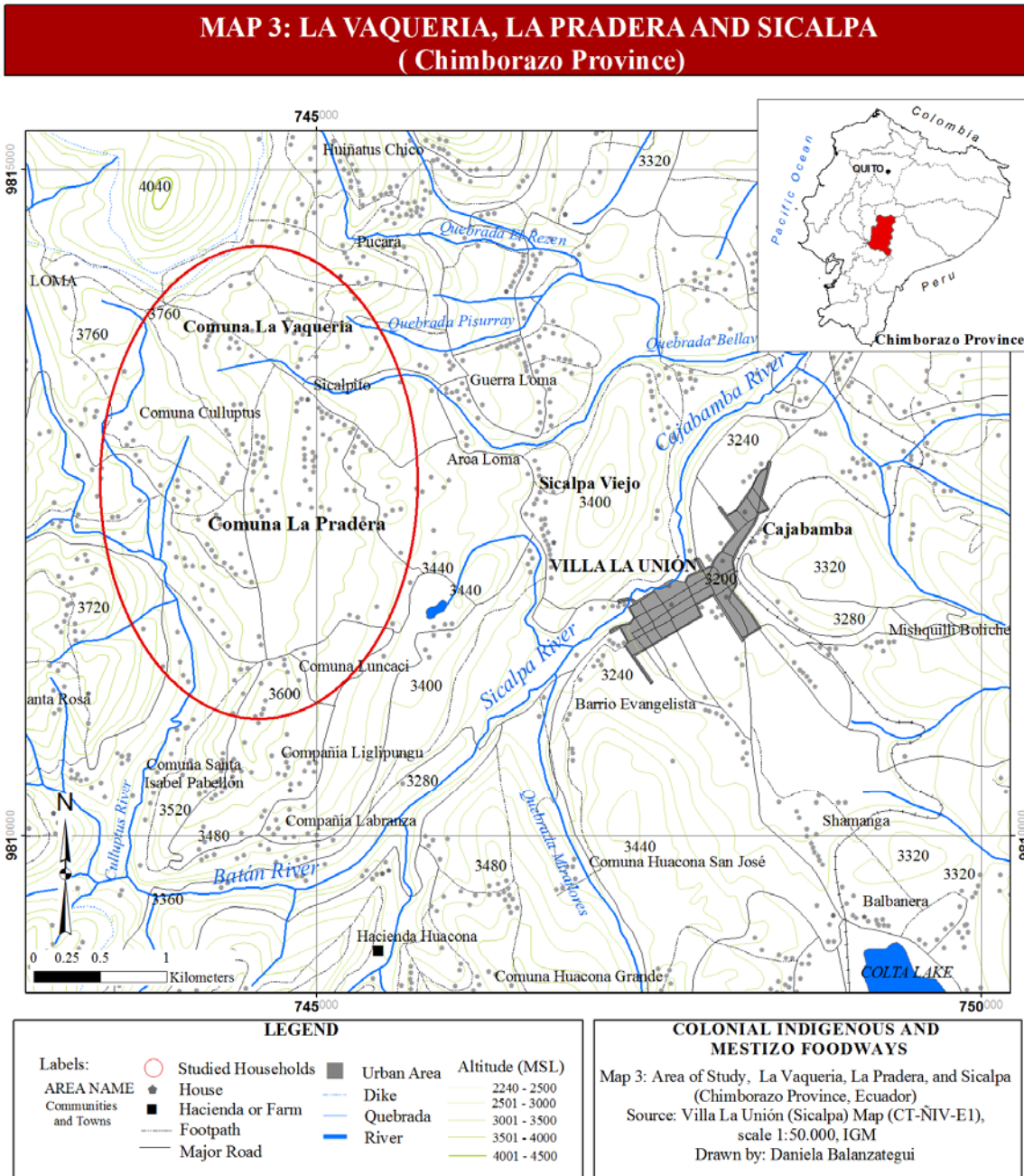
La Vaqueria and la Pradera are rural areas where most of the population practice agriculture, sheep herding, and other stockraising. Most of the agricultural production in the communities fulfils household needs, sometimes with a surplus that is sold in the Colta market. All family members focus on farming activities, with even the youngest

member is assigned small tasks around the household. Today, children go to school in Cajabamba or Sicalpa, a one-hour walk away; however high school education is uncommon, because adolescents are more useful for farming activities. Women as young as fourteen years of age work in domestic service in Riobamba and Quito. Therefore, families prefer to enrol adolescents in distance education to finish their high school diploma. In both families, the parents had expectations of their children's interest in going to university. However, most young women and men are married at age seventeen or earlier. The Colta Puruhá ethnic group is located in the canton of Colta, including Sicalpa parish. Colta is the second-largest canton in the province with the highest percentage of people speaking Quichua as a first language (67%) (Instituto Ecuatoriano de Estadísticas y Censos 2011). Both villages started as rural peasant associations of around twenty families during the 1970s[21], and both have grown to around 60 families today. These locations were politically recognized as communities in the late 1990s[22].

Most of the women in La Vaqueria and La Pradera wear Puruhá Indigenous clothing including, outer garments called *ruanas* and *pachalinas* in bright colors, sometimes combined with modern skirts and shoes. Men use *ponchos* with a hat as part of their Indigenous outfit, but most adolescents do not wear *ponchos* anymore. The two families of La Vaqueria recognized themselves as Indigenous people, arguing their traditions and in particular the preservation of language as the principal reason to identify them as such. However, one of the informants of La Vaqueria affirmed, "we speak a mixture of Spanish and Quichua and today our language is not pure". They also insist,

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[21] La Vaqueria community leader, personal communication.

[22] The Communities Legislation was created in 1937 *(Ley de Comunas de 1937)* for organizing the rural populations in Ecuador, however most of the highland Indigenous peasants were still subjected to landlords *(hacendados)* until the application of the Agrarian Reforms (1960-1970). Cervone and Rivera (1999) affirm the legislations of highlands Indigenous communities were registered between 1960 and 1990.

"we teach *Quichua* to our children in order to preserve our culture" (La Vaqueria testimony). Another reason they are considered to be Indigenous people is their membership in Indigenous community and political associations. The older woman from La Pradera calls herself a *Mestiza*, and refers to the rest of the Indigenous population as "*ellos" (them)*. She marked her difference from the Indigenous population throughout the whole interview, talking about her professional sons. She wanted to mark her difference from the rest of the Indigenous population by emphasizing that she comes from a city on the coast. In both communities most families are evangelical Christian. In the village of La Vaqueria, of sixty families, forty are evangelical and twenty are Catholic (La Vaqueria testimony). One of the interviewed families from La Vaqueria was evangelical while the other two families are Catholic. The religious differences are seen as related to ethnic differentiation. As Andrade (2004, 2005) [23] points out, the rejection of Catholic religion is tied to a rejection of perceived indigenous defects, such as alcoholism, domestic violence, and lack of education. Evangelical conversion is proposed to erase this *indianidad* and creates a modern Indigenous individual that conserves some traditional practices. People from Cajabamba and Sicalpa mostly self- identify as *Mestizo*s, because they do not speak *Quichua*, even if they understand the language; they do not wear Indigenous clothing; and they live in centralized, in contrast to more isolated, Indigenous communities (Sicalpa and Cajabamba interviews). According to these interviews, Cajabamba and Sicalpa are more *Mestiza* compared to La Vaqueria, while in turn La Pradera is more *Mestiza* than La Vaqueria (Sicalpa interviews). People from Sicalpa,

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[23] [...] the image of modern people that progressed and liberated themselves from the ideological and economic oppression of *mestizo*s, Catholic church domination, and old religious beliefs and practices [...] they were new people, transformed into God´s children by Evangelical conversion [….] With this [transformation] social and ethnic differences vanished. Those remaining, including white people […,] did not have salvation (Andrade 2005, personal translation).

Cajabamba and Riobamba picture the Indigenous communities of Chimborazo as highly conflictive. "These people [Indigenous people from La Vaqueria and La Pradera] will not allow you even to walk in their fields and you have to risk being punished by their local laws" (Sicalpa interview). Sicalpa individuals also remember how Indigenous communities became organized in the 1990s and claimed their rights over land that belonged to Sicalpa community members.

The community has a nuclear distribution of houses around a school at the centre. Since most of the population is evangelical, the communities do not have churches, with evangelical churches only built in the last ten years. Houses close to the centre, where most of the population live, are organized in small households that have small farm fields (*chakras)* close to the house, and larger farm fields located ten minutes to one hour by foot from the centre. Each household has three to five houses where families related by kinship live. Most of the households are formed by brothers, each one with their nuclear families of four to seven members; the parents of the brothers live in an independent house or in one of the brothers' houses. The households participate in communal work or *minga,* and inside the household, nuclear families help each other with activities such as animal husbandry, agriculture, and construction. They talk about their helpers as their workers (*peones*) who occasionally received remuneration. The houses in the centre are built of adobe with zinc roofs, *bahareque* (mud and *paramo* straw used to create wattle-and-daub) and thatched roof, or a mix of adobe walls and thatched roofs (Figure 33). Small field-houses in more distant fields for resting are *bahareque* buildings. The adobe building is a standardized model of architecture subsidized by the housing project, managed by the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing of Ecuador (MIDUVI)

Figure 33. House with mix of adobe walls and thatched roofs construction, Cruz Loma, Sicalpa

Each nuclear family has at least two household buildings, an adobe building with a large room where the gas stove is located, and two or three bedrooms next to the kitchen; and a bahareque or adobe building for a traditional hearth or wood-fired kitchen, and storage for grain and cooking pots. In some cases the building is divided into one large kitchen with gas stove and a wooden bench or a small table for eating; however it is more common to sit on the floor or a large bench without using a table. Outside, these houses also have an area for washing clothes, vegetables, and dishes (Figure 34).

Figure 34. House with two buildings, one for the kitchen and another for bedrooms, Cruzloma, Sicalpa.

The building containing a traditional hearth is where the family stores grains, ceramic

pots for preparing the fermented drink made from corn (*chicha)*, metal flat griddle

(*tiestos)*, big metal pots for feasting, and other old pots used only for animal food

preparation, and where they raise around 20 guinea pigs. This traditional building is also

a door to their memories. The parents remember how they used to sleep on the ground

close to the hearth and drink hot infusions for warming up during cold nights (Figure 35).

Figure 35. Hearth inside traditional kitchen, La Vaqueria.

The La Pradera building was a house, before it began serving as a fonda. This house has a

large kitchen and one large room that was formerly the bedrooms, but today serves as the

dining room for the workers. There is also an internal yard, a small building with two

bedrooms, and one bathroom.

Alausí

The town of Alausí (Alausí canton) is located at 2410 metres above sea level (Paukar and Samaniego 2008) and is a geographical point of connection between Chimborazo province, the coastal region, and Cañar province (Figure 36). "Alausí is an inter -Andean basin which was primarily a grain producing agricultural region, with important pockets of livestock raising" (Clark 1998: 52). As with Cajabamba, Alausí is the administrative center of the region. During the Liberal Period (1895) the region became economically important through the construction of the Guayaquil-Quito railway (Clark 1994) to the coast. Throughout the Republican Period, Alausí was also the focus of rural immigration for public construction jobs, with migrants settling in the periphery of the town. Therefore, the population is a combination of migrants from the coastal region, Cañar, and local people who recognize themselves as *Mestizo*s. The two families that were visited in Alausí are part of the Indigenous evangelical association in the province. However, in contrast to the people from La Vaqueria and La Pradera, most of the family members do not dress in Indigenous clothing, and speak Spanish as their first language. The two houses are located in the periphery of Alausí. This neighbourhood was part of the agricultural areas of the town and dominated by an Indigenous population fifty years ago (Alausí interview). One of the families of three members still recognized themselves as Indigenous people, according to their political affiliation and their ascendency (three-member family, Alausí). The other family consists of a woman migrant from the coast and a man from the area (two-member family, Alausí).

Figure 36. Studied household at Alausí, Chimborazo Province

MAP 3: ALAUSI (Chimborazo Province)

