

“FRUIT OF THE VINE, WORK OF HUMAN HANDS”: AN ARCHAEOLOGY AND  
ETHNOHISTORY OF SLAVERY ON THE JESUIT WINE HACIENDAS OF NASCA, PERU

By

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In memory of  
Dr. Catherine J. Julien (1950-2011).

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

During Peru's colonial period, free and enslaved African-descended peoples made up a substantial portion of the coastal population (Bowser 1974: 341), living and working among indigenous, mestizo, and European peoples. Yet these populations have been underrepresented in archaeology or rendered invisible by methodologies and questions which have not directly engaged the African diaspora. This dissertation examines, through archaeological and ethnohistorical methods, the daily lived experience of enslaved African laborers on two wine estates owned by the Society of Jesus on the Peruvian coast, from the acquisition of their first realties in Nasca in 1619, to the expulsion of the order from the Spanish Empire in 1767. The haciendas of San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca and San Joseph de la Nasca,<sup>1</sup> and their corresponding annexes, respectively owned by Jesuit schools in Lima and Cuzco, offer context for such an exploration. These estates were worked predominantly by a large enslaved population of sub-Saharan origin, together with a minority of itinerant indigenous and mestizo wage laborers. By illuminating the quotidian experiences of these workers the coercive effects of the larger colonial structures of an emerging global economy come into focus. Likewise, this dissertation aims to identify the processes of Afro-Peruvian ethnogenesis<sup>2</sup> during Peru's

<sup>1</sup> This dissertation uses the term "hacienda" to broadly signify an estate, represented generally by a bounded territory within a cultural landscape, which includes but is not limited to fields, structures, infrastructure, livestock, goods, and even enslaved people. Orthographically a distinction is made throughout this dissertation between the historical haciendas of San Joseph de la Nasca and San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca (often shortened to San Joseph and San Xavier), and the modern communities San José and San Javier, which developed out of the now defunct estates. The former represent conventions found in historical documents through the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, and allows for a convenient disambiguation of the historical estates and archaeological sites from the modern towns.

<sup>2</sup> Within the Circum-Caribbean, and particularly in Spanish-language scholarship, Fernando Ortiz' (2002 [1940]) transculturation theory has been a predominant paradigm for discussing the culturally transformative processes through which Afro-Cuban (and more broadly, Afro-Caribbean) culture and identity emerged through the crucible of racial slavery. In this dissertation I prefer ethnogenesis over transculturation for discussing the emergence of Afro-

viceregal age. The African experience in colonial Peru, like in many other parts of the Americas, was both ethnogenic and conservative of aspects of West and Central African traditions. The particular contexts of the Nasca Jesuit estates offer a case study of the processes of the construction of slave societies and the building of meaning in the daily experience of enslaved subjects within the coercive structures of estate administration. Through an archaeological and ethnohistorical approach, this dissertation contends that within the context of the coercive and totalizing institution of slavery on coastal Jesuit haciendas, enslaved actors found modes for expression, the maintenance of cultural traditions, engaged with a market economy beyond the estate, and exerted limited control over one's own fate within the hacienda system.

The Society of Jesus was among the largest slaveholders in all of the Americas (Cushner 1980:89), and Jesuit generals in Rome, finding the company's extraordinary reliance on enslaved labor contentious to their primary mission of evangelization, often ordered provincial superiors in the Americas to try to reduce their numbers of slaves (Klaiber 2007: 8-9). At the time of the Jesuit expulsions in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, the Society of Jesus owned about 17,653 slaves in the Spanish Americas and 5,686 in Brazil (Alden 1996: 524). The haciendas of San Joseph and San Xavier of Nasca's Ingenio Valley were the largest and most profitable of the Jesuit vineyards in Peru (Macera 1966: 8-9, cuadro I). By the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, these two estates together had nearly 600 slaves. A small number of freed African-descendants, and persons of indigenous or mixed

Peruvian culture, because of the former's focus on creative internal processes rather than a reliance on external stimuli. As the term suggests, ethnogenesis is a process of group formation, but more specifically, a transformation of social identity within a group. While many have used the term as synonymous with processes of ethno-political formation, especially in response to external forces, which lead to cultural distinctions as novel boundary markers (e.g. Kurin 2012), following Barbara Voss (2008), I imply a process distinct from polity development that need not result in a monolithic cultural entity. Voss explicates that ethnogenesis is "the unpredictable outcome of practical strategies and tactics and of cultural creativity, rather than a predicable process driven by external stimuli" (2008: 33). As such, ethnogenesis is a creative and messy process, which has as much to do with the politically complex business of delineating the boundaries between identities as with generating new social norms and forms of signification.

ancestry, were also employed by and lived on the haciendas. Documents from the parish of Ingenio and the Archdiocese of Lima suggest that the Ingenio Valley was predominantly black, and had no permanent indigenous presence for most of the colonial period and well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, although frequented by itinerant indigenous and mestizo wage laborers. The enslaved communities of the Jesuit haciendas in Nasca were diverse, cosmopolitan, and multilingual, with members originating from various regions of Atlantic Africa and the Americas.

Historical studies have broadly described the management of agricultural properties and enterprises of the Society of Jesus in the Americas (e.g. Macera 1966, 1968; Colmenares 1969; Riley 1972; Polo y la Borda 1977; Cushner 1980, 1982, 1983; Negro and Marzal 2005; among others). These investigations have illuminated the administrative strategies of agroindustrial enterprise, contributing significantly to understandings of the colonial institution of the hacienda. From these works, it becomes clear that the very particular management strategies and theological perspectives of Jesuit estate administrators, business managers, rectors, and chaplains created a highly structured estate environment which had a unique effect on enslaved subject formation and the development of enslaved communities. While the study of political and economic institutions and policy can enlighten the discourse of the effects of colonial power on these workers as individuals and social groups, such power manifests in more coercive ways in the daily lived experience (see Comaroff 1985; Comaroff and Comaroff 1986, 1991, 1997). This dissertation aims to contribute to the examination of the administrative attitudes and practices which contributed to the generation of the power structures that prefigured the daily praxis of coerced labor on two viticultural Jesuit estates. Within such structures and administrative strategies of discipline enslaved laborers responded to the conditions of hacienda life as cultural

agents, contributing to the construction of enslaved communities and building meaning through an engagement with the routine.

Early scholarship on Jesuit slavery suggested that Jesuit estates practiced a “softer” form of slavery than on lay estates, evidenced by theological and moral writings by members of the Society of Jesus concerned with the salvation of the enslaved, combined with the fact that there was never a single violent protest or rebellion on a Jesuit hacienda in Peru. Other scholars, like Cushner (1975), unconvinced of “better” treatment by hacienda population statistics, which demonstrate low birth rates and high child mortality, have emphasized the highly stratified social hierarchy of enslaved communities and the importance of religious indoctrination as factors which contributed to a “docile” workforce. However, more recent historical studies have examined evidence that enslaved Afro-Peruvians were extraordinarily adept at navigating Spanish litigation procedures as well as using capital resources beyond the hacienda economy (e.g. Jouve-Martín 2009; McKinley 2010, 2012, 2014; O’Toole 2009, 2012; Soulodre-La France 2006). There was also something quite unique to the social and material conditions of the Jesuit hacienda as an institution. This dissertation contends that examining the slavery on Jesuit estates must look beyond questions of domination and resistance to understand how the particular forms of coercion functioned in such an environment. From legal documents generated in the decades after the Jesuit expulsion, it seems that there was an ever increasing amount of discord among the enslaved community, who endured a number of administrative changes imposed by the Crown for the operation of the estates, which interrupted prevailing customs in family life, foodways, and religious obligations. These tensions eventually manifested in 1819, a half century after the Jesuit expulsion, when 34 people fled San Xavier to seek the Crown’s justice in Lima, and a violent uprising at the same hacienda in 1827, in which the estate’s administrator

was murdered by a slave. The post-Jesuit events and rebellions should not be taken to suggest that Jesuit administration was somehow more tolerable, but rather Jesuit estates represent a specifically coercive total phenomenon which regimented and ordered daily life through specific processes of subject making which collapsed at the moment of the expulsion.

In this dissertation, I approach the institution of slavery as totalizing in nature, exerting power over all aspects of the lives of the enslaved. While it may not be possible to discern all of the ways the institution exerted its power over enslaved subjects, or the full range of responses to such coercion, archaeology in conjunction with historical approaches aids in such reconstruction. A study of daily life and routine is necessarily connected to both industrial and domestic spaces and activities. This dissertation contends and documents how industrial and domestic spaces and practices were inextricably entangled and prefigured by the material conditions of the productive estate. This study is thus rooted in the routine and day-to-day of the enslaved.

Employing an aesthetic approach to power and enslaved praxis within the hacienda environment, I explore the dynamic construction of meaning and hierarchy within enslaved communities that draws on both strategic and habitual practices. Through an examination of hacienda aesthetics this dissertation maintains that such practices were crucial in the processes of Afro-Peruvian ethnogenesis on the Nasca estates, which drew on aspects of West and Central African traditions as well as novel and practical approaches to enslaved hacienda life. Placing material culture within the aesthetic field of the hacienda I address the process for the making of enslaved subjects and how such materials index structures of power and contention. Furthermore, this dissertation argues that slavery on Jesuit-owned estates, although operated under specific principals of labor as Christian discipline, were just as harsh, cruel and totalizing as slavery on secular estates. Efforts to reconstruct such praxis necessitate the interrogation of the material and

historical evidence for slave actions ranging from the mundane to active and overt resistance of hegemony. In order to address this prime concern a number of questions follow which this dissertation aims to address, at least in part: What were the modes for self and communal expression within an hacienda environment? What were the mechanisms for the processual production and generation of aesthetic traditions over time? How did enslaved actors supplement provisions from the estate, and how did such strategies effect levels of autonomy and slave hierarchies? How did enslaved actors engage markets beyond the hacienda? How did slaves structure and maintain hierarchies among themselves and how were these structures interfaced with administrative aims? How did Jesuit strategies of subject formation through processes of Christian indoctrination structure labor? How did the Jesuit doctrine of labor as Christian discipline operate in space? And, how did dramatic moments of change effect daily praxis on the estates – specifically what can be learned from the Crown expropriation of the properties at the moment of Jesuit expulsion?

### **Archaeology and the African in an Andean World**

In all the Iberian possessions outside of Europe, free and enslaved Africans played important roles in the social and economic fabric of everyday life, and the viceroyalty of Peru was no exception. Its capital, Lima, like many of its contemporary leading coastal cities in the New World, was a black metropolis. In 1636 population figures sent to the Crown by the Archbishop of Lima recorded nearly 54% of the total population of the city as African descended (see Bowser 1974: 341).<sup>3</sup> While Afro-Andeans represented a far less significant proportion of the population outside of the viceregal capital, colonial documents indicate substantial rural and

<sup>3</sup> This figure is derived by totaling the distinct African descended *casta* categories of negros (n=13,620) and mulatos (n=861) among the city's total population (n=27,064). (Bowser 1974: 341)

urban populations throughout coastal, highland, and eastern *yungas* regions of the Andean corridor, with particularly important populations in prominent highland cities such as Cusco, Arequipa, and Potosí. In short, both enslaved and free Africans lived everywhere Spaniards did throughout the viceroyalty of Peru.

Today in Peru, as in other Andean nations, there is overwhelming popular association of black identity with the coast and the lowlands (see Feldman 2006: 14, 75; Rahier 1998). While it is true that today most citizens of Andean countries with African ancestry live on the coast and in the *yungas*, in the colonial past this distribution of the diaspora was much more widespread and included some of the highest-altitude and most inhospitable regions of the highlands.

Unfortunately, our anthropological and ethnohistorical understandings of these early Afro-Andean populations have been limited by an ethnographic presentist perception of the descendant population. Despite the undeniable evidence of the influence and ubiquity of African labor in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, popular notions associating race with physical space, together with the lack of a substantial descendant population in the high Andes, have excluded the African from both popular and, to a degree, academic discourse on colonial history, rendering the African invisible (Weaver 2008a).

A number of historical studies since the 1970s have brought to light the practices and administration of the coercive institutions of slavery in the colonial Andes, as well as how free Afro-Andeans have engaged with colonial structures (e.g. Aguirre 2005; Arrelucea 2009; Bowser 1974; Bryant 2014; Brockington 2006; Crespo 1977; Cushner 1975; Harth-Terré 1973; Jouve 2008; Lane 2002; Lockhart 1975; McKinley 2010, 2012, 2014; Millones 1971, 1973; O'Toole 2012; van Deusen 2012, 2013; among others). However, many questions regarding how power was brokered in the spatial and material conditions of slavery in the viceroyalty (and



young Republic) of Peru, remain unasked and unanswered, and should be the domain of Andeanist archaeology. These questions often are in the historical archaeology of other regions of the Americas. The history and culture of slave societies is best if approached archaeologically as well; historical documents by themselves, while informative of general demographics and the management of slave labor, are usually devoid of the voice of the slave.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, most free blacks in the viceroyalty existed on the margins of society, making them difficult study subjects for the ethnohistorian. However, combining historical inquiry with the archaeological study of the material conditions in which marginalized peoples lived and worked, it is possible to access the patterns of their daily life.

Historical archaeology in Peru is a young and small subdiscipline, especially compared to other areas of the Americas. In Peru, historical archaeology has only received significant attention in recent years, and its principal questions have developed out of late pre-Hispanic archaeology and ethnohistory (Van Buren 2010a; Jamieson 2005: 364). There has been a long tradition among Andeanist anthropology and archaeology for maintaining a close association with the discipline of history, particularly ethnohistory, and making use of 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century source material such as ordenanzas, visitas, and the chronicles for better understanding the archaeology of pre-Hispanic polities (see Julien 1993). In this way, the historical archaeology of the central and southern Andes shares in what Mesoamerican historical archaeologists have described as a continuity between pre-Columbian archaeology and historical archaeology, a seamless continuum that North Americanists have often struggled to obtain (Fowler 2010: 429).

<sup>4</sup> Often legal testimony was given by enslaved persons or free African-descended individuals in colonial and early Republican courts, and these “voices” can be very informative, but even these documents have limitations which should be complimented with studies of material culture in order to gain a more holistic perspective. A strong attempt to highlight Iberian-Atlantic colonial documents which feature Afro-Latin “voices” is a volume edited by McKnight and Garofalo (2009).

However, questions have tended to focus on the early colonial period and on the endurance of Andean cultural traditions in the wake of Spanish colonialism.

Recent historical archaeology in the Andes has explored themes of labor, acculturation processes, political economy, negotiated identities, space, missionization, and gender, all of which articulate with larger concerns regionally as well as within the disciplines of anthropology and social history at large (e.g. Jamieson 2000; Klaus 2008; Michaels 2009; Van Buren and Weaver 2012; Wernke 2003, 2013; Van Valkenburgh 2012; among others). Such projects have moved from asking questions about acculturation and hybridity to examining the complex issues of the mutual influence exerted by actors of a plurality of cultural, ethnic, and gendered orientations to understand the development of political, economic, and ideational relationships within the context of a developing world economy. Still, much of this Andeanist research has tended to focus early, and while it has been grounded in an understanding of prehispanic cultures, it has generally lacked temporal depth in the other direction, which could potentially link cultural processes and conditions to the ethnographic present (Van Buren 2010b). This dissertation, while firmly rooted in the concerns of the historical archaeology of the region, offers a push to Andeanist archaeology, both temporally and in scope, by examining the *longue durée* of the colonial and early republican era agricultural institution of the hacienda, and the labor its system depended upon for production.

Still, due to the ubiquity of sub-Saharan Africans in Spanish settlements, the question could be asked why historical archaeological projects focusing on these dominant questions of Peruvianist historical archaeology have not encountered the African archaeologically. Few projects have addressed the African element of their sites; a notable exception has been those focusing on the excavation of *casonas* in Lima which recovered identifiable markers of Afro-

Andean material culture, such as tobacco pipes (i.e. Fhon 2010; Flores et al. 1981). Invisibility, it seems, is not necessarily due to the types of sites archaeologists have chosen to excavate in Peru, but rather a combination of a heavy reliance on material culture – the need for more balanced engagement with historical documents, the questions asked, and the probable reality that most Afro-Andean material culture is not specific to members of the diaspora, but is shared by Spaniards and mestizos alike. By and large, Afro-Andean invisibility is a middle-range problem, and one which nearly all historical archaeological projects in Peru can attempt to address, regardless of site type.

Exemplifying this dilemma, in 1997 Greg Smith published an article in *Historical Archaeology* reexamining his earlier dissertation work completed in 1991 under the umbrella of the Moquegua Bodegas Project,<sup>5</sup> which in the light of new historical documents attempted to understand the earlier work in terms of multiethnic influences including Hispanic, Andean, and African. Without a clear ethnic-correlate in the archaeological record, Smith was not able to distinguish between the material culture of native Andeans and mestizos from that of the minority African population, but newly identified historical documentation allowed him to acknowledge the possibilities, especially as pertaining to local ceramic production. Building on the foundations of such work, Peruvianist historical archaeologists might draw on methodological and theoretical tools developed by diasporanists working elsewhere in the Americas.<sup>6</sup> The argument that enslaved actors adopted new forms of material culture through

<sup>5</sup> Prudence Rice and her team offered the first archaeological descriptions of viticultural estates in southern Peru, and this dissertation and archaeological project is deeply indebted to the Moquegua Bodegas Project, credited as the first large-scale historical archaeological exploration in the Andes (see Rice and Ruhl 1989; Rice 1994, 1996, 2011; Rice and Beck 1993; Watanabe et al. 1990).

<sup>6</sup> For instance, in North America archaeologists have been able to detect the “near invisible” traces of agency among minority groups by borrowing concepts like Ardener’s (1975) “muted groups”(see Little 1994, 1997:227) and W.E.B. Du Bois’ (1994 [1903]: 5) “double-consciousness” (see Shackel 2000: 234; Mullins 1996). A group is muted in contrast to a dominant group by its inability to express itself outside of the hegemonic parameters that control the meanings and uses of material culture. Archaeologists have had success in identifying such groups by

pragmatic processes while retaining West and Central African traditions, laid out in this dissertation, and examined through the lens of aesthetics, will provide future researchers a springboard from which to engage dialectically with previous research. The absence of identifiably African material culture does not preclude the successful identification of Atlantic African cultural traditions and practices within colonial contexts.

An Andeanist archaeology of the African diaspora might contribute to themes relevant in the well-established traditions of African diasporanist archaeology in North America and the Caribbean. In recent years, important themes in the historical archaeology of the African diaspora throughout the Atlantic World have revolved around issues of agency, exploring how despite conscripted labor regimes, social inequalities, and racism, free and enslaved persons of African descent have been able to enact their own agency, make rational choices, participate economically and politically and resist and circumvent authority (see Ogundiran and Falola 2007: 3-45). In general, African diaspora archaeology has examined a number of different contextual situations, most of them related either to the lived experience of slavery or resistance against the slave system, including maroonage (e.g. Nichols 1988; Sayers 2008; Deagan and Landers 1999; Weik 1997; Orser 1996; Funari 2007; Agorsah 2007). In the Caribbean, archaeological discussions of racial and chattel slavery have tended to concern the spatial organization and built environment of slavery (e.g. Delle 1998, 1999, 2000; Armstrong 1999; Armstrong and Kelly 2000; Singleton 2001), patterns of consumption, production and exchange

accounting for the variation and “noise” in material patterns that account for the subtle ways different groups engaged materially and constructed meaning. Du Bois’ concept of double consciousness has been used to explain the polyvalence of material culture, where engagement with the same set of material parameters represents both dominant discourse and a sense of self that is somehow distinct – Du Bois writing specifically about members of the African diaspora in the Americas described it as a conflict of being in two “worlds.”

by enslaved persons (e.g. Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005; Hauser 2008; Smith 2008), as well as religious expressions (e.g. Fennell 2007a; Domínguez 1986).

A serious examination of the material culture of the African diaspora in Peru can contribute to important debates in the historical anthropology of colonialism, but also more specifically aiding in the understanding of processes of ethnogenesis versus cultural continuity among the African diaspora, and domination versus slave agency (see Yelvington 2001: 232), by developing an archaeological dataset for a region which has not yet seen an investigation of this kind. Likewise, an archaeological examination of the African in the Andes answers the call for a truly diasporic perspective in the widest sense (Weik 2004: 32). This dissertation offers data broadening comparisons globally, through the archaeological contribution to a better understanding of the historical and cultural origins of the diaspora in the Andes. The findings of this research demonstrate ethnogenic processes on the Nasca estates combined a number distinct Atlantic African aesthetic traditions in processes of material engagement that cannot easily be categorized by the dichotomy of domination and resistance.

### **An Archaeology of the Jesuit Haciendas of Nasca**

A concerted effort to systematically study the material culture of the Afro-Peruvian diaspora must first begin with attention to those places most densely occupied by African-descended peoples. Through archaeological survey and excavation, combined with ethnohistorical research, this dissertation therefore offers the initial steps toward approximating the processes of enslaved subject formation and the constitution of enslaved communities through the daily lives and practices enslaved workers and residents of sub-Saharan African origin at the two Jesuit estates: San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca and San Joseph de la Nasca,

and their annexes, respectively owned by the Jesuit schools of the Colegio<sup>7</sup> de San Pablo in Lima, and the Colegio Grande de la Transfiguración in Cusco. In 1619 the Cusco and Lima Jesuits received in donation their first properties, respectively, San Joseph and San Pablo. The latter became an annex of the much larger San Xavier in 1657. The schools continued to acquire annex properties throughout the valley until the Jesuit expulsion from the Spanish Empire. After the expulsion, the estates became property of the Crown until Peruvian independence, during which they became haciendas of the Peruvian state. In 1837 they were sold into private hands, where they remained, pending the agrarian reforms of the 1970s. At present day, the two principal haciendas and many of their annexes are modern towns, with very little surface remains of colonial features and architecture, apart from two monumental baroque churches.<sup>8</sup> While dissertation offers broader secondary goals of understanding the Jesuit administration of these haciendas in a diachronic frame, by also examining the archaeology and history of the pre-Jesuit and post-Jesuit periods, the emphasis is the Jesuit occupation from 1619 to 1767.

From a contemporary, (post-) modern perspective, the dominant colonial worldview is filled with ironies and contradictions, but understanding these cultural logics is necessary for identifying both structures of power and the daily lived colonial experience. The title of this dissertation, “Fruit of the Vine, Work of Human Hands,” comes from the Presentation of the

<sup>7</sup> Throughout this dissertation the term *colegio* is used rather than its English equivalent college, in order to distinguish the 16<sup>th</sup> through 18<sup>th</sup> century usage of the term from its modern US American significance. In the Spanish Americas, *colegio* refers to a secondary school, rather than an educational institution for post-secondary education, as is typically signified by the word “college” in the United States. During the colonial period, males age 12 through 25 could be enrolled in Jesuit colegios, which offered courses with an emphasis in classics, philosophy, and theology.

<sup>8</sup> These churches as well as the inventories of the Jesuit haciendas have been the subject of a study by the architect Sandra Negro, who focused on the types of infrastructure and the possible physical organization of the haciendas based on observations of the standing church architecture and the structures and goods listed in the inventories, pertaining to the main haciendas and their annexes (see Negro 2004, 2005, 2014). The perspective offered by this dissertation is more holistic, in that using anthropological archaeology and ethnohistory, it explores the material culture in order to better understand the quotidian experience of enslaved laborers on these estates.

Gifts in the Liturgy of the Eucharist of the Catholic Mass, during the priest's offering of the cup. The prayer acknowledges the work of creation, the grapes, and the work of man, which produced the wine which is offered, to become through transubstantiation the second species of the Eucharist, the "spiritual drink": the blood of Christ. Wine was an important and ancient symbol of Mediterranean civilization, indispensable to the Iberian civilizing project in the Americas, and became an important commodity in colonial Peru, but it was essential to, and iconic of, the Blessed Sacrament. Neither the Jesuits, nor society at large in 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-century Peru, saw contradiction or irony in the production of slave-made wine, some of which was reserved for the celebration of the Mass. Jesuit, and broader Catholic views on slavery acknowledged the basic humanity of the Christianized enslaved African, conceding equality and brotherhood in Christ, but perpetuating a rigid social and racial hierarchy and bondage on earth.

Accessing the specific modes of how enslaved subjects were produced on Jesuit estates and how their daily praxis was generative of particular structures for hacienda hierarchy and the constitution of slave society is a project best approached through both archaeological and historical perspectives. Each disciplinary method offers a unique dataset which facilitates particular aspects of these complex questions. Historical research of the Jesuit estate largely informs an understanding of administrative strategies reflecting the acquisition practices of the Jesuit colegios, the building of landed estate infrastructure, the broader economic impacts of the estates, as well as the ways Jesuits thought about salver and Africans. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the large numbers of administrative documents produced by Crown agents in the wake of the Jesuit expulsion also highlight the impacts of the Crown's expropriation of the haciendas and new management strategies on the political economy of the properties as well as the enslaved communities. An archaeological perspective offers an interrogation of the material;

it allows for a meticulous reconstruction of daily praxis from past material practices and behaviors. This opens up both the historical and archaeological record to be manipulated in concert toward the exploration of daily praxis.

Given historical evidence, there is reason to believe that Jesuit haciendas were managed similarly to those owned by lay individuals (Cushner 1980: 79; Ewald 1976; Riley 1976). However, there were some significant differences, which make the prospect of historical and archaeological inquiry particularly important. The fact that Jesuit haciendas were owned and managed by a single institution for multiple lifetimes means that there was a kind of stability in operational strategy and the conditions under which enslaved and free laborers worked. This increases the historical accessibility<sup>9</sup> of these properties, and stabilizes larger patterns in the archaeological record. The great number of historical documents containing accounting records, inventories, letters, and litigation pertaining to Jesuit properties makes for a richly-integrated exercise in historical archaeology.

In an effort to explore the quotidian experience of the enslaved laborers of San Joseph and San Xavier, constituted by domestic and agroindustrial activities, both synchronic and diachronic approaches were employed in probing the spatial and material conditions of the haciendas, and how these conditions changed over time. The findings of this dissertation suggest that these estates adhered to specific *hacienda aesthetics* (see Chapter 2) constituting a set of material signs which indexed, symbolized, and were iconic of a variety of discreet meanings for different participants, prefiguring the daily lived experience of hacienda life, and opened spaces of contestation in an otherwise tightly controlled and hierarchical environment. Aesthetics within

<sup>9</sup> Due to the massive amounts of documents generated and collected by the Crown during the Jesuit expulsion, the vast majority of our collective historical knowledge about colonial haciendas in the Spanish Americas comes principally from studies of Jesuit properties, not the least of which have been the historical works produced by Peruvianists such as Cushner (1980), Marzal (1992-1994, 2005), and Macera (1966, 1968).



the hacienda environment both produced particular types of colonial subjects and workers (Gikandi 2011: 188-232; Ranci re 2004, 2010), and a mode for gaining control over aspects of the quotidian experience that were otherwise dominated by institutional structure. The productive and residential cores of the haciendas, dominated by the massive baroque churches centered on the haciendas' plazas, exemplified the colonial Jesuit ideology of labor as Christian discipline (Rovira 1989) in the spatial and material conditions of the haciendas. Space and architecture on the estates were specifically designed to provide a high degree of order and structure, and integrated mechanisms which maximized and extended the gaze of overseers.

Because haciendas were totalizing institutions that dominated almost all aspects of enslaved workers' lives, labor and agroindustrial activity permeated even domestic space. The results of my excavations have revealed the entangled relationship between work and rest, and productive and domestic activities. This is especially visible in trash depositions which appear to have frequently alternated between primarily domestic and agroindustrial refuse. The nature of work and daily life on these Nasca estates relied both on the habitual and routine as well as creative uses of a repertoire of shared signs, constituting an aesthetic which reinforced and constructed social difference as well as unity. Archaeological findings suggest that slaves likely had a good deal of control over their own diets through the husbandry of small animals and cultivation of family gardens, which would have supplemented food provisioned by the administrators. Documentary evidence suggests that female marketers controlled a significant amount of capital and engaged with an economy beyond the estates. Archaeologically, African cultural aesthetics are evident in the production of ceramic amphora storage jars (*botijas*) by male enslaved master ceramicists for the wine and brandy produced on the haciendas, as well as in everyday tools which bear incised, impressed, or scraped patterns typically associated with

West and Central African cultures. Small personal items such as tobacco pipes also bear African symbols, and for their owners, may have referenced ethnic identities which predated their lives on the haciendas to reinforce social position and status within the hacienda environment.

Archaeological and ethnohistorical research also suggests that the history of San Joseph and San Xavier has been punctuated by several transformative events, some of which occurred as processes over many years and some, instantaneous and dramatic – both opened ruptures in the social fabric of the estates. In the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, the first colonial farmsteads and estates in the Ingenio Valley witnessed the indigenous depopulation of the valley and contributed to the establishment of a substantial enslaved population of Atlantic African origin. This demographic shift had a profound impact on the construction of the resultant colonial landscape, and how later populations engaged with the remnants of earlier landscapes. Throughout the tenure of the Jesuits at San Joseph and San Xavier, archaeological data suggests earthquake events posed a danger to the estate and at some point prior to the 1740s, the results of earthquake action may have been responsible for a massive rebuilding effort at San Xavier. The most extraordinarily transformative event, however, was the expropriation of the estates by the Crown in 1767 during the Jesuit expulsion, which impacted both the physical and administrative organization of the haciendas as well as modes of production, community relationships, and the health of the enslaved population. These transformations can be teased from the historical record, but are corroborated with certain clarity archaeologically, visible in changes in the use of spaces across the sites of the former estates and the availability of certain domestic goods.

This dissertation offers the first archaeological description and discussion of enslaved Afro-Peruvian material culture. More specifically, it argues through these data and ethnohistorical documentation that despite the coercive and totalizing institution of slavery on

coastal Jesuit haciendas, enslaved actors found specific avenues for self-expression, maintenance of cultural traditions and cosmovisions, engagement with a market economy beyond the estate, and, to a very limited degree, the determination of one's own fate within the hacienda system. The daily praxis of these individuals, however, cannot be explained through a reductionist model of domination and resistance (Liebmann and Murphy 2010), but must be explored through the lens of labor, which lies at the dialectical nexus of top-down and bottom-up processes (Silliman 2001).

## CHAPTER II

### AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF SLAVERY: FROM RESISTANCE AND DOMINATION TO PRAXIS, PRODUCTION, AND THE SEMIOTICS OF AESTHETICS

The dialectics of power inherent in labor, as habitual practice and discipline, has been shown to produce particular types of laborers – a specific process of subject making (e.g. Kondo 1990; Salzinger 2003). From the everyday choices and actions workers make through their engagement with the labor system, it is possible to glean their responses to everyday differentials in power and the effects of the coercive system upon their abilities to assert difference within a hegemonic structure (Little 2007:68; Mullins 1999; Ortnor 2006:128-153; Shackel 2000). Therefore, an examination of the daily practice inherent in labor, as both discipline and the locus of social agency, has the potential to shed light on the dialectical nexus between top-down and bottom-up processes (Silliman 2001). The primacy of the material in the archaeological perspective draws into contrast how workers responded to their conscripted or enslaved circumstances as well as the particularities of their quotidian practices. Examining the daily lived experience through the lens of labor brings into focus the practices which are both structured by institutions and apparatus of power (Foucault 1977) and informed the shape of these structuring institutions (Bourdieu 1977; de Certeau 1988; Giddens 1984). In this chapter I argue that the adaptation of a combined aesthetic and semiotic approach can aid in the study of the praxis of enslaved actors within the totalizing institution of the hacienda. Labor is conceptualized as an important form of practice, and processes of material engagement are considered in both habitual and strategic dimensions of labor (and practice generally). Placing materials within an aesthetic field and using semiotic tools, it is possible to render the processes of subject formation within a

highly coercive institution, as well as gain an understanding of some aspects of the dynamics of the quotidian beyond the near inescapable poles of domination and object resistance.

While my research focuses on daily life and practice, I do not view my concern with the mundane and habitual as seated *only* in domestic life, nor my focus on political and economic engagement with structures of power as reflective *only* of the productive aspects of labor. This dissertation is mindful of the totality of the experiences of the enslaved within the hacienda environment, even as some aspects of that experience are not readily accessible within its scope. A traditional Marxist focus on labor posits the primacy of economic relationships inherent in work and brings to the fore the material conditions of labor. In the last two decades archaeologists have more fully realized the perspective of conceptualizing labor as practice and social, rather than strictly an economic phenomenon, furthering the dialog concerning labor, slavery, and the colonial experience beyond the dichotomy of domination/acculturation and resistance (e.g. Lightfoot 2005; Silliman 2004). These archaeologists have sought to conceive of labor as both a process and condition. For example, Stephen Silliman's work (2001, 2004) on Franciscan mission sites in south-central California presented a framework that considers labor as a "colonial imposition and form of discipline *and* as a strategy and locus of social agency and practice" (Silliman 2001:380, emphasis in original). Examining labor-as-practice allows the archaeologist to interpret the daily lived experience through a strategy focused on the polyvalence of material culture and the complexities of daily praxis, routine, and the lived bodily and social experiences. This task must synthesize top-down and bottom-up perspectives<sup>1</sup> to understand how material expectations and demands were placed on workers and understanding

<sup>1</sup> Certain types of historical and archaeological data speak to certain aspects of these directional forces.

how these workers responded to, adapted to, and transformed their material reality (Silliman 2001: 384).

This dissertation takes the Iberian colonial institution of “hacienda,” which encompassed a bounded landscape, property, infrastructure, livestock, and people, as both a process and condition. This arrangement prefigured the social relationships of diverse actors to each other and the estate through material means. This dual focus on process and condition enables exploration of how enslaved laborers were variously subjugated through policy or troubled the hacienda regime through a range of resistance. Because there are no wholly dominated nor wholly resistive subjects, understanding the object personhood of the enslaved requires an understanding of the daily-lived experience – the mundane of both work and home life.

I offer a case study to work through the archaeological examination of the daily lived experience of slavery which places primacy on material engagement and quotidian acts of meaning building, which engage coercive structures in often subtle, but no less important ways. In contrast, actor resistance must be understood as specific, targeting perceived wrongs, rather than diffuse opposition to a hegemonic order. By framing the question of the slave experience in the binary language of resistance versus domination, and only looking for instruments of oppression versus signatures of resistance, whether the overt resistance of rebellion or as “weapons of the weak” (Scott 1985), the broader meanings embedded in the material conditions of the hacienda are overlooked. That is not to say that acts of resistance are not important. Rather, this chapter is concerned with outlining the development of heuristics for understanding the interdependence of multiple actors and a comprehensive range of responses to broadly defined fields of power (Liebmann and Murphy 2010). By examining labor, and in this case, enslaved labor, as both a process and condition, the structuring apparatus which were intended to

produce a certain type of worker are exposed, as well as the conditions which allowed, through daily engagement, opportunities for the co-constitution of meaning and the exercise of personal agency and control over certain aspects of an enslaved individual's own life.

I focus on aesthetic fields as a means for rethinking the dialectics of power in racial slavery, and more specifically the hacienda. The aesthetic references a suite of culturally-bounded and materialized practices experienced through the senses, which generate and call upon various signs, and which in turn are themselves polyvalent in a diverse and multi-cultural population such as an hacienda environment. Jacques Rancière's concepts of the *distribution of the sensible* (or, *partage du sensible*) and *police (la police)* are crucial to an analysis of how people engage with the material through the aesthetic field. I also propose that these tools of analysis are compatible with Peircian semiotic approaches to the study of material culture (Preucel 2006). A semiotic approach offers a means for exploring the production of aesthetic regimes, as well as a method for scaling between the material engagement of individuals, factions, communities, and larger social structures. Additionally, such a concern for semiotics offers a compelling bridge between political economy and the production of meaning – a process inadequately and deterministically conceived in traditional Marxist frameworks. The remainder of this chapter offers a discussion of an aesthetic approach to power and then turns to the application of a semiotic approach to praxis. The chapter concludes with examples for the utility of the semiotics of aesthetics within the hacienda environment.

### **Aesthetics and Power**

Both Michel Foucault and Rancière conceive of power as a ubiquitous social field. In the case of Foucault (e.g. 1980), the dominant structures of power define what is knowable, and in

the work of Rancière, the very object of power is to define what is sensible, as in, among other things, what can be heard or seen, and the range of behaviors which can respond to what is perceived through the senses. The latter is at the heart of Rancière's *Dissensus* (2010), which posits that disagreement itself is a conflict resulting over what in fact is audible and what is say-able. Disagreement regulates the relationship between the observation of the world through the senses and how one acts upon sensory information; it is "a conflict between a given distribution of the sensible and what remains outside it" (Rockhill 2004: xv). Rancière defines the distribution of the sensible as "the system of self-evident facts of sense perception that simultaneously discloses the existence of something in common and the delimitations that define the respective parts and positions within it" (2004: 7). That is to say, it is a system that regulates the sensory experience, creating boundaries that establish the divisions between what is visible or audible within a particular aesthetico-political regime (Rockhill 2004: xii). Implied here is a process of contention between coeval systems of representation, of ways of experiencing and acting in the world: one which is recognized and legitimated, which has aspects shared among subjects, and a host of which are muted, disjointed, and idiosyncratic. The introduction of new kinds of shared signs into such a structure transforms the distribution of the sensible, as well as the relationships between subjects. As described by Rancière, the sensible, the aesthetic regime of the material world, is intimately tied to contestations of power, and thus defines the political.

To place materials within the aesthetic field is to draw out their inherent political import in subject making and in reconfiguring subjectivities and processes of subjectification (Smith 2015). An aesthetic approach considers the material not only in relation to social actors, but as part of a highly structured (one might say, hegemonic) regime that ultimately regulates how social subjects are formed and recognized. Rancière rejects the idea of a political sphere (see



Burgos 2015: 19); *politics* is not the exercise of power, but a specific mode of action: an engagement with the fields of power (Rancière 2010: 27-29). Rancière draws on Aristotelian concerns for the participatory aspects of the political and for a particular type of political subject. Ultimately for Rancière, “political conflict does not involve an opposition between groups with different interests. It forms an opposition between logics that count the parties and parts of the community on different ways” (2010: 35). He defines the essential work of politics as the configuration of political spaces, which manifest through dissensus<sup>2</sup> as the presence of two [or more] coeval [aesthetic] worlds (Rancière 2010: 37). *The police* is defined in direct opposition to such a definition of politics, in that it represents the dominant distribution of the sensible; it “is not a social function but a symbolic constitution of the social,” and “its essence lies in a certain way of dividing up the sensible” (Rancière 2010: 36-37). To be clear, identities and specific signs, and groups and individuals are not divided by politics, but rather, by the police, which works to preserve the habitual nature of dominant aesthetic discourse. In this way, Rancière is more or less in agreement with Foucault’s (1977) use of the term, which the latter theoretician used isomorphically with prison in reference to both a symbolic constitution as well as actual institutional law enforcement (see Johnson 2014). In fact, in many respects these two theoreticians have compatible perspectives about power and the mechanisms that produce subjects and dialectical discourse of the political, while focusing on distinct aspects of subjecthood and subject making.

In order to disrupt or transform a police order, an actor must first undergo a process of subjectification, that is, become recognized as having a place within the political order (Rancière 2004: 7-14). This subject formation is the same process that results in the transformation of the

<sup>2</sup> Alternately translated as *disagreement* in Rancière 2004.

police regime, through the very recognition of the individual or group as members of a particular subject class or grouping, thus reconfiguring the shared distribution of the sensible. As new subjectivities are produced within a police order, they are identified relationally against each other (Rancière 1995: 66). In society, it seems as though individuals move in and out of subject statuses frequently, thus continually transforming the aesthetico-political regime in the process. Moving from one police order to the next alters the dominant distribution of the sensible. This is done through a process which Rancière describes as subject dis-identification<sup>3</sup> with the status quo – or in other terms, the hegemonic – through specific resistance and political action. In this instance, resistance is defined as specific actions targeted to perceived wrongs (Rancière 1999: 39), however, not all politics need be defined so narrowly. Another way of thinking about this political process is as the disagreement and contention of the meaning of specific sets of signs within the aesthetico-political regime.

Aesthetics are developed out of particular historical contexts (Eagleton 1990). However, the historical processes that generate and produce aesthetico-political regimes are only partially visible themselves; they are also partially obscured by the distribution of the sensible (Rancière 2004:15). The processes of subjectification cause transformations in the aesthetico-political regime, and both new structures and aesthetics emerge from the ruptures caused by contested meanings. One of the consequences of the reconfiguration of the distribution of the sensible is the emergence of new art forms. Part of the process that creates the spaces for the emergence of new aesthetic fields also circumscribes the political import of new art forms (Rancière 2010: 134-151); this is the process that assigns industrial utility to some materials, or infuses others

<sup>3</sup> Adam Burgos (2015: 164-169) makes the case for the implicit complimentary process of the *re-identification* of subjects within the aesthetico-political regime, despite Rancière's silence on the mechanics of this process. As subjects dis-identify with one police order, they must logically act in a process of identification with another.

with the subversive energies of political art (see also Gell 1996). Every piece of art, every tool, every material object, has a story, a unique import within the aesthetico-political regime, whose narrative implies hierarchical separations between material mediums, and carries moral, social, and political significance (Rancière 2010: 115-133). Within the aesthetic experience, there exists an ultimate division between the intentionality of the artist and how the spectator ultimately acts upon perceiving the art. Therefore the effects on the political subject of artistic expression, architecture, or the built environment, can never fully be anticipated. Aesthetic expression, therefore, has the potential to spur new social relationships and inform new behaviors, different from the intentions of those who sought to create the representations.

While there is a generative and unpredictable aspect to the aesthetic field, there is also a hierarchy of aesthetics that forms and produces subjects through the police order, which resides largely within a subject's habitual practices. Similarly, Foucault (e.g. 1977, 1978) addresses the deterministic perspective of the embodied and sensual aspects of material regimes, specifically the political import of the aesthetics or art and architecture – technologies of discipline are difficult to subvert precisely because they constrain the ways of knowing and impose self-discipline and self-monitoring. For Rancière, this aspect of the technologies and apparatus of discipline which produce subjects, are manifestations in the material world of the aesthetic regime and the particular ways the sensible is partitioned and divided by the police order.

Foucault posits that these same technologies can also be the strategic locus of resistance to the imposition of object subjectivity. This is perhaps most clear in his discussion of the 'aesthetic of the self' in *The History of Sexuality* (1978), which presents a technology of selfhood and resistance to subjectivity which explicitly engages with the aesthetic paradigm. The aesthetics of the self has import not only for the individual, but also for group identities, whose

subjecthood is determined through attention to aesthetics and embodied presentation of the self. By gaining power over such personal aesthetic representation, groups and individuals gain power to resist or transform their relationship to object subjectivity as imposed from outside their persons. This form of embodied “resistance” can also be understood as a disagreement (*sensu* Rancière) in which the shared logics of the aesthetic regime (the police order) are contested; this embodied political discourse most often located in habitual practice, the aesthetic presentation of self, is at once both the locus of subjectification and personal agency.

### **Semiotics and Praxis**

The aesthetic concerns for praxis as discussed above through the work of Rancière (and compared against that of Foucault) emerge out of a particular post-Marxian approach and tradition that attempts to understand the role of aesthetic considerations in dialects of power and the formation of subjects. Although distinct from other neo-Marxists, and initially responding critically to the work of Gilles Deleuze and Jean-François Lyotard on figural aesthetics (see Rockhill 2004: xii-xiii), Rancière’s aesthetic perspective can be placed in conversation with other broadly-defined practice approaches that emphasize the study of how particular discourse becomes dominant through political, economic, and historical processes (see Williams 1994). While Marx emphasizes processes and structure over active agency of individuals, practice approaches diverge in that the processual construction of structure occurs in a dialectic between the individual (as agent) and larger structures of power; what is important among all of these theorists, broadly identified with approaches to praxis, is understanding how people engage, and thus transform or maintain such structures.

Rancière's conceptualization of the aesthetic makes use of semiotic theory in its relation of the symbolic import of sensory experience and the actions spurred by that experience across the distribution of the sensible. However, an analysis of praxis within aesthetico-political regimes can be enhanced through a more explicit application of Peircean semiotic theory, particularly as archaeologists place materials within the aesthetic field in an attempt to better understand their relationships with the political, structures of hegemony, and processes of subjectification and identification. An approach rooted in the semiotics of Charles Sanders Peirce can bridge Marxian political economy and hermeneutic approaches, the latter of which are often limited by failures to account for dialectics of power (see Ulin 2001: 139).

Taking the material as complex signs imbued with various meanings and indexing multiple identities, each with their own political valence, has implications for the potential to straddle the boundaries between emic and etic interpretation. Discussing a Peircean semiotic approach to archaeological pragmatics, Robert Preucel and Alexander Bauer (2001) describe semiotics as a special kind of unification theory, embracing the epistemic disunity within ontological unity. Preucel (2006: 249) is particularly adept at indicating both the utility of semiotic archaeology in providing tools for which sign relations mediate social being in culturally specific ways, and its potential dangers:

Signs function not simply to represent social reality, but also to create it and effect changes in that reality. Signs have agency by virtue of their ability to generate other signs. The control of this process via strategic action permits the fixing of meanings, as sign combinations come to be interpreted together as semiotic ideologies. And yet, these strategies come with certain risks since semiotic ideologies can always be questioned and challenged. Meaning is always unstable and constantly under negotiation.

While modern archaeological thought has inherited, as a legacy of structuralism, a predominant focus on Saussurian semiotics, a Peircean approach offers a number of distinct advantages (Preucel 2006; Parmentier 1994). Stemming from this influence, practice approaches

often place extraordinary emphasis on the didactic model of the sign, and emphasize the shared meanings of the dialectic, through the dichotomies of the signed and signifier. In such an ontology, dichotomies are identified in relational opposition to difference. The trichotomies of a Peircean approach, such as Firstness-Secondness-Thirdness, sign-object-interpretant, and icon-index-symbol, allow for the dynamics of mediation (see Preucel 2006: 44-66, 249), but also for polyvalence. These triadic relationships can also be seated hierarchically, as in orders of firstness, secondness, and thirdness, revealing a specific aesthetic logic of the sign (see Deacon 1997).

Following Pierce (1991: 141-143), all aspects of materiality can carry, refer to, or be meanings, depending on their specific relational contexts. An object or subject's relationship to meaning (and the meanings themselves) constantly change as individuals and sign communities engage with the material and their meanings, signs themselves that are ultimately the object's referents. This engagement is the process by which semiotic ideologies and hegemony emerge and become fixed, if only momentarily.

Rancière's perspective of the aesthetico-political regime is rooted in structural concern for the dialectic, but it comes very close and is ultimately adaptable to a pragmatic approach. For Rancière all identities, all subjecthoods, bounded by a police order are relational to each other, and all of these relationships are transformed together as new subjectivities emerge through political process. The distribution of the sensible represents shared meanings, fixed signs and logics, but these are constantly challenged through disagreement. This contention posits alternatives to the hegemonic order, and could potentially be understood as an infinite number of other possible aesthetic regimes awaiting legitimation through political process.

As an analytical tool, a Peircean semiotic approach allows the investigator to view an object as a complex sign which can operate simultaneously as a symbol, icon, or indexical, pointing to multiple referents which themselves may point to additional referents, forming a triadic web of significance. Pierce is also very specific in that each of these types of signs operate in very distinct ways in connecting the signed to the signified. For example, archaeologist Akinwumi Ogundiran (2002:428, 2009) explores the historical use of cowries in West Africa's Bight of Benin in the context of their iconic, indexical, and symbolic meanings and economic valuations, allowing him to view the shells as complex signs pointing to multiple referents. Cowries are iconic of female fertility, while simultaneously symbolizing wealth and power, index status, and hold significance as monetary instruments. These meanings are not fixed, but are multiple, allowing for a plurality of possible meanings which can of course change quite significantly over time.

The polyvalence of material signs is integral to semiotic processes. Webb Kean describes how material things, signs, placed within social fields can also function through the 'bundling' of their distinct material qualities (2003: 414). This polyvalent process also demonstrates the slipperiness of meaning. In the 'bundling' of these properties, the referents of a sign operate together; the individual referents of a sign potentially point to different things for different people in different settings, making it difficult for an outside observer to ascertain specific meanings. In contrast, the semiotic process of enregisterment (see Agha 2007:55, 81) binds and fixes sign's shared meanings through the mutual association of multiple signs across multiple channels of communication. The enregisterment process is roughly analogous to Rancière's process for the generation of new aesthetic fields from political discourse, the emergence of which relationally transforms the distribution of the sensible. The social value of a sign as an

aspect of its materiality, can potentially resituate, reify, or mystify the social relations of production that constituted its creation.

Ultimately, Marxist political economy as it has traditionally been applied by archaeologists has been unable to account for the multiple meanings embedded in material signs that can potentially illuminate the negotiation between the agency of individual actors and the structures they inhabit. However, it is possible to use semiotic tools to examine how meaning transforms the ways in which asymmetrical relationships of reciprocity are perceived. For example, in colonial patron-client relationships the exchange of goods or money for labor is viewed etically in terms of labor embedded in the value of commodities (Marx 1972 [1867]:205-8); the patron takes much more in than is given out. Yet, when taking into account how this relationship and the goods received for service may be imbued with great symbolic and social value, these signs also serve to mitigate the perception of what can be understood as essentially unequal relations of labor.

However, the Saussuerian application of semiotic theory in Pierre Bourdieu's discussion of symbolic capital (1977, 1991) offers an attempt to bridge Marxist political economy and a hermeneutic approach. Bourdieu describes an economy of not only goods, but signs and their referents, which are exchanged in culturally prefigured contexts. Signs, both linguistic and extra-linguistic for Bourdieu, are "to be understood and deciphered; they are also *signs of wealth*, intended to be evaluated and appreciated, and *signs of authority*, intended to be believed and obeyed," (1991:66). The distinctions between the politics and economy of capital, and social capital is the difference between *history 1* and *2* for post-colonial historian Dipesh Chakrabarty (2000). Through his examination of capitalism in India as a capitalism "other," the multiplicity of the ways politics and economy intersect in an historical dialectic becomes evident, which allows



for an indigenous envisioning of economic and political structures which is both unique and coeval to Western historical process; both exist in parallel as distinct paradigmatic ways for sign communities to understand the political and economic universe they inhabit, both of which have real import. *History 1* are those "histories 'posited by capital'" (*sensu* Marx) and *history 2*, are those "that do not belong to capital's 'life process'" (2000:50), but rather incorporate other semiotic qualities of the manifestations of power.

It is also the polyvalence of signs which makes possible processes of cultural syncretisms and hybridization. From a semiotic aesthetic perspective, in such instances, signs originating within distinct registers or even distinct aesthetico-political regimes are brought together as referents of a shared sign, the process of which necessitates the reformulation of the distribution of the sensible. This syncretic process is particularly common in New World religious practices which have emerged since European colonization, where signs indigenous to one sign community are fused with signs of a different community. However such practice never occurs in a political vacuum. Examining the signs within the aesthetic field brings to the fore the power relations and inherent subjectification that are necessarily aspects of such a process. For example, for the practitioner of Brazilian Candomblé, the rosary acts as a memetic device enabling prayerful communication to *Nossa Senhora do Rosário*, who is at once both the Catholic Mary, mother of Jesus, but also an *orixá*, a manifestation of the divine itself. The Yoruba sign of female divinity, the *orixá* and the Catholic sign of Mary become indexed referents not of each other, but of the material medium of the rosary as a sign, specifically as Our Lady of the Rosary, through negotiated processes within the colonial context of racial slavery, where the Yoruba practitioner's ability to introduce a new sign is tied to her recognition within the distribution of the sensible as a new subject. Ultimately, there is also a hierarchical

relationship to these specific signs which is policed and relational to a subject's own position, subordinating the sign of the orixá in some social settings and the Catholic saint's in others. The process of how signs relate to each other is itself an effect of subjectivities and dynamics of power in the oppositional processes of politics and police.

A Peircean semiotic approach to aesthetics provides the tools for examining the multiple, coeval registers operating within aesthetico-political regimes. Some of these registers are actively contested by subjects and emerge in competition for dominance, but most operate in habitual practice, rather than in the political foreground of daily life. Importantly, a semiotic approach also principally locates agency within human actors, who make use of the material and engage with it in various ways. A study of the distribution of the sensible and the policing of the aesthetico-political field focuses on the actions and responses of human actors through engagement with their senses. The world is composed of the material with immutable physical properties, but what those properties can say about the world, what is visible, is defined by the aesthetic as a system of relational signs, rather than some latent inherent agency of the material.

### **Considerations for the Semiotics of Hacienda Aesthetics**

An aesthetic approach calls upon an analysis of the "senses" and perceptions – how the material world is experienced through the senses, but in contrast to more phenomenological approaches, necessitates how signs are distributed and ordered through particular processes. The lived experience is aesthetic: sights, sounds, and tastes are better understood as material components of the aesthetico-political regime. The materiality of the sensible enters the archaeological record through material culture, architectural features, activity areas, and the

spatially-distributed relationship between such material signs across sites and the remnants of past cultural landscapes.

The *hacienda aesthetic* is the material aspect of the hacienda as both process and condition. It is also a suite of practices and patterns of material production and consumption which are semiotically linked to distinct aesthetic traditions (particularly African aesthetic traditions), but that are enacted within the hacienda environment through the distribution of the sensible. I understand the locus of these aesthetics to be situated within the habitus of the various participants in the hacienda system, mostly operating at a level that is not necessarily consciously enacted, although I do not exclude the possibility that certain practices are strategic and active. Taking this perspective to the materiality of the hacienda, everything from slave-made wine jars to architecture must be understood as multiple, active polyvalent signs, which, rather than necessarily signaling a resistive opposition to slavery or indexing a subordinate status, provide the mechanism for agentic cultural and self-expression, ways of producing and sharing meaning while simultaneously serving as the means of estate production. Aesthetics are generated socially as discrete tastes, and like workers, they are produced through dominant structures. The ways hacienda aesthetics are bounded, produced, and consumed is ultimately related to the processes of social and material engagement tied up in the dialectic of the labor regime and the materiality of the productive environment.

Taking material cultural evidence for daily practice, and placing it within the aesthetic field, offers a holistic entry point into enslaved hacienda life. Examining the material culture of a diverse, multi-ethnic, and multi-lingual group of enslaved individuals should reveal something about how they engaged with the conditions of their enslavement as well as ways they exerted (or attempted to exercise) agentic control over their circumstances. Furthermore, aesthetic

expression has been recognized, although not specifically resistive as defined in opposition to perceived wrongs, as a mode for gaining control over aspects of daily life that are otherwise dominated by institutional structure (Gikandi 2011:188-232; Mahmood 2005).

I posit that the production of material aesthetic culture on the Nasca estates emerges at the nexus of top-down and bottom-up processes, at what Rancière calls political disagreement between the logic of one aesthetic field and another. Materials themselves enter the domain of hacienda aesthetics through two distinct, but processually related modes: 1) that which is aesthetically produced by the enslaved or procured by the enslaved actors – including but not limited to, slave-made wine jars, slave-made tools used in ceramic, alcohol, and agricultural production, tobaccos pipes, other household ceramics, and personal adornments, and 2) those materials offered and provisioned by the estate, and particularly what is aesthetically consumed as public architecture, spatial configurations of the built environment, the configuration of fields, religious ideology, and indoctrination practices. In both instances, the introduction of aesthetic material is the prime medium of semiotic exchange between producers and consumers of such signs.

Both of these modes are explored extensively in Chapter 8, as well as a thorough description of the materiality of hacienda agroindustrial production responsible as a medium for generating the distribution of the sensible across the hacienda environment. In the case of slave-made pottery produced as a commercial product of the estate, or tools which enslaved craftsmen create for their own use, the designs are not random nor are they idiosyncratic. Motifs and modes of ceramic treatment specifically reference West and Central African aesthetic traditions, and are not chosen at random from the available stylistic repertoire. The production of meaning and the engagement with material signs which index a life prior to captivity, as well as the relative

stability of these signs over nearly a 150-year period, suggests that such aesthetic production is rooted in hacienda tradition and is ultimately seated in the habitus. Still, there is the specific effect that although the *means* of production are held by the owners of the estate, the enslaved craftsmen controlled crucial aesthetic aspects of production.

Considering the consumption of hacienda aesthetics by multiple actors on the estates in a second instance of aesthetic engagement, we might better appreciate the polyvalence of signs which were originally intended by the Jesuit administrators as a means of evangelizing the enslaved population. Architect Sandra Negro (2014) suggests that the baroque plaster molded sculptural friezes of the Jesuit chapel built at San Xavier de la Nasca in the 1740s were intended as tools of indoctrination and are principally reflective of Jesuit theological and ideological considerations for evangelization and the place of slavery within God's Plan. However, by placing these materials within the aesthetic field, the polyvalence of such sculptural representation emerges as the politics of potential contentions among multiple hierarchical, but coeval, aesthetico-political regimes emerge – a specific kind of “double-consciousness” (*sensu* Du Bois). Examining the plaster molded sculptural frieze above the exterior portal of the sacristy of the chapel of San Joseph de la Nasca (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2), overlooking the area which may have been San Joseph's cemetery, we can imagine that the figures as signs might signify different things to different cultural observers:

1. The dominant aesthetic paradigms would suggest the recognition with Baroque Catholic ideologies of contrasting extremes of life and death, the angelic and the grotesque or demonic as common themes in ecclesiastic art which reminded the observer of universal original sin and human mortality, but also the promise of the divine reward of the life to come. From this perspective, the cherubim and the monstrous face would have been familiar as emulations of classic Greco-Roman themes.



Figure 2.1. Sculptural frieze above the exterior portal of the sacristy of the chapel of San Joseph de la Nasca.



Figure 2.2. Detail of a plaster sculpted mask from the frieze above the exterior portal of the sacristy of the chapel of San Joseph de la Nasca.

2. An individual from a predominantly autochthonous Andean milieu might not have interpreted the incised lines on the demonic mask as a grotesque disfigurement, but as the signification of old age. In Andean pre-Hispanic art elderly figures were often represented with stylistic wrinkles on the cheeks and forehead. In contrast to the youthful cherubim, the Andean response to these images might have been to view the pairing of young and old as a reflection on human reproduction and the life cycle.
3. Enslaved and free Africans and their descendants might have understood the same scrolling incised lines on the cheeks of the masks as resembling West and Central African scarification practices, and rather than representing the demonic, a reminder of human frailty, sin, and death, as intended by Catholic orthodoxy, could have been viewed as representing supernaturals within sub-Saharan cosmological traditions.

The artisans (or the unknown master architect) may also have drawn not only on Greco-Roman influences for the stylistic masks, but may have intentionally drawn on grotesque portrayals and physical stereotypes of African features – large coffee bean-shaped eyes, flattened noses, plump lips, and broad foreheads. Still, these three disparate perspectives do not preclude that the signs inherent in this iconography may have been understood complexly by these three broadly defined observers, and may have indexed all three ideas at once for some viewers or in some instances. *Indios ladinos*, heavily Hispanicized Africans, or individuals with dual (or more) parentage, such as *mestizos*, *zambos*, etc. may have also had inherently complex understandings of such iconography or conversely, rejected specific referents. Unfortunately, there is no way to know how such signs would have been understood, but recognizing their polyvalence is useful in acknowledging the cultural complexities of the aesthetico-political regime of the hacienda environment, which is reflective of a specific politics of the aesthetic prefigured by subjects' social positions.

A semiotic aesthetic approach privileges the material conditions of labor and daily life. These conditions include a specific consideration of the materiality of daily life, including the productive mode of the estate. This comprises, but is not limited to the tools, equipment, spaces and infrastructure, buildings, art and architecture, landscapes, smoking culture, slave-made

ceramics, food, and industrially-produced serving wares – all of these not only enable work, but also form an important substrate of the estate’s aesthetic regime. Interruptions to this environment, both “natural,” and social, create moments for aesthetic reconfiguration, which allow new signs to become dominant and new hierarchies and orders to emerge.



## CHAPTER III

### BEFORE JESUIT NASCA: GEOGRAPHY, LABOR, AND AGRICULTURE OF NASCA'S INGENIO VALLEY IN THE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

This chapter is the first of a two-chapter outline of the history of the Ingenio Valley and the Jesuit wine estates of Nasca, the haciendas of San Joseph and San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca. The present chapter, along with Chapter 4, draw out the historical political and economic processes which transformed the region through the colonial and early republican eras, crystalizing still contentious contemporary ideas of alterity and race which are so important on the Peruvian South Coast today. It begins with a geographical and geological sketch of the region which considers the Rio Grande de Nasca's unique hydrology and desert environment and human-ecological engagement as important considerations for understanding the development of past agrarian societies during pre-Hispanic times, into the Spanish colonial period. The unique early post-conquest history of the region is also prefigured by a physical geology and hydrology, complicated by a cultural landscape of agricultural abandonment, leading to European agricultural experimentation with sugarcane and the eventual planting of substantial vineyards and large-scale importation of enslaved African labor. The success of these 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> century estates created colonial markets for Nasca wines and brandies, laying the foundation for the large Jesuit agroindustrial enterprises of Nasca in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

#### **“Abundance and Little Water”: Nasca and the Ingenio Valley**

The hyper-arid South Coast of Peru is the northern-most extent of the Atacama Desert – the driest desert in the world. In the Nasca region, the desert runs along a low altitude, narrow (50 km) strip between the Pacific littoral and the foothills of the Andes. The Ingenio River is one

of six major rivers and several minor tributaries that come together in the Río Grande de Nasca drainage (see Figure 3.1). The Ingenio reaches its confluence with the Grande River near Chiquerillo at 225 masl after running nearly 90 km from its headwaters in the highlands at over 4,000 masl (ONERN 1971: 32). Together with the other rivers of the drainage, the Santa Cruz, Grande, Nasca, Palpa, and Vizcas, the Ingenio's valley is atypical of Peru's other coastal valleys in that it is not characterized by an inverted V-shaped delta with rich alluvial deposits. Because the drainage's flow is constricted to a single outlet to the Pacific, the Grande River, the arable land is instead concentrated in narrow bands along these rivers at a substantial distance from the seashore (see Silverman and Proulx 2002: 41). This fertile zone of the middle valleys is an ecological intermediary between desert coast and sierra, and provides a unique microenvironment suitable for intensive agriculture (Kosok 1965: 50; ONERN 1971: 2; Silverman and Proulx 2002: 42-43; Silverman 2002: 22-23). The Río Grande is in fact a system of drainages composed by the Santa Cruz, Grande, Palpa, Vizcas, Ingenio, Aja, Tierras Blancas, Nasca, Taruga, and Las Trancas. Although distinct, historically the river valleys of the Grande drainage have been collectively referred to as the valleys of Nasca (see Silverman 2002: 3-6).

Of the region of Nasca, the Andean chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980 [1615]: f. 1044[1052]) wrote, "they have the trade of wine, of food, bread and wine, abundance and little water and meat of plenty."<sup>1</sup> Guaman Poma describes the richness of the Nasca valleys as he encountered them at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but his curious description of Nasca hydrology as both an abundance and scarcity of water, is perhaps most apt. While during most years there is almost never any precipitation, in the summer months (December-March) there is a

<sup>1</sup> "Y tiene trato del uino, de la comida, pan y uino, abundancia y poca agua y tiene carne de sobra." Guaman Poma 1980 [1583-1615]: f. 1044[1052]).

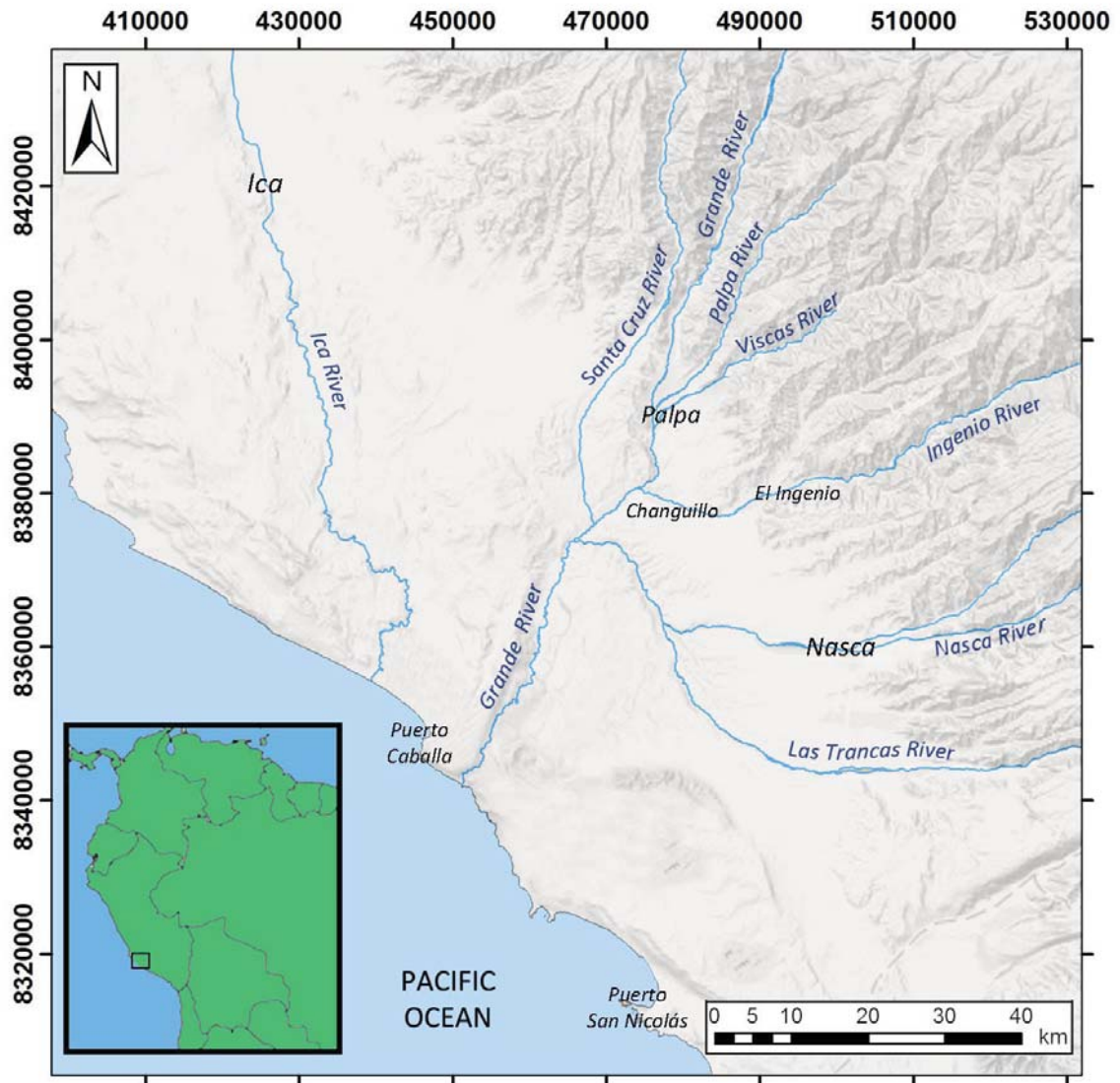


Figure 3.1. Map of the Ica River and Grande de Nasca drainage system, with the locations of modern places discussed in this chapter.

great deal of surface water in the rivers and drainages, which flows from the highlands out to the sea. During the rest of the year, contemporary farmers, like their ancient and colonial counterparts, make use of the relatively high water table within the drainage, canalizing the arable strips of the middle valleys and feeding these canals via ancient aquifers and man-made filtration galleries known as *puquios* (Schreiber and Lancho 1995, 2003, 2006). The management

of water is key to the productivity of the fields and the success of the early colonial agriculture in Nasca depended heavily on the reuse of the ancient indigenous water regime of above and underground canals and filtration galleries (Schreiber and Lancho 2003). Proper management of water becomes even more crucial in the region during cyclical weather events such as El Niño/La Niña phenomena. Historically, long cycles of the La Niña phenomenon have caused extensive dry periods, exacerbating the scarcity of agricultural water. During El Niño events, excessive rain during the summer months along the western Andean slopes can cause challenges for proper water management and drainage, destroying homes and infrastructure in mudslide events known locally as *huayco*. In the next chapter I specifically explore the politics of Jesuit water management strategies and their relationship with neighboring secular estates and agrarian communities through a turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century dispute over water between the administrators of San Joseph and San Xavier.

Despite the extreme aridity of the region, the agricultural potential of the valleys of the Río Grande de la Nasca drainage, along with their location intermediate to coastal and highland resources, made the region as attractive to Spanish colonists as it had to ancient Andean farmers. The riverine soils of the region are sandy, dry, and have low acidity (see ONERN 1971: 94-113), which suits the region for agricultural intensification, provided proper water management. Today almost the entire valley floor on both banks of the river is canalized for agricultural production. The valley of the Ingenio River has the greatest productive potential of any of the valleys in the drainage (ONERN 1971:163), and it was likely these conditions that intensified Jesuit interest in viticultural production in the valley throughout their tenure from 1619 to 1767.

In the late 1980s, an extensive walkover survey with test excavations was conducted in the Ingenio and middle Grande Valleys by Helaine Silverman (2002), with the primary goal of

better approximating the nature and distribution of Nasca (ca. 100 BC – AD 800) habitation sites in the valley (see also Silverman and Proulx 2002). In addition, the project identified extensive sites of occupation from the Early Horizon (900 BC – AD 100) through the Inca and Spanish conquests of the region. The archaeologically well-known Nasca civilization had its roots during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, emerging during the Andean Early Intermediate Period from what archaeologists have identified as the Paracas culture (ca. 800 BC – 100 BC), which precluded Nasca and several other regional societies on the Peruvian South Coast during the Andean Early Horizon.

During the Middle Horizon (ca. AD 650 – 1000), the region was variably incorporated into the expansive Wari state (centered in the central highlands of Ayacucho), with administrative outposts and fortifications in the upper valleys of the Grande drainage. Wari imperial influence is evident in both imported and local ceramic styles throughout the Nasca region (see Edwards and Schreiber 2014: 218). With the dissolution of the Wari Empire around the turn of the first millennium, many local groups throughout the central Andean region were able to exploit power vacuums and develop as regional polities. In this period, known to archaeologists as the Late Intermediate Period, local elites in the Nasca valleys exercised power and integrated groups through a large network of relationships among communities in the region and beyond (see Conlee 2003; Silverman and Proulx 2002: 280-281). Archaeologically the period is generally characterized by a conspicuous lack of ceremonial architecture, however the “Painted Temple” site near the nucleus of the Hacienda San Joseph offers an interesting exception (see Kauffman and Chumpitaz 1993).

Regionally, the Late Horizon begins with the Inca annexation of the Nasca valleys and the South Coast (Inca Chinchasuyo), which likely occurred during the rule of Inca Pachacuti

(Julien 2008). The Inca campaigns on the South Coast probably occurred around the time of Inca Pachacuti's campaign in Soras (probably in the first-half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century), and near the beginning of the imperial expansion of Tawantinsuyu, the empire of the Inca, outside of the Cuzco region (Julien 2008).<sup>2</sup> In the Ingenio Valley, the Inca set up a large administrative center, Tambo<sup>3</sup> Collao, at what is today the hamlet of La Legua; during the colonial period, the site was an hacienda annex of San Joseph called Tambo del Inga. As will be discussed in subsequent chapters, my excavations at the nuclei of the hacienda sites of San Xavier and San Joseph identified some disassociated Paracas sherds, as well as intact Middle and Late Nasca (Nasca 4 through 8) and some Late Horizon contexts situated below Spanish colonial strata, suggestive of the continual reuse of agricultural and habitation sites in the valley.

### **From Sugar to Wine: Early Colonial Agriculture in the Ingenio Valley**

As both the Inca threat and the conflicts among the conquering Spaniards receded in the years after Francisco Pizarro usurped authority over Tawantinsuyu (1531-1539), the Empire of the Inca, Spanish colonists began to settle on the South Coast and acquire large tracts of agricultural lands. In the 1540s, early Spanish planters grew sugarcane in the rich valleys of the Grande de Nasca drainage, particularly in the Nasca and Ingenio Valleys, which once had extensive indigenous maize and cotton agriculture. Early colonial agricultural investment in these valleys

<sup>2</sup> Catherine Julien (2008) derives this early placement of the beginning of the Late Horizon and Inca annexation of the South Coast under Inca Pachacuti by reassessing John H. Rowe's 1945 proposed chronological framework for the Andean region, and anchors her reading of events in the *Relación de Chincha* (1558), a document which was unavailable at the time Rowe first worked out his chronology. Multiple early colonial sources also suggest that the Inca annexation of the South Coast began in the south and moved toward Pachacamac on the central coast, where the Inca captains were at first able to incorporate local groups (such as those at Nasca) through peaceable means in the south, but encountered armed resistance farther north.

<sup>3</sup> Tambo (sometimes *tampu*) is often glossed in early colonial documents as *depósito* – repository or storehouse – or, *venta y mesón* – inn and tavern. In the Empire of the Inca, tambos seem to have served as centers of provincial administration along the network of Inca highways (*Capac Ñan*), which stored surplus crops, and could house official travelers and soldiers.

was attracted and facilitated by the extensive extant indigenous water management system, which made intensive agriculture possible on the hyper-arid Peruvian South Coast. Initially, the agricultural labor was derived from the indigenous communities of the region and almost entirely salaried. However, by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the agriculturally rich Ingenio Valley, so called for an early sugar mill built near the town of El Ingenio,<sup>4</sup> had become almost completely depopulated of a permanent indigenous population by epidemics of infectious disease and resettlement. Also at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the sugar estates were wholly replaced by vineyards, upon the discovery that the region had excellent conditions and potential for growing grapes for wines and brandies, commodities with high value and demand throughout the viceroyalty. Viticulture has the advantage of requiring substantially less water than sugarcane agriculture, an important consideration on the dry Peruvian South Coast. The wine estates were worked almost entirely by enslaved sub-Saharan African labor, although there continued to be some salaried mestizo and itinerant indigenous laborers in the valley.<sup>5</sup> The general arc of 16<sup>th</sup> century history in the region, then, is one of agricultural experimentation and population displacement, which transformed the social demography and political economy of the region over a half century, from Indigenous to African, from wage to slave labor, and from sugar to wine.

Very few historical documents are available, in either archives or publication, which can offer a view of late-pre-Hispanic society in Nasca or the earliest encounters between Spaniards and the indigenous residents of the valleys of Nasca. However, the property title of San Joseph

<sup>4</sup> An *ingenio* is a mill, in this case a water-powered mill for grinding sugarcane.

<sup>5</sup> A similar process of indigenous depopulation and replacement by an enslaved African population is observed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Caribbean, and features prominently in Fernando Ortiz' (2002 [1940]: 255) influential formulation of the process of *transculturation*. However, in contrast to the process which Ortiz describes in early colonial Cuba, indigenous peoples from the Andean highlands and peripheral coastal areas maintained engagement with the predominantly Afro-Andean population through intermittent migratory labor, exchange, and even kinship.

de la Nasca and its associated documentation compiled by the Jesuits of the Colegio Grande de la Transfiguración of Cuzco, offer some clues.<sup>6</sup> Colonial-era property titles often served as the master legal documents supporting ownership and associated rights for lands, infrastructure, goods, livestock, and slaves, and those pertaining to Jesuit properties are often particularly detailed. In addition to regularly including a detailed summary of the chain of title for a property and inventories of the basic infrastructure and descriptions of the properties, most titles summarize any past legal disputes over properties, and may even collate copies court proceedings, letters, or rulings over property or associated rights of the landholder. For this reason, in lieu of other types of documentation, property titles can be very useful for shedding light on a variety of issues. The documentation associated with San Joseph's property title traces the chain of title from the earliest Spanish estates in the valley in the 1540s to the Jesuit acquisition of the estate in 1619. Gary Urton (1990: 194-197) has made use of a 1648 copy of the property title to make a case for the organization of the late pre-Hispanic regional polity into moieties with dual hereditary leadership, likely divided geographically by the Pampa of Nasca between the valleys of the Ingenio and Nasca Rivers, into northern and southern socio-political units.

According to these property titles, the *curacas*<sup>7</sup> (or *caciques*) of Nasca, don Garcia Nanasca and don Francisco Ylimanga, sold the entire Ingenio Valley<sup>8</sup> to Pedro Suarez (the elder)

<sup>6</sup> At the Archivo General de la Nación del Perú, I have identified four copies of the property titles of San Joseph de la Nasca. All four are located in the section Titulos de Propiedad (TP), and each contain copies of additional documentation of support for the Colegio Grande of Cuzco's ownership of the estate. The earliest document is dated 1620 (Legajo 8, Cuaderno 165, 87ff.), two are dated 1644 (Legajo 4, Cuaderno 82, 244ff.; Legajo 8, Cuaderno 172, 310ff.), and a fourth is dated 1648 (Legajo 7, Cuaderno 146, 26ff.).

<sup>7</sup> *Curaca* is the Quechua term for a hereditary leader of an Andean socio-political unit, which the Spaniards used interchangeably with *cacique*, a similar term originally used among the Caribbean peoples of the Greater Antilles.

<sup>8</sup> The Ingenio Valley is identified in the earliest documents as the valley of Collao de Lucanas. Pedro Suarez acquired the stretch of the Ingenio Valley from the river's headwaters at Urusaya to the "Tambo Viejo," or Tambo Collao.



on July 19<sup>th</sup>, 1546.<sup>9</sup> Urton's (1990; see also Aveni 1990: 329-330) analysis of this document along with the last will and testament of the mid-1560s *cacique principal* of Nasca, Garcia Nasca (the son of the aforementioned Garcia Nanasca), supposes the basic organization of the late pre-Hispanic and 16<sup>th</sup> century socio-political structure of the region. At the time of his death, Garcia Nasca was the *cacique principal* of thirteen *ayllus*<sup>10</sup> within the Nasca valleys. These *ayllus* seem to have been grouped hierarchically into a higher-level division among the disparate valleys, and these valley divisions were divided into two groupings, or moieties.

In the Andes, when moieties with dual hereditary leadership are present in socio-political organization, one is ranked higher than the other in *primus inter pares* fashion.<sup>11</sup> According to Urton, Nasca or Nanasca was the hereditary name associated with the leadership of the higher ranking moiety, likely centered near modern-day Nasca (Caxamarca), perhaps at the archaeological site of Paradones and in the southern valleys of the Grande de Nasca Basin. Ylimanga (or Limanga) was the name associated with the curaca of the lower moiety, probably located within the Ingenio (Collao) and northern valleys, and centered at Tambo Collao.<sup>12</sup> In his will, Garcia Nasca makes provisions for four sub-groups, called *parcialidades*, which likely

<sup>9</sup> A summary, which I believe was likely compiled in 1644, listing the transactions in the chain of title which contributed properties to the hacienda San Joseph de la Nasca appears attached to "Memoria y apuntes por donde se vera el derecho que el Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús tiene a las tierras y viña de la hazienda nombrada San Joseph...", 1644. AGN, TP Leg. 8, C. 165: f.306r, and 1648. AGN, TP Leg. 7, C. 146: ff.2r-4r, ff.24r-26r.

<sup>10</sup> In the Andes, the *ayllu* is a multi-scalar socio-political (often fictive) kinship unit, typically organized along the patriline, in which members trace their descent from a common apical ancestor. In this particular instance *ayllu* refers to the smallest level of organization above the household.

<sup>11</sup> As Patricia Netherly (1984: 229) points out, among Andean societies "there is abundant ethnological and ethnohistorical evidence for the division into moi[e]ties, cross division into two different moiety systems (quadripartition) and even further subdivision by halving the resulting parts." The phenomenon of ranked dual division of Andean macro-socio-political groups has been recognized as persisting ethnographically in a number of Andean regions (e.g. Arguedas 1964; Isbell 1978; Palomino Flores 1971; Platt 1986; Wachtel 1974), and has been identified in the ethnohistorical record, often in conjunction with multiple levels of dual divisions, and sometimes with tripartite systems as well (e.g. Duviols 1973, 1979; Murra 1968, 1975; Rowe 1946: 255-256, 262-263; Zuidema 1964, 1973). Jerry D. Moore (1995) provides a theoretical review of the archaeological identification of the markers of such Andean dualism.

<sup>12</sup> See "Autos que siguió don Garcia Nanasca..." 1635. AGN, *Derecho Indígena* (Lima), Leg. 5, C. 91, 9ff.

correspond to the mid-level grouping of ayllus.<sup>13</sup> His own parcialidad, Nasca, was likely located near the lower and middle valleys of the Nasca River, near the modern-day town of Nasca. The other three parcialidades listed were *Cantad*, *Poromas*, and *Collao*. Matching these parcialidades with known toponyms, Urton makes an argument for mapping the socio-political divisions on the regional geography (see Figures 3.2 and 3.3). Urton hypothesizes that such ayllu organization together with traditional Andean forms of reciprocity and rotating community labor obligations may have served in the maintenance of the ancient Nasca geoglyphs. However, while the antiquity of these social and political structures in the region is not certain, the 15<sup>th</sup> century Inca administration likely drew on earlier local institutions and practices.

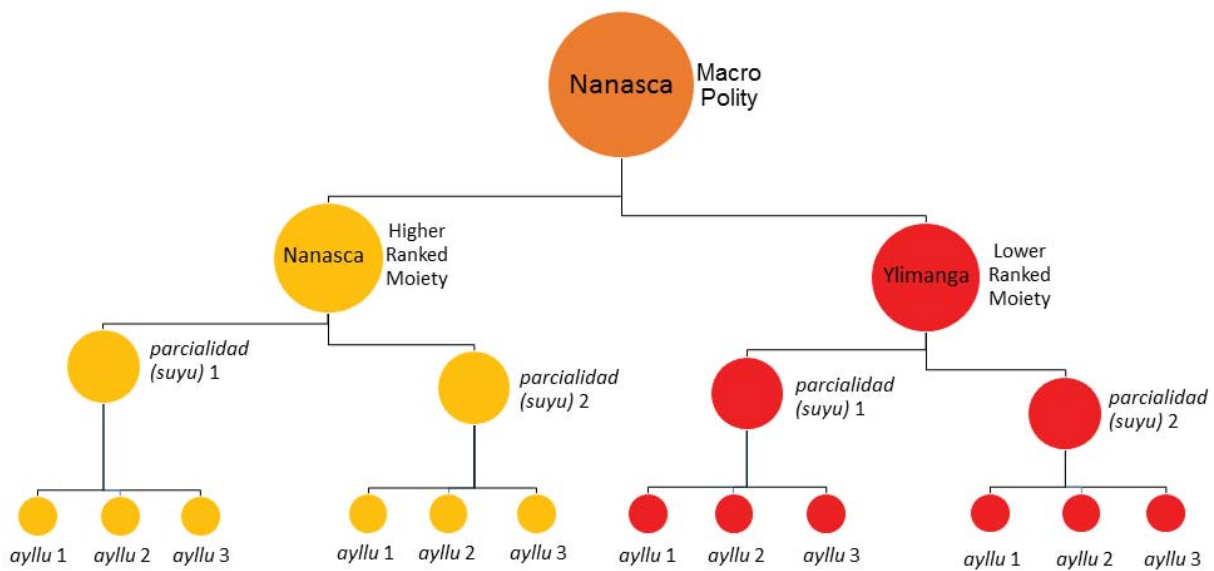


Figure 3.2. Hypothetical schema illustrating the hierarchical socio-political system in the Grande de Nasca drainage, divided into ranked moieties, parcialidades (or suyus), and ayllus.

<sup>13</sup> Urton (1990: 196) likens these parcialidades to the suyus (“sections” or quarters) of the Inca polity.

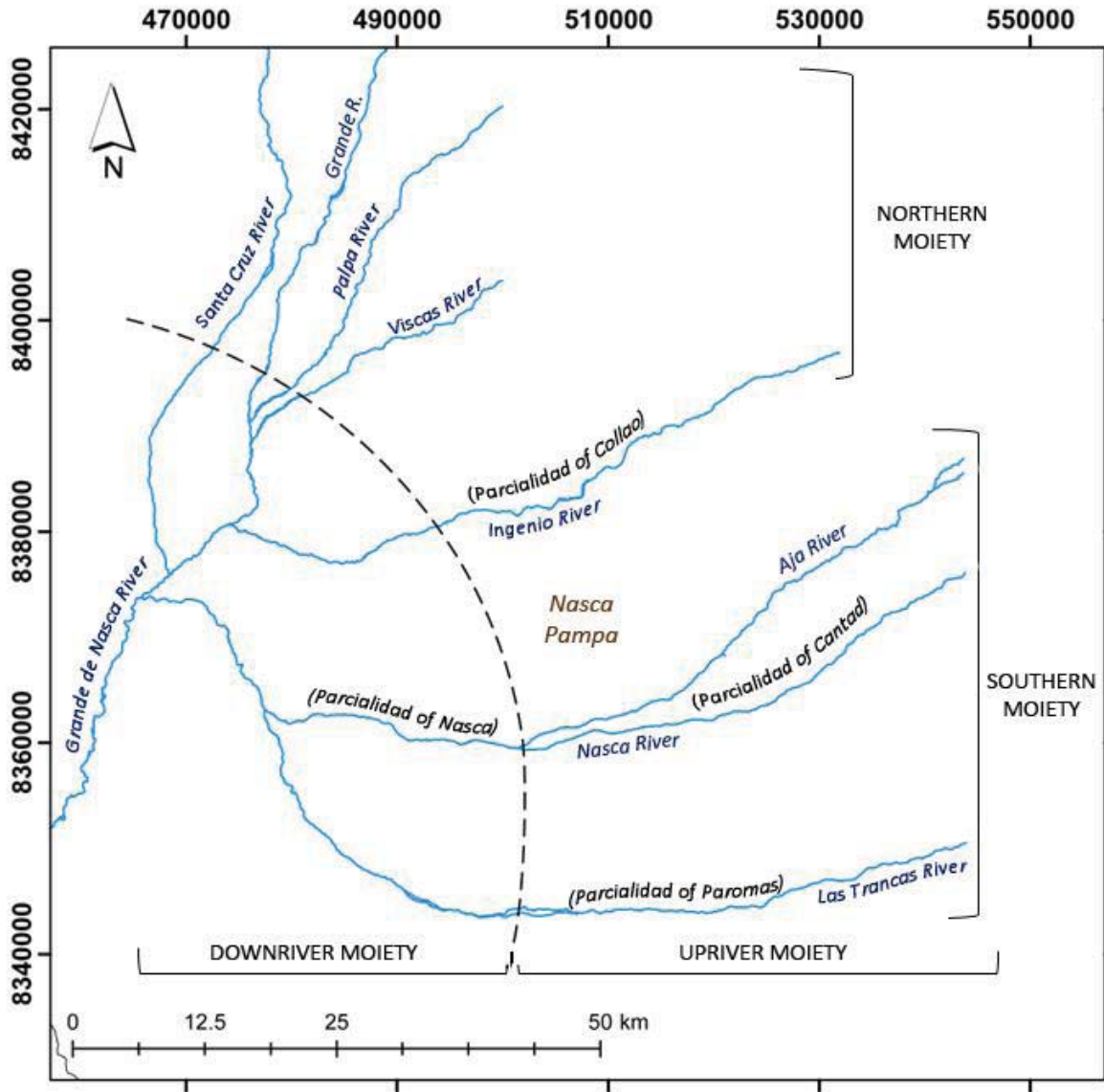


Figure 3.3. Hypothetical late pre-Hispanic and early colonial geospatial organization of the dual moieties of the Grande de Nasca drainage, after Urton 1990a: 197, Fig. IV.13.

Why were Nanasca and Ylimanga willing to part with the agriculturally superior Ingenio Valley in 1546? Demographic collapse is a large part of the answer to this otherwise vexing question. From Pedro Cieza de León, writing around 1550, we get a sense of the devastating impact the Spanish conquest and the subsequent factionary wars between Pizarro and Almagro had on people living in the Nasca valleys:

From this valley of Ica one walks until one sees the pretty valleys and rivers of Nasca. These [valleys] were in times past heavily populated, and the rivers irrigated the fields of the valleys in an orderly and prescribed manner. The past was consumed with their cruelty (as is public knowledge) all of these poor Indians.

Some credible Spaniards told me, that the greatest destructive damage that came to these Indians was from the dispute between the two governors, Pizarro and Almagro over the limits and terms of their governorships, that had such a high cost, as the reader will see indeed (Cieza de León 2005 [1532-51]: 204, my translation).

The early date of sale of the Ingenio Valley by the curacas of Nasca to Pedro Suarez in 1546 (for a sum of 1,550 pesos in the form of 200 pesos of gold, 300 pigs, two cows, and a bull),<sup>14</sup> suggests that the valley was particularly affected by the demographic collapse that characterized early Spanish colonialism in the Americas. In addition to the persistent martial conflicts of the first decades of the Spanish arrival in the central Andes, the peoples of the Andean littoral in particular were hardest hit by the first waves of epidemic disease (see Cook 1982: 165-168). For these reasons it is conceivable that the indigenous population in the Ingenio Valley was particularly affected and those families that remained may have not been sufficiently numerous to make productive use of their fields and may have seen fit to move to other population centers in the region, such as Nasca or Acarí. The *visita* (official visit and inquiry) of Acarí (Pease 1973 [1539]: 186-187), an indigenous *reducción* (planned colonial town) to the south of Nasca, records a number of individuals who were sent as *mitimaes*<sup>15</sup> from Nasca under late Inca rule, and it is conceivable that others relocated to Acarí to join their kinsmen soon after the conquest, escaping the conflict and disease prevalent in the valleys to the north.

<sup>14</sup> AGN, TP, Leg. 4, C. 82, 1644, f. 17.

<sup>15</sup> *Mitima* was an Inca status for individuals relocated from one part of the empire to another (see Rowe 1982: 96-107).

The indigenous depopulation of the surrounding valleys coincided with the Spanish settlement of Nasca. The *encomenderos*<sup>16</sup> and Spanish residents (*vecinos*) of the valle de Caxamarca<sup>17</sup> were granted land by the cacique Nanansca within the parcialidad of Nasca for the founding of a Spanish town in 1549 (see Quijandría Alvarez 1961: 105; Rossel Castro 1964: 107). The town was called Santiago Apóstol de Caxamarca del Valle de la Nanasca (or Nasca). Before the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the town lost the indigenous appellation “Caxamarca,” and was elevated to the Spanish imperial status of “villa,” granting the population certain privileges. While sources are uncertain of the exact date this occurred, Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980 [1583-1615]: f. 1044 [1052]) tells us that Nasca was made a villa during the tenure of viceroy Luís de Velasco, who held office between 1550 and 1564. This places the founding of the Villa de Santiago de la Nasca contemporary to the founding of the Villa de Valverde de Ica, the Spanish administrative center for the South Coast, on July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1564, about 140 km to the northwest of Nasca.

Within the jurisdiction of the villa of Nasca during the 1570s, the indigenous communities of Nasca, Palpa, and Huayurí, in addition to Acarí, were reduced into planned settlements during the General Resettlement of Indians (see Mumford 2012). While the General Resettlement was carried out under the guise of a civilizing project which focused on religious indoctrination, reducciones also allowed for the concentration of indigenous subjects for better managing tribute obligations and labor. The Potosí and Huancavelica *mitas* (rotating labor obligations) drew upon these resettled communities for labor for the silver and mercury mines

<sup>16</sup> An *encomendero* was one who held an *encomienda*, a grant of geographically-bounded tribute labor from indigenous subjects. The granting of encomiendas was common practice as an award for services rendered to the Crown, especially in the period immediately following the conquest.

<sup>17</sup> Not to be confused with Cajamarca in the northern highlands of Peru, an important colonial city and the site of the famed capture of the Inca Atahualpa by Francisco Pizarro in 1532.

(Bakewell 1984; Cole 1985; Robins 2011), but local encomenderos who were owed labor tribute and hacendados in need of inexpensive wage-labor could draw from these settlements to work their nearby estates. As elsewhere in the Andes, this resettlement had the effect of distancing households from their fields, opening up the possibilities for the sale and donation of lands located too far away to be adequately maintained and cultivated (see Wernke 2007; 2010; 2013: 214-250). In the Ingenio Valley, as in many coastal areas, populations were both literally “reduced” in dramatic fashion from conflict, abuse, and epidemics, and reduced to planned colonial towns, leaving the dwindling labor base far removed from many productive agricultural lands. As a result, African slave labor came to be viewed as necessary for agricultural production.

While the decisions of curacas were normally considered paramount, there is reason to believe that the 1546 sale of the Ingenio Valley was contentious within the Nasca ayllus. In 1549, Pedro Suarez sold the valley to *veedor*<sup>18</sup> García de Salcedo for the sum of 1,500 pesos (nearly the same price he had paid three years earlier), and the sale was witnessed and ratified by the caciques García Nasca and Alonso Limanga (the sons of Nanasca and Ylimanga, who had made the original sale to Suarez). Salcedo planted sugarcane and constructed the sugar mill, which gave the valley its present name. In the same year, Salcedo sold half of his land in the valley to Pedro Gutiérrez, a resident of Lima and encomendero of Nasca. Upon his death in 1556 Salcedo’s widow Beatriz de Salazar inherited the property, a transfer of title which was also confirmed by the caciques. However, we learn from San Joseph’s property title that it was at this time that the indigenous community filled a lawsuit against Beatriz de Salazar, protesting that the

<sup>18</sup> A *veedor* was a colonial official in cities or villas charged with evaluating whether practices conformed to the laws and ordinances.

titles were illegitimate.<sup>19</sup> While the motivations and parties among the indigenous community of Nasca who instigated this action are left unclear from the existing records, the suit was filed by García Nasca and Alonso Limanga. The demand solicited a thousand head of cattle or “*ovejas de la tierra*” (“sheep of the land,” i.e. Andean camelids, either llamas or alpaca), and 1,300 pesos. On March 15<sup>th</sup>, 1557 the case was decided in favor of the indigenous community and Salazar paid the demanded sum. The viceroy, Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, eventually ratified Salazar’s ownership of the property, but she, had sold her property, presumably in order to raise funds, to Captain Diego Maldonado, a resident of Cuzco and to Pedro Gutiérrez, who already purchased a large portion of the valley from her late husband.<sup>20</sup>

From the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century property titles of the Ingenio Valley it is revealed that García de Salcedo was the first to build a water-powered mill for the production of sugar and *cañazo* (cane liquor) in the middle section of the Ingenio Valley in 1549. However, it is evident that sugarcane agriculture was probably already dominant in the region by that date, and although documentation for this early period is not specific as to the African presence, the arrival of sugar in the valley undoubtedly brought the first wave of enslaved Africans. Writing of his experience of walking the Inca highway through the Nasca valleys, probably in the late 1540s, Cieza de León makes mention of one valley which likely refers to Ingenio:

And these valleys being so fertile, as I have said, one of them has been planted with a great quantity of sweet sugarcane, of which they make much sugar, and [along with] other fruits, they take [these products] to sell to the cities of this kingdom (Cieza de León 2005 [1532-51]: 204, my translation).

<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately the complete lawsuit has not survived, and is only known through the references made to it in San Joseph’s property title.

<sup>20</sup> For a summary of the chain of title of San Joseph and the early estates of the Ingenio Valley refer to the property titles listed in Footnotes 6 and 9, especially folios 306r-308v of “Memoria...”, 1644. AGN, TP Leg. 8, C. 165. Cushner (Cushner 1980: 43-44) and Negro (2005: 458-460) also briefly discuss some elements of the chain of title.

Viticulture, although not dominant until the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, also seems to have had an early start in the region, beginning on estates in the Nasca Valley. In the Ingenio Valley, the property titles of San Joseph indicate that Pedro Suarez, the first Spanish owner of the valley, initially planted a small area with grape vines before the successive owner, García de Salcedo, invested in sugarcane and constructed the mill. Interestingly, in both valleys, indigenous property owners were counted among some of the first vintners. In 1569, García Nanasca's will and testament makes arrangements for his "large vineyard" in the Nasca Valley to be divided into three parts, two of which went to special concessions for the "Indians of [his] parcialidad" (Aveni 1990: 330; Urton 1990: 195). In 1577 in the Ingenio Valley, *corregidor*<sup>21</sup> Fernández de Gutiérrez (sic) requested from the colonial government in Lima that any field which had been fallow for more than forty years within one league of the town of El Ingenio should be sold to buyers who would cultivate said lands (Lancho Rojas and Stefannazzi 2004: 19). Attached to his petition he listed nine indigenous property owners including Francisco Maylla, the Cacique of Palpa, who altogether owned a total of 1,959 vines on their individual parcels within the valley, located at no more than 5 km from the town of El Ingenio, the site of the sugar mill built by Salcedo around 1549. Maylla alone had 1,550 vines which he had planted around 1567.

By the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the wine industry completely overtook sugarcane agriculture and sugar and cañazo production. Guaman Poma, writing only several years before the Jesuits acquired their first vineyards in the region, sings the praises of the nascent, but notable industry:

And [Nasca] has the best wine in all the Kingdom [of Peru], comparable to the wine of Castilla, golden wine, very clear, smooth, fragrant and the grapes like sugar snaps. And the whitest of these [grapes], the size of plums (Guaman Poma 1980 [1583-1615]: f. 1044 [1052], my translation).

<sup>21</sup> A *corregidor* was a colonial magistrate charged with oversight of tribute collection and administration of local district, called a *corregimiento*.



However, Guaman Poma's account does not specify which valleys in Nasca were most notable for their wines, instead giving the general impression that the entire region was renowned for its viticultural production. In fact, in his drawing of Nasca which faces his textual description of the region, he adds the caption "vino de uayuri" under the heading "CIVDAD / LA VILLA DE SANTIAGO DE / LA NASCA," suggesting in part that his description is particularly relevant for Huayurí, along the Santa Cruz river, west of Palpa (see Figure 3.4) .

Writing around the same time as Guaman Poma, the Mercedarian friar Martín de Murúa, also makes note of the exceptional quality of Nasca wine and the dominance of Nasca's agroindustrial viticulture. He also laments the disappearance of the once numerous indigenous population, which would have brought great wealth to the encomendero who might have been able to harness the population's tribute and labor. Like his associate, Guaman Poma, Murúa praises the quality of Nasca wine, and for his Iberian audience, he holds it up to what were generally regarded as the finest wines of Spain. This speaks to not only the ideal growing conditions of the region, but the skill of the most notable vintners of Nasca for producing a consistent product that would have been found more than acceptable to Spanish tastes. Murúa offers a sense of the vast amount of wine that was being produced around the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, from an industry that emerged in the half-century since Cieza de León noted the nascent sugar economy of the valleys. He also describes the modes of distribution of the botijas<sup>22</sup> of Nasca wines destined for Lima and Cuzco. Already, it seems, that wine from Nasca, had notoriety and a wide distribution beyond the region and into remote areas of the highlands. What Murúa has to say about the valleys is worth quoting at length:

<sup>22</sup> Botijas are the coarse earthenware amphorae used to store and transport wine and brandy, as well as other liquids and dry goods throughout the Iberian world, which until recently most commonly were referred to in English language literature as Spanish Olive Jars. Typically botijas used for holding wine and brandy were coated on their interiors with pitch to reduce permeability.

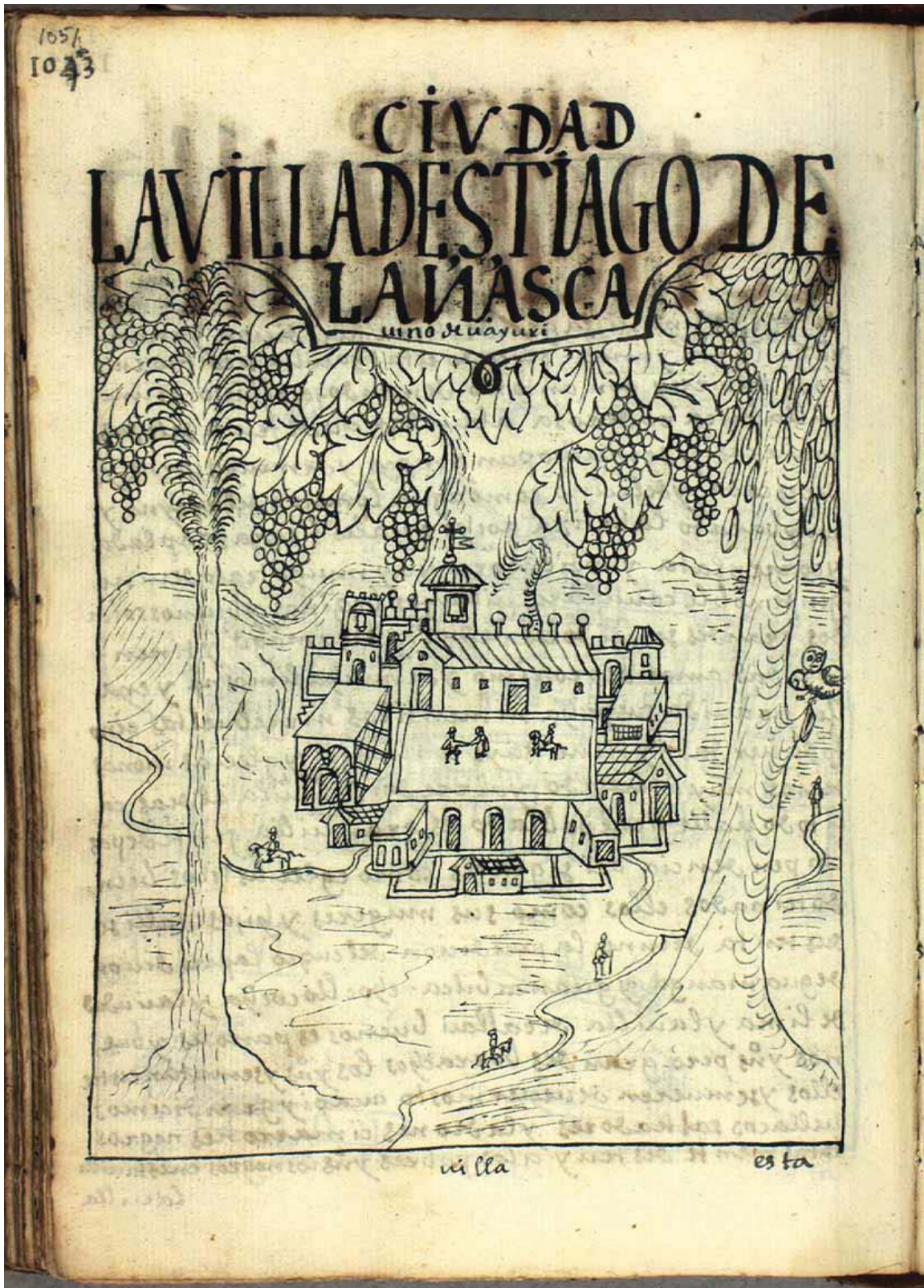


Figure 3.4. Illustration of the villa de Santiago de la Nasca by native Andean chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (180 [1583-1615]: f. 1043[1051]). Note that in this depiction of the town and the region of Nasca the distinguishing feature is the prominence of grape vines.

Following the coast [to the south] twenty leagues from the villa de Valverde [Ica], is the valley of Nasca, which formerly was so populated with Indians that they did not all fit in it, and the *reparticiones* [distributions] that they made of the land, when it was conquered, were so famous of their richness, that the conquistadores of greatest name and valor and that had been most identified in the service of His Majesty, and had spent their wealth on their claims, were brought to saying that in hindsight they wished they had been granted Chinchá or Nasca, which were the *repartimientos* [distributions] most renowned and desired of Peru. Now it is a sad and miserable thing, the decline that has come, and the few Indians that there are in [these valleys].

Settled in this valley of Nasca and its contours are many Spaniards, and [they have] planted vineyards in great number, that they [produce] more than fifty thousand botijas of very fine wine [annually?], and always it has been more esteemed than that of Ica, and stored and aged it purifies remarkably, that it could compete with the celebrated wines of Spain, of San Martín de Valdeiglesias, Toro, Ciudad Real [Madrid], and Cazalla. Thus, it is taken out through the port of San Nicolás<sup>23</sup> to the City of Kings [Lima], where it has greater value than that of Ica; the majority goes up into the sierra and is destined for two or three places, and from there it is carried by llamas that can carry two botijas weighing an arroba [11.5 kg] a piece, and in pack trains with [cattle] hides, they are driven to the city of Cuzco, and they continue to be parceled for the provinces of the Soras and Lucanas and Villcas and Parinacochas, Condesuyos, of Cuzco, Chumbivillcas, Andaguilas, Aymaraes and Quichuas, Cotabambas and Omasayuas, Canas and Canchis, Vilcabamba and other parts of Collao, and since in the sierra, the botijas are quiet unique in that they neither harm nor touch [the wine], because the cold conserves the wine and purifies it and keeps it for many years (Murúa 2001 [1580-1616] 519-520, my translation).

Following Murúa, Nasca wine was already well-known in Lima and Cuzco at the time the Jesuits of these particular cities acquired their first Nasca properties. The fame and profitability of Nasca wine, together with the agricultural potential of the Ingenio Valley, likely drew the attention of the Society of Jesus when the opportunity arose to invest in the region. Since the time of the conquistador Captain Diego Maldonado of Cuzco and Pedro Gutiérrez, large parcels of land in the valley passed through a number of hands before Juan Francisco de Arias Maldonado, the grandson of Diego Maldonado, acquired land in the valley in 1614 and planted a vineyard. In March of 1619, the Jesuit procurator of the Colegio Grande de la

<sup>23</sup> San Nicolás was the first port of Nasca, located at a linear distance of 60 km southwest of the city.

Transfiguración of Cuzco, Father Diego de Virues, took possession the 29 fanegadas<sup>24</sup> of Arias Maldonado's vineyard, which he sold to the colegio for a sum of 15,500 pesos. Later that year, the rector of the Colegio Grande sent the first Jesuit administrator to their Nasca property.<sup>25</sup> Arias Maldonado's estate, "Hacienda de El Ingenio de la Nasca" was rechristened by the Jesuits as San Joseph de la Nasca. As an already functioning vineyard and winery, the colegio received the property with 96 slaves,<sup>26</sup> and several fanegadas were already allotted to the cultivation of beans and maize to provision the enslaved population. This property became the Cuzco Jesuits' principal estate in Nasca and they continued to purchase and receive in donation annex properties throughout their tenure as owners of the estate – these properties and the Jesuit acquisition strategies are described and discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Also in 1619, the Jesuits of the Colegio Máximo de San Pablo of Lima obtained their first property in the valley, San Pablo de la Nasca. Located on the left bank of the Ingenio River, upriver and across from San Joseph, the "Viña de San Pablo" was donated by don Juan de Madrid, and consisted of 25 fanegadas.<sup>27</sup> However, the number of slaves attached to the property at the time of its acquisition is unknown from the available documentation. As San Joseph was for the Cuzco Jesuits, this property was the principal Nasca estate for the Colegio de San Pablo. However, in 1657 the last will and testament of Lic. Francisco Cabelas Jirón granted ownership of his estate in the lower Ingenio Valley, called San Antonio, to the Jesuits of Lima, which

<sup>24</sup> A fanegada is an agrarian unit of area measurement roughly equal to 3 ha.

<sup>25</sup> "Memoria...", 1644. AGN, TP Leg. 8, C. 165: f.307r-307v.

<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately there is no slave inventory attached to these property titles which would suggest family grouping or ethnonyms, however it is likely that this early 17<sup>th</sup> century population would have been mostly comprised of Senegambians who were transported through Cape Verde. See for example Alonso de Sandoval's (1987 [1627]: 136) contemporary description of the slave trade from Upper Guinea to Spanish South America.

<sup>27</sup> See San Xavier's chain of title and assorted documentation attached to the property title: AGN, TP, Leg. 9, C. 216. See also Negro 2005: 466-429; Lancho Rojas and Stefanazzi 2004: 33, although the latter reproduces the error of a later document which records San Pablo's acquisition by the Lima Jesuits as 1719, rather than 1619.

subsequently eclipsed Hacienda San Pablo as their principal Nasca estate.<sup>28</sup> The much larger property, which the Lima Jesuits rechristened San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca, stretched along the right bank of the Ingenio River from the Tambo de Collao, the limit between San Joseph and San Xavier, to the town of Changuillo, a distance of more than 6 km. San Xavier's size and agricultural potential meant that the vineyard of San Pablo was demoted to an annex of the larger hacienda.

While the first Spanish land owners in the Ingenio Valley possessed very large tracts of land, their estates cultivated a very small percentage of the agricultural potential of the valley. These early estates experimented with various types of agriculture and agroindustry, first principally with sugarcane, sugar, and cañazo, and later with grape vines, wine, and brandy. However, the consolidation of large vineyards by a single property owner, the Society of Jesus, early in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, marks a notable change in the valley. These trends also coincide with the decline of the region's indigenous population and the growing presence of enslaved communities of African origin. While free and enslaved blacks likely accompanied the first Spaniards into the Nasca region, the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century saw an increasing dependence on slave labor due to the depopulation of indigenous subjects from the valleys, and thus a lack of potential wage and tribute labor. In the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, even the formal reducciones of the region suffered a substantial decline in population; for example in Palpa in 1644, only two indigenous persons remained (Cushner 1980: 17).

<sup>28</sup> In addition to San Xavier's property title referenced in the previous footnote, see Cushner 1980: 43 for a detailed summary of the acquisition of San Xavier by the Colegio Grande de San Pablo.

## Final Considerations

An official inspection in 1666 from the Archdiocese of Lima by *visitador* Fr. Dr. Bernabé de Villacorta y Salcedo concerning the conduct of Fr. Lucas García Rangel, the parish priest of El Ingenio, whose jurisdiction also included all of the haciendas in the valley, offers an interesting anecdotal reference to the absence of indigenous subjects. This *visita* document describes briefly the parish church and the priest, and then serves a list of questions for residents in the valley to answer about their knowledge of the parish priest, his conduct and character, his ministry to the parishioners, and the activities of members of the parish in regard to idolatry. When asked whether they were aware of any idolatry by Indians under the jurisdiction of the parish or whether the parish priest mistreated any Indians, the respondents consistently answered in a similar way: “there are no Indians in this valley.”<sup>29</sup> While the valley did not have a permanent indigenous population, it is clear from other sources (such as estate accounting books) that itinerant indigenous laborers worked seasonally at San Joseph and San Xavier, as well as the smaller privately owned estates in the valley. Other salaried workers on the estates also included persons of mixed descent whose heritage included native Andean ancestry. Still, the vast majority of the population of the Ingenio Valley, beginning early in the 17<sup>th</sup> century was enslaved and of sub-Saharan African ancestry.

The historical conditions of the pre-Jesuit estates transformed the valley both demographically and in terms of productive agriculture, and had a profound effect on the development of the aesthetico-political regime of the Jesuit haciendas. Subsequent chapters explore this early colonial history through the archaeological correlates for the estates’ spatio-

<sup>29</sup> “Visita del valle del Ingenio de la Nasca, realizada por el señor doctor don Bernabé de Villacorta y Salcedo, cura y vicario de Huaura, visitador general ordinario y de la idolatría, acerca del oficio del bachiller Lucas García Rangel, cura del valle del Ingenio de la Nasca.” 1666. Archivo Histórico Arzobispal de Lima (AHAL), Sección Papeles Importantes 1559-1924, Leg. 19<sup>a</sup>-VIII: f.6r, f.8r., f.10r, f.12r.

material conditions. Such conditions prefigured the structure of labor and the daily lived conditions on the Jesuit wine haciendas. The next chapter discusses the administration and continued acquisition practices for the Jesuit properties in the valley, as well as the formation and composition of the enslaved communities living and working on these properties. It then considers the impact of the Crown expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1767 and the expropriation of their properties, including San Joseph and San Xavier.

## CHAPTER IV

### HEGEMONY IN THE INGENIO VALLEY: THE JESUIT ESTATES OF NASCA, 1619-1767

This chapter is divided into three parts that chronologically and thematically consider the development and management of the Society of Jesus' properties in Nasca, Jesuit attitudes toward Africans and slavery and the organization of labor on Jesuit estates, and finally the impact of the Jesuit expulsion from the Spanish Empire and the new political economy of the estates and their enslaved communities of the Crown (1767-1821) and Republican (1821-present) periods. These themes are explored with a careful eye to the development of Jesuit power and the ways both structures of labor and laborers are fashioned historically over time. After a brief introductory discussion of the origins of the Society of Jesus' presence in Peru and how they financed and organized their educational and evangelical enterprises, a detailed overview of the historical acquisition processes of the Jesuit properties in Nasca is given. This first section aims to establish a sense of the growth of these estates through the meticulous mercantilism of the colegios' business managers and estate administrators. The haciendas followed an organic corporate model, comprised of a core estate and a series of noncontiguous satellite properties which functioned together as a complete and nearly self-sufficient system. The relationship of these annex properties to each other and to the main estate, and the relationship between San Joseph and San Xavier is central to understanding Jesuit hegemony in the Ingenio Valley. While none of the Jesuit estates in Peru ever experienced a slave rebellion during the Society of Jesus' tenure in the viceroyalty, administrators were extraordinarily cognizant of the possibility. The case of a dispute over water rights between the administrators of the two Jesuit haciendas of Nasca highlights the sometimes contentious relationship not just



between the two vineyards, but also between the administrators and the enslaved communities. The social order of the hacienda environment balanced on a maintenance of hierarchical structures and systems of rewards and privileges, rather than an overt threat of punishment. The case also highlights how the Jesuit estates engaged with other, less prominent landholders in the valley as well as their up valley indigenous neighbors, with whom they shared a dependence on the same river and spring waters.

In the broader view of 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Peruvian agriculture, the Jesuit haciendas of Nasca should be thought of as special cases, exemplary of the largest Jesuit estates. This means that San Joseph and San Xavier were also not necessarily representative of the diversity of the enslaved experience. In the next section, I offer a discussion of slavery on these properties as available from primary historical sources, which I relate to an exploration of the Society of Jesus' official attitudes toward slavery and their views of race, labor, and Christian discipline. Such moral philosophies and theological perspectives impacted the way their estates were organized and how hierarchies developed within the enslaved communities. Making use of the 1767 slave inventories of the Nasca estates produced at the moment of the Jesuit expulsion, I offer a demographic sketch of these ethnically and linguistically diverse communities. Finally, a close historical examination of the Jesuit expulsion in Nasca reveals much not only about the impact of one of the most important Bourbon Reforms on the estates and the enslaved workers and residents, but also brings into relief the specific nature of Jesuit hegemony.

### **Jesuit Beginnings and Organizational Structure in Peru**

When the first Jesuits arrived in Peru in 1568, the Society of Jesus was a relatively new religious organization, having been founded by Ignatius of Loyola and six fellow University of

Paris students in 1540. Vowing special obedience to Papal authority, the charge of the order was at the discretion of the Holy See. Within the first two decades of service, members of the Society of Jesus had already excelled at missionary and educational activities, evangelizing in Europe, Asia, and Brazil, and by the time of Ignatius' death in 1556, operating 74 educational institutions world-wide, only 35 of which were in Catholic Europe (O'Malley 1993: 206). In the Americas, the first Jesuits were sent to educate the sons of the wealthy Spanish colonizers, but also established schools for the indigenous elites and nobles in both Mexico and Peru (Klaiber 2007: 11; see also Alaperrine-Bouyer 2007). The Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Mercedarians arrived ahead of the Jesuits and had already established a great number of doctrinas and missions for the evangelization of the indigenous population. When the Jesuits arrived in Peru at the request of King Philip II and the viceroy Francisco de Toledo (who had a close friendship with the Jesuit General, Francisco de Borja), it was with the explicit goal of establishing a system of educational institutions. The large Jesuit missions of the southern Titicaca basin and the Guarani *reducciones* of the eastern Andes were later developments.

The first of the Jesuit institutions founded in the viceroyalty of Peru was the Colegio Máximo de San Pablo in Lima in 1568 (See Martín 1968). The Jesuits also established an early presence in Cuzco, a secondary administrative seat of governance in Peru, given the city's status as the former capital of the Inca state. In Cuzco, the Jesuits built their church and established the Colegio Grande de la Transfiguración, which opened in 1578, on the city's main plaza. Both the Lima and Cuzco Jesuits were chartered by the Crown to open institutions for the educational needs of the sons of the viceroyalty's elite. Answering this call, the Real Colegio de San Martín was established in Lima in 1582 and the Real Colegio de San Bernardo was opened in Cuzco in 1621. Royal academies operated by the Jesuits were also opened for the sons of indigenous

nobles and caciques: the Real Colegio del Cercado de Lima in 1618, and in Cuzco, the Real Colegio de San Borja in 1620. Both cities also had houses and schools established for Jesuit novices, and in Cuzco, the Universidad de San Ignacio was chartered in 1623, developing as a degree-granting institution from the Colegio Grande.

In addition to serving the role of educating the viceroyalty's elite, the Society of Jesus had a very close symbolic relationship with colonial authority (Klaiber 2007: 18; Vargas 1963). For example, the grandnephew of Ignatius Loyola, Captain Martín García Óñez de Loyola, who famously captured the last Inca ruler, Túpac Amaru, married the *coya* Beatriz Clara, daughter of Sayri Túpac, a brother of Túpac Amaru who had also ruled as Sapa Inca in Vilcabamba. The union of the Inca princess and the Spaniard signified the coming together of the royal lineage of Peru with one of the leading families of Spain. The couple's daughter, Ana María Lorenza de Loyola, was married to Juan Enríquez de Borja y Almansa, the grandson of St. Francis Borgia (Francisco de Borja), another of the founders of the Society of Jesus and its third General. Ana María was given the noble title of Marquise of Oropesa. A painting that now hangs in the Cathedral of Cuzco was commissioned by the Cuzco Jesuits featuring the marriage of Beatriz and Martín of the house of Loyola and Ana María and Juan of the house of Borja, standing in front of the two Jesuit saints, Ignatius Loyola and Francis Borgia, and the seated Inca kings. The painting exemplifies the importance of the inextirpable relationship between the Society of Jesus and Spanish colonial legitimacy in Peru.

Throughout its global provinces, the Society of Jesus supported its schools, universities, and missions largely through income from estates, factories, rental properties, and small business ventures, which were owned and managed by the individual Jesuit institutions, and to a lesser extent through donations and grants. In the case of the colegios of the Jesuit Province of Peru,

these income-generating activities were managed by each colegio's procurator, or business manager, under the supervision of the colegio's rector and the provincial superior. The day-to-day affairs of the individual estates and their annexes were overseen by an administrator, appointed for an irregular period of not usually more than five or six years before being rotated to another assignment (Cushner 1980: 78). An hacienda administrator was typically the only Jesuit assigned to an estate, although on the larger properties he may have been accompanied by at most one or two assistants. In many instances administrators were lay brothers of the order, and the duties of saying mass and offering the sacraments fell to a chaplain who would periodically visit the estate. In the case of San Joseph and San Xavier, a chaplain subordinate to the Parish of San Juan Bautista de El Ingenio lived in residence at one of the estates and made rounds ministering to the spiritual needs of the enslaved and free laborers who resided on both haciendas.

At the time of their expulsion from the Spanish Empire in 1767, the Jesuits of the Province of Peru owned a total of 97 estates across 16 different Jesuit institutions throughout the viceroyalty (see Macera 1966: Cuadra I). Fifteen of these properties were vineyards (15.5%), and San Joseph and San Xavier in Nasca ranked as the two most profitable and highest-valued of these. By and large, sugar estates drew greater incomes for the colegios, but also had greater expenses in terms of infrastructure and labor. The Colegio Grande of Cuzco was the wealthiest of the Jesuit institutions operating in Peru, generating income from fourteen major estates, as well as storehouses, rental properties, a dispensary, and a pharmacy (see Table 4.1). Its two most profitable properties were San Joseph de la Nasca and Pachachaca, a sugar estate in the highlands of Abancay. While Pachachaca generally offered a larger gross income in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century (see Figure 4.1), the Crown assessors valued San Joseph and its annexes (including

Ocucaje, which was evaluated separately) at nearly 29,000 pesos more than Pachachaca.

Conversely, San Xavier de la Nasca was San Pablo's fourth most valuable property, with three sugar estates outranking it in property value: La Huaca in Chancay, El Ingenio de Huaura, and San Juan Francisco de Regis in Chincha.

Table 4.1. Accounting ledger for the income of the Colegio Grande of Cuzco for the period of two years and eleven months from 1762 to 1765.<sup>1</sup>

| Property                 | Type         | Location      | Gross Profit  | Expenses     | Net           | Debt         |
|--------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| San Joseph [de la Nasca] | Vineyard     | Nasca         | 43,750 p      | 0            | 43,750 p      | 0            |
| Pachacaca                | Sugarcane    | Abancay       | 67,085 p ½ r  | 29,199 p 7 r | 37,885 p 1½ r | 0            |
| Molinos                  | Sugarcane    | Urubamba      | 17,862 p 7 r  | 16,618 p     | 1,244 p 7½ r  | 0            |
| Haguacolli               | Staple Crops | Urubamba      | 930 p         | 146 p 3 r    | 783 p 5 r     | 0            |
| Camara                   | Homestead    | Paucartambo   | 2,762 p 6 r   | 281 p 1 r    | 2,481 p 5 r   | 0            |
| Salinas                  | Salt         | Cuzco         | 6,232 p 1 r   | 2,978 p 2 r  | 3,253 p 7 r   | 0            |
| Vicho                    | Staple Crops | Calca         | 41 p          | 19 p 6½ r    | 21 p 1½ r     | 0            |
| Guaraipata               | Staple Crops | Quispicanchis | 3,644 p 5 r   | 1,800 p 3½ r | 1,844 p 1½ r  | 0            |
| Piccho                   | Pasture      | Cuzco         | 1,561 p 2 r   | 471 p 4½ r   | 1,089 p 5½ r  | 0            |
| Calera                   | Vegetables   | Cuzco         | 216 p 2 r     | 543 p 2 r    | 0             | 327 p        |
| Titiri                   | Homestead    | Azángaro      | 200 p         | 37 p 7½ r    | 162 p ½ r     | 0            |
| Llallagua                | Homestead    | Azángaro      | 6 p 5 r       | 103 p 3½ r   | 0             | 96 p 6½ r    |
| Possessions              |              | Cuzco         | 1,326 p       | 0            | 1,326 p       | 0            |
| Dispensary               |              | Cuzco         | 1,747 p       | 0            | 1,747 p       | 0            |
| <b>Reported Totals</b>   |              |               | 149,854 p 5 r | 52,200 p ½ r | 423 p 6½ r    | 98,078 p 3 r |

<sup>1</sup> This chart is reproduced from information provided in the ledger of the Colegio Grande of Cuzco. Archivo Regional del Cuzco (ARC), Colegio de Ciencias, Leg. 5, Cuad. 6 - 1760-1764, f.7r.

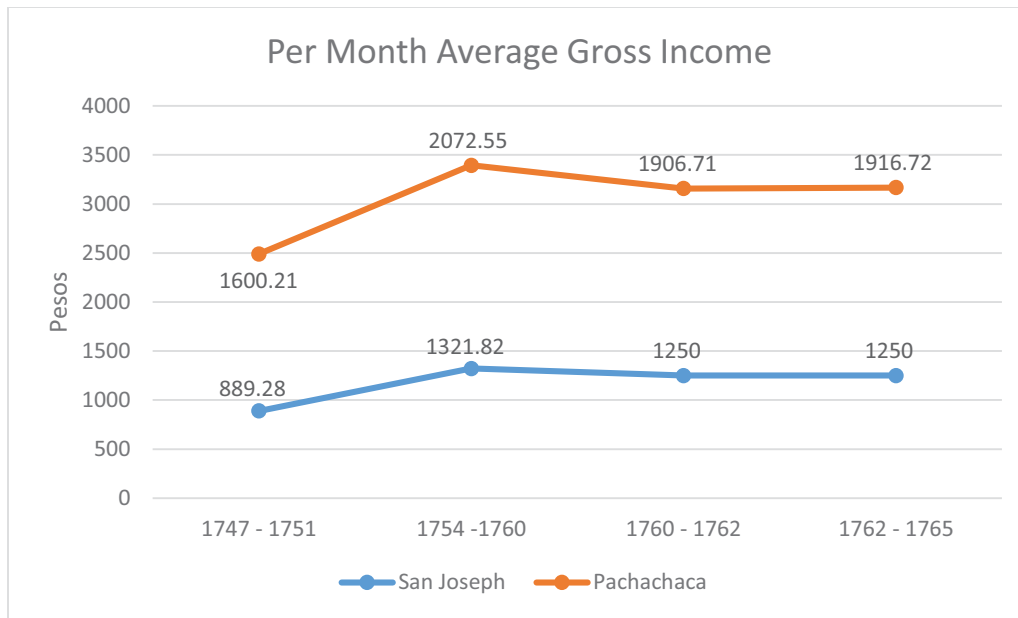


Figure 4.1. Comparison of the per month average gross income from 1747 through 1765 for the vineyard of San Joseph and the sugar estate of Pachachaca owned by the Colegio Grande of Cuzco. Averages were calculated from totals provided in: Cushner 1980: 153, Table 6.10; Archivo Regional del Cuzco (ARC), Colegio de Ciencias, Leg. 5, Cuad. 6 - 1760-1764: f.1v, f.2r, f.7r.

### Expanding and Sprawling Estates

In Nasca’s Ingenio Valley, the haciendas of the Cuzco and Lima Jesuits had their origins as large, self-contained properties, but throughout their tenure in the valley Jesuit administrators continued to annex properties through purchase and donation, eventually becoming the largest and most productive estates in the region. In this section of the chapter I describe the acquisition practices of both Jesuit schools as their Nasca estates grew from modest farms to among the largest and most profitable vineyards in colonial Peru. After briefly describing how the estates and their annex properties functioned as nearly autonomous hacienda systems, as well as their shared infrastructure at Puerto Caballa, I next describe the annexes of San Joseph followed those of San Xavier. These properties and their acquisition histories demonstrate the scale and diversity of Jesuit holdings in the Nasca region, and the expansive and mercantilist nature of Society of Jesus in Peru. The Ingenio Valley is a particularly interesting case of Jesuit hegemony

in a way that few other regions in the viceroyalty were; the colegios of Lima and Cuzco were particularly eager to expand their holdings in the Nasca region in ways that they did in few other places. Lastly I explore the case of an early 18<sup>th</sup> century conflict between the two administrators of San Joseph and San Xavier over an irrigation ditch. The case offers an opportunity to explore the relationship between the two estates and their neighbors within the Ingenio Valley, as well as the relationship of these estates to the larger hierarchical structures of the Society of Jesus in Peru. Most importantly, this case illustrates how such disputes and administrative decisions for land management impacted the slave communities.

San Joseph, purchased by the Cuzco Jesuits in 1619, was prominently located along the southern coastal route of the Camino Real in the central portion of the Ingenio River's middle valley, and San Xavier, acquired by the Lima Jesuits in 1657, was located at a distance of two leagues downriver, beyond Tambo Collao and the narrowing of the valley. The stretch of the river below the Ingenio would become known as the Valley of Changuillo by the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. However, the pattern of annexation did not necessarily obey the spatial arrangement of upriver and downriver estates; in fact, Lima's first property in the valley, San Pablo (acquired in 1619), was opposite and upriver from San Joseph.

Properties annexed by both colegios contributed new resources to the principal estate, such as water rights, grazing land for livestock, and waystations for transporting produce to the seaport of Puerto Caballa. In the case of San Joseph, two of the annex properties, Locchas and Ocucaje, were located outside of the Grande River Valley, and offered lands for grazing the estate's large herds of cattle, sheep, and goats. By 1767, San Xavier had four annex properties (Hacienda San Pablo, Parral<sup>2</sup> de Cavella, Parral de Arpicho, and Hacienda Llipata), and San

<sup>2</sup> A *parral* is a small vineyard.

Joseph had nine (Tambo del Inga, Estancia de San Antonio de Locchas, Parral de Lucana, Estancia de San Juan de Laca, Tierra de Gramadal, Huarangal de Usaca, Estancia de Ocucaje, Hacienda La Ventilla, and Tierras de Coyungo) (see Figure 4.2). These haciendas operated as networks of noncontiguous properties, which contributed to the needs of the main estates. Below I discuss the acquisition and composition of these annex properties and how they functioned within the hacienda systems of San Joseph and San Xavier.

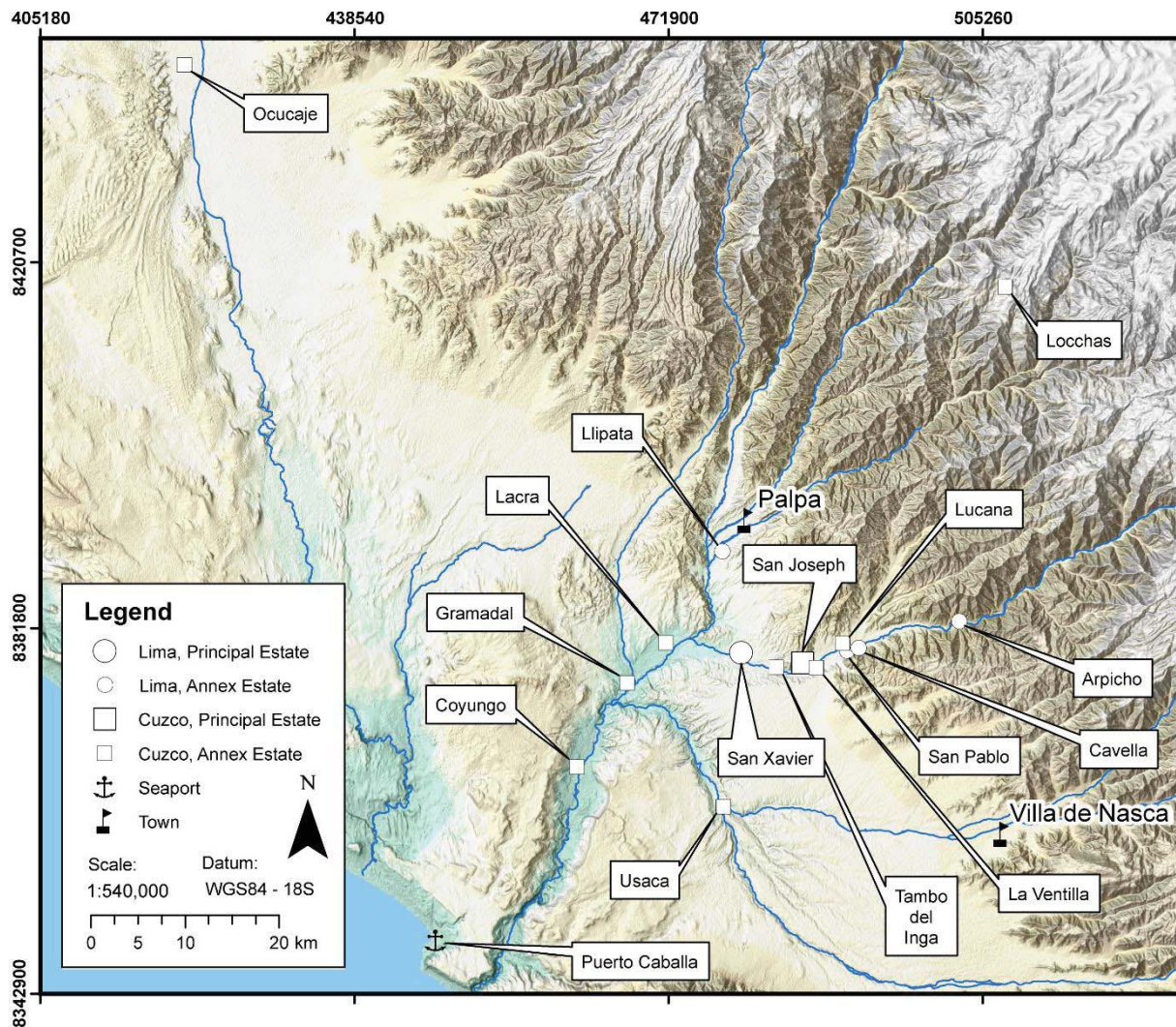


Figure 4.2. The haciendas of San Joseph de la Nasca and San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca and their annex properties, respectively acquired by the Colegio Grande de la Transfiguración of Cuzco and the Colegio Máximo de San Pablo of Lima, between 1616 and 1767.



In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Puerto Caballa, named for the Pacific mackerel (*Scomber japonicas*) of the same name, surpassed Puerto San Nicolás (the port of Nasca) as the port of choice for the haciendas of the Ingenio and Grande Valleys. The mule-cart trail to the seaport located on a bay between the outlets of the Grande and Ingenio Rivers covered a distance of over 50-60 km from the principal estates of San Xavier and San Joseph, passing along the edges of the Ingenio and Grande Valleys, eventually traversing 30 km of open desert along the Quebrada Santa Cruz. Today, while Puerto Caballa has a small number of rustic beach houses and homes of fishermen, its port no longer functions. During the colonial period, the seaport was likely just as desolate, but provided a safe harbor for ships traveling between the ports of the South Coast and Callao, the port of Lima. Much like today, there was also likely a small permanent population of fishing families. However, the port's warehouses owned by the various estates of the valley, including both San Joseph and San Xavier, during a typical year would have been occupied primarily from October through May, when wine, brandy, and other estate products were brought for shipment to Lima.<sup>3</sup> The estates of the region also received at Puerto Caballa many of the goods required on the haciendas, and dried fish were regularly brought from the port to the estates.

The ships that traveled the coast between Puerto Caballa and Callao were generally contracted by the estates to bring produce to the Lima market. However, at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Jesuits themselves experimented with controlling the means of transportation. After the earthquakes of 1687 and 1690 damaged or destroyed a majority of the buildings in Lima, including the Colegio of San Pablo, the reconstruction efforts created an insatiable demand for

<sup>3</sup> Slaves and wage laborers began transporting goods to Puerto Caballa in October through December, and again between January and May, as indicated by accounting ledgers. For example, a receipt dated 1707 indicates that 8,217 botijas of wine (7,427 in ordinary No. 6 botijas and 790 in No.7 botijas) were transported to Puerto Caballa in trips between January and May by Bartolome Calderon, "Gasto de la hacienda de San Joseph de la Nasca...", 1702-1708. AGN C-13, L.128, C.1: f.11r.

timber. The Lima Jesuits commissioned the construction of a ship in Guayaquil that could bring lumber from the Ecuadoran coast to Lima for their rebuilding efforts. The ship, christened the San Ignacio, was later purposed for the route between Nasca and Callao, but in one of its voyages en route to Nasca (prior to 1694), the San Ignacio fell prey to pirates and was nearly destroyed (see Borja 2005: 89-91). The Jesuits were able to recover the ship and sell it, but the Peruvian Jesuit province never again entered the ship-building business.

According to the 1767 Crown inventories, the Jesuit warehouse at Puerto Caballa was rustic, with three rooms and two ramadas for storing the wine, brandy, vinegar, and raisins to be shipped to Callao.<sup>4</sup> The structure was made of wooden beams, walled with cane and wattle and daub, and roofed with totora reed. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as much as 80% of the produce from San Joseph and San Xavier was sent to Lima (see Negro 2005: 465), although certainly some, especially early in the Jesuit tenure of the estates, was sent overland to the highlands via the Camino Real – to Huancavelica, Arequipa, Cuzco, and beyond utilizing Jesuit trade networks (see Cushner 1980: 176). From Lima, Jesuit wine was widely distributed within the viceroyalty, and a good deal was shipped to Central America. Five percent of the product was sent directly to the colegios in Lima and Cuzco, and another 5% was kept for local exchange for necessities such as sugarloaves, dried meats, oil, salt, and other foodstuffs. Ten percent was maintained by San Joseph and San Xavier, covering operating costs of the estates; for example, contracted professionals, such as the chaplain and medical practitioners were often paid in wine (see Negro 2005: 465).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> “Testimonio de la hacienda San Joseph de Nasca,” 1767. Archivo Histórico Nacional de Chile (ANC). Vol. 344, #17: f.282r. See also Appendix B of this dissertation for transcription of this document.

<sup>5</sup> While this may have been the case for many of the Jesuit wine estates, as Negro points out, I have found several early 18<sup>th</sup> century instances where chaplains and others were paid in pesos, rather than wine. A clear example comes from the expense account of San Joseph from the 1<sup>st</sup> of July through the 31<sup>st</sup> of December, 1702, in which the two chaplains are paid half of their yearly salary in the total sum of 117 pesos 6 reales. “Gasto de la hacienda de San Joseph de la Nasca...”, 1702-1708. AGN C-13, L.128, C.1: f.2r.

*The Annexes of San Joseph de la Nasca*

The first of the properties annexed by San Joseph was Tambo del Inga, a property near the narrows of the Ingenio River, which included the former Inca tambo known as Tambo Collao. The four fanegadas of land was contiguous with the downriver extent of San Joseph, and was donated to the Jesuits by don Juan Fernández Hidalgo.<sup>6</sup> In 1626, when the Colegio Grande acquired the parcel of land, it was already planted with vines, and the administrator of San Joseph also corralled livestock at the property. Today this property is a modern hamlet known as La Legua, which probably derives its name from its location about one league from both San José and San Javier, and has traditionally been the point dividing the two estates. However, the majority of the ruins of the Inca tambo were bulldozed sometime in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.

The first of two sets of properties owned by the Colegio Grande of Cuzco but administrated by San Joseph, was the Estancia de San Antonio de Locchas. The property also included twelve small annexes of its own: Anocorachi, La Cambia, Guallarica, Guanamarca, Guayllaca, Ingaguasi, Panicache, Poctilla, Polco, Tocaguasi, Yanama, and Zanibrama. Locchas was located near the doctrina of Laramate, in the province of San Juan de Lucanas in the highlands of Ayacucho, at a linear distance of 45 km from San Joseph, but the route of travel between San Joseph and Locchas may have covered over 85 km. Cuzco purchased the property on October 19<sup>th</sup>, 1632 from the Jesuit Colegio of Huamanga for 3,500 pesos.<sup>7</sup> Huamanga had acquired the property in 1625 from Sancho de Córdoba, the encomendero of Laramate, who had originally received the property in donation from the curaca of Laramate.<sup>8</sup> In all, the properties of Locchas totaled 27 fanegadas. The main ranch and its annexes were mostly located in the

<sup>6</sup> “Títulos de las cuatro fanegadas de tierra del Tambo de Inga...”, 1633. AGN, TP Leg. 5, C. 110: 20ff.

<sup>7</sup> “Títulos de los tierras denominadas Locchas...”, 1626 AGN TP Leg.14, C.309: 22ff.; “Testimonio de los títulos de la estancia denominada Locchas...”, 1756. AGN TP Leg.28, C.572: 14ff.

<sup>8</sup> “Testimonio expedido por el Escribano d. Francisco García de Urteaga...”, 1625. AGN TP Leg.40, C.747: 39ff.

Quebrada de Socos, which covered a variety of ecological zones. The property titles for Locchas describe the lands as possessing large corrals, wetlands, and pastures suitable for cattle and caprines, and the 18<sup>th</sup> century inventories of the properties indicate that San Joseph kept large herds of cattle, sheep, and goats at Locchas and its annexes.<sup>9</sup> In addition, a small house was located on the property at Locchas, which served to quarter the shepherds and cattle ranchers.

Don Juan Fernández Hidalgo, the former owner of Tambo del Inga, also donated another four fanegadas of land to the Colegio Grande in 1636.<sup>10</sup> This second gift, the Parral de Lucana, was also situated adjacent to San Joseph, and its vines were already producing mature grapes at the time of the acquisition. Although the documentation is inconclusive, it is likely the property was near modern-day Estudiantes, a small community up-valley from San José.

The Estancia de San Juan de Lacra was the first of several properties acquired by San Joseph, along the banks of the Grande River and en route to Puerto Caballa. The property was also downriver from San Xavier, although in 1640, when Lacra was annexed by San Joseph, the Lima Jesuits had not yet acquired San Xavier. In 1594, Lacra had been established as a farmstead by the Marqués de Cañete, don García de Medoza. After changing hands several times, in 1640 doña Mariana de Pastrana y Constantina de Padilla divided the property in half, selling one parcel directly to the Colegio Grande of Cuzco for 3,600 pesos. The other half was subdivided into two properties, which were sold to Baltazar de Becerra and Francisco Sánchez Cordero; San Joseph later acquired these parcels in 1649 and 1668.<sup>11</sup> In addition to ample farmland, Lacra also had huarango forests, where large herds of mules and donkeys were raised. These animals were instrumental in the transportation of produce to Puerto Caballa. Huarango groves were also

<sup>9</sup> “Testimonio de la hacienda San Joseph de Nasca,” 1767. Archivo Histórico Nacional de Chile (ANC). Vol. 344, #17: f.282r.

<sup>10</sup> “Memoria...”, 1644. AGN TP Leg.8, C.165: f.307r.

<sup>11</sup> “Títulos de la estancia y tierras denominadas de Lacra...”, 1640. AGN TP Leg.14, C.312: 53ff.

important to the operation of a vineyard as a source of charcoal fuel and wood for construction. The 1767 Crown inventory establishes that the Jesuits had constructed a small one-room house there. In addition, a chapel with its own sacristy, and a two-roomed bodega for storing botijas in transit to the seaport were<sup>3</sup> also located at Lacra.<sup>12</sup>

The lands of Gramadal and the *huarangal*<sup>13</sup> of Usaca were sold to the Colegio Grande for 400 pesos on October 5<sup>th</sup>, 1665 by María de Segura, the widow of don Luís Márquez de Guzmán. The property title recounts the hardship of the family after the death of its patriarch, however, by selling the property Segura and her adult children were able to pay off the family's extensive debts and free the family's three slaves.<sup>14</sup> The family likely used the property to lodge travelers en route to Puerto Caballa from the villa of Nasca, originally calling the property Dormidas y Gramadal de Usaca. The title does not give the size or extension of the property, but the toponyms of Gramadal and Usaca are located a linear distance of 16.5 km: Gramadal on the right bank of the Grande River between its confluence with the Santa Cruz and Nasca Rivers, and Usaca at the confluence of the Las Trancas and Nasca rivers, near the site of an important Nasca period through Late Horizon archaeological site, Tambo de los Perros. It is likely that although those properties were acquired as a set, they were managed individually. It is also possible that the property included a vast tract of land along the lower Nasca Valley, but because of the thick huarango growth, the property was not as valuable as large tracts of agricultural lands. Much as was done with Lacra, the administration of San Joseph used the properties to

<sup>12</sup> "Testimonio de la hacienda San Joseph de Nasca," 1767. Archivo Histórico Nacional de Chile (ANC). Vol. 344, #17: f.280v-f.281r.

<sup>13</sup> A *huarangal* is forest or grove of huarango trees (*Prosopis pallida*), a slow-growing desert hardwood in the mesquite family.

<sup>14</sup> "Testimonio de la escritura de compra-venta...", 1665. AGN TP Leg.8, C.185: 10ff.

harvest huarango wood, and to graze donkeys and mules used to transport produce to Puerto Caballa.

The Estancia de Ocucaje was annexed in 1667 by San Joseph for a total of 4,700 pesos from the heirs of Captain don Antonio de Herencia and additional lands were sold by don Sebastián Díaz de Guevara.<sup>15</sup> The property was located in the Ica Valley at a linear distance of 92 km from San Joseph, and was the farthest property from the administrative core in San Joseph's hacienda system, although it would have taken longer to travel from San Joseph to Locchas due to its remote location in the sierra. When San Joseph purchased the property it came with eight slaves, 1,400 head of sheep, 742 goats, 129 pigs, and an unstated, but likely small, number of vines. The Jesuit administration used Ocucaje primarily for raising livestock necessary to feed the large enslaved population at its principal hacienda, however, after the Jesuit expulsion, the property gained notoriety as a vineyard and today is a popular commercial producer of Pisco brandy.

In 1706 San Joseph substantially increased its wine and brandy production potential through the purchase of the Hacienda La Ventilla opposite San Joseph on the left bank of the Ingenio River.<sup>16</sup> The property had belonged to Captain Hernando de Alarcón, but at the time of the captain's death the Crown seized the estate due to the deceased's enormous debt totaling 100,000 pesos. The Crown put the property up for public auction, and had hoped to sell it for 30,000 pesos, but had trouble finding a suitable buyer, which Cushner (1980:46) attributes to the economic downturn between 1680 and 1750, resulting in a shortage of investment capital for landholders and a general depreciation of property values in coastal Peru. Father Nicolás de Figuero, the business manager of the Colegio Grande of Cuzco, offered 20,000 pesos, less the

<sup>15</sup> "Títulos de la estancia y tierras de Ocucaje...", 1677. AGN TP Leg.11, C.251: 21ff.

<sup>16</sup> "Títulos de la hacienda denominada La Ventilla...", 1706. AGN TP Leg.21, C.415: ff.412r-439v.

amount already paid in *censos*<sup>17</sup> (totaling 3,800 pesos) on the property which had granted San Joseph rights to La Ventilla's huarangal and perhaps other lands since around 1703.

The property title for the Hacienda La Ventilla describes the main portion of the estate as extending from the western frontier of the Hacienda San Pablo, which is marked by a large huarango cross set in an adobe base on the skirt of the hills that mark the valley's southern boundary, to the eastern boundary of the Hacienda Mochadero, opposite San Xavier. Although the title does not provide an exact count of the total area of the agricultural core of the annex, a conservative estimate grows San Joseph's productive potential in the middle Ingenio Valley by a quarter or possibly a third. Along La Ventilla's border with the huarangal of San Pablo the property title lists alfalfa fields, a huarangal, gates, a paddock, and a marshy area thick with totora reeds, useful in roofing and construction.<sup>18</sup>

An inventory of infrastructure, goods, and the 17 enslaved persons sold with the property is attached to La Ventilla's title. The previous owner, Captain Alarcón, had constructed an hacienda house, *lagar* (wine press), botija kiln, worker housing, bodegas, and a chapel. However, at the time of the annexation by San Joseph in 1706, much of this infrastructure had been ruined by a recent earthquake. The property title describes the condition of the structures as the Jesuit administrator of San Joseph, Brother Diego de Murga, walked through the property in the act of formally taking possession:<sup>19</sup>

Upon entering the house of the aforesaid hacienda [he noticed] that it was all crushed and had fallen to the ground with the tremors... [he] entered walking through the said house, bodegas, chapel with its ornaments, botija workshop, [noting] that all of this had fallen to

<sup>17</sup> A *censo* is a contract for mortgage or loan of investment capital with interest gained against a property.

<sup>18</sup> "Títulos...", 1706. AGN TP Leg.21, C.415: ff.435r-435v.

<sup>19</sup> The act of taking possession of a property under Spanish law ritualistically required the new owner to walk through a property grasping and tossing dirt or snapping branches of trees saying the word "posesión" three times. Curiously, in the property title, Murga is referred to as a priest, while in a series of documents related to a dispute between San Joseph and San Xavier he is referred to as a lay brother. It is much more likely that Murga was in fact a brother, as some of the latter documentation are copies of letters he himself wrote or statements issued by his superiors, versus the property title which was produced by a notary in conjunction with a Crown land agent.

the ground and was crushed from the tremors, and the said house inevitably, and the said kilns of the botijaria, were in poor condition and covered by brush and without the shed where the botijas were made, as everything had fallen down.<sup>20</sup>

Given that the 1767 Crown inventory of La Ventilla did not record the botija workshop or kilns, but instead the chapel, two presses, bodegas, a large distillery, and a single house, it can be assumed that most of the ruined structures were not restored.<sup>21</sup> The productive core of San Joseph had considerable facilities for botija production, which would have supplied La Ventilla as well. Tectonic events were the likely cause of much spatial reorganization throughout the history of these estates, as is discussed in the subsequent archaeological chapters.

La Ventilla's property title and other documentation concerning the property from around the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century offers not only remarkable information about the state and extent of the property, but also about the other estates in the Ingenio Valley. As is discussed in the next section of this chapter, a series of letters, reports, and documentation was generated in a dispute over a new irrigation ditch constructed by Brother Ignacio de Vengoa, the administrator of San Xavier, which ran from San Pablo through La Ventilla to carry San Pablo's surplus water directly to San Xavier, circumnavigating San Joseph.<sup>22</sup> Among these folios is a map sketched around 1705, indicating the relative extent and locations of the Jesuit estates and their secular neighbors in the Ingenio Valley (see Figure 4.3).

When the Colegio Grande of Cuzco purchased the Hacienda La Ventilla, the property also came with an extensive annex property in the lower Grande Valley called the Tierras de

<sup>20</sup> "Por entresado de la casa de vivienda de la dicha hacienda que esta toda de molida y caida con los temblores... se entro pase ando por la dicha casa de vivineda bodegas capilla con sus hornamientos hobraje de botijeria que todo ello esta caido en el suelo y de molido de los temblores y la dicha casa ynavitable [sic.] y los dichos hornos de botixeria maltratados y cubiertos de monte y sin galpón en que se labraban las botijas por estar todo caído" ("Títulos...", 1706. AGN TP Leg.21, C.415: f.419v, ff.434r-434v).

<sup>21</sup> "Testimonio...", 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #17: ff.279r-280v.

<sup>22</sup> "Cartas, informes, apuntes y otros documentos correspondientes a la chacra denominada La Ventilla...", 1705. AGN TP Leg. 1, C.600: 20ff.



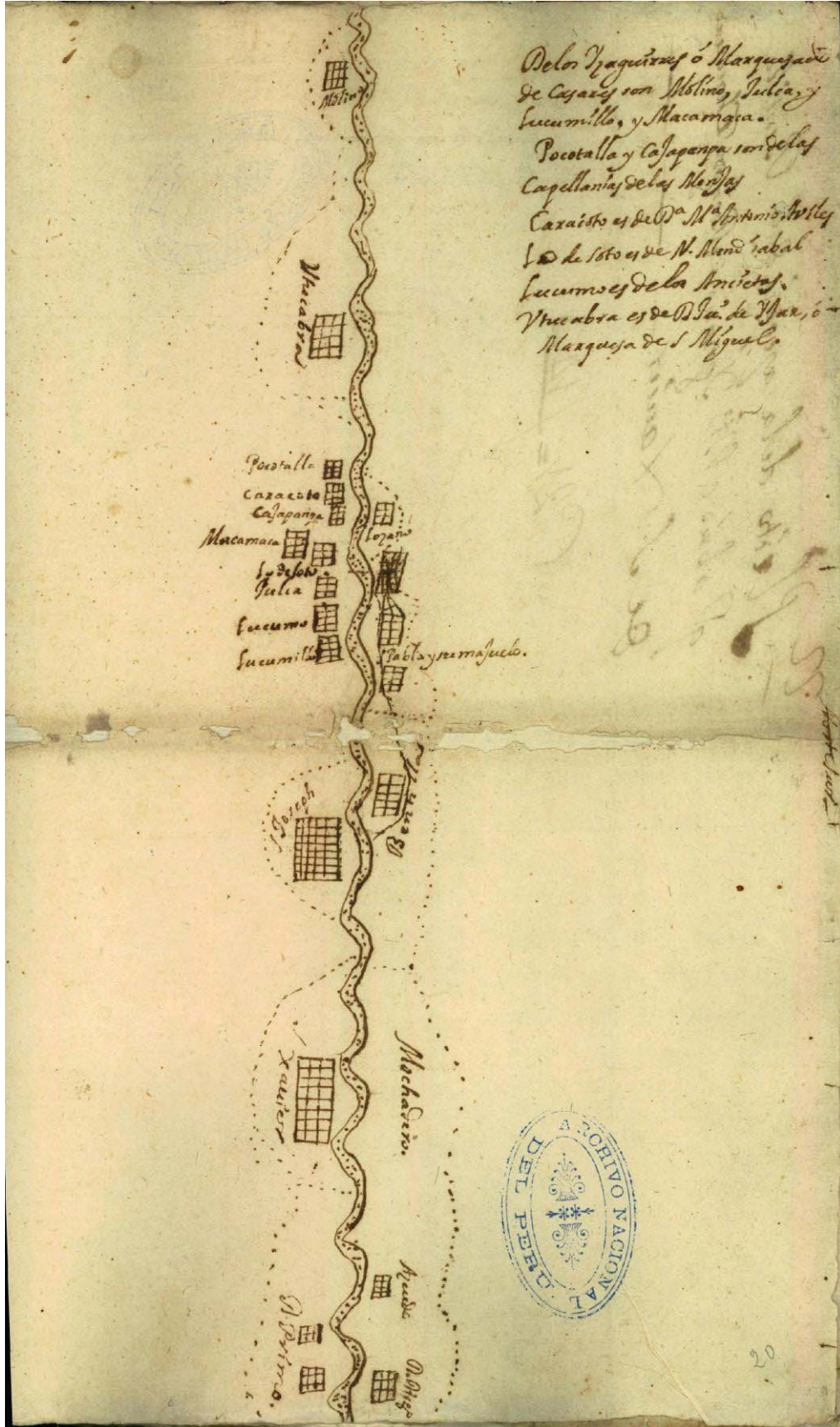


Figure 4.3. Jesuit map of the Jesuit and secular properties in the Ingenio Valley. The properties, in order from upriver to downriver are: Molino, Uhecabra, Pocotalla, Caracoto, Cajapanya, Lozano, Macamaca, Lo de Soto, Julca, Lucumo, Lucumillo, San Pablo y su majuelo, Bentilla, San Joseph, Machadero, San Xavier, Azueto, Don Primo, Don Diego. The text in the upper right of the map reads: "De los Yaguiraes ó Marquesa de Casares son Molino, Julca, y Lucumillo, y Macamaca. Pocotalla y Cajapanya son de las Capellanias de las Monjas. Caracoto es de Doña Maria Antonio Aviles. Lo de Soto es de N. Mendizábal. Lucumo es de los Ancietas. Uhecabra es de Doña Juana de Yjar, ó Marquesa de San Miguel." "Cartas...", 1705. AGN TP Leg. 1, C.600: f.11r.

Coyungo. This property extended along the right bank of the Grande River from San Joseph's annexes of Gramadal and Lacra to the area near the Quebrada Santa Cruz, where the road to Puerto Caballa ascends from the river valley into open desert. Coyungo was the last outpost for travelers as they began the 30 km sojourn through the desert en route to the seaport. Because very little surface water was available for irrigation in the lower valley, the lands of Coyungo could not be used for viticulture. However, the property included extensive huarango forests, and was important as a waystation in the lower valley.

The last annex acquired by San Joseph was a single field, planted with young vines which connected the base of the principal extent of San Joseph to the annex of Tambo del Inga. As *tierras baldías*, barren parcels of land, reverted back to the Crown as "Royal Patrimony," the administrator of San Joseph, Diego de Murga requested to purchase a barren parcel of land, which he called the Majuelo<sup>23</sup> del Padre Antonio Alzuru, from the Crown land agent in Ica. The purchase of the single field was confirmed on August 6, 1712 for 30 pesos. The property title describes the parcel as "a piece of mountainous lands of shrubbery, springs, and quaking bogs, below the said San Joseph and near the barrows of Tambo Inga..."<sup>24</sup> A second small parcel of land adjoining the *majuelo* was purchased from the Crown land agent in 1724, at the request of the then administrator, Father Isidro Vallejo.<sup>25</sup>

### *The Annexes of San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca*

As I discussed above, the first property acquired by the Jesuits of the Colegio de San Pablo of Lima was the Hacienda San Pablo in 1619. After receiving the Hacienda San Xavier in

<sup>23</sup> The term *majuelo* normally refers to a field planted with young vines, but in this instance the name probably remained for the duration of the Jesuit tenure in the valley in honor of Fr. Alzuru of the Cuzco Jesuits.

<sup>24</sup> "Testimonio de la venta por composición de una suerte de tierras...", 1712. AGN TP Leg.26, C.488: ff.5-6.

<sup>25</sup> "Testimonio...", 1712. AGN TP Leg.26, C.488: ff.7r-10v.

donation, in 1657, the administrative seat of the Lima Jesuits' estates in Nasca was transferred to San Xavier, demoting the status of the smaller property, San Pablo, to an annex of San Xavier. In contrast, San Xavier had less than half the number of annexed properties as San Joseph. Part of this can be attributed to different opportunities for acquisition, as well as the different management styles employed by the business managers of the Colegio Grande of Cuzco and the administrators of San Joseph vs those of the Colegio de San Pablo of Lima and San Xavier. Another factor which restricted number of properties which the Lima Jesuits annexed was the quality and size of the early landholdings of the haciendas of San Pablo and San Xavier, both of which were ample, had sufficient access to relatively reliable water, good lands for planting, and ample space for grazing livestock. Subsequent acquisitions were strategic, in that they offered land, water rights, or rentable real estate which contributed to the specific needs of San Xavier's hacienda system.

The third property acquired by the colegio was the Parral de Cavella, a single fanegada of land contiguous with San Pablo, purchased for 800 pesos from don Tomás de los Reyes, *indio principal* of Nasca, in 1658.<sup>26</sup> The property included the fields of an already functioning vineyard and a huarangal. However, as the 1767 Crown inventories do not list any architecture or infrastructure associated with Cavella, it seems likely that the property was subsumed by and managed as part of San Pablo.

The Parral y Tierras de Arpicho, upriver from the town of El Ingenio in the narrow stretch of the upper Ingenio Valley, was purchased in 1713 from Antonio Guerrero Farfán by an agent of Father Julio Díaz, who had replaced Brother Ignacio Vengoa as administrator of San

<sup>26</sup> "Parral de Cavella." 1658. AGN, Sección Temporalidades, Colegios, Colegio San Pablo, Lima Leg. 21, doc. 21: 3ff.

Xavier.<sup>27</sup> Guerrero had put the property up for sale for 6,000 pesos to help get out from under extraordinary debts, a symptom of the failing agrarian economy of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century to which secular estates were most susceptible, but for which the Jesuit estates were insulated against. The property contributed to the productive efforts of San Xavier and San Pablo and was already a working vineyard, and the title lists a house, lagar, bodegas, and a brandy still. Additionally, because of its location in the higher part of the valley, Arpicho had more ready access to water and under the law, more of a right to river water than the downriver estates.

The last property annexed by San Xavier was the Hacienda Llipata, which was purchased for 2,000 pesos by the Colegio de San Pablo in 1739 from Tomás García Jiménez, the mayor of Puerto Caballa.<sup>28</sup> Llipata was located along the Viscas River near the town of Palpa. The titles indicate that the property was sold along with four slaves, and included 60 fanegadas of land. The large estate included a vineyard, orchard, and huarangal. At the time of its Jesuit acquisition the hacienda had a small house, mill, offices, and a *carbonera*, for producing charcoal from huarango wood. San Xavier's administrator at the time, Brother Jacinto de Alsívar, determined that it would be more cost effective to rent out the large estate, rather than to devote San Xavier's resources to incorporating the new lands into its productive system. These same documents filed with the property's titles also suggest that while Llipata's lands had been previously dedicated to grape production, the orchards were expanded after the Jesuit annexation.

### *Conflict over Water: the Acequia of La Ventilla*

A series of documents chronicling an early 18<sup>th</sup> century dispute between the administrators of the two Jesuit haciendas of Nasca over water rights and the construction of a

<sup>27</sup> "Títulos de la via y tierras denominadas Arpicho...", 1713. AGN TP Leg.24, C.442: 31ff.

<sup>28</sup> "Títulos de la hacienda denominada Llipata...", 1739. AGN TP Leg.10, C.222: 100ff.

new irrigation ditch is revealing of the relationship between the estates, as well as their engagement with the much smaller, and less powerful, secular estates of the valley. The administrative strategies employed on the Jesuit properties and how they used water had a very profound impact on the material conditions of production – particularly, how much water was available for the vines, for wine, brandy, and ceramic production, and for staple crops for feeding the livestock and sustaining the enslaved communities. Water was a fundamental necessity for sustained productive output, and without a stable and dependable supply, the material base for production would become uncertain. This case also provides an important opportunity to examine, through very detailed communication, the interactions of Jesuit estate administrators with each other and their superiors, exposing the structures of hacienda management and the place of the estates within the aims of the Society of Jesus' enterprise in Peru. Chiefly, this conflict underscores the potential for understanding how administrative decisions regarding land management impacted the slave communities, and the potentially unstable nature of the relationship between estate administration and the enslaved.

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the southern Peruvian coastal region is agriculturally dependent on the small rivers which typically only run with surface water during austral summer. During the highland winter (dry season), the rivers of the Grande drainage system often only have a small amount of surface water in the upper valleys, with water running primarily underground in the middle and lower valleys. Throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the Ingenio River ran with little water the Hacienda San Pablo and three of the secular estates in its vicinity took turns drawing the river's water, and then passing what they did not use back to the riverbed for downriver estates, namely San Joseph, La Ventilla, and San Xavier and the other

estates of the Changuillo Valley.<sup>29</sup> These turns were a formalized water-sharing institution called turning (*turno* in Spanish) or more commonly *mita* (from the Quechua *mit'a*, not to be confused with the colonial rotational labor obligation of the same name), which developed from a dual heritage in traditional Andean hydrological management practices and Iberian law. In the former system, preference was granted to downriver communities and fields, who drew water before those closer to the intake or farther upriver, and in the latter, upriver estates were granted superior rights to river and canal water (see Netherly 1984: 245-246). In the case of San Pablo and its neighbors, each estate was granted three days of *mita*, completing a full *mita* cycle every twelve days.

In October of 1703 the administrator of San Xavier, Brother Ignacio Vengoa, decided to alter this arrangement by opening an irrigation ditch, which in recent years had fallen into disuse on the property of La Ventilla. The irrigation ditch (*acequia* in Spanish) could pass the remnant water from San Pablo's *mita* directly to San Xavier through the lands of La Ventilla, rather than returning the unused water to the riverbed to be used by the estates immediately downriver from San Pablo, namely San Joseph. The administrator of San Joseph, Brother Diego Murga, took issue with the new irrigation ditch, raising a dispute between the two estates and the colegios of Cuzco and Lima, which was not fully resolved by Jesuit superiors until 1712. The documentation, letters, reports, and statements of this case are important for understanding the relationship between the two Jesuit hacienda systems in the Ingenio Valley, how they worked together and how that cooperation broke down over the dispute of water.<sup>30</sup> Additionally, the papers filed through this conflict also highlight the water management customs of the other estates in the valley. More importantly, the judgements of the provincial superior in this dispute

<sup>29</sup> "Cartas...", 1705. AGN TP Leg.31, C.600: ff.10r-10v.

<sup>30</sup> "Cartas...", 1705. AGN TP Leg.31, C.600: 20ff.

over water rights and the new irrigation ditch had profound effects on the rights of the enslaved community of San Joseph, as will be addressed below.