LEGEND

Labels:
- House
- AREA NAME — Hacienda
- Towns
- Footpath
- Major Road
- Railway

- Urban Area
- Quebrada
- River

Altitude (MSL)
- 2001 - 2500
- 2501 - 3000
- 3001 - 3500
- 3501 - 4000

COLONIAL INDIGENOUS AND
MESTIZO FOODWAYS

Map 3: Area of Study, Alausí
(Chimborazo Province, Ecuador)
Source: Alausi Map (CT-ÑV-A3), scale 1:50.000, IGM
Drawn by: Daniela Balanzategui
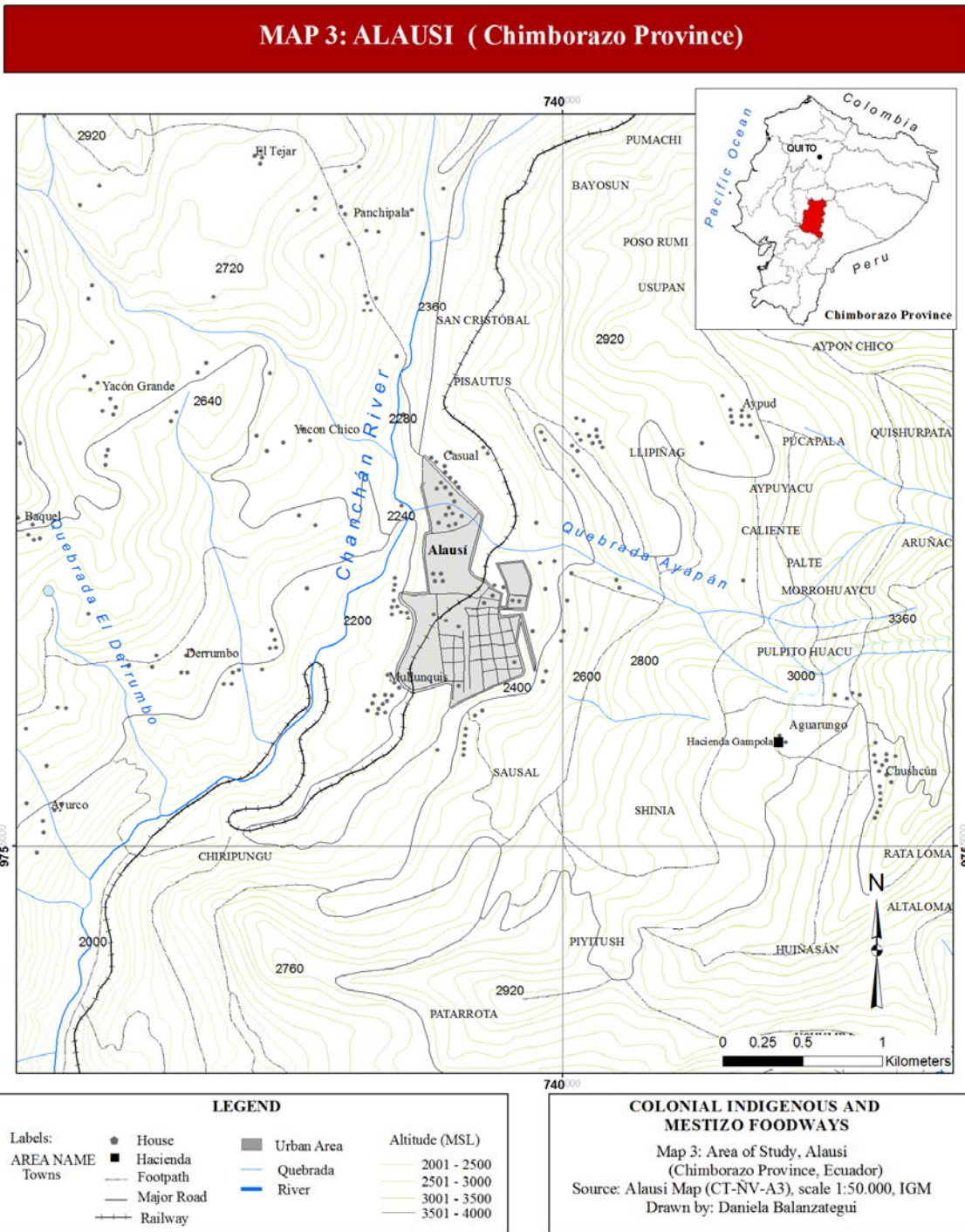
The vessels[24]

At least one of the oldest members (40 to 70 years old) of the *La Vaqueria* families and the Indigenous family from *Alausí* remember their mothers making domestic pottery in the household hearth, such as small bowls for eating (*plato de barro* or *de tierra)*, and small pots for cooking. Twenty years ago, the practice of making pots for household use decreased because pottery from Azuay had a significant impact on the market, and most people started using cheap ceramics sold in the Colta and Guamote markets. After the introduction of plastic and metal and their spread to rural communities, they chose to use these because of their long use-life. Since Alausí is closer to the province of Azuay, pottery today is still acquired from Azuay and Cañar, but is not part of daily cooking activities. The three member family from Alausí still uses the ceramic *tiesto* for roasting, but the rest of the objects are basically metal and plastic. For the families in La Vaqueria, these objects, especially the ceramic pot for *chicha* preparation (Figure 37), have become objects representing their memories, a gift from their parents that is used only on special occasions. However, to cook in ceramic pots from Azuay is considered a traditional culinary practice among middle-class *Mestizo*s in Chimborazo and other highland provinces. In a public institution in *Alausí*, one of the employees, a forty year old woman, who recognized herself as *Mestiza*, affirms she uses ceramic pots differently from Indigenous people, because her pots are well maintained and always clean, and the food she prepares is more traditional than Indigenous food.

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[24] For a summary of each household inventory see Appendix 9

Figure 37. Chicha pot (*Olla de barro para chicha*),La Vaqueria.

| 0 | 20 | 40 |

Pots (*olla or manga*[25]) are unrestricted vessels made of stainless steel and come in three sizes. Large pots (olla grande) have a height of 38 cm and a mouth diameter of 45 cm and are used for feasting and other activities that involved an extended number of individuals (15-20) (La Vaqueria, La Pradera interviews) (Figure 38).

Figure 38. Large pot, La Vaqueria.

| 0 | 20 | 40 |

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[25] *Manga* is the *Quichua* name for pot

Medium pots (21 to 30 cm diameter and 20 cm height) are used to prepare food for 5 to 6 persons. Medium pots could be exclusively for cooking during the preparation of a meal, and on a different day could have various functions, such as preparing, serving, and consuming food (La Vaqueria, La Pradera interviews) (Figure 39).

Figure 39. Medium pot, La Vaqueria.

Small pot, also called *guagua olla* or *ollita*, has its specific use as in the medium pots. One pot of the smallest variety of a height of 12 cm and a mouth diameter of 16 cm was used just for cooking infusions (La Vaqueria, La Pradera interviews) (Figure 40).

Figure 40. Small pot, La Vaqueria.

Daily meals

The use of vessels depends on the activities that people perform during the day. According to these families, daily meals have consisted of the same food throughout the last fifty years, except for the introduction of bread, rice, and noodles. The morning meal takes places between 5 and 6 am. Women prepare a bowl of barley beverage or oatmeal and lunch for taking to the fields. Lunch takes place around noon in the field. Every person brings their own lunch (*kukayo*), or personal medium-size pot (*la tonga)* with tubers, corn, fava beans (*habas*), or roasted *maize* or *habas* made on the *tiesto* and transported in a plastic bag (Figure 41).

Figure 41. La *tonga* pot, La Vaqueria

Around five or six pm, all family members meet to have dinner. Preparing daily food is an activity that involves most of the members of the family. Kids have duties such as washing vegetables, carrying small containers with waste to the animals, bringing water for cooking, and cutting vegetables and potatoes. Cutting potatoes in the proper way, taking the skin off the potato in the thinnest possible way is a task that is taught to

children from the age of four or five. Sometimes a married daughter comes to cook at her parents' home and takes some of the prepared food home for her children and husband; however, it is most common for women to prepare their own food at home, because that is one of the traditional tasks of married women. In some cases women are brought to the husband's house to learn the proper way to cook for their husband. In the La Pradera house, the young woman with two children (ages five and two) lives with her husband's mother, who commented that her daughter-in-law is finally learning how to cook. According to women, men did not formerly help in domestic duties, however today they are getting involved (Figure 42). One of the reasons is that evangelical conversion encouraged men to help their wives with household activities. One of the fathers affirmed, "I do help in the kitchen, and sometimes I cook by myself, and I think I am different from the rest of the husbands of the community, because I have learned this from church". However, the Catholic family also involves the father in helping serve the food. In contrast, young men do not seem enthusiastic to help; they are given outdoor tasks such as checking the animals and feeding them. Today women participate in field labour, because of the high level of male migration to the cities for wage labour, and male involvement in political tasks that mean they have to be out of the community a few days each week. Therefore, women no longer spend the entire day cooking. In contrast, old women talk about spending their time at home cooking almost all day and only doing field tasks close to the household.

Figure 42. Man helping his wife cooking *cuy* (guinea pig) for dinner, La Vaqueria.

Preparing dinner

The preparation of dinner takes an hour to an hour and half. The first step is to set the fire, in the gas stove or the hearth, then put on a couple of medium pots to boil water. Washing and cutting vegetables, bringing some from the field or from other households, and flour and rice from the store is the beginning of the cooking. Most of the meals are made in two to four medium and small pots. For example, in making a barley soup and barley sweet beverage, one pot is used for boiling water and adding the barley. After 15 minutes of boiling, the mix is separated into two pots, using the initial one for the soup

and another for the sweet beverage. The combination of a solid food and a beverage, such as rice or spaghetti, and a *colada* or barley beverage also requires two medium or small pots. A meal that consist of soup, rice or spaghetti, tea, juice, or coffee will require at least three pots. The use of pots for specific tasks is also common, such as a pot for sweet and another for salty foods. There are no specific pans for frying meat or or other food, because the boiling pots are used for this task, and fried food is not part of the regular diet. The rest of the medium or small pots, large plastic and metal tubs (*baldes*), and small and large bowls are used for other activities that do not involve exposure to the fire, such as carrying waste, transporting water, washing dirty dishes, *etc*. (Figure 43).

Figure 43. Plastic and metal tubs, La Vaqueria.

The mean number of medium and small pots in these houses ranges from five to eight. Large pots are mostly used for feasting or preparing food for large groups of twenty to thirty individuals. Therefore, large pots are not commonly used as part of daily activities, except when the family is in charge of cooking for the household *peones.* Barley soup and a sweet beverage is the most common meal amongst these families. In

Alausí Maria went through the "old fashioned" process of preparing barley soup and

machica (sweet barley potage), as most of the women prepare it when they have the time

(Figures 44a - 44e). Barley grains are roasted in a ceramic flat griddle (*tiesto*), and then

sifted in a wooden or metal sifter (*sedaso*), ground inside a sack, and then finely ground

in the kitchen grinder. They are then sifted again, and boiled in water. The boiled barley

is separated into two small pots: one for soup and the other for sweet barley. This was the

only demonstration of traditional barley flour preparation, as the rest of the families

purchased, or pre-prepared ground and roasted barley flour.

Figure 44. a) roasting barley, b) sifting, c) grinding, d)sifting, e) boiling, Alausí.

Barley soup can be replaced by soup made from noodles, rice and vegetables (*arrocillo*), quinua, or potatos (*locro*) (Figure 45). Most of these soups are prepared in small pots. Soup is also replaced by *curiucho;* a mix of boiled tubers, such as oca *(Oxalis tuberose),* mashua *(Tropaeolum tuberosum)*, melloco *(Ullucus tuberosus),* and/or potatoes, fava beans and maize, all cooked in one small or medium pot (Figures 46). In some families meat, such as chicken or pork, is included in the diet once or twice a week, but meat is more common for feasting and guests.

Figure 45. Medium pot cooking *locro*, La Vaqueria .

Figure 46. Medium pot serving *curiuchu*, La Vaqueria.

The sweet barley beverage can be replaced by a densly sweet mix of barley flour and sweetened infusions (*machica*). Sweet beverages are prepared in medium or small pots. There are also sweet dense beverages such as *coladas*, sweet rice (*arroz de leche*), a thin oatmeal, and others. Another beverage variation is an infusion of *tipo (Minthostachys mollis)*, *toronjil /* lemon balm *(Melissa officinalis)*, *menta* / Pennyroyal (*Mentha pulegium*), *hierba Buena/* spearmint *(Mentha spicata)*, hierba luisa / lemon grass (*Cymbopogon citratus*) or other highland medicinal plants; or coffee with sugar prepared in small pots. Each pot has a specific use with a name that changes according to the food.

For example the sweet pot (*olla de dulce*) is used just for sweet beverages and potages; the salt pot (*olla de sal*) is only used for cooking soups and boiling tubers and vegetables.

Serving and consuming

The meal that brings together most of the members of the family is dinner at 4 or 5 pm. Time is a key factor in daily food habits; having meals at the right time is always a rule. People do not have food on different schedules; they are required to eat only at particular times, even if they are hungry between meals. For dinner, the family meets in the kitchen, the largest room in every house. It will have a table surrounded by simple benches or chairs. This represents and has replaced the traditional hearth kitchen, where the family used to sit around the hearth with their backs against the walls for support. Most families now have a table for receiving guests. In some cases instead of a table, there are benches and small stools around the kitchen for seating, with the centre of the kitchen empty. The father always sits on a chair or bench at the table, while women sit around the gas stove or stand up next to the cooking area, eating during food preparation, but stopping to finish their meal only after serving the father and guests. In one of these houses, women waited until we almost finished our meal, despite my insistence that we eat the meal together. One woman confirmed that she had already been sampling the food during preparation. When the food is prepared it must be served immediately. Delays are unacceptable because serving food that has grown cold is not considered appropriate. The challenge is to eat the food as it is still being prepared, and to finish as fast as possible so the last part of the meal is still warm. After finishing the first bowl of soup the mother or father will ask you to have another plate of soup, and the guest's refusal would be disrespectful. The role of the guest is to finish at least two servings, as a way to

demonstrate that the food was well-prepared, and as a way to thank the family. The

father takes part in serving food to the guests, but decisions about correct bowls and

spoons for each person are ultimately made by the mother, who is in charge of arranging

the food on the plates. The male head of household and the guests are served larger

portions, and will also receive a portion of meat or more potatoes in their soup. The most

common vessel for serving and consuming food is the small bowl.

Analysis of Models

Separation of uses

Bowls are used for preparing food, serving, and consuming. For example, the

same small bowl was used for preparing a guinea pig and also for eating the meal (Figure

47).

Figure 47**. Use of the same bowl for preparing guinea pig and also for eating, La Vaqueria**
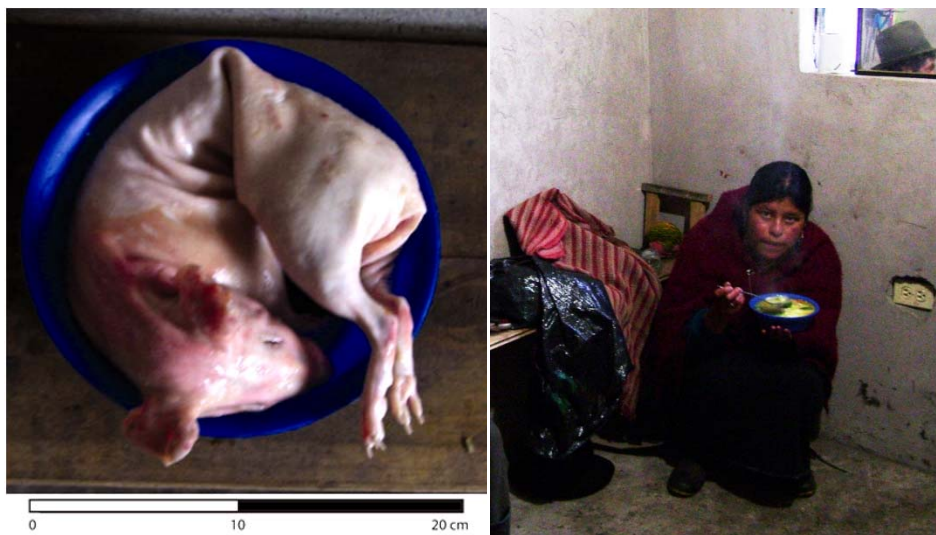
Bowls are used for preparing and eating food, spoons are for eating but also for mixing

the soup during the preparation. Pots are mostly for cooking; however they can also serve

for preparing food and can replace plastic containers in food storage functions, especially

when there are not enough plastic containers in a household. In these houses, pots are also used to serve meals for women. In one house the women ate communally from a single pot, while in the rest of houses women sampled from several pots during cooking, especially of solid foods. Sometimes women mix leftover soup and rice in one pot and eat.