The documentation begins after Murga traveled to Ica in September of 1704 to complain about the new irrigation ditch to Father Diego de Cardenas, the provincial superior of the Jesuit Province of Peru, who was visiting the Jesuit Colegio of Ica. Cardenas communicated the issue to the vice provincial, Father Diego Francisco Altamirano, who was also the rector of the Colegio de San Pablo of Lima. Altamirano wrote to the rector of the Colegio Grande of Cuzco, Father Fernando de Aguilar, in an effort to come to an agreement between the two Jesuit colegios.

On May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1705 Brother Murga argued his case in a letter addressed to his rector, Father Aguilar.<sup>31</sup> In the letter, Murga claimed that the upriver estates have more of a right to the river water than downriver estates. Therefore, San Pablo has more of a right to the water than San Joseph and La Ventilla, but San Xavier has less of a right to this water than San Joseph and La Ventilla. Murga argues that although San Pablo and San Xavier are owned by the same institution, that does not mean that water from one can be passed to the other, because each property has its own rights. Rather, the water should belong to the other hacendados in the vicinity of San Pablo, and not passed downriver, skipping over those who have more of a right to the water. He pointed out that while previous administrators of San Xavier had complained that there was not sufficient water to plant new areas with vines, the hacienda still had sufficient water without the new irrigation ditch to produce great harvests which brought considerable profit to the Colegio de San Pablo. Murga also contended that although water was generally scarce in the valley, San Xavier would see a substantial increase in its harvest over previous

<sup>31</sup> “Cartas...”, 1705. AGN TP Leg.31, C.600: ff.2-3v.

years, while San Joseph continued to struggle. Murga feared that if allowed to continue in use, the new irrigation ditch would be expanded until it carried all of the water owed to San Joseph in the dry months.

Murga closes his letter explaining that he sent slaves into the mountains to fetch water from other sources – and in times of need, San Joseph might have to also send contracted wage laborers (presumably mestizo or indigenous) to fetch the water, which would represent a new cost to the estate. During these expeditions into the mountainous region of the upper valley, enslaved Africans would have come into frequent contact with indigenous residents of the Ayacucho highlands. This contact would have been a unique articulation between Africans and native Andeans, distinct from interactions on the estates with forasteros and contracted mestizo wage laborers. Additionally, within the diverse traditional religious belief systems both Atlantic African peoples (see Brown 2010) and highland native Andeans (see Bastien 1978: 47; Gelles 2000: 87; Gose 1994: 129), springs and sources of water are particularly powerful and animated points on the landscape, often populated by aquatic or subterranean supernaturals. Interestingly, although contextually distinct, both Atlantic African and native Andean religious traditions recognized springs as gateways to the realm of the ancestors. Such ontological similarities may have resulted in a shared and syncretic aestheticism of landscape in the Ingenio Valley and its headwaters in the highlands of Ayacucho.

Brother Vengoa's letter dated May 8<sup>th</sup>, 1705 to Father Altamirano, the vice provincial and rector of the Colegio de San Pablo, responded to most of Murga's assertions and offered the case for the necessity of the irrigation ditch and its benignity toward San Joseph.<sup>32</sup> Vengoa's verbose rebuttal of Murgas accusations began with the assertion that the irrigation ditch was not in fact

<sup>32</sup> "Cartas...", 1705. AGN TP Leg.31, C.600: ff.3v-8r.



new, but had been previously used to carry the remnant water from Hacienda San Pablo's dry-season *mitas* to San Xavier under his predecessors, but had fallen into disuse. He references a tradition of San Xavier's administrators clearing the irrigation ditch when the mayordomo of fields along with a number of slaves were annually dispatched to break open the intakes for San Pablo's fields. Vengoa argued that without the irrigation ditch in the dry season, there is insufficient water for San Xavier, given that San Joseph did not participate in the *mitas* and would use all of the water without returning any of it back to the riverbed. In response to Murga's claim that San Xavier's harvest would be greater in the present year, Vengoa purported to not know how the harvest would compare to previous years, but maintained that it was public knowledge that San Joseph's output was increasing regardless of the irrigation ditch, refuting the accusation that the ditch in any way damaged the productivity of San Joseph.

Father Aguilar, the rector of the Colegio Grande of Cuzco, conducted an authorized visit to San Joseph and San Xavier and negotiated an agreement that both administrators signed on the 21<sup>st</sup> of May, 1705.<sup>33</sup> The administrators agreed to nine points of compromise, which established a *mita* system for the two estates, allowing each to draw water from the Ingenio River for four days in turns. In the event that the riverbed did not provide sufficient water for San Joseph and San Xavier and it was necessary to send slaves into the mountains upriver to channel water for use on the estates, both estates were to send an equal number of slaves and share the recovered water, without diverting any to San Pablo which had its own *mitas*. The agreement allowed San Xavier to continue using the new *acequia* to divert water to San Xavier that was left over from San Pablo's *mitas*. As a final point in the contract, the two estates agreed to share as needed the clay borrows "in front of the old Inca *tambo* at the end of the Ingenio Valley and the beginning

<sup>33</sup> "Cartas...", 1705. AGN TP Leg.31, C.600: ff.8r-10v.

of that of Changuillo.” This last point, does not seem to have had anything to do with the problems surrounding the scarcity of water or the new irrigation ditch, but the opportunity for negotiation between the two administrators allowed for this point to be formally agreed upon. Copies of the agreement were sent to the business managers of both colegios and to Father Diego Francisco Altamirano, the rector of San Pablo and vice provincial of the Jesuit Province of Peru, all of whom agreed to the merits of the contract. In June of 1706, Father Provincial Diego de Cardenas traveled to San Joseph and affirmed the agreement between the two administrators considering the issue resolved.

That same year, Brother Murga took possession of the Hacienda La Ventilla, although it is uncertain to what effect San Joseph’s possession of the same lands containing the irrigation ditch from San Pablo to San Xavier had on Brother Vengoa’s ability to use and maintain the *acequia*. The issue was evidently still unresolved by 1709, as the new provincial superior, Father Luís de Andrade revoked the agreement between the two estates during a visit to the valley on May 28, 1709, issuing a new set of edicts.<sup>34</sup> Citing frequent discord between the two administrators, and a fear that the conflict might spill over into the enslaved population and that neighboring estates might take sides, the Jesuit provincial was compelled to attempt to resolve the issues at stake. In order to ensure both estates had sufficient water when it was needed most during the dry season, Andrade did away with the four day turns of the earlier agreement, instituting a *mita* by which San Joseph and La Ventilla could draw water from the river during the day and San Xavier by night. The new arrangement also prohibited San Xavier the use of the new *acequia*, which ran through the property of La Ventilla, and gave use privileges for the irrigation ditch to La Ventilla and San Joseph.

<sup>34</sup> “Cartas...”, 1705. AGN TP Leg.31, C.600: f.10v, f.anexo06-7v.

Andrade took advantage of his visit to issue other orders which were seemingly unrelated to the issue of irrigation of the two hacienda systems. In one of these additional orders he reversed a provincial mandate first made in 1645, and upheld by provincial superiors in 1683 and 1690, prohibiting the lending or selling of pitch or botijas coated in pitch to any secular persons. However, he cautioned the administrators to use good judgement not to make loans of any materials from the Jesuit estates to seculars, and never to purchase pitch with the explicit purpose of reselling it at a higher price. Both estates already had a tradition of selling surplus botijas and peruleras,<sup>35</sup> presumably uncoated, from their workshops to neighboring estates, most of which did not have the means to invest in their own enslaved skilled ceramicists (see Cushner 1980: Table 5.12, 128-129). The reversal on the prohibition of selling *botijas empegadas*, those with pitch coated interiors, opened up new possibilities for the estates to supplement their incomes from the sale of wine and brandy, by selling vessels ready for use.

Over the course of the next two years, San Joseph and San Xavier continued to experience problems with water management and the frequent disputes between Brothers Murga and Vengoa continued, resulting in another visit by Father Provincial Andrade in May of 1711.<sup>36</sup> During this visit, Andrade emphasized the need for the estates to maintain the dry season *mita* of taking twelve hour turns at drawing water from the river, San Joseph and La Ventilla irrigating from 6 in the morning to 6 in the afternoon, and San Xavier at night. Although the previous mandate prohibited San Xavier from using the *acequia* passing through La Ventilla, Andrade made provisions allowing San Xavier to use the irrigation ditch during its twelve hours of the *mita*, given that it would be more likely that more of the water would reach San Xavier through

<sup>35</sup> The perulera was a half-volume amphora, sometimes called a *media-botija*, which was often purposed for the storage and transportation of brandy.

<sup>36</sup> "Cartas...", 1705. AGN TP Leg.31, C.600: f.anexo04-05.

the ditch than in the riverbed, where much of it would drain into a subterranean aquifer and be lost as surface water. While these new orders seem to offer small adjustments to the water management strategy, Andrade's most substantial order during this visit prohibited San Joseph's slaves from maintaining fields to supplement their own subsistence at the western end of San Joseph and La Ventilla. Andrade argued that such fields used water left over from irrigating the estate's vineyards and prevented sufficient water from being returned to the river for use by San Xavier. Instead, Father Andrade ordered San Joseph to use the maize grown in its fields explicitly for slave consumption and to save water by only growing enough alfalfa for the necessities of the livestock and nothing more.

Both estates had a long tradition of granting the privilege of subsistence fields to slaves, and denying these privileges would have certainly caused problems for either administrator. Murga promptly wrote a formal request to Andrade, pleading with him to reconsider his order regarding the slave's fields:

...the blacks see [this action] as the loss of their hacienda and they restrain themselves, even when they were not listened to by superiors. Before, they were shamed and admonished to advance and working is made a crime, what had been judged a reward: seeing it as precious, to freely work their own lands; and the blacks, dispossessed of their little fields that so much entertained them during feasts, which gave them some relief in their needs. I say again, it is possible that they will restrain themselves. So much would be the grace of God and virtue of obedience.<sup>37</sup> (my translation)

The last correspondence from Andrade included with the papers of this case, is dated August 4, 1711, and upholds his orders from May of that year. While the matter regarding the

<sup>37</sup> "...los negros, que vean perder su hacienda y se contengan, especialmente quando en nada an sido oídos de los superiores; antes an sido mortificados y como reprimidos de que adelantan y trabajan combirtiendo en delito, lo que juraban materia de agradecimiento: viéndose preciados, de laborear libremente en sus tierras: y despojados los negros de las chacarillas, que a muchisimosa les entretenían las fiestas, que les daua algun alivio en sus necesidades. Vuelbo a decir que sera posible que se contengan. Tanta puede ser la gracia de Dios y virtud de la obediencia" ("Cartas...", 1705. AGN TP Leg.31, C.600: f.anexo08). The copy of the archived letter is incomplete and undated. I attribute the letter to Murga, based on its content, and place the letter between the end of May and August of 1711.

disputes over water management seems to have been resolved between the two administrators, the fate of the slave's fields remains an issue of speculation. As Murga points out in his letter, such a change in administrative policy would have substantially complicated his relationship with the enslaved population, and dramatically affected life on the estate. Murga points out that despite the threat of losing their fields the slaves "restrain themselves." He refers to the slaves' fields as something that satiated their needs, and from the administrator perspective, offered them a sense of freedom in captivity. Implicit is the potential for open resistance, introducing the possibility that the slaves might not be contained if they were not given what had been promised to them. In this way, the brother's letter to his provincial superior is strategic, drawing upon pervasive fears of a black rebellion, but probably substantiated by tenuous structures of hacienda life. The hacienda social order was contingent on maintaining established hierarchies and systems of rewards and privileges, rather than an overt threat of punishment. Despite oppressive conditions which controlled and constrained the freedom of individuals and posed severe risks to the health of the enslaved on both secular and Jesuit estates, there was never a single violent protest or rebellion on a Jesuit hacienda in Peru (See Bowser 1974: 186). Yet, the threat of such an occurrence was probably a nearly constant preoccupation for the hacienda administrators. The hacienda system depended on order, hierarchy, and habit, while a change in social contract represented a fundamental threat. Although there does not exist documentary evidence, it is very likely that some form of compromise was reached, allowing high ranking enslaved individuals their own parcels of land or gardens which they could plant for their own subsistence, given that slave dietary needs could not have been met by the estate alone, and that such usufruct subsistence fields were common on Jesuit estates (see Cushner 1975: 182-183; Macera 1966: 58). As is discussed in the subsequent archaeological chapters, the paleoethnobotanical analysis

of samples from excavated contexts at San Joseph and San Xavier suggests the importance of crops planted and harvested by enslaved persons from their own plots.

The issue regarding the water *mitas* among the estates along the Ingenio River was not settled by Andrade's orders for San Joseph to draw water by day and San Xavier to draw by night, as the secular neighbors of the Jesuit estates began to feel inconvenienced by the Jesuits' preferential treatment of the river's water. The final judgement concerning the conflict over the Ingenio's water during the Jesuits' tenure in Nasca came in 1747 when the Judge of Water Supply<sup>38</sup> in Ica ruled that in the dry season both San Joseph and San Xavier had to draw water during the day, leaving the secular estates to take in irrigation water at night. This set of documents relating to the conflict between San Joseph and San Xavier over water and the construction of a new irrigation ditch offer a window onto the very nature of the relationship between the two Jesuit estates of Nasca, and administrative practices which had implications for the success of these estates and the Jesuits' relationship with their secular neighbors.

The region's hydrology offered particular challenges for the success of large agroindustrial enterprises, like the Jesuit haciendas, which was complicated by unpredictable multi-year weather patterns. Severe El Niño Southern Oscillation (ENSO) events, which circulates warmer currents in the Southern Pacific toward the Peruvian coast, can cause copious rainfalls in the Andean highlands, flooding the rivers and creating mudslides; La Niña events which bring cooler weather and less rainfall, can cause severe drought in the middle and lower valleys, exacerbating the problematic hydrology and agrarian water politics of the southern Peruvian coast. Yet, as demonstrated by this case, inconsistent annual hydrological expectations and limiting potential for the Ingenio Valley's environment to support agriculture had less to do

<sup>38</sup> *Juez de Aguas*, a position created in 1556 to set water regulations and settle disputes between secular estates; see Cushner 1980: 51.

with the dispute over water than social factors and the drive for economic success. Although the property titles are mute on the issue, the Colegio Grande's initial bid for La Ventilla in 1705, and eventual annexation of the property, may have been directly related to a desire to control the irrigation ditch which San Xavier's administrator had opened on the property. While the two Jesuit estates shared many resources in common, such as the borrow pits near Tambo del Inga, the waystations en route to Puerto Caballa, the warehouse at the seaport, and personnel like a chaplain, this case highlights the potential for that cooperation to break down.

### **Slavery and the Administration of the Jesuit Estates of Nasca**

While the first part of this chapter presented the origins of the Jesuit presence in Nasca and the Ingenio Valley and the development of the Nasca estates through property acquisition and infrastructure, this section is devoted to examining administrative strategies for the Nasca vineyards with specific attention to the enslaved populations. Jesuit strategies and attitudes toward labor are encapsulated in the discourse of labor as Christian discipline. After describing the basic organization of the haciendas and their place among the works, missions, and evangelical projects of the Society of Jesus, I explore Jesuit attitudes toward slavery, principally drawing upon the writings of two 17<sup>th</sup> century Jesuits, Alonso de Sandoval and António Vieira. The exploration of the nature of the institution of racial slavery in Jesuit contexts offers insight into the specific processes of enslaved subject making and the precarious status of the enslaved between person and object. Next, I discuss how Jesuit administrators and procurators acquisitioned the slaves for their estates and haciendas, drawing on the work of Sandoval for an understanding of slave ethnonyms and casta designations.

The Jesuit vineyards of Nasca are particularly exceptional due to their prominence among the largest of the Society of Jesus' haciendas, and should not be taken as representative of the full range of the enslaved experience in viceregal Peru. Most rural enslaved people would have lived and worked in smaller communities, perhaps as African minorities among mostly indigenous and mestizo neighbors, and laboring in less economically important secular farms, homes, or factories. I then examine the broad demographics of the enslaved communities on the Nasca estates as made possible by the 1767 slave inventory produced at the moment of the Jesuit expulsion. This documentation reveals the processes of evangelization and Christianization of the Nasca estates and the ways these practices fostered and developed slave hierarchies which were exploited by both enslaved actors and the Jesuit administration. Finally, I consider the practices for slave provisioning, both by the estate and autonomously by the slaves themselves. Such practices consider the Society of Jesus' global trade networks, which supplied their estates with essential goods, but also how slaves made use of usufruct lands, slave gardens, and market engagement.

Jesuit enterprises constituted a complex purpose, which was as much economic as it was social (Cushner 1980: 78-79; Gareis 2005; Klaiber 2007: 14). Haciendas and *obrajes* (factories) were both viewed by the Society of Jesus as productive economic projects, but also as services to society in general. These properties directly financed the Society of Jesus' schools, evangelical projects, and missions, but they also offered needed products to secular society, and were designed to model ideal Christian communities based on the tenets of Christian discipline through labor. In many respects, the administration of a rural estate, either owned secularly or by a religious institution like the Society of Jesus, emulated a self-contained version of social order of the Spanish colonial *urbis* (see Cushner 1980: 79-80). However, in the case of the Jesuit



estate, the administrator embodied the complementary civic and religious powers of the urban institutions of the cabildo and the church, enforcing a system of patronage to the estate which penetrated every aspect of daily social life and labor.

On large Jesuit wine or sugar estates, the administrator oversaw several *mayordomos*, or stewards, who managed the daily affairs of the hacienda house, livestock, and fields. These *mayordomos*, together with the direct supervision of the administrator, also oversaw the officials and production foremen, such as the master vintner and master *botijero* (botija potter). In addition to contracting with a chaplain, most estates also had a doctor, nurse, and surgeon either on retainer or residing at the hacienda. Other skilled laborers required by the estate, such as master carpenters, blacksmiths, or irrigation controllers, may have either been salaried or enslaved, depending on the size of the estate and the skill sets of the enslaved population. While at San Xavier and San Joseph the majority of the individuals who resided and worked on the estates were enslaved, there were a number of free individuals who were employed by the estate and lived on its property. Documents indicate housing for *forasteros*,<sup>39</sup> seasonal native Andean migrant agricultural laborers, and the population of free laborers (including blacks) who resided on the estates' lands.<sup>40</sup> Slaves were represented to the hacienda administration by a head slave or *caporal*, typically an older male who commanded the respect of his peers, and someone who showed great obedience to the administration. On Jesuit estates, worker and slave hierarchy was implemented for the purposes of streamlining productivity, but imposed hierarchical social differentiation and obedience was principal to the ideal of the Christian community – of many

<sup>39</sup> “Testimonio de la hacienda San Joseph de Nasca,” 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #17:f.273r.

<sup>40</sup> “Despacho y demás documentos en razón de la expulsión de 19 negros libres de ambos sexos de las inmediaciones de San Xavier y San Joseph...” 1767. AGN. C-13, Leg.62A, C.5, 10ff.

parts, but one body united in purpose – that the Society of Jesus envisioned for their estates, missions, and for the order itself (see Cushner 1975: 189).

### *Jesuit Attitudes toward Slavery*

Jesuit attitudes in the 16<sup>th</sup> through 18<sup>th</sup> centuries were complex, supported by moral philosophies, doctrines, and practicalities that dovetailed with the dominant secular and theological views within the Spanish, Portuguese, and French Empires and supported by the Vatican. Although there was some diversity in opinions among Jesuit thinkers, the popular view offered a moral imperative for the Christianization of African slaves and for their “just” treatment, and very few Jesuits actually questioned the institution of slavery on moral grounds (Klaiber 2007:8; Sweet 1978). Because of the value placed on education by members of the Society of Jesus and the reputation of well-known late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Jesuits, a popular myth has emerged that slavery under the yoke of the order was somehow less harsh than on secular estates or homes, but historical (and now archaeological) research has produced no such evidence to substantiate that claim. As will be discussed below, Jesuits who had direct dealings with African slaves were likely to take a practical moral and economic approach to the issue, believing that “benevolent” treatment of the enslaved was necessary to both properly exploit the maximum labor potential of an individual and was mandated by Christian doctrine (Sweet 1978: 128-132). While uniquely structured and justified by a particular tradition of moral philosophy and theology, the experience of forced labor and captivity under Jesuit administration was as harsh, dehumanizing, and dangerous as any of the contemporary slave systems (see Alden 1996: 518; Cushner 1974, 1980).

The early and well-known voice of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas failed to have a substantive impact on Spanish views of slavery in the Americas. Las Casas, who initially advocated for the importation of African slaves to supplement indigenous labor in Mexico and the Caribbean, ultimately came to reject the institution out of an abhorrence for the unjust procedures used by Portuguese slavers to procure their captives (Las Casas 1951 [1552-1561]: 77-78, 274-275; see also Sweet 1978: 91-92). These strong abolitionist opinions were rare in the Americas and nearly non-existent among later clergy. Among the Jesuits in the Americas, there were very few dissenting voices who directly opposed slavery (Klaiber 2007: 8). In Peru, two professors of the Colegio of San Pablo in Lima, Diego de Avendaño and Pedro Oñate, wrote critically about black slavery, but maintained that Christians must let their own consciences guide them in this issue (see Martín 2001: 89-91). Additionally, in New Spain, vocal opponents to slavery Miguel García and Gonçalo Leite were silenced and sent back to Iberia (see Alden 1996: 508-509). The Jesuit Miguel García, like his non-Jesuit contemporary Bartolomé de Albornoz, did not oppose slavery specifically on the grounds of the immorality of the institution, but rather on the unjust treatment of the enslaved (Sweet 1978: 91).

Both civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the early modern period recognized slavery as legitimate when slaves were captured in just war between nations, justly punished for serious crimes through forced labor, sold into slavery voluntarily or by one's parents, or when born into enslavement (see Sweet 1978: 93). Thus, the basic humanity of enslaved Africans was always recognized by the Church, but racial and chattel slavery emerged out of colonial power structures backed by religious ideologies which supported captive taking and enslavement through "just wars" waged either against infidels who had rejected Christian doctrine or among non-Christian groups at the periphery of Christendom. However, the institution of slavery and the goal of

evangelization presented inherent contradictions which were normative aspects of the colonial experience (see Borja 2005: 87). As other regions of the Spanish Empire, the councils and synods of the Church in Lima dictated the proper treatment of the enslaved, particularly the teaching of doctrine and catechism, as well as the administration of the sacraments (Borja 2005: 95; Vila 2000: 191, 202). Enriqueta Vila Vilar (2000: 191) argues that because slave catechism focused on the acceptance of the subordinate and servile position of the enslaved, religion was strategically employed as a fundamental element of indirect control of the slave. The process of subject formation among the enslaved in the Iberian Americas was heavily dependent upon religious indoctrination and the material trappings of Christianity.

It was not until 1839 that the Roman Catholic Church took an abolitionist stance on slavery, although there were certainly vocal members of the Church who had opposed the institution earlier (Klaiber 2007: 9). The early 19<sup>th</sup> century dramatic change in the Church's stance on slavery has caused a number of historians to probe the roots of that change and the nature of earlier support for the institution of slavery: was abolitionist sentiment an Enlightenment era phenomena, or did the Church always silently oppose slavery? In his historiography of Jesuit views of African slavery in colonial Latin America, David Sweet (1978) offered an important challenge to Frank Tannenbaum's pervasive and influential thesis presented in his book *Slave and Citizen* (1947), which had persisted into the 1970s as the dominant historical paradigm. Tannenbaum posited that although the Church, and particularly the Society of Jesus, had never openly opposed slavery in the colonial Americas, it did not approve or support the institution. This assessment of slavery in Latin America was initially found attractive as 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars pushed back against the Black Legend of Spanish colonialism. In contrast, Sweet asserts that the Church and its institutions were complicit in all aspects of the

exploitation of African slaves, and his analysis of 17<sup>th</sup> century Jesuit views of slavery remains foundational, supported by nearly four decades of subsequent historical research. Sweet makes use of the writings of Alonso de Sandoval and his student Pedro Claver (later canonized by the Church) who had evangelized among African slaves in Cartagena, the published sermons of António Vieira, who observed the plantation systems near Bahia, in Brazil, and the works of Italian Jesuit observers of the American plantation system, Jorge Benci and João António Andreoni. The views of these last two emphasized the most practical concerns for just treatment of the enslaved: appropriate and just punishment was preferable, not only to treat slaves with Christian dignity and charity, but also in order to maximize efficiency and labor output (Sweet 1978: 123-129). In the paragraphs below I discuss the passionate, but practical, views on African slavery present in the works of Sandoval and Vieira as generally representative of Jesuits in the colonial Americas, both of whom pointed out the cruelty of the conditions of the enslaved, but neither were directly critical of the institution of slavery.

Alonso de Sandoval's treatise on slavery, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* (or *How to restore the salvation of the blacks*) was first published in 1627 in Seville, and has become a fundamental source for historians of the African diaspora in Latin America (see Marzal 2005; Vila Vilar 1987; Von Germeten 2008).<sup>41</sup> The book was widely read by 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century

<sup>41</sup> The text was written in Spanish and given a primary title in Spanish, *Naturaleza, policia sagrada i profana, costumbres i ritos, disciplina i catechism evangélico de todos etiopes*, although the work is more commonly known by its secondary Latin title, literally *The restoration of the [spiritual] health of the Ethiopian*. Sandoval offers an informal translation of the secondary title in his "letter to the Christian reader," *De como se à de restaurar la salvacion de los negros* (Sandoval 1987 [1627]: 55). Sandoval's 1647 edition was reedited with a corrected and expanded version of Book I and reedited into two volumes, published in Madrid by Alonso de Paredes only under the Latin title, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*. While there are a number of contemporary transcriptions and republications of the 1627 version, published in Seville at government expense by Alonso de Paredes, the 1647 edition has not yet seen an academic republication (see Von Germeten 2008: xxix). However, the later version has recently been made available via Google Books, which will no doubt make comparative studies of both texts more accessible to scholars in coming years. See also Restrepo 2005 for an overview of the differences between the editions of Sandoval's works.

Jesuits in Peru and was listed in the 1767 inventory of Hacienda San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca among several books in the administrator's office.<sup>42</sup> Sandoval was born in Seville in 1576, but his father, Tristán Sánchez, a colonial bureaucrat in Peru, moved the family back to Lima when Sandoval was a young child. He attended the Jesuit Colegio de San Martín of Lima and entered the novitiate in 1595 at the age of 18, finishing his studies of philosophy at the Colegio de San Pablo and theology in Cuzco.<sup>43</sup> In 1605, a year after his ordination, Sandoval was sent to Cartagena (the only legal slave port for Spanish South America), where he dedicated more than 40 years of his life to the evangelization of African slaves. In 1617 he was joined by the Catalan Jesuit, Pedro Claver, at which time Sandoval took a sabbatical from his post in Cartagena to work on his book at the extensive library of the Colegio de San Pablo in Lima. In 1620 he was made procurator of the Jesuit Province of New Granada and in 1624 was named the rector of the Colegio de Cartagena.<sup>44</sup>

Sandoval's *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* is part of a tradition of Jesuit evangelical manuals, which include José de Acosta's *De procuranda indorum salute*, published in 1588, which similarly offered advice and instruction on proselytizing the indigenous population of the Andes (Hyland 2003: 75-76; Marzal 2005: 19). Many of Sandoval's arguments are closely modeled on those of Acosta (Sandoval 2008: 27; Vila 1987). Sandoval pointed to the rights and

<sup>42</sup> The other texts placed on a shelf and table in the office (and now presumably lost) included *Devocion y Patrozinio de San Miguel* [sic.] by Fr. Ivan Eusebio Nieremberg, S.J., *Corte Santa* by Fr. Nicolo Causino, S.J., *Flox Santorum* [sic.] (or the *Golden Legend*) by Jacobo de Vorágine, a volume of the writings of San Francisco de Borja, *Historia de La Florida* and *Historias de los Yngas del Perú* [sic.] by Garcilazo de la Vega, the works of San Milan [sic.], a recompilation of various works in quarto, the *Spiritual Exercises* [of St. Ignatius Loyola], a manuscript of the orders of the hacienda of San Xavier, a book of hacienda receipts, a book of hacienda expenditures, a book of the hacienda's harvests, the estate's book of baptisms, marriages, and burials, and two books of notes of "particular accounts." "Verdadero testimonio de la hacienda de viña nombrada San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca, Yca," 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #16:ff.238v-239r. See also Appendix A of this dissertation for transcription of this document.

<sup>43</sup> For the present study of the Jesuit haciendas of Nasca owned by the Lima and Cuzco Jesuits, it is particularly important that Sandoval had an intimate relationship with the Jesuit institutions of both of these cities.

<sup>44</sup> An extensive biographical sketch is offered by Enriqueta Vila Vilar (1987) in the introduction to her presentation of Sandoval's *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud*.

protections afforded to enslaved people under the law, but observed that slaveholders and slavers often exceeded their own rights and infringed upon the just treatment of those in their service, just as Acosta highlighted the illegal abuses of indigenous people at the hands of Spaniards (see Sweet 1978: 97). He signals that the purpose of his book “is to encourage the desire to help the Ethiopians,<sup>45</sup> a nation with a small role on the world stage but a designated place in God’s plan...” and he offers the response “that the blacks’ fate is so sad and dark, and slavery is so unbearable, that I must describe both these conditions here in order to inspire compassion” (Sandoval 2008 [1627]: 8). However, while Sandoval desired to inspire compassion toward African slaves, he emphasizes the legitimacy of their enslavement and the opportunity that their captivity presents for their evangelization and salvation. On the legitimacy of the institution of slavery, Sandoval references the 1614 work of Jesuit writer Fr. Luis de Molina who himself cites civil and canon law defending “just” enslavement (Sandoval 1987 [1627]: 142).

As an eager novitiate, António Vieira studied the Tupi language as well as Kimbundu, a major language among the Angolans, to prepare him for missionary work on the sugar estates and missions of Recôncavo, near Bahia, where he was to work as an initiate and young priest. His early published sermons from his time among African slaves on Brazilian sugar estates portray the contradictions and tensions inherent in 17<sup>th</sup> century Jesuit views toward slavery; like Sandoval he often criticized the cruelty of slaveholders and slavers, but reflected upon the necessity of the institution (Sweet 1978: 104). The corpus of his published sermons and letters are sympathetic to the plight of the enslaved, while upholding a practical view of the institution

<sup>45</sup> The term Ethiopian, was commonly used in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries as interchangeable with “black,” and is not limited in description to the aboriginal peoples of sub-Saharan Africa, but used to racially distinguish many groups of dark-skinned peoples throughout the world, including southern India, the islands of Oceania (specifically Papua New Guinea), and the Philippines. See Von Germeten’s (2008: xxi-xxix) discussion of “The Jesuits and Their Ideas about Race” and “Race and Ethnicity in *De instauranda*.”

of slavery, despite having often been misconstrued as an early abolitionist, likely based on his late-career sympathetic commentary on the Palmares Quilombo (Sweet 1978: 102, 118-119). Vieira was sympathetic to the cruelty experienced by slaves, but ultimately suggested that the enslavement of the Africans was pre-ordained by God as a divine plan for their salvation (Sweet 1978: 113).

Vieira offered a number of sermons directed at the enslaved which advocated a special devotion to the rosary. His influential ideas were already crystalized in a sermon given on the occasion of the feast of St. John the Evangelist in 1633, at a sugar *engenho* (Spanish, *Ingenio*) near Bahia, when the 25-year old Vieira, who had not yet been ordained, spoke out about his opinions on the condition of slavery, his abhorrence of cruel masters, and the necessity of slaves to pray the rosary and the power of a Marianist devotion (see Vieira 1954: 1-46). Vieira contended that Africans who lacked Christian discipline by birth could come into full communion with the body of Christ precisely through the embodied discipline of the institution of slavery. For Vieira, slavery was a righteous pathway to salvation in the next world. By embracing the physical hardships of enslavement, one could share in Christ's suffering and passion, becoming more like Christ and transcending the physical pain and hardship through prayer – and specifically through praying the rosary.

In Vieira's view, a devotion to Mary, the mother of Jesus, as the universal intercessor, gave the enslaved the strength to accept their earthly position and look forward to their future equality in the body of Christ in heaven. Vieira suggested that not only was praying the rosary important, but the slaves' special devotion should focus on the rosary's Sorrowful Mysteries, which reflected on five iconic moments of Christ's passion (Sweet 1978: 107-109). It was emphasized that the enslaved needed to take ownership over these mysteries, which were similar



to their own physical hardships; the mysteries of the rosary followed a path from joy, then suffering, to glory, and Vieira and his contemporaries claimed that precisely through earthly suffering, as in the condition of a slave, one obtains eternal glory in God.

While the Society of Jesus recognized the humanity of their slaves and their equality as brothers in Christ, who must be baptized and taught the doctrine of faith, they were still subordinate by status and ultimately a commodity. However, what kind of “good” a slave could be, was periodically called into question by the provincial administration in Peru – whether a “precious good” that could be obtained by the company, but not sold, or a good which could be freely exchanged from one owner to another. Francisco de Borja Medina (2005: 88-89) argues that these questions were inherently economic, about the value of a slave, rather than about personhood or a concern for the eternal soul. Categorizing slaves as “precious goods,” which could be acquired and held in common by the Society of Jesus, but not sold, allowed the Jesuits to enter the slave market purely as consumers and insulated the company from economic risk as well as the implications of a more active role in human trafficking. Throughout the tenure of the Jesuits in Peru, this was a perennial question, although the provincial administration often acted conservatively, generally only allowing for the sale of their slaves under particular circumstances (see Borja 2005).

Under the law, slaves were afforded specific rights, which among others, included the right to life and personal integrity, Christian education, access to justice, freedom to marry of one’s own volition, rights to the integrity of the familial unit, rights to acquire personal property, the right to purchase one’s own freedom or that of one’s wife or children, and the right to change owner in the case of severe abuse (Borja 2005: 118-119). Jesuit documentation in Peru is rife with references to concerns for these rights recognized by both civil and ecclesiastical courts,

although in actual practice it is clear that even Jesuit estate administrators infringed upon them, and it was often necessary for superiors to remind their subordinates of their obligations to treat the enslaved “justly.” While the Crown had established as early as 1537 specific guidelines for the proper evangelization and treatment of slaves (see Vila 2000: 190), specific edicts were periodically offered by the Jesuit provincial hierarchy to correct administrators, and from time-to-time, province-wide orders were issued which clarified specific methods of treatment. In Peru, the last of these orders was issued in 1764, only three years before the Jesuit expulsion, when the *visitador* Fr. Manuel Vergara offered specific outlines for the just treatment and punishment of slaves in the Peruvian province (Borja 2005: 115, 117). These mandates included a limit on the severity of corporal punishment and forbade Jesuits from putting their slaves to death, offering as a final option, the sale of a slave. However, it is difficult to ascertain the precise reasons which prompted such commentary by the Jesuit hierarchy and to what specific instances the leadership was responding to.

There were also regulations within the Society of Jesus that insulated its members from the harsher realities of slave ownership. For example, Jesuits were prohibited from carrying out by their own hand or witnessing corporal punishment of any kind, punishing their slaves through intermediaries such as a *mayordomo* (Borja 2005: 105). Again, these regulations were often repeated by the Jesuit hierarchy, but from the documentary record it is hard to judge how successful these prohibitions were. Jesuit administrators who were assigned to remote estates, living alone among their slaves, with a handful of *mayorodomos*, had very little oversight and much more leeway than administrators or Jesuit slave masters who were in regular contact with their superiors and other members of the Society of Jesus. Still, it is also reasonable to assume that the very threat of corporal punishment was more successful in disciplining the labor force

than actual sustained and frequent punishment. Regardless of the reality of slave treatment on Jesuit estates, there existed the perception among some members of the Society of Jesus in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century that maltreatment of the enslaved was a primary cause of the generally poor economic conditions across the majority of Jesuit estates (Borja 2005: 108).

### *Jesuit Slave Acquisition Practices and Casta Ethnonyms*

The Society of Jesus' infamous global supply network extended to the acquisition and trafficking of slaves from American port cities, such as Cartagena, Panama, Buenos Aires, Santo Domingo, and Veracruz. The Jesuit estates in Nasca typically purchased their slaves from the official auctions in Callao, but they also made use of slave agents sent by the Peruvian Jesuit province to purchase slaves cheaply as they disembarked from slaver ships at Cartagena or Panama (Assadourian 1966: 72-73, 97; Borja 2005: 90-91; Cushner 1980: 90). While most ships embarking from West and Central Africa typically made first landfall at Cartagena, Panama was a central hub in the economy of the colonial Americas, and particularly important for the Peruvian Jesuits who shipped a great number of botijas of wine and brandy through the port.<sup>46</sup> The administrators of Jesuit haciendas in Peru would often send an agent to Panama or Cartagena to accompany their purchased slaves to their respective estates.

Alonso de Sandoval, who had dedicated nearly forty years of his life to the evangelization of the African population of Cartagena, offers an apt point of departure for exploring Jesuit slave procurement practices from this port in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. In his treatise, he takes care to describe the specific regions of West and Central Africa as well as the "ethnic" origin for slaves sold in Cartagena. Specific groups were often lumped together by port

<sup>46</sup> A recent dissertation by Felipe Gaitán Ammann (2012) offers an archaeological examination of slavery and commerce through the port of Panama.

of origin, rather than by political, ethnic, or linguistic affiliation, and were given *casta* ethnonyms, which European consumers found useful for ascribing particular physical characteristics or personality traits. Sandoval divides Atlantic Africa into three major slave regions based upon the port of export: Guinea and Cape Verde, São Tomé Island, and Luanda. Sandoval lists the principal ethnonyms<sup>47</sup> from the rivers of Upper Guinea (Senegambia) as the Jolofos, Berbesies, Mandingas, Fulos, Fulupos, Banunes, Bootes, Cazangas, Banues puros, Branes, Balantas, Biafaras, Biojoes, Nalues, Zapes, Cocolies, and Zozoes (Sandoval 1987 [1627]: 136). Slaves from this region are described as high quality, with desirable attributes such as faithfulness, capacity for great reasoning, physical beauty, and hard-working attitudes (Sandoval 1987 [1627]: 136). Sandoval describes those from Cape Verde as from the same *castas* as from the rivers of mainland Senegambia, but having been shipped by Portuguese traders to the islands, are potentially of three types: *bozales* (typically non-Christian, non-Portuguese speaking, recent captives), *ladinos* (Portuguese speaking slaves, who had acquired some European customs since their captivity), or *naturales* (slaves born into captivity, baptized as infants, and raised with European customs).

Of lesser value and price than those of Guinea, according to Sandoval, were slaves from São Tomé, near the Guinea “Gold” and “Slave” Coasts and the Bight of Biafra (1987 [1627]: 139). These included the major *castas* of the Minas, Popoos, Fulaos, Ardas (including the Araraes and Offoons), Lucumies or Terranovos, Barba, Temnes, Binis, Mosiacos, Agares, Guerres, Zarabas, Iabus, and Caravalies<sup>48</sup> (Sandoval 1987 [1627]: 139). He also lists a number of lesser *casta* ethnonyms from Guinea which rarely appear in Peruvian documents. According to

<sup>47</sup> Presented here is the orthography for these ethnonyms as present in Sandoval’s work.

<sup>48</sup> Two kinds of Caravalies (often called Caravalí in colonial documents): “*Caravalies naturales o puros que dezimos; y Caravalies particulares.*” Natural or pure Caravalies, as we say, and particular Caravalies.

Sandoval, the least desirable slaves came from the Angolan port of Luanda and included the *castas* of the Angolas and Congos or Monicongos (and the Angicos, Monxiolos, and Malembas).

Historians have extensively debated the meaning and ethnic and linguistic affiliations of many of these common *casta* ethnonyms to which Portuguese and Spanish slaves were assigned (e.g. Law 1997, 2005). In broad terms, and for the purpose of this dissertation, it is sufficient to note the broad regional affiliations of these and other *casta* terms which have changed in their signification and inclusivity from the 16<sup>th</sup> through 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Linguistic and diasporic group affiliation is only weakly signaled through the colonial use of many of these *casta* terms in Peru, which could be manipulated by slavers and slaves alike to negotiate favor (O'Toole 2007, 2012). The purpose of referring to Sandoval's lists of *casta* ethnonyms and assessment of qualities pertaining to the three main regions of Atlantic African slave extraction is to draw into focus the general perceptions of 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Jesuit administrators and procurators who would have been very familiar with Sandoval's *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, as indicated by the text's presence in Jesuit estate libraries, including at San Xavier in Nasca. For example, Sandoval suggests that slaveholders recognized that the peoples of Guinea were known for iron work and metal smithing, important skills on a rural estate or in a mining enterprise (1987 [1627]: 111).

#### *Demographics of the Enslaved Communities of the Haciendas of Nasca*

San Joseph and San Xavier, should be considered special cases, not necessarily representative of the diversity of the enslaved experience (which would have revolved around much smaller communities in less economically important secular estates, homes, or factories), but rather, exemplary of the largest Jesuit estates. Jesuit estates in Peru rapidly grew at two

distinct moments. The first was in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century during financial debt restructuring efforts, which placed a heavy emphasis on aggregating production from existing estates through the increased purchase of slaves (see Cushner 1975: 179; 1980: 91, 137-142). After the financial recovery, the last three decades before the Jesuit expulsion were also moments of heavy investment in infrastructure and slave labor, and was the time of the construction of massive building projects, of which the monumental churches of the Nasca estates are an example. At the time of the expulsion in 1767, the average slave population for a sampling of eight of the largest Jesuit sugar and wine estates in Peru was 256 slaves (see Figure 4.4). At that time San Joseph had 278 and San Xavier 306, not only placing these estates above the average, but making the Nasca properties home to two of the largest enslaved communities in Peru in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The Jesuit haciendas in Nasca were cosmopolitan, multi-ethnic, and polyglottic, where enslaved and conscripted people of diverse origins lived and worked together. The slave registers produced along with the 1767 estate inventories offer a snapshot of the general demographics of the enslaved communities of San Joseph and San Xavier.<sup>49</sup> These inventories list the names and gender of the combined population of 584 enslaved individuals. The San Joseph inventory also indicates age and physical status, if injured or otherwise disabled, while the San Xavier slave register only lists male and female slaves as adult and youth, and does not comment on soundness of body. An analysis of these lists reveals important demographic information about the enslaved population of these estates and suggest that the make-up of the Nasca properties fits

<sup>49</sup> “Testimonio de la hacienda San Joseph de Nasca,” 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #17:ff.275v-279r; “Verdadero testimonio de la hacienda de viña nombrada San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca, Yca,” 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #16:ff.246v-252v.

within the broader patterns typical of the larger Jesuit estates at the time of the expulsion (see Tardieu 2003).<sup>50</sup>

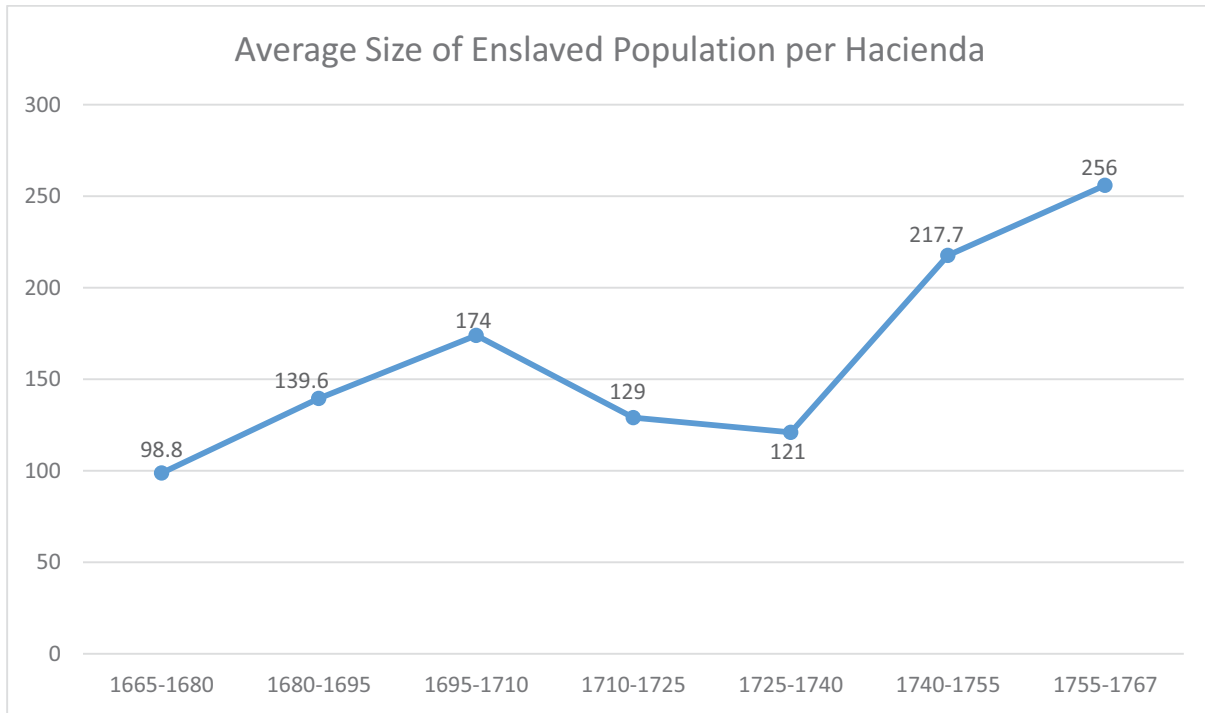


Figure 4.4. The average size of the enslaved populations of eight major Peruvian Jesuit estates, based on data presented in Cushner 1980: 90, Table 4.6. The Haciendas under consideration are Villa, Bocanegra (sugarcane, Bellavista de Callao), San Xavier de la Nasca (Vineyard, San Pablo), Vilcahuaura (Sugarcane, El Cercado de Lima), Bethlen (Huamanga, Ica), San Juan de la Pampa (Huaura) (Sugarcane, San Pablo), Ingenio de Guara(Sugarcane, San Pablo), Santa Rosa de Caucato (Sugarcane, Colegio de Pisco).

All Jesuit slaves were baptized, and took Christian names, and almost all took Christian surnames as well. Those born in Africa were typically baptized at their port of embarkation, or upon their arrival in the Americas, although the quality of such rapid baptisms and catechisms was called into question by contemporary Jesuits and these individuals were the target of

<sup>50</sup> There are also limitations to these documents for reconstructing the communities. For example, these inventories do not directly reference kin relationships between individuals, such as marriage, familial relationships, or godparentage. A partial reconstruction of such kinship and fictive kinship might be possible in future research using baptismal, marriage, and burial certificates which I have identified at the Parish of San Juan Bautista at El Ingenio, however such an analysis is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

extensive evangelization efforts on Peruvian estates, as is discussed below. While many individuals born in Africa took or were given Christian surnames, some retained an ethnonymic *casta* designation. Among the names of the enslaved individuals at San Joseph and San Xavier in 1767 there were eleven identifiable ethnonyms belonging to persons likely born in Africa: Angola, Canga, Carabalí, Chala, Chocó, Congo, Mandinga, Mina, Popo, Terranovo/Lucumí, and Uringa (see Figure 4.5).<sup>51</sup>

These ethnonyms do not precisely suggest specific ethnic groups or the speakers of specific languages, but more conservatively signal the general regions and ports from which these captives were exported for the American slave market. The actual number of distinct ethnic affiliations may have been far greater, and there is no doubt that an hacienda environment was exceedingly multilingual. Documentary sources indicate that from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century until the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century there was a substantial shift in the origin of slaves sold in Peru from southern Central Africa, specifically Angola, to a heavy emphasis on slaves from Kongo and the Bight of Benin, signaling the emerging importance of the Gold Coast by the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century (see O'Toole 2012: 171). The slave inventories from San Xavier and San Joseph record ethnonyms suggestive of the entire gambit of West and Central Africa, from Senegambia to Angola, but because individuals with African ethnonyms represent only 5% of the enslaved

<sup>51</sup> The Angola were generally peoples sold through the port of Luanda, and were sometimes called the Longo. Canga is an infrequent ethnonym, which likely references a toponym in inland modern-day Nigeria. The Carabalí ethnonym was designated for people from the inland region of Calabar in modern-day eastern Nigeria, along the Bight of Biafra, and probably were Ewe-speakers. Chala refers to Tem people from modern-day Togo. Chocó most likely references a toponym in modern-day Angola, near Luanda, but alternatively, based on ethnolinguistic analysis may reference a Kwa people from Guinea (see Granda 1988). The Congo were Bakongo speakers or other peoples from either the Bakongo Kingdom or its hinterland in the Lower Congo River Basin. Mina generally refers to captives from the Gold Coast (see Law 2005). Mandinga were Malinke peoples from the Senegambia region. The Popo were also known as Gun, Gunu, Djede, and related to the Ewe people from modern-day Benin and Nigeria. Terranovo and Lucumí were interchangeable ethnonyms, according to Sandoval, and were generally inland peoples of Guinea sold by Yoruba traders to Atlantic merchants (see Law 1997). Uringa is a toponym associated with Galinhas Island in modern-day Guinea-Bissau.



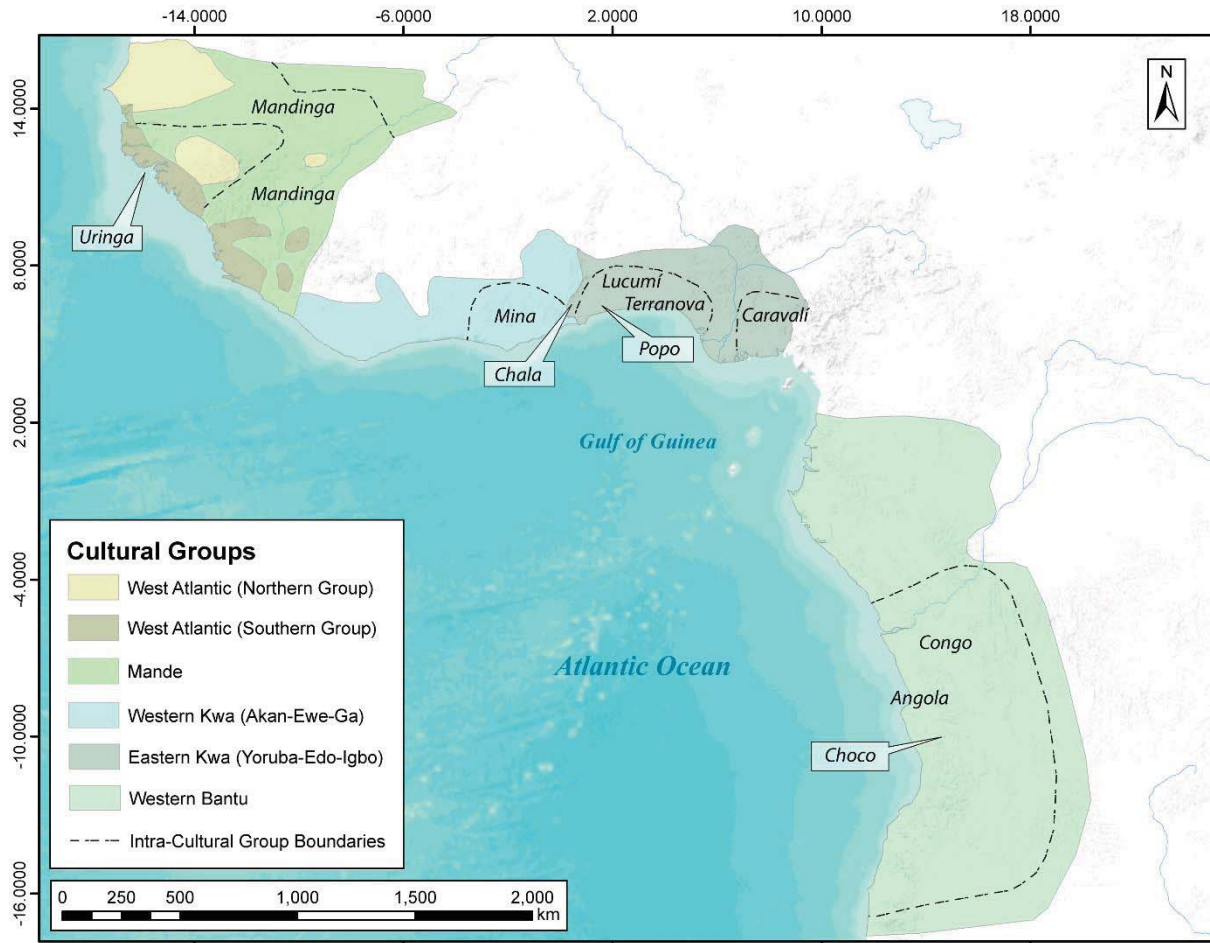


Figure 4.5. The 16<sup>th</sup> through late 18<sup>th</sup> century configuration of broad cultural groups in the regions of West and Central Africa, most heavily affected by the transatlantic slave trade, and the approximate locations of the areas associated with the ethnonyms used as surnames by individuals listed in the 1767 slave inventories of San Joseph and San Xavier.

population, very few generalizations can be made from these data. Without exception all of the slaves with ethnonymic surnames were male, 16 from San Joseph and 14 from San Xavier (See Table 4.2). Pedro Uringa of San Joseph represents an outlier as the only minor among the group (age 10), but when he is removed from consideration, the median age of slaves possessing African ethnonyms at San Joseph is 55 years of age.

Table 4.2. Counts for enslaved individuals listed in the 1767 slave inventories of San Joseph and San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca with African ethnonyms.<sup>52</sup>

| San Joseph |    | San Xavier |    |
|------------|----|------------|----|
| Angola     | 1  | Angola     | 1  |
| Canga      | 1  | Canga      | 1  |
| Caravalí   | 4  | Chala      | 3  |
| Chocó      | 1  | Congo      | 6  |
| Congo      | 4  | Mandinga   | 2  |
| Mina       | 4  | Popo       | 1  |
| Uringa     | 1  | Terranovo  | 3  |
| Total      | 16 |            | 17 |

Unfortunately, very few comparable records exist in archives which would allow for the tracking of the early presence of African ethnonyms among the enslaved populations of San Joseph and San Xavier. However, a receipt date 1705 and logged in the accounting books of the Colegio Grande de Cuzco records the purchase of eight slaves in Lima for San Joseph de la Nasca at the cost of 630 pesos each, all of whom had ethnonymic surnames: María Mina, Josepha Terranovo, María Lucume, Parda Lucume, María Rosa Chala, María Chala, Manuel Congo, and Francisco Chala.<sup>53</sup> The names indicate that these five women and two of the three men originated from the Gold and Slave Coasts of Guinea, with the exception of Manuel Congo, who was probably shipped from Luanda. This group seems to match turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century trends which favored the import of people from the Bight of Benin and the Slave Coast over other sources. These individuals also raise questions of the 1767 inventories. Because none of the women listed in the later Nasca documents possessed African ethnonyms, was there pressure for women in particular to take Christian surnames once they were integrated in to the estates' enslaved communities? Also, as most of the enslaved with African ethnonyms were older men

<sup>52</sup> Verdadero testimonio...” 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #16:ff.246v-252v; “Testimonio...”, 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #17:ff.275v-279r.

<sup>53</sup> “Gasto de la hacienda de San Joseph de la Nasca...”, 1702-1708. AGN C-13, L.128, C.1: f.16r

(at least at San Joseph, where age was recorded), were African *casta* designations less important at these haciendas later in the 18<sup>th</sup> century?

In the 1767 inventories, anomalous non-ethnonymic surnames potentially reveal other types of information about enslaved persons. For example, one individual at San Joseph named Juan Bozal, age 17, does not have a particular ethnonymic *casta* affiliation but is designated as having been born in Africa. Other surnames may indicate the diverse places in the Americas from which individuals came, such as Pedro Xamayca (“Jamaica”) or Sevastian de Guaura (“Huaura,” Peru).

In contrast to secular estates, Jesuit administrators attempted to maintain more or less equal gender ratios on their haciendas (Cushner 1975, 1980: 105). In this regard, the gender breakdown of the slave inventories of both San Joseph and San Xavier are typical for estates owned by the Society of Jesus. Jesuit estates were designed to model ideal Christian communities based on the tenets of Christian discipline through labor, and administrators believed that this structure was important for maintaining a Christian society, the core of which was the familial unit, founded upon the matrimonial bond. In 1767 both San Joseph and San Xavier exhibit relatively equal numbers of males and females, especially when adults and youths are compared by sex (see Figure 4.6). In the case of San Joseph, where specific age information is available, the estate’s population resembles what should be expected of a successful agrarian workforce, with the majority of the male population within their 20s to 40s and statistically slightly older than the largest portion of the female population, who hover around child bearing and rearing years (see Figure 4.7). However, as has been pointed out by Nicholas Cushner (1975, 1980) reflecting on similar data for other Jesuit estates, the youth population was not sufficient to allow for the internal reproduction of the labor force, and Jesuit administrators would have had to

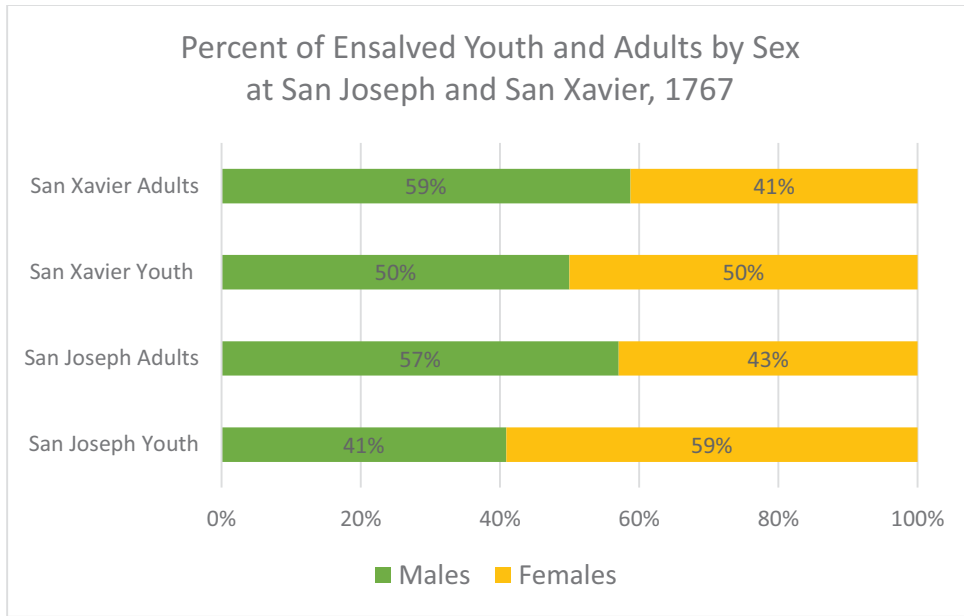


Figure 4.6. Percent of enslaved adults and youths from San Joseph and San Xavier, compared by sex, as indicated in the 1767 Crown inventory. San Joseph had 27 male and 39 female youth, while San Xavier had 56 male and 56 female youths. There were 121 male and 91 female adults at San Joseph, with 114 male and 80 female adults at San Xavier.

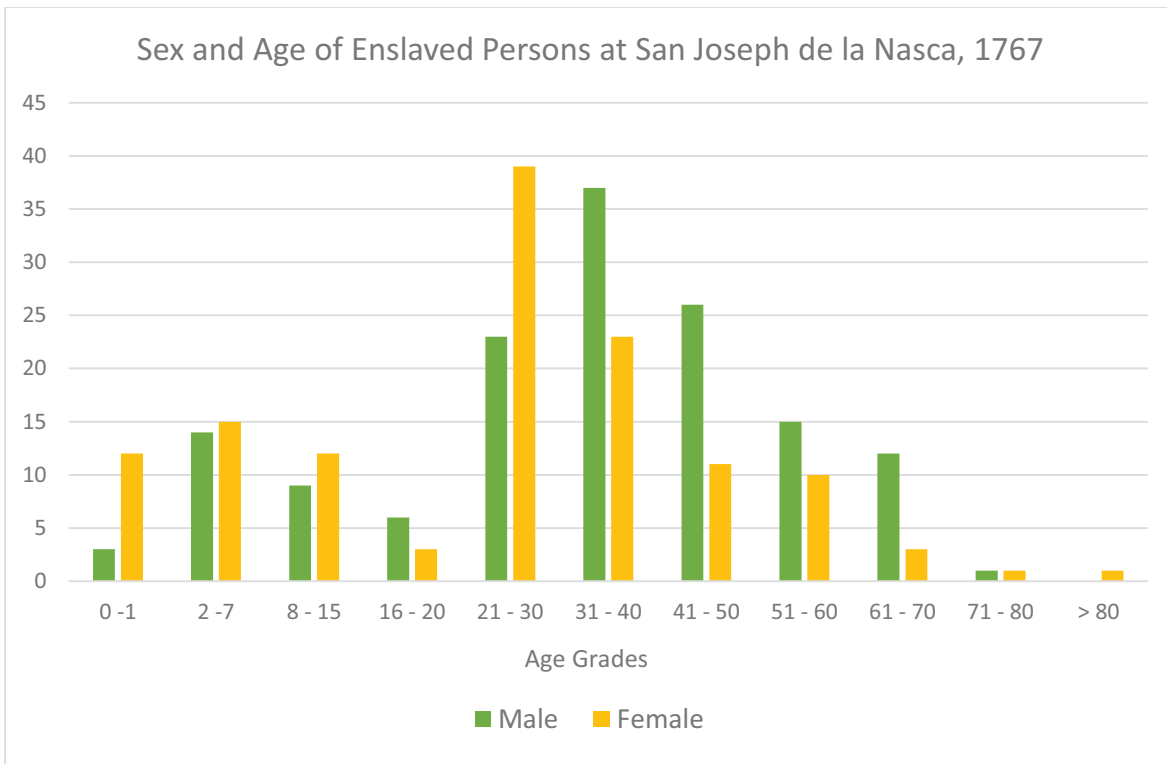


Figure 4.7. The enslaved population of San Joseph by age grades, as indicated in the 1767 Crown inventory.

continually replenish the population with working-age slaves. Although the specific data is hard to access for these estates (such as complete burial records and death certificates), there seems to be a sharp decline in both the male and female populations after the productive years, likely due to the harsh labor requirements, and poor nutrition and difficult childbirth cannot be ruled out as contributing factors for population decline.

The elderly, and individuals with physical disabilities, would have had to call upon a support network of friends and family on the estates for their basic needs and subsistence. The substantial age of several individuals listed a San Joseph is testament to not only the strength of this support network, but also a likely indicator of substantial status among the enslaved community. Fourteen individuals, six men and eight women, in the 1767 San Joseph inventory were listed as disabled. The majority of these individuals were considered elderly and thus superfluous (*inutil*, n=10). Interestingly, all of the *inutil* men were listed as 70 years old (likely an approximation), and the average age of women listed as *inutil* was 52. One 30-year old woman was recorded as *manca*, or maimed. Two women were also listed as invalids, one 80 years old and the other 85; one 75-year old man, the *ex-caporal* Feliciano Coronado, was recorded as an invalid. Coronado's long life is probably high correlated with his prominent status on the estate. Such demographics suggest the interdependence of the enslaved on the Nasca haciendas and hint at social relationships and hierarchy.

### *Evangelization, Indoctrination, and Slave Hierarchies*

Regardless of their diverse works, enterprises, schools, universities, and missions, the popular Jesuit view and that of the Jesuit General in Rome, was that all of these activities must be reducible to, and support the only valid reason for the presence of the Society of Jesus in the

Americas: evangelization (Borja 2005: 93). This primary objective was ideally to take precedent over all others, and the Jesuit hierarchy continually reflected on this mission. As illustrated above through the views of Jesuits like Sandoval and Vieira, ideally, the evangelization of the enslaved population of Jesuit estates was to be understood as both an opportunity and an obligation (Borja 2005: 83). This evangelical goal, however, cannot be understood to be at odds or in contradiction with the practical concerns of maintaining hegemonic power, discipline, and the economic advantage. The practical necessities of a disciplined and orderly labor force that turned the wheels of the economic machinery which drove the schools, universities, missions, and charitable works of the Society of Jesus, conveniently dovetailed with the goals of a universal Church; Christian labor was disciplined labor, which advanced the Church's dominion over the earth and brought souls into holy communion with the divine.

The experiences of member of the Society of Jesus in Iberia and Africa were foundational to their approach with both Africans and indigenous peoples in the Americas. This dissertation posits that these diverse and early experiences were influential in the overall success of the Jesuit agroindustrial project in viceregal Peru and in establishing the methods for estate administration and slave management practiced in Nasca. Many of the patterns of urban slavery and racial hierarchy in the Americas were already well established in Iberia prior to the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (see Ares and Stella 2000), and the Jesuits gained foundational experience with the catechism of African slaves in Seville, since their arrival in Andalusia in 1554 (Borja 2005: 83-85). The company also maintained an early and important presence in Atlantic Africa, specifically in Angola and Kongo, with the first Jesuit missionaries arriving in the Kingdom of Kongo between 1548 and 1555, shortly after the founding the Society of Jesus. In 1604, the

Society of Jesus established itself in Cape Verde and were intimately connected to the Portuguese slave trading enterprises, and the baptism and proselytization of African captives.

Although in the Americas the Jesuits encountered familiar institutions, similar to those in Europe, civil and religious society was organized differently which presented the company with unique political and economic opportunities, but these differences were drawn into greatest contrast in rural environments where institutions revolved around the enterprises of extractive economies. Working with African-descended and enslaved populations in urban settings like Lima or Cartagena was intrinsically different than the evangelization of rural populations residing on and owned by Jesuit estates. At the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Jesuits of Lima sent eighteen novice brothers to the city's plazas every Sunday to evangelize the general population, and one group of these brothers was especially dedicated to the evangelization of Lima's large African-descended population (Gareis 2005: 58). Urban slave owners were compelled by law to send their slaves for catechism, religious education, and weekly mass. But, this urban population served by Jesuits, among others, was comprised of both enslaved and free peoples, who lived and worked under diverse conditions, very few of whom were actually held as property of the Society of Jesus. The approach to this urban population was, by circumstance and practical necessity, very different than the ridged indoctrination of Jesuit slaves on rural properties owned by the Society of Jesus, where embodied Christian practice could be regulated and regimented throughout nearly all aspects of daily life.

The Church encouraged clergy working with enslaved Africans to not only offer the sacraments of baptism and Christian marriage, but also communion and confirmation for those who exhibited enthusiasm and a high capacity of religious understanding (Vila 2000: 202). However, in secular society, slaves with some religious education and command of Spanish

customs were often regarded as less economically valuable than less acculturated slaves – particularly because it was believed that such education could awaken a desire for emancipation (Vila 2000: 197).<sup>54</sup> Therefore, despite legal obligations on the part of the Church and the Crown for catechism, indoctrination, and the sacraments, secular slave holders often resisted granting their slaves access to religious education. In contrast, religious education and the sacraments were integral components of Jesuit estates, and regardless of whether a particular hacienda chaplain was diocesan or Jesuit, the Jesuit hierarchy of superiors, rectors, and administrators insisted upon strict adherence to catechistic protocols. For example, Provincial Superior Gonzalo de Lyra (1624-1628) ordered that doctrine be taught to slaves on Jesuit estates a minimum of three times per week (see Borja 2005: 95), and specific orders were given in 1673 by provincial *visitador* Fr. Hernando Cabero for the management of the sugar estate San Ignacio de Pachachaca, owned by the Colegio Grande de Cuzco, that all slaves be instructed on Saturday evenings and that the youth be catechized daily (Macera 1966: 51-52).

It could be correctly assumed by Jesuit estate administrators and hacienda chaplains that almost all newly acquired slaves had already been baptized by previous owners or at their port of embarkation from Atlantic Africa or upon arrival in the Americas, and some African slaves may have even been Christianized prior to their captivity. However, the quality of that baptism and initial catechism was often dubious. According to Sandoval, the quality of baptism in Africa depended largely on the port of embarkation; in Cape Verde and Guinea, he notes, baptism was less careful than in places like Angola (1985: 401-406, 420-426). Still, Sandoval recognized the urgency in the poor conditions of enslavement, and particularly the trauma caused by the Middle Passage of slaves who arrived in Cartagena, arguing a preference for a rapid baptism over

<sup>54</sup> For a detailed comparison of late 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century market prices of slaves sold in Lima (*bozales* vs. *ladinos/criollos*) see Bowser 1974: Table B.



extensive pre-baptismal religious instruction as proposed by his contemporary, Fr. Juan Focher (Vila 2000: 195).

*Bozales*, recent arrivals in the Americas with little command over European languages and customs, presented particular problems for indoctrination (Borja 2005: 97). Sandoval suggested that Jesuits learn the languages of these slaves, teaching the Gospel, and treating them patiently, but due to the large number of individual West and Central African languages represented in the enslaved populations of South American estates, many administrators and chaplains felt the impracticality of evangelizing in the many native tongues of the enslaved. Sandoval's *De instauranda Aethiopia salute* (especially Book I) also attempted to describe the diversity of non-Christian African spiritual beliefs in an effort to help the evangelist translate Christian doctrine into intelligible concepts for *bozales*. Hacienda environments were unlike indigenous missions, where large groups of indigenous peoples could be catechized in an indigenous "general" language, as was the case for highland Jesuit missions in the Titicaca Basin who evangelized in Quechua<sup>55</sup> or Aymara, or in the Guaraní or Tupí missions of the eastern lowlands. In Africa, by the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, Jesuit missionaries offered an intense catechism in the languages of the Bakongo region, and specific grammars and guides had been developed for evangelization in Kimbundu, the "*lengua general angola*." However, such texts were not widely available to Jesuits working with enslaved Africans in the Americas, and where available, were regionally specific and did not reflect the diversity of languages spoken on American estates.

Elderly slaves and *negros ladinos* with command over one or more African languages were often recruited in Peru as interpreters for religious instruction of *bozales* and were particularly important for confessions (Borja 2005: 97). Ladinos were often able to enter

<sup>55</sup> See Durston (2007: 81-82, 108-116, 132-136, 274-290) for discussion of the evangelical uses of Quechua in Peru by Jesuits.

intermediary positions on Jesuit estates, and reap the benefits of currying the administration's favor while interceding on behalf of factions within the enslaved community. Still, there was a shortage of skilled (and perhaps willing) translators. In the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Jesuit Province of Peru formally requested of the Jesuit General Tirso González the license for the printing of a catechism in African languages, but González wrote back saying that such a manual would be impractical because of the multitude of languages spoken by African slaves (Borja 2005: 99-100). He suggested instead that the catechist be patient and use simple Spanish in working with *bozales*. Throughout the colonial period in Peru, the most common catechistic text for working with slaves and the African-descended population was the *Catecismo breve para los rudos y ocupados* published in Lima at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (see Vila 2000: 197).

As illustrated through the opinions of the Brazilian Jesuit António Vieira, the rosary was an important and powerful prayer device used as a devotional and evangelical tool on Jesuit estates. The use of rosaries in slave devotion was wide spread in the Catholic Americas, and its association with Marianist devotions have produced syncretic consequences; in Brazil, Our Lady of the Rosary (*Nossa Senhora do Rosário*) is not just Catholic Mary, but an *orixá*, a powerful feminine manifestation of God, heavily syncretic with Ifá and Yoruba religious traditions (Sweet 1978: 105). Rosaries were periodically given by the administrators of the Jesuit estates of Nasca. Notably, a 1702 receipt exists for the purchase of 150 rosaries, costing a *real* apiece, for the slaves of San Joseph de la Nasca.<sup>56</sup> Rosaries were distributed at regular intervals and each slave household likely had at least a single rosary. There is also reason to believe these sacred and holy objects would have been cherished and extraordinarily well cared for, as suggested by the

<sup>56</sup> "Gasto de la hacienda de San Joseph de la Nasca...", 1702-1708. AGN C-13, L.128, C.1:1v.

presence of only a single wooden rosary bead recovered in a domestic midden context at San Joseph.<sup>57</sup>

A number of Jesuit observers of the institution of slavery and the hacienda systems in South America, including Sandoval and Vieira, have noted that enslaved communities often autonomously organized themselves, particularly while in work parties in the fields or during religious feasting, through music, by singing, dancing, and improvising musical instruments.<sup>58</sup> Jesuit administrators and chaplains typically made use of music and song in teaching catechism, prayer, and during worship. Cushner recounts an anecdote from documents related to the sugar estate of the Hacienda Condor in Ica, in which the Jesuit chaplain, Fr. Dionisio de Rodas, taught a five year old enslaved child with a congenital defect in his right arm to play the harp and sing for mass, as a form of therapy, and the boy eventually became known famously in Jesuit circles as “*el angelito de una ala*” (see Cushner 1980: 96). At both San Joseph and San Xavier, the choirs of both churches had organs (the instrument at San Xavier was said to be of higher quality), but San Xavier additionally had a specific music room with “a small organ, a standard harp, another broken [harp], a broken harpsichord, two spinets, and three violins.”<sup>59</sup> The instruments were likely used by enslaved musicians in devotional activities.

In many urban areas of the Spanish Americas *cofradías*, or religious confraternities, played a large role in evangelization efforts and in establishing hierarchy and group identity

<sup>57</sup> The argument being that if strings of fragile wooden rosary beads, which were monetarily inexpensive for the hacienda administration at a *real* apiece, were not well cared for, they would have appeared more frequently in excavation with domestic trash. The bead was recovered from Locus 1299 in Unit 8. This context is discussed in greater detail in Chapters 6 and 8.

<sup>58</sup> Vieira specifically suggests that labor in the field should be prayer performed, and explicitly reflects on King David’s psalms (8, 80, and 83, according to Vieira) which were said to have been written for his servants to sing while working in his vineyard (see Sweet 1978: 107).

<sup>59</sup> The listing in the 1767 estate inventory reads: “Yten en dicho quarto un órgano pequeño una harpa corriente otra quevrada un clave descompuesto dos monacordios corrientes /f.246r/ y tres violines.” “Verdadero testimonio...” 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #16:ff.245v-246r, f.234r.; “Testimonio...” 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #17:f.265v.

among black slaves (Bowser 1974: 247-250; Graubart 2012; McKinley 2014; Meyers and Hopkins 1988; among others). In fact, Peru had the largest number of confraternities for slaves in all of the Spanish Americas (Gareis 2005: 59); by 1620, Lima alone had 15 black *cofradías* (Mulvey and Crouch 1988: 59). One of these brotherhoods in Lima was organized by the Jesuits, and most were segregated along *casta* lines or African ethnolinguistic groupings, drawing together individuals from various households or properties. These principally religious groups were well known for organizing festivities and social activities around patron saints' days, Carnival, and Holy Week. However, documentation from the Parish of San Juan Bautista de El Ingenio, demonstrates that there were no confraternities within the jurisdiction of the parish during the tenure of the Jesuits in the valley.<sup>60</sup> Instead, it is likely that the festivities carried out by slaves during saints' days on their usufruct fields near Tambo del Inga, mentioned by Brother Diego Murga, the administrator of San Joseph in the first decade of 18<sup>th</sup> century, functioned in much the same way as those organized by confraternities in more urban settings.<sup>61</sup> Additionally, Tambo del Inga was located at the border between San Joseph and San Xavier and feasting near these slave fields likely provided an opportunity for members of the enslaved communities of the two Jesuit hacienda systems to meet.

Religious *cofradías* offered alternative hierarchies for enslaved communities, especially in urban settings, but in many parts of the Americas and Atlantic Africa, historians and archaeologists (e.g. Fick 1990; Landers 2003; Ogundiran and Falola 2007: 31) have noted the possibility for parallel hierarchies within rural enslaved communities, apart from those imposed

<sup>60</sup> “Ica, autos que presenta el cura Tomás Aviles, al Ilustrísimo señor Arzobispo, doctor don Diego Antonio de Parada, sobre la razón exacta e individual de las pensiones, emolumentos, utilidades y gravámenes, que ha gozado y goza actualmente esté curato de San Juan Bautista del Ingenio...” 1773. Archivo Histórico Arzobispal de Lima (AHAL). Sección Curatos. Leg. 22-I: f.4v, f.11r.

<sup>61</sup> See discussion above relating to slave usufruct fields and the conflict over water rights between San Joseph and San Xavier. “Cartas...” 1705. AGN TP Leg.31, C.600: f.anexo08

by the plantation administration. In Nasca, while it is possible that certain individuals were able to achieve and assert a privileged status of respect within the communities, there is little documentary evidence to elucidate how these autonomous hierarchies may have functioned on the estates, nor whom these individuals were. There is however, reason to believe that the *caporales* appointed by the Jesuit administration, who would have held broad responsibilities relating to many aspects of daily life beyond organizing labor (including religious authority), did have some legitimate respect and political authority among the enslaved communities, beyond that which was bestowed upon them by the administration.<sup>62</sup> The *caporales* likely acted as intermediaries who embodied a position between top-down and bottom-up forces on the estates. This authority may at times have been concentrated in respected families and may have even been hereditary. The Crown's 1767 slave inventory of San Joseph lists Feliciano Coronado, aged 75, as the principal *caporal*, and Thiburcio Coronado, aged 42, as the "*segundo caporal*." From other contemporaneous documents we learn that Feliciano served as *caporal* for more than forty years.<sup>63</sup> He was also listed as an invalid, and therefore unable to work; he likely retained his title as a distinction. The men were probably related, and the younger Coronado may have been the son of the elder. If this is the case, enslaved leadership at San Joseph was dynastic, as it was among the pacified *palenques* of Veracruz, Mexico or within black militias (see Landers 2006).

<sup>62</sup> In an instance in 1767 during which free black persons were expelled from the lands of the former Jesuit estates in Nasca, which is discussed in greater detail below, Feliciano Coronado, the *caporal principal* of San Joseph was described as being "loved" and "well respected" by all of the slaves. The *caporal's* wife, Juana Morales, a freewoman, was exempt from having to move, due to the protestation on behalf of the enslaved communities of both San Joseph and San Xavier. "Despacho..." 1767. AGN. C-13, Leg.62A, C.5: ff.7v-8r.

<sup>63</sup> "Despacho..." 1767. AGN. C-13, Leg.62A, C.5: ff.7v-8r.

### *Provisioning the Slaves of Nasca*

Jesuit hacienda administrators had a vested interest in maintaining the health and energy of the enslaved labor under their charge, by keeping the slaves well fed, well dressed, and well cared for (Tardieu 2005: 72). The Jesuits of Peru developed institutional support on their estates and within the owning institutions, not just for the spiritual well-being of the enslaved, but for their physical health as well. While the Ingenio Valley did not have a sufficient indigenous or mestizo labor pool to draw from, the cost of providing food, clothing, housing, and health care for Jesuit slaves was far more economical than operating solely with wage-labor where such a free labor force was available. The costs of maintaining large enslaved populations was defrayed due to the high degree of self-sufficiency of Jesuit estates – especially large hacienda systems like those of Nasca – and the expansive (global) 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Jesuit exchange network.

Local doctors were “on call” at the haciendas of San Joseph and San Xavier, and on occasion medical professionals were called to visit from Lima or slaves were sent to the renowned infirmary of Lima’s Colegio de San Pablo (Cushner 1980: 96). Both estates had their own modest infirmaries and pharmacies, and were able to handle routine injuries and ailments. The infirmary at San Xavier consisted of two humble rooms, separated by gender, roofed with totora reeds and huarango crossbeams.<sup>64</sup> San Joseph’s infirmary infrastructure was evidently more elaborate, and the 1767 Crown inventory describes it in greater detail. Both the men’s and women’s infirmaries were brick structures with wooden roofing (“*de table de Chile y quartones de roble*”).<sup>65</sup> The women’s room had six platform beds, divided and framed with carved huarango foot- and headboards, and wooden canopies. The men’s infirmary was larger and consisted of two rooms, one with twenty beds, and the other with six, all described as being

<sup>64</sup> “Verdadero testimonio...” 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #16:f.239r.

<sup>65</sup> “Testimonio de la hacienda San Joseph de Nasca,” 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #17:ff.274r-274v.

similar to those in the women's infirmary. Both estates also had nurseries for infants and new mothers. San Joseph's nursery had five beds, four cribs, and two birthing chairs.

Early in the estates' histories, slaves and slave families likely resided individually in small, informal homes constructed of either adobe, or poles with wattle and daub infill (*quinche*), and roofed with woven reed matting (*estera*), and the remains of such structures have been found in excavations at both estates, as will be discussed in subsequent chapters. As the enslaved population of the haciendas grew, slave barracks (*galpones*) were constructed, which segregated adolescent and unmarried young adult slaves by sex, while private residences likely continued to be used by married and higher-ranking slaves. The slave quarters at San Joseph are described as an enclosed adobe-walled barrack with a decorative toper (*caballeta*) made of recycled botija sherds, a door of huarango wood with a standard lock, and a medium-sized bell above the door.<sup>66</sup> The structure at San Xavier is described similarly, but with the principal door composed of oak, rather than huarango.<sup>67</sup> These slave quarters could be locked at night by an elder slave who held custody of the keys, to prevent flight or inhibit extramarital sexual activity, but it is doubtful that the orders from Jesuit superiors regarding the lock-and-key policies were followed on most estates, nor were these policies entirely effective in cutting down sexual relationships among the unmarried population (see Cushner 1975: 184).