Individualization

In all families, the most common first course was *machica* served in a cup or small bowl with a spoon. This course can alternatively be an infusion/tea or *colada.* During this part of the meal the tableware items are all individual; people do not share the same spoon or the same bowl. If there are guests and there are not enough bowls, the guest will be given preference. Then a small bowl or *plato hondo* of barley soup, *locro*, or noodles is served, using the spoon from the previous course. Two or three servings are typical, as this is the main course of the meal. A cup or mug of infusion, sweet barley, coffee or colada accompanies the soup (Figure 48).

Figure 48. Individual table setting, including a flat plate, *plato hondo* **and a spoon, La Pradera.**

When the meal consists of both soup and solids both are served in the small bowl or *plato hondo*. The table-setting is individualized, in that each member of the family usually has their own plate, spoon, and cup. Infusions are served in different bowls or cups than the soup or *machica.*

Communal

The *curiucho* (mixed tubers)*, tostado* (roasted maize), pieces of meat, and other dry foods are usually eaten directly from a big bowl or pot, with the hands. A large bowl is placed on the table and people share it communally. In the six member family at La Vaqueria, when *curiucho* was served, one portion in a large bowl was placed on the table for the father and guests, while a second portion was left in the pot, for the women to consume. This act could be considered as a communal model for eating that involves at least two large vessels, one bowl and one pot (Figure 49).

Figure 49. Communal model of eating curiucho from one medium pot, La Vaqueria.

When meals are served to work parties in the fields, people share their ration of food with the rest of the workers. During *mingas* (communal work events), the community provides

a plastic container or a metal pot with *chicha*, and a pot of *curiucho*. In both cases a blanket is used to carry the *kukayo* (lunch), and the blanket is placed on the ground and solid foods placed directly on it for sharing. Another version of this pattern is a combination between communal and individualization eating, including the use of large , medium, and small bowls for displaying food that will be served on individual plates. For example, pieces of meat can be displayed in a large bowl for adding to personal bowls of soup.

Standardization

Most vessels for cooking, preparing, serving, and eating are standardized, industrially-produced, wares. Bowls, containers and pots are made with the same dimensions and come in a set. However the decision of buying these vessels in a set does not seem important for women, because they buy bowls and cups of different colours and designs. The plastic and metal bowls are diverse in colour and design and it seems people enjoy having a variety of colours in their set for eating (Figure 50). One of the women stated that she likes having brightly coloured plates to give life to the food. Spoons seem more standardized, because they are sold in groups of six to twelve. However, over time spoons become lost or broken, and a mix of two or three styles at a meal is common.

Figure 50. Plastic cups in different bright colors, La Vaqueria.

Quito and Puellaro families

Five families were visited in Quito and Puellaro that considered themselves racially *White-Mestizos*. The Quito families have between three and four members and are nuclear families; in one case the maid was also considered to be part of the family. The Puellaro family had six members, including the nuclear family and a grandmother. Puellaro is a town (rural parish) in the Canton of Quito, in Pichincha Province, 70 kilometres northeast of Quito. The Alchipichi neighborhood, where the interview was carried out, is located between 1,600 and 2,200 m. above sea level. Puellaro is located in the deep canyon of the *Guayllabamba* river and "consists of small mesas upon which are located residential and agricultural fields" (Smith 1994: 82) (Figure 51). Puellaro has 5817 inhabitants with 92.4 % of the population considered to be *Mestizo*s. The principal activities are agriculture, cattle ranching, and breeding chickens. The principal agricultural goods are *chirimoya (Annona cherimola*), *tamarillo (Solanum betaceum)* and Andean beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris)* (Smith 1994). Most houses are cement and zinc buildings and have basic services, at least in the town itself. The Puellaro family lives in a "semi-urban" environment, in a central town with close connections to the city of Quito. Many people from Puellaro migrate to Quito for school or work, either temporarily or permanently. The people that have stayed in Puellaro maintain an economy based on agriculture. The family from Puellaro have lived in their home for three generations, with the current generation beginning to experience migration to Quito (one adult male, 42 years old).

Figure 51. Studied household at Puellaro, Pichincha Province

MAP 5: ALCHIPICHI AT PUELLARO (Pichincha Province)
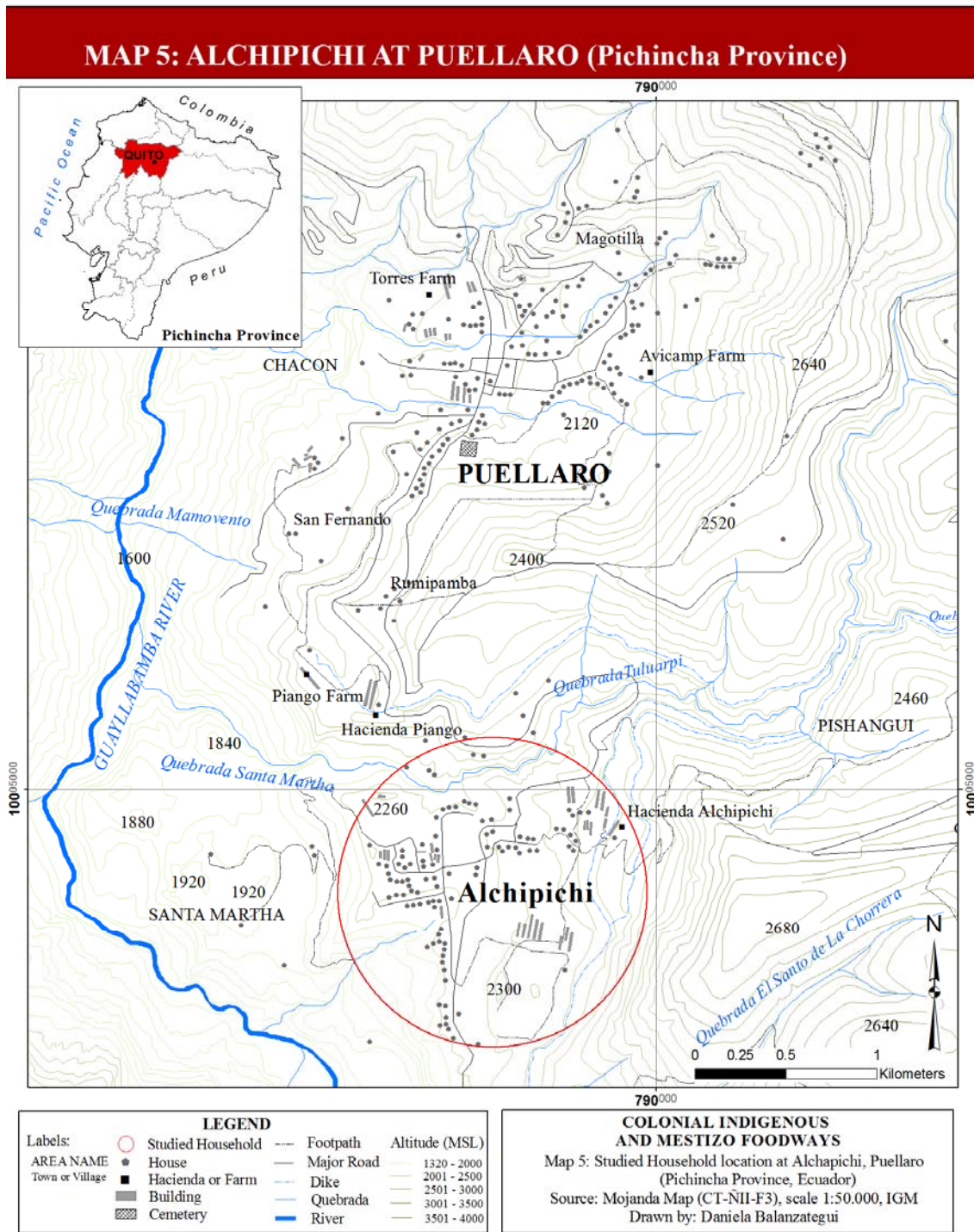
Quito is the capital of Ecuador, located in the province of Pichincha, at 2850 metres

above sea level. The city runs north-south through several river valleys, and is divided

into a number of sectors including "the North," "the South," the "Historic Centre," and

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the Valleys of Cumbaya, Tumbaco, and Los Chillos. The four families interviewed are all from middle-class Quito neighbourhoods (Figure 52). Quito is still a typical highland Ecuadorian city, with colonial ideas about social differentiation that persist in the minds of local society. Skin-colour is one of the markers used to differentiate people as *indio, Mestizo, and white*. Terms such as *longo* and *cholo*[26] are also used to define lower-class people with dark skin that live mostly in "the South" and the peripheral neighbourhoods of "the North." They are perceived as the rural Indigenous population that migrated to the capital and brought rural manners with them (Quito, interviews, Espinosa 2003). Wealthy *whites* make up the upper social class, and are located in the central portion of "the North" and in some neighbourhoods of the adjacent valleys. The remaining population are largely middle class, and a mix of people who consider themselves as *Mestizos* and *whites*, defining themselves as separate from Indigenous people (Quito, interviews). The Historic Centre is today mostly a representation of the colonial urban city; however until the 1960s most of the middle and upper class in the city lived in the Historic Centre. Three of the interviewed families originally came from the centre of Quito, but moved to northern neighbourhoods in the sixties to acquire modern houses (Quito interviews). The fourth family is a group of upper-class migrants from Riobamba and Loja, who came to study at the Central University in Quito during the sixties and ended up staying in the north of Quito.

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[26] During the modernization of the Quito city en the beginning of the XX century, the labels of longo and cholo appeared as part of the development of a cultural group related to a process of cholification and blanqueamiento, because some Indigenous and *mestizo*s had more access to upper status according to their economic position. The *cholo* and *longo* incorporate elements from the *White-mestizo* culture and also rescued Andean practices. Whites instead responded with a negation to the Andean, Indigenous ethnicity (Espinosa 2009).

Figure 52. Studied household at Quito, Pichincha Province

MAP 6: QUITO AND SANGOLQUI
(Pichincha Province)

COLONIAL INDIGENOUS AND
MESTIZO FOODWAYS
Map 6: Area of Study, Quito and Sangolqui (Pichincha Province, Ecuador)
Source: Amaguaña Map (CT-ÑIII-C2), El Quinche Map (CT-ÑIII-B1), Nono Map (CT-ÑIII-A2),
Quito Map (CT-ÑIII-A4), Sangolqui Map (CT-ÑIII-B3),
scale 1:50.000, IGM
Drawn by: Daniela Balanzategui
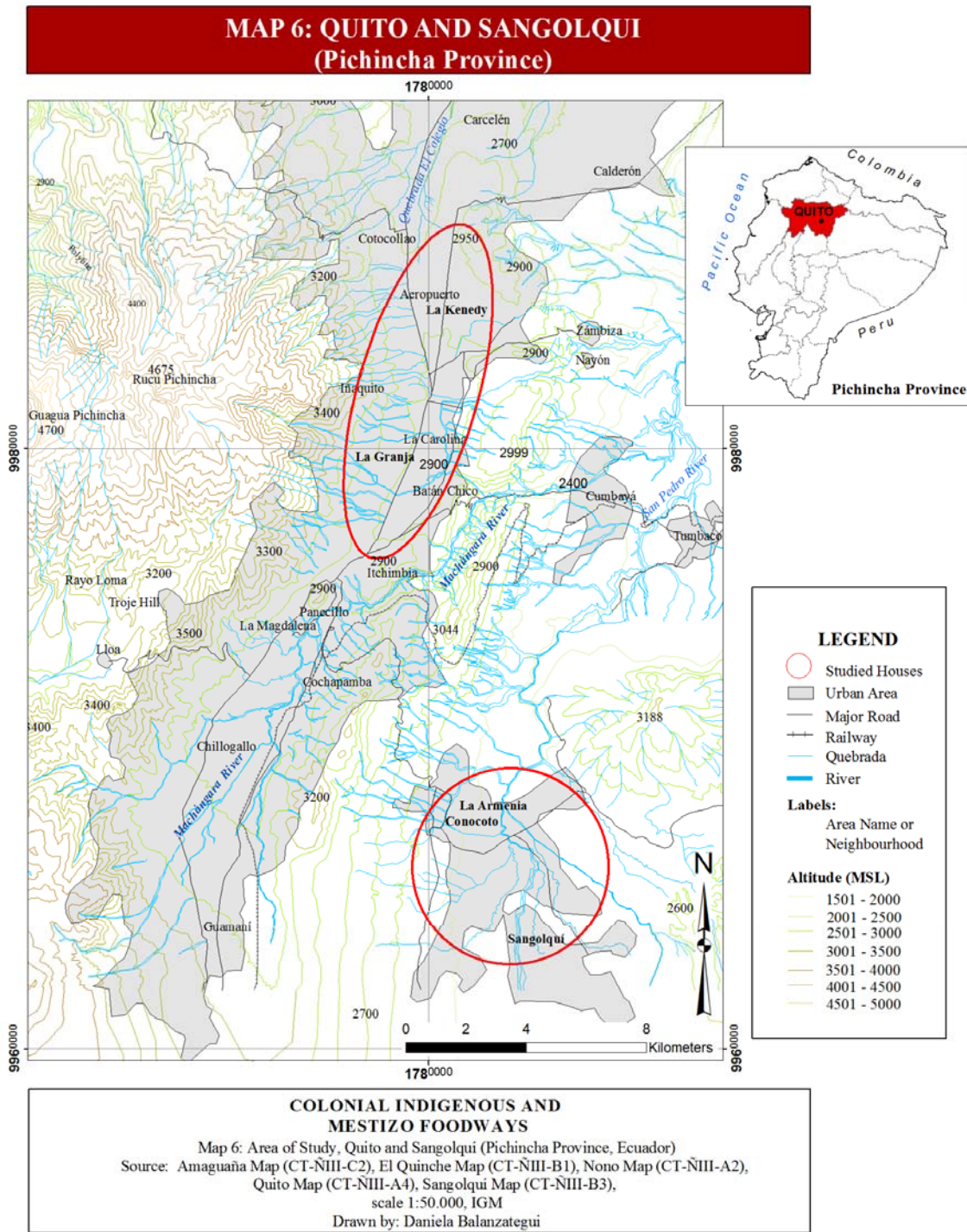
Almost all the members of the five families considered themselves as *Mestizos* or *White-mestizos*; none of these families considered themselves as Indigenous people. There is an important aspect of performance tied to identifying as *Mestizo*, marking a differentiation between poor Indigenous people and middle class *Mestizos-whites*. The category of *Mestizo* partly defines a distance from the "*humilde*" (underprivileged) Indigenous and people with "better possibilities for living" (Puellaro, testimony). Therefore, in the view of these *Mestizo*s, *longos, cholos* and *indios* are rural peasants who practice agriculture and urban immigrants who work in construction, domestic service, and manual labour. Only one of the interviewees considered the concept of *Mestizaje* as not based on cultural traits; he said "to be a *Mestizo* is not about how you behave, it is more about who you are; it is something naturally acquired by the people you came from" (42 year old male, Puellaro family). One of the families in Quito has an Indigenous maid from *Cayambe* (a rural parish in Pichincha province) who migrated to Quito around twenty years ago and has been working for the family ever since. She is considered a member of the family. This form of domestic labour is tied to a particular role for rural Indigenous migrants; the family considers her as their "child," and feel it is their duty to teach her, so that she can become more educated and civilized. During interviews the host family repeatedly brought up their role in teaching the maid better manners and hygiene. All the interviewed families had a maid at least twice over the last 30 years, most of them Indigenous rural migrants, and the rest largely poor migrants from the coast. It is only within the last fifty years that the colonial practice of having homeless Indigenous people and orphaned babies raised by urban upper-class families has ended.

The differentiation between Indigenous people and the *White-mestizo* population is strongly tied to language, clothing, and manners. All interviewed families speak Spanish and most of the interview subjects emphasized that they speak "good Spanish". For instance, people from Loja are known as individuals who speak "true Spanish" *(español de verdad)*, because they use more vocabulary and also their accent is clearly different from the rest of the people from the highlands. To incorporate *Quichua* words and intonations in the letter [r] are considered inappropriate ways of speaking Spanish, and individuals that speak in this way are considered vulgar and uneducated (Quito, interviews). "European," racially white, civilized manners are markers of differentiation between *Mestizo*s and Indigenous people. In these families is also clear that the *White-mestizo* population strongly differentiates between pre-Hispanic and modern Indigenous peoples. They are proud of their own pre-Hispanic Indigenous ancestry, but ashamed of modern, oppressed Indigenous people. One of the interviewees stated , "we are *Mestizo*s, half Indigenous and half European; however after hundreds of years of mixing, we, the *Mestizos* are something totally different and we are largely European, because we have chosen to live as white society does, instead of remaining as Indigenous people" (Quito, 70 year old woman). The Indigenous people today are perceived as rebellious groups that attempt to blur social differentiation through education and political power. For the *Mestizo*s civilized and "European" ways of acting reinforce their role as a dominant group.

The vessels [27]

"What makes us different from Indigenous people is our way of eating and the items displayed on the table and how we use them. If some object is Indigenous, this is just an ornament and part of our folklore, because this is not part of our lives" (70 year old woman, Quito). There is a perception of Indigenous traditions in the use of *cucharas de palo* (wooden spoons) and some *platos de barro* (ceramic plates) as serving dishes, but these objects are ornamental (70 year old woman, Quito). None of the Quito families recalled their parents making pottery or even eating from earthenware bowls. According to their testimony, traditionally gas or wood-fired cooking was done with metal pots. Plastic was not as common as it is today, and metal cookwares and tablewares were the principal objects for cooking, preparing, and eating food fifty years ago. Each family has conserved at least one of these objects as an antiquity (Figure 53).

Figure 53. Metal jug, Quito family.

The family of migrants of Loja and Riobamba used refined-white earthenware forty years ago, and they have kept some of the ceramics that the mother`s grandmother gave to the family in the 1940s. These include English refined-white earthenwares that are only used

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[27] For a summary of each household inventories and typology see Appendices 10 and 11

for special occasions, and have a Grindley sailboat ship mark (1936-1954) (Figures 54a
and b).

Figure 54a and b. English refined-white earthenware, Quito family.

a)   b)
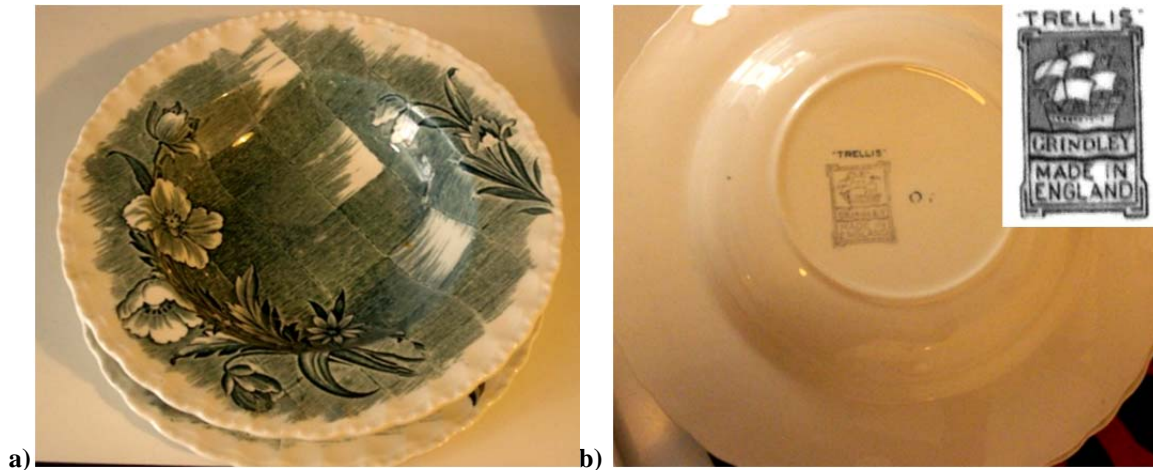
In contrast, a sixty year old woman from the Puellaro family remembers her

mother using earthenware ceramic bowls for eating that were bought from *Otavalo*

traders, and her family also had a wood fire for cooking. She called these the

"traditional" plates and kitchen. A 42 year old member of the Puellaro family remembers

her grandmother preparing food in a hearth called a *tulpa*. When the gas cooker appeared

30 years ago, the Puellaro people still used *tulpas*. Only in the last 20 years have gas

stoves become more accessible to purchase , however some peasants still use *tulpas* for

cooking. Puellaro family members learned to eat just with a large spoon, and never used

knives and forks until most of the members family migrated to the city. The Puellaro

family remember daily meals dominated by barley potages. Today their principal meal is

still just one item for lunch or dinner; soup or meat with rice and salad (*seco*).

Conservative table manners are also part of the memories that Quito family members

qualify as part of their "culture". The use of knife and fork is taught from an early age,

around four to five years old. "Indigenous people have manners that are not allowed in

western society, eating from one plate and with the same spoon; the most remarkable is that they eat with their hands" (47 year old woman, Quito). All of the interviewees affirm that they learned table manners from 3 to 5 years old, especially using a knife and fork. These families remember a variety of dishes in daily meals, dominated by potages and meat dishes. Lunch or dinner is remembered to always have consisted of three courses: soup, a dry plate (mostly rice, meat and salad), and juice.

Cooking, serving and consuming

Cooking is a female activity in all houses, especially where a maid is contracted to work as the cook. A typical Indigenous maid learns all the *Lojano* dishes, which the female head of household has taught her, although she also incorporates a few Indigenous recipes. In the morning, all families have coffee with milk and artisanal bread, sometimes with fresh cheese. Plain coffee or coffee with milk is highly sweetened with sugar and small quantities of instant coffee. Children used to be allowed to drink coffee from the age of five to six years as if coffee were an infusion. The principal and heaviest meal, which brings together the family, is either lunch (one family) or dinner (four families). Family members complain if a soup is repeated during the week and expect the mother to serve a different combination each day, having around twenty varieties of potages. The most common soups are made with boiled meats and vegetables with added flour, grains, or noodles. Soup is prepared in a medium soup pot Quito families identify their daily unrestricted pots (20-25 cm diameter) as large pots, and medium pots of 15 cm diameter (Quito interviews). The second dish is rice with meat and salad, sometimes replaced by spaghetti, or boiled creamy grains instead of meat or salad. The rice is always prepared in a medium or large rice pot or an electric rice cooker. Refrigeration allows

cooked rice to be prepared every two to four days. Finally juice is prepared with fresh fruits in season (Figure 55).

Figure 55. Preparing daily meals at urban house, Quito.

At seven pm, or after dinner, most of the families have "*el cafecito*", the same combination of coffee or tea and artisanal bread with cheese as is served at the morning meal. Two of the families do not have dinner and replace it with the *"cafecito"*.

Analysis of models

Separation of uses

The urban Quito *Mestizo* houses have two or three floors, and two or three separate rooms for the kitchen, dining and living room on the first floor, two to four bedrooms on the second and third floor, and two or three bathrooms. In two cases the kitchen also has a small dining table for daily meals. This separation is reflected in the uses of objects; cooking vessels are only for cooking and never for eating or serving. Therefore, a variety of serving dishes, bowls, glass bakeware, and water jugs, all of them

in different sizes and materials, appear for displaying food at the table. In an informal meal, most of these serving containers are made of plastic, However for a formal dinner, porcelain containers and glass jugs are used.

Communal and semi-communal

Eating communally from a single dish is considered an inappropriate way of consuming food for some members of Quito families, however eating with the hands from a serving dish is allowed when *corn*, *habas*, or *chochos* are involved. A semi-communal way of serving in large plastic or porcelain containers, with food transferred to individual plates, is the common practice. In some families there is a tradition of bringing salad to the table as individual servings.

Individualization

The rules of table service are managed by the mother and daughters; however it is the mother who is the ultimate arbiter of correct table service. Even in cases where men help in the kitchen, it is not usual in any of these families to see men cooking as part of daily activity. Lunch or dinner, as mentioned consists of three courses: a soup *(plato hondo)* served in a big flat plate *(plato tendido)*; rice and meat served in a flat plate, usually placed under the soup plate during the first course, and a glass of juice. Therefore, each person has one soup plate, one flat plate, a glass, one fork, knife and spoon for lunch or dinner. Breakfast and evening *cafecito* is always served in an individual way, each person having a cup, a small plate for the cup, and tablespoon. (Figure 56 and 57)

Figure 56 Individualized pattern at Puellaro household

Figure 57. Individualized pattern at urban household, Quito family

Standardization

The standardization of table settings is something important for these families even in everyday meals, especially for dinner. If the tableware set is incomplete the items will be replaced (Figures 58-59). However, in most of the families' drinking glasses, mugs, and cutlery are mixed objects from two to four sets (Figure 60). Standardization is not exclusive to tableware; some cooking pots are purchased and used as sets of the same design and colours, in a set of different sizes (Figure 61).

Figure 58 Occasional standardized table sets, Quito family

Figure 59 Tableware: standardize coffee set, including white ceramic cups and small plates, Quito family

Figure 60 Tableware: no-standardized set of glasses for daily use, Quito family

Figure 61 Cookingware: small, medium and large pots and pans, Quito family .

Summarizing the models

According to interviews and participation in daily meals and their preparation in urban *Mestizo* households, the variety of forms represents the separation of tableware from cooking items. The etiquette of using separate serving items increases the number of forms such as serving dishes, jugs, and salad bowls. However these items also represent a group of dishes that is used for preparing food and also displaying food at the table. Therefore, the great variety of these items implies a separation between cooking and eating, but at the same time a shared use of these items for preparing and serving food. Two rare cases of food consumption from objects that have been exposed to the fire were found: a pot for *curiucho* in the La Vaqueria family, and some metallic mugs in the urban houses used for making and drinking infusions and other beverages. The Quito families' largest cooking pots are between 20 and 26 cm in diameter, corresponding to the group of "medium pots" among the Indigenous families, who see these as having a capacity for cooking a meal for ten individuals. Among Indigenous households the largest pots range from 31 to 45 cm in diameter, medium pots from 21 to 30 cm, and small pots under 20 cm diameter. The Puellaro family is different from the Quito families because they recognize they categorize the largest pots in the same way as the Indigenous Chimborazo families. The three families that use the largest pots are also the families that have more communal activities, such as feasting, cooking for workers, and also large families. The largest pots for these families are defined as communal objects in some sense. Medium pots and medium bowls or serving dishes are the markers of shared consumption of a plate of highland beans and corn. Medium pots and medium bowls are equally represented in all the families. Urban families own more individual items overall in

comparison to the Chimborazo Indigenous families. The families from La Vaqueria, La Pradera, and Puellaro have the largest pots from all houses (Figure 62).