Receipts for the purchase of supplemental food stuffs record that many Jesuit estates in Peru made weekly purchases of staples like corn, bread, fish, potatoes, beans, butter, and livestock for small servings of meats (Cushner 1980: 91). However, by the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, most of these haciendas were probably self-sufficient in supplying food for their enslaved laborers (Cushner 1975: 183), as was certainly the case for both San Xavier and San Joseph,

<sup>66</sup> "Testimonio de la hacienda San Joseph de Nasca," 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #17:f. 273v

<sup>67</sup> "Verdadero testimonio..." 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #16:f.253v

which had fields dedicated for staple crops and annex properties which specifically supplied meat for slave consumption. Access to sufficient protein sources was a principal concern for Jesuit estate administrators, who recognized the importance of meat in the diet of those who performed hard manual labor in the fields and industrial facilities of sugar and wine estates. In 1757 the provincial superior, Fr. Jayme Perez, visited the Hacienda San Juan de la Pampa de Huaura and gave orders that the slaves be given rations of meat at least once per week. The preference was for beef, although lamb or jerked beef could be substituted when cattle were not available. Cushner's analysis of Hacienda Bocanegra's monthly purchase of seven steers, providing about 300 portions apiece to be divided among the estate's 235 slaves, makes for about seven servings of meat per month. Given the prevalence of jerked meats in the Nasca estate inventories, and the large herds of caprines – especially on San Joseph's annexes of Ocucaje and Locchas – it is no surprise that sheep and goat bones make up the largest numbers of faunal remains recovered from slave midden contexts at the sites of both haciendas (Muñoz et al. 2014). Ongoing paleoethnobotanical and zooarchaeological analysis from both sites will shed additional light on sources of protein and the reliance upon provisions from estate food stores for basic sustenance (Muñoz and Weaver 2015; Muñoz et al 2014).

In addition to health care, shelter, and food, slaves were provisioned with other material necessities. All newly acquired slaves were given a set of clothing and a blanket,<sup>68</sup> and once a year, at Christmas Jesuit administrators of Peruvian estates were to give their slaves a complete set of new clothes or the equivalent in *bayeta* flannel or *tocono* cloth. Additional blankets were also distributed to the enslaved population as needed. The Society of Jesus operated several *obrajes* in the Andes which manufactured clothing and cloth for commercial sale, but which also

<sup>68</sup> “Gasto de la hacienda de San Joseph de la Nasca...”, 1702-1708. AGN C-13, L.128, C.1:f.13v.



produced inexpensive clothing and textiles for Jesuit estates (see Cushner 1975: 183-184; Hu 2014). High quality majolica ceramic serving wares were also distributed to slave households. These were likely purchased in bulk from distributors in Lima and Panama, although there is not adequate historical documentation to sufficiently understand where these goods were produced and the extent and regularity of their distribution. Continued archaeological analysis at the Nasca estates, as well as other Andean Jesuit haciendas will no doubt illuminate these patterns.

As was common in many slave systems throughout the Atlantic World, Jesuit estate receipts also indicate that enslaved laborers periodically received rewards and gifts of alcohol and tobacco, especially on feast days and religious holidays. Tobacco was not grown locally in Nasca, and was typically purchased from plantations on the Peruvian North Coast, such as in the Zaña region.<sup>69</sup> Disbursements of the estates' lower quality wine was not inconsequential; in 1753 the administrator of San Xavier distributed 150 *botijas* of wine among members of the enslaved community. The estates' brandy was also served medicinally in the infirmaries.

As discussed in the first part of this chapter, usufruct rights were very important to the enslaved communities of San Joseph and San Xavier. Paleoethnobotanical research at San Joseph and San Xavier demonstrates that these fields and gardens allowed slaves to add spice and flavor to meals which largely consisted of staple foods provided by the administration, and for high energy snacks (Muñoz and Weaver 2015). These "slave gardens" and fields were not only important in supplementing the insufficient diet provided by the estate, or symbolically in the contentious virtual contract between the hacienda administration and the slave, as hinted at by administrator Brother Diego de Murga during the La Ventilla *acequia* controversy. Surplus

<sup>69</sup> "Verdadero testimonio..." 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #16:f.242v; "Testimonio de la hacienda San Joseph de Nasca," 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #17:f.269r; "Gasto de la hacienda de San Joseph de la Nasca...", 1702-1708. AGN C-13, L.128, C.1:f.15r.

grains, fruits, and vegetables grown on slave usufruct lands may have also been sold by enslaved farmers at local markets in El Ingenio, Palpa, or Nasca proper. In recent decades research throughout the Atlantic World has brought to light the extent to which enslaved persons have engaged in commerce beyond their estates (Houser 2008). In the years immediately following the Jesuit expulsion a number of the enslaved, especially women, had monies readily available for the purchase of their own or a family member's freedom; this money was likely garnered through engagement with the regional economy in markets beyond the estate. This fits a broader pattern for enslaved societies of African origin across the Americas, in that women who typically market, and would therefore have access to such cash. As will be discussed in the subsequent archaeological chapters, the diversity of self-provisioned material culture recovered in midden contexts at both estates also reflects this market engagement and perhaps a tradition of enslaved potters producing their own wares on their own time, which may have been sold in local markets.

### **Post-Jesuit Nasca: The 1767 Expulsion and the Legacy of the Crown Period**

Exploring the moment of the Crown expropriation of the Jesuit properties in Nasca and the impact of this significant event on the enslaved communities draws into contrast the particular administrative structure of the Jesuit-era haciendas. This last section of the chapter offers a detailed approach to the available documentation for this period pertaining to the slave communities as related to Crown and early republican policies. The historical exploration of this documentation offers a point of comparison with the archaeological evidence of the estates' post-Jesuit era as discussed in Chapters 6-8. This section first presents a general discussion of the Jesuit expulsion, followed by six subsections, each chronologically exploring moments of rupture and social discord among the enslaved.

During the course of the Society of Jesus' tenure in the Viceroyalty of Peru (from 1568 until 1767), the Spanish Empire underwent a series of transformations. By the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, the Crown had incurred large war debts in Europe and struggled to exert control over the creole elites in the American colonies. Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, reforms brought to the Spanish Empire by the Bourbon dynasty attempted to further centralize imperial governance and stimulate the colonial economy. By the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, the Jesuits earned a reputation as a powerful force within the Church, despite a tense relationship with the Holy See, precisely because of the company's ability to mobilize capital and influence. Various factions within the European governments in whose territories the Society of Jesus operated increasingly perceived the Jesuits as meddlers and as exploitative. Such controversy had both political and economic ramifications, as the European states attempted to exert greater control over their territories and trended toward greater centralization (see Roehner 1997). After already having been suppressed in both the Portuguese and French empires, in 1759 and 1764 respectively, the Society of Jesus was formally expelled from the Spanish American colonies in 1767.

The court of King Charles III carried out deliberations on the fate of the Society of Jesus within Spain and its colonies and dependencies in secret. Orders were sent to the magistrates of towns where Jesuits resided within peninsular Spain, and were to be opened on April 2, 1767 at midnight. Members of the Society of Jesus were taken into custody and deported to the Papal States, and their properties inventoried and expropriated to the Crown's estate. The orders reached the American colonies later and were carried out on a different schedule according to the requirements of the viceroys, but always in secret. The expulsion of the Jesuits of Peru was administered by Viceroy Maunel de Amat y de Junyent beginning in the second week of September in cities with a major Jesuit presence and then moving into rural regions (see Saenz-

Rico 1967: 323-394). By early 1768, all former properties of the Society of Jesus had been inventoried and expropriated by an army of assessors operating under the auspices of a new viceregal organization, the Junta de Temporalidades, established in the intervening months for the management of the new Crown properties.

The expulsion of the Jesuits throughout the Spanish world was a watershed event. In Nasca, the estates of San Joseph and San Xavier went through dramatic transformations in the years immediately after the expulsion. The Crown administration made strategic alterations in the organization of production on the estates, but the greatest changes were affected within the enslaved labor forces of these properties. Temporalidades appointed administrators for each estate: Dr. Policarpo Luján at San Xavier, and Juan de Lobatón at San Joseph. Almost immediately, the embellishments and fine goods, symbolic of Jesuit prestige and power, held in the casas haciendas and chapels, were auctioned off by the Crown to finance the initial expense of managing the estates.<sup>70</sup> The new administrations of the haciendas had a very different relationship with the enslaved communities, which was manifest in myriad ways from the modes of slave provisioning to the customs for establishing prestige and hierarchy, and slave behavior was regulated in new ways. Most dramatically, records kept by Temporalidades show that either coincidentally, or as a direct effect of the Jesuit expulsion, extraordinary epidemics affected both communities. The expulsion and its aftermath, however, also continually placed Crown assessors on the properties who, at moments of changes to the administrations, took opportunities to revalue His Majesty's property, including slaves. A large number of enslaved persons took advantage of these opportunities for auto-manumission, purchasing their own freedom or that of family members. Still, the general trajectory of the daily lived experience on the haciendas of

<sup>70</sup> "Borrador de extracto de especies de las capillas de las haciendas San Joseph de la Nasca con sus anexas..." ND. AGN C-13, Leg.93, C.16:30ff.

San Joseph and San Xavier, as read from documentary sources, was one of increasing discord. Tensions culminated near the end of the Crown period in an incident in which 34 individuals fled their captivity in a failed attempt to seek legal asylum in Lima, and in the early republican era with the assassination of the estates' administrator in a slave uprising. These events are particularly important for understanding the essential differences between Jesuit and post Jesuit administration of these properties and what these differences meant for the enslaved communities of San Joseph and San Xavier.

### *The Expulsion of Free Blacks*

On December 1, 1767, in one of the first administrative transformations to directly affect the communities living and working on the former Jesuit estates of Nasca, the Superintendent General of Temporalidades of the jurisdiction of Ica, Agustín de Salazery Muñatones (the Count of Montebanco) ordered the removal of 19 free blacks residing on the lands of San Xavier and San Joseph.<sup>71</sup> The expelled residents were compelled to move a distance of fifty leagues, more than 270 km, which forced these freepersons to resettle as far north on the littoral as San Vicente de Cañete or as far south as the lower Ocoña River Valley, from which they were never again permitted to return to visit family and friends left behind in the Ingenio Valley. The Crown administration made the argument that the free blacks, some of whom were employed on the estates, may have been stealing from the haciendas, and more dangerous still, might inspire enslaved residents to want their own freedom. As demonstrated by the testimony attached to these orders, this forced relocation affected not only free persons and their families, but the entire

<sup>71</sup> “El Conde de Montebanco, superintendente de Temporalidades de Ica con la Dirección General de Temporalisades, sobre la expulsión de negros libertos de ambos sexos de los alrededores de las haciendas San Xavier de la Nasca y San Joseph de la Nasca.” 1767. AGN C-13, Leg.62A, C.5:10ff.

residential community of both of these estates, as several of the expelled free blacks were legally married to enslaved residents. This undoubtedly caused hardship for the communities of both estates, as kinship, friendship, and *compadrazgo* relationships cut across the legal statuses of “slave” and “free.”

The expulsion of these individuals was executed between December 9th and 12th, by don Juan García de Algorta, a lieutenant of the *corregidor* of the villa of Pisco, who was accompanied by two armed soldiers.<sup>72</sup> Three women were spared expulsion, two of whom were deemed seriously ill, and could not make the journey of fifty leagues on foot, and one woman, Juana Morales, who was married to the *caporal principal* of San Joseph, Feliciano Coronado. In total, four men and twelve women were expelled: Julian Pinto and his wife Luisa Cabverde,<sup>73</sup> Rosa de Santa María, Laría de la Encarnación, Crisanta Negra, Phelipa Neri, Dorotea del Jesús, Liberata del Jezús, Teresa de la Aguila, Alejandra del Jesús, Manuela Borja, Jazinto Nicolas, Pedro Celestino, his wife Torivía, Joseph Cor[o?]nado, and Viviana de Jesús.<sup>74</sup>

At the time of Lieutenant García’s visit, Mansueta de la Trinidad and Ignacia Coronado, the daughter of Pedro Celestino and Torivia, were found to be in ill health and García sent for San Xavier’s administrator, Dr. don Policarpo Luján, a public professor and doctor of medicine on the medical faculty of the Royal University of San Marcos of Lima. Dr. Luján diagnosed Mansueta de la Trinidad with a uterine mass, from which she had suffered for several years. He deemed a fifty league journey as perilous to her health and advised she make the much shorter journey to the town of Palpa, where she could recover until a time when she could make the longer trek.<sup>75</sup> Ignacia Coronado was diagnosed with ulcers which had appeared in various places

<sup>72</sup> “El Conde de Monteblanco...”, 1767. AGN C-13, Leg.62A, C.5: ff.2r-9v.

<sup>73</sup> Or *Cab’verde*, an ethnonym referring to her likely exportation from the Portuguese port of Cape Verde.

<sup>74</sup> “El Conde de Monteblanco...”, 1767. AGN C-13, Leg.62A, C.5: ff.2r-6r.

<sup>75</sup> “El Conde de Monteblanco...”, 1767. AGN C-13, Leg.62A, C.5: f.9r.

on her body over the last six months. Luján judged that leaving the estate would likely result in her death, and she was allowed to remain until she either died or was well enough for travel.<sup>76</sup> The resulting scenario would have been extraordinarily difficult, as her parents relocated by force, likely never again to see their dying daughter.

Lieutenant García also recognized the impossibility of removing Juana Morales from her home, by matter of her social position and the status of her enslaved husband, which is extraordinarily illustrative of the power and respect held by the *caporales*. He writes:

Juana Morales lives in the company of her spouse, subject to the estate and without field nor residence outside the hacienda, and which could result in harm to the estates of His Majesty, and if you gave diligence to separate her from her husband, it would cause in all of the slaves of this hacienda of San Joseph, some movement of restlessness, for the love and respect that they give to the said *caporal*, so if this happens to the contrary, well, all of the slaves of both haciendas, San Joseph and San Xavier, are now in an unalterable state of restless peace; all of this has seemed convenient to put in the highest consideration of Your Excellency, of being the best success and performance of the commission that Your Excellency was dignified to put in my care.<sup>77</sup> (my translation)

### *Epidemic Disease*

Virulent epidemics in the first few years after the Crown expropriation of the former Jesuit haciendas may have been coincidental rather than a direct result of the Jesuit expulsion, however they demonstrate in precise terms the breakdown of social structures on the estates in the post-Jesuit era. Additionally, it is likely that the enslaved population would have directly associated their new contentious relationship with the Crown's administration with the

<sup>76</sup> "El Conde de Monteblanco...", 1767. AGN C-13, Leg.62A, C.5: f.10r.

<sup>77</sup> "la citada Juana Morales, vive en compañía de su marido, sujeta á la Hazienda sin que tenga fuera della chacara, ni residencia, que pueda redundar en perjuicio de las Haciendas de Su Magistad, y tal vez si se hubiera practicado da diligencia de separarla de su marido, hubiera causado en todos los esclabos de dicha Hacienda de San Joseph, algún movimiento de inquietud, por el amor y respecto conque miran a dicho Caporal, lo que al presente sucede mui al contrario, pues todos los esclabos de las dos Haciendas de San Joseph y San Xavier se hallan en quietud tranquilidad inalterable; todo lo que se ha parecido conveniente poner en la alta consideración de Vuestra Excelencia de seando el mejor acierto y desenpeño dela comisión que Vuestra Excelencia se dignó poner a mi cuidado." ("El Conde de Monteblanco...", 1767. AGN C-13, Leg.62A, C.5:ff.7v-8r).

appearance of the epidemics. The Crown administrators practiced markedly different management styles than their Jesuit predecessors, which together with the effects of epidemic disease impacted the estates' productivity. By November of 1768, the first wave of epidemics hit hard at San Xavier. Conditions had become grave as an uncontrollable disease erupted affecting the youth of the estate, and baffling the administrator, Dr. Policarpo Luján. Temporalidades sent Dr. Isidro José Ortega y Pimentel, the Chief Physician General, to San Xavier to investigate and hopefully arrive at a method of treatment.<sup>78</sup> The epidemic infection also perplexed Dr. Ortega, as it seemed, at first to only affect the young – infants through adolescents. He also noted that *negros criollos* were affected, but not African-born *bozales*, nor were the residents of other estates, namely San Joseph, despite eating the same foods, drinking from the same water supply and individuals frequently passing between the estates. However, these observations did not lead to a diagnosis nor a cure. Ortega described the following symptoms of the fatal disease:

The sick of San Xavier begin their condition with frequent belly pains and headaches, nausea, involuntary tears, impaired judgement, inclination to sleep, sadness, inability for voluntary movement, weakness without an obvious cause, dark urine like those affected by jaundice... pressure within the eyes, loss of appetite, slow pulse... all of these signs manifest within the first 12 hours; these signs increase within three or four days, producing vehement delirium which within a few hours continues to a comatose state, and the first degree of stroke, which ends with copious sweat for 24 hours or so...<sup>79</sup> (my translation)

<sup>78</sup> “Isidro José Ortega y Pimentel, doctor protomédico general informa sobre una epidemia...” 1768. AGN GO-BI2, Leg.98, C.1510:10ff.

<sup>79</sup> “Los enfermos de San Xavier principian su padecimiento para un dolor en el vientre y cabe[za] frecuente nausea, lagrimas involuntarias, alguna vez la rason leza, inclinación al sueño, tristeza, ineptitud al movimiento voluntario, debilidad sin manifiestacausa, orina tinurada como la de los yctericos de que también participa a túnica adnata, oprimera de los ojos, inapetencia, pulso tardo, calos remiso exepcto los que padecen accesiones terribles manifiestas de doze horas; cuyos signos tomando incremento en tres o quatro días, producen vehemente delirio a que en pocas horas sigue un afeto comatoso, primer grado de apoplexia en la que últimamente terminan con copioso sudor a las veinte y quatro horas poco más o menos...” (“Isidro José Ortega y Pimentel...”, 1768. AGN GO-BI2, Leg.98, C.1510:f.2v).



To relieve the fever and treat the symptoms, Ortega prescribed quinine, but his treatment had little effect on the transmission of the disease, which continued to spread.<sup>80</sup> The doctor's only recourse was to insist upon continued observation and a quarantine of the estate. Ultimately, these efforts were unsuccessful, as the epidemic eventually spread to the adult population and by 1769 had gravely affected the enslaved community of San Joseph as well.

The epidemic was so virulent and it incapacitated enough of the agricultural and skilled slave labor that additional indigenous and mestizo wage labor had to be brought in to the estates. Between 1767 and 1775, the overall production output was greatly reduced from the Jesuit era, when the estates could each produce as many as 6,000 to 10,000 botijas of wine and brandy annually, were then only producing an average of 5,000 botijas of product.<sup>81</sup> Wage labor was not only used in the fields, but the majority of both estates' payments in 1768 were to muleteers to transport the botijas to Puerto Caballa (see Barentzen 2004: 129, 134). Both estates also had to contract with ceramicists to complete the production of botijas. The *botijeros* of San Joseph were particularly affected by illness in 1769 and 1773, and those of San Xavier between 1768 and 1770 (Barentzen 2004).

### *Slave Auto-Manumission*

Although likely infrequent, it can be assumed that some individuals did obtain the funds to purchase their own freedom or that of a family member, despite insufficient documentation on manumission practices during Jesuit administration to draw an apt comparison with early Crown period (1767-1775) data. As illustrated by the small community of free blacks who chose to remain at San Xavier and San Joseph, all of whom were either themselves once enslaved on the

<sup>80</sup> "Isidro José Ortega y Pimentel...", 1768. AGN GO-BI2, Leg.98, C.1510:ff.3v-4r.

<sup>81</sup> "Títulos de Hacienda, San Joseph de la Nasca." 1776. AGN C-13, Leg.96, Doc.13:f.76.

estates or descended from former slaves, the Jesuit administrators did offer a path to freedom for some individuals. The expulsion of the Society of Jesus, and subsequent management of former-Jesuit properties by Temporalidades, opened the opportunity for slaves to receive regular evaluations of their monetary value and the mechanisms for petitioning for auto-manumission. Individuals were required to not only be able to pay the amount of their last estimated value, but also to submit a petition and sufficient reasons for granting the request. Several cases from each estate are outlined and discussed below.

The first manumissions after the Jesuit expulsion occurred in 1770. In the initial years of the Crown period, from 1770 to 1775, thirty individuals at San Joseph purchased their own freedom or that of a family member, as indicated by three separate petitions (see Table 4.3).<sup>82</sup> All but three of these individuals were female. The average age among them was 38 years old and the average cost was 166 pesos. No further data could be identified for manumissions at San Joseph for the remainder of the Crown period, between 1776 and 1821. Each of the cases for the period between 1770 and 1775 warrants closer evaluation to better understand the process of auto-manumission.

In 1772, San Joseph's second *caporal*, Tiburcio Coronado, solicited to purchase the freedom of himself and six other individuals, for a total of 1,150 pesos.<sup>83</sup> The ages of the individuals Coronado helped to manumit ranged from 35 to 53. It is unknown the degree to which Coronado financed the freedom of the others, but it is most likely that the petition was

<sup>82</sup> "Tiburcio Coronado, esclavos de la Hacienda de San Joseph de la Nasca de la Compañía de Jesús..." 1772. AGN GO-BI2, Leg. 116, C.2030:3ff.; "Dionisia de Borja, Antonio de Jesús, María Josefa del Patrocinio, Rosa Legarda y Atanasia de la Cruz..." 1773. AGN C-13, Leg.94, C.4:4ff.; "José Marichala, esclavo de la hacienda San Joseph de la Nasca con la Dirección General de Temporalidades, para que se la conceda libertad." 1775. AGN C-13, Leg.94, C.7:3ff.

<sup>83</sup> "Tiburcio Coronado..." 1772. AGN GO-BI2, Leg. 116, C.2030:3ff.

brought by the *caporal* due to his position of authority as recognized by the estate's administration.

Table 4.3. Auto-Manumissions at San Joseph de la Nasca during the Crown Period, 1767-1821.

| Year | Individual                  | Individual Bringing Petition  | Age      | Price in Pesos |
|------|-----------------------------|---|----------|----------------|
| 1772 | Tiburcio Coronado           | Tiburcio Coronado   | 47       | 200            |
| 1772 | Juan Francisco Regis        | Tiburcio Coronado   | 40       | 300            |
| 1772 | Josefa Maxima               | Tiburcio Coronado   | 41       | 300            |
| 1772 | Vitalina de la Rosa         | Tiburcio Coronado   | 35       | 150            |
| 1772 | Juana Chrisostoma           | Tiburcio Coronado   | 35       | 100            |
| 1772 | Valentina de San Juan       | Tiburcio Coronado   | 50       | 50             |
| 1772 | Cathalina de la Rosa        | Tiburcio Coronado   | 53       | 50             |
| 1773 | Dionisia de Borja           | Dionisia de Borja, Antonia de Jesús, María Josefa del Patrocinio, Rosa Legarda, and Atanasia de la Cruz | 41       | 350            |
| 1773 | Antonia de Jesús            | Dionisia de Borja, Antonia de Jesús, María Josefa del Patrocinio, Rosa Legarda, and Atanasia de la Cruz | 32       | 200            |
| 1773 | María Josefa del Patrocinio | Dionisia de Borja, Antonia de Jesús, María Josefa del Patrocinio, Rosa Legarda, and Atanasia de la Cruz | 8        | 150            |
| 1773 | Rosa Legarda                | Dionisia de Borja, Antonia de Jesús, María Josefa del Patrocinio, Rosa Legarda, and Atanasia de la Cruz | 48       | 100            |
| 1773 | Atanasia de la Cruz         | Dionisia de Borja, Antonia de Jesús, María Josefa del Patrocinio, Rosa Legarda, and Atanasia de la Cruz | 4 months | 60             |
| 1775 | Juan Josef Marichala        | Juan Josef Marichala  | 63+      | 150            |

The second set of manumissions at San Joseph occurred a year later, when three women petitioned to pay the value of their own freedom and that of two girls, one age 8 and the other an infant of four months.<sup>84</sup> The last individual for whom manumission records could be identified archivally is Juan Josef Marichala, listed at over 63 years old.<sup>85</sup> The 1767 inventory does not list any individuals by this name, but does account for a Juan Joseph Mina, age 70, who is likely the

<sup>84</sup> "Dionisia de Borja..." 1773. AGN C-13, Leg.94, C.4:4ff.

<sup>85</sup> "José Marichala..." 1775. AGN C-13, Leg.94, C.7:3ff.

same person. Marichala is described in the petition as “sufficiently deteriorated by his continued work that he cannot stand, and to avoid making mistakes and conserve himself in best possible form, it occurs to the great justification of Your Excellency to consider granting his liberty which he solicits by way of petition.”<sup>86</sup>

An analysis of nine juridical documents and a summary produced by Temporalidades in 1788 suggest that at least 28 individuals, fifteen males and thirteen females, were liberated from their enslavement at San Xavier between 1770 and 1775 (see Table 4.4).<sup>87</sup> Although the age of most of these individuals at the time of their manumission remains unknown, the average age for those for whom this information is available, was 43. The average cost per individual was 270 pesos. At least eight more individuals, seven females and one male, from San Xavier purchased their freedom between 1785 and 1819.<sup>88</sup> The average age of the latter grouping of individuals was 21 (although the age of one individual is not known), and their average cost was 202 pesos.

<sup>86</sup> “...demamente deteriorado por su continuado trabajo que ya no puede soportar, y para no incurrir en faltas y conservar en la forma posible su individuo ocurre a la gran justificación de vuestra excelencia para que se sigue de considerarle la libertad que solicita por medio de la exhurcion.” (“José Marichala...” 1775. AGN C-13, Leg.94, C.7:3ff).

<sup>87</sup> “Cristóbal Francisco Rodríguez, director general de temporalidades informa sobre la solicitud de Juan de la Rosa...” 1770. AGN GO-BI2, Leg.115, C.1990:3ff.; “María Josefa, esclava de la hacienda San Xavier de la Nasca con la Dirección General de Temporalidades...” 1772. AGN C-13, Leg.64, C.4:3ff.; “Cayetano de Jesús, negro libre, con Juan García de Algorta, superintendente de Temporalidades de Ica...” 1773. AGN C-13, Leg.51, C.17:5ff.; “Ramona Nonata, esclava de la hacienda San Xavier de la Nasca con Juan García de Algorta, superintendente de Temporalidades de Pisco...” 1773. AGN C-13, Leg.64, C.5:6ff.; “Juan Evangelista Lara, esclavo de la hacienda San Xavier de Nasca con Dirección General de Temporalidades...” 1773. AGN C-13, Leg.64, C.6:4ff.; “Feliciano de Jesús, esclavo de la hacienda San Xavier de la Nasca con la Dirección General de Temporalidades...” 1774. AGN C-13, Leg.64, C.10:4ff.; “Martina Loyola, esclava de la hacienda San Xavier de la Nasca con la Dirección General de temporalidades...” 1774. AGN C-13, Leg.64, C.12:4ff.; “Rafaela de Jesús, Eusebio de Jesús, maría del Patrocinio y maría Vásquez, esclavos de la hacienda San Xavier de Nasca...” 1775. AGN C-13, Leg.65, C.1:1f.; “Diego de Alcalá, moreno esclavo de la hacienda San Xavier de Nasca con la Dirección General de Temporalidades...” 1775. AGN C-13, Leg.65, C.2:3ff.; “Razón ó nómina de los esclavos que tenía la hacienda San Xavier de la Nasca...” 1788. AGN C-13, Leg.65, C.13:f.2r.

<sup>88</sup> “Petronila Cayetana Funes, esclava morena de la hacienda San Xavier de la Nasca contra Carlos Guisla sobre su libertad...” 1785. AGN GO-BI5, Leg.154, C.401:6ff.; “Martha de Jesús, esclava contra María Hermenegilda Guisla, su dueña, en la Hacienda San Xavier de Nasca, sobre concesión de libertad...” 1792. AGN CA-JO1, Leg.126, C.2232:44ff.; “María Josefa y María Josefina Guisla, esclavas de la hacienda San Joseph de Nasca con la Administración General de Temporalidades...” 1806. AGN C-13, Leg.69, C.3:18ff.; “Juan Agustín de Aróstegui, comisionado de Temporalidades de Ica con la Administración General de Temporalidades...” 1819. AGN C-13, Leg.70, C.2:17ff.

Table 4.4. Auto-Manumissions at San Xavier de la Nasca during the Crown Period, 1767-1821.

| Year | Individual                                     | Individual Bringing Petition  | Age       | Price in Pesos |
|------|--|---|-----------|----------------|
| 1770 | Juan de la Rosa (Jamayca)                      | Juan de la Rosa   | 20        | 400            |
| 1770 | Julián de la Rosa                              | -   | -         | 500            |
| 1770 | Prudencio de Jesús                             | -   | -         | 380            |
| 1770 | Estefanía de Jesús                             | -   | -         | 400            |
| 1770 | Fernanda de Jesús (zamba)                      | -   | -         | 400            |
| 1770 | Josef Julgencío (hijo de la dicha)             | -   | -         | 50             |
| 1770 | Martina del Aguila                             | -   | -         | 340            |
| 1770 | María del Patrocinio                           | -   | -         | 125            |
| 1770 | Bentura de Jesús                               | -   | -         | 425            |
| 1770 | Pedro Bautista                                 | -   | -         | 100            |
| 1771 | María de la Concepción                         | -   | -         | 300            |
| 1771 | Gaspar de los Reyes                            | -   | -         | 425            |
| 1771 | Cayetano de Jesús                              | -   | -         | 350            |
| 1772 | María Josefa                                   | María Josefa  | 28        | 250            |
| 1773 | Victoria Josefa                                | Cayetano de Jesús (free black, uncle)   | 1 month   | 50             |
| 1773 | Josef Mauro                                    | Ramona Nonata (Mother)  | 10 months | 80             |
| 1773 | Juan Evangelista Lara                          | Juan Evangelista Lara   | 40+       | 200            |
| 1774 | Ramona Nonata                                  | -   | -         | 250            |
| 1774 | Juan Esteban                                   | Feliciano de Jesús (Grandfather)  | 6 months  | 80             |
| 1774 | Martina Loyola                                 | Martina Loyola  | 52+       | 160            |
| 1775 | Rafaela de Jesús Mubata <sup>89</sup>          | Don Joseph Santos de Ibarluzea: Rafaela de Jesús, Eusebio de Jesús, María del Patrocinio, and María Vásquez | 19        | 450            |
| 1775 | (Joseph) Eusebio de Jesús (o de la Concepcion) | Don Joseph Santos de Ibarluzea: Rafaela de Jesús, Eusebio de Jesús, María del Patrocinio, and María Vásquez | -         | 400            |
| 1775 | María del Patrocinio                           | Don Joseph Santos de Ibarluzea: Rafaela de Jesús, Eusebio de Jesús, María del Patrocinio, and María Vásquez | 16        | 400            |
| 1775 | María Básquez                                  | Don Joseph Santos de Ibarluzea: Rafaela de Jesús, Eusebio de Jesús, María del Patrocinio, and María Vásquez | 45        | 200            |
| 1775 | Diego de Alcalá                                | Diego de Alcalá   | 45+       | 200            |

<sup>89</sup> Mubata is a Bakongo ethnonym meaning chambermaid of the King (Díaz 1988: 79).

|      |                          |                           |          |     |
|------|--------------------------|---------------------------|----------|-----|
| 1775 | María de la O Palomino   | -                         | -        | 100 |
| 1775 | Juan Josef Mariachala    | -                         | -        | 150 |
| 1775 | Josef Labandero          | -                         | -        | 400 |
| 1785 | Petronila Cayetana Funes | Petronila Cayetana Funes  | 29       | 400 |
| 1792 | Martha de Jesús          | Martha de Jesús           | 6        | 50  |
| 1806 | Maria Josepha Valencia   | María Josefa (godmother)  | 8        | 100 |
| 1806 | Camila (china)           | María Serfina Guisla      | 30       | 300 |
| 1819 | Francisco Funes (sambo)  | Francisco Funes           | 54       | 150 |
| 1819 | Serafina Maria (samba)   | Serafina Maria            | 2 months | 40  |
| 1819 | Maria Prudencia (mulata) | Maria Cunegundis (mother) | 29       | 400 |
| 1819 | María de Rosario (china) | María de Rosario          | 18       | 325 |

A closer analysis of some of these documents provides some interesting insights about natural and fictive kinship and decisions for the emancipation of individuals. For example, in 1773, Cayetano de Jesús, a free black and ex-slave of San Xavier who obtained his freedom in 1771, solicited and purchased the freedom of his one month-old niece, Victoria Josefa, for 50 pesos.<sup>90</sup> The girl's parents, Martín Bandurre and Cayetano's sister, Martina Mene, were legitimately married, but remained enslaved. Also in 1773, Ramona Nonata purchased the freedom of her ten month-old son, Josef Mauro, for 80 pesos, and the next year, Nonata purchased her own freedom for 250 pesos.<sup>91</sup> Occasionally an individual purchased the freedom of a family member without any subsequent consideration for their own freedom, as was the case in 1774, when Feliciano de Jesús manumitted his six month-old grandson, Juan Esteban.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>90</sup> "Cayetano de Jesús..." 1773. AGN C-13, Leg.51, C.17:5ff.

<sup>91</sup> "Ramona Nonata..." 1773. AGN C-13, Leg.64, C.5:6ff.

<sup>92</sup> "Feliciano de Jesús..." 1774. AGN C-13, Leg.64, C.10:4ff.

As illustrated by these cases, purchasing one's liberty offered a small number of enslaved individuals a path to freedom in the years after the Jesuit expulsion. However, not all slaves could afford to pay the assessed prices for their freedoms. There were some individuals who saw it more opportune to seek extra-legal routes to liberty, although these attempts almost always ended in failure. In 1771, perhaps prompted by the strength of the epidemics which had affected the Nasca estates, a small contingent of slaves fled San Joseph.<sup>93</sup> The Crown administrator, Lobatón, hired two mestizo slave hunters, Benturo Enciso and Joseph Robles, to find the individuals and return them to the estate.<sup>94</sup>

### *New Economic Transformations and Realities*

The first few years under Crown administration proved challenging for the viceregal government, despite liquidating a number of former Jesuit properties and a substantial number of items from the estates. The initial expense of operations without the support of the years of investment and the vast network which supplied the estates and offered viable markets for estate produce, was enormous. In order to relieve Temporalidades of some of the financial burdens inquired by early problems in production, some of the new Crown properties were leased, thus reducing administration costs while generating Crown revenue. Among the Nasca estates of Temporalidades, the first Crown lease occurred in 1771, when San Xavier's fruit-producing

<sup>93</sup> "Títulos de Hacienda, San Joseph de la Nasca..." AGN C-13, leg.93, doc.11:ff.8v, 9, 74.

<sup>94</sup> It is highly unlikely that within the first several years of Crown administration of San Joseph there would be more than one event where multiple slaves fled the estate. There exists a draft of an additional document listing five runaway slaves, and notes that upon capture, they were to be transferred to the Hacienda Belén, another former Jesuit vineyard in Ica, formerly of the Colegio of Huamanga. "Notta de los Negros de villa y con curreron á su xiliar los de Belen y la Nasca eficedes en el totora." N.D. AGN C-13, Leg.349, C.73:f.1.

annex of Llipata in Palpa was rented to San Xavier's Crown appointed administrator, Dr. Policarpo Luján, as a personal enterprise.<sup>95</sup>

In 1775 both San Joseph and San Xavier, and their annexes, were leased to private individuals: don Francisco de Angulo y Guisla rented San Joseph, and don Carlos José de Guisla rented San Xavier. These tenants were skilled entrepreneurs who brought diverse business skills to the administration of the properties. For example, Carlos José de Guisla eventually purchased a ship, *La Centella*, explicitly for the transport of San Xavier's produce from Puerto Caballa to Callao.<sup>96</sup> However, Temporalidades maintained oversight of the activities of these properties and could exercise executive control over the realties as required. In 1789, Temporalidades purchased and transported 251 slaves from estates in Chile for use on Peruvian properties administered by Temporalidades. Three of these were sent to San Joseph, at a forced cost to the hacienda of 740 pesos 1¼ reales.<sup>97</sup>

Likely reading the late 18<sup>th</sup> century saturation of the colonial wine market, administrator Francisco Angulo undertook the diversification of San Joseph by planting some fields of cotton. In 1790, the Real Audiencia of Lima ruled that profits from the production of this cotton be used to pay interest and debts which Angulo owed to the General Administration of Temporalidades.<sup>98</sup> In 1794, the lease to San Joseph passed from Francisco Angulo to Gaspar Angulo and José Manuel Angulo, presumably his sons.<sup>99</sup> Documents detailing the purchase of clothing for the slaves of San Joseph, as well as daily expenses from this period underscore the difficulty of

<sup>95</sup> "Remate de las tierras de Llipata en Palpa anexas a la hacienda San Xavier de Nasca..." 1771. AGN C-13, Leg.63, C.2:13ff.

<sup>96</sup> "Pasual Roig, teniente coronel contra la Administracion General de Temporalidades..." 1796. AGN C-13, Leg.66, C.9:4ff.

<sup>97</sup> "Demostración del general y gastos á que salen las 251 piezas de esclavos de ambos sexos..." 1789. AGN C-13, Leg.341, C.14:2ff.

<sup>98</sup> Francisco Angulo, subastador de la hacienda San Joseph de la Nasca..." 1790. AGN C-13, Leg.95, C.3:33ff.

<sup>99</sup> "Cuentas de gastos y productos de la hacienda San Joseph de la Nasca..." 1794. AGN C-13, Leg.95, C.12:7ff.



provisioning such a large estate without the institutional support of a large organization like the Society of Jesus.<sup>100</sup> According to documents available through the Archivo General de la Nación del Perú, before Peruvian independence the lease to San Joseph passed hands at least once more to Domingo Cepeda in 1798.<sup>101</sup> At some point prior to 1808, Juan Guisla y Guisla acquired or inherited San Xavier's lease,<sup>102</sup> and in 1810, it passed to Colonel don Tomás de Arias y Moras.

### *Seeking Asylum*

By 1819 Colonel don Tomás de Arias y Moras had died and the rental contract for San Xavier passed to his heirs: his widow and two legitimate sons. Evidently, the relationship between the hacienda administration and the enslaved community had rapidly deteriorated, and during the night of Sunday, the 26<sup>th</sup> of September, 1819, thirty-four slaves fled<sup>103</sup> the estate to seek legal asylum in Lima.<sup>104</sup> The incident echoes a case examined by Renée Soulodre-La France (2006) from early 1770s New Granada, in which the slaves of Hacienda Villavieja, a former Jesuit estate owned by the Colegio Máximo of Santafé, made a legal overture as “slaves of His Majesty” for better treatment and offered the case that the estate's administrator was damaging the integrity of the King's property.

In Lima, Juan Evangelista de Aranjó encountered three escaped slaves from San Xavier whom he took into his home. The fugitives claimed to have fled maltreatment by the hacienda's

<sup>100</sup> “Gobernador Administrador de Temporalidades” “Cuentas del gasto diario de la hacienda San Joseph de la Nasca...” 1794. AGN C-13, Leg.350, C.56:1f.; 1795. AGN C-13, Leg.95,C.17:13ff.

<sup>101</sup> “Cuentas de la Administración General de Temporalidades con Domingo Cepeda...” 1799. AGN C-13, Leg.224, C.1:21ff.

<sup>102</sup> “Guillermo Grado, ex administrador de la hacienda San Xavier de Nasca...” 1811. AGN C-13, Leg.225, C.19:64ff.

<sup>103</sup> The journey to Lima, located over 450 km north of the Ingenio Valley, along the coastal Camino Real, would have been treacherous, passing through long stretches of barren coastal dessert and rugged terrain between populated agrarian and littoral communities.

<sup>104</sup> “Autos que se siguieron con motivo de la fuga de 34 esclavos de la hacienda San Xavier de la Nasca.” 1819. AGN C-13, Leg.70, C.3:14ff.

administrators. One of these was María del Rosario, an 18 year old woman of *casta china*,<sup>105</sup> who made a plea to Arango that she had the intention of purchasing her own freedom. She was aware that in August of that year she had been valued at 325 pesos, and she had made her way to Lima with that amount hoping to make a claim to the administration of Temporalidades to purchase her papers for manumission. Arango wrote to his friend, Lazaro de Rivera de Morena, the Intendant Administrator General of Temporalidades to inform him of the slaves he had recovered.<sup>106</sup> Rivera replied that he would contact his associate, Juan Agustín de Aróstegui, the Administrator of Temporalidades of Ica, but that in the meantime the three slaves should be sent to don José Cabenesia, administrator of the Hacienda of Santa Beatriz.<sup>107</sup> The administration of Temporalidades noted in a later report on the incident that the identity of María del Rosario had been confirmed and her payment of 325 pesos for her freedom was accepted.<sup>108</sup>

By mid-October, Aróstegui distributed the copy of a list of twenty-seven of the slaves who had escaped from San Xavier, compiled by don José Manuel Mesa on September 30, 1819. Mesa comments in his initial report that he did not include the names of eight of the escaped, bringing the total to thirty-four, “because there is no one who can remember them.”<sup>109</sup> Another report by Mesa, dated only four days after the incident, records that tensions were high on the estate and that several slaves first escaped to the town of Palpa after the son of the deceased Colonel Arias, Lieutenant don Gabriel de Arias, corporally punished Julian Alcala, one of the escaped slaves, for “an excess of laziness.”<sup>110</sup> Yet, a report by Estevan Fenz de Colunga, dated October 15<sup>th</sup> and addressed to Intendant Rivera, raised questions about the state of affairs on the

<sup>105</sup> Meaning she was of African, European, and indigenous ancestry.

<sup>106</sup> “Autos...”, 1819. AGN C-13, Leg.70, C.3:f.1r.

<sup>107</sup> “Autos...”, 1819. AGN C-13, Leg.70, C.3:ff.1v-2r.

<sup>108</sup> “Autos...”, 1819. AGN C-13, Leg.70, C.3:f.8v.

<sup>109</sup> “Autos...”, 1819. AGN C-13, Leg.70, C.3:f.3r.

<sup>110</sup> “Autos...”, 1819. AGN C-13, Leg.70, C.3:f.6r.

hacienda of San Xavier and what was to be done about both the apparent unrest among the enslaved community and how to properly punish the runaways.<sup>111</sup> One of the more pressing questions, arose from Mesa's failure to encounter anyone on the estate, the administrators or the *caporal*, who could provide the names of the last eight runaways. This failure drew into question the hacienda administration's record keeping, as well as their rapport with the *caporal*, who, although Fenz de Colunga did not directly state it, may have been protecting the identities of some of those involved.

Rivera's interim report echoed Fenz de Colunga's concerns about the manner in which the hacienda was administered, and found it very difficult to believe that a proper list of all of the escapees could not be compiled.<sup>112</sup> He wrote that the incident caused a great deal of concern for the Administration of Temporalidades, especially due to the unanswered questions surrounding the incident's cause. Rivera insisted that his staff had to ascertain not only the origin of this mass exodus from San Xavier, but if there were other estates in similar peril under the juridical charge of Temporalidades.

The official report filed by Aróstegui in Ica on November 10, 1819, indicated that many of the runaways were recovered voluntarily and the eight unnamed individuals had been intercepted in Cañete, and were returned to San Xavier.<sup>113</sup> They responded that their mistreatment stemmed from a lack, and poor quality of food provided by the hacienda, and that they sought asylum in Lima at the house of the attorney don Francisco Vorla Moreno, whom they hoped would remedy their poor situation. The fact that the fugitives knew who would help them in Lima suggests that they likely had contacts in Lima. Aróstegui went on to report that

<sup>111</sup> "Autos...", 1819. AGN C-13, Leg.70, C.3:ff.7v-8v.

<sup>112</sup> "Autos...", 1819. AGN C-13, Leg.70, C.3:ff.10r-11v.

<sup>113</sup> "Autos...", 1819. AGN C-13, Leg.70, C.3:ff.13r-14r.

those apprehended in Cañete did not offer the least resistance, nor were any of the fugitives armed. He also found no evidence that San Xavier was symptomatic of greater moral decay or unrest among other estates, and it was his opinion that the incident was the result of poor treatment by the administration of San Xavier.

These events illustrate the desperate situation on these large South Coastal estates, but they also suggest the ingenuity and resourcefulness of the enslaved residents, some of whom sought a creative legal solution to their hardships. However, this incident transpired on the eve of Peruvian independence, and by its impetus in 1821, the political climate was uncertain. Many royalists were dispossessed of their properties and the contracts for those who rented Crown lands and estates from Temporalidades were terminated. In 1821 Francisco Inglesias was installed as administrator of San Xavier, ending a decade of administration by the Arias family. With independence came an end to viceregal oversight of Temporalidades, and the eventual consolidation of state properties under the Ministry of the Hacienda.

### *Independence and the Haciendas of the Peruvian State*

Peruvian independence in 1821 and the march toward modernization in the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought some of the most radical transformations to the regional political economy since the Spanish conquest. As the properties formerly managed by Temporalidades became assets of the new state, many were awarded for service to the new nation during the war for independence. San Joseph and San Xavier, however, were retained by the Ministry of the Hacienda as state properties. In the transitional period it seems as though the estates were managed individually as they had been under Crown administration: Miguel Bernales administered San Xavier from

1826 to 1828,<sup>114</sup> when José Félix Hurtado took over its management.<sup>115</sup> For a time, the family of the Prefect of Lima, General Juan Bautista Eléspuru was given a lease of both estates, but in 1833, towards the end of the presidency of the marshal Agustín Gamarra, the state again took full possession of the estates and in an attempt to infuse new life into the once grand and productive properties, Captain Hipólito Bouchard, a colorful French Argentine hero of the revolution, was appointed administrator (see Saponara 2008: 198-199). By this time it seems that both estates were administrated jointly, but not without substantial problems.

Early in 1837, Bouchard was murdered during a slave uprising which took place at San Xavier, however the details of the incident remain unclear and specific documentation from this time does not directly address the event.<sup>116</sup> Upon the death of Bouchard, Pedro Ugalde became the administrator of the Nasca estates, but the relationship between the administration and the enslaved community was extraordinarily tense after the events which took Bouchard's life. According to the memoirs of José Rufino Echenique (1952: 103-104), president of the Republic from 1851-1855, both San José and San Xavier were in ruins by 1837, and he notes that neither was profitable, as the Peruvian state incurred a debt of five or six thousand pesos annually just to keep the haciendas functioning. During his visit to the estates as a prospective buyer shortly after Bouchard's assassination he commented on the malcontent and "demoralization" of the haciendas' enslaved community (Echenique 1952: 104).

<sup>114</sup> "Miguel Bernales, administrador de la hacienda San Xavier de Nazca con la Intendencia de Ica..." 1827. AGN C-13, Leg.70, C.18:9ff.

<sup>115</sup> "Entrega de la hacienda San Xavier de Nazca y su anexo San Pablo realizada por Miguel Bernales..." 1828. AGN C-13, Leg.70, C.20:22ff.

<sup>116</sup> There are two documents at the Republican Section of the AGN which account the expenses of 1837 and which indirectly reference the costs associated with the burial of Bouchard, but specific reports about the unrest at San Xavier have not yet surfaced. "Cuenta de cargo y deuda que yo Don Pedro Ugalde Administrado de las haciendas del Estado San José y San Xavier..." 1837. AGN (Dirección Republicano). Ministerio de Hacienda, O.L. 256-2376:13ff.; "Expediente de las cuentas de los gastos hechos en las Haciendas de San Xavier de la Nasca después de la muerte de B[o]uchar[d]..." 1837. AGN (Dirrección Republicano). Ministerio de Hacienda, O.L. 256-2377:32ff.

The same year as Bouchard's death, both estates were sold into private hands, ending their period as public holdings. The buyer, Domingo Elías Carbajo, was an agricultural entrepreneur from Ica who made a fortune in the international sale of Peruvian wine, brandy, and cotton, but who is perhaps most notable as the leader of a faction that opposed Ramón Castilla's government, assuming the presidency for a brief time from June 17 through August 10, 1844. By the time of independence, wine and brandy had become less profitable commodities and the estates substantially shifted toward cotton production within the first few decades of Peruvian independence. However, Elías invested in infrastructure to modernize his properties throughout the Ica region, and by the 1850s he was exporting great quantities of dry white wine from his properties in Nasca and Pisco to Europe (England, France, and Germany) and New York (see Saponara 2008: 197).

Although the governments of several republican administrations had promised an end to slavery in Peru, it was not until 1854, during Elías' tenure as owner of San José and San Javier,<sup>117</sup> that emancipation finally became a reality. By 1849, in anticipation of emancipation, many Peruvian agricultural entrepreneurs, like Elías, began to follow the lead of British capitalists in the West Indies and solicited the emigration of East Asian coolies, principally Cantonese (Rodríguez 2012). The end of legal slavery marked a substantial transformation in the coastal haciendas, for which slave labor was the primary, if not sole, mode of production. While many formerly enslaved residents remained on the estates, joined by Chinese laborers (Heredia 2012), there was a substantial migration of Afro-Peruvians from the South Coast to Lima.

Cotton had become increasingly more important as a Peruvian export by the 1860s, fueled by a considerable demand in North America and Europe (Bell 1985; Dunn 1923). This,

<sup>117</sup> By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, modern orthographic conventions began to be applied to these haciendas.

combined with a decline in the market for Peruvian wines, contributed to a principal investment on the estates of the Ingenio Valley in cotton agriculture. In the midst of Peru's cotton boom in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the De la Borda family acquired both San José and San Javier and several of their former annexes in the Ingenio Valley from the heirs of Elías. Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries the estates continued to be modernized, and were run as successful family farms, but San José and San Javier never again attained the extravagance of the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century under Jesuit administration. The De la Bordas were only the second private proprietors of these properties, in whose hands the estates remained until the agrarian reforms of 1969.

## **Conclusions**

This chapter offers a discussion of the development of Jesuit hegemony in the Ingenio Valley and examines the administrative practices of these estates with careful attention to the constitution and development of the enslaved communities of San Joseph and San Xavier. Each of the three sections of this chapter opens a window onto aspects of Jesuit administrative policy, offering insight into the structures of power which permeated the estates. Both estates grew as the result of meticulous acquisition strategies which transformed the Nasca holdings from small-to-medium sized vineyards to the largest and most profitable of the Jesuit wine haciendas in the viceroyalty. While the main estates were important as productive, residential, and administrative cores of the haciendas, each of the annex properties offered important resources vital to the sufficiency of the estates, producing a landscape of Jesuit hegemony from the middle Ingenio Valley to the seaport of Puerto Caballa. The survey of the annexes, presented in Chapter 7, draws out the material aesthetic conditions of this regional hegemony and the inherent spatial strategy to such acquisition practices. Jesuit hegemony in the Ingenio and Grande valleys in many ways

seems to anticipate the later mercantilism associated with the emergence of incipient capitalism. However, the Jesuit strategy was less focused on the accumulation of capital than upon insuring the fulfillment of God's Plan, which necessitated the literal cultivation of a Christianized landscape that could support the Society of Jesus' most important mission: evangelization.

From the Jesuit perspective, slavery constituted a means to finance the Jesuit educational mission, but also presented an opportunity for evangelization of the African. The above discussion of Jesuit attitudes toward race and slavery illuminates the process of the making of enslaved subjects who existed within the institution of the Jesuit hacienda at the nexus between person and property. The Jesuit vineyards of Nasca were organized on the principle of labor as Christian discipline, and evangelization was a primary concern which was aimed at producing obedient Christian subjects. As I discuss through archaeological analysis in later chapters, such concerns for labor as Christian discipline are rife within the aesthetico-political regimes of the estates, constituting an essential element of the distribution of the sensible. However, as suggested by Brother Murga's letter to his superior in regard to the removal of his slaves' usufruct rights downriver from San Joseph's vineyards, the possibility of direct and open slave resistance in the form of rebellion was a perennial concern for estate administrators. Slaves' rights to work and plant their own fields and the ability for slaves to assemble for festivities on feast days were important in maintaining hierarchical structures and systems of rewards, which Jesuit administrators found more practical than the constant threat of punishment.

San Joseph and San Xavier were multicultural and linguistically diverse communities. These communities engaged in ethnogenic processes which both conservatively drew upon diverse Atlantic African aesthetic traditions as well as innovated, contributing new signs to the hacienda aesthetic. The Crown inventories make possible a partial rendering of the demographic



profile for the enslaved populations of both estates. The Jesuit prescript for gender balance encouraged the preservation of familial structures on both haciendas. From such data it is possible to speculate about the importance of familial and other social relationships in maintaining order and regimenting structure on the estates, but also in the enslaved communities' own production of meaning and hierarchy. Indoctrination and evangelical activities on the estates were also aimed at developing authority, work ethics, and maintaining hierarchies, which were exploited by both enslaved actors and the Jesuit administration.

The Jesuit expulsion was a watershed event that brought dramatic administrative transformations to both estates in the years immediately after the Crown expropriation of San Joseph and San Xavier, of which the greatest changes were affected within the enslaved communities. The Crown expulsion of the free black communities living on the former Jesuit estates and the spread of epidemic diseases that devastated both haciendas were symptomatic of larger structural changes which eventually manifest in material concerns for the enslaved. Crown administrators and lessees of the estates did not have access to the same exchange networks as their Jesuit predecessors, likely putting increasing pressure on slaves to provision for themselves when possible. A lack in quantity and quality of food was the predominant complaint by the group of slaves who fled San Joseph in 1819 seeking asylum in Lima. Enslaved persons also took advantage of the frequent accounting of the estates by Crown assessors to purchase their own freedom. The events of the post-Jesuit era should not, however, be interpreted as evidence that Crown administration was somehow less tolerable. Rather these events draw into contrast the differences between administrative techniques and allow for a better understanding of Jesuit estates as a coercive, total phenomenon which regimented and ordered daily life through specific processes of subject making which broke down significantly during the expulsion. In subsequent

chapters the spatio-material correlates of the specific effects of the Jesuit expulsion are compared with such conditions during the Jesuit administration of San Joseph and San Xavier. This examination, employing an aesthetic and semiotic approach, is aimed at drawing out how enslaved actors interfaced with the haciendas' aesthetico-political regimes during the Jesuit tenure.

## CHAPTER V

### METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE JESUIT HACIENDAS OF NASCA

Drawing on historical anthropological models which integrate text and material culture, this chapter outlines the field methodology employed, making use of a suite of archaeological methods in combination with historical research in order to address the daily lived experience of enslaved residents and laborers at the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Jesuit wine estates of Nasca.

Archaeological methods included reconnaissance with geophysical survey of the productive and domestic cores of the main estates, along with test pit excavations, and some opportunistic surface collection. This research of the main estates was augmented with a systematic survey of the cores of the annex properties of these historical estates located within the Grande Drainage.

As I describe below, each of these methods worked together in concert to acquire data for holistically assessing, at multiple scales, the material conditions of production on the estates and the daily lived experience of the enslaved laborers. The methodology employed in this research maintained a high degree of flexibility in its implementation as necessitated by the particular challenges of working among archaeological contexts within and around occupied settlements.

Prior to beginning archaeological field work, I consulted documentary resources related to the specific properties of San Joseph and San Xavier, as well as the writings and activities of the Lima and Cuzco Jesuits more broadly, in archives in Peru and Chile. These included both the colonial and republican sections of the Archivo General de la Nación del Perú (AGN), Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (AAL), Archivo Regional de Cuzco (ARC), and the Archivo Nacional Histórico de Chile (ANC). Archival materials such as property titles, estate inventories, administrative reports, accounting books, and legal proceedings provide important context for

the archaeological analysis, but can also be examined from an ethnohistorical perspective to shed light on the practices and material worlds of the enslaved workers and residents of San Xavier and San Joseph. The previous two chapters draw largely on this archival research. This documentation offers historical data that are uniquely positioned to offer a broad perspective of political economy, administrative technique, and the organization of enslaved labor. This dissertation takes an historical archaeological approach that combines this historical research with archaeological methods in an effort to assess the material conditions of this labor. I then can consider the materiality of the haciendas within the field of aesthetics. In this way, I seek to elucidate the processes of political engagement at the nexus between top-down and bottom-up forces, as well as the processes of enslaved subjectification.

A continuous and intense agroindustrial and domestic occupation since the mid-16<sup>th</sup> C has produced spaces which present certain challenges for archaeological study, especially given that these same spaces are host to modern communities. Both archaeological and documentary evidence suggests that the nuclei of the haciendas have been continually remodeled throughout their histories. While the project requires an understanding of how the use of space and the built environment changed in order to answer questions regarding administrative strategies and transformations in the material conditions of labor, it also requires a clear understanding of the estates' infrastructure during synchronic episodes of use from across the sites.

The archaeological methods of survey and excavation, as well as remote sensing and historical aerial photography, work in concert toward a holistic evaluation of the use of space on the wine-producing estates and how that use has changed over time. The production of space was a critical process in the production of hegemony and dominion (Lefebvre 1991). Social and political relationships are mapped and inscribed onto spaces (De Certeau 1984). The processes

that differentiate spaces are artifacts of both the built environment and the purposing of specific segments of space for specific activities, but even spaces which are conceptually fluid can be naturalized through everyday interactions which allow for the assignation of everyday commonsensical meaning (Harvey 1989: 203). Landscape as a referent is not simply a collection of related signs or a metaphor, but it structures how relationships between entities, as signs, in space are conceived (Morphy 1995: 186), constituted within the histories of social and cultural life (Smith 2003: 11).

This chapter presents the suite of methods employed strategically to establish the discreet contexts and spatial units of analysis for understanding the daily conditions of labor. By necessity, the field project was multi-scalar, taking into account production at multiple, nested scales across the regional landscape. The project has endeavored to do so systematically, integrating what is learned archaeologically about the region with strategic survey and mapping efforts at the hacienda annexes, and targeted excavation at the hacienda cores (see Burger et al. 2002). All spatial data have been incorporated into a Geographical Information System (GIS) for analytical purposes. For example, walk-over survey of the nuclei of the two principal haciendas, and their annexes, established a valley-wide baseline for the historic resources preserved on the surface of these sites. Remote sensing at the sites of San Joseph and San Xavier targeted several of the remaining open spaces to non-invasively identify buried architectural elements (see Clark 1996; Kvamme 2003; Gaffney and Gater 2003). These surveys helped locate potential areas for excavation representing both industrial and domestic contexts, illuminating quotidian activities and practices of the enslaved.

## **Methods and Approach for the Sites of San Joseph and San Xavier**

The productive and residential nuclei of the sites of the former Jesuit haciendas of San Joseph and San Xavier have grown into modern day hamlets, however the majority of structures at both towns postdate the Jesuit occupation. This presented a number of challenges for the archaeological field research, requiring a specific strategy for collecting data on the past uses of these presently occupied spaces. Rapid and unplanned construction and growth at San José and San Javier in recent years has impacted historical and archaeological resources at both sites, making the archaeological intervention of this project particularly timely. Because the modern communities are constructed upon the literal ruins of the former estates, survey and excavations had to consider both the effect of the modern occupation on historical and archaeological resources, but also the potential impact of the archaeological research on the modern community. Considering this, I took a number of steps to mitigate the negative impact on the daily lives of my hosts as much as possible.

Despite the project's rural setting, fieldwork borrowed techniques and strategies for the consideration of modern infrastructure and communities from long-established urban archaeological projects (e.g. Dickens 1982; Howard et al. 2014; Mrozowski 2006; Schávelzon 2000; Smith and Watson 2009; Staski 1987). Large-scale clearing excavations were not possible at either San Joseph or San Xavier, because of the fact that both sites are today modern communities. Therefore, smaller test excavations were planned in combination with archaeogeophysical survey in order to sample a diversity of areas and to access past uses of space across the haciendas' cores. Due to the highly invasive nature of excavation on and around presently occupied domestic properties, research was also facilitated by developing a close

working relationship with community members and leaders and frequently sharing the results of the ongoing fieldwork at community meetings.

At both sites, the oldest standing architecture consists of elements of the former hacienda houses and the Jesuit chapels, constructed between 1740 and 1745. Both chapels are monumental in scale with ornate baroque details; however, they are in poor condition and their roofs have collapsed. No standing structures at either site pre-date the 1740s, and most structures were built in the mid-to-late 20<sup>th</sup> century, likely atop earlier foundations. Fields encompass both haciendas, where families farm a number of different crops including cotton, sugar cane, prickly pear cacti, and a variety of fruit trees. In recent years, small plots have been planted again with grapevines. Due to the lack of extensive Jesuit-era architecture, the goal of identifying the patterns of earlier spatial organization was facilitated by test excavations and remote sensing techniques (i.e. historical aerial imagery and geophysical survey).

The site of the productive and residential core of San Joseph, located on the right bank of the Ingenio River, covers about 6.4 ha on the south side of the road running from the Panamerican Highway to the modern town of El Ingenio (See Figure 5.1). In the community of San José, a space that had served as the Jesuit-era plaza separates the ex-casa hacienda to the west, and the Jesuit church to the east. To the south of the chapel ruins there is an enclosed paved sports court and the remains of an early 20<sup>th</sup> century two-story, multi-roomed structure, which at the time of excavations in 2013, was being rehabilitated into modern housing. The casa hacienda at San Joseph is now owned by a descendant of the family that owned both haciendas prior to the agricultural reforms. The house has been significantly modified over the years and has a number of 20<sup>th</sup> century additions. North of the Jesuit plaza is a recently landscaped modern Plaza de

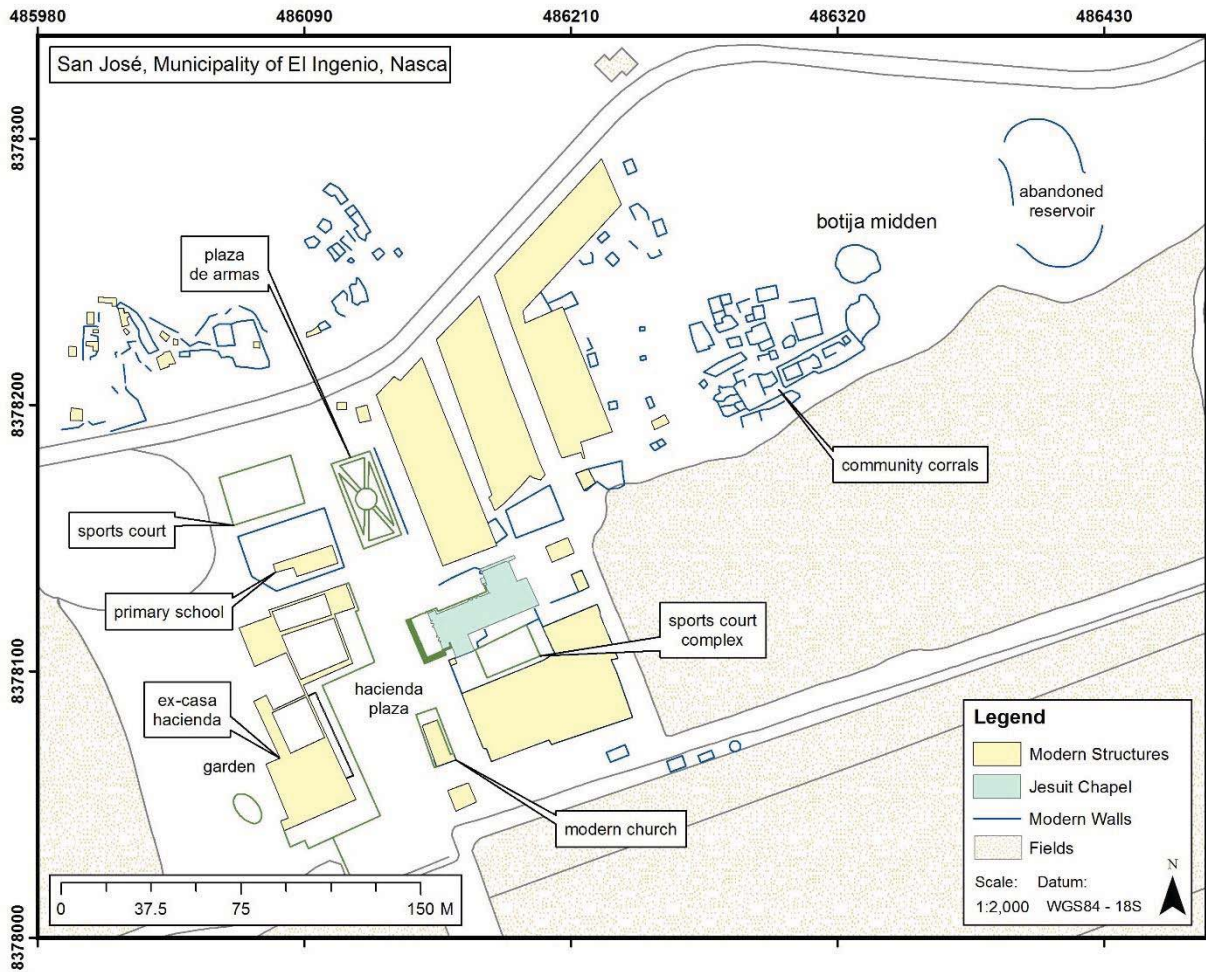


Figure 5.1. Map of the town of San José, Municipality of El Ingenio, Nasca.

Armas with poured concrete sidewalks, green spaces, and a fountain (See Figure 5.2). Three large concrete apartment-style residential complexes have been constructed in the northern sector of San Joseph, which house the majority of the modern community members who reside at the hacienda. There are also a number of less formal structures, which the community uses as storehouses and temporary dwellings. Some of these structures are constructed with small adobes and others have walls of woven reed mats, and many of these informal buildings lack roofs. To the far eastern extent of the town is a barren stretch of land which in the proceeding chapter I describe as the remnants of one of the former estates industrial facilities, including a substantial



botija midden and the remnants of the botija production area. At present, the modern community uses this area for corralling livestock and as an informal dump. Recent informal construction of new homes at San José has disturbed archaeological contexts and encroached upon the Jesuit chapel and colonial ceramic production facilities along the hill east of the town. Municipal construction projects south of the Jesuit chapel and around the primary school have also destroyed and disturbed archaeological depositions which included architectural features and burials.



Figure 5.2. Plaza de Armas, Jesuit chapel, and modern church at San José.

San Xavier's core was located on the right bank of the Ingenio River, at a linear distance of about 7 km from San Joseph (See Figure 5.3). The modern village of San Javier extends across 14.5 ha centered on the historic estate. As at San José, a portion of the Jesuit plaza is preserved between the ex-casa hacienda and the Jesuit chapel. The former hacienda house is

located to the north of the plaza and the abandoned church flanks its western edge. To the east of this plaza, an extant 18<sup>th</sup> century brick gateway marked the formal entrance to the Jesuit hacienda. Unlike San José, the ex-casa hacienda at San Javier has been converted into a multifamily residence. The structure has a number of modern additions, some as recent as the past two decades. Residential complexes were erected east of the casa hacienda as worker housing prior to the reform of 1969 and there are a number of recently constructed homes at the eastern edge of the hamlet. However, the greatest number of families live in structures dating from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, built around a new plaza space with a new concrete church, a modern garden area and fountain, a sports court, and primary school. Recent construction of new homes in San Javier's northeastern region has encountered and disrupted subterranean archaeological resources. Similarly, construction efforts near the soccer field have also had a negative effect on the preservation of the northern hacienda wall.

As a first approach to the sites of the former haciendas of San Joseph and San Xavier, I surveyed, mapped and produced a registry of surface archaeological resources throughout the former hacienda cores. This registry of extant surface features (including architectural features, middens, artifact surface scatter) along with the geophysical survey was useful in determining the placement of excavation units and areas to conduct systematic surface collections. These efforts were aimed at identifying evidence of productive and domestic activity areas within the sites of the hacienda cores. Additionally, historic aerial photography of the Ingenio Valley taken by the Peruvian Air Force's Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional (SAN) in 1944 were consulted. The images, produced at a 1:15,000 scale offer a unique kind of "remote sensing" dataset (Sheets and Sever 2007: 172-173, Campana and Francovich 2007: 240, 247). These photographs, taken together with local oral history, help reconstruct the patterns of construction activities since the

1940s, which have impacted and disrupted evidence of the historic estates. Many of the buildings captured in these photographs are no longer extant and the SAN images remain the only known records of their existence.

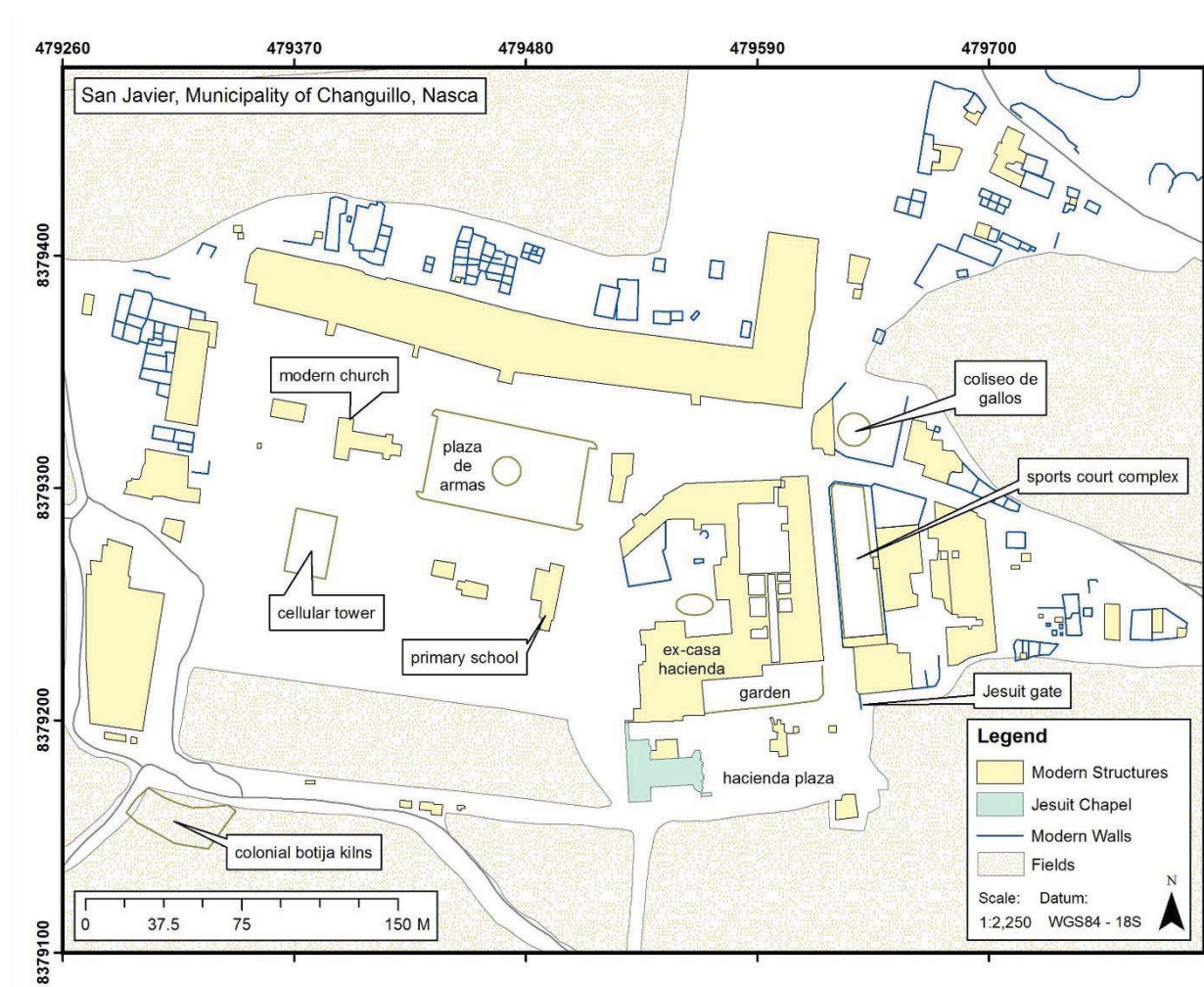


Figure 5.3. Map of the town of San Javier, Municipality of Changuillo, Nasca.

### Geophysical survey

Because there is little surface evidence of the past configurations of the haciendas, I conducted a geophysical survey in collaboration with archaeogeophysical specialist Adam Wiewel, targeted at the remaining open spaces at both sites. The mixed urban/agricultural environment both necessitated and presented particular challenges for the survey, contending

with interference from power lines, large unmovable metal objects, planted fields, and high transit paths and roads (Weaver et al. 2014). We employed electromagnetic conductivity, magnetic susceptibility, and magnetometry to assess possible subsurface depositions and identify activity areas to be targeted for excavations, but also to detect larger use patterns across the sites, which were not visible on the surface.

Remote sensing techniques allow for the definition of archaeological features across a large area (Clark 1996, Kvamme 2003, Gaffney and Gater 2003), and record at a greater spatial efficiency than traditional archaeological excavation or shovel testing. This non-invasive approach was employed in order to: 1) aid in the conservation of archaeological deposits, specifically potential mortuary contexts which we had expected to find, 2) the ability to direct excavations toward potential activity areas through the identification of middens and subsurface architectural features, and 3) to help minimize disruption to the communities.

The interpretation of archaeogeophysical data follows a combination of inductive and deductive methods (Kvamme 2008). Inductive methods makes use of an interpretation of geometric shapes, relative sizes, and systematic repetitions of image objects in order to form patterns (see Creel et al. 2008; McKinnon 2009, 2010; Osburn et al. 2008; Van Valkenburg et al. 2014; Walker and Perttula 2007, 2008). In short, geometric shapes that form systematic patterns are often the result of anthropogenic influences. Furthermore, when archaeogeophysical abnormalities in a data set resemble regular geometric shapes, it is likely that the anomaly is cultural in origin.

A deductive approach uses known physical properties of the subsurface matrix (including artifacts, features and registered sediments during excavation soil) to deduce how archaeogeophysical instrumentation might respond. For example, thermoremanent magnetism

results from high heat events ( $\geq 600^{\circ}\text{C}$ ), permanently changing the orientation of the magnetic ions, which produce a strong magnetic anomaly (see Kvamme 2006, 2008). It can be deduced that anomalies of high or medium magnetic value might be generated by features such as hearths, kilns, slag from furnaces, or burned structures. Certain processes of decomposition can also magnetically enrich soils and may also cause anomalies with higher magnetic values than the surrounding soil matrix (Kvamme 2006, 2008). Using these techniques, it is possible to identify subsurface pits as well, within or around a structure. The highest magnetic values are generally associated with ferrous metals buried close to the surface. Magnetic gradiometry is the most widely used and preferred geophysical method on archaeological sites because of its ease of use, rapid data collection, and ease of data processing (Kvamme 2006). As a passive method, magnetic gradiometry does not induce a current or pulse into the ground, but measures the diurnal variation of the terrestrial magnetic field. The magnetic values obtained through magnetic gradiometry are recorded in nanoteslas (nT;  $10^{-9}$  tesla), and the technique measures both induced and thermoremanent magnetism.

Wiewel and I surveyed a total of 2,296 m<sup>2</sup> with the instruments across three sectors of San Joseph, and 7,093 m<sup>2</sup> were surveyed at San Xavier, in eight sectors. The goal was to cover as much of the open space around the sites hacienda cores as possible. At the site of San Joseph, the geophysical survey zones covered the majority of the open areas within the town of San José (See Figure 5.4). One zone covered the old hacienda plaza area between the ruins of the Jesuit chapel and the ex-casa hacienda, extending from alongside the new chapel to the new Plaza de Armas. Another survey zone spanned the length of the dirt road east of the southern residential complex toward the access road to town, and a third survey zone examined the area east of the

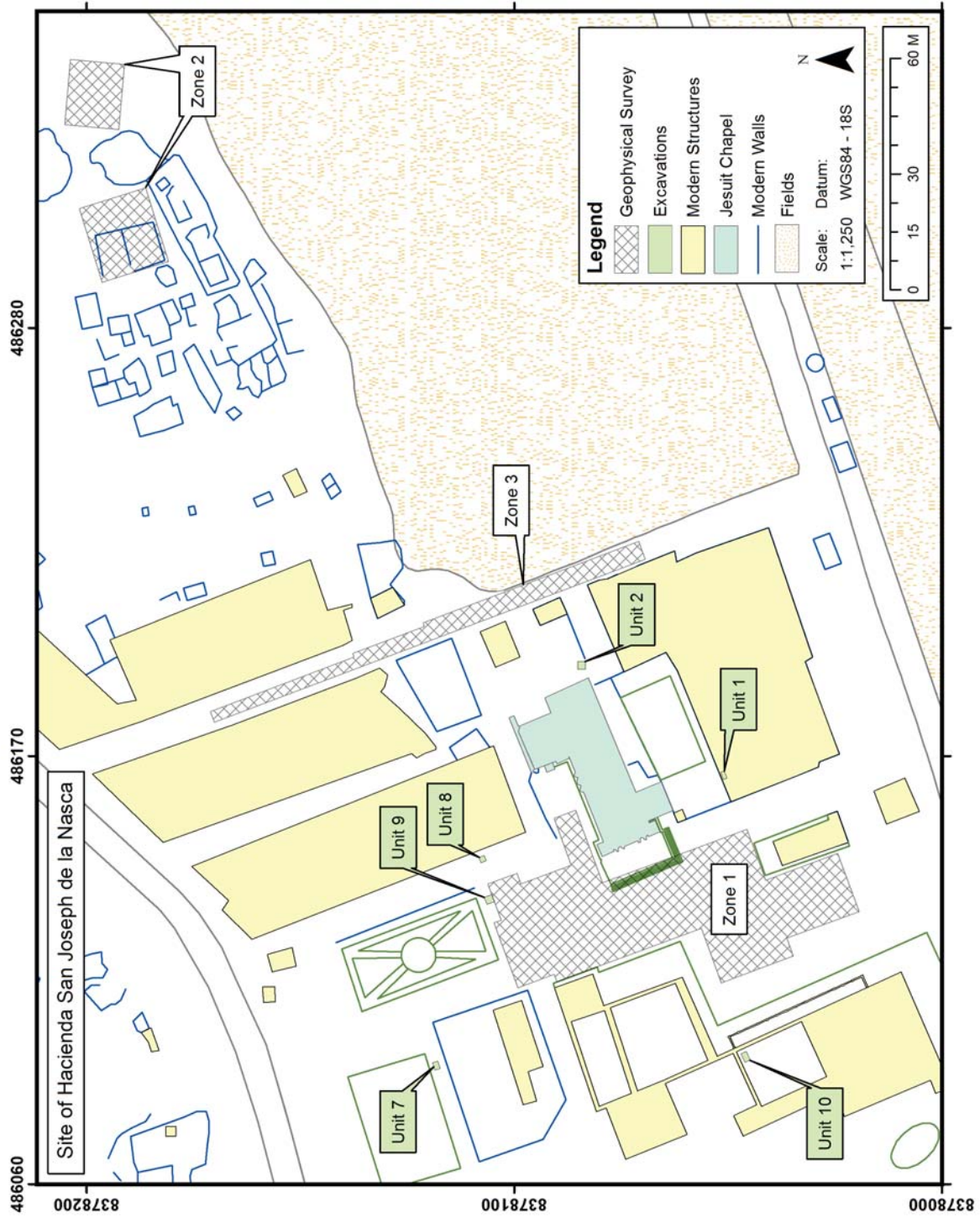


Figure 5.4. Locations of excavation units and geophysical survey zones at the site of Hacienda San Joseph de la Nasca.

town near an expansive botija midden, where there are surface remains indicative of botija kilns and other production facilities.

The eight zones prospected using geophysical equipment at the site of San Xavier were also deployed in an attempted to cover as much of the domestic and productive core of the former estate as possible (See Figure 5.5). The areas to the west and south of the Jesuit chapel were surveyed as well as the western portion of the Jesuit plaza. A 2,300 m<sup>2</sup> grid was placed in a field immediately south of the chapel, in an area which featured a number of structures depicted in the 1944 aerial photographs. One geophysical grid was established to the west of the hacienda complex, near the eastern edge of the new Plaza de Armas. The length of the principal north-south street through the old hacienda core was surveyed, as was a segment of the road east of the Jesuit-era hacienda gate. A grid was placed immediately south of the gate as well, over an area identified in the SAN aerial imagery as worker housing. The construction of new homes in an area at the eastern edge of the community of San Javier revealed the remains of ceramics kilns in the vicinity. A geophysical grid on an open area in this sector was aimed at identifying the extent of the productive zone. Lastly, two grids were placed in a field northeast of the modern day town in an effort to identify subsurface remains of a large complex identified in the historic aerial imagery.