Figure 62 Total number of individual items vs. Large pots per family.
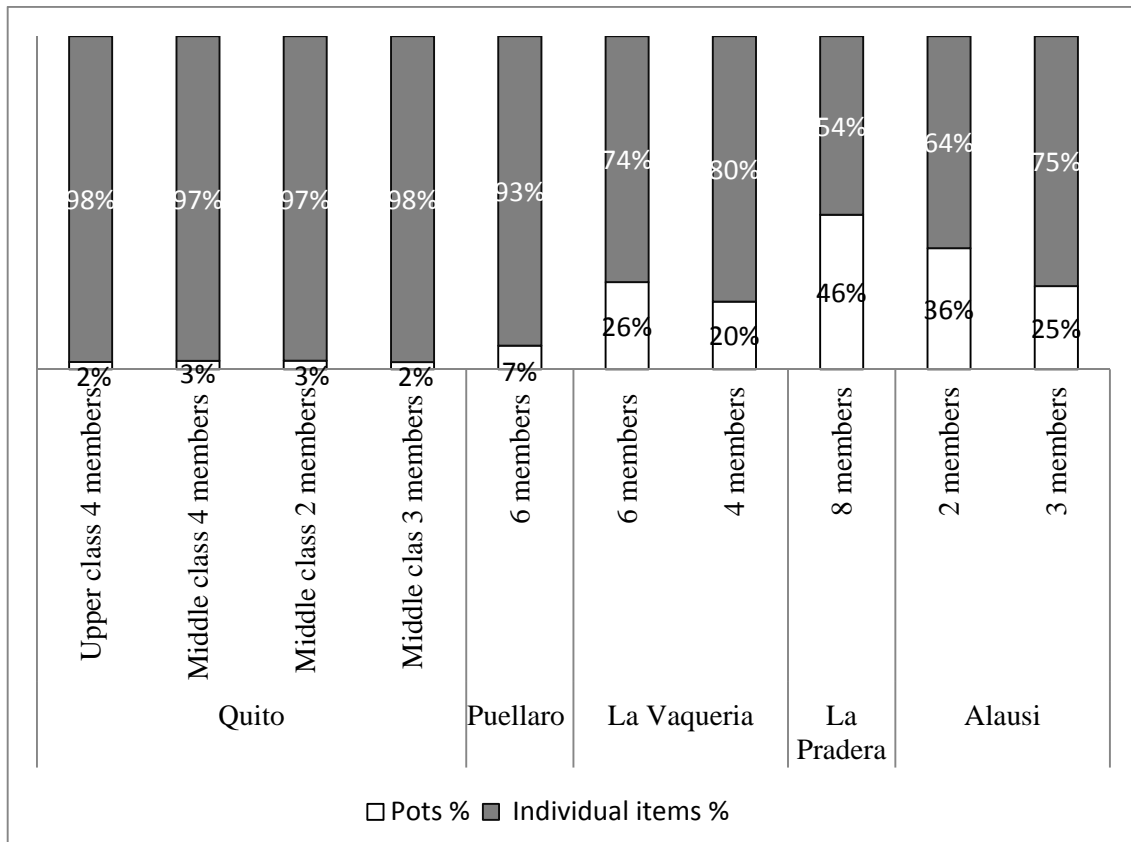
The standardization of objects is clear in the designs and colours of tableware for the urban families. In contrast for rural families there is more variation in the tableware in terms of colours and styles. Standardization is strongest for cups and plates in urban families, while mugs and cutlery are not standardized in colour and design, especially in those used in everyday meals. Standardization in terms of pots was also found in urban families using the designs and colours as the main marker of symmetry, rather than size. Finally in terms of fabric, in the Chimborazo homes there is no restriction in using

tableware made of different materials, such as plastic and metal, and in one case the use of *platos de losa* (porcelain plates) was mixed with the plastic and metal bowls.

Chapter summary

This chapter uses the information from ten houses in the provinces of Chimborazo and Pichincha to examine foodways in modern Indigenous and *White-mestizo* houses. Family interviews demonstrate the racial tension between Indigenous and *Mestizo* groups, particularly when *Mestizo*s use "Indigenous items" as ornaments, and specify that these are not part of their culture. Urban *Mestizo*s use "western" practices in order to mark their difference from Indigenous people. Indigenous people's serving rules and food habits are categorized as poor manners by most of the *Mestizo*s. Table manners thus become one way that *Mestizo*s categorize Indigenous people as uncivilized. Beyond these cultural issues, it must also be recognized that economic factors influence the numbers of food service and preparation items owned by each family. Sharing and feasting, cooking for various families during the *minga* and communal events are monthly activities in Indigenous communities. This communal model is represented in the emphasis on large cooking pots. In contrast, the symmetry of items and individualization of table settings in the *White-mestizo* families of Quito reflects the formality of even everyday activities, and the ability to acquire a large number of place settings in order to replace an entire set when some of the pieces are missing or broken. This is in strong contrast to the extensive storage of large cooking pots in the Chimborazo Indigenous houses, where the emphasis is not on plates or bowls for table service, but instead on large cooking pots at hand for when shared meals require them.

Chapter 6:   DISCUSSION

This chapter compares the ethnographic descriptions of Indigenous and *White-mestizo* foodways, analysed in chapter 5, and the results of the archaeological analysis in chapter 4, in order to understand 1) the role of daily practices in building ethnic identities, 2) domestic material culture as a signifier of ethnic identity, and 3) the three measures used to evaluate colonial foodways. This discussion does not pretend to make a direct analogy from modern patterns of eating to colonial models. Even if the introduction of longer lasting and cheaper plastic and metal vessels replaced the use of ceramic vessels limiting the analogy to a more relational comparison, the members of the modern and 18th-century households share socio-political pressures that defined their daily practices and allowed me to compare them. During the 18th century, the Bourbon Reforms increased political pressure to separate the subordinate classes from the elites, such as making Indigenous people obligated to serve as *mitayos* and pay taxes to the crown (e.g., 18th century census, see Chapter 2). The increasing population in the 18th century attempted to improve their economic, intellectual, and social relations with urban upper class Spaniards and *Criollos*. These artisans living in the centre of the city, Indigenous descendants with Spanish names, and Indigenous intellectuals, attempted to escape the condition of being classified as "Indian" in the colonial system. They adopted European styles of clothing, spoke Spanish, and often denied relationships with their Indigenous relatives. Their claims and new aspirations created tension between themselves and the elites.

The Humberto Site collection presented the opportunity to analyse a case of an 18th century Indigenous or *Mestizo* family living through this tension. This archaeological site is located in the colonial San Blas neighbourhood, an Indigenous parish of urbanised artisans. Modern Indigenous and *White- Mestizo* families also live social and political pressures to ethnically belong and to classify others. Testimonies from *Mestizo* families have demonstrated there is a racial tension between both groups, particularly when *Mestizo*s consciously use and declare their identification with "western" practices and rejection of Indigenous ones in order to separate themselves from the latter group. *Mestizo*s categorize Indigenous serving rules and food habits as poor manners (Quito and Puellaro interviews). Some *Mestizo*s think they use material culture differently from Indigenous people, even if they are "traditionally Indigenous objects". A 40 year old *Mestiza* woman affirmed "my [coarse earthenware] pots are well maintained and always clean, and the food I prepares is "more traditional" than Indigenous food made in these pots" (Alausí interview). *Mestizo*s identify themselves as a civilized group characterized by a style of life that is partially defined by good hygiene, education, and high economic status.

The Chimborazo Indigenous families construct their identities partially through conscious decisions to preserve Indigenous traditions. Even though the introduction of plastic and metal has decreased, and in some cases entirely replaced, the use of coarse earthenware vessels, Indigenous families celebrate their Indigenous identity preparing traditional recipes in metal pots and using plastic bowls to serve them. Ethnic tensions are the context of domestic discourses and practices that need to be introduced when interpreting the archaeological record of colonial households. Deagan (2004) presented

the thesis that Indigenous women who worked in colonists' households, introduced the preparation of native food in Indigenous cooking pots to Spanish and *Criollo* houses. This suggests that Spanish and *Criollo* people more at risk of losing their status preferred to use traditional European tablewares. Particularly in the highlands of Ecuador, comparable to other Latin American countries, such as Colombia and Peru, this ethnic tension between *Mestizo*s and Indigenous people suggests a historically cumulative process that is still practiced in daily activities and represented by the preservation of traditional items for Indigenous and *Mestizo* families. The rural Indigenous families of Chimborazo emphasized their memories of Indigenous traditions through preserving emblematic cooking vessels, such as large coarse earthenware pots for maize beer (*chicha*) and feast foods; and toasting pans for barley-based recipes, such as *machica* and barley soup. In contrast, the *White-mestizo* families have also conserved metal or porcelain objects as nostalgic reminders of the past. These objects are gifts from their parents and are used only on special occasions, or as ornaments. The Chimborazo families have also conserved traditional hearths in adobe buildings to remember the pleasures of cooking on the wood-fired hearth with ceramic vessels, and sleeping around the kitchen fire. They also emphasize memories of eating from coarse earthenware bowls made at home by the women, fifty years ago.

One of the objectives of this thesis was to understand if explaining the high frequency of a particular type of ceramic (coarse earthenware vs. majolica) considered as ethnic markers, represents change or continuity of Indigenous or Spanish practices. The inventories from the modern houses have showed *White-mestizo* families prefer ceramic, porcelain and glass tableware in contrast to Indigenous families preferring metal and

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plastic vessels. The metal pots are also clearly differentiated between both groups, with stainless steel and iron pots more frequent in Indigenous houses, in contrast to enamel over steel, Teflon, and aluminium in *White-mestizo* houses. These preferences are largely due to economic factors; middle and high status families from Quito have more ability to acquire more expensive and fancier items compared to rural peasants. *White-mestizo* families acquire large quantities of place settings made in Chinese porcelain, imported ceramic, and glass in order to replace an entire set when some of the pieces are missing or broken. However, other factors enhance this preference; porcelain marks the formality of even everyday *White-mestizo* family meals. Using porcelain on the *Mestizo* table at least once a week implies sophistication. *White-mestizo* families also reject the use of objects made in the "Indigenous way", because they are not "clean or well maintained".

Indigenous people are mostly concerned with keeping their memories, using and insisting on buying new earthenware. There is not a rejection of the use of materials used by *Mestizo*s, but instead Indigenous households define their uses differently, such as using ceramic plates for cutting vegetables, and holding cut food during food preparation. It is possible this is happening because of low economic ability to acquire other kinds of cooking and tablewares, but Indigenous families insisted that their main desire was to buy more earthenware pots and *tiestos*. The Chimborazo Indigenous families preferred using metal and plastic vessels instead of porcelain and ceramic vessels because of the durability of metal and plastic. However, they also have a preference for the preservation and reuse of coarse earthenware pots, *tiestos* and bowls. The preference for porcelain and coarse earthenware by *Mestizo* and Indigenous families respectively, seems to characterize each group, reaffirming in some sense that certain ceramic fabrics and styles

are ethnic markers. The case of Alausí *Mestizo* informants showing interest in using small coarse earthenware pots and pans made with the form of modern cooking ware, shows that people can change the meaning of these materials (used as ethnic markers), from Indigenous to folkloric. The ethnoarchaeological results question the use of high percentages of certain ceramic fabrics and styles as representative of cultural change or continuity; instead, low percentages of ceramic fabrics or styles can be important items in preserving the memories that construct ethnic identity. In my study most of the 18th assemblage consisted of ceramics, which were initially grouped by fabric, surface treatment and decoration. The majority of the collection (76% of the total weight of sherds, at 12 kg), are undecorated coarse earthenware (UCE), the other four sherd families, red slipped (UCE), polished (UCE), burnished (UCE) and glazed coarse earthenware (GCE) and porcelain represent the remaining 34 % of the assemblage. In terms of previous comparative research in the Spanish colonies, this house would be interpreted as an Indigenous house with a minimal presence of European style ceramics (coarse earthenware vs. majolica or glazed coarse earthenware, see Introduction and Chapter 2). The small quantities of glazed cups (MNV 4) or the single basin could be considered under the idea of preserving artefacts (e.g., metal teapots by *White-mestizo*s and coarse earthenware pots and *tiestos* by Indigenous families). Rodríguez-Alegría (2005b) has also interpreted evidence of low quantities of majolica sherds in a low status *Criollo* house, as a preservation of objects that represented their previous high status. Increasing the archaeological sample of peasant and elite houses dating to the colonial period in Latin America will provide a more complete interpretation.

The ethnoarchaeological examination of the preparation, serving and consumption of food by modern families has also contributed to developing a better understanding of the colonial models. My ceramic analysis of the colonial domestic assemblage, and ethnoarchaeological research in modern households, the three proposed measures of "European manners" introduced during the colonial period are evident in the colonial assemblage and in current practices of urban houses. In examining separation of functional vessels, previous approaches have considered the percentage of hearth blackening by ceramic types (using sherd counts) as representative of exclusive vessel function, assuming each type is related to a particular form. My analysis indicates 67% of the weight of Unglazed Coarse Earthenware ceramics and 44% of Glazed Coarse Earthenware ceramics present hearth blackening; showing both UCE and GCE are mostly represented by exclusive functions of UCE cooking vessels and GCE tableware. These results are discussed by the introduction of the morphological analysis and ethnographic evidence. Urban *White-mestizo* households of Quito use cooking vessels only for the preparation of food and never for eating or serving as tableware only for table use. The etiquette of using separate serving items increases the number of forms such as serving dishes, jugs, and salad bowls. Increasing serving items, in number and variety, results in isolating tableware items only for table use and pots for cooking. These serving items are multifunctional, a group of dishes that is used for preparing food and also displaying food at the table.

In Indigenous houses the majority of objects are multifunctional. Pots are mostly for cooking; however they can also be used for serving food, transporting (*tonga*), or eating. Food consumption from objects that had been exposed to the fire was present,

such as the pot for *curiucho* (La Vaqueria family). Indigenous families also use small and medium bowls and cups for preparing food, serving, and consuming, presenting similar quantities of medium bowls, cups and small bowls. In conclusion the increase of serving items is correlated to functional separation, represented particularly for medium bowls.

Functional separation was tested in the colonial assemblage, resulting in a low percentage (less than 35%) of MNV of small-diameter unrestricted vessels (cups and small simple and rounded bowls) having hearth blackening. A high percentage (over 75%) of MNV of jars or pots and large unrestricted vessels had hearth blackening, demonstrating their use as cooking- storage vessels. Medium-sized bowls form a middle group that could be used without separation of functions between kitchen and table, with 64 % of MNV presenting hearth blackening. Relating these results to the ethnographic models, suggests medium-sized bowls for preparing and serving could increase the potential of having more vessels only used at the table and pots exclusively for preparation of food. However the practice of using small-diameter unrestricted ceramics over the fire, even in low percentages, demonstrates that these objects were not exclusively used as tableware. The high percentage of MNV (80%) of medium-sized jars and pots with hearth blackening confirms their use over the fire, with an expectation that they were used for both cooking and serving. The results of this analysis and comparison with the ethnographic models suggests a combination of multi-functional serving items, and single function jars and pots, and the unusual presence of cups with hearth blackening.

The investigation of individualization of tableware was introduced by Deetz (1977) and developed by subsequent archaeologists who compared the MNV of

individual (small-diameter ceramics, especially cups) and more communal vessels (large

dishes and pots) from domestic sites, comparing these to inventories from colonial

houses. The ethnographic data collected in this study shows that Andean Indigenous

people have the habit of communal gatherings; eating from one large pot or various

dishes brought by each family and placed on a piece of cloth at feasts and communal

work gatherings (*mingas*). At dinner, women also share freshly prepared maize, beans,

and potatoes (*curiucho*) in pots next to the gas kitchen stove. The large *chicha* jar made

of coarse earthenware is also used for communal feasting. In these houses large pots

represent communal meals. The higher percentage (20% to 46%) of large unrestricted

pots (between 37 and 45 cm) in Indigenous houses compared to *White-mestizo* families

(less than 5%) are markers of communal meals. In contrast, *White-mestizo* middle-class

families in Quito preserve imported ceramic and metal vessels as part of their family

memories. They also give importance to the acquisition of large quantities of tableware

vessels (in comparison to a low percentage of large pots), related to the practice of an

individualized table service. The colonial assemblage is consistent with the Indigenous

household results; there are a high percentage of large composite restricted jars or pots[28]

(21.69%), associated with the preparation of communal meals. According to studies of

the English colonies, the transformation from medieval communal dining habits to a more

individualized model of eating was consistent with an increase in the frequency of

individualized artefacts in the archaeological record through the colonial period. The

archaeological analysis of the Humberto Site demonstrates that the ratio (MNV 10) of

small unrestricted vessels (cups, small bowls) to the number of household members

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[28] Large vessels include all vessels with a wall thickness between 0.9 and 1.3 cm, and the vessels with a
wall thickness of 0.8 cm and a neck diameter over 14 cm.

(between 3 and 5) results in 2 to 3 vessels per individual. The highest ratio of small unrestricted vessels per individual in Indigenous houses is also as low as 2.8. The highest ratio of tableware vessels per individual in the *White-mestizo* houses is 32.5 per family member (upper class 4-member family, Quito) and the lowest ratio is 9.5 tableware vessels per person (middle class 4 member family, Quito). There is a consistency in a low ratio of small unrestricted vessels per family member as displayed in the colonial assemblage. According to the ethnographic data the presence of medium bowls for serving was explaining separation. In addition, serving items are related to the act of serving food over the table from which people would share food, and then transfer the food to their own plate. This model of serving-eating food was more usual in *White-mestizo* houses. The highest percentage (39.8%) of vessels in the colonial assemblage was the medium bowls or plates with multi-functions (cooking, serving and eating). The result of this test suggests people could be thinking in a more individualized manner.

According to some colonial historical sources and the data from the ethnographic research individualization is also marked by the presence of metallic spoons, forks, and knifes, commonly found in elite houses. However, spoons could be could be made of wooden as *White-mestizo* and Indigenous families still use wooden spoons for cooking and Indigenous people remembered to have wooden spoons for eating. The poor preservation of wooden artefacts in the highlands could be a factor related to the absence of spoons. Historical references to table manners in the Peru during colonial times clarify people were not conservative in the use of hands in eating. Today, *White-mestizo* table manners state using individual forks, knifes, glasses, plates and cups is the proper way of eating and -a manner that differentiate us from Indigenous people- (Quito interviews).

However, in Indigenous houses, people use spoons and do not share it with others. They use only large spoons for the soup, rice and *machica*, sometimes using the same spoon for eating all plates.

Finally, investigating standardization of the table set over the ethnographic data, demonstrates symmetrical tableware (in terms of decoration, fabric and morphology), forming multiple sets of individual place settings, differentiates *White-mestizo* meals from Indigenous meals. Indigenous families do not prioritize the acquisition of place settings in the same decoration or fabric; most of the plastic or metal tableware in Indigenous kitchens was unmatched in size, colour and form. However, in most of the urban families, drinking glasses, mugs, and cutlery are mixed objects from two to four sets. The model of having a table set with symmetry in terms of fabric and decoration was also tested in the archaeological assemblage, considering the initial suggested functions and their possible multi-functions. Small-unrestricted pots are standardized vessels in terms of fabric and treatment of surface, but the glaze background is more diverse. The medium unrestricted forms show a standardization in terms of fabric (red and brown paste colour, medium and fine sand size with 1 to 10% of inclusions in the temper) and treatment of surface (glazed and plain) forming two categories of tablewares. In terms of decoration, the glazed medium unrestricted vessels are oddly diverse considering the glazed background and type of design, but evenly distributed in two groups of colour of designs. These forms suggest standardization of fabric and treatment of surface but diversity in decoration. The small-medium composite restricted jars and pots are diverse in terms of fabric, treatment of surface and decoration, suggesting that these represent the most diverse form of the tableware. Cups instead form a distinctive group, standardized

in two sets of fabric, all glazed, with a diversity of background glazes but standardized in terms of colour of designs (blue over cream, yellowish cream or pinkish cream). Surface treatment and decoration seems to be unimportant in most of the vessels as in Indigenous families happen. Comparing these data with the ethnographic results suggests that the presence of standardized cups is a marker of people looking for some symmetry in the appearance of their tableware, which was rare in the Indigenous houses compared to the *White-mestizo* families.

Chapter summary

The ethnic tensions between Indigenous and *Mestizo* ethnicities is displayed in daily practices of preparing, serving and consuming food however each step does not follow a restrictive pattern. We can affirm that the group of *White-mestizos* trying to separate from the Indigenous people are more likely to practice conservative table manners. The complexity of the patterns also provides a cautionary tale to historical archaeologists using colonial ceramic styles to indicate a change or continuity in ethnic identities. Fabric is shown to be an indicator of socio-economic status not restricted to the ethnic identity of a group. Low status families limit their capacity to choose according to their preferences, but they still preserve objects made of specific fabric as a memory of their traditional activities. I suggest investigating small quantities of material in the colonial archaeological record in this context. The separation of vessel functions is marked by the high frequency of serving vessels in *Mestizo* houses consistent also with the multifunctional medium bowls in the colonial assemblage. For individualization, the ethnoarchaeological approach allows us to compare ratios of individual items per family member, understanding the colonial assemblage is consistent with the Indigenous

families. The presence of large pots also could be interpreted as the act of communal meals that is a tradition of Indigenous families. Most of the medium bowls also suggest the act of serving and eating more communally. Standardization of cups in the archaeological assemblage suggests a desire to have some symmetry in tableware, something that did not happen with other forms. The comparisons between the ethnographic and archaeological analysis shows the complexity of eating as a social practice, which involves more than one step. For example, Individualization could be represented by the presence of small-unrestricted vessels and spoons, without excluding the act of communal eating from one pot (La Vaqueria families). Using practices as ethnic markers is difficult if we do not understand the diversity of patterns and carefully consider our interpretations.

Chapter 7:   CONCLUSIONS

In an effort to homogenize and subordinate Andean native polities, the Spaniards assigned the label "Indians" to all conquered aboriginal peoples. Spaniards imposed not just a name, but also a new style of life that imposed racial (biological and cultural) differences between the civilized colonizers and the native population. The formation of a post-conquest ethnic identity was unavoidable, but Indigenous people both adapted to, and/or rejected imposed practices in order to contend with the aggressive colonial system. The interviews and participant observations in this study shed light on modern Indigenous traditions of preparing and serving meals in a "native" way, just as *White-mestizo* families practice "well learned European manners" directly associated with their concern to clarify their distinction from Indigenous people. Neither modern Indigenous people nor *White-mestizo*s can be understood as unchanged 18th century socio-ethnic groups, although the social and political tension of choosing one ethnic identity is comparable to colonial conditions. Both groups are still the "people in the middle", those who in the colonial period were driven to be labelled as *Mestizo* or Indian, considering their physical features. "People in the middle" includes Indigenous rural communities trying to gain political rights and cultural respect from the *White-mestizo* population without abandoning post-conquest traditions including Andean foodways. Middle class *White-mestizo* individuals also undergo social pressure to maintain their role as a "more civilized class" as Indigenous people gain economic and political representation in the

national system. Since the modern *White-mestizo* population is highly diverse in terms of physical, economic, and cultural features, they are committed to maintain any practice that could affirm their dominance over the Indigenous population. Chapter 2 explored the construction of these Indigenous and *White-mestizo* attitudes, as one aim of this study has been to understand the tension of the "people in the middle" as a constant conflict that has motivated individuals to re-present traditional foodways.

During the 18th century, people were classified according to biological and cultural attributes. The *Mestizo* Claims asked for the recognition of their lighter colour of skin compared to the "Indians". When the colour of skin was not considered enough to prove someone's status, people claimed their sophisticated daily practices separated them from the Indians. Five hundred years after the American conquest, the subordination of Indigenous people continues, and the state and *Mestizo* populations still emphasize cultural differences based on levels of education, public health, and cultural norms, to cast "the others" as totally distinct. The national government has insisted on applying a politics of homogenization to transform Indigenous people and *Mestizo*s into Ecuadorians, through racial campaigns attempting to "abandon Indianness" in Ecuador as a synonym for ignorance (De la Cadena 2000). Today the concept of race still reaffirms the colonial condition of inferiority of Indigenous people in relation to the *White-mestizo* majority. However Indigenous national organizations and self-identified Indigenous communities have encouraged the recovery of traditions. Indigenous people create their identities based on marking difference from other groups, particularly *Mestizo*s, partly as a reaction to a global modernizing process of homogenization.

The analysis of eating practices in colonial and modern households demonstrates that the preparation and consumption of food both produces, and is affected by, broader social relationships, where individuals cooking, distributing, and consuming food affirm consciously and unconsciously their individual and collective identities and recreate the cultural norms that constrain their identities. Discourses and practices around food were expected to show how individual and family groups mark differentiation from the "others". The testimonies of modern *White-mestizo* and Indigenous families from the highlands of Ecuador present ethnic tensions when describing table manners of the "others" and also through the practice of preserving "nostalgic kitchen objects" representing traditional activities that separate them from other groups. The initial purpose of this thesis was to analyse the process of construction of Indigenous and *White-mestizo* identities through the domestic practices of serving and eating food, for the period after contact between Spaniards and native groups in the Ecuadorian highlands.

The main limitation of historical archaeology in analysing colonial identity transformation has been the tendency to only consider the quantification of material culture styles in household archaeological deposits. Using sherd counts, as previous studies have assumed, as an indicator of the quantitative prevalence of one style over another, the analysis of the 18th century domestic ceramic assemblage indicates there is a difference of 7% between the number of glazed sherds (17%) and sherd weight (10.6%), resulting in more representation of this type. The incorporation of the quantification of vessel forms, instead of simply using sherds as quantification units, supported the complexity of eating patterns. The result of the ceramic analysis of archaeological forms, and then comparison to the ethnoarchaeological data, shows a combination of multi-

functionality of vessels, presence of communal and individual items at the dining table, and partial standardization of table settings in this urban Indigenous or *Mestizo* colonial site. In comparison to previous archaeological studies of the Spanish colonies, the complexity of dining practices can be better understood with the testing of these models, compared to the simple quantification of ceramic sherds by style. What is needed next is the analysis of larger and more complete samples of colonial domestic contexts, including data from archival house inventories, although this information is also biased by the exclusive existence of elite-house records. In this sense, the archaeological investigation of comparative domestic contexts sheds light on the history of ethnic transformation in the Andes .

The testimonies from Indigenous and *White-mestizo* families has contributed to our understanding of how daily practices of preparing, serving, and consuming food are ethnic identity markers. There are some elements in the practice of Indigenous people that demonstrate a traditional form of sharing in communal meals, particularly the presence of large pots in ethnoarchaeological and archaeological assemblages. I have also suggested that the presence of small percentages of particular material culture (e.g., porcelain at Humberto) may be as memorial objects, considering the ethnographic evidence of families preserving one or two of these artefacts (e.g., coarse earthenware pots for the La Vaqueria families and metal teapots and imported ceramic tableware in the Quito families) as markers of their family and ethnic group identity. The house of the 18th century has to be seen in the context of the last part of the 18th century when there was a large amplification of the informal economy in the cities, such as Riobamba. *Mestizo*s and *Criollos* increased their dealings with informal traders, selling goods from

their homes, and negotiating with Indigenous people in urban markets. Some Indigenous women stole products from elite houses where they were employed in domestic service, and sold them in the plazas. I suggest *Mestizo*s, under the pressure of the Bourbon Reforms, could acquire some *Criollo* and Spanish tableware sold in the markets, preserving one or two items to claim their ethnic identity.