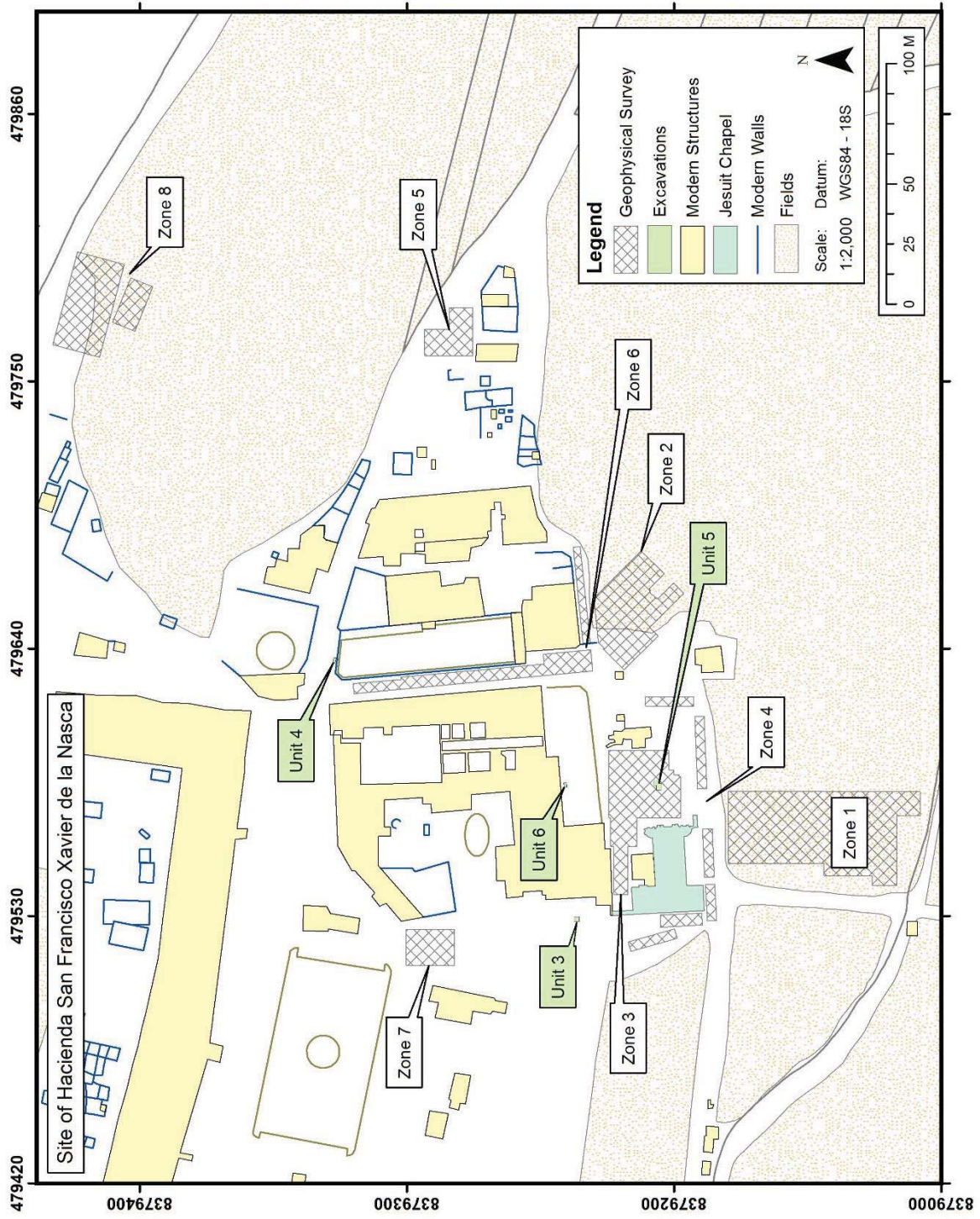


Figure 5.5. Locations of excavation units and geophysical survey zones at the site of Hacienda San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca.



## **Excavation**

Excavation was focused on the sites of the domestic and productive nuclei of San Xavier and San Joseph de la Nasca. Because both of these sites are modern-day villages, the placement of archaeological units was carefully planned through community involvement and specific areas were targeted in order to maximize the diversity of contexts and contribute to a better understanding of space. The other aspects of the field methodology employed at both sites were integral to the excavation strategy. The locations of test excavations were prioritized by the results of the archaeogeophysics as well as the identification of areas of interest from the historic aerial imagery. Some surface features also indicated middens and refuse pits, which yield deep stratigraphy (Mills and Vega-Centeno 2005). A random sampling approach was not possible, because units must be placed where they do not radically disrupt the daily lives of the modern-day residents; efforts were made to pay careful attention to the needs of the community in order to minimize the inconvenience and impact on daily activity. However, because of the continuity of occupation, in that the descendants of families who have had a long association with hacienda labor inhabit both sites, I expected and it was confirmed that some of the spatial and material patterns of today reflect earlier use. Units were therefore strategically placed in order to maximize the range of areas sampled to recover evidence of the full range of past activities on the estates, following visible surface features and activity areas, considering historic aerial imagery and anomalies identified through geophysical survey, and minimizing the imposition on the community. Across both sites, a total of ten contexts were excavated, ranging from 1 m by 2 m test pits to an excavation of 9 m<sup>2</sup> in area, for a total excavated area of 36 m<sup>2</sup>, with contexts reaching an average depth of about 154 cm of historic period stratified contexts. Although the excavation to site surface area ratio was relatively low, the excavations revealed deeply stratified

historical contexts representative of the types of spaces and activity areas present at the haciendas.

A local grid (anchored to local datum points) situated each test unit in order to provide horizontal spatial reference for collected archaeological materials to the nearest meter uniformly across the project area. The excavation of the specific contexts was conducted in accordance with well-established techniques and methods for archaeological excavation (see Barker 1993; Collis 2001). All excavations followed a modified form of the Harris method, taking the “locus” as the minimal unit of analysis within each excavated context. This system offers the excavator greater flexibility in the attribution of accession numbers for indicating a precise context over systems which maintain separate registries for stratigraphic levels, features, and special finds. A locus can designate any discrete volume of excavated soil matrix, and any cultural material found within a soil matrix (Wernke and Guerra 2010: 29). Loci can be used to designate any context or cultural feature, for example a hearth, or the inner area of a wall that cuts into an excavation unit, as well as a natural level designated by color or matrix change or the presence of different inclusions. Occasionally, exigencies dictated the division of natural stratigraphic depositions greater than 15 cm in depth into two or more arbitrary levels in order to exert greater vertical control over provenience. In such instances, and each was assigned a different locus number. Each locus is identified by a single number, beginning with Locus 1000.

Contexts were excavated primarily by trowel and brush, using wooden sticks, tongs and brushes for removing fragile materials from the matrices. All withdrawn soil, with the exception of one 2.5 liter sample per locus,<sup>1</sup> was passed through ¼ inch screens. Certain contexts were

<sup>1</sup> Soil samples were not taken from every locus. Matrix samples were only taken from loci which were not associated with modern cultural inclusions (e.g. bottle caps, plastic, modern glass). Some loci, such as posthole features, had insufficient volume to remove a 2.5 L sample. In such cases, the collection of a smaller sample was at the digression of the excavator.

double sieved with 2 mm screens – especially when visible macrobotanicals and small bone fragments were present. All recovered materials were bagged and labeled, recording the locus of origin and the type of material (e.g., ceramic, lithic, bone, textile). Moreover, the carbonized organics were collected in situ for potential future radiocarbon dating, although due to the level of control attainable in historical period excavation through careful attention to time markers of material culture such as ceramics, radiocarbon dating is redundant and often unnecessary. Carbonized samples were carefully wrapped with aluminum foil to prevent contamination. At the end of the excavation, each unit was refilled with screened soil.

Four of the ten test excavations were carried out at the site of San Xavier de la Nasca, covering a total of 17 m<sup>2</sup> (see Figure 5.5). One 2 m by 2 m unit (Unit 3) was placed in a modern garden along the western elevation of the casa hacienda, a structure which is decidedly 20<sup>th</sup> century in its current configuration, but retains some features that can be associated with earlier constructions dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The prime objective of excavating this area in the casa hacienda's western patio was to observe the house's refuse patterns and hopefully trace changes in the occupation of the structure from the Jesuit era through the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the house took more or less its present form.

A 2 m by 1 m unit (Unit 6) was excavated in a garden along the southern elevation of the casa hacienda at San Xavier. This context overlooked the Jesuit plaza and chapel and was likely a garden space throughout the post-Jesuit period. While the Jesuit plaza and the western elevation of the casa hacienda were prospected during the archaeogeophysical survey, the area immediately abutting the house remained untested. The excavation of Unit 6 was intended to provide a better understanding of the use of the space around the plaza, the duration of the use of the space immediately south of the casa hacienda as a garden, and potentially reveal earlier

activities which took place in the vicinity. I also hypothesized that since gardens have been used historically for discarding organic domestic refuse, the domestic activities related to the hacienda house and its dependencies might be traced to the earliest uses of the garden.

Another 2 m by 1 m unit (Unit 4) was excavated along the main east-west road in the central part of modern San Javier in front of the northern gate of the sports complex. Constructed within the last decade, the sports court was built over the leveled ruins of worker housing which were occupied at least since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (as indicated by oral history and the 1944 SAN photos). The unit was placed with the intention of investigating the worker housing, with the expectation that the early 20<sup>th</sup> century domestic structure may have had earlier domestic antecedents. While the unit revealed the remains of domestic discards dating to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, it also yielded the remains of a Jesuit-era kiln complex, which would have been one of several simultaneously operating on the hacienda, producing the large botijas necessary to store and transport the copious amounts of wine and brandy produced annually. Finding this industrial context from the Jesuit era helped redefine excavation priorities at the site of San Xavier, directing excavation away from opening a unit near the known remnants of a botija kiln to the southwest of town, toward focusing on spaces at the heart of the domestic and productive core.

A 2 m by 2 m unit (Unit 5) was placed centrally in the Jesuit plaza at the site of San Xavier, east of the chapel, in order to “ground truth” and investigate a large rectangular anomaly identified in the geophysical survey (see Figure 5.6). The data suggested a structure about five or six meters by ten or eleven meters, with a significant angular offset from the orientation of the casa hacienda and the church, suggesting that if the anomaly proved to be the ruins of a colonial structure, it would likely have been constructed prior to the chapel, which was completed in 1745. The excavation of Unit 5 was initiated with the expressed goal of identifying the anomaly,

hypothesizing a structure predating the Jesuit chapel which could offer insight into activity areas and the use of space around the plaza in the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Upon finding the corner of a brick and lime structure, the excavation was expanded to encompass an irregular area of 9 m<sup>2</sup> in order to capture areas both interior and exterior to the structure.



Figure 5.6. The excavation of Unit 5 at San Xavier's plaza.

At the site of San Joseph de la Nasca six contexts were excavated totaling 19 m<sup>2</sup> of coverage (see Figure 5.4). As at San Xavier, the strategy was to target excavations broadly across the productive and residential nucleus to best capture changes and transformations in the use of space, as well as test areas likely to reveal the material remains of both domestic and agroindustrial activities. The first context excavated (Unit 1) was a 2 m by 1 m unit placed in the front room of a house adjacent to the Jesuit chapel that was in the process of being remodeled.

Based on initial observation, the structure seemed to have been constructed upon the foundations of earlier structures, and due to its prominent placement on the old hacienda plaza and proximity to the Jesuit chapel to the north, I hypothesized that excavation of the unit would allow me to develop a chronology of occupation and define the sequence of construction for this area south of the church, as well as assess the types of activities carried out within these structures, at least part of which was expected to have been domestic in nature.

A 2 m by 2 m unit (Unit 2) was placed directly behind (east of) the ruins of San Joseph's Jesuit chapel. The unit was placed in this area with the specific goal of investigating the sequence of activities in the already highly-disturbed sector of the site and to determine the extent of archaeological features, such as domestic middens and ceramic kilns, which I identified in the trenches and discarded soils from the various modern construction projects in this locality. The placement of the unit in line with the southern wall east of the back of the church was intended to capture any possible walls, structures, or activity areas that may have extended from the back of the religious structure.

Three units were also excavated in the area north of the old hacienda plaza, all of which were aimed at accessing potential productive and domestic areas. The historic SAN aerial photography revealed that non-extant large multi-roomed structures along the northern perimeter of the plaza were in a ruinous state in the 1940s. Geophysical survey identified several linear anomalies in the area which suggest buried wall segments or foundations. Two units (Units 7 and 9), a 2 m by 1.5 m unit and a 2 m by 2 m unit, were placed within this space with the prospect of finding structural remains, and to understand the activities which took place in this sector of the site since the founding of the hacienda. The third unit (Unit 8) placed north of the old plaza was located adjacent to one of the modern residential complexes situated on a natural

mound overlooking the modern plaza area. While the residential structure itself dates to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, there is evidence within the southern foundations of the complex that it was constructed atop adobe and brick structures likely occupied during the republican and colonial past. This area was also identified as a candidate for yielding a domestic midden due to its proximity to likely domestic structures, and given that a cut into the hill's southern face reveals stratigraphic depositions of domestic refuse.

The last unit excavated at the site of San Joseph was a 2.5 m by 1.5 m unit (Unit 10) located within the enclosed courtyard of the ex-casa hacienda. By placing the unit within this courtyard I hoped to discover evidence for understanding the sequence of construction, as well as the purposes for the activity areas in the northern part of the casa hacienda, which I hypothesized was a productive space during the estate's colonial era occupation.

### **Artifact and materials analysis**

In addition to contributing broadly to an understanding of the use of space, architecture, activity areas, and construction sequences across both sites, excavated contexts contributed to my methodological strategy for assessing daily material praxis, yielding nearly 16,000 ceramic sherds and over 26,000 other artifacts and samples. Contributing to the high yield of non-ceramic artifacts is the region's dry environment and stable soil chemistry. The hyper-arid Nasca Desert offers excellent conditions for the conservation of in situ material culture, and along with durable materials, fragile organics such as textiles, wooden objects, and botanical remains were recovered. The process of curating, cataloging, and analyzing recovered artifacts was carried out alongside excavation and for several months after fieldwork had ended. Materials were cataloged consistent with the norms established for the historical archaeology of Spanish colonialism to

facilitate comparison (Deagan 1987), but were analyzed in the widest sense to address this dissertation's primary questions about Afro-Peruvian ethnogenesis, hacienda aesthetics, and daily praxis.

All artifacts recovered from the excavation units and the systematic surface collections were processed for analysis and conservation. Analysis included sorting artifacts and samples by material (ceramic, lithic, metallic, mineral, glass, botanical, faunal, malacological, etc.) and recording all relevant attributes in a database which was specially designed for this project. According to common conservation practices (Sease 1992), archaeological materials were stored in polyethylene bags. Fragile remains, such as textile fragments and delicate faunal and botanical material, were wrapped in acid-free paper before packaging for storage. These measures provide for the proper conservation of archaeological materials for subsequent investigations. Diagnostic pieces were photographed and drawn.

Ceramic analysis followed established techniques described in Rice (1987), Shepard (1971), and Knappett (2005), and all attributes were recorded in a relational database designed for this project. Analysis focused on both stylistic and material attributes. Vessel form, ceramic category, ceramic type, paste type, paste color, temper, ceramic element, lip form, rim form, rim profile, surface finish, surface finish color, interior/exterior surface treatments, decorative techniques, decoration color, background color, and motif were all recorded. For coarse earthenwares, the presence of wheel marks was indicated in analysis, and all ceramics were examined for burning which may have occurred during the process of firing or in use as cooking equipment. Stylistic analysis is important for addressing the types of activities that constituted daily practice for workers and residents of the haciendas, as well as reflecting the aesthetico-political regime of the hacienda.



In addition to laboratory analysis of excavated and surface collected materials, I also carried out an in-field systematic inventory of botija sherds from the botija midden at the site of San Joseph. Along the ridge and in a gully directly east of the modern residential complex of San José is an immense botija dump site, which contains perhaps as many as a half-million discarded botija sherds, most of which are broken and were rejected in the course of their production. Parallel to the excavations at San Joseph, I gathered for in-field analysis, but did not collect, 170 sherds approximating the widest identifiable range of stylistic forms and decorations. Each sherd was described, cataloged, and photographed, the totality of which may help to explain the range of similar materials recovered through excavation. The results of this analysis are presented in Chapter 8.

Paleoethnobotanical and faunal analysis was conducted by specialists in Lima, Lizette Muñoz and Karen Durand, respectively. The results of these separate studies are not reported in full in this dissertation. However, the publication of these data will no doubt contribute to a better understanding of the slave diet and foodways, as well as how enslaved residents of the haciendas were provisioned and how they provisioned themselves through independent (or semi-autonomous) agricultural practices or market exchange (Muñoz et al. 2014; Muñoz and Weaver 2015).

The paleoethnobotanical analysis accounted for both macro- and microbotanical specimens. A total of 113 soil samples were collected, amounting to about 280 liters, 50% of which has been selected by Muñoz for analysis. The samples extracted were around 2.5 liters apiece, and about 100 seeds were recovered per liter of soil across both sites.

Paleoethnobotanical analysis was very inclusive regarding the different categories of material

which was submitted for analysis, which was not limited to the separation of seeds, but also included a diversity of organic remains, such as vegetative, non-edible organs.

Both light and heavy fractions were analyzed by Muñoz in order to provide a more complete picture of consumptive and agricultural practices, especially given that the high quality of preservation of organic materials is not exclusively due to carbonization, but desiccation due to the extreme aridity of the Nasca region. This was especially true in the case of denser seeds which tended to sink during flotation analysis. Dry sieving, while faster and less expensive, is less accurate in recovering smaller seeds. Flotation is best for recovering smaller seeds (especially those less than 0.5 mm), but more fragile organics tend to disintegrate in solution. For those reasons, a combined approach was adopted.

Durand's methodology for the analysis of zooarchaeological materials aims at measuring the specific variability of the faunal individual assemblages for San Xavier and San Joseph. She identified each sample first by species and then by anatomical region to which the bone belongs (e.g. proximal fragment of left femoral epiphysis). A high degree of specificity in anatomical identification is necessary in order to understand the logic of the process of meat consumption and the process of butchering and dismemberment of the animal. When possible, Durand assessed the age of the animal, as younger animals tend to have more tender meats, and age preference may suggest something about the availability of certain meats. The next step of analysis was to collect data for identifying the taphonomic footprint of the sample, which takes into account anthropogenic marks (such as cut marks), allowing for a reconstruction of the ways animals were processed for human consumption. Thermal alterations are also generated during the preparation of food or the use of discarded bones as fuel, and although it is not always possible to distinguish between such events, correlation with other observations can elucidate the

food preparation process. Other marks and alterations to animal bones can be generated by natural (that is, non-human) causes, and it is important to distinguish between such marks and those which are anthropogenic.

### **Survey of the Hacienda Annex Cores**

While excavations were concentrated at the productive cores of the Jesuit vineyards of San Joseph and San Xavier, the project's scope required the collection of spatial information from the main hacienda complexes as well as the twelve Jesuit-owned annex properties distributed throughout the Rio Grande Drainage (see Figure 5.7). A principal focus of this survey was the mapping and recording of standing and visible architecture, features, and artifact scatter in order to address questions regarding the spatial and material aesthetic conditions of slavery on the Jesuit wine haciendas and how these conditions changed over time. Additionally, since many of these sites have been used continually since the 18th-century Jesuit expulsion, a rudimentary archaeological impact study gauges the amount of disruption subsequent use has caused the historical sites, and to understand this use as part of a larger pattern of late colonial and early republican-era occupation in the valley. The results of this survey are presented and discussed in Chapter 7.

At each annex (Arpicho, Cavella, Coyungo, Gramadal, Lacra, La Ventilla, Llipata, Lucana, Puerto Caballa, San Pablo, Tambo del Inga, and Usaca) my team and I performed a simple inventory survey (Molyneaux 2005:116), which included identifying and walking over the entire core of the annex. This survey did not include the extensive field and irrigation systems associated with the former Jesuit properties, but was limited to the residential and productive core of each annex property, which for most corresponded to areas of modern

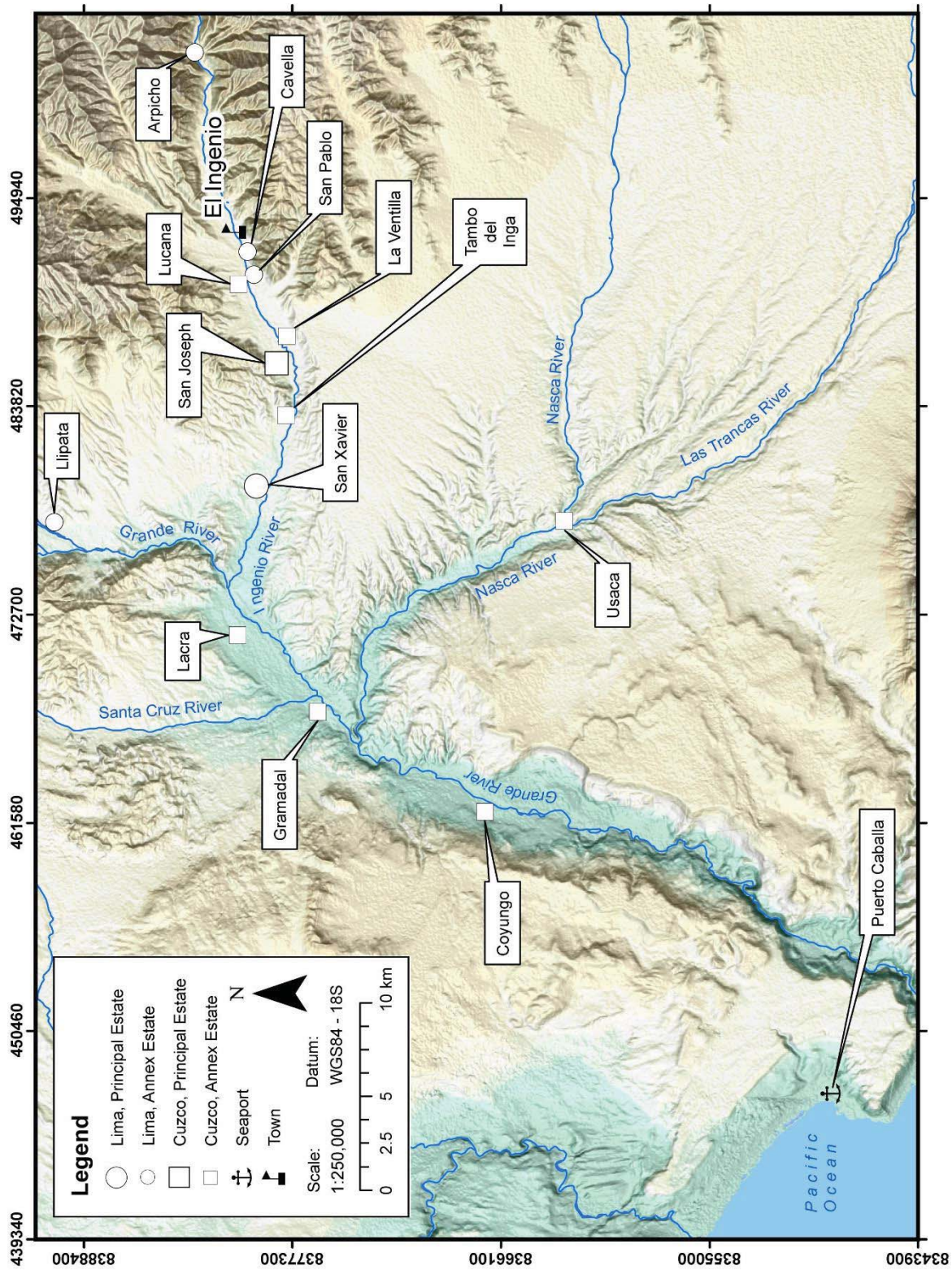


Figure 5.7. Annexes of San Joseph and San Xavier surveyed during the 2012/13 field season.

habitation. Survey forms recorded information regarding the general condition of the historical and archaeological components of each site, and noted the extent and impact of modern development on these resources. The annex sites' relationship with previously recorded pre-Hispanic sites was also noted.

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All historical standing architecture was assessed, photographed, and evaluated with separate registration forms and detailed plan drawings were made of standing structures at the annex sites of Lacra and La Ventilla. General observations were made regarding the presence of superficial archaeological features or surface scatter. The density of scattered artifacts (all diagnostics *and* non-diagnostics) visible on the surface was recorded, but no surface collections were made at the annex sites, with the exception of Puerto Caballa. In place of taking samples, diagnostic artifacts were photographed and GPS points registered the artifacts' locations. The extent of scatter will be measured and the density scored using dog-leash areas (see Wandsnider and Camilli 1992). Before mounting the survey, I acquired and integrated satellite imagery and

cadastral data of the modern field and canal usage into a GIS, and these were augmented in-field using mobile GIS (Tripcevich and Wernke 2010). This information is important for understanding the strategies for farming and managing the valley's limited water, which would have profoundly affected the habitual practices of workers engaged in viticulture.

### **Approximating Hacienda Aesthetics**

In addition to archaeological data collected from survey, geophysical prospection, excavation, and artifact analysis, the documentary record also provides succinct and compatible data in the form of estate inventories. During the Jesuit expulsion, the Crown conducted exhaustive inventories of the hacienda properties, which provide a material record of the haciendas at a key historical moment. Although often underused in archaeological studies (Rodríguez-Alegría 2014), an inventory is similar to an archaeological assemblage, in that the materials listed are coherently compiled into a single registry, which although not necessarily exhaustive, allows for a reconstruction of the relationships between the materials through how they may have been engaged actors in past practices. While the inventories of the Nasca properties offer a succinct record of contemporaneous material culture, they do not provide spatial provenience for the structures they list. However, such documents often follow an internal spatial logic, with few exceptions, listing items near each other which have a proximal relationship in physical space. The archaeological and historical analysis offered in Chapter 8 draws on these inventories in combination with the archaeological record.

These historical and archaeological methods worked together as a strategy aimed at reaching a better understanding of the material conditions of the Jesuit estates of Nasca and their satellite annexes in the Ingenio and Grande River Valleys. Broadly, the use of historical documentation and inventories, archival aerial imagery, walk-over survey, and archaeogeophysical prospection at the

historical domestic and agroindustrial cores of San Joseph and San Xavier allows for a partial reconstruction of the evolution of the haciendas' use of space and the built environment. Similarly, the annex surveys elucidate the material conditions of these annex properties in the past, and integrate an appreciation for the role of these noncontiguous properties in the Jesuit hegemony in the Ingenio and middle and lower Grande Valleys. By placing these material conditions of labor and the daily-lived experience of the enslaved community within the aesthetic field allows for subsequent discussion of the process which produced enslaved subjects and how such material conditions index structures of power and contention. This dissertation aims to approximate and describe, using the available multiple lines of material and historical evidence, the materiality of hacienda agroindustrial production responsible as a medium for generating the distribution of the sensible across the hacienda environment. In so doing, the dialectics of power inherent in enslaved labor become apparent, which operate at the political nexus of contention between the dominant and the multiple potential aesthetico-political regimes for which legitimation is sought.

## CHAPTER VI

### PRESENTATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA I: SURVEY AND EXCAVATIONS AT THE JESUIT HACIENDAS OF NASCA, 2012/13

This chapter presents the results of archaeological fieldwork during the 2012/13 field season at the Jesuit wine haciendas (1619-1767) of Nasca, carried out from November of 2012 through June of 2013. As stated in previous chapters, the intent of this dissertation is to offer a case study of the processes of the construction of slave societies and the building of meaning in the daily experience of enslaved subjects within the coercive structures of estate administration. It contends that within the context of the coercive and totalizing institution of slavery on coastal Jesuit haciendas, enslaved actors engaged in politics at the nexus of top-down and bottom-up processes through a contestation of material aesthetic culture. The archaeological methods described in the previous chapter were aimed at identifying the spatio-material correlates for understanding the quotidian experience of enslaved laborers on the estates. These data are diachronic – the quotidian experience at the Jesuit-era haciendas is brought into relief through an understanding of how the use of space changed during the Jesuits' tenure in the valley, as well as the transformations that occurred in the post-Jesuit Crown and early republican eras. Understanding the materiality of the daily experiences of the enslaved population and the materiality of the productive system is crucial to an understanding of the aesthetico-political regime. My strategy targets this materiality of production and the lived experience synchronically, at any one moment, but also consider how contestation and disagreement transformed the distribution of the sensible over time. Both approaches aim to elucidate the processes involved in making enslaved subjects and how these subjects themselves manufactured meaning, thus offering alternatives to dominant hacienda aesthetics.



The data domain of this project is multi-scalar in nature. This dissertation examines hacienda aesthetics in spaces from the microscopic scale of the excavation unit, the scale of the residential and productive hacienda nucleus, and the drainage-wide hacienda “system” of non-contiguous properties. This chapter is divided into three sections that each present archaeological data from a specific domain. The first describes the major historical above-surface resources of the residential and productive cores of San Joseph and San Xavier, including architecture, archaeological features, and artifact scatter. This section is followed by a presentation of the findings from the archaeogeophysical surveys of the sites of the cores of both estates. Lastly, I summarize the contexts and major findings from the excavations at both San Joseph and San Xavier. In the next chapter, I present summaries and discussion of the surveys of the Jesuit-era annexes of San Joseph and San Xavier.

### **Surficial Remains at San Joseph de la Nasca**

As stated in Chapter 5, the towns of San José and San Javier overlay the historical ruins of the Jesuit and post-Jesuit haciendas of San Joseph and San Xavier, and rapid and unplanned growth at both towns has significantly altered the disposition of their historical and archaeological records. This section describes the major extant historical spaces, architecture, surface features, and artifact scatter belonging to the site of San Joseph. These features include the Jesuit chapel, a large botija midden and production area at the eastern extension of the historical hacienda core, features of the ex-casa hacienda, and a retention wall and midden located north of the Jesuit chapel.

### *Jesuit Chapel*

Much like the Jesuit chapel of San Francisco Xavier, the chapel of the Hacienda San Joseph de la Nasca is ruinous and in urgent need of intervention and stabilization (see Figure 6.1). The Jesuit chapel of San Joseph was constructed between 1740 and 1744, and like its counterpart in San Javier, it is the only surviving standing structure from the Jesuit era (1657-1767) in the modern town of San José. The church<sup>1</sup> features an ornate baroque façade with two belfry towers and a brick paved atrium, but unlike at San Xavier, the atrium of San Joseph was raised with six steps up to the platform that gives entrance to the church through its main doorway (*puerta mayor*). Measuring approximately 44 m, the church of San Joseph is longer than its San Xavier counterpart. The church also departs from the cruciform plan of San Xavier. There is a baptistery directly off of the nave, to the south of the entrance. The sacristy is located off of the chancel, to the north, and the countersacristy is at the rear of the structure, behind the chancel. The church also features a crypt with an ossuary below the nave.

<sup>1</sup> Negro (2004: 46-51) offers a detailed architectural description of the church.



Figure 6.1. Baroque façade of the Jesuit chapel of San Joseph, completed in 1744.

### *Botija Midden and Production Area*

Directly to the east of the modern town of San José is a large prominence with a flattened hilltop. This area contains an extensive (nearly 6 ha) botija midden and production area. The midden forms an irregular space measuring as long as 110 m between the eastern edge of the town, to the west, and the old reservoir, to the east, and 70 m across at the midden's widest point, between the road to El Ingenio and the ridge overlooking the valley's fields. Local farmers currently use the western portion of this area for animal (mostly pig) corrals and have constructed a series of temporary structures, including pit latrines. Just east of these corrals are a series of low 19<sup>th</sup> century adobe foundations and a very large amount of archaeological surface scatter, including serving wares from 17<sup>th</sup> century majolica to 19<sup>th</sup> century whitewares. Most abundant are slag and vitrified adobe refuse and large botija sherds. The archaeogeophysical

survey of this area (see description of Geophysical Zone 2, below) identified a number of anthropogenic subsurface features that are likely related to the industrial botija production from the 17<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Just to the north of this flattened area is an eroded ridge over which potentially hundreds of thousands of very large botija sherds and mostly whole vessels have been dumped along with modern trash (see Figure 6.2). This area represents an important resource for the archaeological understanding of colonial and early republican botija production, but it is in imminent danger from incursions. The northern portion of this area, near the road that crosses between the Panamerican Highway and the town of El Ingenio, is in the vicinity of a pre-Hispanic (Nasca) settlement and cemetery, which itself has been extensively disturbed by looters.



Figure 6.2. Botija midden at eastern extent of the site of San Joseph de la Nasca.

### *The Casa Hacienda*

The ex-casa hacienda of San Joseph is currently the residence of a descendant of the last hacendado at San José. While the house has not been partitioned into apartments as has the house at San Javier, there have been numerous structural remodeling events in the last three centuries. The current owner of the property resides in the southern portion of the house. The northern section of the house is dominated by a large open courtyard where Unit 10 was excavated. North of the courtyard is an early 20<sup>th</sup> century industrial facility related to the estate's now-defunct cotton gin, and north and east of this area are sheds and workshops where tools and crops were stored during the time of the 20<sup>th</sup> century hacienda and the short-lived cooperative in the years after the agrarian reforms.

The house's arcade is located along its eastern elevation, facing the old Jesuit plaza (see Figure 6.3). The arcade is 38.5 m long and features 15 round wooden columns, spaced 3.5 m from the house's façade and about 2.25 m apart with wood framed, plastered arches between the columns. This arcade probably adorns the oldest part of the residence, although the age of the columns themselves, while certainly either very early republican or late colonial, may not date to the Jesuit administration of the hacienda (prior to 1767).



Figure 6.3. Arcade of the ex-casa hacienda at San Joseph.

### *Retention Wall and Midden*

Immediately north of the Jesuit church is a retention wall that holds back the natural hill upon which the northern residential complexes of the modern community of San José are situated (see Figure 6.4). The wall measures about 6 m from its eastern terminus alongside the outer walls of the sacristy to its western extension directly southeast of a children's playground. The wall has colonial stone foundations, but has been repaired many times. In the uppermost areas of the retention wall, where stones are missing, a stratified midden can clearly be identified. Excavations of Units 8 and 9 in the area north of the retention wall clearly demonstrated the continuation of the stratified contexts north along the hilltop, as well as its western slope.



Figure 6.4. Detail of midden and retention wall at San Joseph, north of the Jesuit chapel.

### **Surficial Remains at San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca**

As at San José, very little remains of the colonial and early republican hacienda architecture apart from the Jesuit chapel and elements of the ex-casa hacienda located on a portion of the preserved hacienda plaza. Still, like at San José, some additional elements remain as above-surface historical resources located throughout the modern town of San Javier, which roughly corresponds to the historical hacienda core. Below I describe these features, including the Jesuit chapel, a botija kiln complex southwest of the town, the northern hacienda wall, remnants of a colonial wall at the enclosed sports court, the eastern and western Jesuit-era hacienda gates, elements of the ex-casa hacienda, and winery equipment.

#### *Jesuit Chapel*

Although it is in a relict state, the Jesuit chapel, constructed between 1740 and 1745 at the site of the Hacienda San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca, is the only surviving building from the

Jesuit era (1657-1767) in the modern town of San Javier (see Figure 6.5). The chapel<sup>2</sup> features an ornate baroque façade with two belfry towers and a brick paved atrium. The cruciform plan of the church consists of a long (35 m) nave with both a sacristy and a counter-sacristy. The sacristy has a domed ceiling and the upper walls feature elaborate frescos depicting the four evangelists. The church also features a crypt located below the chancel.



Figure 6.5. Baroque façade of the Jesuit chapel of San Xavier, completed in 1745.

<sup>2</sup> A detailed architectural description of the chapel is offered by Negro (2005: 481-485).



### *Botija Kiln Complex*

Located in the northwest corner of a field directly southwest of the modern settlement of San Javier are the extant remains of ceramic kilns used to fire botijas during the colonial and early republican occupations of the estate (see Figure 6.6). This complex is clearly visible in the 1944 aerial photography by the Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional (SAN); however, since that time the area has been disturbed by heavy agricultural machinery and was reduced to its present dimensions (see Figure 6.7). The complex measures roughly 45 m (east-west) by 25 m (north-south) and covers approximately 830 m<sup>2</sup>. The area consists of the circular remains of a kiln and the mounded refuse and waste from botija production, including large numbers of botija sherds from wasters. The extant portion of the kiln measures roughly 5 m in diameter.



Figure 6.6. Surficial remains of a botija kiln complex in the southwestern sector of the site of San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca.

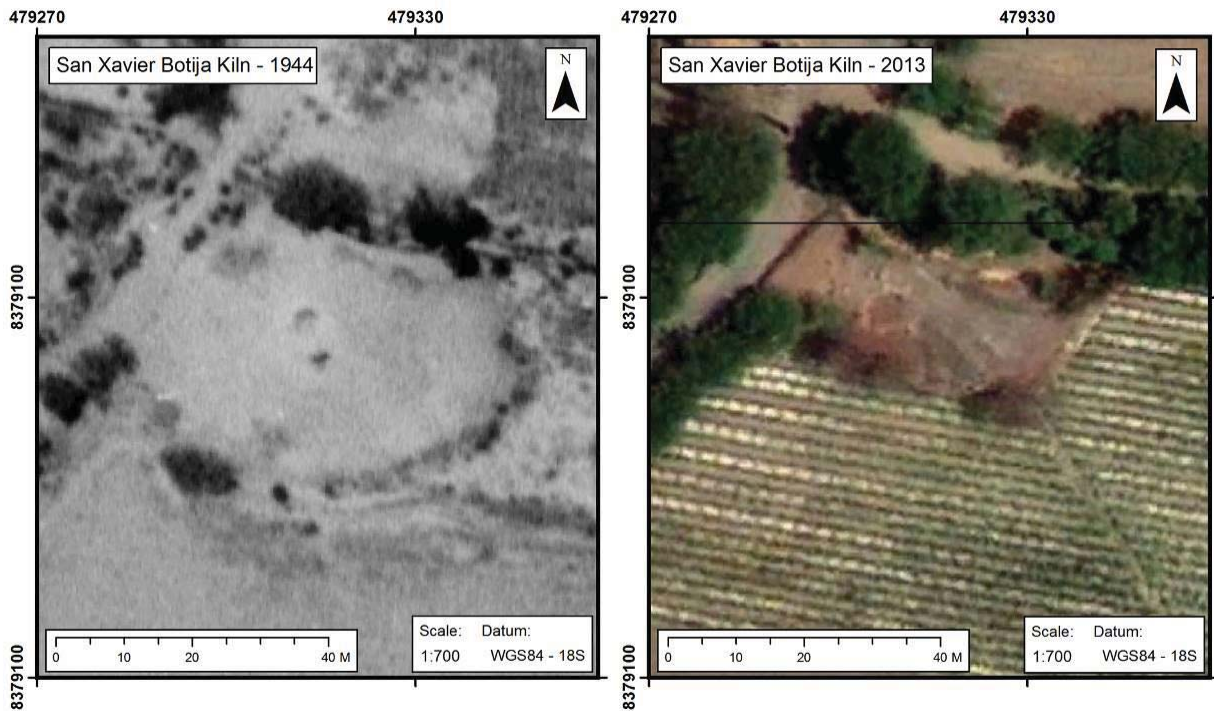


Figure 6.7. Left: SAN aerial photograph of botija kiln complex at San Xavier in 1944. Right: Satellite image of botija kiln complex at San Xavier in 2013. Note the encroachment of the field upon the ruins.

### *Northern Hacienda Wall*

The extant base of a brick and calicanto wall is located at the northern extreme of the modern community of San Javier, along the west side of the dirt road leading to town from the paved access between San Javier and the Panamerican Highway (see Figure 6.8). The wall is made of red fired bricks and calicanto which is consistent with 18<sup>th</sup> century construction techniques, and the bricks are similar to those of the Jesuit chapel. Each brick measures about 37 cm by 18.5 cm by 9 cm. The extant portion of the wall itself is about 165 cm in width and 260 cm in length, and 55 cm of the wall is exposed above the surface. Portions of the wall are coated in plaster. A local resident remembers the wall once stretched about 5 m to the south and another 6 m to the northwest, forming a corner near the extant segment. In recent years, residents have

removed larger portions of this wall and moved the fragments to the south of the community soccer field. Identified near the brick wall was an artifact scatter that included glass, whiteware with an annular cobalt decoration (post-1820s), and several botija sherds.



Figure 6.8. Northern hacienda wall at San Xavier. A: extant corner of brick and lime wall. B: portions of the northern hacienda wall that have been hauled to the area south of the community soccer field.

### *Wall Remnant in Sports Court*

Within the enclosed paved community sports court at San Javier, there is an extant brick wall remnant running along (and under) the northern half of the complex's eastern wall (see Figure 6.9). Oriented to  $6^{\circ}$  west of north, the extant segment is about 21 m long and seems to correspond to a structure of unknown function visible in the 1944 aerial images taken by the SAN. The remnant wall appears to be the western wall of a semicircular (12 m diameter) structure visible in the aerial image to which rectangular rooms (about 7 m by 5 m) were conjoined to both the north and south. The extant portion of the wall divided the semicircular chamber from a rectangular construction (measuring about 4 m by 21 m), that seems to have been subdivided into six compartments, each less than 4 m long.



Figure 6.9. Remnant brick and lime hacienda wall within the enclosed paved community sports court at San Javier.

While the wall segment is the only extant portion of this structure visible above the surface, and this area has not yet been tested with archaeological excavation, it is possible that this structural feature either relates to wine and brandy producing architecture or to a ceramics kiln complex. Regardless of the function of the structure, it is clear from observations that the construction made use of fired bricks cemented with calicanto; the construction appears to be late colonial or early republican in origin.

### *Jesuit Gates*

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the area surrounding the Jesuit plaza at San Xavier would have been flanked by important domestic and productive architecture, and grand gateways would have led from the surrounding fields into this space. Two examples of such gateways remain at the site, to

both the east and west of the plaza area. Both gates are in a direct line of sight and would have constituted the formal entry ways to the plaza area and the productive and residential nucleus of the estate.

The East Gate spans a narrow dirt road running from the old plaza area eastward, between the eastern residential sector of the modern community of San Javier and the fields to the south (see Figure 6.10). The gate consists of two brick columns, with 1 m<sup>2</sup> bases, that support a huarango lintel. The gate was originally topped with a painted plaster statue of St. Francis Xavier that was damaged in the earthquake of 1996. The entire portal measures about 5 m across and the passage between the columns is about 3 m wide. The passageway is approximately 4 m tall, and the wall above the lintel extends another 1.3 m, with the tops of the decorative pyramidal finials reaching nearly 6 m above the ground. The gate would have originally been fitted with wooden doors that opened toward the east.

Much of the structural brick is still coated with a yellowish cream-colored plaster, and molded details above the lintel are painted red. A scalloped edge molding detail on the plaster covered wall connects the gate to an adobe structure to the immediate north. At some period after the 1940s the structure to the immediate south of the East Gate was leveled.

The West Gate is located about 112.5 m west of the East Gate and is integrated into the Jesuit church's architecture, physically linking the church and the western portion of the ex-casa hacienda (see Figure 6.11). The gate is integral with a plastered brick wall, constructed of the same type of fired bricks used in the construction of the Jesuit church. This wall measures about 8.7 m long and is about 1.6 m thick. The original passage was topped with a rounded bell arch, in contrast to the simple lintel of the East Gate. Facing west, the ornate façade reveals baroque elements including molded plaster details. Above the arch is a shell-headed niche containing a



Figure 6.10. Western face of the Jesuit East Gate at San Xavier.



Figure 6.11. Western face of the Jesuit West Gate at San Xavier.

plaster statue, presumably of St. Francis Xavier, and is flanked by a broken pediment. The main door has been removed and the archway has been infilled with modern adobes.

### *Material and Architectural Features of the Casa Hacienda*

The ex-casa hacienda of San Xavier is currently a multifamily complex that has seen many remodels and modifications since it served as the administrative seat and residence of the Jesuit administrator. Most of what exists today can clearly be traced to 20<sup>th</sup> century construction projects that linked outbuildings and residences into a large multipurpose structure that was subdivided into individual apartments at the time of the Velasco government's agrarian reforms. The oldest part of the ex-casa hacienda is located around the southern and western portions of the complex, near the Jesuit chapel and the gardens north of the Jesuit plaza. The one-story building is "L"-shaped in plan, and is topped with a flat roof. Although a detailed historical architectural survey fell outside of the purview of this project, it is likely that some of these walls or the foundations of walls may date to the 18<sup>th</sup> century and to the time of the Jesuit administration, although it is clear that the house has been significantly modified by subsequent occupants and that very little remains of the Jesuit architecture. In particular, the bases of many of these walls consist of fired brick, while the upper portions have been repaired with adobes.

There are, however, several features and pieces of material culture that are particularly noteworthy. These features are all located near the arcade stretching the full-width of the eastern and southern elevations of the ex-casa hacienda, along the interior of the ell, and facing the garden. The arcade itself has probably been remodeled several times, and renovations include: a polished concrete floor, replacement roofing, and the redress of columns and arches (see Figure

6.12). However, the overall form and structure of the arcade likely dates to the original iteration of the house. The arcade roof is supported by 12 columns, forming an arched colonnade.

In front of the western corridor of the arcade are four large *tinajas* that were used during the time of the colonial and early republican estates to hold wine during the fermentation process (see Figure 6.13). Today the vessels serve as decorations and have been cemented into the floor of the arcade, outside of the arches. The vessel farthest to the south is the largest of the four, and likely the oldest; it bears an inscribed date of 1762, placing its origin late within the tenure of the Jesuit administration at San Xavier. The other three *tinajas* probably date to the early-to-mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and are all of a similar style. Of these three, the neck and rim of one *tinaja* is non-extant, however the other two have digitally notched everted rims.



Figure 6.12. Interior of arcade at the ex-casa hacienda at San Xavier, facing south toward the Jesuit chapel.



A huarango *husillo*, a large wooden screw, has been attached to the left-hand side of the southern elevation of the arcade as a decorative feature (see Figure 6.13). The husillo has been preserved in this way, but prior to the estate abandoning wine production at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this large screw would have operated in one of the hacienda's lagares in order to raise and lower long wooden beams that applied pressure to the press, crushing the grapes into the must that would eventually be produced into wine and brandy. The husillo measures roughly 4.2 m in height.



Figure 6.13. A: Lagar husillo attached to façade of San Xavier's ex-casa hacienda as a decorative element. B: Four tinajas cemented within the arcade of San Xavier's ex-casa hacienda. C: One of two lagar vigas located south of the Jesuit chapel at San Xavier.

### *Huarango Vigas*

Along the southern elevation of the Jesuit chapel are two *huarango viga*s (beams) that were used with an *husillo*, or large wooden screw, for pressing grapes in a *lagar* (see Figure 6.13). The beams measure 9.3 m and 10.5 m long. Both are forked at one end, and the longer of the two retains a central plank attached with heavy iron nails between the tines. The plank has a threaded hole that would have turned along the grooves of the *husillo*. The beam closest to the church has an inscription which gives provenience and context:

S JOSEPH  
THOMAS DE ZEPEDA MESECH  
ANO [1]732

If the inscription is taken at face value, the beams were apparently fashioned by the carpenter Thomas de Zepeda in 1732 for use on the Hacienda San Joseph de la Nasca, and at some later point were brought to San Xavier. Since both estates were managed by the same institutions and families from the time of the Jesuit expulsion until the agrarian reforms, this could have been at any point between the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and the 1970s, although it is very likely that they were brought to San Xavier prior to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as cotton became more important than viticulture for the estate by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Geophysical Survey of the Site of San Joseph de la Nasca**

At both sites of San Joseph and San Xavier, archaeogeophysical survey targeted at remaining open spaces aided in the definition of past configurations of spaces and the identification of subsurface features. Electromagnetic conductivity, magnetic susceptibility, and magnetometry were employed to assess possible subsurface depositions and identify activity areas to be targeted for excavations, but also to detect larger use patterns across the sites that

were not visible on the surface. At San Joseph a total of 2,296 m<sup>2</sup> were surveyed across three geophysical zones that covered the hacienda plaza area, a north-south street running alongside modern residential and agricultural areas, and an area identified by surface material as an historical productive sector. The results of this survey are described below by zone (see also Appendix C for interpretive maps and geophysical data).

### *Zone 1*

The first zone surveyed with geophysical instruments at San Joseph consisted of a grid encompassing 1198 m<sup>2</sup> in the old Jesuit plaza, and aligned at 335°. The gridded area followed the irregular shape of the plaza and the area adjacent to the north of the Jesuit chapel. The geophysical zone's southern extent projected from the western flank of the new chapel of San José, capturing an area stretching 16 m west of the chapel. Zone 1 was flanked along its western boundary by the ex-casa hacienda and its associated workshops and storage sheds, and on the east by the enclosed sports court and the Jesuit chapel. To its northern extreme the survey area spanned the distance from the modern playground south of the modern plaza toward the area between the northern elevation of the Jesuit chapel and the retention wall that abuts the first of the modern residential complexes.

Due to the positioning of the historic chapel and the casa hacienda, it was expected that the plaza area would have been vacant during the colonial and early Republican periods, with the majority of the structural infrastructure being located on the plaza's margins. The geophysical survey seems to support this hypothesis. No significant anomalies were identified using the geophysical instrumentation in the southern portion of Zone 1 at San Joseph. However, in the northern portion of the survey area, several linear anomalies were encountered. One such

anomaly runs from near the rear of the Jesuit chapel to the northernmost structure attached to the ex-casa hacienda complex. The anomaly is evident in all three (electromagnetic conductivity, gradiometry, and magnetic susceptibility) data sets, but it seems mostly likely to be a buried pipe or modern wire. Near the northeast corner of the gridded zone, in the vicinity of the modern playground and just south of the modern plaza, a series of linear anomalies was identified, and appear to represent buried walls. Excavation of Unit 9 in this vicinity demonstrated that at least one of these anomalies was in fact a 17<sup>th</sup> century wall.

### *Zone 2*

The second geophysical zone at San Joseph consisted of two gridded areas, together totaling 598 m<sup>2</sup>, placed on the flattened crest of a hill at the eastern end of the modern town of San José, near the open botija midden. The first grid measured 18 m by 20 m (360 m<sup>2</sup>), and was oriented to 342°. It partially covered a low adobe wall remnant (possibly dating to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century), forming the outline of a quadrangular structure. The second grid was located at a distance of about 16.5 m from the first, and measured 17 m by 14 m (238 m<sup>2</sup>). This grid was oriented to 5°, and covered a flattened prominence east of a modern animal corral.

Because of the large numbers of broken and discarded botijas and the quantity of slag and vitrified adobes in this part of site, this area may have served in the production of these vessels. While the rectilinear adobe foundations encountered on the surface near the first geophysical grid do not appear to have been part of a kiln infrastructure, it is expected that there may be subterranean evidence for such production facilities in this area.

The geophysical survey results from the first grid clearly identified the outline of the adobe structure foundation, but also identified a number of linear anomalies that crisscross the

southern and eastern foundation walls. Because excavations were not conducted within this zone, it can only be speculated that these anomalies might be remnant walls from an earlier structure. The results from the second grid clearly show four linear anomalies that seem to represent the four walls of a rectilinear structure. It is hoped that testing via archaeological excavations in future field seasons of PAHN will be able to determine the validity of that hypothesis.

### *Zone 3*

The third geophysical survey zone at San Joseph stretched 120 m following a 339° orientation along the informal dirt road stretching from between the complex of modern residences at the southern extent of the town and a modern field and to the north between the second and third modern residential complexes. The zone covered a total of 500 m<sup>2</sup>. As can be noted on the map, the gridded area was tapered as the geophysical equipment approached the northern portion of the road, due to the narrowing of the street. The first 60 m of the grid was 5 m across, the next 20 m was 4 m, and the last 40 m was 3 m.

This area was selected as a candidate for geophysical survey because the street represents one of the few remaining long tracts of open space in the town of San José. Residents remember a brick building in the vicinity of the southern portion of Zone 3 in the 1940s, however the survey failed to identify any anomalies that might correspond to such a structure. In fact, the geophysical data was inconclusive and did not identify any anomalies suggesting structural elements buried beneath the surface of the street.

## **Geophysical Survey of the Site of San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca**

Eight geophysical zones totaling 7,093 m<sup>2</sup> were surveyed at San Xavier. As at San Joseph, electromagnetic conductivity, magnetic susceptibility, and magnetometry were deployed in an attempted to cover as much of the historical domestic and productive core of the former estate as possible. These zones covered areas to the west and south of the Jesuit chapel, the western portion of the hacienda plaza, the principal north-south street near the hacienda core, an area south of the eastern Jesuit gate, and the eastern, western, and northern extremes of the hacienda core.

### *Zone 1*

The first geophysical zone at San Xavier was placed south of the Jesuit chapel at the western extreme of the field directly south of the historic plaza. The grid comprised 2300 m<sup>2</sup> of a prickly pear field and orange grove. At its greatest extent the zone measured 80 m long and 40 m wide, however, at its northern limit the grid tapered down to 30 m wide. The zone was aligned along the cardinal axis.

The 1944 SAN aerial photography shows a series of structures located in the vicinity of Geophysical Zone 1. South of the church was a long rectangular structure (roughly 30 m long north/south and 8 m wide), with several associated outbuildings and a rectangular walled enclosure (about 25 m on each side), perhaps a corral, adjacent to the south. The geophysical survey of this area, which is now farmed, was intended to investigate the possibility that any of these structures might have extant subsurface remains. The fact that the area at the time of the survey was used as an orchard and for the cultivation of prickly pear cacti, presented several methodological problems for the use of geophysical survey equipment, especially the use of the

electromagnetic conductivity/susceptibility meter (EM), which must be dragged across the surface of the ground. Therefore, testing of this area was limited to the use of the magnetometer.

Findings were inconclusive as to whether any subsurface remains exist relating to those structural features identified in the SAN aerial imagery as the data sets for the northern portion of the zone did not yield any anomalies. However, several anomalies were detected in the southern region of the zone. A circular feature was identified that is potentially 10 m in diameter. The circular pattern was surrounded by three strong dipolar anomalies. The signature of these anomalies is consistent with expectations for either a ceramics kiln or a lagar for pressing grapes, as both would require a large bricked structure, and locally both wine presses and botija kilns tend to be circular in form. It is most likely that the feature represents the subsurface remains of a kiln as the vitrified and escoriated material associated with a kiln might appear in the gradiometry data as large dipolar anomalies. Just north of these features several fragmentary linear anomalies were encountered that could prove to be wall foundations. Five of the linear anomalies have a range toward the northeast between 60° and 70° and one is oriented toward the southeast at 118°.

## *Zone 2*

The second zone surveyed with geophysical instruments at San Xavier was located on a flat, cleared area along the northern perimeter of the property south of the historic plaza area, adjacent to the extant (eastern) Jesuit gate and across the dirt road from a row of modern residences. The zone encompassed 1100 m<sup>2</sup> and was oriented at 315°. While the majority of the gridded area covered the cleared space that the landowners used as a threshing floor and for

storage of building material, such as bricks, a small portion extending to the southern and eastern corners covered the adjacent field.

The SAN imagery clearly shows several structures that were likely constructed as worker housing, and mirrored the still-extant structures on the north side of the old Jesuit gate.

Measuring using the SAN imagery, these structures to the south of the gate covered an area of roughly 25 m by 39 m, which more or less conforms to the flattened informal threshing floor.

The archaeogeophysical survey of this zone was intended to test if any structural remnants or features of these structures, or earlier structures, remain below the surface.

The geophysical data did reveal several linear subsurface anomalies that may be related to the structures seen on the aerial photography from 1944. Three linear anomalies were detected along the surface of the threshing floor that have a roughly north/south orientation, and a set of three other anomalous segments intersect one of these at near 90° angles, forming a rectilinear anomaly (about 5 m on each side) that may represent the foundation of a structure or room. Additionally, two parallel linear anomalies, oriented to about 26° to the east, were identified in the southern portion of the zone, one of which intersects both the threshing floor and the adjacent field to the east. These last features could be related to earlier, pre-20<sup>th</sup> century, constructions.

### *Zone 3*

Geophysical Zone 3 was placed at the Jesuit plaza and covered 1108 m<sup>2</sup>. The grid was oriented to the cardinal directions and was flanked to the west by the Jesuit chapel, to the north by the ex-casa hacienda, and to the east by the modern residence in the old electric motor house. In addition to covering the old hacienda plaza, a 20 m by 6 m extension passed over the corridor between the chapel and the ex-casa hacienda.



Like colonial town squares, hacienda plazas were the focal points of activity, and were surrounded by important infrastructure, such as the chapel and the casa hacienda. While these spaces themselves were often kept clean and clear of structures, they are important spaces for archaeological inquiry as subsurface features might provide clues to the evolution of these spaces or reveal what types of activities occurred within or around such plazas. The space has undoubtable changed its configuration many times since the early Jesuit period. For example, in the 1940s, as evidenced by the SAN imagery, the former Jesuit plaza had a quadripartite garden that residents remember was planted with orange trees. Also in the early-to-mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, a concrete water tower and electric motor house were erected at the western flank of the garden, thus making the plaza space smaller. The survey of Zone 3 was intended to test for earlier phases of construction or subsurface depositions that might help elucidate how the plaza space was used in the past.

The geophysical survey identified a rectilinear anomaly located about 14 m from the façade of the Jesuit chapel, more or less centrally positioned in the plaza. The feature measures roughly 5 m by 10 m, and has a 35° orientation, compared to the present north/south orientation of the casa hacienda, 18<sup>th</sup> C Jesuit chapel, and modern town. Excavation of Unit 5 confirmed that this anomaly was a brick structure which pre-dated the construction of the Jesuit chapel in the 1740s. A second unidentified anomalous feature, in the form of a nearly 2 m wide linear feature with a north/south orientation, was detected in the space north of the chapel's sacristy and south of the modern residential space of the casa hacienda complex.

#### *Zone 4*

The fourth geophysical zone at San Xavier consisted of seven grids (labeled A-G) covering 505 m<sup>2</sup> along the dirt road running to the west, south, and east of the Jesuit chapel and plaza area. Grid A was a 4 m by 20 m grid aligned north/south along the road east of the Jesuit plaza. Grid B was a 20 m by 4 m grid aligned east/west at 88° south of the Jesuit plaza, and Grid C was contiguous to the west and extended another 10 m. Grid D, another 20 m by 4 m grid, was placed 17 m west of Grid C and was aligned east/west at 82°. Three meters separated Grid D from Grid E, located directly south of the old Jesuit chapel's countersacristy. Grid E measured 15m by 4 m, and was oriented east/west at 85°. Grid F was located at a distance of 2 m north of Grid E and directly west of the rear elevation of the Jesuit chapel. The grid measured 5 m by 17 m and was oriented north/south at 354°. Grid G was located along the dirt path to the west of the ruinous concrete platform behind the chapel. The southeast corner of Grid G was exactly 1 m west of the 12 m mark of Grid F, and was oriented north/south at 346°.

While today the spaces surveyed in this zone are used as roads surrounding the Jesuit chapel and plaza, in the past, Grids A, B, and C would have been part of a larger, more expansive plaza. Additionally, Grids D and E would have covered the space between the chapel and a potential agroindustrial area, as evidenced by structures identified on the 1944 SAN aerial imagery. The purpose of the survey in this zone was to identify potential areas of activity that might suggest how the space surrounding the plaza was utilized in the past and how the use of this space has changed through time.

Linear anomalies were detected in Grids D, F, and G, and each of these instances may represent buried wall foundations. Five linear anomalies were detected in Grid D, just south of the Jesuit chapel; one of these had an orientation of about 35°, and the other four were near

perpendicular with orientations toward the southeast ranging from 115° to 125°. If these anomalies prove to be structural remains, like those in Zone 2, it is very likely they represent constructions predating the chapel, as they maintain a distinct orientation from the town's current north/south axis of configuration. Similarly, the rectilinear anomalies detected in Grids F and G behind the church have a 38° orientation, and may belong to the same phase of settlement. Grid F has a pair of rectilinear features and Grid G has a linear anomaly consisting of two parallel lines and perpendicular segment with a 32° orientation connecting the two, as if it were the base of an internal wall. If the anomalies in Grids F and G prove to be structural, it would follow that they predate the chapel, as one anomaly in Grid F seems to be the corner of a large rectilinear structure which is clipped by the rear wall of the church.

#### *Zone 5*

Geophysical Zone 5 was situated at the western extreme of the modern town of San Javier, and at what was also likely the western frontier of the productive and residential core of the Hacienda San Xavier. The grid, which covered 300 m<sup>2</sup>, was 'L' shaped, extending from its southwest corner 20 m to both the north and east, lacking its northeast quadrant and thus failing to complete the square due to its proximity to the road and field beyond. The grid was aligned to 1°.

The area near Zone 5 is one of the sectors of the site of the Hacienda San Xavier de la Nasca that is most endangered by the growth of the modern town of San Javier. At the time of the survey, trenches for the foundations of a new house had been opened, revealing soils with brick fragments, vitrified brick and adobe along with large fragments of slag, and large botija and setter sherds. Such material are interpreted as evidence for botija kilns. Zone 5, an area

adjacent to the southeast of the new construction, was selected as a test for related subsurface features.

Because the power lines for the community run alongside the road to which the geophysical grid was adjacent, some the resulting remote sensing imagery, particularly in the northeastern portion of the zone, were distorted. Nonetheless, a series of linear anomalies were detected running parallel and perpendicular to the road. A circular anomaly (about 10 m in diameter) was also identified in the southwestern portion of the grid. The latter feature could represent a kiln, especially given the material culture identified in the house foundations adjacent to the geophysical zone, however, this hypothesis would have to be tested in the future through excavation.

#### *Zone 6*

As Zone 4 demonstrated, the unpaved streets of the modern town of San Javier offered open spaces with which the geophysical instruments could be employed to seek out subterranean features. Geophysical Zone 6 was divided into two segments, one of which was located along the street east of the extant Jesuit gate, and the other along the north-south street in front of the access road to the farmstead. In total, Zone 6 covered 680 m<sup>2</sup>. The first segment consisted of two contiguous grids measuring 20 m by 4 m, beginning under the Jesuit gate and running east at 82°. The second segment consisted of a 9 m by 20 m grid, oriented toward the north at 356°, followed from the northwest corner of the grid by three contiguous grids of 5 m by 20 m, and finally, by a 4 m by 20 m grid.

The geophysical results of the first segment of Zone 6 did not yield any anomalous signals other than the presence of a buried pipe or wire in the far eastern portion of the grid. This

is suggestive of the long duration for which the area east of the old Jesuit gate was a path or road leading to the estate. The second segment, however, yielded several anomalies that may be indicative of structural elements including wall foundations. In the southern extent of the zone, directly west of the Jesuit gate, five linear anomalies were identified that intersected perpendicularly and might represent the subsurface foundations of a structure. Taken together, this possible rectilinear structure had a 35° orientation, matching the alignment of the structure identified in the former Jesuit plaza and the linear segments found in Zones 2 and 4. Unfortunately, a large metal trailer parked alongside the road toward the northern extent of the zone and the power lines running along the perpendicular road just north of the zone distorted the northern portion of the data sets.

### *Zone 7*

The seventh zone surveyed at San Xavier was located in an open space northwest of the compound of the casa hacienda. The grid was 15 m by 20 m (300 m<sup>2</sup>) oriented to 349°. Zone 7 was placed over an area where a canal and the remnants of a wall constructed of concrete posts run adjacent to the casa hacienda complex. It was positioned in this location with the intention of testing for subsurface features that might be related to the use of this area as a frontier or boundary for the colonial and early Republican era hacienda's residential and productive core. However, the geophysical results did not allow for the identification of any other features besides the canal and concrete wall.

## *Zone 8*

Geophysical Zone 8 at San Xavier consisted of two gridded segments, totaling 800 m<sup>2</sup>, located in a northeastern area of the hacienda's historical productive and residential core, in a field belonging to a San Javier resident. The first segment was a 20 m by 10 m grid that was oriented to 292°. The second gridded segment measured 40 m by 20 m aligned to 285°.

Using the SAN aerial imagery, several structures were identified that were present in this area in 1944. Because these structures are no longer standing, archaeogeophysical survey was employed as a means to detect any extant subsurface features that may have been associated with the earlier occupation. A number of linear anomalies were detected in each grid that suggest that the geophysical survey did locate the foundations of the structures that were present in the 1940s. While time constraints did not allow for the testing of this area through excavation, future field seasons will provide an opportunity to excavate these structures.

## **Excavations at San Joseph de la Nasca**

At both the sites of San Joseph and San Xavier, excavation was prioritized by the results of the archaeogeophysics as well as the identification of areas of interest from extant surface features and consultation of historical aerial imagery. As discussed in the previous chapter, clearing excavations or trenches were not possible at either San Joseph or San Xavier, because of the fact that both sites are today modern communities. In place of large areal excavations, which might be appropriate at sites with substantial open spaces or within standing architecture, smaller test excavations were planned in combination with archaeogeophysical survey in order to sample a diversity of areas and to access past uses of space across the haciendas' cores. Due to the presence of deeply stratified subsurface depositions, this strategy offered a high degree of control

over temporal provenience of contexts and allowed for the sampling of diverse space across both sites. Excavation was aimed at better understanding the use of space across the haciendas' environments, as well as accessing the widest possible range of activity areas in order to offer a partial reconstruction of quotidian activities. At San Joseph six contexts (Units 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, and 10) were excavated, totaling 19 m<sup>2</sup> of surface coverage. The results of these excavations and important contexts identified in each are discussed below (see also Appendices D, E, and F).

### *Unit 1*

The area south of the chapel ruins at San José is currently occupied with homes that have only been re-occupied by residents within the past few years (see Figure 6.14). During the time of the colonial and early republican hacienda, this sector was likely an important area of activity due to its proximity to the Jesuit chapel and its location on the plaza. Excavations in and around these structures would allow for a better definition of the types of activities carried out in this sector of the site and potentially elucidate aspects of the daily lives of the workers and enslaved residents of the Jesuit estate. At the time of visit to the town of San José in 2010, I found these structures were mostly abandoned and consisted of a complex that covered about one urban block (approximately 845 m<sup>2</sup>). In 2010, the complex was two-storied and unroofed. According to local residents, the extant structures were built in the early twentieth century, and older residents remember them as worker housing prior to the construction of the housing complexes north of the Jesuit chapel, likely built in the 1950s. When I arrived to begin fieldwork in 2012, I found that community members had reoccupied these structures and had begun renovations and improvements. The current owners have removed the adobe walls of the second floor and have begun to remodel the homes as modern residences. The owners of one of the homes allowed us

the opportunity to excavate a single 2 x 1 m unit in the front room of their house, while they continued its rehabilitation.

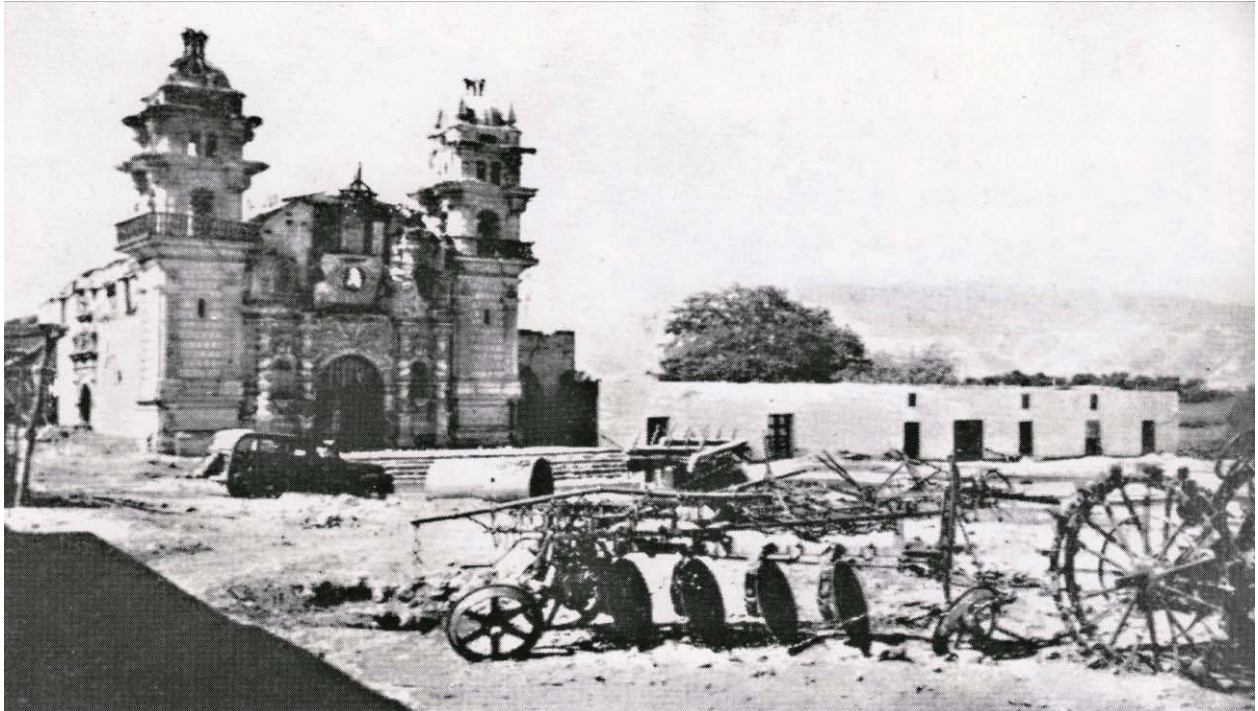


Figure 6.14. Photograph of the San Joseph Jesuit chapel, hacienda structures, and hacienda plaza area circa 1940, courtesy of the De la Borda family.

Unit 1 was excavated in the house located at Block F, Lot 6 at San José, the home immediately south of the enclosed paved sports court along the southern side of the Jesuit chapel (see Figure 6.15). At the time of excavation, the room had a dirt floor and was used by the family as storage for construction materials, although it also contained the family's shower in the northwest corner. The excavation unit was placed in the northeast corner of the room, at a distance of 45 cm from the eastern wall and 30 cm from the northern wall – the adobe wall that the home shares with the enclosed sports court between the chapel and the residential complex. The unit was aligned to the same orientation as the east wall, at 337°. It was expected that the



excavation of this unit would: 1) allow us to develop a chronology of occupation and architecturally define the sequence of construction in this area of the site, and 2) assess the role(s) of this activity area through artifact analysis.

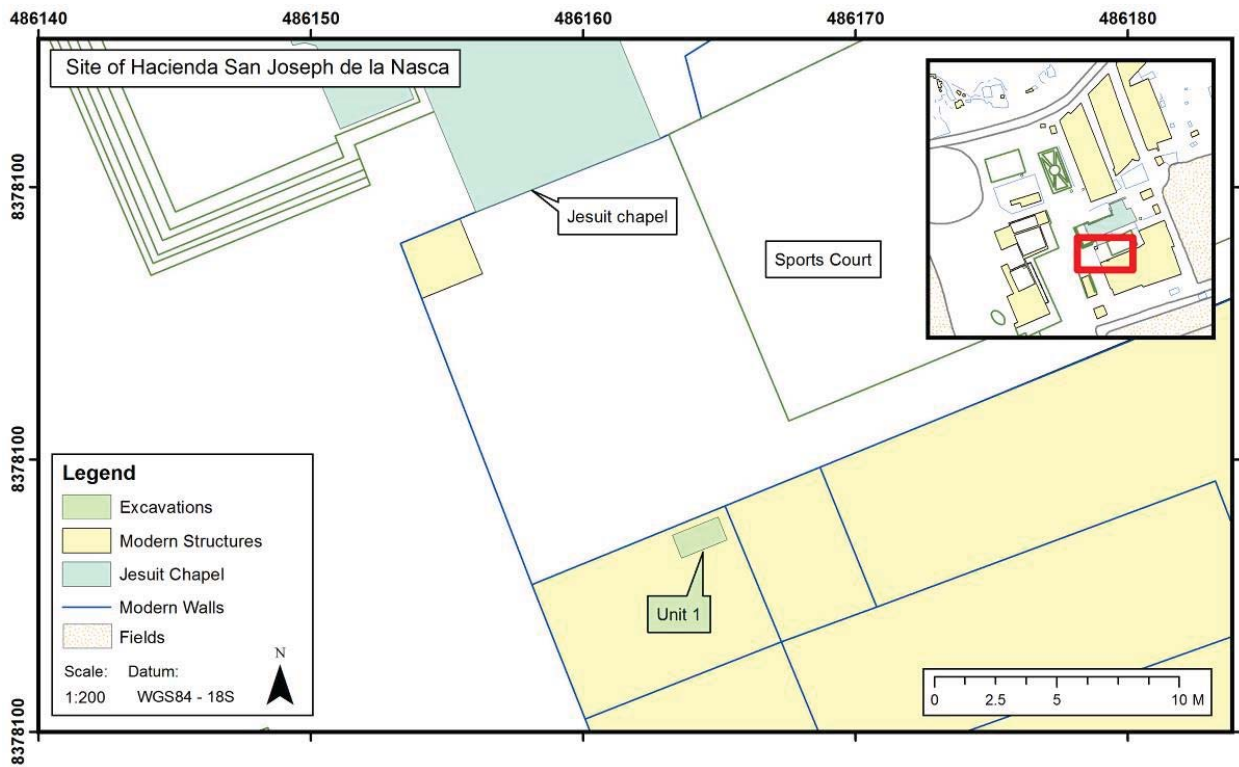


Figure 6.15. Location of Excavation Unit 1 within the house at Block F, Lot 6 at San José, relative to the Jesuit chapel of San Joseph.

This unit demonstrated a pattern of repeated domestic occupation from the present into the colonial past that can be characterized by three major phases of construction. Through excavation it was confirmed that the current structure, in which the unit was excavated, dates to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The earliest floor associated with the current structure was Locus 1014, was encountered at 16 cm below datum (BD). A series of postholes was encountered below this floor surface, which may be related to the use of the area as a livestock corral or perhaps small

informal dwellings. The matrix into which the postholes cut (Locus 1016) yielded a sherd of transfer printed refined earthenware, suggestive of a late colonial or early republican date for the context. Below this stratum was a semi-compacted layer of organic soil with inclusions of large wooden fragments and reed material (Locus 1026), that I interpret as the result of collapsed roofing made of wooden beams and reed matting. At about 49 cm BD a red brick floor (Locus 1028) appeared in the western half of the unit (see Figure 6.16). The bricks measured about 50 cm by 26 cm with a minimum thickness of 4 cm and were laid east to west. All of the bricks are similar in size, paste, and firing as those of the atrium of the Jesuit chapel, built in the 1740s, and it is likely that the brick floor in this test unit is contemporary with the construction event of the church. It also appears that there was a low stone wall directly east of the brick floor that may have been surmounted by adobes, enclosing the floor as a living surface. At the request of the property owners I terminated the excavation at an average depth of 63 cm BD, prior to reaching sterile soil.

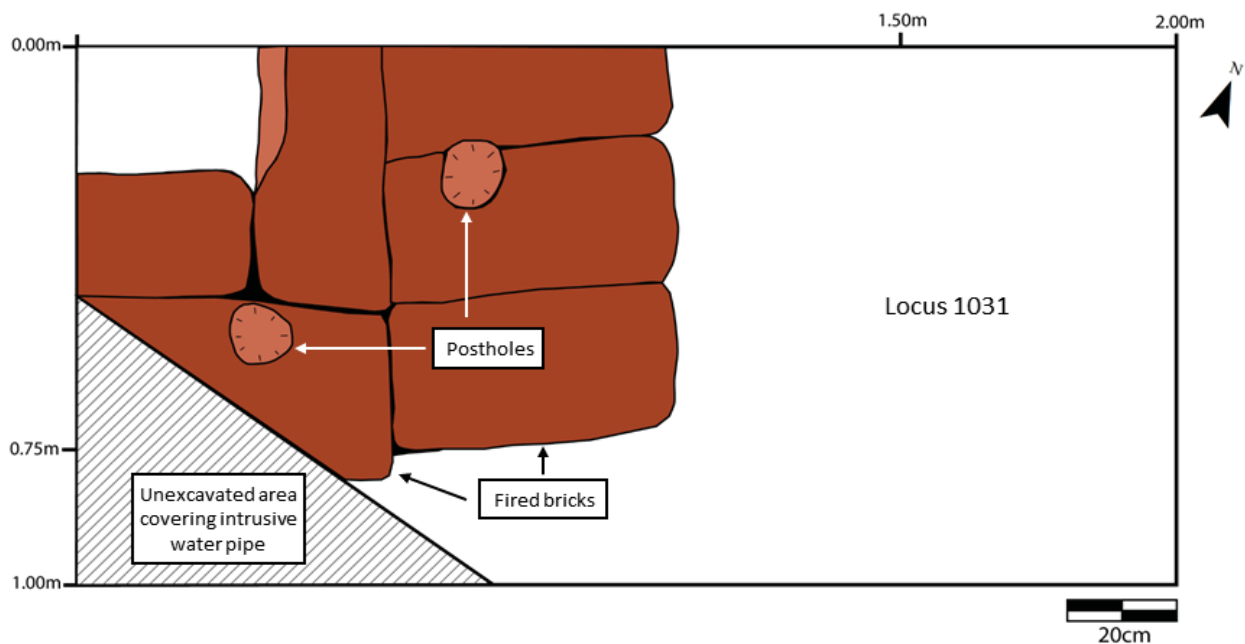


Figure 6.16. Plan view of fired bricks and Locus 1031, Unit 1, San Joseph.

## Unit 2

Excavation Unit 2 was placed immediately east of the Jesuit chapel at the Site of San Joseph (see Figure 6.17). This area behind the ruinous church is particularly endangered by the rapid growth of the modern community. For example, new homes have recently been constructed in the area and the excavations for their foundations have disturbed a large midden, the full extent of which is unknown, and the remains of a kiln. Unit 2 was located in this area with the specific goal of investigating the sequence of activities in the highly disturbed sector of the site and to determine the extent of archaeological features disturbed by modern construction in this locality.

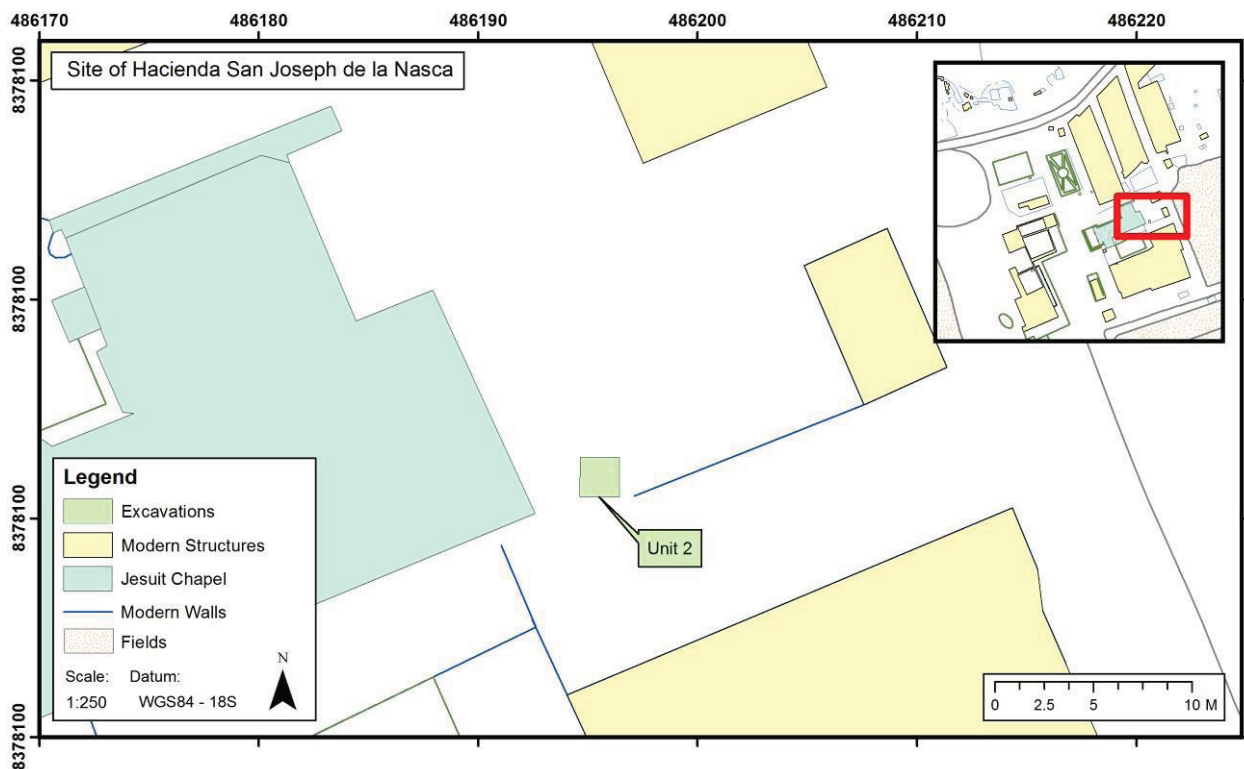


Figure 6.17. Location of Excavation Unit 2 to the east of Jesuit chapel at San Joseph.

The 2 m by 2 m unit was located 2.40 m east from the southwest corner of the Jesuit chapel. The unit was oriented to the cardinal directions and was placed along the projection of the church's south wall. Such positioning was intended to capture within the unit any possible walls, structures, or activity areas that may have extended from the back of the religious structure.

The upper 50 cm of Unit 2 were comprised of a series of modern midden and burning events. At the base of those strata was a layer, Locus 1044, with a high density of copper ore.<sup>3</sup> These layers containing modern trash, manure, and deteriorated reed matting, seem to corroborate what local residents told us about the area east of the church being used as an animal corral around the time of the Velasco land reforms. Below these strata was a meter-thick feature of adobe. The adobes, while melted sufficiently as to make identification of their original size and form undeterminable, were included by a mixture of historical artifacts including ceramic sherds, glass, and animal bone, as well as some pre-Hispanic ceramic sherds (mostly Nasca and Late Horizon). Given the form of the adobe feature and its position, it is likely that it represents a wall, rather than a platform, that extended from the southeast corner of the Jesuit chapel, and formed another space behind the church in the eighteenth century. There are no indications that the space was used historically for domestic purposes, but may have served as a public space for the hacienda. Archaeological evidence supports local assertions that in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century the space was used to corral livestock.