I analyzed general ethnic categories such as *Mestizo* and Indigenous in order to reconstruct modern models for comparison with the archaeological remains; however, this work has also outlined the multiplicity and flexibility of these identities. These interpretations of modern and colonial houses, through the lens of historical tensions, provide a cautionary tale against simply assigning ethnic labels to archaeological assemblages based on simple presence-absence of material culture. The main objective of this study was to reconstruct colonial food preparation and serving activities through the lens of socio-political and economic tensions. The changes and persistence of particular foodways in the Andes has not been a simple lineal change since the Spanish conquest; instead the history of Ecuadorian highland families is a testimony of the use of performance to fit into the colonial, and today national political system. Therefore, micro-scale archaeological research allows us to understand individual family stories that speak to these transformations and how identity is a multiple, flexible category and a never-ending process of construction.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Munsell colours included in paste colour groups

Munsell colours included in Paste colour groups					
Paste colour groups	2.5Y	2.5YR	5YR	7.5YR	10YR
GROUP1: BLACK			5yr2.5/1	7.5yr2.5/1	10yr2/1,2
			5yr4/1	7.5yr3/1,2,3	10yr3/1,2,3
				7.5yr4/1	10yr4/1
GROUP2: BROWN		2.5yr2.4/1		7.5yr4/2,3,4,6	10yr4/2,3
		2.5yr6/8		7.5yr5/2,3,4,6	10yr5/4,6
				7.5yr6/3,4	
GROUP 3:YELLOWISH RED			5yr4/6		10yr6/4
			5yr5/6,8		
GROUP 4: PALE BROWN					10yr4/4
					10yr5/2
					10yr6/3,8
					10yr7/3
GROUP 5: RED		2.5yr3/3	5yr4/2,3,4	7.5yr6/6	
		2.5yr4/3,4,6,8	5yr5/3,4	7.5yr6/8	
		2.5yr5/4,6,8	5yr6/4,6,8	7.5yr7/4	
		2.5yr6/6	5yr7/6		
GROUP 6: GRAY			5yr5/1		
			5yr6/1		
GROUP7: WHITE	2.5y8/1				

Appendix 2: General characteristics of Humberto ceramic assemblage

Total	
count	weight
1758	17,902.99

Thickness	
mean	std.dev.
0.764	0.257

Paste colour groups		
Colour	weight	percentage
group1:black	1,813.8	10.13%
group2:brown	6,611.6	36.93%
group3: yellowish red	2,723.2	15.21%
group4:pale brown	1,436.7	8.02%
group5:red	5,306.39	29.64%
group6:gray	6.2	0.03%
group7:white	5.1	0.03%
TOTAL	**17,902.99**	**100.00%**

Sand size and inclusion dist.			
Sand size	Inc. Dist.	weight	percentage
very fine	1 to 10	1,484.76	8.29%
very fine	15 to 50	331.9	1.85%
fine	1 to 10	4,486.65	25.06%
fine	15 to 50	350.3	1.96%
medium	1 to 10	6,152.18	34.36%
medium	15 to 50	1,545.7	8.63%
coarse	1 to 10	1,109.5	6.20%
coarse	15 to 50	1,126.2	6.29%
very coarse	1 to 10	432.9	2.42%
very coarse	15 to 50	882.9	4.93%
TOTAL		**17,902.99**	**100.00%**

Appendix 3: Shard families tables

UNGLAZED COARSE EARTHENWARE (UCE)

Plain (UCE)

Paste colour groups	Weight	Percentage
group1:black	1328.4	10.92%
group2:brown	4452	36.60%
group3: yellowish red	1629.8	13.40%
group4:pale brown	1184.6	9.74%
group5:red	3569.66	29.34%
TOTAL	**12164.46**	**100.00%**

Size	Dist.	Weight	Percentage
coarse	1 to 10	976	8.02%
coarse	15 to 50	919.6	7.56%
fine	1 to 10	2489.3	20.46%
fine	15 to 50	316.2	2.60%
medium	1 to 10	3985.9	32.77%
medium	15 to 50	1185.5	9.75%
very coarse	1 to 10	386.4	3.18%
very coarse	15 to 50	882.9	7.26%
very fine	1 to 10	706.16	5.81%
very fine	15 to 50	316.5	2.60%
TOTAL		**12164.46**	**100.00%**

Paint	Decoration	Weight	Percentage
no paint	no deco	11381.86	93.57%
no paint	ext deco	15.7	0.13%
no paint	int deco	4.7	0.04%
black ext paint	no deco	20.1	0.17%
black int- ext paint	no deco	4.9	0.04%
brown ext paint	no deco	16	0.13%
brown int paint	no deco	2.1	0.02%
gray ext paint	no deco	305	2.51%
gray int paint	no deco	140	1.15%
olive int paint	no deco	3.9	0.03%
pale brown ext paint	no deco	244.8	2.01%
pale brown int paint	no deco	12.4	0.10%
pink int paint- gray ext paint	no deco	10.5	0.09%
red ext paint	no deco	1.1	0.01%
white int paint	no deco	1.4	0.01%
TOTAL		**12164.46**	**100.00%**

Red slip (UCE)

Paste colour groups	Weight	
group1 :black	61.2	3.81%
group2:brown	981.8	61.05%
group3: yellowish red	128.6	8.00%
group4:pale brown	138.6	8.62%
group5:red	298	18.53%
TOTAL	**1608.2**	**100.00%**

Size	Dist.	Weight	Percentage
coarse	15 to 50	108.3	6.73%
coarse	1 to 10	72.7	4.52%
fine	1 to 10	373	23.19%
medium	15 to 50	129	8.02%
medium	1 to 10	728.1	45.27%
very fine	15 to 50	15.4	0.96%
very fine	1 to 10	181.7	11.30%
TOTAL		**1608.2**	**100.00%**

Int. Surf. Treat.	Ext. Surf. Treat.	Decoration	Weight	Percentage
plain	red slip		509.8	31.70%
polish	red slip		10.2	0.63%
red slip	burnish		130.2	8.10%
red slip	plain		748.2	46.52%
red slip	plain	ext. Deco.	19.3	1.20%
red slip	plain	int. Deco.	14.3	0.89%
red slip	polish		79.2	4.92%
red slip	red slip		97	6.03%
TOTAL			**1608.2**	**100.00%**

Burnished (UCE)

Paste colour groups	Weight	Percentage
group1 :black	281.1	24.79%
group2:brown	541.5	47.76%
group3: yellowish red	50.8	4.48%
group4:pale brown	58.7	5.18%
group5:red	199.8	17.62%
group6:gray	1.9	0.17%
TOTAL	**1133.8**	**100.00%**

Size	Dist.	Weight	Percentage
coarse	1 to 10	29.5	2.60%
coarse	15 to 50	94.1	8.30%
fine	1 to 10	326.3	28.78%
fine	15 to 50	10.1	0.89%
medium	1 to 10	532.8	46.99%
medium	15 to 50	55.4	4.89%
very fine	1 to 10	85.6	7.55%
TOTAL		**1133.8**	**100.00%**

Int. Surf.	Ext. Surf.	Paint	Weight	Percentage
burnish	burnish	no paint	84.7	7.47%
burnish	burnish	red int paint	19.7	1.74%
burnish	plain	no paint	196.8	17.36%
burnish	plain	black int paint	7	0.62%
burnish	plain	red int paint	32.1	2.83%
plain	burnish	no paint	661.5	58.34%
plain	burnish	black ext paint	3.9	0.34%
plain	burnish	red ext paint	60.8	5.36%
plain	plain/burnish	no paint	16	1.41%
polish	burnish	no paint	13.1	1.16%
polish	burnish	black int-paint	1.9	0.17%
polish	burnish	red int paint	32.4	2.86%
polish	burnish	red int-ext paint	3.9	0.34%
TOTAL			**1133.8**	**100.00%**

Polished (UCE)

Paste colour groups	Weight	Percentage
group1 :black	121.6	11.14%
group2:brown	511	46.80%
group3: yellowish red	117.9	10.80%
group4:pale brown	54.8	5.02%
group5:red	282.3	25.85%
group6:gray	4.3	0.39%
TOTAL	**1091.9**	**100.00%**

Size	Dist.	Weight	Percentage
coarse	1 to 10	6.2	0.57%
coarse	15 to 50	4.2	0.38%
fine	1 to 10	471.5	43.18%
fine	15 to 50	20.4	1.87%
medium	1 to 10	247.1	22.63%
medium	15 to 50	89	8.15%
very fine	1 to 10	253.5	23.22%
TOTAL		**1091.9**	**100.00%**

Int. Surf.	Ext. Surf.	Paint	Weight	Percentage
plain	polish	black ext paint	85.7	7.85%
plain	polish	black int- ext paint	7.5	0.69%
plain	polish	black int paint	2.1	0.19%
plain	polish	no paint	191.1	17.50%
plain	polish	red ext paint	462.9	42.39%
plain/polish	polish	red int- ext paint	10.4	0.95%
polish	plain	black int paint	2.8	0.26%
polish	plain	brown int paint	13.6	1.25%
polish	plain	no paint	76.8	7.03%
polish	plain	red int paint	79	7.24%
polish	polish	black int paint	2.2	0.20%
polish	polish	no paint	44.3	4.06%
polish	polish	red ext paint	16.9	1.55%
polish	polish	red int- ext paint	90.3	8.27%
polish	polish	red int paint	2.5	0.23%
polish	polish	red int paint- black ext paint	3.8	0.35%
TOTAL			**1091.9**	**100.00%**

GLAZED COARSE EARTHENWARE (GCE)

Paste colour groups	Weight	Percentage
group1:black	21.5	1.13%
group2:brown	125.3	6.60%
group3: yellowish red	796.1	41.91%
group5:red	956.63	50.36%
TOTAL	**1899.53**	**100.00%**

Size	Dist.	Weight	Percentage
coarse	1 to 10	25.1	1%
fine	1 to 10	826.55	44%
fine	15 to 50	3.6	0%
medium	1 to 10	658.28	35%
medium	15 to 50	86.8	5%
very coarse	1 to 10	46.5	2%
very fine	1 to 10	252.7	13%
TOTAL		**1899.53**	**100%**

Appendix 4: Munsell colours included in Glaze colour groups

Colour group	2.5y	5y	7.5y	5yr	7.5yr	10yr	gley 1	gley 2
GROUP1: WHITE	2.5y8/1	5y7/1						
		5y8/1						
GROUP2: CREAM	2.5y5/1,2	5y7/2				10yr6/1,2		
	2.5y6/1,2,3							
	2.5y7/1,2,3							
	2.5y8/2							
GROUP3: GREENISH CREAM	2.5y4/3	5y4/1,3,4				10yr7/2	gley1 4/5g	gley2 7/10g
	2.5y5/6	5y5/3,4,6					gley1 7/5, 5g, 10y	
		5y6/3,4					gley1 8/10gy, 10y	
		5y7/3						
		5y8/2						
GROUP4: PINKISH CREAM			7.5y7/4	5yr6/4	7.5yr6/6	10yr6/3		
				5yr7/1	7.5yr7/3,4			
					7.5yr8/3			
GROUP5: YELLOWISH CREAM	2.5y6/3,4,6	5y6/4			7.5yr6/4	10yr6/3,4		
	2.5y7/3,4,6	5y7/3,4,6						
	2.5y8/2					10yr7/3,4,6		
		5y8/2,8						
GROUP6: GREENISH							gley1 2.5/5g	
							gley1 3/5g	
							gley1 4/5g	
							gley1 5/5g	
							gley1 6/5g, 5gy, 10y	
							gley1 7/5g	

Appendix 5: Approval for Ethnoarchaeological research (ORE, file 2010s0251)

Expedited Approval

Date	File	Approval	Principal Investigator
30 Sept. 2010	[2010s0251]	Approved	Balanzategui, Daniela

Risk	Title	Start
Minimal	Transformation of Urban indigenous foodways, 18th century, Riobamba-Ecuador	30 Sept. 2010

SFU Position	Department / School	Supervisor	End
Graduate Student	Archeology	Jamieson, Ross	30 Sept. 2013

Hello Daniela,

Your application has been categorized as 'Minimal Risk' and approved by the Director, Office of Research Ethics in accordance with University Policy r20.01. (http://www.sfu.ca/policies/research/r20.01.htm).

The Research Ethics Board reviews and may amend decisions made independently by the Director, Chair or Deputy Chair at the regular monthly meeting of the Board.

Please acknowledge receipt of this Notification of Status by email to dore@sfu.ca and Include the file number as shown above as the first item in the Subject Line.

You should get a letter shortly. Note: All letters are sent to the PI addressed to the Department, School or Faculty for Faculty and Graduate Students. Letters to Undergraduate Students are sent to their Faculty Supervisor.

Good luck with the project,

Appendix 6: Guidelines for the Ethnoarchaeological Component

a. General information about the interviewed participant?
1. Names of informants: Do you want your identity made public in my investigation?
2. Ages of informants: How old are you?

b. The Neighborhood
1. Formal and folk name of the city, community, or town
2. If the name of the community is different from the political, explain its meaning
3. What is the name of the neighborhood and what is the meaning?
4. What are the principal activities that are performed by the neighbors?

c. The household structure
1. How many people live in this house?
2. Who are the people living in this house? (ages, gender, kinship relationship)

d. General description about the dinner
1. Which is the principal meal during a regular day for your family?(the meal that has more food, is repeated daily and has more members of the family)
2. How do you name the principal meal?
3. What time is served the principal meal regularly?
4. Who participates in this meal?
   a. Number of participants
   b. Do all of the participants live in this house, or do you have members of other houses having dinner in this house?

e. Foodways
1. Kitchen and table tools inventories
   a. Inventories
   b. Photographic record of vessels
2. Participant Observation
   a. Photographic record of vessels distribution on the table and at the kitchen
   b. Photographic record of uses of some vessels
   c. Photographic record of the participants at the dinner

Appendix 7: Forms for households' inventories

POTS , BOWLS, PLATES, CUPS AND CONTAINERS' INVENTORY										
Type	Folk name	General Use (table or kitchen)	Specific use		Type of material		Color	Diam eter cm.	Height cm.	Decoration	Size	Number

KNIFES, SPOONS, FORKS' INVENTARY							
Type	Folk name	General use	Specific use	Type of material	Size	Number

Appendix 8: Consent Form

Title of Study: Transformation of Urban indigenous foodways, 18th century, Sicalpa (Ecuador): Ethnoarchaeological component
Number: 2010s0251
*Principal Investigator: Daniela Balanzategui, Archaeology Graduate Student
Conducted under the auspices of the Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby (Canada)*

The general goal of my study is to investigate actual foodways in mestizo-indigenous households of Sicalpa for understanding the combination of these models in present groups and comparing them with the archaeological evidence from the 15th and 18th century in the Highlands of Ecuador. In order to accomplish this objective, I will make one interview per family about their habits of preparing and serving food as a daily activity. Then an inventory of the kitchen and table objects and a photographic record of some of these utensils will be done. Finally, I expect to share a meal with the family for understanding these habits.
You will not be obligated to take part of this study and you can withdraw at anytime without prejudice. The confidentiality of your identity will be assured, this means that your name (s) will not be shared or used without your permission. Therefore, I will ask you if you want your name (s) to be reported in my study. If you do not accepted I will use the name of the neighbourhood and a random number of the house, for example "one of the member of the house 1 in the neighbourhood of San Blas". There is neither any risk of this study for you to be involved. This data will be kept in cds and paper files inside a locked cabinet in the Department of Archaeology in Simon Fraser University. The analysis of data that will be collected from this investigation will be retained for two years (2011- 2013), in order to write my Ma. thesis and for the purpose of publication in English and Spanish. The local government of Sicalpa has also verbally accepted this study could be done among the communities related to this district, since the benefits of the study is the understanding of the Sichalpa people histories.
The participants can obtain the research results from the Department of Archaeology in Simon Fraser University (Burnaby, Canada), the investigator (Daniela Balanzategui, dcbalanza@sfu.ca), the local government of Sicalpa (Alcaldia de Sicalpa), the Universidad San Francisco (Riobamba), or the INPC- Regional 3 (Riobamba).
Direct any concern or complain to Dr. Hal Weinberg, Director, Office of Research Ethics at hal_weinberg@sfu.ca or 778-782-6593 (Canada), or to Dr. Florencio Delgado, florencio.delgado@gmail.com (Ecuador).

Appendix 9: Frequency of daily use vessels (Cotopaxi families)

Location	N. Members	Small Bowls					
		Plastic			Metal		
		Diam	Heigh	*Count*	Diam	Heigh	*Count*
La Vaqueria	6	18	8	*3*	18	8	*3*
	4	17	8	*4*	20	9	*5*
	2			*0*	18	8	*2*
Alausí	3						
La Pradera	8						

Location	N. Members	Deep Plate					
		Metal			Porcelain		
		Diam	Heigh	*Count*	Diam	Heigh	*Count*
La Vaqueria	6	20	5	*4*			*0*
	4	20	5	*8*			*0*
	2			*0*	18	8	*4*
Alausí	3						*5*
La Pradera	8				18	4.5	*5*

Location	N. Members	Plato tendido			Cup	Spoons
		Porcelain			Plastic, metal and porcelain	Iron
		Diam	Heigh	*Count*		
La Vaqueria	6				*7*	*6*
	4				*12*	*10*
	2				*3*	*5*
Alausí	3				*5*	*5*
La Pradera		22	3	*4*	*11*	*8*
	8	14	2	*2*		

Location	N. Members	Large pot Stainless steel			Medium pot Stainless steel			Small pot Stainless steel		
		Diam	Heigh	Count	Diam	Heigh	Count	Diam	Heigh	Count
La Vaqueria	6	38	45	1	32	20	4	20	16	1
					25	20	4	16	12	1
	4	45	38	1	30	25	1	17	9	2
		45	38	2	23	15	2	17	9	2
								16	12	2
Alausí	2				30	25	6			2
	3				30	25	3	16	12	2
La Pradera	8	41	30	1	30	18	12	10	10	5
		37	21	1	28	18	4	16	10	1
					25	15	1			
					32	12	1			

Location	N. Members	Pans metal and earthenware			Pans Iron			Maize beer container Wood		
		Diam	Heigh	Count	Diam	Heigh	Count	Diam	Heigh	Count
La Vaqueria	6	50	10	1						
	4	50	10	1						
Alausí	2									
	3	50	10	1						
La Pradera	8	50	30	4	20	8	1	43	70	1
					23	7	1			

Location	N. Members	Medium container (Plastic)			Small container (Plastic)			Cilindric water container	Other kitchen vessels
		Diam	Heigh	Count	Diam	Heigh	Count	Plastic	Iron, plastic, wood
La Vaqueria	6	20	18	4	25	12	2	1	4
		25	25	1					
	4	20	18	4	25	12	2	1	5
		22	22	1					
Alausí	2	20	18	2	25	12	1	2	8
	3	25	25	2	25	15	1		5
		20	18	2	50	10	1		
La Pradera		26	25	4					17
		20	11	1					
	8								

Appendix 10: Frequency of daily use vessels (Puellaro- Quito families)

Family ID	General Function	Type	size	Count
Middle class (6 members) – Puellaro	Cookingware	pot	large	2
			medium	8
			small	4
	Cookingware or tableware	salad bowl	medium, large,small	4
	Kitchen supplies	bread knife	large	2
		coffee dripper	large	1
		cutting board		2
		meat knife	large	1
		mixing spoon	large	1
		slotted spoon	large	1
		spatula	large	1
	tableware	cup	small	12
		deep plate	large	1
				24
			small	12
		fork	large	12
		glass	medium	12
		jug	large	2
		knife	medium	12
		mug	large	12
		plate	large	12
			small	18
		spoon	medium	12
			small	6
		tea spoon	small	12

Family ID	General Function	Type	size	Count
Middle class (2 members) – Quito	Cookingware	pan	large	2
			small	1
		pot	large	5
			medium	3
			small	1
		tea pot	medium	1
	Cookingware or Tableware	bowl	large	1
		pyrex roaster	large	2
			medium	1
	Kitchen supplies	bread knife	large	1
		knife	large	1
		meat knife	large	1
		mixing spoon	large	1
		slotted spoon	large	1
				2
		spatula	large	1
		wooden spoon	small, medium, large	5
	Tableware	fork	large	8
		glass	medium	12
		jug	large	2
		knife	medium	8
		mug	medium, large, small	15
		spoon	medium	8
		tea spoon	small	8

Family ID	General Function	Type	size	Count
Middle class (3 members)- Quito	Cookingware	mug	small	1
			very small	2
		pan	large	5
			medium	1
			small	2
		pot	large	2
			medium	2
				2
			small	3
	Cookingware or Tableware	bowl	large	1
				5
			medium	4
			small	1
		container	medium	12
		saucer	small	4
	Kitchen supplies	colander	medium	2
			small	2
			very small	2
		grater		1
		mixing spoon	large	1
			various	1
		slotted spoon	large	1
		wooden spoon	large and small	4
	Tableware	cup	small	4
				11
		deep plate	large	4
		fork	large	6
		jug	medium	3
			very small	1
		knife	medium	6
		mug	large	4
				6
		plate		4
			small	1
		spoon	medium	6
		tea spoon	small	6

Family ID	General Function	Type	size	Count
Middle class (4 members) – Quito	Cookingware	pan	large	1
			small	1
		pot		1
			large	1
			medium	1
		pressure cooker	large	1
		pyrex roaster	large	1
		tea pot	large	1
	Cookingware or Tableware	container	various	9
		jug	medium	1
		pyrex roaster	small	1
	Kitchen supplies	colander	medium	2
		cutting board		1
		fork	large	1
		grater		1
		pan scraper	medium	1
		spatula	large	1
			medium	1
		wood meat tenderizer		1
		wooden spoon	various	3
	Tableware	bowl	medium	2
		deep plate	large	1
				6
		fork	medium	8
		glass	medium	6
		jug	medium	1
		knife	medium	6
		mug	large	6
		plate	large	6
			medium	4
				6
			small	1
		spoon	medium	8
		tea spoon	small	6

Family ID	General Function	Type	size	Count
Upper class (4 members) – Quito	Cookingware	pan	medium	2
		pot	large	5
				2
			medium	2
				2
			small	2
		pressure cooker	large	2
		tea pot	medium	3
	Cookingware or Tableware	pyrex roaster	medium	3
				6
	Kitchen supplies	colander	medium	5
		container	various	4
				10
				14
		container (square)	various	11
	Tableware	bowl	small	5
				10
		cup	small	10
				12
		deep plate	large	5
				12
		fork	large	12
		glass	medium	33
		knife	medium	12
		mug	large	8
		plate	large	12
			medium	5
			small	6
				12
		spoon	medium	12
		tea spoon	small	12

Appendix 11: Typology of vessels by function in Puellaro and Quito families

General function	Type	Size	Specific function	Food involved
Cookingware	mug	small	boiling	herbal tea
		very small	boiling	herbal tea
	pan	large	frying	meat
				ripe plantains/ fries
				various
		medium	frying	eggs
				meat, potatoes and others
		small	frying	eggs
				meat
				various
	pot		cooking	pop corn
		large	boiling	milk
			cooking	grains
				rice
				soup
				soup or spaghetti
				sweet beverages (*coladas*)
				various
			frying and boiling	various
		medium	boiling	water
			cooking	pet food
				rice
				rice, soup
				rice/ spaghetti
				soup
				stew
				vegetable stew
				water or soup
		small	boiling	milk
				water
			cooking	vegetable and meat stew
	pressure cooker	large	cooking	grains
	pyrex roaster	large	cooking	meat
	tea pot	large	boiling	water
		medium	boiling	tea
				water

General function	Type	Size	Measurements (mean cm)	
	mug	small	Diameter	15.00
			Height	13.00
		very small	Diameter	13.00
			Height	12.00
	pan	large	Diameter	25.38
			Height	3.63
		medium	Diameter	19.50
			Height	4.00
		small	Diameter	20.50
			Height	3.83
	pot		Diameter	25.00
			Height	17.00
		large	Diameter	24.26
			Height	12.50
		medium	Diameter	20.72
			Height	10.08
		small	Diameter	17.07
Cookingware			Height	8.58
	pressure cooker	large	Diameter	22.80
			Height	13.30
	pyrex roaster	large	Width	23.5
			Length	33.5
			Height	6.00
	tea pot	large	Diameter	19.00
			Height	7.00
		medium	Diameter	7.00
			Height	11.00

General function	Type	Size	Specific function	Food involved
	bowl	large	washing	vegetables and fruits
			washing or serving	vegetables and fruits
		medium	serving	milk
			washing or containing	vegetables and fruits
		small	serving	water
	container	medium	washing or containing	vegetables and fruits
Cookingware or tableware		various	containing or serving	liquids and solids
	jug	medium	serving	water
	pyrex roaster	large	cooking	cake
			cooking, preparing and serving	salad and meats
		medium	cooking, preparing and serving	salad and meats
		small	cooking, preparing and serving	salad and meats
	salad bowl	medium, large,small	serving	salad
	Saucer	small	containing or serving	spicy sauce (*aji*)

General function	Type	Size	Measurements (mean cm)	
Cookingware or tableware	bowl	large	Diameter	27.33
			Height	11.50
		medium	Diameter	18.50
			Height	8.00
		small	Diameter	15.00
			Height	7.00
	container	medium	Diameter	19.00
			Height	10.00
		various	Width	8.0
			Length	15.0
			Height	9.00
	jug	medium	Diameter	10.00
			Height	22.00
	pyrex roaster	large	Diameter	23.25
			Height	9.75
		medium	Width	22.0
			Length	23.0
			Height	7.43
		small	Width	19.0
			Length	28.0
			Height	5.00
	salad bowl	medium, large, small	Diameter	28.00
			Height	12.00
	saucer	small	Diameter	12.50
			Height	6.50

General function	Type	Size	Specific function	Food involved
Kitchen supplies	bread knife	large	cutting	bread
	coffee dripper	large	drinking	coffee
	Colander	medium	*cernir*	juice
				various
			draining	rice/ spaguetti
		small	*cernir*	various
		very small		various
	Container	various	container	liquids and solids
	cutting board		cutting	solids
				various
	Fork	large	picking meat	meat
	Grater		grating and slicing	solids
				various
	Knife	large	cutting	various
	meat knife	large	cutting	meat
	mixing spoon	large	serving	soup
				soup
		various	mixing	various
	pan scraper	medium	preparing	solids
	slotted spoon	large	mixing	eggs
			preparing	various
	Spatula	large	preparing	various
		medium	preparing	various
	wood meat tenderizer		preparing	meat
	wooden spoon	large and small	mixing	soup or stew
			mixing en la pot	sweet beverages (coladas)
		small, medium, large	preparing	various
		various	preparing	various

General function	Type	Size	Measurements (mean cm)	
Kitchen supplies	coffee dripper	large	Diameter	11.00
			Height	20.00
	Container	various	Diameter	26.00
			Height	12.00

General function	Type	Size	Specific function	Food involved
	bowl	medium	serving	salad
		Small	eating	desserts
				sea food dish (ceviche)
	cup	Small	drinking	coffee or tea
				espresso
	deep plate	Large	eating	soup
				soup or sea food dish (ceviche)
				soup or stew
		Small	eating	sea food dish (ceviche)
	fork	Large	eating	meat, rice and salad (*segundo*)
		medium	eating	solids
	glass	medium	drinking	juice
				liquids
			eating	water or juice
	jug	Large	serving	juice
				water or juice
		medium	drinking	juice and water
			serving	juice
		very small	serving	milk
	knife	medium	cutting	solids
			eating	
	mug	Large	drinking	coffee
				coffee or tea
				herbal tea
				milk or coffee
				milk, coffee and juice
		medium,large, small	drinking	hot beverages
	plate		eating	meat, rice and salad (*segundo*)
		Large	eating	meat, rice and salad (*segundo*)
				stew
			eating and supporting soup plate	meat, rice and salad (*segundo*)
		medium	eating	meat, rice and salad (*segundo*)
				salad
		Small	base cup	
			eating	beans
				desserts
			eating and supporting the coffee cup	desserts
			eating and coffee base	various
			supporting cup ofn coffee	
	spoon	medium	eating	soup
		Small	eating	egg
	tea spoon	Small	drinking	coffee
				coffee, tea and dessert

Tableware

General function	Type	Size	Measurements (mean cm)	
Tableware	bowl	medium	Diameter	19.50
			Height	11.00
		small	Diameter	9.50
			Height	5.00
	cup	small	Diameter	8.03
			Height	6.83
	deep plate	large	Diameter	20.19
			Height	4.25
		small	Diameter	14.50
			Height	3.80
	glass	medium	Diameter	7.08
			Height	10.95
	jug	large	Diameter	9.50
			Height	22.00
		medium	Diameter	12.00
			Height	20.25
		very small	Diameter	13.00
			Height	10.50
	mug	large	Diameter	8.50
			Height	9.37
		medium, large, small	Diameter	8.00
			Height	9.75
	plate		Diameter	27.00
			Height	2.50
		large	Diameter	24.33
			Height	2.50
		medium	Diameter	19.67
			Height	2.27
		small	Diameter	14.14
			Height	2.16