<sup>3</sup> A large proportion of native copper was found in Loci 1044 and 1045, just above the upper strata of compacted adobe melt. This copper ore does not seem to be related to a 20<sup>th</sup> century context, and residents of San José have told my team that they knew of the presence of copper ore behind the church, but do not remember anyone working with it in their collective historical memory, which spans the time from the 1940s to the present. Some villagers have prospected the hills around San José to find the source of the mineral, but were ultimately unsuccessful, assuming that it was brought in from outside the middle part of the valley.

## Unit 7

Excavation Unit 7 was placed south of the open-air concrete paved sports court and north of the recently erected fence surrounding San José's primary school (see Figure 6.18). This area is northwest of the Jesuit chapel and the old hacienda plaza and directly south of the road to Ingenio. On the 1944 SAN aerial photograph, a large ruinous multi-roomed structure can clearly be seen in this vicinity (see Figure 6.19). At the beginning of the field season in November 2012, construction was in progress for a new wall and fence that now surrounds the school and I observed a number of building foundations in the profiles of the trenches which may have corresponded to either the large structure present in 1944 or to previous and as of yet unknown structures (see Figure 6.20).

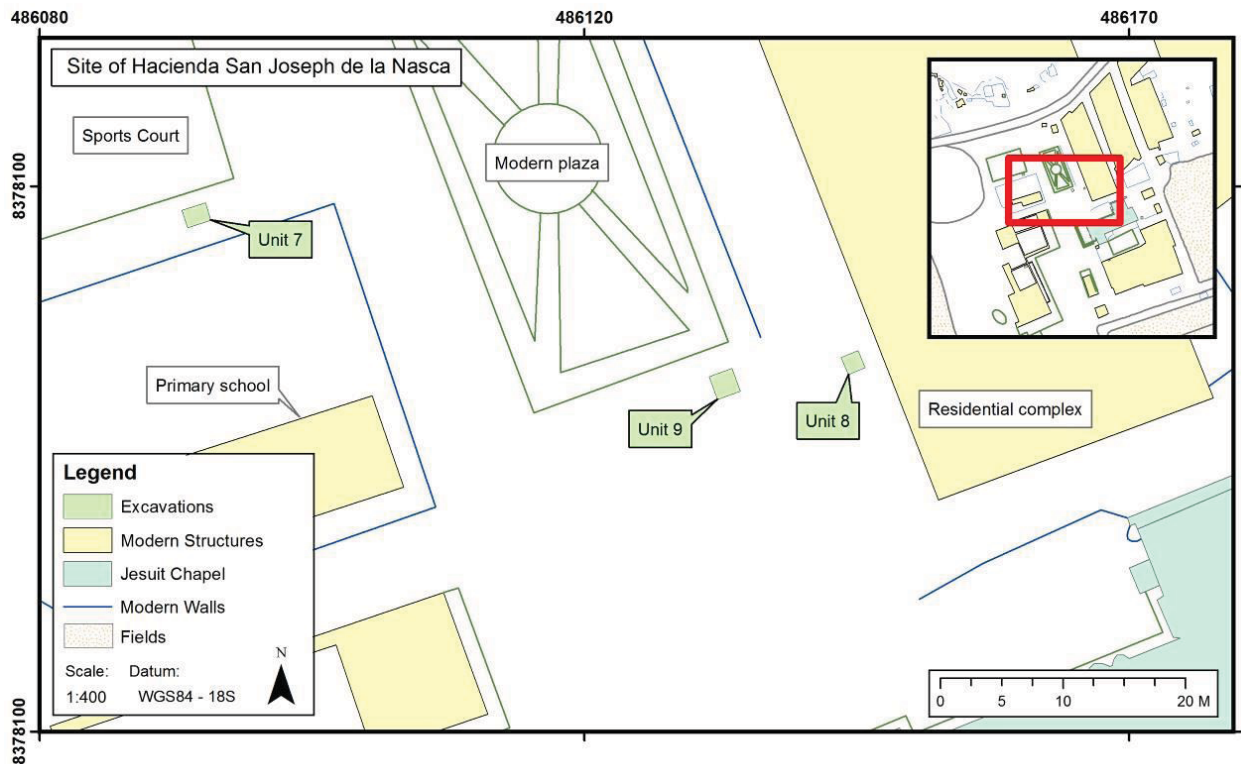


Figure 6.18. Location of Excavation Units 7, 8, and 9 at San Joseph.

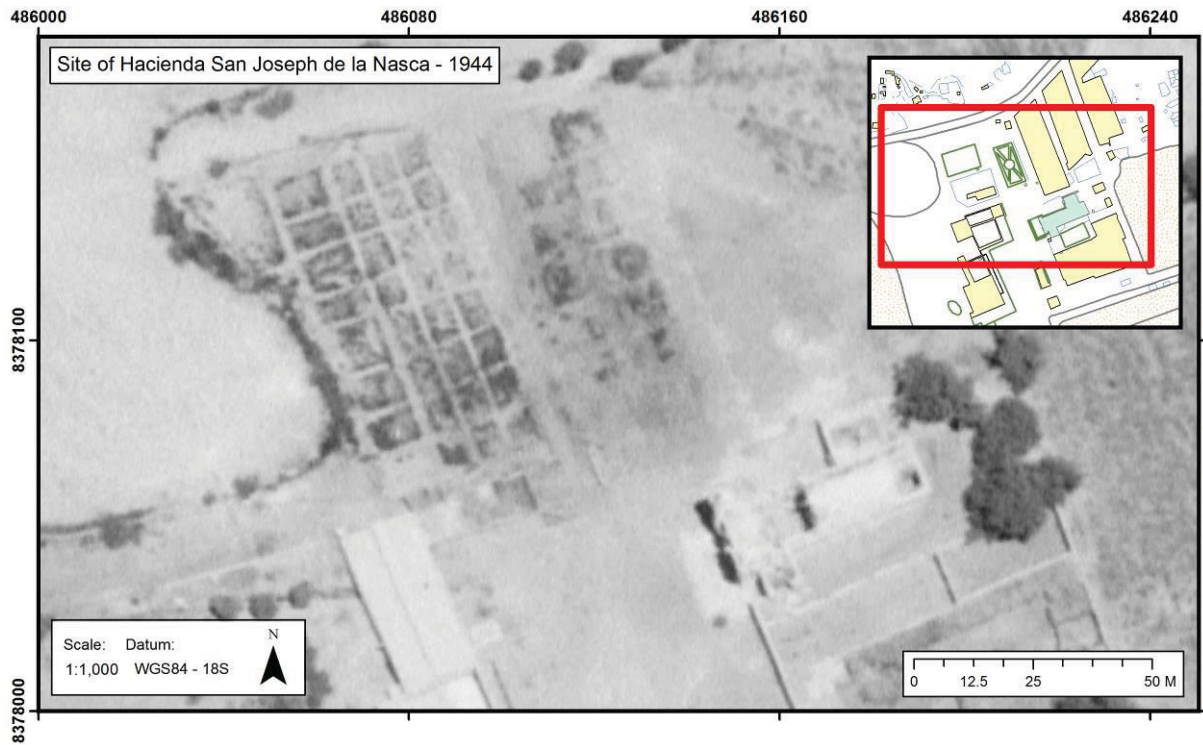


Figure 6.19. SAN aerial photograph of area north of the hacienda plaza at San Joseph, 1944.



Figure 6.20. Profile with stone foundation of historical structure within trench excavated for the construction of the schoolyard wall at San José.

The size and location of the unit was limited, due to the probability that this area was disturbed when nearby electrical cables were placed for the lighting of the sports court, as well as by the proximity to the trench excavated for the wall/fence around the school. The unit measured 2 m east-west, 1.5 m north-south, and was aligned to the angle of the sports court, about 345°. Its

northeast corner was 1.2 m south of the sports court's pavement and 2.65 m west of the pavement's southeastern corner. The unit was placed in this area in order to gain a better understanding of this space, to potentially find structural remains from the building present in 1944, and to understand its purpose and the activities that took place in this sector of the site since the founding of the hacienda.

Unit 7 yielded modern, early republican, colonial, and pre-Hispanic contexts within 53 loci excavated to a maximum depth of 244 cm below the surface. Below the surface topsoil, there were six strata containing many stones and mixed modern trash and historic artifacts to about 57 cm BD. I attribute the mixing of artifacts to events of demolition and construction in the vicinity.

Below this, I identified four temporally-distinct periods of occupation from the Jesuit era of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, through the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Four floor surfaces were identified for the early republican period. Two of these, Loci 1242 and 1245 (at about 90 cm and 96.5 cm BD), date to roughly between 1840 and 1900 based on refined earthenware ceramic styles, and the other two (Loci 1248 and 1249) date to 1820-1840 (at about 111 cm BD and 123.5 cm BD); these floors were likely early surfaces associated with the large multi-roomed structure identified in the 1944 aerial photograph. The material culture seems to have been mostly of a domestic nature, but there are also a number of botija sherds and utilitarian ceramics that would suggest a mixed use for the structures, as also indicated by the fill events between floor surfaces.

During the Crown period (1767-1821) there seems to have been a number of remodeling events which changed how the space was used. The earliest version of the structure with the previously discussed documented floors, was evident in the early republican period deposits that appeared at 132 cm BD (Locus 1285), and has a depositional date between 1780 and 1815, based

on material cultural evidence. Two earlier floor surfaces (Loci 1303 and 1309) seem to have been associated with a remodeled version of an earlier structure, mostly located to the south of the location of the unit. This earlier structure was likely built during the Jesuit administration of the hacienda, and seems to have been associated with botija processing. During the Crown period, the area north and west of this structure (that may have been nothing more than a roofed open-air workspace, perhaps walled with simple matting) was used as a midden. A number of burn events (Loci 1304, 1305, 1306, 1307, and 1308) were found on a midden fill surface (Locus 1321 at about 172 cm BD) containing ceramics dating to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Dividing this Crown-period midden from an earlier Jesuit-era industrial activity area is an 8 cm (on average) thick deposit of loamy sand and mixed industrial and domestic trash (Locus 1322). This layer contains the earliest piece of refined earthenware, an early creamware sherd with a red handpainted design (dating from 1765-1810). Refined earthenwares were notably absent from all inferior loci in this unit, replaced by their majolica antecedents.

The Jesuit-era depositions are also associated with a mixed agroindustrial/domestic midden, however with a much higher quantity of botija sherds (see Figure 6.21). A burned posthole (Locus 1337) found partially in the east profile of the unit (Locus 1337), as well as the pattern of deposition in pits in the western half of the unit seems to indicate that there was a structure just to the east and south of the unit. This area was likely associated with the coating of the interiors of the botijas with tar (a treatment necessary prior to storing liquid), evidenced by a cache of large botija sherds unevenly coated with tar over their broken surfaces, which would be expected if the vessels broke in the process of being coated (especially in Locus 1332). Below these depositional events associated with the Jesuit hacienda (at about 212 cm BD), a context with mixed colonial and pre-Hispanic ceramics (mostly ranging from early formative through



late Nasca) was documented, suggesting that the colonial hacienda expanded its activities (perhaps as late as the early 18<sup>th</sup> century) into this part of the site, building on the ruins of a pre-Hispanic settlement.



Figure 6.21. Pre-excitation photograph of Loci 1332, 1333, 1334 within Unit 7, San Joseph. Note the high concentration of large botija sherds in Locus 1332.

### *Unit 8*

Unit 8 was excavated to the west of the residential complex overlooking San José's modern Plaza de Armas (see Figure 6.18). The complex is the farthest west of the three residential compounds located north of the chapel ruins and south of the road to El Ingenio. According to residents, these modern structures were built as worker housing a decade or so

prior to the agrarian reforms – probably in the 1960s or late 1950s. The structures were absent in the 1944 SAN aerial photographs, and there were no observable structures in the vicinity depicted in the images. The complexes are situated on a natural hill above the hacienda plaza and church, that slopes north toward the road. While these structures date to the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the area was vacant in the 1940s, there is evidence within the southern foundations of the complex that it was constructed atop adobe and brick structures occupied during the republican and colonial past. In addition, the southern portion of the hillside has indications of an extensive midden that appears to extend beneath the modern residential structures. Excavations in the vicinity of the complex were designed to identify the provenience of earlier colonial and republican occupations of the hilltop, and the nature of the midden.

The unit was placed in front of the house at Block “J,” Lot 11. It was located 62 cm west of the concrete sidewalk in front of the house (which itself is 1 m wide and directly abuts the residential complex), and 12.2 m north of the southwest corner of the residential complex. The unit was aligned at 337°, the same orientation as the residential complex. The unit measured 1.5 m by 1.5 m and was limited by spatial constraints, as the unit needed to be placed between the dirt street and the curb of the sidewalk, where it would not interfere with normal foot and vehicle traffic or access to the residences.

Unit 8 yielded modern, republican, colonial, and pre-Hispanic depositions, including extensive Jesuit-era midden and structural contexts within 50 loci excavated to a maximum depth of 111 cm below the surface. The unit allowed for the testing of the hypothesis that there was indeed a substantial colonial occupation upon the natural hill now occupied by the majority of the community, just north of the Jesuit church and the old plaza. The unit confirmed an intense modern occupation beginning with the establishment of the residential complexes in the mid-20<sup>th</sup>

century as worker housing for the hacienda under the ownership of the De la Borda family. However, a conspicuous lack of any refined earthenware ceramics (manufactured from about 1765 through the early 20th century) stands in contrast to other units excavated at both San Joseph and San Xavier. This suggests that the occupation in the vicinity of Unit 8 during the post-Jesuit period was likely sporadic and much less intense than in other areas of the estate. Still, there was a substantial 18<sup>th</sup> and possibly 17<sup>th</sup> century occupation of the hill under Jesuit administration, as indicated by stratified domestic middens containing a plethora of diverse material culture, including majolica.

The stratigraphy of the loci suggests six distinct phases of occupation. The most superficial levels represent modern fill and trash, and are marked by significant floraturbations and posts, likely related to gardening activities since the 1950s. While much of the material culture identified in these strata is indicative of modern depositional events, colonial and republican era artifacts were also recovered, indicating that the surface contained a mix of materials, some of which may have originated in contexts excavated from the foundations of the nearby residential complex.

Below the modern depositions, the remains of two adobe wall foundations (Loci 1257, 1293, 1277, and 1294) were encountered. It is likely that these walls represented two distinct structures, possibly residences, due to the amount of trash deposited between the walls, and the fact the two were less than 70 cm apart. At the time that these structures were abandoned, the adobe wall fall became mixed with domestic refuse and formed several strata of middens (evident in Loci 1275, 1276, and 1292). It also seems that the same foundations likely served for two separate phases of adobe constructions; the earlier one perhaps destroyed by a seismic event.

Directly below the adobe foundations there is no evidence for an immediately preceding structure, and it appears that the area was open and served as a general refuse midden (see Figure 6.22). These loci (Loci 1296, 1290, 1299, 1311, and 1310) represent some of the most extensive middens encountered during the 2012/2013 field season and hold the greatest evidence of slave domestic life, yielding information about slave diet, material culture, and recreational and devotional practices (owing to the discovery of a wooden rosary bead and a sherd from a slave-made clay tobacco pipe bowl).

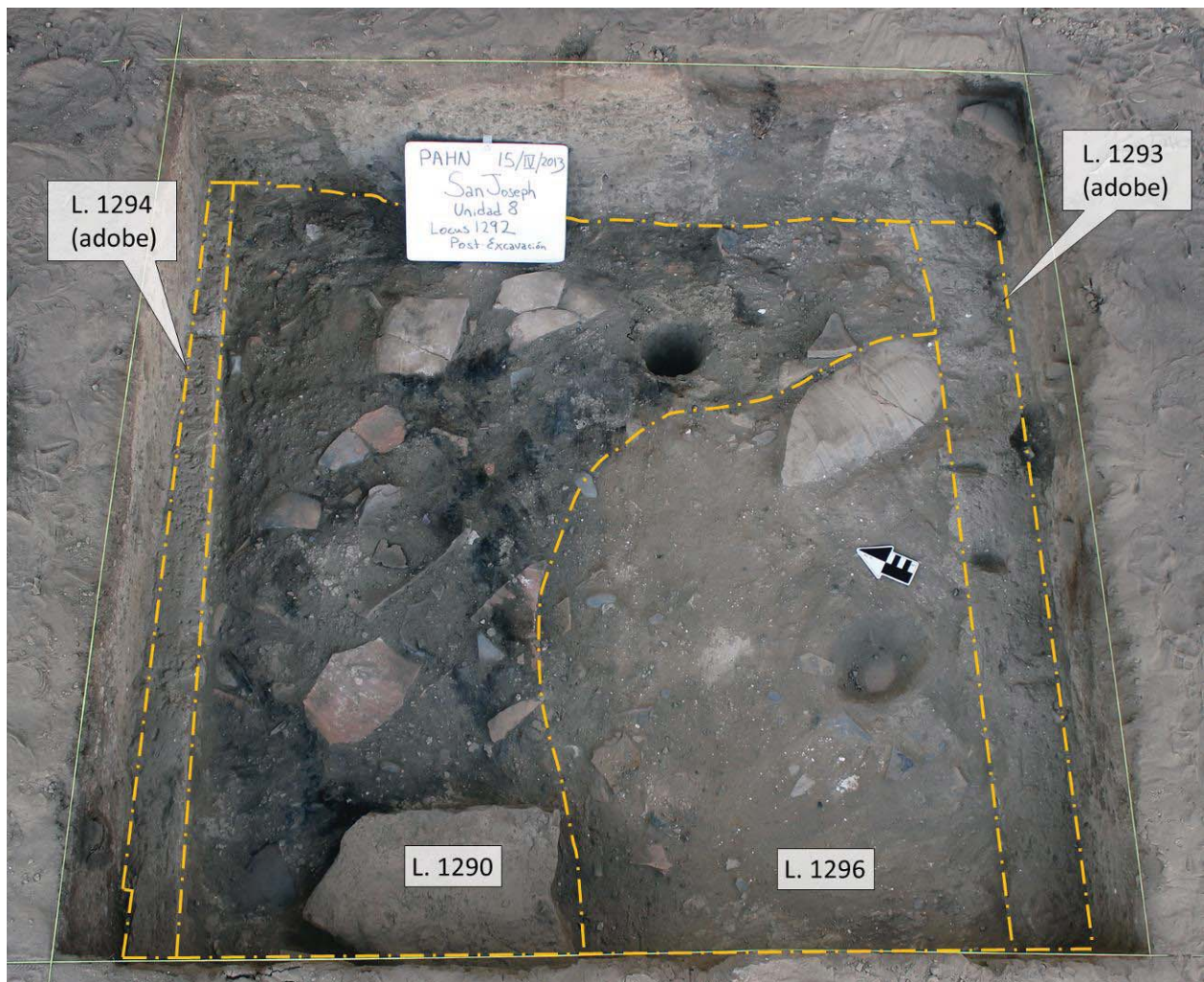


Figure 6.22. Post-excitation photograph of Locus 1292 / pre-excitation photograph of Loci 1290, 1293, 1294, and 1296 within Unit 8, San Joseph.

Locus 1312 very likely represented the remnants of a colonial floor surface predating both the middens and the adobe structures. This surface, from a structure of unknown size and type, and the prepared fill surfaces (Loci 1314, 1313, and 1315) below it, were probably the earliest colonial occupations in the vicinity of the unit, perhaps dating to the early Jesuit occupation in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The several excavated contexts (Loci 1316, 1317, 1318, and 1319) below this surface indicate that the hill was probably only sporadically occupied since the late Nasca period (AD 550-750) until the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

### *Unit 9*

Excavation Unit 9 was located about 8.7 m west of Unit 8, on gently sloping ground adjacent to the south end of the San José's new plaza and directly west of the modern residential complexes (see Figure 6.18). In this area, adjacent to the community's playground, geophysical survey revealed several subsurface linear anomalies. I hypothesized these to be wall features belonging to colonial and early republican structures, a theory supported by the 1944 SAN aerial photography, that indicated in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century there was a large multi-room unroofed structure at the location of the new plaza. Because the area was likely disturbed within the last decade during the construction of the plaza, I chose to excavate close to the plaza, but over one of the linear anomalies discovered during our geophysical survey. Unit 9, a 2 m by 2 m excavation unit, was aligned (at 340°) to the concrete sidewalk perimeter of the plaza and its northern profile was placed 2.14 m south of the sidewalk.

While the nearby Unit 8 yielded complex domestic stratigraphy belonging to the occupation of the hacienda during the Jesuits' administration, the prospect of finding the remains of another nearby structure offered the possibility to explore how Unit 8's immediate

surroundings were used over time. Based on the archaeogeophysical data and the historical aerial imagery I expected to encounter architectural features, however I was unsure if the structure pictured in the images extended sufficiently south to be captured within the unit, or if the linear geophysical anomalies found to the south of the modern plaza might have represented earlier constructions. By placing the excavation unit in this area I hoped to explore these questions about the hacienda's spatial chronology, as well as examine the types of activities carried out within these spaces. The unit confirmed that some (if not all) of the linear anomalies detected in this sector of the site are indeed adobe walls dating to the Jesuit administration of the Hacienda San Joseph de la Nasca.

Unit 9 was excavated in 33 discrete loci to a maximum depth of 163 cm below the surface. The unit yielded several strata of modern and republican contexts, and a number of intact colonial features, middens, and fill events; the lowest strata excavated in the unit were of pre-Hispanic origin. The uppermost strata contained a mixture of materials from colonial, early republican, and modern origins, and should be interpreted as 21<sup>st</sup> and late 20<sup>th</sup> century disturbances. These disturbed or modern depositions are found generally within the first 18 to 20 cm below the surface. Notably, there was a patch of roots in the northwestern corner of the unit, which was first encountered in Locus 1352. These roots represent a floraturbation that may have also disturbed some of the earlier contexts, introducing modern materials in otherwise non-modern depositions.

Refined earthenwares were only found in five contexts: Loci 1351, 1352, 1357, 1359, and 1373. The deepest of these, Locus 1373, seems to represent an undisturbed context deposited in the post-Jesuit Colonial period and contains a sherd of plain pearlware (generally dating to a range from 1779 to 1820). While the presence of refined earthenwares was limited in both the

range of depositional events (i.e. loci) and in number, earlier strata yielded an abundance of majolica, the decorative tin-enamel glazed precursor to lead glazed refined earthenwares. Refined earthenware vessels first came to be manufactured around the time of the Jesuit expulsion. Thus, this demonstrates the rather superficial nature (or potentially disturbed nature) of the post-Jesuit occupation in the vicinity of Unit 9.

An intact portion of the double-coursed adobe wall, Locus 1393, was encountered at approximately 79 cm BD (see Figure 6.23). The wall was found in excellent condition, and steps have been taken to conserve it. The wall may have been reconstructed several times, as evidence was discovered at its base that its foundational adobes were reused from an earlier construction. However, the wall itself was likely built early in the Jesuit occupation (17<sup>th</sup> century), evident by the large size of early and middle colonial period adobes, and the fact that the wall was built into a pre-Hispanic midden, rather than upon earlier colonial contexts.



Figure 6.23. Western profile of Unit 9, San Joseph, featuring a colonial adobe wall.

No living surfaces or floors were identified, suggesting that the unit may have captured the exterior face of the wall that was used over time as a midden space prior to the total collapse of the adobe structure. The midden layers alternated between higher concentrations of industrial refuse (indicated by large quantities of botija sherds or minerals) versus domestic materials (evidenced by [often burned] animal bones, serving vessels, and cooking equipment). These layers were also often mixed with debris from adobe wall fall events. Since these events seem to have occurred in series, often punctuated by a deposition of refuse without a substantial component of deteriorated adobes in the soil matrix, it seems that there were several wall fall events in the vicinity before the eventual abandonment of the structure, perhaps in the early republican period.

The greatest concentrations of botijas, many with vessels over 40% complete, were found along the eastern profile of the unit in several distinct depositional events (see Figure 6.24). Nearly all of these sherds contained pitch on their interiors, suggesting that they were perhaps broken during use and deposited adjacent to the exterior wall.

Unit 9 offers a substantive window on both productive and domestic activities enacted on the estate during the Jesuit period. The (sometimes alternating) deposits of industrial and domestic refuse offer a quotidian glimpse at a range of activities carried out by enslaved laborers and residents. The excellent state of preservation of these contexts aided in our recovery of faunal and botanical materials, which will help clarify these activities, including consumption patterns. The excellent state of preservation of the adobe wall and the excavation of its multiple collapse events also contributes to an understanding of space and the built environment during both the colonial and early republican periods.





Figure 6.24. Southern and eastern profiles of Unit 9, San Joseph.

### *Unit 10*

With the consent of the property owner, excavation Unit 10 was opened in the north courtyard of the ex-casa hacienda at San José (see Figure 6.25). The enclosed courtyard is north of the residence and shares its western façade, in which the courtyard has a formal entrance opening onto the old plaza (see Figure 6.26). The courtyard also has an access to the modern house to the south, and a shed along its western wall. The courtyard measures 15.7 m along its east-west axis and 18.6 m north-south. The courtyard is currently paved with thin, square (28 cm x 28 cm) brick paving tiles. The property owner told us that the space was used by his family as the estate's cotton gin during the 20<sup>th</sup> century until the agrarian reform in 1969, and is at present a rarely used space in his residence.

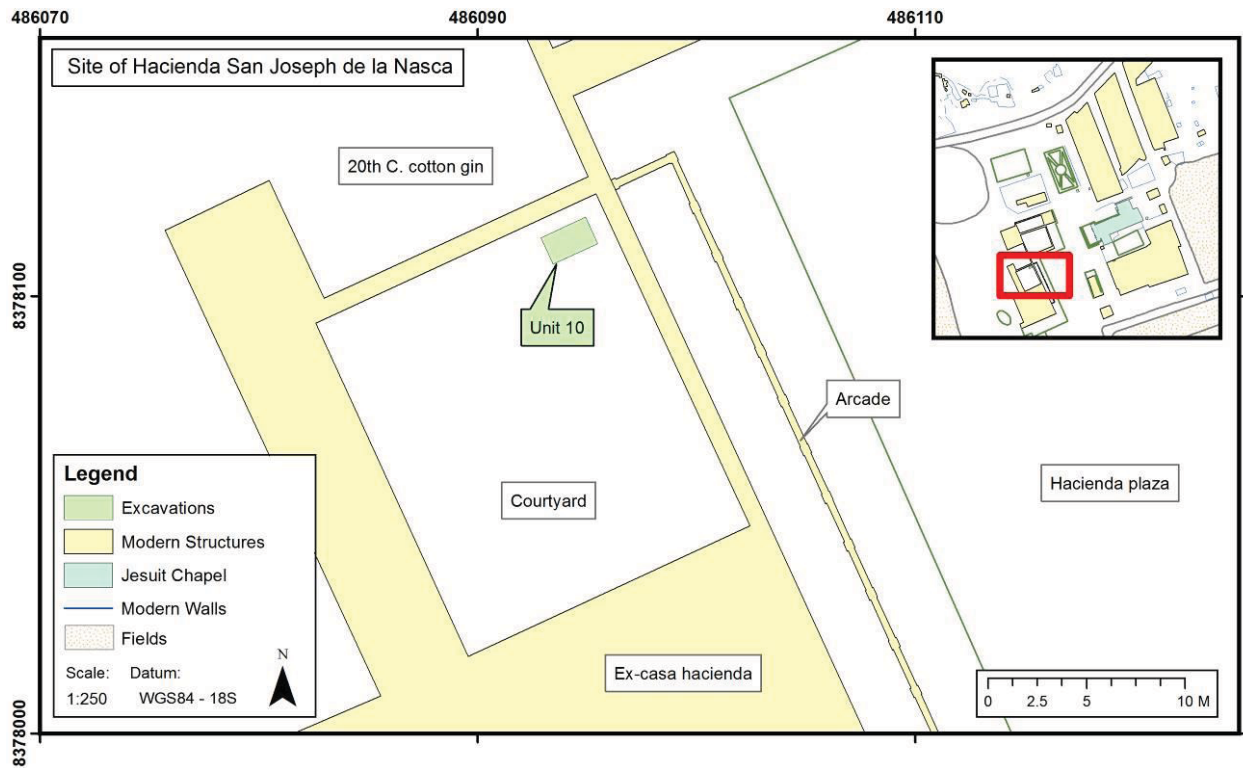


Figure 6.25. Location of Excavation Unit 10 within the courtyard of the ex-casa hacienda at San Joseph.



Figure 6.26. Northern and eastern walls of the courtyard at the ex-casa hacienda at San Joseph, with the location of Unit 10.

Unit 10 was excavated with the expectation of shedding light on the sequence of construction for the courtyard as well as the purposes for the activity areas in the northern part of the casa hacienda. Because of the need to leave the area as it was found and replace the brick pavers, there were constraints on the potential size and placement of the excavation unit. The resulting unit roughly measured 1.5 m by 2.5 m. The unit was located near the northeast corner of the courtyard; the northwest corner of the unit was 90 cm south of the courtyard's north wall and the southeast corner of the unit was 1.2 m west of the east wall. The unit was aligned at the same 340° orientation as the structure in which it was placed. This exact location was chosen for excavation because the northeast corner of the unit fell 26 cm south of a "staircase" feature constructed of large rectangular red bricks, mortared with calicanto.

Unit 10 was excavated to a maximum depth of 126 cm below the surface, in which 36 loci were declared, exposing several different construction phases from the early years of the Jesuit occupation to the courtyard's most recent use history. The excavation of Unit 10 yielded evidence of episodes of successive and radical transformations in the use of the space during the lifetime of the hacienda (see Figure 6.27). As many as nine major historical occupational events as well as a number of depositions of fill material, likely taken from nearby middens, were identified. The earliest use of this space during the colonial period was an early 17<sup>th</sup> century structure with a double-coursed adobe wall (Loci 1400, 1389, 1405, 1406, and 1407), that bore signs of earthquake damage. The adobe had been set on a base cut into a dense layer of alluvial fill (Locus 1425). This episode was followed by the construction of a formal structure with a brick floor set in lime (Locus 1387). This floor was likely the original use of the brick "feature" (Locus 1369), that seems to have been set in the same layer of lime. It was apparently abandoned and replaced by a livestock corral (Locus 1403). The corral also cut into the adobe wall fall, and

was likely first used as such in the early to mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, as evidenced by the abundance of 18<sup>th</sup> century ceramics. Toward the end of the century, the structure was briefly reoccupied and an informal dirt floor was laid (Locus 1384). The dirt floor had an associated large rectangular posthole (Locus 1401).

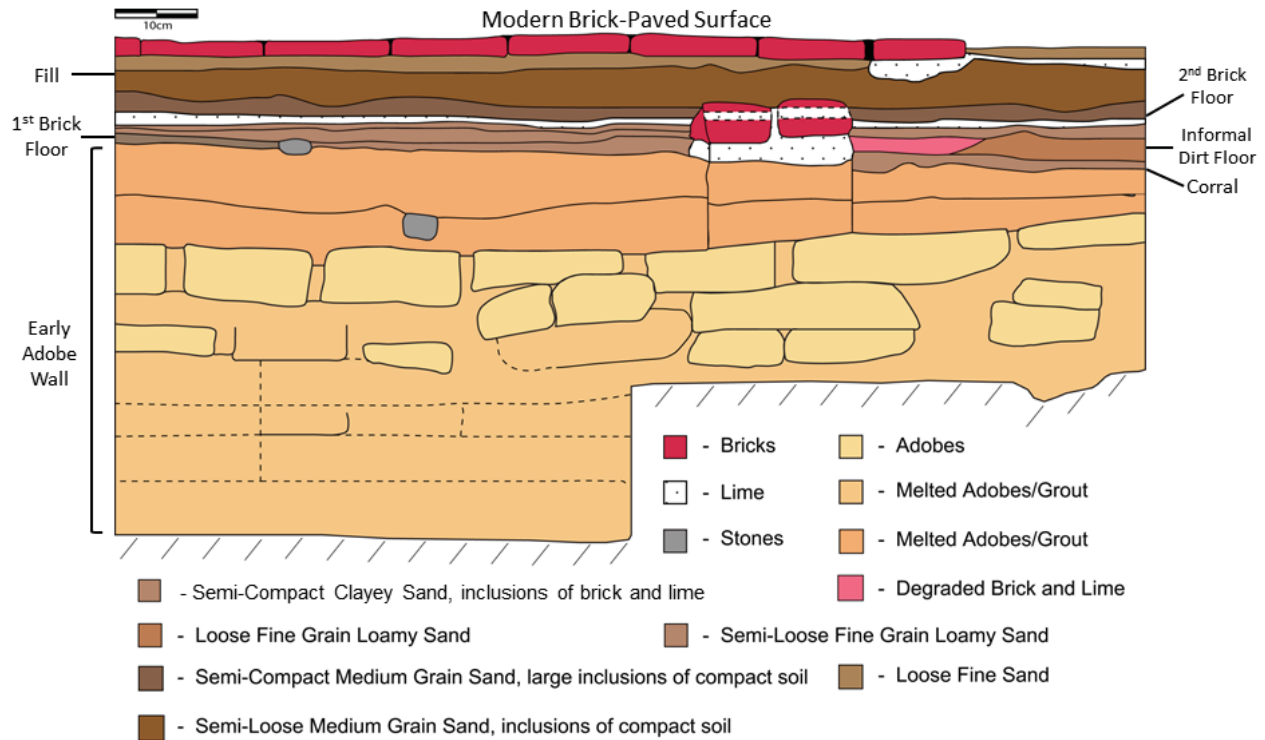


Figure 6.27. Drawing of the northern profile of Unit 10, San Joseph.

This informal occupation was followed again by a more formal construction with brick paving tiles set in lime (Loci 1382, 1383, and 1386). This brick or tile floor was probably removed and replaced again with an informal dirt floor (Locus 1380) with an associated posthole (Locus 1381). A tile floor may have also been placed over this surface, which, judging from the likely deposition of the fill from Locus 1367, was likely removed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The eighth and final occupation can be dated to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and is represented by the current courtyard (Locus 1360), making use of the previous floor's pavers to create a space for equipment

(including the concrete features that were installed in 1962 to house an electric generator) used in the now-defunct hacienda's cotton gin. It is also likely that there may have been another 19<sup>th</sup> century floor that reused these same pavers (perhaps set atop Locus 1367), and may have been set in lime as suggested by the patch of lime under the paving tiles in the northeast corner of the unit (Locus 1363).

While the unit provides information about the evolution of the built environment in the area surrounding the casa hacienda, it also yields evidence for nearby domestic and agro-industrial activities, through the artifacts contained in the depositions of midden fill between architectural strata. In addition to the architectural information garnered through the excavation of Unit 10, the courtyard's extant, deteriorating, wall also shows signs of remodeling likely linked to the last three occupational phases. The brick wall was once repaired with a row of broken botija sherds set in lime placed above the bricks; these were then surmounted by adobes. The reuse of broken botijas seems to have been common in the hacienda's architecture, and the 1767 inventory notes that the double-coursed adobe wall of the single slaves' barracks was capped with botija sherds for decorative purposes (see Figure 6.28).

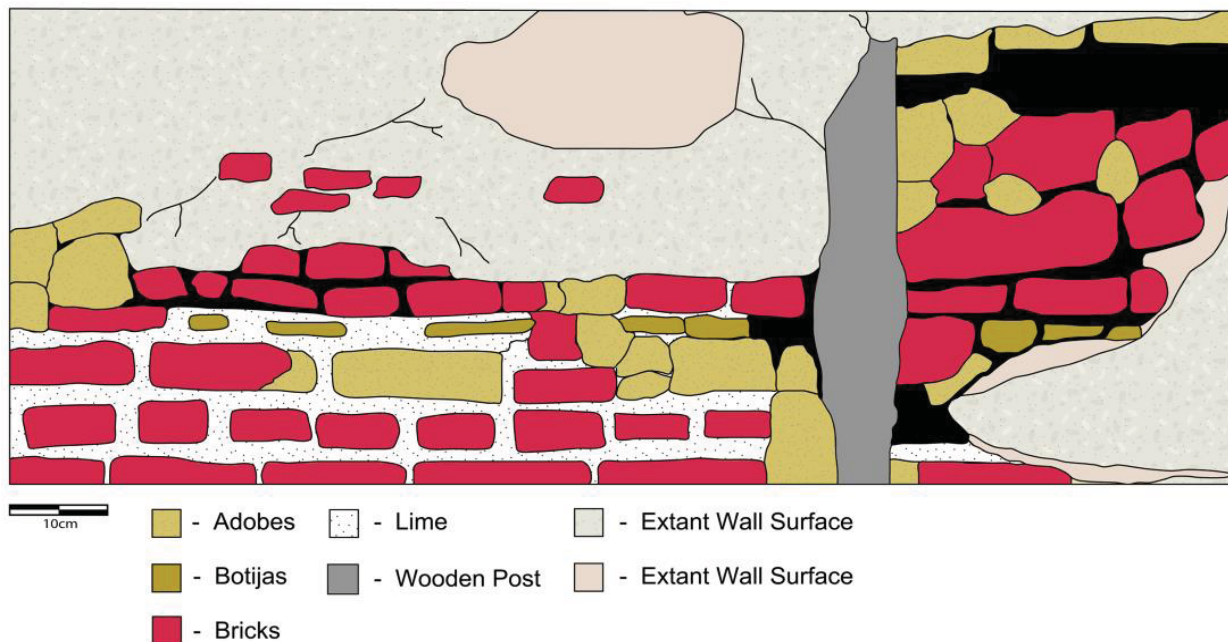


Figure 6.28. Drawing of a section of the northern wall of the courtyard of the ex-casa hacienda at San Joseph, near Unit 10.

### Excavations at San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca

As at San Joseph, the excavation strategy at the site of San Xavier was to target excavation units broadly across the productive and residential nucleus in order to best capture changes and transformations in the use of space, as well as test areas likely to reveal the material correlates of both domestic and agroindustrial activities. At San Xavier four contexts (Units 3, 4, 5, and 6) were excavated, covering a total of 17 m<sup>2</sup> of surface area. The results of these excavations as well as the essential contexts identified in each unit are discussed below (see also Appendices D, E, and F).

#### *Unit 3*

The first excavation unit at the site of San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca was the third of the field season. Excavation Unit 3 measured 2 m by 2 m and was placed about 8 m west of the

ex-casa hacienda, in a garden belonging to the owners of the house's western apartment (see Figure 6.29). The unit was oriented to the cardinal directions. The location of the unit was chosen with reference to the alignment of the church, being placed 14 m north along the projection of the western gate adjacent to the ruins of the Jesuit chapel. Such a unit orientation was designed to identify any possible structure contemporary with or prior to the church. The principal goal of the excavation of the casa hacienda's western patio was to observe the house's refuse patterns, particularly from the early post-Jesuit period when the casa hacienda took more or less its present form.

Unit 3 was excavated to a maximum depth of 171 cm BD, in which 24 loci were declared. An examination of these distinct strata, both natural and anthropogenic, suggests a depositional process that leveled the ground over time, filling in toward the west. This is evidenced by the lowest stratum (Locus 1100), a barren slope, whose sterile layers slope from both the east and west toward the center of the unit, as well as the similarity of the cultural materials recovered from anthropogenic levels. The trend can clearly be seen in the western profile, given that there is not a clear differentiation from about 40 cm BD. This suggests that during the colonial period a canal or irrigation ditch probably passed through the excavated area and parallel to the modern road (see Figure 6.30). The ditch was eventually filled with soil from a nearby midden, probably in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, and possibly during an important episode of remodeling of the casa hacienda. The irrigation canal that today runs along the side of the dirt road just to the west of the excavation unit was probably dug to replace the canal we discovered through the course of this excavation.

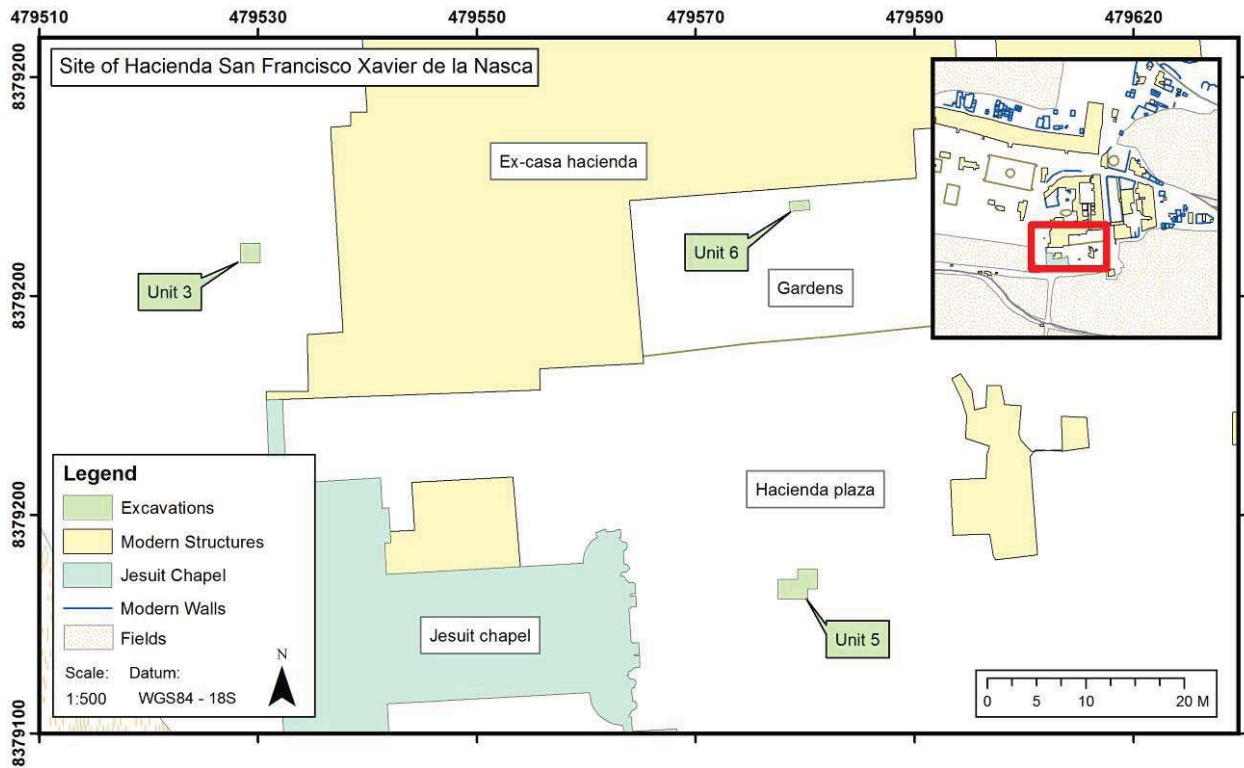


Figure 6.29. Location of Excavation Units 3, 5, and 6 at San Xavier.

The majority of the cultural materials recovered from the unit were sherds of coarse earthenware (60% of sherds, n=669) and imported refined earthenwares (31% of sherds, n=348), glass of various colors, and animal bones. Fragments of majolica (n=61), porcelain (n=21), and ferrous metal were found in lesser proportions. The lack of majolica indicative of the 16<sup>th</sup> through 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, suggests that the excavated context best represents 19<sup>th</sup> century activities and depositional processes, and that this area of the site was either heavily disturbed by later activities or was predominantly associated with agricultural activities during the Jesuit period and only integrated as a part of the residential and productive core during the post-Jesuit estate.





Figure 6.30. Pre-excitation photograph of Loci 1096, 1089, 1099, and 1100 within Unit 3, San Xavier. Note the form of the canal feature in the western portion of the unit.

#### *Unit 4*

Excavation Unit 4 was located in the northeastern sector of the town of San Javier, in front of the north wall of the enclosed community sports court, along the southern side of the principal east-west road (see Figure 6.31). The sports complex was constructed within the past decade, and includes a paved playing surface within a brick walled enclosure. The SAN aerial imagery from 1944 depicts a large residential complex where the sports court now stands, and local residents confirm that the structures were worker housing prior to the agrarian reform (see Figure 6.32). This area was selected for excavation in order to test if it would be possible to find

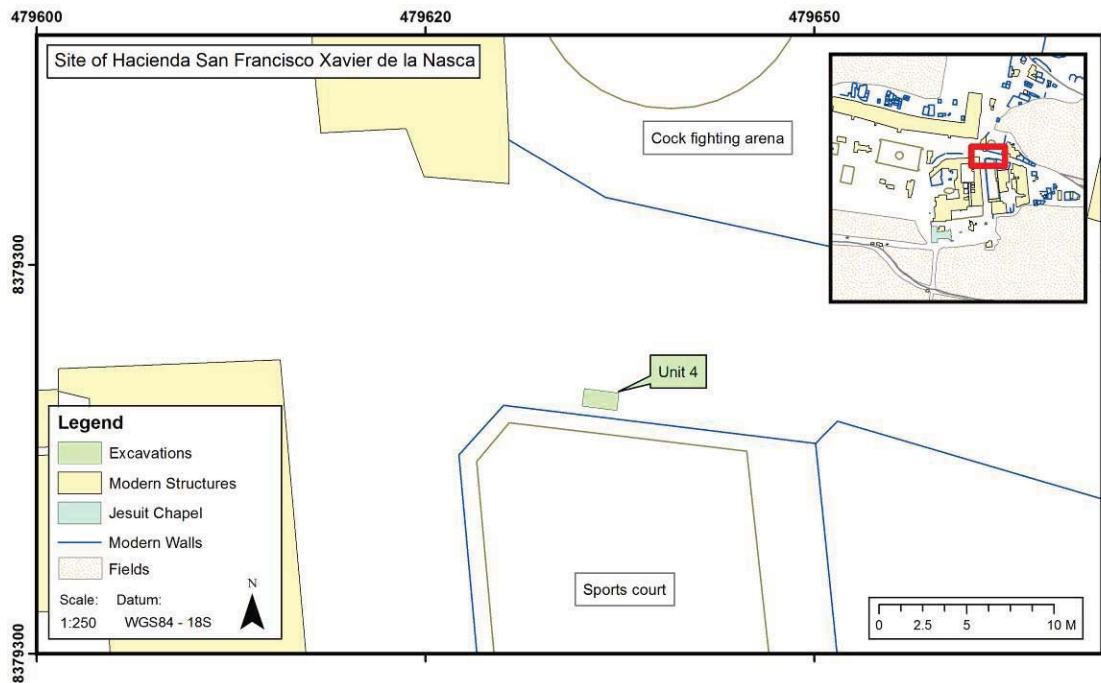


Figure 6.31. Location of Excavation Unit 4, San Xavier, north of the community sports court.



Figure 6.32. Left: SAN aerial photograph of the structures east of the hacienda plaza and casa hacienda at San Xavier, 1944. Right: Satellite image of the same extent of the site of San Xavier, 2013. Note the destruction of all but one of the structures east of the ex-casa hacienda and old hacienda plaza.

remnants of the occupation of these worker houses, and perhaps access information about their daily lives. Also, I hypothesized that these residential structures may have been constructed on the foundations of earlier, Jesuit-era residential structures, the excavation of which might reveal aspects of the domestic life of San Xavier's enslaved population. In order to assess these questions we placed a 2 m by 1 m excavation unit 50 cm north of the northern wall of the enclosed sports complex. The unit was aligned parallel to the complex's brick wall, oriented at 280°, and was set 37 cm west of the complex's gate.

The unit was excavated within 21 loci to a maximum depth of 225 cm BD. Although initially it was expected that Unit 4 might shed light on the worker housing that was destroyed in the construction of San Javier's sports complex, the excavation revealed only a light post-Jesuit (early 19<sup>th</sup> century through early 20<sup>th</sup> century) deposition. These strata were included with early republican domestic garbage mixed with materials from both older and modern contexts, likely the result of the demolition process during the construction of the sports court. Surprisingly, below the rubble of the demolished houses, earlier domestic remains were not identified, as had been expected. However, the collapsed remains of a colonial-era botija kiln was encountered.

The context included a large number of botijas broken in the process of production and discarded upon the floor of an abandoned kiln. In the uppermost stratum (Locus 1089) associated with the botija kiln refuse 1,440 sherds were recovered (with an average per sherd weight of 271.5 g), only a small minority of which were coated with pitch on their interiors (n=45), suggesting discard of the botijas early in the production process (see Figure 6.33). The next layer, Locus 1111, contained many inclusions of vitrified material and a light density of charcoal and fire cracked rock. Some large brick fragments were recovered with vitrification and probably



Figure 6.33. Photograph of Locus 1089, Unit 4, San Xavier, in process of excavation.

represent the base of a kiln. While there was a substantial amount of botija sherds in this context (n=230), it was less than in the layers above.

The upper strata of the unit were characterized by the high presence of clay soils, a product of the melted adobe wall fall. These upper levels are likely the result of the construction of the community sports complex, evident from an extensive layer of leveled fill containing compact soils mixed with historical and modern materials. In addition, a thin layer of post-Jesuit-era household refuse, the result of a short occupation in the vicinity of the unit or a disturbed midden, was observed. The lower strata yielded an abundance of botija sherds, with a minimal quantity of diagnostic elements, resting on a layer of burnt brick, and vitrified and melted adobe.

#### *Unit 5*

Excavation Unit 5 was placed in the old hacienda plaza, in front of the ruins of the Jesuit chapel and south of the of ex-casa hacienda (see Figure 6.29). The geophysical survey of the plaza revealed a rectangular anomaly near the center of the square, measuring about 8 m by 11 m and oriented at 39°, in contrast to the present north-south alignment of the casa hacienda, 18<sup>th</sup> century chapel, and modern town. Based on the results of the geophysical survey, including electromagnetic conductivity, magnetic susceptibility, and magnetometry, it was hypothesized that the anomaly was the result of structural ruins. Due to its orientation, placement, and proximity to the front of the church, it was unlikely to have been contemporary with the Jesuit church of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, providing one of two possibilities: 1) that it was a relatively recent modern construction, built after the church fell into disuse, or 2) that it was an earlier structure, pre-dating the construction of the chapel in the 1740s, and before the current orientation of the ex-hacienda to the cardinal directions.

To confirm that this anomaly was indeed a structure, and determine when it was built and its possible functions, it was necessary to “ground truth” through excavation. Unit 5 began as a 2 m by 2 m test excavation placed over the western corner of the rectangular geophysical anomaly. Through the course of excavation, the unit was eventually expanded in three phases, covering a total of 9 m<sup>2</sup>, in order to capture both the interior and exterior of the structure. The unit was aligned with the cardinal directions and the southwest corner fell 14.5 m due east of the second column of the northern façade of the church. Upon encountering the first signs of the collapsed brick wall in the northeast corner of the unit, we realized that the unit must be extended eastward in order to capture both the corner and the interior of the structure. We first started with a 1 m by 1 m extension (‘A’) east from the northeast quadrant of the unit, but soon it was realized that the excavations needed to be extended by another 1 m<sup>2</sup> (Extension ‘B’) from the southeastern quadrant of the original 2 m by 2 m unit, making Unit 5, at that point, a 3 m by 2 m excavation. Once enough of the modern surface layers were removed from above the brick and calicanto of the collapsed wall, it became clear that in order to capture a portion of the interior of the structure it would again be necessary to expand the unit to the northeast (Extension ‘C’). The unit was extended from its northeast corner by one meter north, and one meter east, adding an additional 3 m<sup>2</sup> of excavation area, with a total coverage of 9 m<sup>2</sup>.

Unit 5 was depositionally complex. A total of 101 loci were declared and the unit was excavated to a maximum depth of 135 cm BD. The lowermost strata identified through the excavation of Unit 5 demonstrate that the old hacienda plaza was once the site of a residential complex of the Nasca culture (100 BC – AD 800), and that the site had been occupied at least since the Formative and through the Late Horizon. Loci 1216, 1215, 1210, and 1214 represent an early colonial leveling of the pre-Hispanic structures, creating a flat surface through the

intentional placement of compact sandy soil. This soil was probably deposited at this location from the surroundings, evidenced by the assortment of pre-Hispanic sherds were found out of stratigraphic sequence within the fill layer. This fill event may have occurred either in the pre-Jesuit period (1540s to 1657), or in the early phase of the administration of the estate by the Jesuits.

The postholes in Loci 1173, 1197, and 1206 represent the oldest colonial structure erected at the location of Unit 5. Given that the thirteen identified post holes were not aligned, the structure may have been modified on several occasions, and was probably built with walls of *quinche* and wooden posts. This wooden structure was at some point, probably in the 17th century, dismantled and replaced by the brick structure. The geophysical survey of the plaza reveals that the brick structure that was probably 8 m by 11 m, with a 39° orientation, and the western corner of the structure was identified through excavation (see Figure 6.34). The absence of any obvious foundations suggests that the structure was destroyed in an earthquake event, probably early in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, prior to beginning the construction of the extant Jesuit chapel in 1740, that now stands at the west end of the plaza. Such a catastrophic event may have been the impetus to restructure the domestic and agroindustrial core to its current orientation along the cardinal directions.

While the results of the excavation have not determined the primary purpose of the structure during the time of the Jesuit estate, the building was potentially both habitational and functional. Pigmented plaster found during the excavation of the structure offers evidence that its interior was painted blue and its exterior was a yellowish cream color. Bioturbation by plant roots and burrowing rodents mixed artifacts from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries with some materials of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and even more recent origin, between layers of brick and calicanto wall fall;

however, the brick structure was clearly built and destroyed prior to the construction of the Jesuit chapel in the 1740s.

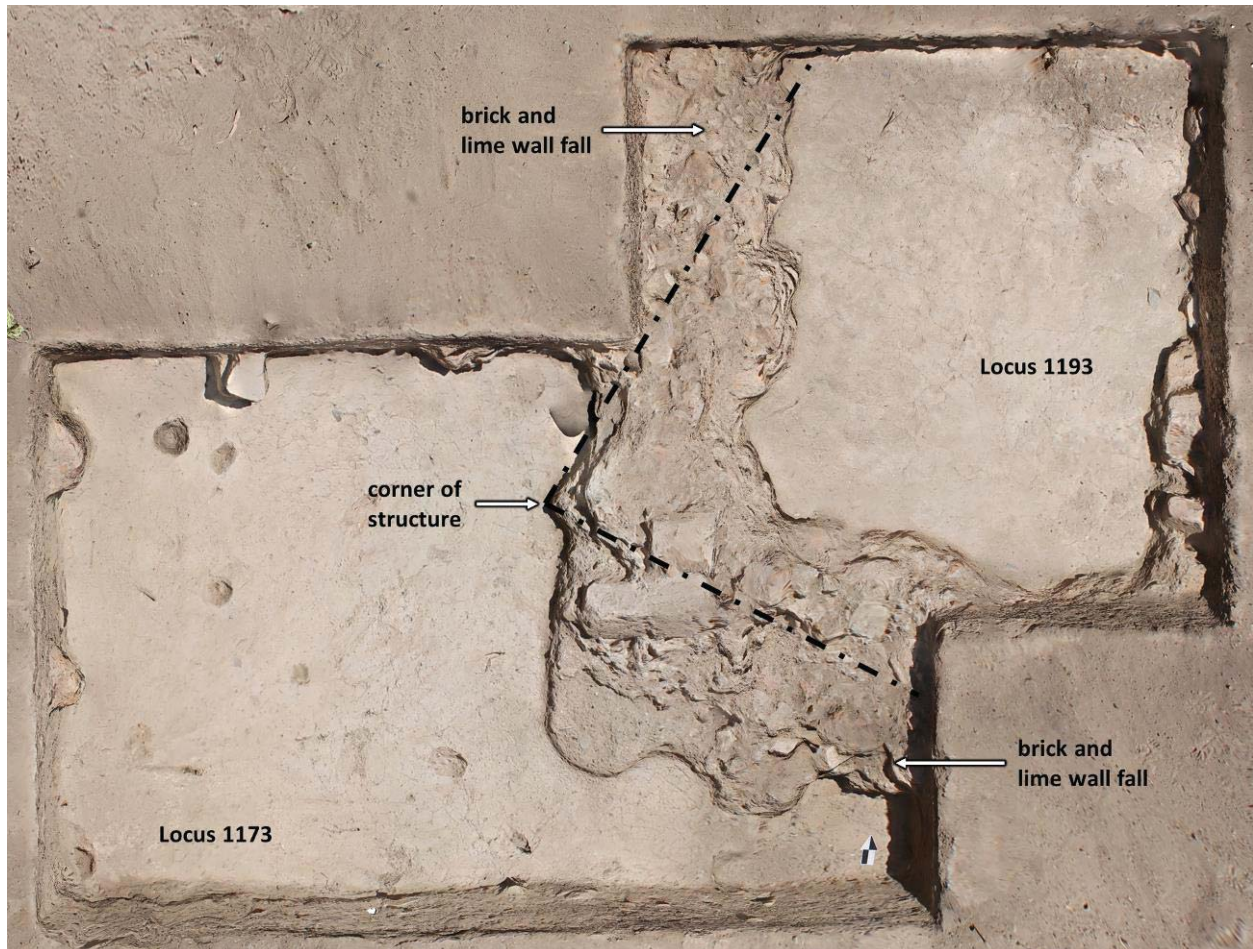


Figure 6.34. Plan view photograph of Unit 5, San Xavier, with the wall fall of the Jesuit brick and lime structure in the process of excavation. Loci 1173 and 1193, pre-excitation.

The roughly 20 cm between the upper strata of wall fall and the current surface of the plaza demonstrate various events of surface leveling since the initial construction of the plaza, as well as a number of wetting and drying events and several small trash fires. On the eastern side of the unit there is also evidence of bioturbation from the quadripartite garden that was once at



the center of the plaza, as described by residents who remember the space before the agrarian reform and as can be seen in the 1944 aerial photos.

### *Unit 6*

In the time since the agrarian reform of 1969, the southern part of the ex-casa hacienda has been divided into four apartments. The southern elevation of the house is flanked by an arcade, in front of which the owners of the apartments maintain gardens in a space that has likely served as the casa hacienda's principal garden since at least the early republican period, and perhaps earlier. The owner of the middle apartment allowed me to place a 1 m by 2 m unit in her garden in order to test this area (see Figure 6.29). The unit was placed 30 cm west of the garden gate, and 30 cm south of the north garden wall (constructed of woven reed matting). It was excavated with the specific aim of better understanding the historical uses of the space and its relationship with the casa hacienda complex. One of my primary questions was how long the space had been used as a garden. Understanding the specific history of the garden has important implications for daily life on the estate during the colonial period and the time of the young republic. Because hacienda gardens were traditionally places where organic and household waste were discarded, analysis of materials recovered from the excavation could reveal much about daily life in the residences around the estate's plaza and in nearby activity areas. Additionally, it was anticipated that our paleoethnobotanical analysis of materials recovered through the course of excavation in this context would be particularly helpful to better understand historical horticultural practices on the estate.

Unit 6 was excavated to a maximum average depth of 131 cm BD, in which 27 loci were declared. The upper 34 cm (Loci 1120, 1121, 122, 1124, and 1125) of the unit contained remains

from trash fires, mixed organic fill, modern garbage, and historical artifacts. Unit 6 demonstrates that the area immediately to the south of San Xavier's ex-casa hacienda was probably used for the cultivation of a garden or orchard perhaps as early as the 18<sup>th</sup> century (although certainly by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century), as evidenced by persistent roots and organic material, and the appearance of layers of soils that have been repeatedly wetted and dried. The roots in particular caused many disturbances in matrices throughout the unit. After the first 34 cm of fill containing modern trash and historical artifacts, intact material from 19<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century deposits was encountered. Light architectural debris (such as wood, plaster, and brick fragments) was present in almost all contexts excavated in the unit, and much probably originated from the nearby casa hacienda or other non-extant Jesuit and post-Jesuit structures.

There are two sets of loci representing events of architectural constructions in the vicinity of the unit. The first was probably an informal structure, possibly built with wooden poles, thatch, and woven mats. The structure is evidenced by the clay preparation of Locus 1162, the large posthole of Locus 1161, and pits (possibly sub-floor) Loci 1164 and 1165 (see Figure 6.35). The second structural event was probably an adobe building (its foundations, Locus 1156, and wall fall material, Locus 1153), that was constructed on a prepared surface (Locus 1160), with a prepared interior floor. The pearlware sherd found in Locus 1161 suggests that the later structure must date to after the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, while the earlier structure may have already been built in the last years of Jesuit occupation.

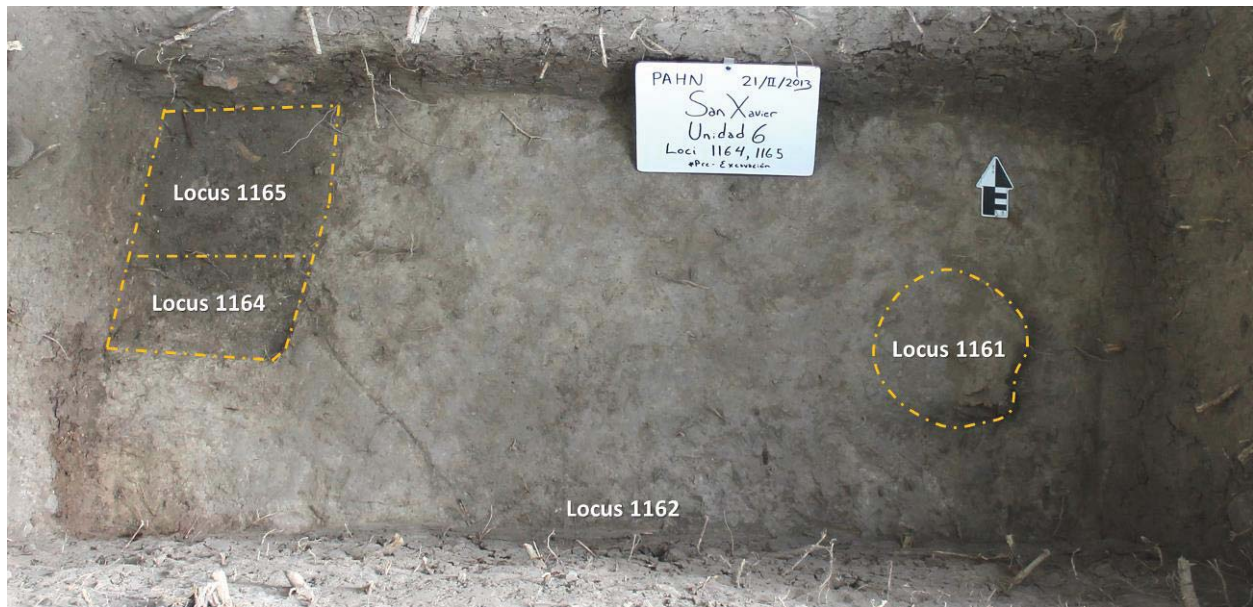


Figure 6.35. Pre-excitation photograph of Loci 1161, 1162, 1164, and 1165, Unit 6, San Xavier.

## Conclusions

The use of historical aerial imagery, results of the geophysics, and the survey inventory of extant above-surface historical features at both sites allowed for a greater definition of space and hacienda aesthetics, and for a more judicious placement of excavation units. While some excavation units were placed with the intention of exploring anomalies identified through the geophysical survey (Units 5 and 9) or identified as areas of interest by the historical aerial imagery (Units 7 and 8), other excavations targeted contexts which were inaccessible to the geophysical equipment (Units 1, 2, 3, 5, and 10), expanding the coverage of archaeological investigation through the use of multiple techniques. These excavation units, while covering a proportionally small surface area of the sites, were representative in their coverage of a diversity of spaces and activity areas and revealed deeply stratified historical contexts.

The excavation of Units 5 and 9 confirmed the presence of subsurface features identified as anomalies by the geophysical results, providing a comparative baseline for the interpretation

of a number of other linear and rectilinear anomalies identified in other geophysical zones at both sites. Unit 5 confirmed the presence of a brick and calicanto structure in the hacienda plaza of San Xavier, and Unit 9 confirmed the presence of an adobe wall which appeared in the geophysical results as a linear anomaly. Similar anomalies at both sites can therefore be provisionally interpreted as evidence for subsurface architectural features. Examining the distribution and orientations of the linear and rectilinear subsurface anomalies allows for a consideration of the ways the built environment of the hacienda cores were configured in the past, and how these configurations of space may have developed over time according to specific strategies for producing a particular distribution of the sensible.

As will be discussed in Chapter 8, the haciendas' spatio-material conditions structured both domestic and industrial activities, and archaeological evidence suggests a highly integrated relationship between productivity and domesticity. A consideration for the identification of activity areas and spaces through remote sensing, excavation, and above-surface features reveals the integrated nature of the productive and residential nuclei of the principal estates. Excavated contexts (especially Units 7, 8 and 9) offer insight into the relationship between domestic activities and those related to the productive agroindustrial output of the estates. Middens often exhibit alternating strata of domestic and agroindustrial waste, several examples of which are discussed in Chapter 8. These integrated activities defined the distribution of the sensible across the hacienda cores. Such conditions emphasized the importance of labor within the daily routinized practice of Christian discipline. Jesuit evangelization of the enslaved communities on their estates was predicated on using labor as the conditions of indoctrination and bodily discipline which furthered the goals of production and was understood as also furthering the goals of fulfilling Christian responsibility. Specific evidence is analyzed in Chapter 8 which

reveals the responses of the enslaved to such spatio-material conditions, exploring the ways in which the aesthetics of material signs may have been manipulated by enslaved actors creating contentious points of Rancièrian disagreement and potentially transforming the aesthetico-political regime throughout time in specific ways.

Additionally, the excavated contexts offer an important diachronic perspective for the use of space across the hacienda cores. While most areas saw an intense Jesuit-era occupation, some only had an ephemeral post-Jesuit occupation from the late 18<sup>th</sup> through early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and others still had their most intense occupations in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Specifically, at San Joseph, excavations north of the hacienda plaza demonstrate a distinct pattern for the transformation in the use of this space as a result of the Jesuit expulsion. Located on the natural hill north of the plaza and Jesuit chapel, Unit 8 revealed deeply stratified Jesuit-era domestic midden contexts, but had no refined earthenwares or other materials related to the post-Jesuit historical period. Unit 9, excavated only 8.7 m downslope of Unit 8, exhibited a similar pattern. However, Unit 7, located 55 m to the northwest of Unit 8, yielded a number of post-Jesuit depositional events, and demonstrated that this part of the site saw a more intense post-Jesuit occupation beginning in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century through the early republican era. These patterns speak to broader differences in the spatio-material conditions, and ultimately the organization of the aesthetico-political regimes of the estates during the Jesuit and post-Jesuit eras, bringing into contrast the unique conditions of the Jesuit haciendas. The ways in which space was used differently in the post-Jesuit era compared to the Jesuit period also directly relate to different political and aesthetic discourse which generated transformations in the aesthetico-political regime of the estates.

## CHAPTER VII

### PRESENTATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA II: SURVEY OF THE JESUIT ANNEXES OF SAN JOSEPH AND SAN FRANCISCO XAVIER DE LA NASCA

A walk-over surveys of the hacienda annexes established a valley-wide baseline for the historical resources preserved on the surface of these sites. This research is important in identifying larger patterns of the materiality of production and the Jesuit and post-Jesuit administration of the haciendas of San Joseph and San Xavier. This broader spatial perspective affords a view of differences in administrative strategies for each of these estates through an examination of the traces of the built environment and materials involved in production. Such an inventory of historical resources at each site also sets the stage for future field projects featuring the annexes.

Each hacienda annex featured a unique ecology and placement within the hacienda landscape. Additionally, each incorporated the direct influence of the dominant aesthetico-political regime to differing degrees. The annex surveys were intended to offer a rudimentary understanding of each satellite property's placement within this landscape, and inventory the archaeological resources at each site. This data allows for a broader picture of how the Jesuit estates of Nasca maintained hegemony and the ways they functioned as economic and political units. Moreover, these annex properties constituted an important aspect of the haciendas' political economy and the ability for these estates to operate with a high degree of self-sufficiency. By approaching the materiality of these annex properties from an aesthetic perspective, the political contentions of the greater hacienda system comes into focus, as I will discuss in the subsequent chapter.

In this chapter, I describe eleven<sup>1</sup> of the Jesuit-owned properties distributed throughout the Rio Grande Drainage which served as annexes of the wine haciendas of San Joseph and San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca. These sites are described in order of geographic location from most upriver (Arpicho) to coastal (Puerto Caballa). Each description offers a summary of the standing and visible historical architecture, features, and artifact scatter.

### **Arpicho**

The site of San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca's annex of "Parral de Arpicho" consists of the fields associated with the modern community of Arpichu in the district of El Ingenio along the Ingenio River (see Figure 7.1). There is likely an archaeological component on the hill slopes above the road and near the modern houses above the fields. As a complete survey of the agricultural fields has not yet been completed, the total extent of the colonial occupation at Arpichu cannot yet be determined. Additionally, it is not yet known if the colonial-era occupation included structures on both sides of the river, or just the right bank, where the modern houses are located. Helaine Silverman's survey (2002: 36, Spreadsheet 3.1) identified a site (Site 61) with a colonial component on the left bank of the river, opposite Arpichu. However, while my survey confirmed the historical site, I was unable to identify it as either colonial or early republican in origin. Further investigation, including "ground truthing" would be required for such a distinction. It is most likely that the Jesuit occupation of the annex consisted of modest infrastructure on the right bank of the Ingenio River, near the modern settlement of Arpichu.

<sup>1</sup> The results of the survey of San Joseph's annex of the "Parral de Lucana" is not included in the summaries below as its nucleus, which likely corresponds to the modern community of Estudiantes, just east of San José, seems to have completely disturbed any surface remains of the colonial annex. Additionally, because the annex was contiguous with San Joseph, it is most likely the property was administrated as an extension of San Joseph's fields and lacked any substantial infrastructure.

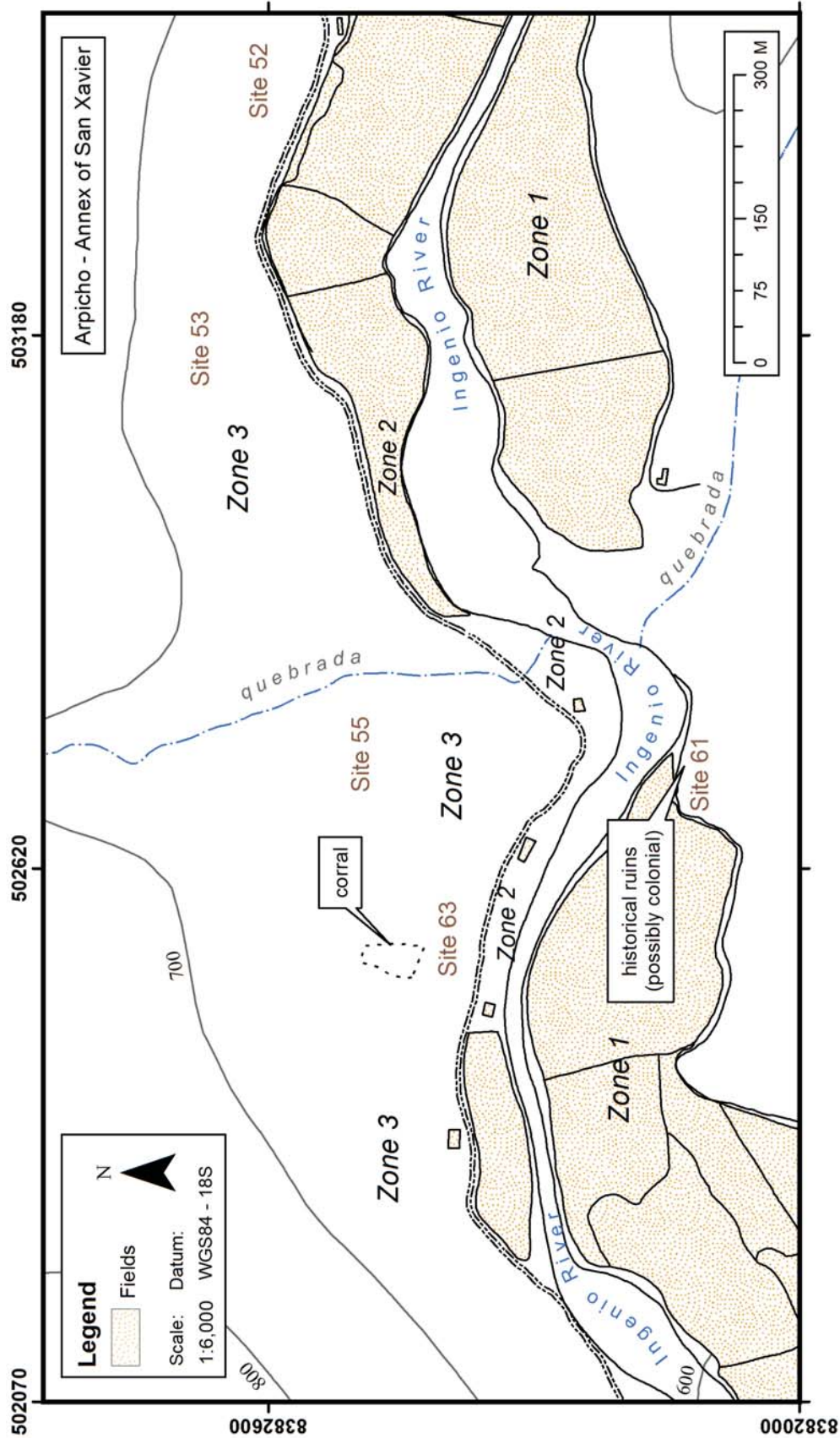


Figure 7.1. Map of the site of San Xavier's annex of the Parral de Arpicho, with the three surveyed zones indicated. Site numbers (in brown) refer to Helaine Silverman's survey of the Ingenio Valley (Silverman 2002).



Some of the pre-Hispanic sites along the hills of the same side of the valley may have also had an ephemeral colonial occupation, perhaps in association with the corralling of livestock.

The archaeological component of the annex site can be divided into several distinct areas: 1) the agricultural fields (see Figure 7.2), 2) the area along the modern road where the contemporary households are located, and 3) the hill slopes above the valley floor. The latter zone consists of several pre-Hispanic sites, and a possible, if ephemeral, historical component overlaying these sites. Because the second zone is occupied by modern homes which have radically transformed the environment around the road, the extent of an earlier occupation cannot be fully determined. However, the agricultural economy of this part of the upper valley has likely changed little since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and today major crops include grapes and mango while much of the land is used to graze cows, sheep, and goats.



Figure 7.2. A view of the valley floor (facing south) at Arpicho.

In Arpicho's third zone along the foothills of the right bank, there are a number of pre-Hispanic sites, most of which seem to date broadly to a Nasca (ca. 100 BC – AD 800) occupation with several sites with Middle Horizon (ca. AD 650 – 1000) and Late Intermediate Period (ca. AD 1000 – 1440s) occupations, and correspond to Silverman's (2002: 36, Spreadsheet 3.1) Sites 63, 55, 53, 52, and 47. In the western area of Zone 3 (probably corresponding to Silverman's Site 63) there are a number of circular structures with stone foundations, with even, sandy surfaces inside the structures, and no substantial evidence of looting. The area is almost completely absent of artifacts. Just east along the same slope are several linear wall fieldstone segments. These structures do not seem to have been residential, and may have been used for corralling animals in the remote past, but are abandoned today. To the west of the hill slope there is a flat, cleared area which is currently a community soccer field, but at one time may have also served as an animal corral. There are a number of more formal (and very large) historical animal corrals on the slopes far above this area.

### **Cavella**

The site of San Xavier's annex of the "Parral de Cavella" is located on the left bank of the Ingenio River, just upriver from the modern town of San Pablo, and across the river from Macamaca (see Figure 7.3). The area is located in a middle valley region on a narrow strip of agricultural land between the river and the foot of Cerros San Pablo and Cabella, with four natural spring-fee ponds that provide water year round. Although the exact historical boundaries are not known, the vineyard annex most likely included all of the fields on the left bank of the Ingenio upriver from San Xavier's annex of San Pablo, up to and including those across the river

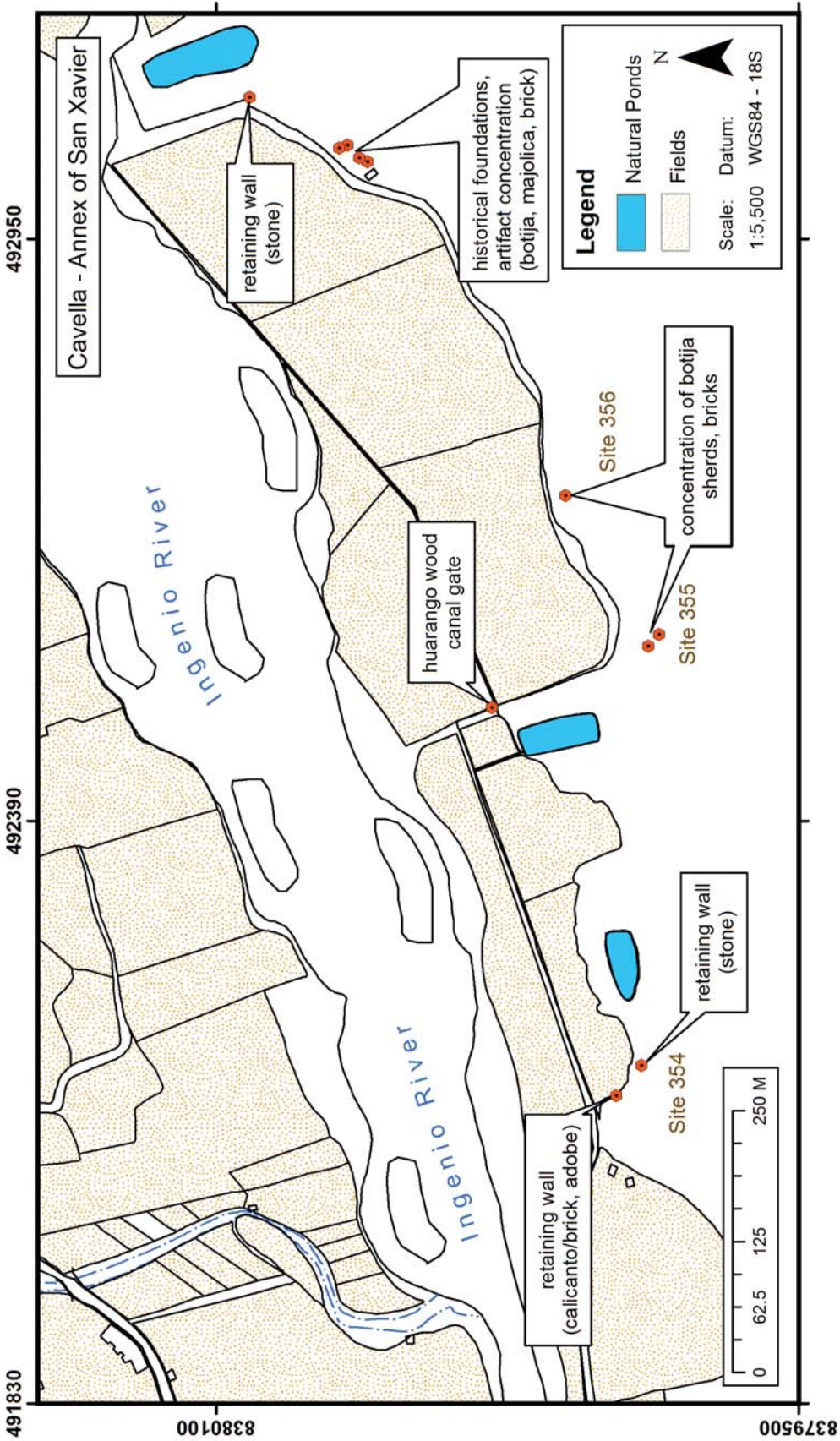


Figure 7.3. Map of the site of San Xavier's annex of the Parral de Cavella, with significant features indicated. Brown site numbers refer to Helaine Silverman's survey of the Ingenio Valley (Silverman 2002).

from the modern town of El Ingenio. No obvious colonial structures still exist on these properties.

The area that historically was the annex Cavella does not have an obvious nucleus. There are a number of homesteads in the area, some of which were likely constructed over the ruins of earlier structures (see Figure 7.4). There is a rustic one-lane dirt road leading from San Pablo through the fields of Cavella, and most of the homesteads are located off this main access. There are also several looted pre-Hispanic sites (mostly cemeteries) along the foot of the hills. These are identified by Silverman as Sites 354, 355, 356, 76 and 176, and correspond to Early Horizon, Nasca, and Late Intermediate Period occupations (2002: 36, Spreadsheet 3.1). While a number of ruins of walls, late historical structures and artifact concentrations were identified on my initial walkover, the most probable location of the Jesuit-era productive and residential center is at a modern house complex built over an earlier historical structure (see Figure 7.5). This household is located on the north side of the access road, midway between two natural ponds identified on the Peruvian National Geographic Institute (IGN) maps as Cocha No.1 and Cocha No.2 (see Figure 7.6). The modern residential complex is comprised of two structures constructed upon older historical foundations. There is also a high concentration of historical artifacts on the surface of the informal dirt road and around the home, including brick concentrations, botija sherds, majolica, and glazed refined earthenwares. There is also at least one red brick wall segment adjacent to the road at this homestead. Another fieldstone wall segment is located east of the above described homestead, alongside a canal/stream feed by Cocha No.1.



Figure 7.4. A modern homestead at Cavella. Note the outline of colonial brick and lime foundations surmounted by modern adobes.



Figure 7.5. Brick and lime foundations and historical artifact scatter near a homestead at Cavella.



Figure 7.6. One of the small natural ponds at Cavella.

The most western household at Cavella is a modern structure located at the foot of the valley's southern hills. Adjacent to the structure is a recently cleared garden, which contains the ruins of an earlier structure with a probable late 19<sup>th</sup> century or early 20<sup>th</sup> century provenience (perhaps itself built upon an older structure).

Near the western-most foot of Cerro Cabella along the fields is a heavily looted Nasca site (Silverman's Site 355). Historical materials near the site include botija sherds and red brick fragments. Another pre-Hispanic site south of Cocha No.2 (Silverman's Site 76), also has botija sherds on its surface.

### **San Pablo**

The "Hacienda San Pablo" was acquired by the Colegio de San Pablo of Lima in 1619 and was the colegio's first property in the valley (see Figure 7.7). In 1657, when the Lima Jesuits

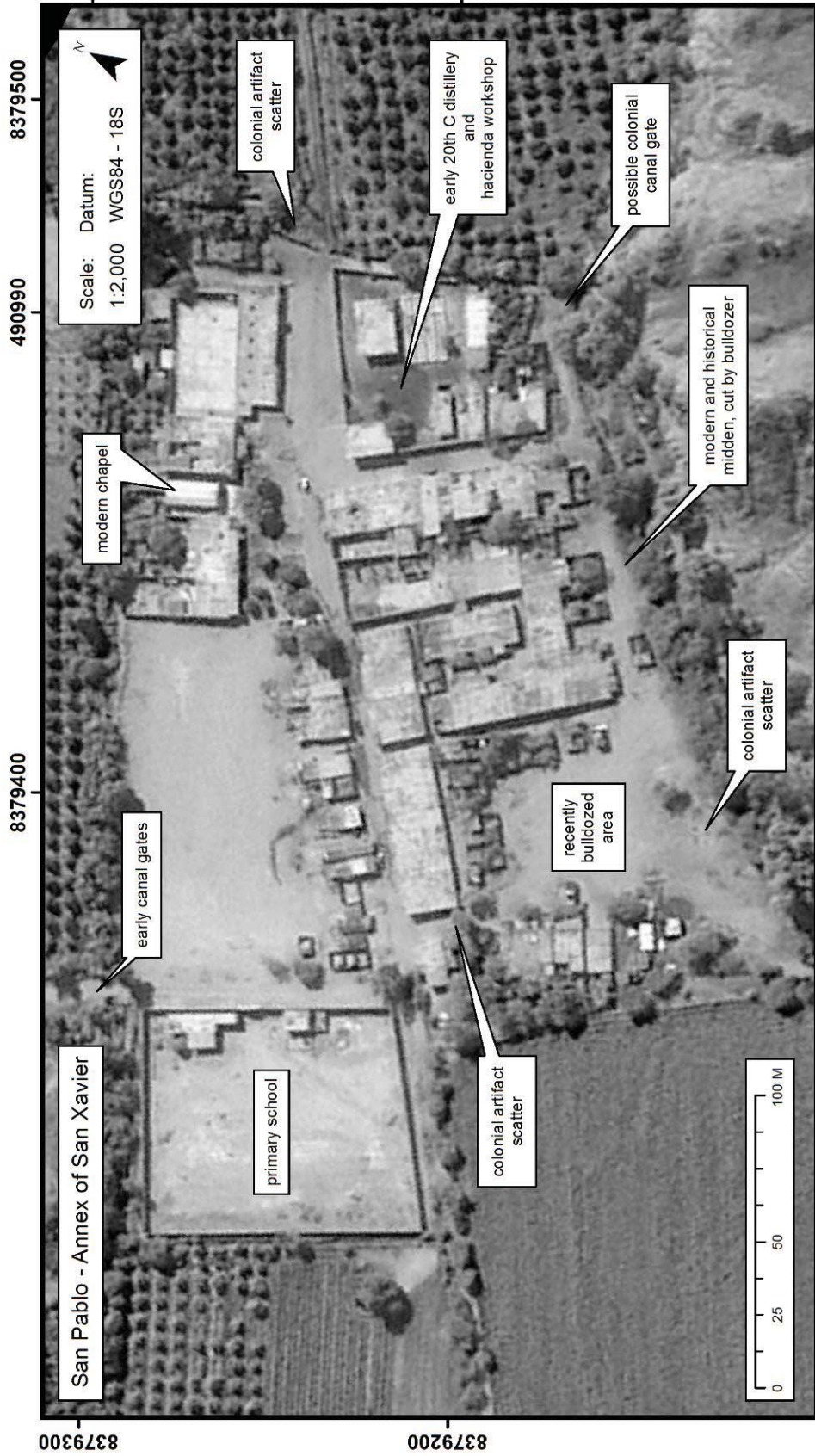


Figure 7.7. Satellite map (2013 imagery) of the site of San Xavier's annex of the Hacienda San Pablo at the modern town of San Pablo, with significant features indicated.

acquired the Hacienda San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca, San Pablo became an annex of the larger property. The site of San Pablo is located up valley and on the opposite side (left bank) of the Ingenio River from San Xavier. Today the annex is a modern town in the jurisdiction of the municipality of El Ingenio.

The town of San Pablo and the archaeological component of the annex site can be divided into several distinct areas: 1) The populated center around the Plaza de Armas, 2) the area comprised of the fields beyond the canal just east of the town, 3) the southern district of town abutting Cerro San Pablo, and 4) the area comprising the fields west of town. The first district around the plaza contains several buildings which were part of the productive core of the hacienda prior to the agrarian reform and from the period of the cooperative. There is a large walled/fenced-in area which has a brandy distillery with 20<sup>th</sup> century equipment, including a copper still, or *alambique* (see Figure 7.8). There are also several outbuildings and workshops, most of which are in disrepair and probably have not been used since the dissolution of the cooperative. On the northern side of the plaza is a modest chapel that was built in recent years of modern bricks and cement. It sits in an area with the remnants of larger walls, some of which have colonial or early republican brick and calicanto foundations and are faced with modern concrete (see Figure 7.9). Residents told me that there was a small Jesuit period chapel with ornate decoration at the site of the modern church, but it was destroyed in the earthquake of 1942. No historical photographs could be found. To the west of the church is a large structure with a reinforced western wall with adobe buttresses. This structure may have been the early 20<sup>th</sup> century casa hacienda. Immediately west of the old house is a soccer field which has been bulldozed. Directly in front of the plaza is a segment of the main street which is paved with





Figure 7.8. Early 20th century distillery (and *alembique* still) at the old hacienda workshop at San Pablo.



Figure 7.9. Detail of colonial brick and lime foundation of the structure adjacent to the east of the chapel at San Pablo.

cobble stones, and continues down a perpendicular street with a couple republican-era structures now occupied as homes (see Figure 7.10).



Figure 7.10. View to the north along Avenida Miraflores, the only extant cobblestone street at San Pablo.

The district east of the town is principally comprised of fields, but along the eastern canal there is a concentration of archaeological materials including botija sherds, some porcelain, and brick fragments. The eastern canal itself is brick lined and faced with modern cement. There is also a series of water control apparati, including sluice gates with very old huarango wood planks and elevation screws and handles in the southeastern sector of the town. These gates may be late colonial in origin (see Figure 7.11).



Figure 7.11. Functioning concrete capped historical brick and lime canal architecture, with an early huarango canal gate.

Along the southern flank of the town is a large midden area, but judging from materials in the exposed profile, the top 80 cm or more seems to be modern in origin and may be the result not only of community dumping practices, but also the bulldozing of adjacent areas. The topsoil, with some cultural material, has been pushed south into a pile along the southern edge of town near the flank of Cerro San Pablo. Historical cultural materials on the surface of this area include brick, botija sherds, and porcelain (including one porcelain bowl with a handpainted Chinese makers' mark). Between this area and the western section of town, a botija setter was found on the surface. The stylistic elements, including thumb impressions, is similar to setters found at San Joseph and La Ventilla.

The houses along the southern side of the main street of the town of San Pablo to the west of the town's center are very similar in style to the worker housing built at the site of San Joseph's annex of La Ventilla and those at San José and San Javier in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. However, they are most similar to the structures at La Ventilla, with multiple apartments in long structures, and faced with a veranda supported by rectangular columns. The canal gates at the entrance into town have early components, but were redressed in concrete in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as indicated by inscriptions set into the cement, one giving the date "nov 28 de 1936.

The general state of preservation at San Pablo is similar to the other hacienda sites in the valley. There are obvious remains of the early republican and colonial occupations, but the potential for subsurface resources warrants additional research, particularly archaeological excavation. As is the case with all of the historical archaeological sites in the Ingenio Valley, San Pablo's historical cultural patrimony is in jeopardy from new construction projects and population growth.

### **La Ventilla**

The site of San Joseph de la Nasca's annex of the "Hacienda La Ventilla" is located on the opposite side of the Ingenio River from San Joseph, about halfway between the Panamericana Sur and the town of San Pablo (see Figure 7.12). Unlike most of the other annexes, the nucleus of La Ventilla is presently abandoned, although it was recently occupied informally, perhaps as a temporary estancia by local farmers, who had habitated in structures dating to the pre-Velasco era. The site is bounded by agricultural fields on all sides. There are five ruinous standing structures: one of 18<sup>th</sup> century provenience, one which was probably

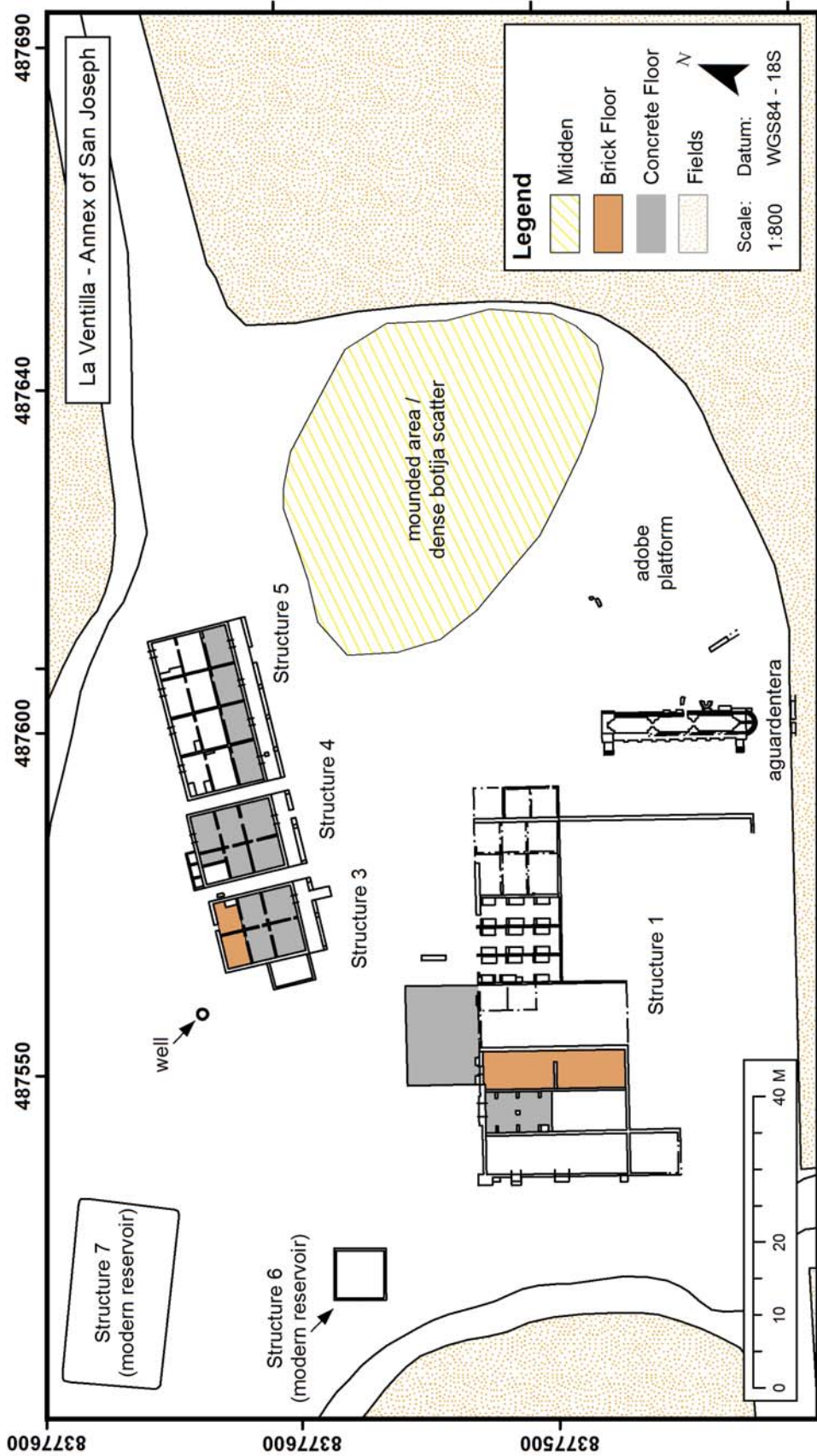


Figure 7.12. Map of the site of San Joseph's annex of Hacienda La Ventilla, with 18th through 20th century surficial and architectural remains indicated.

constructed in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, and three which are clearly 20<sup>th</sup> century in origin, but built upon earlier, likely colonial, foundations (see Figure 7.13).



Figure 7.13. Twentieth century worker housing (Structures 3, 4, and 5) built prior to the 1969 agrarian reforms. Likely constructed over earlier foundations.

Structure 1 likely had an initial 19<sup>th</sup> century occupation, but was used until the agrarian reforms. It is located in the southwestern sector of the site, is constructed of brick and adobe, and was primarily a residential complex. This structure is divided into a number of individual rooms, and in addition to housing workers in both apartment and “camp-style” housing (three rooms include concrete-capped brick beds), likely had storage and work space. Opposite of Structure 1 are Structures 3, 4, and 5, all of which were built to house hacienda workers prior to the agricultural reform. These structures in the northern sector of the site are also adjacent to a brick-lined well and a concrete-lined reservoir in the northwestern sector.

The only extant colonial-era structure (Structure 2) at the site is the large brandy distillery, or *aguardentera*, south of Structure 5 and east of Structure 1 (see Figures 7.14, 7.15, and 7.16). The *aguardentera* is constructed of brick and calicanto and has plaster adornments.



Figure 7.14. View from the northwest of the aguardentera feature at La Ventilla. Note the ornate molded decoration along the aguardentera's western elevation.



Figure 7.15. View from the southeast of the aguardentera feature at La Ventilla, with Structures 1, 4, and 5 in the background. Note the furnace and still housings along the aguardentera's eastern elevation.

The main trough of the aguardentera is rectangular with three chambers and a circular feature at its southern end. It measures about 21 m by 4 m and is constructed of red bricks mortared with calicanto. Two staircases project from the west elevation, one at the north end, and one at the south.



Figure 7.16. Detail of the best preserved example of a furnace and still housing at La Ventilla's aguardentera.

While there are botija, majolica, and refined earthenware sherds throughout the site, the largest concentration of materials occurs around the aguardentera and in a mounded area to its northeast. The mounded area measures 50 meters east-west and 35 meters north-south, and is littered with potentially thousands of botija sherds, as well as other ceramics (mostly other utilitarian coarse earthenwares and some majolica), and also a number of botijas setters presumably used at La Ventilla in alcohol production. These setters are variable in form and style, but most include decorative motifs which make use of thumb impression techniques (as



will be discussed in the next chapter). Within this general area there are also a number of discarded colonial-era bricks, some still joined with calicanto into partial columns. In the agricultural field immediately south of the aguardentera is a concentration of botijas, bricks, and plaster, and might indicate that the complex that included the aguardentera had originally continued further to the south.

### **Tambo del Inga and La Legua**

The site of San Joseph's annex of "Tambo del Inga" is located at the narrows (or *angostura*) of the Ingenio River, between the middle and lower valleys (see Figure 7.17). In 1626, when the Cuzco Jesuits acquired the property, it included the now non-extant ruins of the Incaic site of Tambo Collao (Site 177 in Silverman 2002:47), bulldozed circa 1950, a series of small fields for vines, clay borrows used for making the estate's botijas, and puquios. A portion of the ruins of the Inca tambo still exist among the hills along the Panamerican Highway (see Figures 7.18 and 7.19).

Because of the site's location at the constriction or *angostura* of the Ingenio Valley, the annex of Tambo del Inga played an important role in controlling the colonial-era hydrology of the valley, as it did in the pre-Hispanic past (see Silverman 2002). The turn-of-the-18<sup>th</sup> century dispute between the Jesuit administrators of San Xavier and San Joseph which centered on an irrigation ditch bringing water from San Pablo through La Ventilla to the stretch of the Ingenio River beyond the *angostura* (see discussion in Chapter 4), exemplifies the importance of Tambo del Inga for water management. Tambo del Inga was also where San Joseph's slaves had usufruct rights, and where they held celebratory feasts.

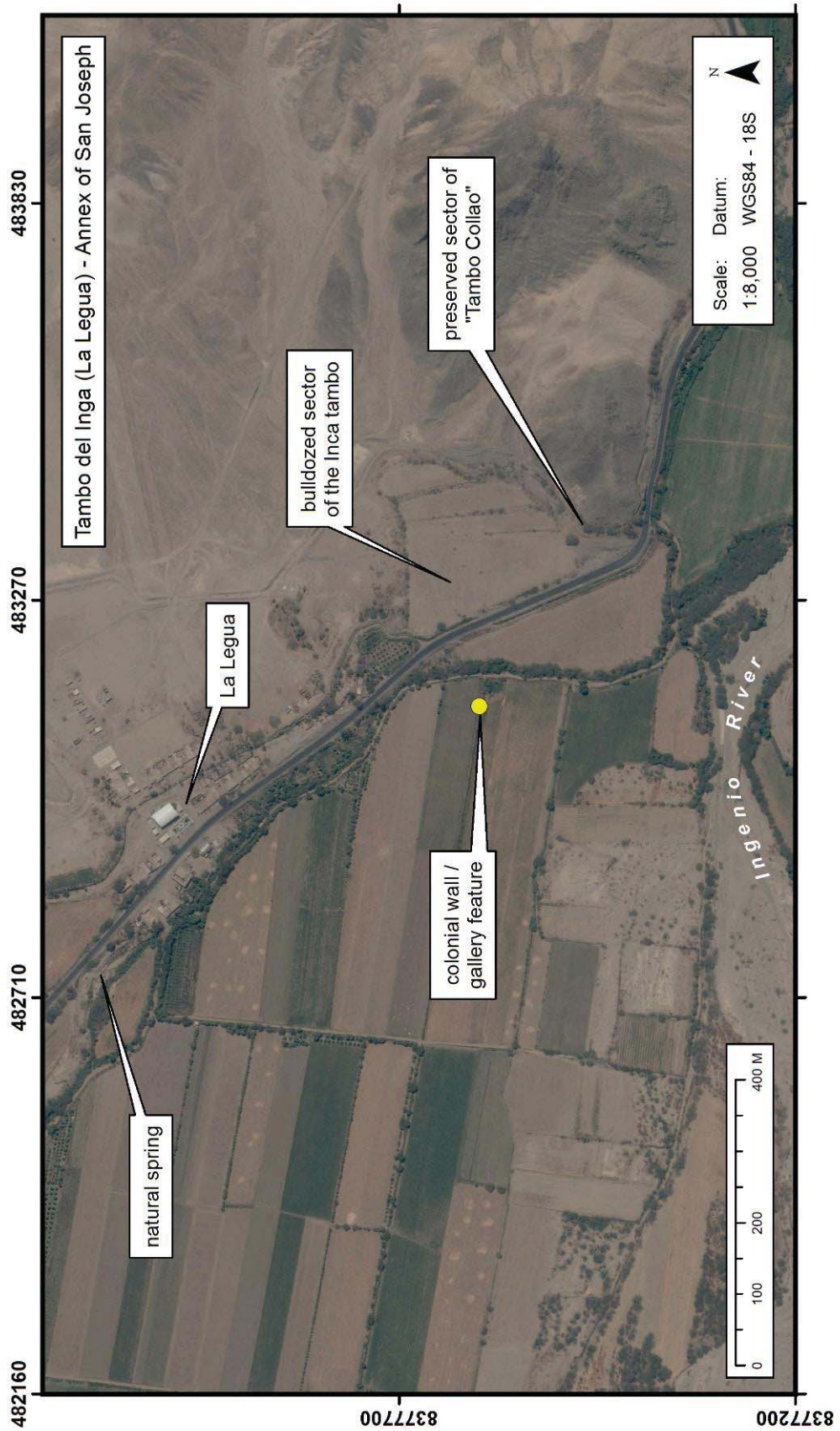


Figure 7.17. Satellite map (2013 imagery) of the site of San Joseph's annex of Tambo del Inga at modern-day La Legua. Note the location of the early colonial brick "wall" within the (probable) filtration gallery feature, relative to the fields, settlement, and Late Horizon site.

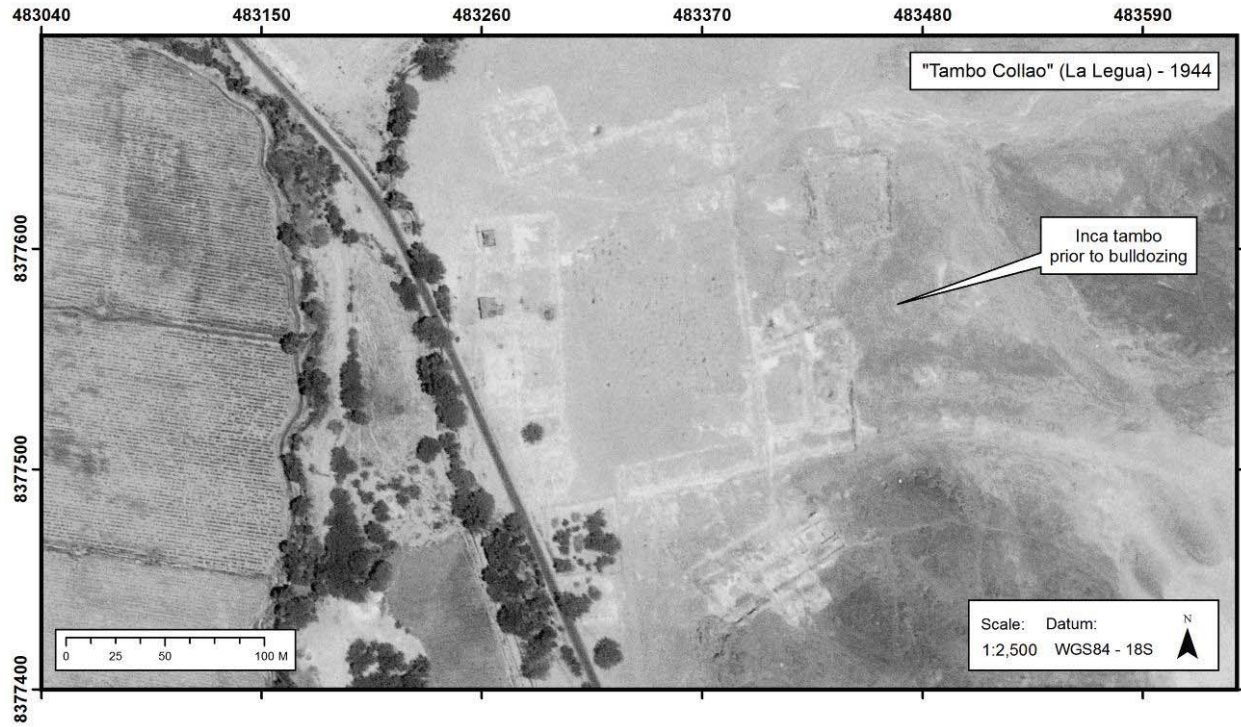


Figure 7.18. Aerial photomap (SAN 1944) of the Late Horizon and colonial site known as “Tambo Collao” at La Legua, prior to its intentional destruction.



Figure 7.19. Aerial photograph by Victor Wolfgang van Hagen circa 1940 of the ruins of “Tambo Collao” prior to the site’s destruction.

The hydrological management technologies, including canal systems and filtration galleries that made the valley's intense colonial-era agriculture possible, were overwhelmingly pre-Hispanic in origin, maintained, modified, and adapted for new agricultural practices. A well-preserved example of early colonial modification of a pre-existing, pre-Hispanic water management apparatus is a modified filtration gallery near the modern-day hamlet of La Legua. I identified the filtration gallery after residents of Changuillo brought to my attention a peculiar feature uncovered a decade ago near the bottom of a pit dug for a new well. The pit features an early colonial bricked wall in its southwest profile, at a subsurface depth of 4 m (see Figures 7.20 and 7.21). The wall has seven courses of bricks, and below the feature is a hollowed cavernous space. Above the wall is a thin layer of dark sand, which is covered by several courses of medium sized river stones. Above these stones is a compact yellowish brown sandy soil which reaches up to the ground surface, but it is unclear if this layer has distinct depositional stratigraphy due to the heavy plant cover, which impedes a clear view of the profile of the well sidewall. This soil seems to represent a cut and fill event related to the construction of the feature, which was intended to be subterranean. The remaining profiles consist of 1.8 m of light yellowish brown compacted soil, resting upon densely packed medium sized river stones which continue to the bottom of the well's pit. The soil above the wall feature sharply contrasts with these river stones and points to the event of excavation during the feature's construction. At the moment of construction in the 16<sup>th</sup> or early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the ground level was probably 1.8 m below the present surface level, as indicated by the deposition above the river stones throughout the rest of the well, which seems to correlate with similar soil above the feature. Subsequent evaluation will no doubt shed light on how the early colonial-era restoration of the filtration gallery contributed to the water management strategy of the property.

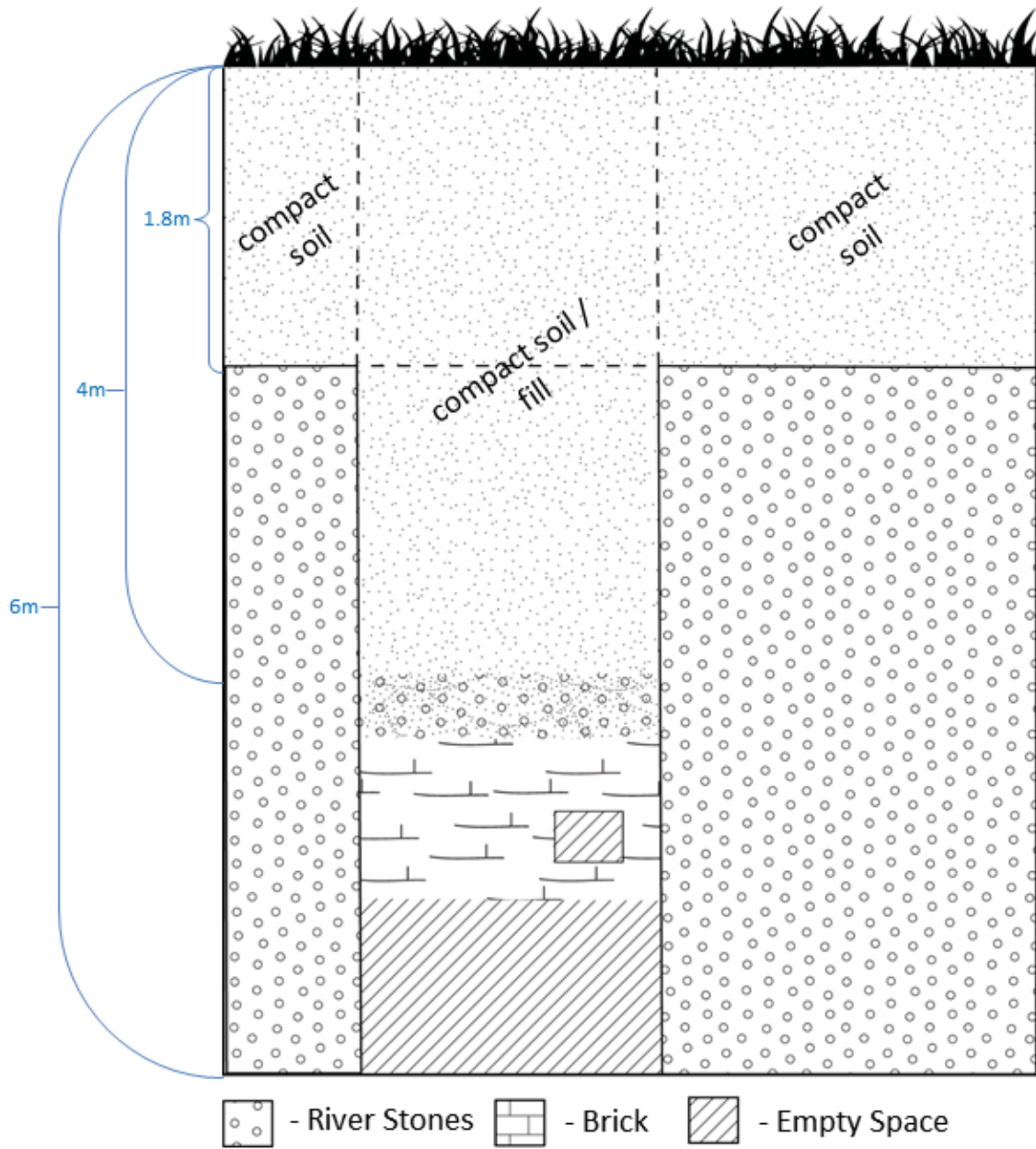


Figure 7.20. Profile drawing of well shaft at La Legua with early colonial brick feature.



Figure 7.21. Detail of an early colonial brick feature within the shaft of a water well at La Legua.

## **Llipata**

The site of San Xavier's annex of the "Hacienda de Llipata" is located at the modern town of Llipata in the district of Palpa (see Figure 7.22). The property, which included a vineyard, orchard, and huarangal, was acquired relatively late by the Lima Jesuits in 1739, and for a time, it was leased rather than directly farmed by the administrator of San Xavier. It is therefore assumed that any historical infrastructure identified at the site would only be indirectly affiliated with San Xavier's productive regime, by way of supplementing the finances of San Xavier's estate through its lease.

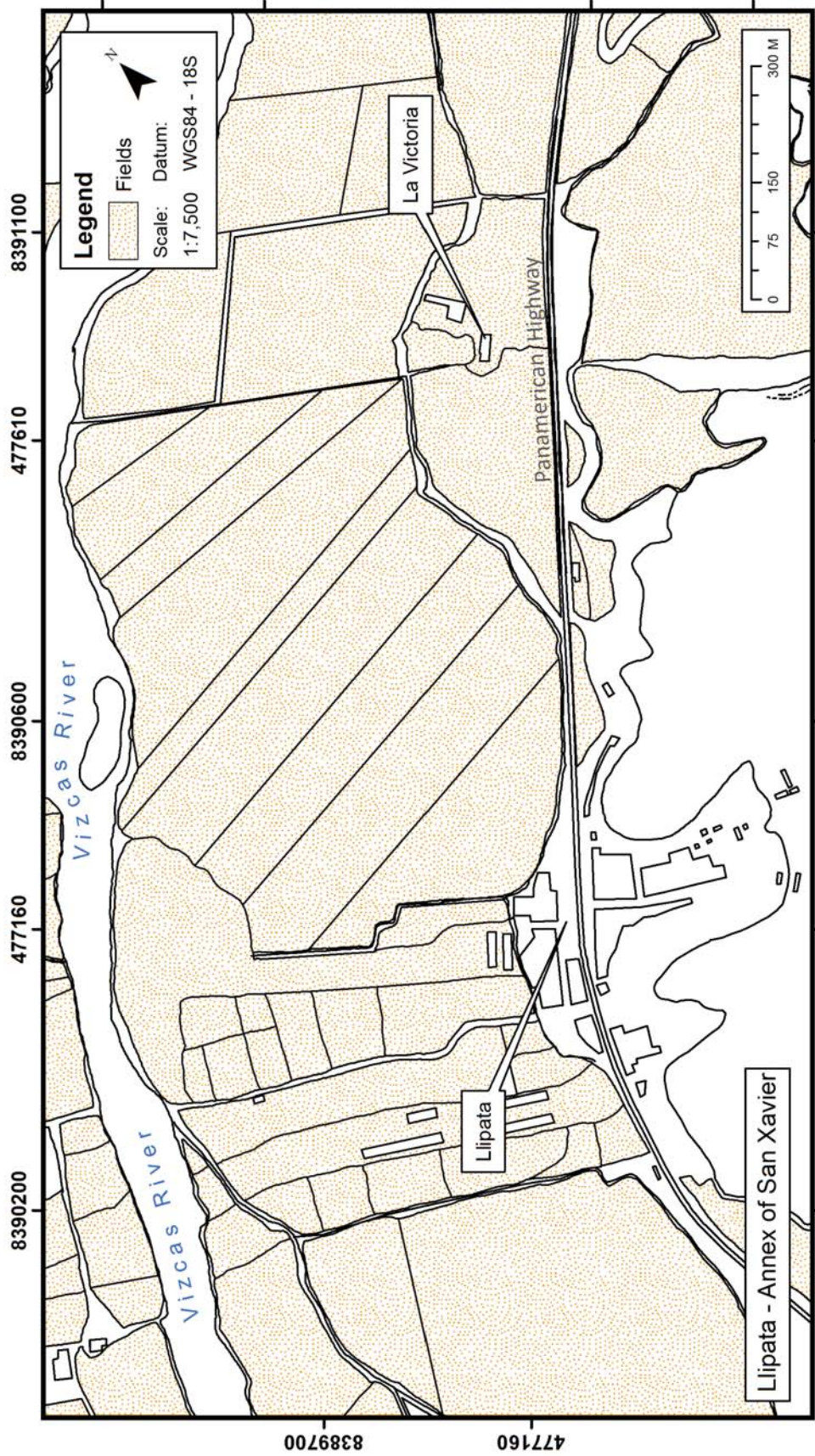


Figure 7.22. Map of the site of San Joseph's annex of Hacienda de Lipata, with the locations of the settlements of Lipata and La Victoria.

The modern town and fields at Llipata likely cover any colonial remains, none of which are visible on the surface. The houses and structures on the eastern side of the Panamerican Highway are very newly constructed, although they may have been built over earlier occupations which are no longer visible. It is almost certain that the present structures on the western side of the Panamerican are built upon the foundations of republican era structures from the hacienda complex, however no surface artifacts could be seen which would point to an extensive colonial period occupation.

In addition to the core of the community of Llipata, some of the outlying settlements were also surveyed, including a series of residential structures immediately to the north of Llipata, called La Victoria, which historically would have also constituted part of the Hacienda of Llipata (see Figure 7.23). There are several structures with foundations which appear to be 18<sup>th</sup> century in origin judging by the size of the adobes and the type of red fired bricks used. One structure has a foundation comprised of adobe blocks measuring 48 cm x 27 cm, as well as some bricks which likely date to the 19<sup>th</sup> century or earlier. The structure also makes use of large, huarango crossbeams and lintels, which may predate the extant structure, and may have been used in a previous building at the same location. Around this structure there are a number of coarse earthenware, wheel-thrown vessel and burnt olla sherds. Another structure just to the north also has early republican characteristics, including an arched adobe doorway. In front of these structures (north of the first and east of the second) there is an area of land which is more or less level and flat, with the outlines for a few new structures which are under construction. In this area there are a number of botija fragments. One was notable as it was slipped, cord impressed, and brushed, resembling the decorative styles associated with San Joseph and San Xavier.





Figure 7.23. Eastern elevation of an historical hacienda structure at La Victoria, Llipata. Late colonial/early republican ruins in the foreground with botija sherd surficial scatter.

## Lacra

The site of San Joseph's annex "Estancia de San Juan de Lacra" comprises the modern towns and associated fields of the modern hamlets of Nueva Esperanza, Lacra, and Las Mercedes, between the towns of San Juan and Cabildo, in the middle valley along the right bank of the Grande River (see Figure 7.24). The archaeological components observed are contained to the area around the modern plaza at Lacra and a post-Jesuit "bodega" and kiln complex between Lacra and Las Mercedes.

Because like most of the hacienda sites in the region, Lacra is a modern community, it is very difficult to gauge the extent of the historical component by surface observations alone. The full scope of the colonial and republican era occupations and the modern community's impact on these resources can only be partially assessed by walkover survey. Around the plaza at Lacra



Figure 7.24. Satellite map (2013 imagery) of the site of San Joseph's annex of the Estancia de San Juan de Lacra, with the locations of the modern two of Lacra and the kiln complex.

several sherds (but not substantial concentrations) of 19<sup>th</sup> century refined earthenwares were found in addition to a number of coarse earthenwares, some of which appeared to have been used in cooking activities. One house on the western edge of the plaza has ornate wooden details, which are likely 19<sup>th</sup> century in origin. On the northern edge of the plaza, along which a canal runs, there are a number of late colonial or early republican bricks from a collapsed wall segment. Generally, there is little evidence of earlier structures, with the exception of a bodega and kiln complex between Lacra and Las Mercedes, which although in ruins, is fairly complete and has associated outlying features such as artifact concentrations (principally botijas, majolica, refined earthenwares, and late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century glassware) and wall foundations.

The bodega and kiln complex is located about 350 meters west of the plaza, on the north side of the road (see Figures 7.25 and 7.26). The structure is about 22 m in length and about 17 m in width (including the 5 m diameter kiln). The structure seems to have been used as a bodega and includes four main chambers and a furnace. There is an associated water well and several other stone, brick, and adobe wall segments around the main complex. The structure seems to have been modified over the course of several occupations and the construction materials vary from adobes, bricks, field stones, and most recently concrete. The structure is in an abandoned state and many of the walls have fallen and been robbed of their construction materials in order to be used elsewhere in the area.



Figure 7.25. Western and southern elevations of the complex associated with a kiln/furnace feature at Lacre.

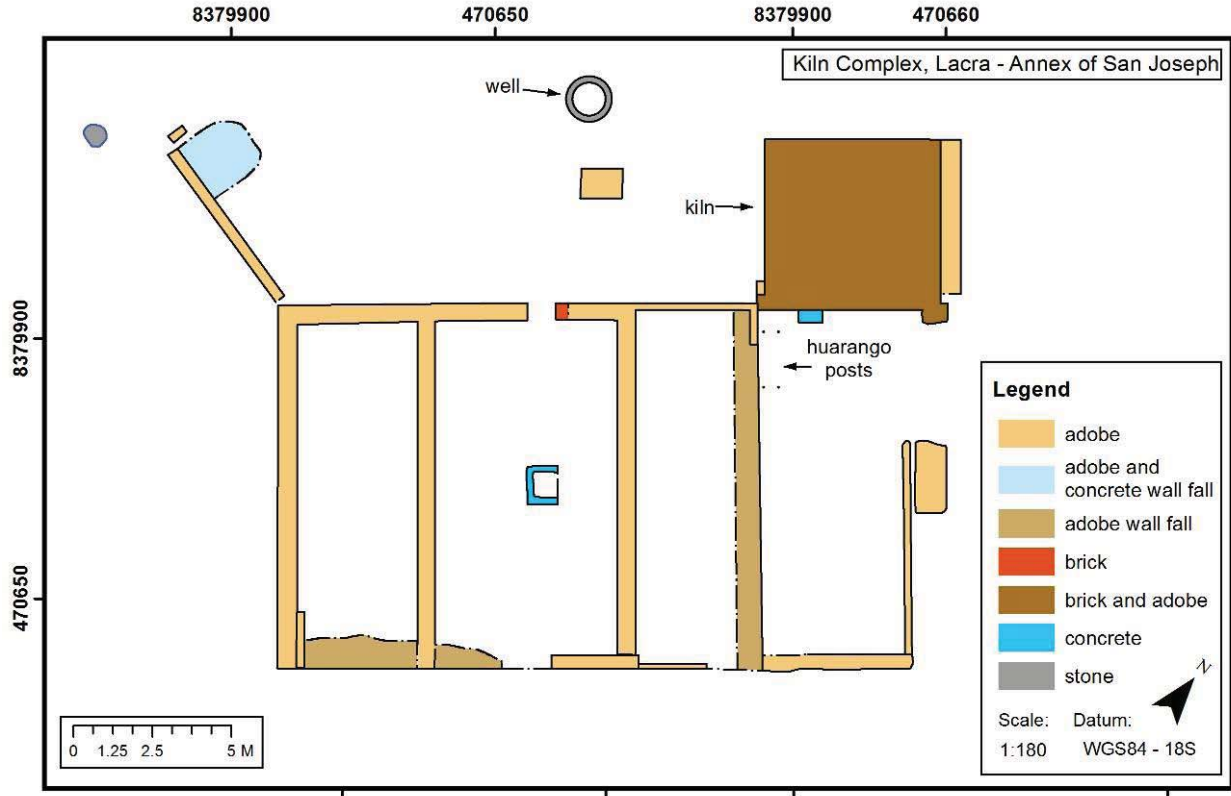


Figure 7.26. Plan drawing of the Lacre kiln/furnace complex.

## **Gramadal**

The site of San Joseph's annex of the "Tierras de Gramadal" is located on the right bank of the Grande River, and its core includes a field and a small privately owned homestead about 2 km southwest of the town of Cabildo, about 2.3 km northeast of the confluence of the Nasca and Grande Rivers (see Figure 7.27). The archaeological components observed were centered on a large residential complex with both occupied and abandoned habitational spaces. To the eastern flank of the property, just before reaching the agricultural fields, there is a natural spring which flows with water all year round. The water is salty and floods part of the northeastern field, forming a marshy wetland. Both the modern residence and the historical archaeological component of the site rest on and around a large pre-Hispanic site, which Silverman identifies as Sites 484 and 485 (2002: 36). Silverman (2002: Spreadsheet 3.1) describes the occupation at both sites as Nasca and "post-Nasca can't be determined." The site is badly disturbed and has a large looted cemetery component that is cut by the main road. Additionally, there was a large component of colonial coarse earthenware sherds, including botijas, scattered across the southeastern extension of the pre-Hispanic site, near the modern estancia.

There are no standing structures dating to the colonial period at the site. However, the large house complex, that functioned as the casa hacienda for Hacienda Gramadal, may have colonial period elements, such as foundations, but overall the structure dates to the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century (see Figure 7.28 and 7.29). The residential complex consists of two components: a front (or northern) component, measuring 30 m (north-south) by 17.5 m (east-west), and a rear (or southern) component, measuring 40 m (east-west) by 11 m (north-south). The front component is presently occupied by a family and the back is used as storage and for corralling animals. Some of the foundations of (and alongside) the rear component are brick and

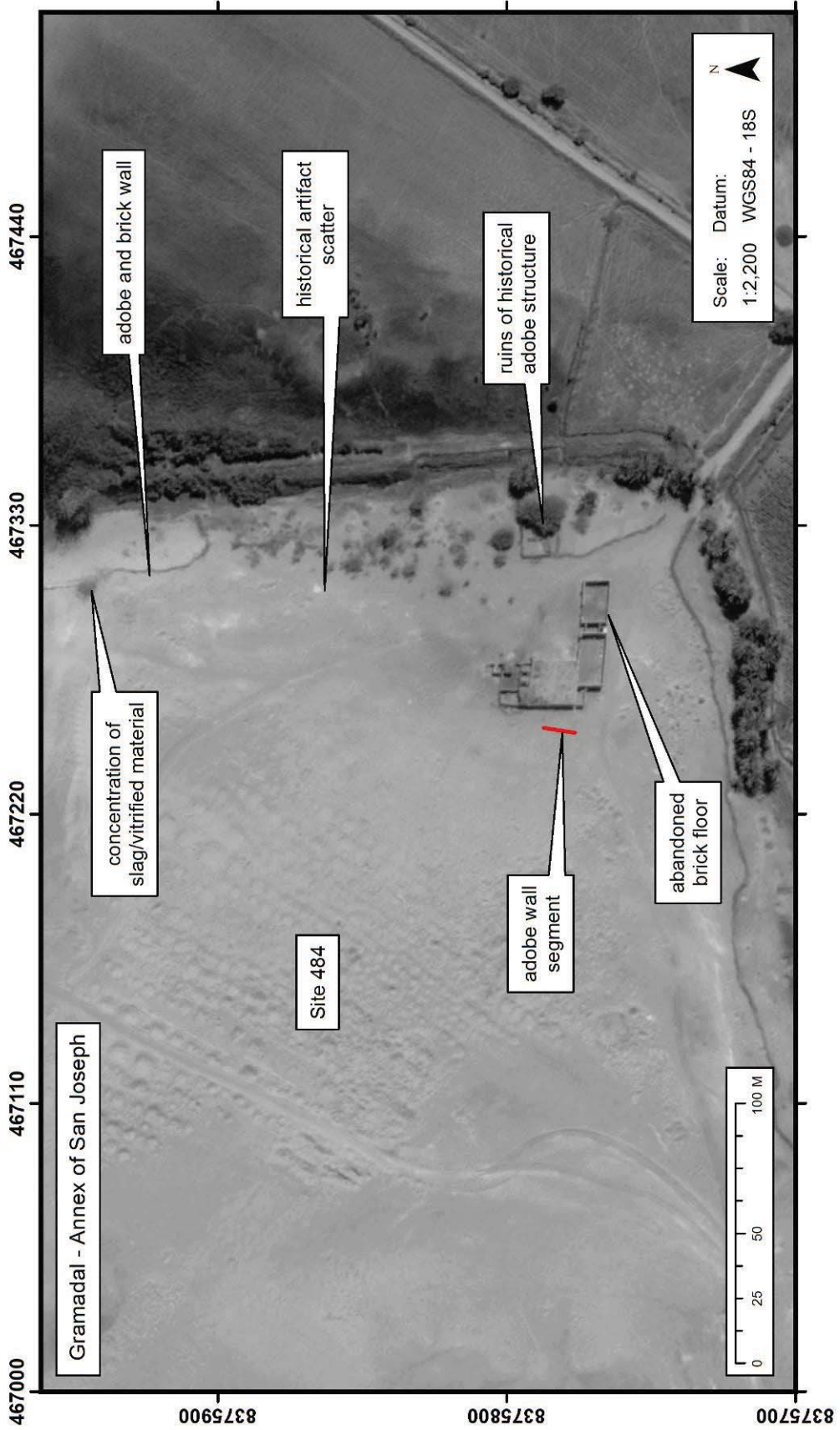


Figure 7.27. Satellite map (2013 imagery) of the site of San Joseph's annex of Tierras de Gramadal including a modern homestead, with the locations of surficial features. Site 484 is identified by Helaine Silverman (2002) as a heavily looted Nasca/Post-Nasca site.



Figure 7.28. Modern homestead at Gramadal, built over historical foundations.



Figure 29. Detail of brick and lime platform adjacent to a stone and brick foundation surmounted by modern adobes.

appear to predate the structure that surmounts them. Alongside the rear of the structure there is another looted component of the pre-Hispanic cemetery and a concentration of historic period ceramics. To the western flank of the house is another series of wall foundation segments. These are comprised of adobe and are potentially colonial in origin. They seem to form an orthogonal room, but due to their poor surface preservation it is difficult to determine if they are part of such a structure or a parallel alignment of walls.

There are several concentrations of historic artifacts distributed around the property at Gramadal. As mentioned above, one concentration is northeast of the house and intermixed with the pre-Hispanic cemetery. In this area there is a brick and adobe wall segment with an associated concentration of botija sherds. This segment is about 1 m thick and is visible on the surface for several meters, running generally in a north-south orientation. There was also one large fragment of slag, likely from a furnace or ceramics kiln. South of this area there was another concentration of botija sherds as well as other large coarse earthenware vessels (rims indicate forms like orzas or cantaros).

An adobe structure, measuring roughly 5 m by 13 m, is located inside an animal corral east of the residential complex (see Figure 7.30). The adobe structure is in a state of ruin and the wall segments are in danger of complete collapse. The structure seems to predate the residential complex and may be colonial in origin.

The Jesuit occupation of the annex property would have been modest and probably included several buildings for temporary shelter and the storage of botijas en route to Puerto Caballa, as well as a small chapel. The brick foundations suggest something more elaborate, and may post-date the Jesuit occupation. The presence of slag is suggestive of a nearby botija kiln, although more substantial remains of such a kiln or furnace were not found on survey. While the



Jesuit presence at the site was likely minimal and mainly associated with the transportation of botijas of wine and brandy to Puerto Caballa, it is reasonable to conclude that the post-Jesuit occupation was more substantial and involved heavier infrastructure including facilities for ceramic production.



Figure 7.30. Ruins of colonial or early republican adobe wall at Gramadal.

## **Usaca**

The site of San Joseph’s annex of the “Huarangal de Usaca” is located at the confluence of the Nasca and Usaca (the lower valley of the Las Trancas) Rivers, and consists of huarango groves and several modern and relic fields (see Figure 7.31). There is a single homestead at Usaca, and the area has traditionally been under the jurisdiction of the town (formerly hacienda)

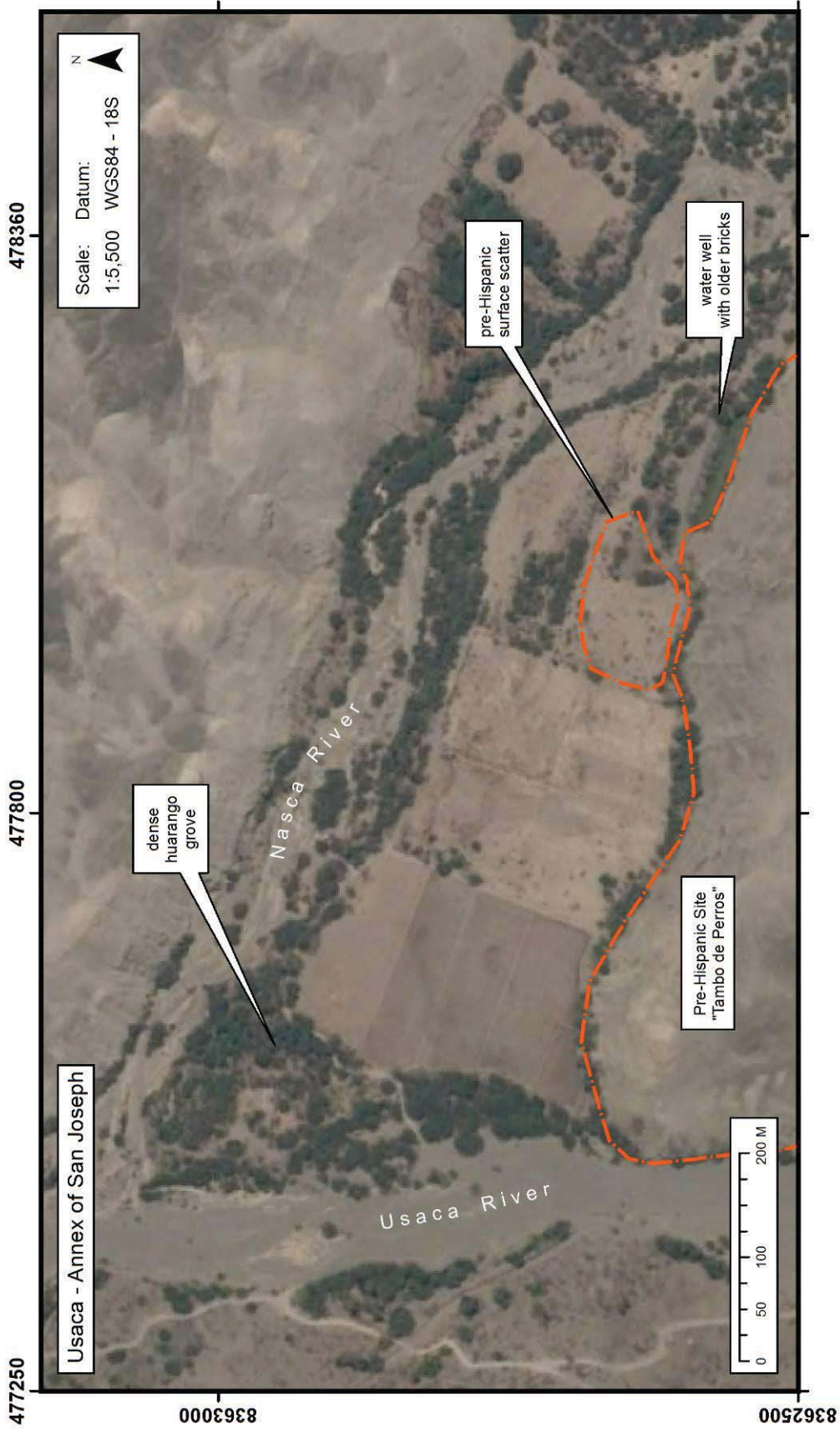


Figure 7.31. Satellite map (2013 imagery) of the site of San Joseph's annex of the Huarangal de Usaca, including modern fields, the pre-Hispanic site of "Tambo de Perros," and the extant huarango groves at the confluence of the Nasca and Usaca (lower Las Trancas) Rivers.

of Tambo de Perros, upriver along the Nasca River from Usaca. Above the historical site of Usaca, on the hills to the southwest, is the Nasca archaeological site of Tambo de Perros.<sup>2</sup>

In order to cover as much area as possible, transects were walked between the rows of crops in the agricultural field at Usaca and the thick underbrush of the huarango groves near the Nasca River were scouted to the best of my team's ability (see Figure 7.32). While a number of pre-Hispanic sherds and artifacts were found on the surface, nearly no historical period artifacts were found. There does not seem to be any visible architectural remains from the colonial period, although documentary evidence suggests that the site was used for cultivating huarango trees and for keeping the mules necessary for the transportation of goods to and from Puerto Caballa. It is likely that there are more historical materials downriver toward Gramadal, on the Grande River, as the properties were at one time considered the same annex, although spatially very distinct. One possible area of historic use is near the southeastern extreme of Usaca, where there is a collection of older red fired bricks (of unknown provenience) near a modern well with a motorized pump. There are, however, no definitive cultural materials such as ceramics in this area which predate the second-half of the 20<sup>th</sup> C.

The Jesuit-era presence at the site seems to have been very ephemeral and was likely temporary. The site was probably only used as a source of huarango wood and the components of the site associated with the transport of goods to Puerto Caballa were likely located closer to the site of Gramadal.

<sup>2</sup> The Nasca archaeological Tambo de Perros site shares its name with the town, but is distinct.



Figure 7.32. A huarango grove at Usaca.

### **Coyungo**

The site of San Joseph's annex of the "Tierras de Coyungo" is located on the right bank of the Grande River, south of the Pampas Santa Rosa (see Figure 7.33). The annex includes the modern town of Coyungo and its associated agricultural fields. Prior to the agrarian reforms the town of Coyungo was an hacienda, and remains centered around a central plaza (see Figure 7.34). Buildings on the plaza include a community center and town hall located in the 20<sup>th</sup> century ex-casa hacienda, and a modern church. East of the plaza, toward the river, are two streets lined with modern homes, and an additional street is on the northern side of the plaza. To the west of the plaza there are several less formal residences and to the east of the plaza and row

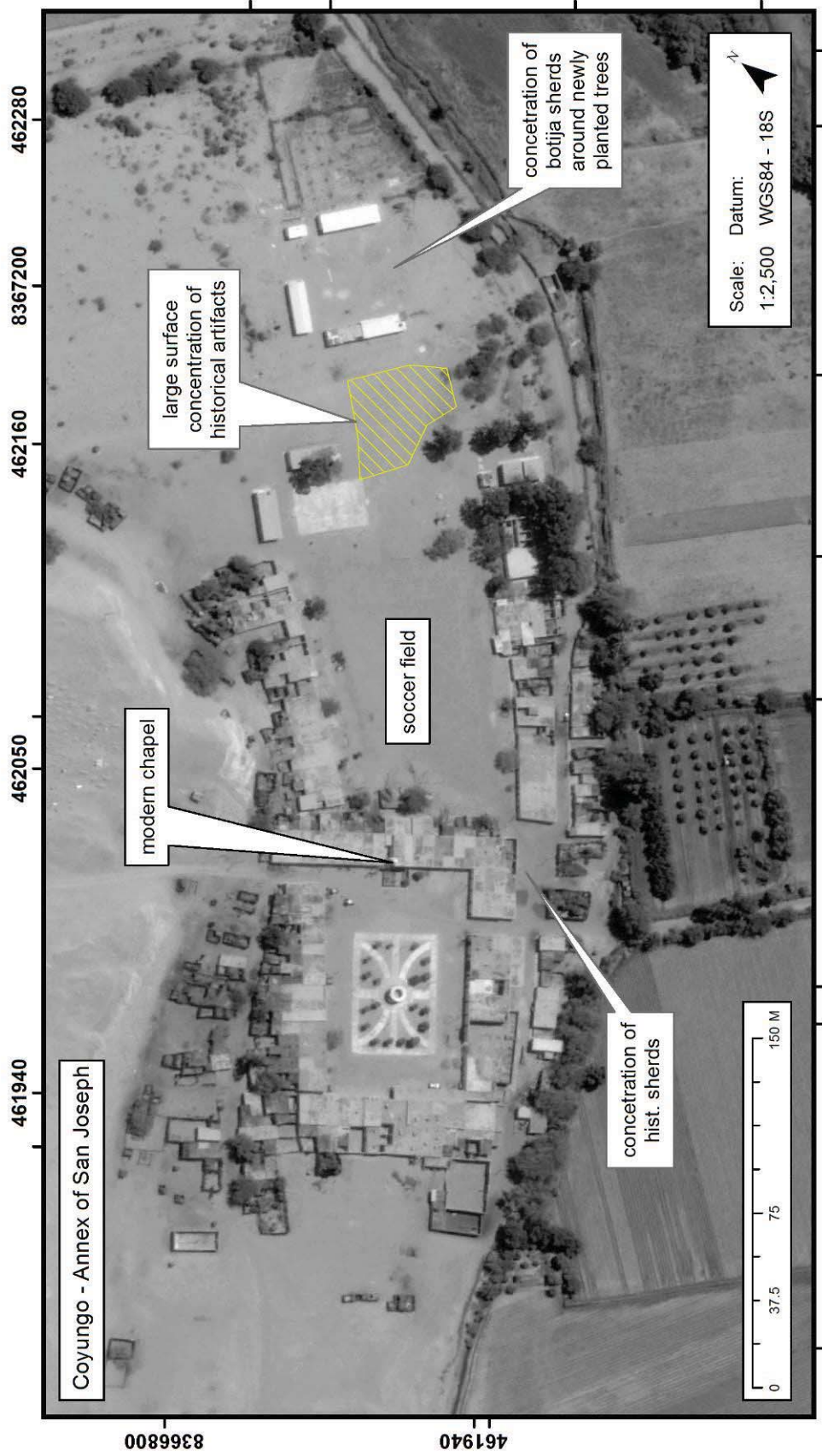


Figure 7.33. Satellite map (2013 imagery) of the site of San Joseph's annex of Tierras de Coyungo at the town of Coyungo, with the locations of important surficial features.

of houses is an open space used as a soccer field, with an additional row of homes located to the west, above the field. To the northeast of the soccer field is a public health clinic and beyond is a recently constructed school complex with three buildings. A modern cemetery is located on the hill to the northwest above the town.



Figure 7.34. Overview of the western extent of the modern community of Coyungo and its Plaza de Armas.

Evidence suggests that the modern town is constructed upon the colonial remains of the Jesuit annex, which were substantially expanded in the years after the Jesuit expulsion. There are a number of concentrations of historical artifacts across the modern town, however, there is not a clear presence of structural ruins dating to a time prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see Figure 7.35).

While the Jesuit hacienda was primarily concerned with the use of the annex's land for huarango wood and the annex itself as a waystation along the road to Puerto Caballa, the hacienda grew into an intense agricultural enterprise during the early republican period.



Figure 7.35. One of the few modern residential structures at Coyungo with historical (possibly colonial) foundations.

Throughout the town there is a general presence of historical materials, such as botija sherds, coarse earthenwares, and refined earthenwares. There are also a number of pre-Hispanic sherds, several of which have diagnostic late Nasca and Middle Horizon elements. One of the greatest concentrations of historical (particularly botija) and pre-Hispanic sherds occurs near the newly constructed school buildings, likely due to buried materials being moved to the surface during the construction process.

The most concentrated area of historical surface artifacts is in an area east of the soccer field, alongside the health clinic. This area has a high density of artifacts as well as river stones, and may include items cleared from other areas of the community, such as the soccer field. In

this area a range of materials such as bricks, botija sherds, refined earthenwares, and a plug for a ceramic jar were identified. Generally, there is a lack of any obviously colonial or early republican structures still in use in the town of Coyungo. However, there is a ruinous adobe structure which is currently part of an animal corral, on the hill slope just north of the plaza area and to the west of the road entering the community. There are no surface artifacts associated with this structural feature.

### **Puerto Caballa**

During the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries Puerto Caballa was an important seaport for exporting wines and brandies from estates in the Grande River Drainage for shipment to Callao, and it was particularly important for the Jesuit haciendas of San Joseph and San Xavier (see Figure 7.36). As discussed in earlier chapters, both estates shared a modest “ranch” at the seaport, which included bodegas for the storage of botijas prior to shipment. The survey of Puerto Caballa included the area of the beach and shore from the “calvario” at the large rock outcrop called La Peña, to a prominent ravine about 800 m along the shore to the north.

The inhabited area consists of a chapel and ten homes, most of which are occupied only seasonally (see Figure 7.37). There are no standing colonial structures, however the construction of new beach houses has revealed that there is likely a substantial subsurface archaeological component to the site. The surface materials were mostly concentrated near the foundations of newer homes, where they were likely discarded by workers excavating trenches for the new structures (see Figure 7.38). These artifact concentrations primarily included botija sherds. Interestingly, some of these sherds have pitch coated on their interiors, while others do not, suggesting that both liquid goods (i.e. wine and brandy) as well as dry goods were shipped in



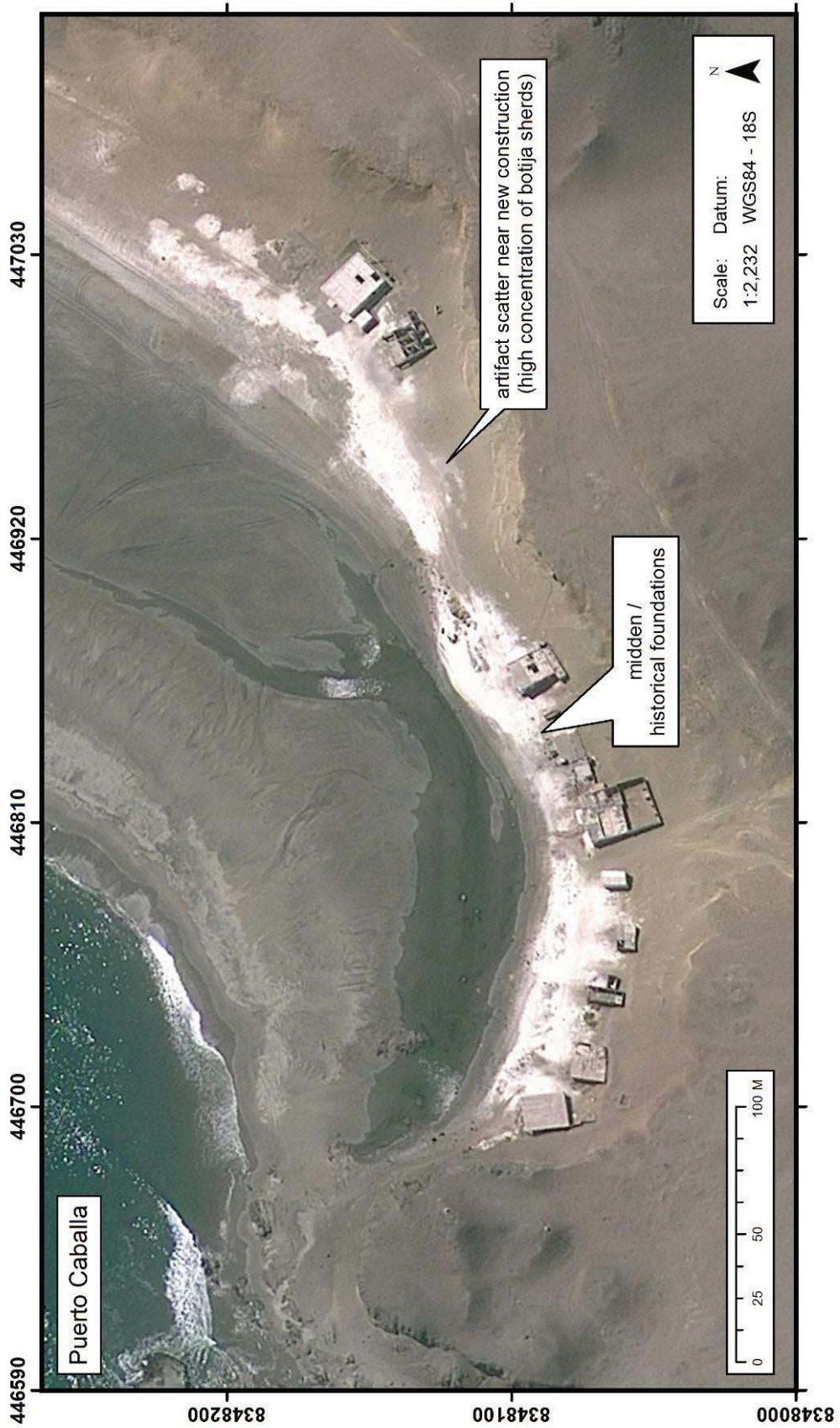


Figure 7.36. Satellite map (2013 imagery) of Puerto Caballa with the locations of important surficial features.

botijas from the port. A large number of the botija sherds observed on the surface also had tartrate crystalline deposits covering the pitch coated interiors. Additionally, on the ground surface there were a number of botija mouths that still retained the plaster plugs that sealed the vessels, and some of these plugs still bear the stamped impressions that signaled the contents and origin of the botijas. Five samples of these botija necks were collected, as were six plaster botija plugs. Other artifacts collected include a colonial green glass bottle, a 19<sup>th</sup> century child's boot, and a metal ring with attached woven textile used for packing mules.



Figure 7.37. Overview of the beach at Puerto Caballa from the calvario called La Peña.

Although there are no intact early republican or colonial structures, there are a number of older bricks scattered the length of the beach from the calvario to the ravine. Moreover, some of the houses seem to be built upon earlier foundations (see Figure 7.39). Locals recounted that there was a dock at the beach as late as the 1940s or '50s. There is some evidence of concrete pylons in the area that they indicate as the location for the dock. Residents also note that they

occasionally find fragments of large heavy chains that appear in this area on the beach – likely from the large boats that anchored in the bay as recently as the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.



Figure 7.38. Facing southwest: row of homes (some unoccupied) and the chapel at the beach at Puerto Caballa. Historical midden in foreground.



Figure 7.39. Abandoned 20th century structure built upon earlier brick and lime foundations.

## Conclusions

The data presented in this chapter builds on the multi-scalar archaeological data from survey and excavation of the main estates presented in the previous chapter. This research sought to identify the material manifestation of the hacienda aesthetics at the regional level through the identification of the relationship between these annex properties and the principal hacienda cores across an integrated landscape of agroindustrial production. The surveys of San Joseph and San Xavier's discreet satellite properties reveals that investment in built infrastructure was heaviest in the areas closest to the cores of the principal estates of San Joseph and San Xavier. This trend is particularly visible at the annexes of La Ventilla and San Pablo, located near the principal estates in the middle valley of the Ingenio River. San Joseph's annex of Lacra had some infrastructural

investment as well, as the 1767 inventories list several slaves from San Joseph residing temporarily at the property guarding the estate's mules and the botijas stored in Lacra's bodegas for transport to Puerto Caballa. However, like many of the properties along the middle and lower valleys of the Grande River, a heavier 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century occupation has impacted the visibility of the more ephemeral Jesuit occupation.

While the administration of Jesuit haciendas integrated the Ingenio and Grande Valleys into an hacienda landscape populated with annex properties and fields and establishing hegemony over the control of water and other resources as part of the hacienda aesthetic, power was concentrated on properties in the middle valley of the Ingenio River near the haciendas of Joseph and its annex La Ventilla and San Xavier and its annex San Pablo. This pattern was probably established very early in the Jesuit tenure in Nasca. San Pablo was acquired by the Colegio de San Pablo of Lima as a working vineyard in 1619, the same year as San Joseph. The Lima Jesuits did not obtain San Xavier until 1657, by which time they had already heavily invested in the growth of San Pablo as a regionally important estate. When San Joseph acquired La Ventilla in 1706, it too was a working winery and vineyard, although rundown in the years leading up to its purchase since the death of its former owner. Its proximity to the core of San Joseph, like San Pablo to San Xavier, allowed for greater oversight by the hacienda's administration leading to its development under Jesuit management, in comparison to properties located at a greater distance from the principal estate.

Annex properties located outside of the middle valley of the Ingenio River seem to have served a greater role in supplying needed resources such as huarango wood, livestock, or staple crops and aided in the transportation of botijas to Puerto Caballa, rather than being integral to the actual productive aspect of the vineyards. Surface artifact concentrations also support this

interpretation. While botija sherds are found ubiquitously at nearly all sites, setters (tools used to stand botijas upright while in use or as kiln furniture during firing) are only found at the main estates and the annexes of San Pablo and La Ventilla. Similarly, majolicas are found more frequently on the surface of annexes closer to the principal haciendas, while annexes located far from these properties, such as Coyungo, show scatters of refined earthenwares, suggesting that the later occupation was more intense and sustained.

All of the annex properties, with the exception of La Ventilla, are at present occupied centers, which presents challenges to the preservation of archaeological contexts, especially given the rate of rapid growth in the region in recent years. Many of these annex sites deserve to be followed up with archaeogeophysical survey and archaeological excavation in order to more accurately assess the extent of historical resources.

The majority of the Jesuit-era annexes along the middle and lower valleys of the Grande River had a light Jesuit-era occupation and loose integration into the productive aesthetico-political regime of the vineyards, especially in comparison with the heavier 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century occupations. This is particularly evident at Coyungo which had a substantial development as a post-Jesuit hacienda in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, becoming at present the largest community in the lower Grande Valley. During the Jesuit era, the constellation of hacienda annexes were integrated with the principal estates of San Joseph and San Xavier through the distribution of the sensible. The hacienda landscape was ontologically differentiated, not as solely by a center/periphery relationship, but was rather defined as an integrated unit – a continuum integrated through the resources of each property and the types of activities performed at each place (Ingold 1993). Seasonality was also integral to the relationship between

the main estates and their more distant annexes, as tied to agricultural cycles, regulating how and when workers were sent from the principal estates to different properties.

Still, due to the relative isolation of properties such as Coyungo or Arpicho, there may have been much less administrative oversight at those farthest from the administrative core. Even temporary assignment might have offered a respite from the very specific temporal and spatial structure of labor at the main estates, despite the assumption that even the most remote of the satellite properties were tied to the principal estates through semiotic relationships which bounded the hacienda landscape. Although, the use of distant annexes as temporary residence for enslaved muleteers or other workers at specific times during the year would have materially impacted these properties in a very limited way – as evident through the less intense Jesuit-era surficial remains at these more distant properties. However, such seasonal engagement with these properties by a select subgroup of the broader hacienda populations may have actually had a more important impact on broader hacienda aesthetics as experienced at the principal estates of San Joseph and San Xavier. Seasonal labor at the more remote annexes such as Arpicho, Usaca, Gramadal, or Coyungo, would have put enslaved subjects of the Jesuit haciendas into contact with slaves from smaller secular estates as well as indigenous and mestizo individuals and communities. Those traveling to Puerto Caballa would have met the diverse crews of ships sailing between Lima and the South Coast. Such exchanges, although leaving very few material traces at the annexes themselves, may have introduced new signs into the aesthetico-political regime of the hacienda systems and may have had profound effects within the enslaved communities of the main estates.

The next chapter builds on the multi-scalar archaeological data presented in this and the previous chapter from survey and excavation, combining them with data from historical analysis

in order to discuss the material conditions of enslaved labor of the Jesuit estates, partially reconstructing quotidian praxis. It then considers the aesthetics of these material conditions of production and practice through a semiotic lens in order to access the dialectics involved in the production of the distribution of the sensible, drawing out the structures of power, processes of subject formation, and contentions between multiple aesthetico-political regimes.



## CHAPTER VIII

### WINE, BRANDY, AND BOTIJAS: THE AESTHETICS OF PRODUCTION AND THE PRODUCTION OF AESTHETICS AT THE PERIPHERY OF THE AFRO-ATLANTIC WORLD

The materiality of production prefigured all daily activities on the Nasca estates, in terms of both work and sociality. Physical geography, social landscape, and the built environment were integral to the conditions of the hacienda. The expansive desert that surrounds the narrow fertile Ingenio Valley provides a physical barrier which focused social energy toward the local. While in parallel, the estates were strongly connected via commodity chains to global networks, in which the estates' produce – wines, brandies, vinegar, and raisins – circulated broadly, and the goods necessary for that production, such as tar pitch, tobacco, majolicas, and commodified people, were consumed by the estates. The seasonality of viticulture punctuated the rhythm of life on the neotropical estates, and just as post-harvest labor seasonally shifted from agriculture toward the distilling of wine into brandy and increasing botija production in the ceramic kilns, the peak agricultural season brought Afro-Andean enslaved laborers into contact with forasteros, highland native Andean migrant workers who sought wage-labor on the coastal estates. The specific conditions, technologies, and seasonal and daily rhythms related to the production of wines, brandy, and botijas constituted an aspect of the distribution of the sensible across the hacienda environment which controlled enslaved bodies and produced a specific kind of enslaved subject. This chapter considers the spatio-material conditions of hacienda aesthetics, examining how these conditions both informed the dynamics of labor and were produced through the contestation of specific signs.

## **Spatio-Material Conditions and Hacienda Aesthetics**

In these haciendas, a continuous and intense agroindustrial and domestic occupation since the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century has produced continually remodeled spaces due to a number of circumstances both internal to the hacienda's administrative purview and external to the estates. These included economic circumstance, abandonment of structures and complexes as they became outmoded or technologies changed, and episodes of reconstruction after substantial earthquakes. While any reconstruction of production of these spaces must be considered provisional, aspects of past spatial configurations are sufficiently discernible to general patterns of use. Understanding the configuration and historical transformation of these spaces is important for understanding the constitution of hacienda aesthetics and how the distribution of the sensible is deployed locally.

The material engagement with space across the hacienda landscape is a crucial aspect of the distribution of the sensible as it was both produced by and structured labor. This process of engagement is similar to Tim Ingold's "taskscape" (1993). For Ingold, tasks, "any practical operation[s], carried out by a skilled agent in an environment, as part of his or her normal business of life," are positioned in relation with each other, forming a continuum across space which constitutes a taskscape (Ingold 1993: 156). I have argued elsewhere (Van Buren and Weaver 2012: 79-81) that such a consideration for how activities form such a continuum across colonial Andean landscapes is important for understanding how subjects engaged in conscripted labor.

### *Early Hacienda Spaces*

The two colonial estates showcase differing relationships with pre-colonial occupations. The 16<sup>th</sup> century settlers at San Joseph likely found a long-abandoned landscape with very little visible surface indications of the extensive Middle Nasca occupations, while the founders of the estate at San Xavier encountered standing architecture, which they intentionally erased from the landscape in order to establish the first farmstead. Still, both sites were unoccupied, and neither likely had any standing ceremonial or religious architecture. When taken together, the general settlement pattern of Spanish estates in the Ingenio Valley suggests a very different relationship with pre-colonial settlements than in other regions of the Andes, where towns experienced a sustained and continuous occupation through the transconquest period, and where churches and other monumental Spanish architecture were built on the sites of or adjacent to earlier pre-Hispanic monuments. The demographic shift in the valley, which occurred throughout the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, had a profound impact on the construction of the resultant colonial landscape.

Excavations demonstrate that the domestic and productive cores of both San Joseph and San Xavier were built over the ruins of pre-Hispanic occupations, but with differing relationships to the earlier occupations. San Joseph's earliest structures, built prior to the Colegio Grande of Cuzco's acquisition of the property in 1619, were erected atop the scattered remnants of Middle to Late Nasca occupations, suggested by the diagnostic Nasca 5-8 sherds found in the lowest habitational strata of most units. Occupations from the Middle Nasca period until the moment of the establishment of the first 16<sup>th</sup> century colonial sugar and wine estates in the valley were very ephemeral, evidenced by the occasional diagnostic sherd through the Late Horizon, but with no discernable associated features.

While the Lima Jesuits did not take possession of San Xavier until 1657, as with San Joseph, the land upon which the hacienda was founded likely had its first colonial period occupation in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. Excavations (Unit 5) below a 17<sup>th</sup> century brick and lime structure in the hacienda plaza revealed the postholes of an earlier wooden structure built upon the leveled remains of pre-Hispanic adobe architecture. The postholes were set into roughly 80 cm of semi-compact adobe fill which yielded numerous mixed pre-Hispanic sherds dating from the Middle Nasca through the Late Horizon. Below the fill, a series of wide, shallow circular postholes were identified (see Figure 8.1). The earliest Spanish farmstead at the site of San Xavier likely encountered the ruinous remains of abandoned adobe structures, which were demolished and leveled in order to produce a flat building surface for structures and the first iteration of the hacienda plaza.

Excavations demonstrate that the earliest farmsteads and estates in the Ingenio Valley established an agrarian landscape that represented an idealized vision of a European agrarian regime. Early colonial agrarian infrastructure and settlement was imposed on a landscape that was perceived as having been long uninhabited and disassociated with an indigenous population. As agricultural experimentation shifted from sugar to wine, the first European agrarian entrepreneurs in the region took care to erase the indigenous past from the hacienda landscapes, supplanting it with the aesthetics of the Iberian rural estate steeped in Mediterranean viticultural tradition.

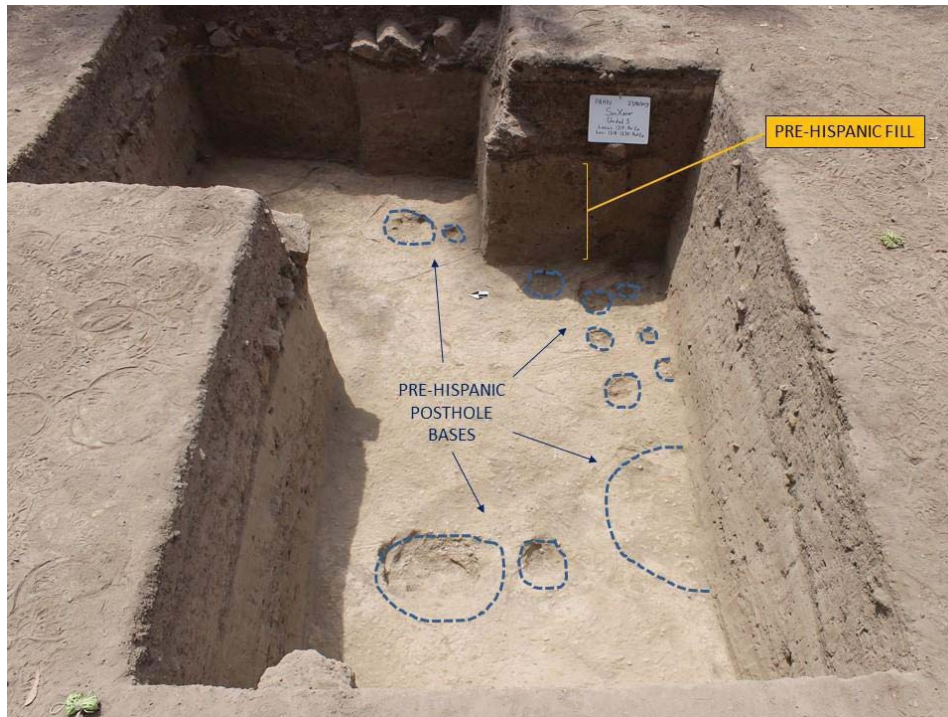


Figure 8.1. Pre-Hispanic fill and posthole bases in Unit 5, San Xavier, Locus 1217 – pre-excitation, and Loci 1218-1230 – post-excitation.

Under Jesuit administration, beginning in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the built environment and common spaces of both San Joseph and San Xavier went through a number of distinct transformations, tied to the growth and economic decline of the estates, technological changes, and destruction due to earthquake action. The most dramatic of these transformations presented moments where contestation in the aesthetico-political regime could substantially transform the configurations of the built environment. Many questions remain about the specific configuration of the early built environment at both estates, however excavation offers some clues. In the earliest iterations of the Jesuit wine haciendas, institutional structures were likely constructed of large adobes as suggested by the excavations of Units 9 and 10 at the site of San Joseph. Less formal structures, especially slave dwellings, were probably built of wooden (likely huarango)

posts with wattle and daub infill (quinche) and roofed with woven reed matting (estera), as suggested by the excavation of early structures in Units 5 and 6 at San Xavier.<sup>1</sup>

At both San Joseph and San Xavier estate infrastructure grew organically around large, open plaza spaces. The results of archaeogeophysical survey at San Joseph suggest that the hacienda plaza between the ruins of the Jesuit chapel and the ex-casa hacienda were likely free of any architecture since the founding of the estate in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. It can therefore be presumed that the plaza configuration at San Joseph, oriented to the cardinal directions, predates the construction of both the chapel and casa hacienda. However, excavations and geophysical results at San Xavier suggest as the estate grew, brick and calicanto architecture replaced less formal structures and followed a 30° to 45° orientation, rather than the site's present orientation along the cardinal directions (see Figure 8.2).<sup>2</sup> Excavation of a brick and lime structure in Unit 5 at the hacienda plaza of San Xavier suggests that the structure was demolished by earthquake action, due to the pattern of its wall fall and the lack of clear foundations. Excavated contexts suggest the catastrophic event which destroyed the structure likely occurred in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, and may have been the impetus for the rebuilding of the estate on a new plan with an orientation along the cardinal axis. This earthquake may have also been the motivation for the construction of the monumental baroque chapels at both haciendas for which work began in 1740.

<sup>1</sup> These units demonstrate the prevalence of such structures at the estates, however, the early structure in Unit 5 was not likely a slave house, as it was probably constructed prior to the Jesuit acquisition of San Xavier, and may have had a productive or institutional function. The informal structure identified in Unit 6 by Loci 1161, 1162, 1164, and 1165, may have been a slave dwelling, but seems to have an 18<sup>th</sup> century provenience.

<sup>2</sup> This is particularly suggested in Geophysical Zones 2, 3, 4, and 6, as well as the excavation of the brick and lime structure identified in Unit 5.

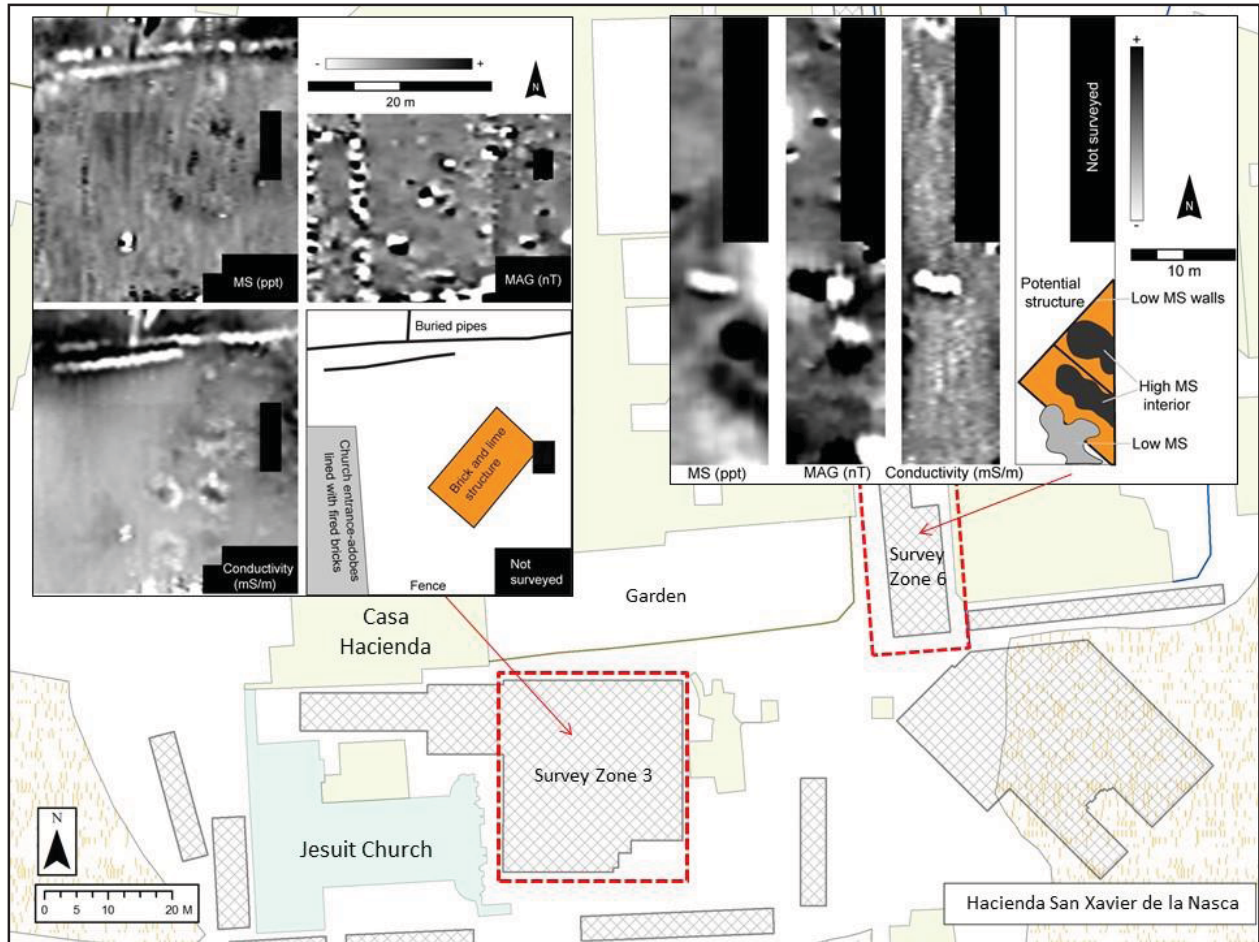


Figure 8.2. Geophysical results from Survey Zones 3 and 6 at San Xavier demonstrating the potential early orientation of the hacienda, before its current orientation to the cardinal axis.

### *Space and Power: Plazas and Bell Towers*

Like their North American and Caribbean plantation counterparts, the Jesuit haciendas were physically and spatially designed to provide a high degree of order and structure. There also seems to be a distinctly Jesuit strategy. The residential and productive cores of the Jesuit wine haciendas of Nasca emphasized the Jesuit ideology of labor as Christian discipline in their spatial and material conditions, which is especially apparent in the 18<sup>th</sup> century configurations of the estates' core infrastructure around central plazas. Archaeological research and restoration activities carried out on Jesuit mission complexes since the 1980s, including several projects in

Brazil and Argentina (Kern 1985, 1989a, 1989b, 1998; Poujade 1995, 1996) offer a point of comparison for the archaeology of Jesuit haciendas, with particular regard to how the built environment and material conditions of labor structured localized power dynamics. Beatriz Rovira (1989) argues that the Jesuit mission of Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria in Argentina represented a “village despotic or communitarian despotic mode of production” among the Guaraní residents (see also Zarankin and Salerno 2008). Such an interpretation of the mission site derives from a reading of the relatively nonhierarchical use of architectural spaces and relative equality of material contexts, which contrasted with the way surveillance, discipline, and hegemony were reinforced and movement through physical spaces was constrained.

Although there is insufficient archaeological preservation and evidence to reconstruct with a high degree of specificity how actors would have moved through the hacienda spaces, the larger patterns of the built environment can be read from the limited dataset. The spatial component of the dominant aesthetico-political regime is most apparent at the site of San Xavier, where extant eastern and western gates stand at the edges of the hacienda plaza space (see Figure 8.3). These gates funneled and encouraged movement across the main axes of the estate, into the plaza and past the chapel. These gates also symbolically and physically separated the central residential and productive core from the vineyard’s fields, and the botija production facilities. Kilns were located around the hacienda nuclei, but at a sufficient distance to safeguard against the possible spread of fire.

Similar dynamics of space and power can be seen archaeologically in other labor regimes, and particularly within the context of African slavery, although such patterns are chronologically later and distinct. Delle (1998, 1999, 2000), Armstrong and Kelly (2000; see also Armstrong 1999), and Singleton (2001), among others describe architecture and spatial



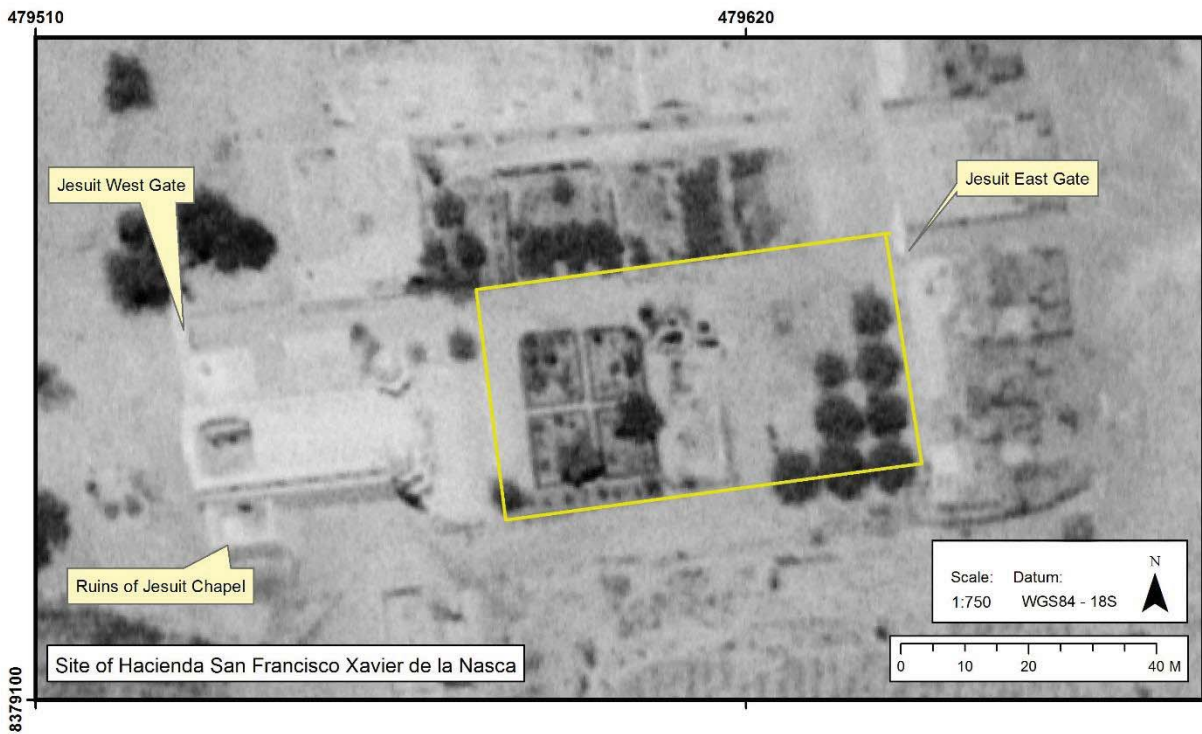


Figure 8.3. Outline of hacienda plaza space over 1944 SAN aerial photograph of the site of Hacienda San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca.

management strategies and Foucauldian instruments of surveillance and panoptic technologies within plantation regimes. Singleton (2001, 2005) examines how at various levels, the physical, mental and cultural aspects of spatial arrangements relate to one another in a three-part spatial dialectic (*sensu* Lefebvre 1991) which can be observed archaeologically in the landscape and material culture of 19<sup>th</sup> century coffee haciendas in Cuba. Through archaeological and documentary data, Singleton has found that space on Cuban coffee plantations of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century exhibited extraordinarily oppressive spatial management strategies, which have been described by some as “prison-like” (Singleton 2001:99). Singleton describes architecture and spatial management strategies such as enclosed slave villages, gated palisade walls, sexual segregation of slave quarters which could be locked from the outside, and Foucauldian

instruments of surveillance and panoptic technologies that were intended to maintain power over enslaved laborers in every aspect of their daily routine.

Following research conducted by Delle (1998) on coffee plantations in Jamaica, Singleton offers the argument that the placement of specific architectural elements made use of panoptic surveillance. Delle (1998, 1999, 2000) argues that the plantation manors and overseers' houses on coffee plantations in the Blue Mountains made use of panoptic technology in order to maintain power over enslaved laborers in every aspect of their daily routine. Delle argues that from a central point of surveillance, an overseer could monitor the actions of workers while remaining unseen. However, slaves would be able to see the overseer's house as well, and mindful of the potential omnipresence of the planter's gaze, monitor their own behaviors. Similarly, Singleton (2001:106) identifies a bell tower at the Angerona coffee plantation and the great house (*casa vivienda*) at Santa Ana de Viajaca as potential instruments of such surveillance in Cuba.

While the late-period Jesuit estates of Nasca were a century earlier than the plantations examined by Singleton and Delle, all of these basic elements: estate walls, gates, towers, and sexually segregated barracks for unmarried and adolescent enslaved residents, were present on the 18<sup>th</sup> century iterations of the Jesuit vineyards of Nasca, with the important exception of enclosed slave villages. Additionally, as I have already discussed in Chapter 4, the slave barracks, which were capable of being locked at night by an elder slave, were probably not routinely locked under Jesuit administration. There are some important differences between the strategies employed on the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Jesuit estates in Nasca and those employed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Caribbean.

The structuring and use of space of the “prison-like” 19<sup>th</sup> century Caribbean plantations, manifested a much more corrosive physical infrastructure. Other than the obvious temporal differences, the most important distinction between the Jesuit estates and the Cuban coffee plantations is the difference between a secular estate and one administered by a religious institution. At Nasca, the community of enslaved residents and laborers was highly integrated into spatio-material conditions of the residential and productive core, occupying domestic structures situated within the hacienda nuclei, rather than in a spatially segregated domain of the estates. This is not to say that the spatial configurations of the wine haciendas’ built environments did not constitute an oppressive spatial management strategy; rather, the Jesuit vineyards of Nasca made use of similar, although earlier forms of technologies of discipline and surveillance that constituted the dominant aesthetico-political regime of the estates. The ways spaces are described in the 18<sup>th</sup> century inventories as connecting to each other through multiple doorways, open courtyards and corridors, and to the plaza, suggest a high degree of inter-visibility. The distribution of the sensible was made manifest in the intentionality of what was generally hidden from the senses and what was made evident and apparent on the landscape.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century at both San Joseph and San Xavier, the opulence and monumentality of the baroque chapels would have dominated the haciendas’ cores. These churches were undoubtedly prime structuring features of the aesthetico-political regime. Had the chapels been churches in Lima or Cuzco they would have been counted among the most sumptuous in these leading cities. The chapels, larger than the diocesan parish church of San Juan Bautista of El Ingenio to which they were subordinated, were places for religious devotion, but also monuments *to* religious devotion, and expensive symbols of Jesuit prosperity. The chapel at San Joseph had a total of ten bells in the towers and its counterpart at San Xavier had seven, and

while the exteriors were ornately decorated with molded plaster sculptural friezes, the interiors were adorned with opulent ornamentation, tapestries, religious paintings, and statues of the saints adorned with fine clothing, gold, silver, and precious jewels.<sup>3</sup> The buildings themselves would have acted on the hacienda landscape similar to the observation towers described on secular estates throughout the Atlantic World, extending the gaze of the overseers, not through literal sight, but as a panoptic technology which imposed self-discipline and self-monitoring behavior. The chapels at San Joseph and San Xavier, each with their two belfry towers, stand as beacons high above the fields on the flat terrain of the river valley, and can be seen from great distances. In contrast to secular observation towers, these churches were likely imbued not only with the omniscient gaze of the overseers, but were semiotically entangled with religious ideology – the gaze of the divine, coupling coercive labor and Christian discipline.

Figure 8.4 offers a viewshed analysis of both chapels, accepting a maximum viewing distance of 8 km on a clear day. The model identifies the area from which a view can see the cross at the tops of the belfry towers. While a person standing at eye level in the belfry would be 13.65 m off the ground at San Joseph, or 11 m at San Xavier, the crosses at the top of the towers would stand at 18.2 m at San Joseph and at 18.5 m at San Xavier. Note that both churches would have been visible in the nuclei of their respective haciendas, along the valley floor, as well as from the Camino Real (today, the Panamerican Highway). While in some areas foliage and the low course of the riverbed seem to have obstructed the view, very little escapes notice. At the annex sites, chapel towers, which today are non-extant, may have served a similar panoptic function.

<sup>3</sup> “Testimonio...” 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #17: f.265r.; “Verdadero testimonio...” 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #16:ff.236r.

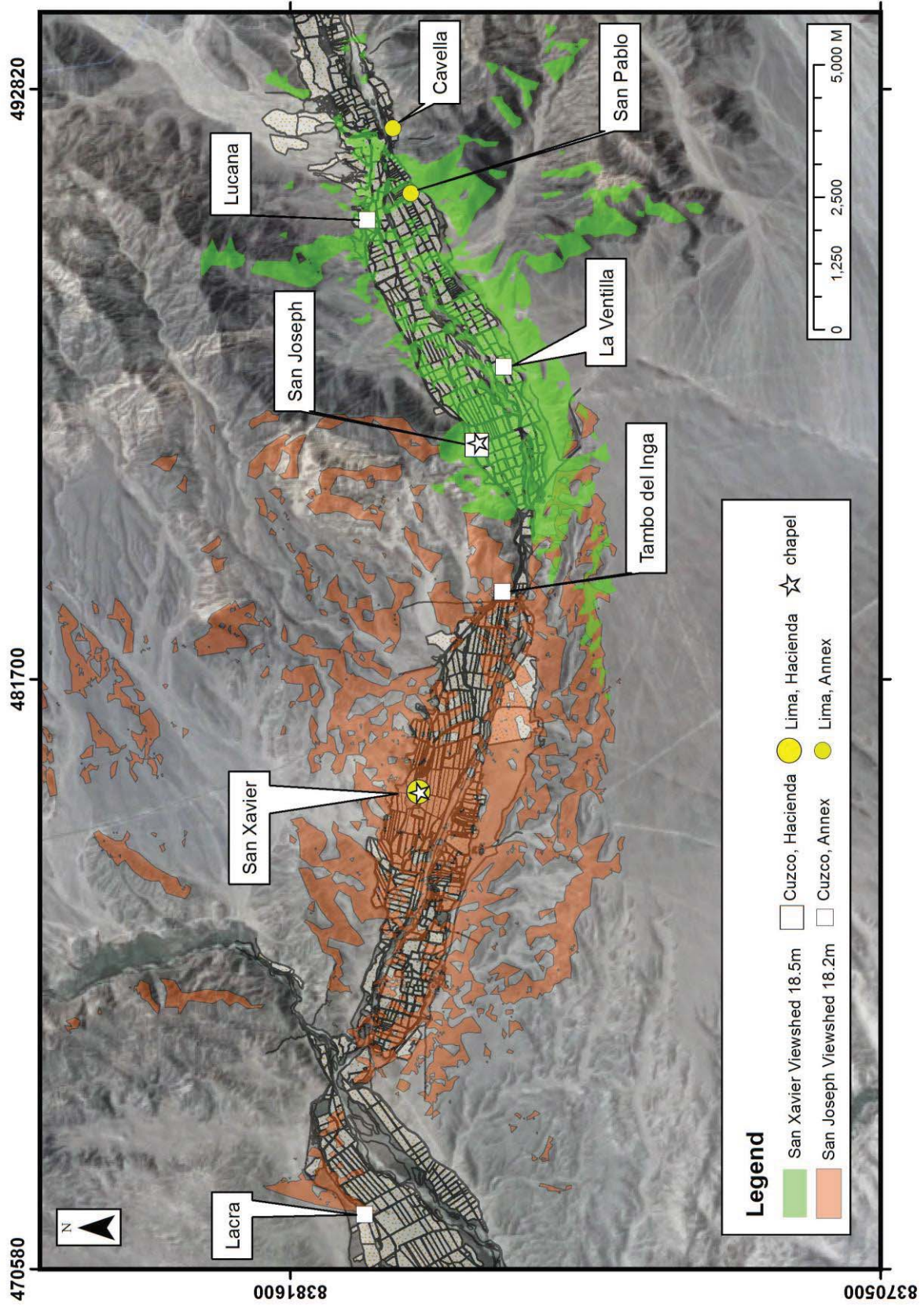


Figure 8.4. Views of the bell towers of the Jesuit chapels at San Joseph and San Xavier.

The panoptic nature of the plaza and chapel belfries is produced through a very particular aspect of the hacienda aesthetic, rather than existing as any specific attribute of the material configuration of a bell tower or a town square. After all, not all plaza spaces or churches with bell towers are panoptic nor indexical of self-disciplining and self-monitoring behavior. Certainly, plazas are designed as common spaces which interpolate subjects in particular ways and Christian religious architecture is often designed to be seen at a distance and act as an important sign on the landscape. However, as Foucault attests in his example of Panopticism in the town of Vincennes, the effect relied on a specific segmentation of space that distributed the perceived gaze across the space coupled with the historical contingency which prefigured such a distribution of power across the town's spaces (1977: 197). In the case of the Nasca estates, the administrator's gaze was a specific affect of the distribution of the sensible, which allowed the built environment to become a routinized technology for corporal discipline.

### *Domestic and Agroindustrial Spaces*

The 1767 Crown inventories of both San Joseph and San Xavier make distinctions of institutional and productive spaces from domestic ones. Domestic architecture is clearly identified as including the separate homes of the administrator, mayordomo, caporales and enslaved foremen, and married slaves, and the barracks<sup>4</sup> for the unmarried and adolescent slaves. Unlike at later Caribbean estates, families resided in their own separate homes. Spaces dedicated to the support of the enslaved community such as kitchens, a bakery, and infirmaries, stood in contrast to agroindustrial and productive spaces such as the lagares and aguardenteras, bodegas

<sup>4</sup> San Xavier's inventory suggests that this structure was quite large, consisting of 47 separate rooms and enclosed with an adobe wall, resembling the cellular structure of a convent ("Verdadero testimonio..." 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #16:ff.240v-241r).

and storage facilities, botija production facilities, mill, blacksmith shop, carpentry workshop, granaries, and livestock corrals. While these are conceptually distinct forms of architecture purposed for specific activities, midden spaces, demonstrate the entangled nature of activities carried out within the haciendas' cores.

Archaeological evidence across both sites suggests that middens were largely communal, attracting trash from nearby activity areas and often contained both discarded domestic and agro-industrial material, or were deposited in thin alternating strata of productive and domestic trash. Several contexts alternate strata of domestic and agroindustrial refuse, but in Unit 9 such contexts very clearly alternate as layers of fill against an early adobe wall. The domestic trash is characterized by kitchen refuse of discarded faunal and botanical material, glassware, sherds of majolica and coarse earthenware cooking vessels, and the occasional lens of dark ash from the hearth or an attempt to burn discarded organics in a midden fire. Agroindustrial waste is predominantly characterized through discarded botija sherds, as well as coarse minerals, wood scraps, and broken or discarded metal hardware.

Documents<sup>5</sup> suggest that higher-ranking slaves, married slaves, and freepersons living on the haciendas lived in separate and individual homes. Privileges such as personal housing would have offered a considerably higher degree of privacy and would have increased hierarchical tensions within the community that should be visible as material correlates in the archaeological record. However, because of the communal nature of the refuse patterns across both sites, the image that emerges is one that demonstrates the integrated nature of daily activities and offers a broad purview of daily praxis among the enslaved residents. Units 8 and 9 north of the hacienda plaza at San Joseph offer the clearest examples of such midden contexts.

<sup>5</sup> For example, "El Conde de Monteblanco..." 1767. AGN C-13, Leg.62A, C.5:10ff.

For example, Loci 1299, 1310, and 1311 in Unit 8 were late 17<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> century middens containing a mix of domestic trash from several homes in the same depositional layers. Locus 1299 was encountered at approximately 40 cm BD, resting below the adobe foundations of a later domestic structure. The midden covered the entirety of the unit, and rested upon an earlier midden deposit (Loci 1310 and 1311), itself situated upon an abandoned 17<sup>th</sup> century floor surface. Locus 1299 and Loci 1310 and 1311 should be considered two temporally-distinct, but related, events in that they represent similar depositional practices. Materials included in the medium grain sandy matrix of Locus 1299 consisted of mostly non-burned domestic material, including miscellaneous coarse earthenware (such as botija, majolica, and cooking vessel) sherds, fragments of curved glass (yellow, transparent, green, and aqua), an iron nail, a textile fragment, plaster, fragments of fired brick, a wooden rosary bead, and a sherd from a clay tobacco pipe bowl (see Tables 8.1 and 8.2). The midden also included 1,046 g of faunal remains and a large amount of botanical material including gourd shell fragments (n=56) and maize cobs (some burned), as well as chicken feathers. Although the matrix was relatively uniform throughout the unit, there were some areas of limey compaction, particularly in the northwest quadrant. There was also an ash lens, likely representing a singular burn event in the southeast quadrant, perhaps an intentional trash fire to hasten the decomposition of organics. The fragments of plaster, fragments of wood and vegetable matting were particularly concentrated in the southwest quadrant of the unit. Additionally, there was a large adobe fragment in the northwest corner. At an average depth of 46 cm BD, Locus 1299 terminated on two distinct, but contemporary, loci (Loci 1310 and 1311) representing another level of the midden.



Table 8.1. Non-ceramic artifacts recovered from Loci 1299, 1310, and 1311 in Unit 8, San Joseph.

|                             | <b>Locus 1299</b> |         | <b>Locus 1310</b> |         | <b>Locus 1311</b> |        |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------|-------------------|---------|-------------------|--------|
|                             | n                 | weight  | n                 | weight  | n                 | weight |
| <b>Slag</b>                 | -                 | 15.1 g  | -                 | 33.7 g  |                   |        |
| <b>Misc. Ferrous Metal</b>  | 2                 | 7.2 g   |                   |         |                   |        |
| <b>Nail fragment</b>        | 1                 | 2.8 g   |                   |         |                   |        |
| <b>Plaster</b>              | -                 | 23.6 g  | -                 | 36.3 g  |                   |        |
| <b>Textile</b>              | 1                 | 2.6 g   | 1                 | 2.4 g   | 1                 | 25 g   |
| <b>Brick Fragments</b>      | 3                 | 15.4 g  | 1                 | 1,654 g |                   |        |
| <b>Brick with Calicanto</b> |                   |         | 3                 | 1,130 g |                   |        |
| <b>Pipe Bowl</b>            | 1                 | 1.7 g   |                   |         |                   |        |
| <b>Wooden Bead</b>          | 1                 | 0.1 g   |                   |         |                   |        |
| <b>Glass Bead (black)</b>   |                   |         |                   |         | 1                 | 0.1 g  |
| <b>Faunal Bones</b>         | -                 | 1,046 g | -                 | 507 g   | -                 | 35.1 g |
| <b>Gourd Fragments</b>      | 56                | 12.3 g  | 13                | 1.3 g   | 19                | 9.1 g  |
| <b>Curved Glass</b>         |                   |         |                   |         |                   |        |
| Yellow                      | 4                 | 3.3 g   | 1                 | 0.4 g   |                   |        |
| Transparent                 | 2                 | 0.3 g   | 1                 | 0.5 g   |                   |        |
| Green                       | 1                 | 1.5 g   |                   |         |                   |        |
| Aqua                        | 2                 | 10.9 g  |                   |         |                   |        |

Table 8.2. Ceramics recovered from Loci 1299, 1310, and 1311 in Unit 8, San Joseph.

|   | <b>Locus 1299</b> |           | <b>Locus 1310</b> |            | <b>Locus 1311</b> |        |
|---|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------|-------------------|--------|
|   | n                 | weight    | n                 | weight     | n                 | weight |
| <b>Botija</b>                           | 187               | 7,825.6 g | 94                | 40,288.6 g | 13                | 275 g  |
| <b>Majolica</b>                         | 29                | 75.4 g    | 7                 | 79 g       | 2                 | 12.6 g |
| <b>Lead-Glazed Earthenware</b>          | 1                 | 16.8 g    |                   |            |                   |        |
| <b>Wheel-Thrown Olla</b>                | 7                 | 264.2 g   |                   |            |                   |        |
| <b>Colonial Andean Polychrome</b>       | 2                 | 32.1 g    | 1                 | 9.5 g      |                   |        |
| <b>Olla (non-wheel-thrown)</b>          | 12                | 80.9 g    | 10                | 108.1 g    |                   |        |
| <b>Misc. Painted Coarse Earthenware</b> | 4                 | 20.5 g    | 6                 | 35.7 g     |                   |        |
| <b>Misc. Coarse Earthenware</b>         | 21                | 436.3 g   | 3                 | 30 g       |                   |        |

Locus 1310 was a general midden layer which covered the majority of the unit, except for an irregular patch (Locus 1311) in the southwest quadrant of the 1.5 m by 1.5 m test unit (see Figure 8.5). This deposit was a singular event, although the semi-loose sand transitioned from medium grain olive brown in the north to a coarser light yellowish brown sand in the central part

of the unit, to a fine sand in the southern third. There were inclusions of small pebbles and some medium river stones (5 to 15 cm) throughout the matrix, and the locus contained mostly domestic trash covering a partial floor surface. Like in the stratum above (Locus 1299), there was organic and botanical material present as well as coarse earthenware sherds, animal bones (507 g), a small amount of glass (a single fragment each of yellow and transparent glass), brick, plaster, and a fragment of cloth (see Tables 8.1 and 8.2). Locus 1311 was likely contemporary with Locus 1310, but consists of a heavily organic deposition with a high content of wood and botanical material. The matrix was a soft dark yellowish brown medium grain sand, with inclusions of wood fragments, small pebbles, and seeds. Additionally, the context contained faunal remains (35.1 g), cordage, several small botija (n=13) and majolica (n=2) sherds, and a glass bead.

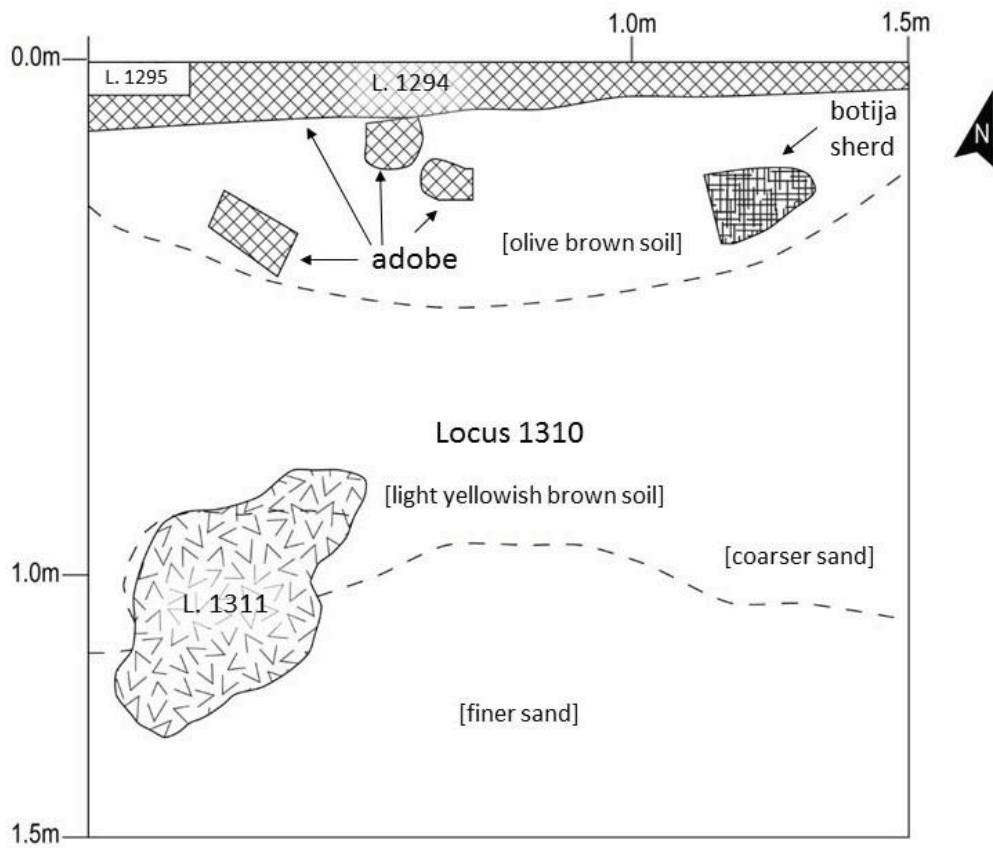


Figure 8.5. Plan view of Loci 1310 and 1311 in Unit 8, San Joseph.

As with Locus 1299, taken together, Loci 1310 and 1311 contain mixed domestic trash, representing daily consumption, swept from multiple slave households and dumped into a communal midden during a relatively short period of time. These materials speak to a range of activities which were carried out in the vicinity and suggest a close spatial relationship between productive and domestic spaces, even though the primary content of the middens is domestic in origin. Botijas, for example, have a primary association with the productive aspect of the estate, but relatively intact broken botijas may have been repurposed by individuals for personal storage and domestic use. The small amount of slag and vitrified material present in both middens likely represents common surface scatter from nearby kilns or furnaces, and the nail fragment, plaster, brick fragments, and scraps of deteriorated vegetable matting are architectural debris from nearby structures.

There are some notable differences between the two midden contexts. Locus 1299 generally has more diversity in its assemblage than Loci 1310 and 1311. Comparing the weight to sherd number (see Tables 8.1 and 8.2) between Loci 1299 and 1310 suggests that the majolica and botija sherds in Locus 1310 represented larger portions of the vessels than in Locus 1299. However, the two contexts are similar in many ways. These middens demonstrate that the enslaved community at San Joseph had access to high quality majolicas and glassware provisioned by the estate. The tin-enameled tablewares painted in bright cobalt blue, green, or brown on white or cream backgrounds were probably purchased in bulk by the Jesuit schools (or perhaps even at the provincial level) and distributed to many of the Society's estates (see Figure 8.6). Gifting such high quality goods to the enslaved community was likely viewed by the Jesuit administrators and procurators as an important symbolic gesture that ingratiated them with the enslaved laborers. The 18<sup>th</sup> century estate inventories document that the Nasca haciendas



Figure 8.6. Sample of blue on cream and brown and green on white majolica from Locus 1299, Unit 8, San Joseph.

purchased glass bottles made in Ica as well as those imported from England and Flanders. After these bottles served their primary purposes on the estates they were probably reappropriated by enslaved residents, and judging from the presence of diverse glass types in most midden contexts at both sites, the (re)use of such bottles by slaves was common.

Both midden contexts also each contained sherds representative of the small number of higher quality indigenous colonial wares recovered from the assemblage (see Figure 8.7). These ceramics may have been obtained through exchange relationships with indigenous or mestizo hacienda outsiders, such as the mestizo residents of the town of El Ingenio or itinerant seasonal indigenous and mestizo migrant workers. Two sherds found in Locus 1299 came from a polychrome beveled bowl, bearing a strong resemblance to Tacaraca B ceramics produced in known colonial workshops near Ica (see Menzel 1976; Pezzia 1968: 281), where this type of post-Late Horizon polychrome vessel may have been produced into the late 17<sup>th</sup> century for an indigenous clientele. A sherd from Locus 1310 is an applied handle resembling a colonial provincial Inca style described by Stig Rydén (1947: 237-238) in early post-Columbian contexts in the southern Titicaca basin, and which I have previously identified in an early 17<sup>th</sup> century context in the Potosí hinterlands (Weaver 2008b: 59, 177). Previously I have argued that the form mimics the distal end of a camelid metatarsus.

The findings from the faunal analysis suggest that both beef and the meat of caprines (sheep and goat) were important in the diet of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century residents of San Xavier and San Joseph. This was expected since both haciendas had annexes dedicated to the husbandry of these animals (Muñoz et al. 2014). The midden contexts at Unit 8 did not yield cattle bones from commonly discarded cuts of meat, indicating that butchering was not done in the proximity to the midden, but that contexts such as Loci 1299, 1310, and 1311 exclusively represent the



Figure 8.7. A. Possible Tacaraca B polychrome bowl, Locus 1299, Unit 8, San Joseph. B. Polychrome Late/Colonial Andean bowl handle, Locus 1310, Unit 8, San Joseph. C. Polychrome Late/Colonial Andean bowl handle, Sitio Ferro Ingenio, Porco, Bolivia.

refuse from consumption and meal preparation, but not butchering. Caprines are the species with the highest frequency in the assemblage from both sites, and evidence suggests that up to 90% of their body parts were consumed (Muñoz et al. 2014). The pattern of bone fragmentation observed in this sample is indicative of marrow extraction, increasing the amount of protein, fat, and minerals ingested. In Loci 1299, 1310, and 1311, there is ample evidence that the consumption of these large domesticated mammals may have been supplemented with the rearing of chickens and the hunting of small wild birds. There was also a presence of fish vertebrae, identified as humpback smooth-hound (*Mustelus whitneyi*), locally known as *tollo*, a houndshark in the Triakidae family.

Paleoethnobotanical analysis revealed findings consistent with the 1767 Crown inventories for both haciendas, which supports the hypothesis that a large portion of the diet of the enslaved residents of the estates was provisioned as rations by the administration. Maize, lentils, and wheat were staples of the haciendas' granaries and storehouses and grown on annex properties. However both macrobotanical and microbotanical analysis suggest that "slave gardens" may have provided a diverse array of ingredients and flavors that granted enslaved residents the freedom to supplement the proteins from provisioned meats and lentils with pecans, and enhance the flavors of their diet with savory olives, sweet fruits, or spicy chili peppers. Across both sites, close to 10% of all excavated non-wood macrobotanical remains were pecans. Peanuts and pecans are similar to Bambara groundnut prevalent in African cuisines. When ground and combined with other vegetables (such as squash) they served as thickening agents for soups or one-pot meals (Muñoz et al. 2014). New World chili peppers were an excellent alternative for the peppery and spicy sauces characteristic of Atlantic African cuisine.

In Locus 1310 there were notable occurrences of maize, grapes, and gourds, which occur only in domestic midden contexts and not generally across all excavations (Muñoz and Weaver 2015). When present in excavations at these Nasca properties, maize tends to appear exclusively as charred kernels, which is consistent with the allocation of preprocessed rations of food. However, in Locus 1310 it is notably present in the form of cob fragments, suggestive of the refuse of meal preparation rather than just consumption. Additionally, 80% of the grape remains are pedicels and immature fruits that have been carefully discarded, probably as they were being consumed or prepared, rather than refuse from wine production (Muñoz and Weaver 2015).

The presence of communal kitchens in the Crown inventories suggests that food preparation at San Joseph and San Xavier was likely conducted both institutionally, staffed by

women who served the infirmaries and slave barracks, as well as in the private homes of high ranking slaves and wage laborers. The latter contexts would have offered a higher degree of privacy and a relative degree of freedom in meal preparation. In both contexts even routine meal preparation would have also been tied to the productive aspect of the estates, as evidenced by the high concentrations of gourd shells cut into discs recovered from many domestic midden contexts throughout San Joseph, and especially prevalent in Loci 1299, 1310, and 1311. Women charged with meal preparation likely saved the gourd shells and produced the discs at home or in the communal kitchens for later use in the sealing of botijas. The manufacture of botija stoppers is an activity which demonstrates the interpermeability of domestic and productive activities of enslaved daily life on the haciendas. As established by the sealed necks of broken botijas recovered in survey from the Jesuit annex at the seaport of Puerto Caballa, botijas were stopped with gourd discs over which liquid plaster was poured, forming a plug upon which was stamped the seals of the estate (See Figure 8.8). Botijas, like glass wine bottles, were intended to be shipped in a horizontal position. The gourd acted like cork when wetted by the liquid contents of the vessels, expanding to create a vacuum, and protecting the dried plaster from the wine or brandy within. The remains of these gourd discs mixed with domestic trash give an impression of the integrated nature of productive labor at all levels of daily life on the hacienda, showing how even mundane domestic tasks like food production would have been dominated by the haciendas' productive tasks.

The haciendas' spatio-material conditions paradoxically both prefigured and were conditioned by the domestic and productive activities which were carried out within their environs (Rancièrè 2010: 134-151). These activities therefore defined the distribution of the sensible across the haciendas, indexing specific social hierarchical relationships on the estate.



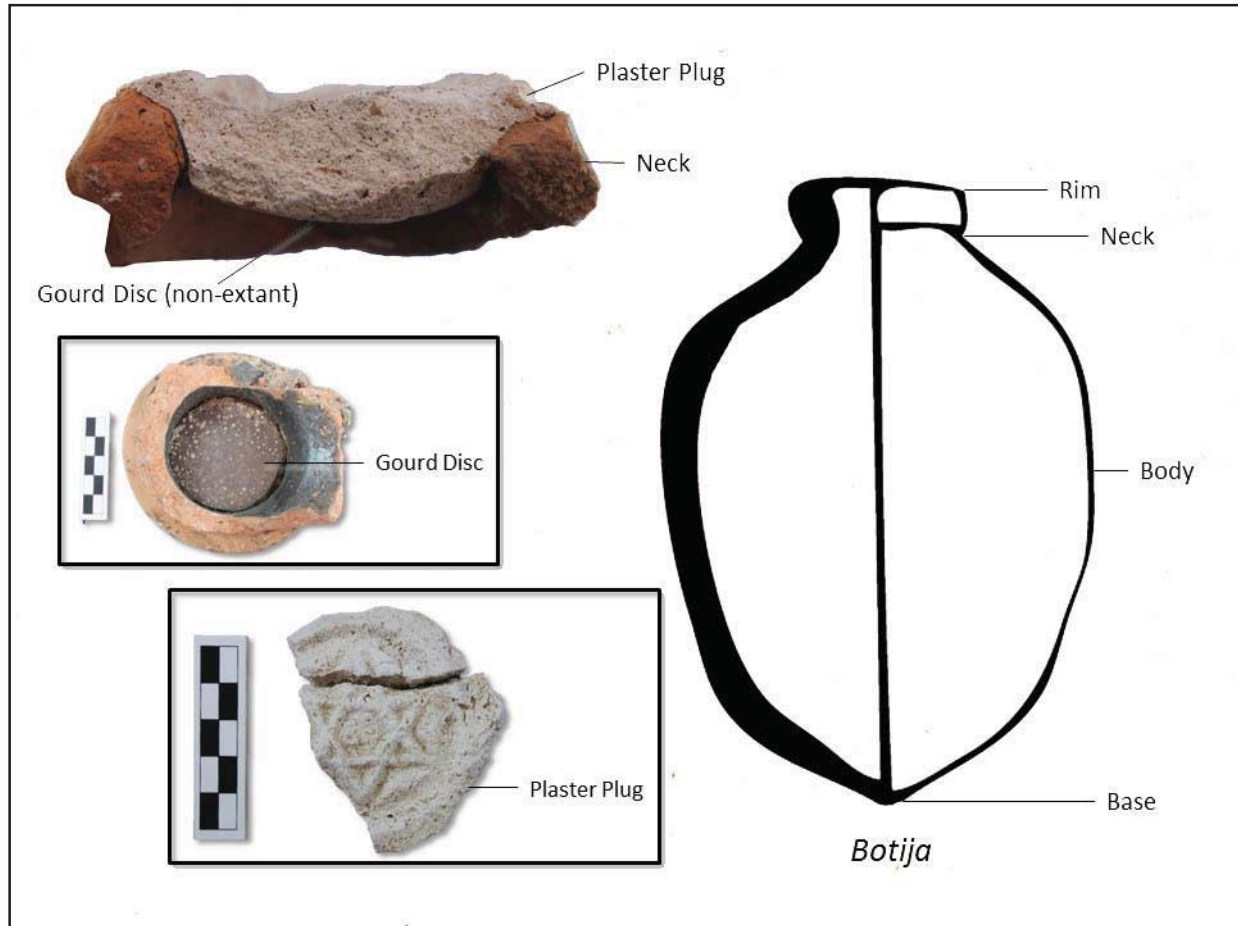


Figure 8.8. Technique for sealing botijas using gourd disc and plaster plug.

Foods and tastes, work, and domestic life – the senses of the everyday experience – were bound up in the dynamics of power on the haciendas. Food preferences, the most culturally sensitive of tastes, were constrained by the types of foods and ingredients provided by the hacienda administration, but could be adapted through practices which allowed for self-provisioning, introducing competing aesthetic logics into the aesthetico-political regime and thus transforming the distribution of the sensible. The manipulation of aesthetics offers a means to transform tastes and Spaces (Gikandi 2011: 233-281). Establishing an understanding of the basic material

conditions of labor and the daily lived experience allows for an exploration of these conditions within the aesthetic field.

## **Aesthetics of Production**

### *Wine*

On their Nasca estates, Jesuit administrators relied on traditional Mediterranean wine production technologies. In South Coastal Peru, lagares, or press houses, had circular floors in which was placed a wooden press, typically of huarango wood. The press consisted of a large wooden screw (husillo), that could raise or lower a forked beam (or, viga) supporting the stone pressing surface (see Figure 8.9). The must was separated by quality and siphoned into channels, allowing for the heating and filtering of the liquid, eventually to be channeled into tinajas (large earthenware amphorae) and botijas for fermentation in the bodegas. The highest quality must (*mosto de yema* or *lagrimilla*), which was extracted from the grapes with very little pressure, was used to produce the finest wines, while second and third pressings produced *mosto de aguardiente* which was allowed to ferment and latter distilled into brandy. The lowest quality must, from subsequent pressings, called *pie* and *repie*, produced a low quality wine which was distributed to the haciendas' slaves at mealtime (see Cushner 1980: 70-71). Pressing was usually carried out on wine estates after the harvest in March or April and lasted for a period of two to three weeks.

The estate inventories made by Crown assessors at the moment of the Jesuit expulsion in 1767 describe each property's winemaking equipment, and offer clues to the process of production and the material culture involved. The inventory of San Joseph describes six *lagaretas*, or small press houses, two with wooden floors, and the other four with floors of brick

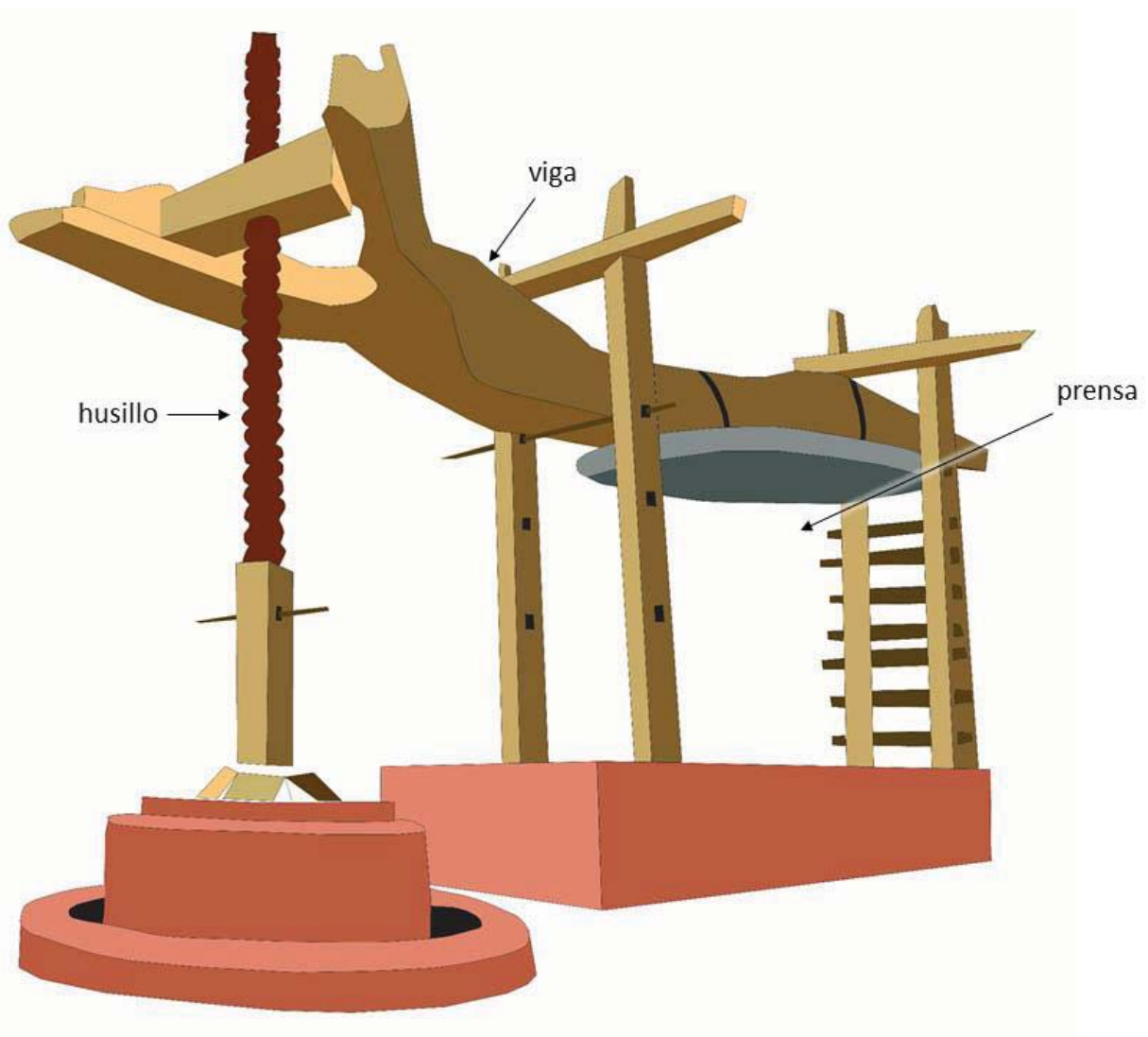


Figure 8.9. Reconstruction of a lagar of the type used in 17th and 18th century Nasca.

and lime.<sup>6</sup> There was a total of three presses complete with huarango vigas and husillos – suggesting that only three of the six lagaretas were in operation at a time, although an extra unused viga was listed near the botija kilns. Adjacent to these presses were four bodegas and the vintner’s office. While these bodegas were certainly used as storage, one reportedly holding

<sup>6</sup> “Testimonio...” 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #17: f.271r-271v.

3,600 botijas, it is unclear which of the four were also used for fermentation. The inventory also describes a brick and lime basin for washing the botijas near these structures.

As I described in Chapter 6, today at San Javier, four tinajas and an husillo have been incorporated as decorative elements of the ex-Casa Hacienda. Two large vigas lie to the south of the Jesuit chapel, one of which bears the name of carpenter Thomas de Zepeda Mesech, who in 1732 crafted it for San Joseph, and at some later moment it was brought for use at San Xavier. Additionally, our geophysical survey of the area south of the church revealed a large anomalous circular area which may indicate the subsurface remains of a lagar.

### *Brandy*

By the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, wine had thoroughly saturated the colonial market (Cushner 1980: 127), and vineyards began to place increasing emphasis on the production of aguardiente de uva, or brandy. Both haciendas had aguardenteras, or distillery complexes, adjacent to their bodegas for producing brandy from wine.<sup>7</sup> San Xavier's annex of San Pablo and San Joseph's annex of La Ventilla also produced brandy.<sup>8</sup> Due to its relative isolation from the intense modern urbanization present at the sites of the main estates, La Ventilla offers a remarkable opportunity to explore brandy production through a comparison of the extant features and the documentary record.

In 1706 San Joseph substantially increased its wine and brandy production potential through the purchase of the Hacienda La Ventilla opposite San Joseph on the left bank of the Ingenio River. As an already established secular estate, the previous owner had constructed an

<sup>7</sup> "Testimonio..." 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #17: f.272r.; "Verdadero testimonio..." 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #16:ff.244v.

<sup>8</sup> "Testimonio..." 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #17: f.280r-280v.; "Verdadero testimonio..." 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #16:ff.255r.

hacienda house, lagar, botija kiln, worker housing, bodegas, and a chapel. However, at the time of the property's annexation by San Joseph, much of this infrastructure had been ruined by a recent earthquake.<sup>9</sup> Given that the 1767 Crown inventory of La Ventilla did not record the botija workshop or kilns, but instead the chapel, two presses, bodegas, a large distillery, and a single house, it can be assumed that most of the ruined structures were not restored.<sup>10</sup> La Ventilla, possessing superior water rights to that of San Joseph proper, became a secondary site of intense wine and brandy production.

The 1767 inventory describes the annex as possessing an old, run-down house, where a pair of elderly slaves resided, presumably higher ranking individuals who might have overseen the day-to-day activities of production at La Ventilla. In addition to the house, La Ventilla featured an adobe chapel, a lagar and two lagaretas, a stone-paved courtyard, a series of bodegas for storing and fermenting wine, and a distillery complex for producing brandy. Today the remains of several historic structures at La Ventilla are extant: a large multi-roomed brick and adobe structure, as well as three brick and concrete apartments, all of which were used to house workers prior to the agricultural reforms of the early 1970s. In addition, ruins of the colonial aguardentera remain (see Figure 8.10).

The aguardentera was enclosed by adobe walls and accessed by a large gate with a pair of huarango doors that could be locked. Remnants of these walls can be seen at the site surrounding the brick feature, mortared and dressed in lime and decorated with molded details. Illustrated in the reconstruction in Figure 8.11, highly fermented must and wine were heated in nine bronze stills by small wood-fired furnaces – two bases of which are extant along the eastern side of the feature. The vapor was channeled through hammered-copper spigots and pipes through the

<sup>9</sup> “Títulos...”, 1706. AGN TP Leg.21, C.415: f.419v, ff.434r-434v.

<sup>10</sup> “Testimonio...” 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #17: f.2729r-280v.

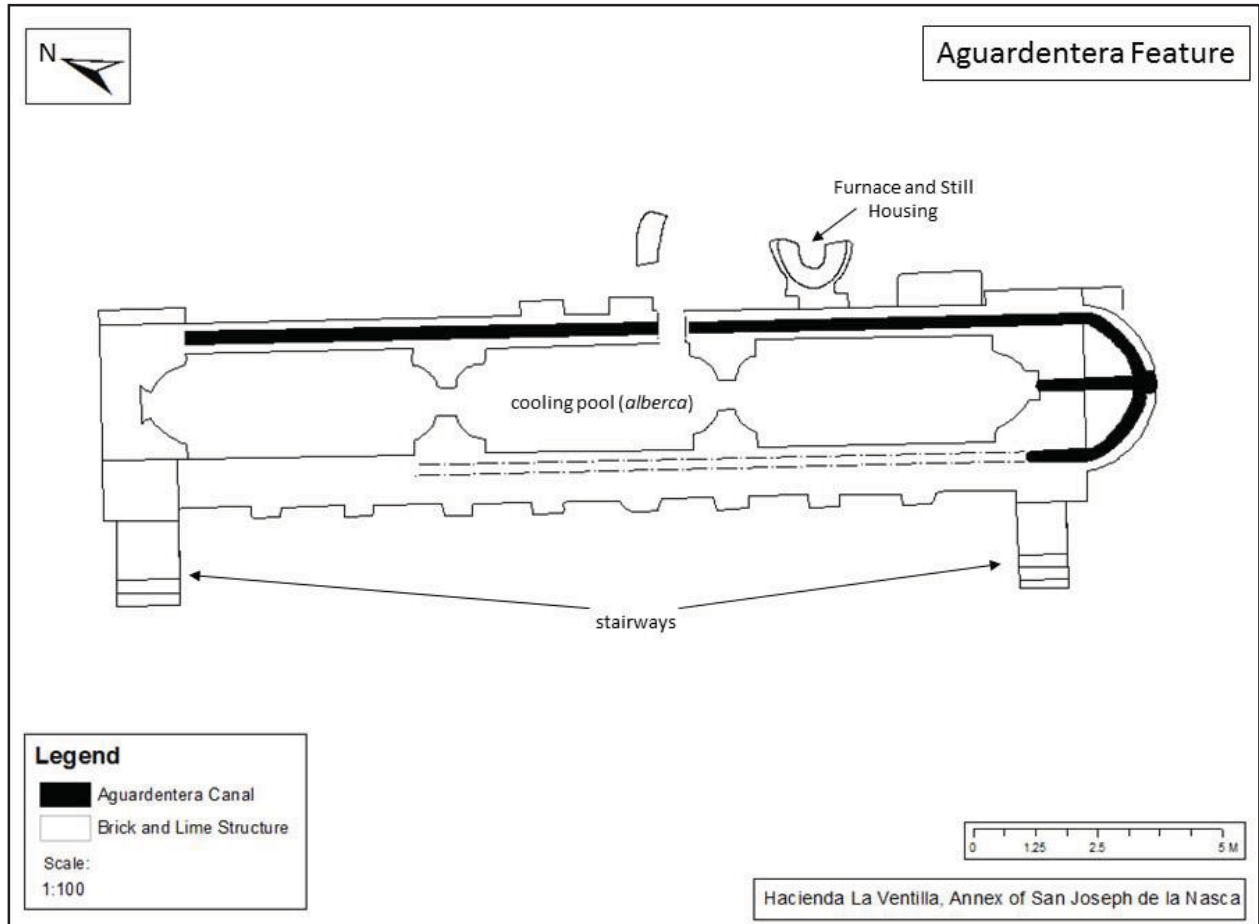


Figure 8.10. Plan of aguardentera feature, La Ventilla, Annex of San Joseph.

*alberca*, the brick and lime trough which would have been filled with water to act as a cooling pool. Botijas would have received the distillate on the other side of the aguardentera, and these would have been emptied into large tinajas for cooling. The ratio of wine to brandy was about twelve to one, meaning about six botijas of wine were required to produce just one *botija perulera* (half-volume botija) of brandy (see Cushner 1980:71). The inventory records nine botijas and two large tinajas that would have been used for this process. The document simply refers to the brick trough as a “cajón,” and notes eight lime supports and four staircases at the

aguardentera, one of which was in poor condition in 1767, two of which remain today.<sup>11</sup> The distillery also featured an office for the enslaved master distiller and the mayordomo, shaded by a mangrove ramada with roofing of cane and woven reed matting. The equipment used in brandy production, particularly the bronze or copper components, were costly investments. A receipt from 1702 for three stills with hammered-copper hardware for use at San Joseph totaled 2,143 pesos 6 reales, and three copper distillery pipes cost a total of 120 pesos.<sup>12</sup> Each complete still would have cost about 754½ pesos, about the same as a highly skilled slave, or as many as five enslaved field hands.

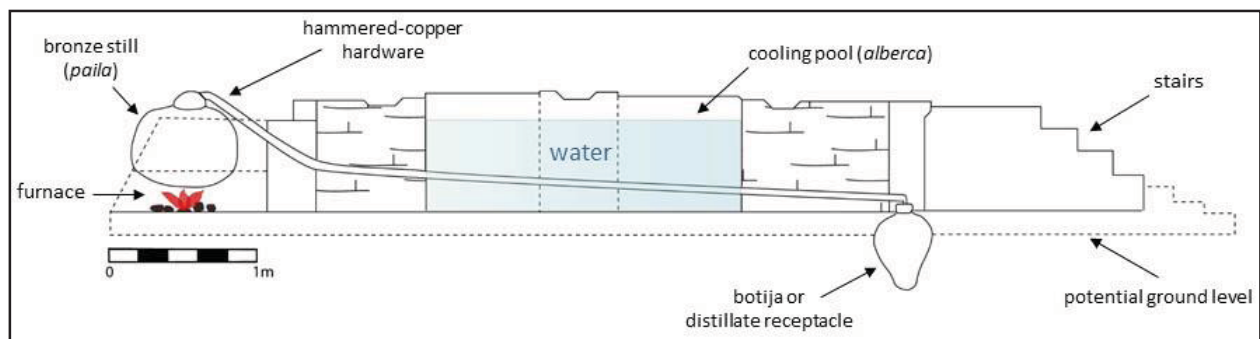


Figure 8.11. Cutaway reconstruction of aguardentera feature, La Ventilla, Annex of San Joseph.

To the east of the distillery is a mounded area with a substantial surface scatter of botija sherds and botija supports, often called setters. An examination of the surface materials in conjunction with the architecture reveals a lot about the nature of work and expressions of hacienda aesthetics. After the Cuzco Jesuits acquired La Ventilla in 1706, they did not rebuild the previous owner's ceramic kilns, which had been destroyed by an earthquake. Therefore, all of the botijas used at La Ventilla were produced at San Joseph, across the river. The large

<sup>11</sup> "Testimonio..." 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #17: f.2729r.

<sup>12</sup> "Gasto de la hacienda de San Joseph de la Nasca...", 1702-1708. AGN C-13, L.128, C.1:f.1v.

numbers of botijas which broke in the course of use and transportation at the annex is a testament to the surplus of botijas which had to be supplied every year. The association of the setters with the aguardentera suggests that they were not only used as furniture for packing the kilns while firing the botijas, but were also important tools for keeping the botijas upright while in use at the distillery. All of the setters I have encountered in association with the two Jesuit hacienda systems in the Nasca region also bear African stylistic elements, chiefly finger impressions. Setters were not a commercial product of the estate, but made by enslaved workers for their own use as tools (see Figure 8.12). That they would choose to embellish a utilitarian form with these designs – in a sense to make them *beautiful* – is significant. The elaboration of such items, the construction and use of which was at the discretion of enslaved laborers, either made by ceramicists for their own use or for the use of fellow slaves, is important in that these items index certain aspects of politics and power at play within the aesthetico-political regime of the estates. Out of over a dozen nearly complete setters identified through excavation and survey, none were identical, although drawing from a common stylistic repertoire and set of elaborative techniques. This suggests that the crafting of each piece was deliberate, intentional, and perhaps very personal, rather than the elaboration of botijas, as discussed below, which were designed within narrowly defined parameters in a processes which limited the exercise of creative freedoms.



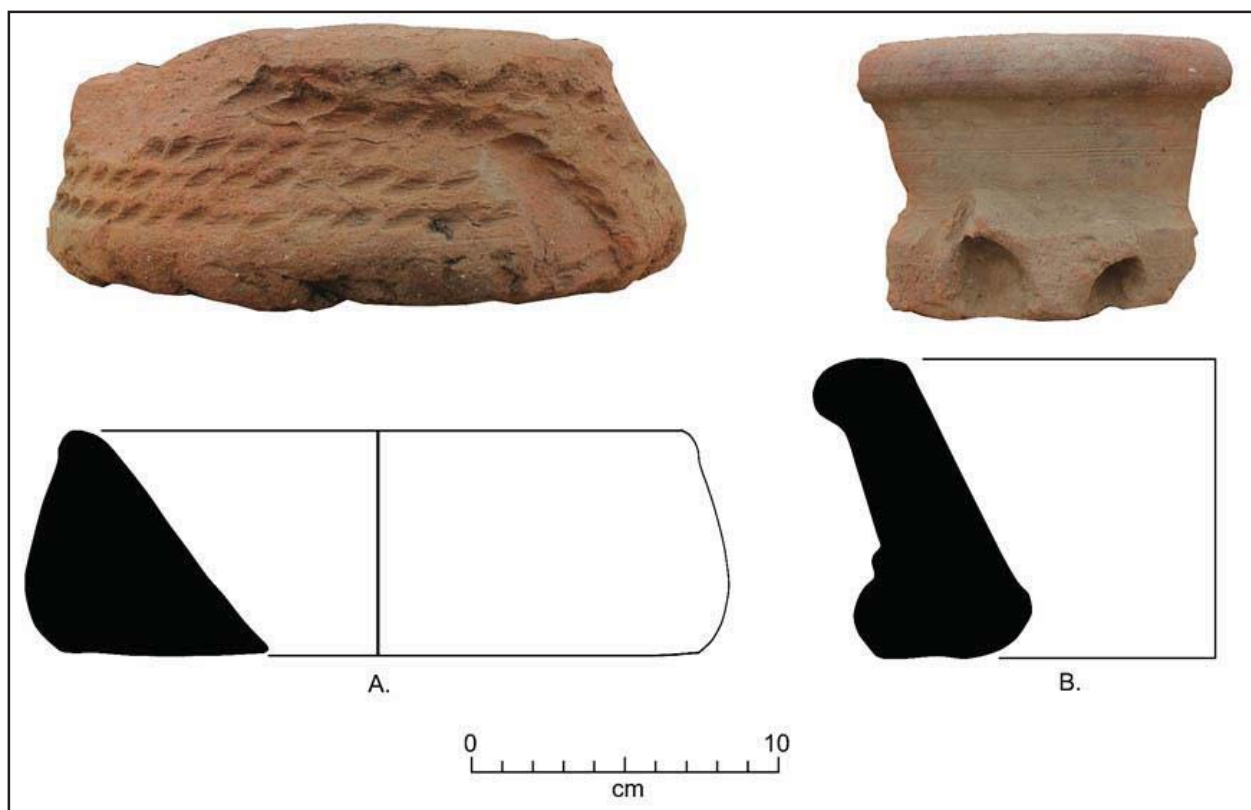


Figure 8.12. Two examples of setters from the Site of La Ventilla.

### *Botijas*

Increasing production of wine and brandy drove the manufacture of botijas. At the height of production, San Xavier alone produced between 6,000 and 15,000 botijas of wine and brandy annually (see Cushner 1980: 126, 145), which necessitated an extraordinary need for the auto-production of vessels by enslaved master ceramicists. These *botijeros* were male, which constituted a distinction from West and Central African cultural norms for ceramic production, which traditionally falls within the female division of labor. The 1767 inventories are explicit in listing the ceramic production facilities together, and note eight throwing wheels at each hacienda, with three kilns at San Xavier and four at San Joseph.<sup>13</sup> Geophysical and

<sup>13</sup> “Testimonio...” 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #17: f.272r.; “Verdadero testimonio...” 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #16:ff.246r.

archaeological evidence, however, reveals that there were considerably more kilns and ceramic production facilities throughout the history of the haciendas, and that there were several distinct production sites on the hacienda landscapes. Kilns may have had use-lives necessitating their continual construction over the course of three centuries, and the property titles of La Ventilla offer documentary evidence that kilns were especially prone to earthquake damage.<sup>14</sup> The inventories describe both San Xavier and San Joseph's *fabricas de botijas* as facilities in poor condition, although covered from the sun by huarango ramadas with poorly maintained totora reed roofing.<sup>15</sup>

As discussed in Chapter 6, at San Xavier there are extant surface remains of a botija kiln complex located southwest of the modern settlement. The 830 m<sup>2</sup> area consists of the remains of a 5 m diameter circular brick kiln and the mounded refuse from botija production, including large numbers of wasters (see Figure 8.13). Also at San Xavier, excavations encountered the demolished remains of a botija kiln (Unit 4), which included several strata of primarily burned botija wasters. One particular level (Locus 1089) of the 2 by 1 meter unit contained 1,440 sherds weighing an average of 617 g each. Below these discarded sherds were the vitrified and escoriated remains of a brick kiln floor. Rather than representing a waster heap, the context seems to suggest a kiln with broken botijas resting on its floor, perhaps abandoned after extraordinary earthquake damage. The above-surface kiln remains at San Xavier and excavation Unit 4 are located at opposite extremes of the hacienda nucleus. The kiln remnants discovered near San Xavier Geophysical Zone 5 are located over 100 m east of Unit 4, suggesting that over time, kilns were dispersed across the hacienda landscape, rather than being constructed in a single location.

<sup>14</sup> "Títulos...", 1706. AGN TP Leg.21, C.415: f.419v, ff.434r-434v.

<sup>15</sup> "Testimonio..." 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #17: f.272r.; "Verdadero testimonio..." 1767. ANC. Vol. 344, #16:ff.246r.



Figure 8.13. Botija waster that collapsed in kiln while firing. Collected from surface of kiln at San Xavier.

At San Joseph, surface and geophysical evidence suggests that the majority of the kilns were located atop the flattened prominence east of the modern town, in the area described in Chapter 6 as the botija midden and production area. Among the surface scatter of slag, brick, and household ceramics across the nearly 6 ha area are potentially hundreds of thousands of botija sherds and mostly whole vessels, dumped along with modern trash. A strategic type inventory (as described in Chapter 5) from this midden has allowed for a partial reconstruction of the range of forms and motifs present at San Joseph.

Each estate had small furnaces for refining pitch tar to coat the interiors of the botijas. The Crown inventory lists three such furnaces at San Joseph, and it is assumed that San Xavier had a similar facility. Both estates also had pits for storing refined tar, and at San Joseph 404 “botijas empegadas” or pitch-coated botijas, were listed adjacent to the tar store. Unit 7 at San Joseph may have been related to such activities, as many botijas recovered from a cache at a

lower stratum exhibited tar drippings on the sherds' breaks, signaling that liquid pitch was likely applied to the interiors of botijas at a nearby workshop.

A total of 10,975 botija sherds were recovered from excavated contexts at San Joseph and San Xavier (see Table 8.3). This sample, together with the strategic surface sampling of 164 sherds or partial vessels from San Joseph's botija midden, provide a picture of botija production from the early 17<sup>th</sup> through mid-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Seventy-five percent of all botija sherds recovered at San Xavier came from the aforementioned excavated kiln context. At San Joseph, Unit 9 provided the largest sample with 38% of the total number of botija sherds recovered during the 2012/13 fieldseason from both San Joseph and San Xavier, and 31% of the total weight. That unit exposed a 17<sup>th</sup> century adobe wall, against which was heaped alternating layers of domestic and industrial waste. Only 23% of the botija sherds recovered from the unit were coated with pitch on their interiors, and the space was likely used for botija processing or storage.

Table 8.3. Totals by unit and site of botija sherds recovered through excavation at San Joseph and San Xavier.

| <b>San Joseph</b> |       | <b>San Xavier</b> |        |
|-------------------|-------|-------------------|--------|
| Unit 1            | 61    | Unit 3            | 556    |
| Unit 2            | 206   | Unit 4            | 2,756  |
| Unit 7            | 1,969 | Unit 5            | 127    |
| Unit 8            | 854   | Unit 6            | 44     |
| Unit 9            | 4,149 |                   |        |
| Unit 10           | 254   |                   |        |
| Total             | 7,497 |                   | 3,492  |
|                   |       |                   | 10,975 |

Potters used local clay sourced from the banks of the Ingenio River, particularly from the area near San Joseph's annex of Tambo del Inga, where both estates had access to extensive borrow pits. Generally the paste was tempered with sand or limestone. The sand particulate often

contained inclusions of quartz, mica, and pyrite. As is typical of botijas generally (Goggin 1960: 7), fired paste color – even within a single vessel – varies widely and ranges from orange to reddish brown to grey, depending on firing temperature.

Morphologically the botijas from the Nasca properties closely match Goggin's (1960: 28) general body forms, with a few exceptions. Following Deagan's (2002: 31) botija typology (see Figure 8.14), adopting Goggin's general body forms and offers modifications from research carried out by Avery (1997) and Marken (1994), most of the vessels fit into Shapes A and B of the broadly defined Middle Period, in which nearly all botija production at San Joseph and San Xavier falls. The A shapes of the Middle and Late Periods are hard to distinguish among the excavated materials due to idiosyncrasies of production, particularly the variable degree to which the bases are conical in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century forms. Still, later vessels do trend toward elongated forms with conical bases. The media-botija or "perulero," which corresponds to the half-volume sized global form, is also plentiful in my sample. Turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century documentary evidence related to the Nasca estates also suggests that specific classes of botijas existed and were referred to by numbered types (e.g. *Botija de No. 6* or *Botija de No. 7*), which may have related to volume size or shape.<sup>16</sup>

Botija rims are rare in the assemblage, as only 117 were recovered in excavation. Mouths easily break from vessels and are generally absent in the archaeological record from otherwise nearly complete botijas. Rim and mouth shape differ markedly from Goggin's schema and chronology. I have identified three distinct shapes which I have defined as Nasca A, B, and C (see Figure 8.15). Nasca B, a thinned, direct rim with an inclination toward an everted flare at the mouth and thickened rim base accounts for 57% of the sample, followed by Nasca C, which although

<sup>16</sup> "Gasto de la hacienda de San Joseph de la Nasca...", 1702-1708. AGN C-13, L.128, C.1:f.11r.

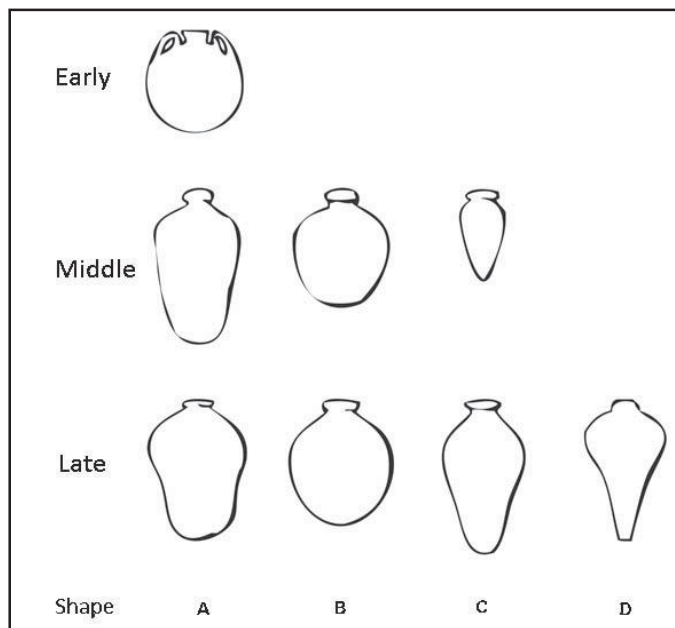


Figure 8.14. Botija morphology after Deagan 2002 (based on Goggin 1960, with corrections by Lister 1997 and Marken 1994).

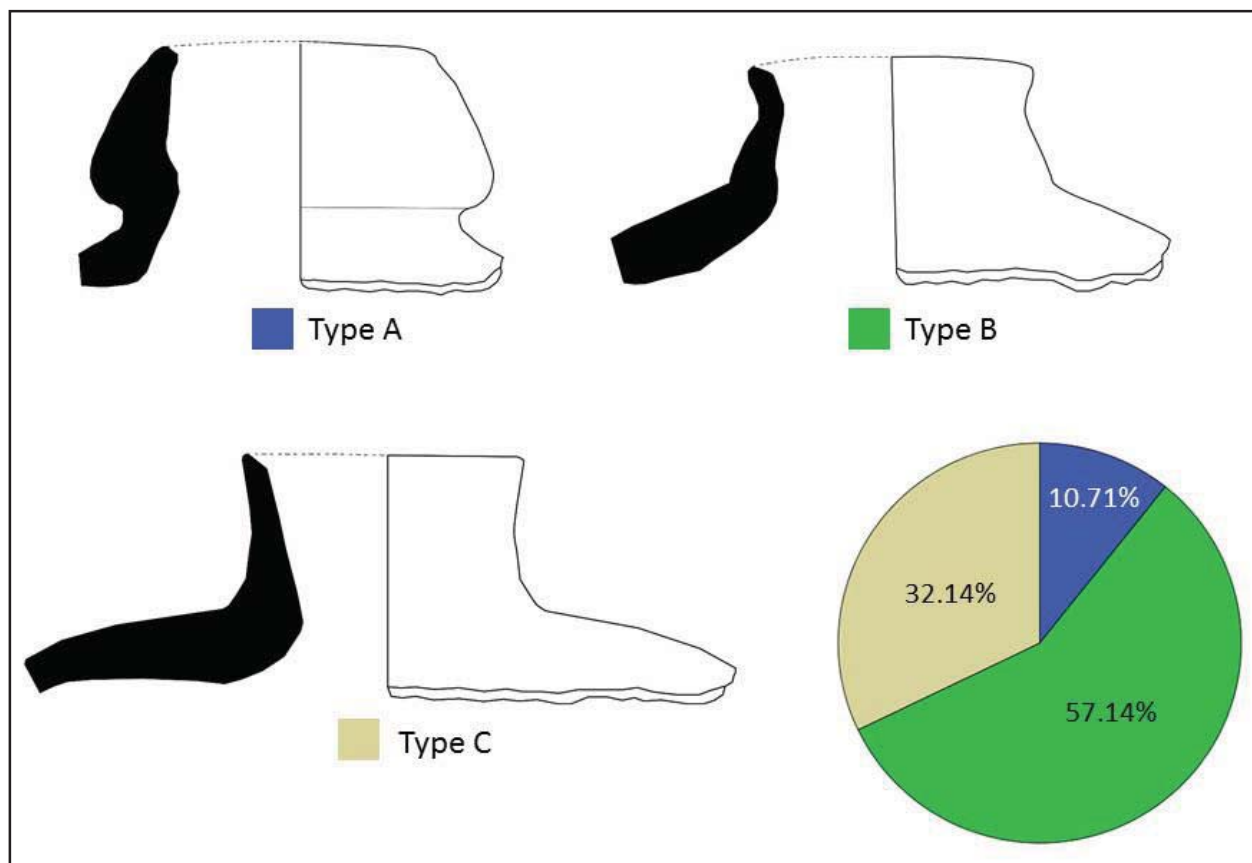


Figure 8.15. Nasca botija mouth forms encountered at San Joseph and San Xavier.

similar, is more direct and without flaring or the thickened rim base, comprises 32%. Nasca A, in the minority at only 11%, is generally rolled and externally reinforced.

As of yet, no clear chronology has emerged for these mouth shapes. All three types are present in the earliest excavated contexts dating to the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, and continue at unpredictable ratios into the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, as illustrated by the charts from units 7, 8, and 9, in Figure 8.16 depicting counts for each type against relative stratigraphic depth. Additionally, the present sample does not indicate any strong correlations between mouth forms and decorative elements.

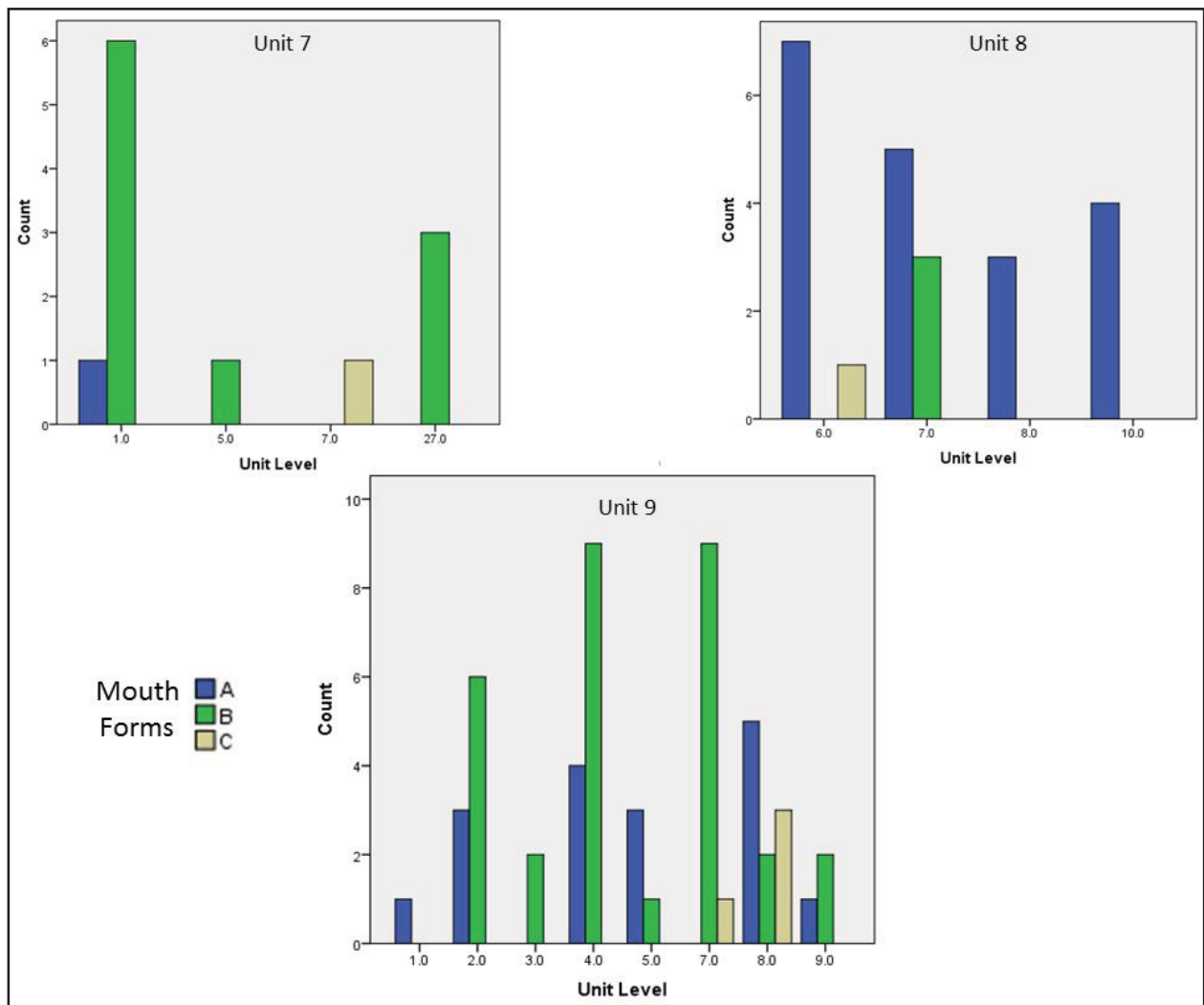


Figure 8.16. Distribution of botija mouth forms by level depth at San Joseph.

Most botijas were slipped. None were glazed, and few were painted – most commonly yellow or red, although one vessel recovered from San Joseph was plain with a painted motif: a black Jesuit monogram on a red, slipped body. Like the setters, many of the stylistic attributes and decorative elaborations of the Nasca botijas more closely resemble decorative techniques from West and Central African aesthetic repertoires than those of Iberian or native Andean cultures. Applied decorative techniques included brushing, cord and fabric impressions, finger markings and drawings, and stylus drawings. Drawn motifs include incised annular lines and variations on wavy lines, such as multi-banded waves, intersecting waves and lines, waves with appendages, and angular or round crested waves (see Figure 8.17). While cord impressions and incised annular lines are not unique to the botija assemblage from the Nasca haciendas, the wave motifs are a much more localized phenomena. While the patterns created through cord impressions and annular incisions may have been syncretic between Iberian and Atlantic African aesthetic repertoires, the wave motifs seem to have entered the haciendas' aesthetic field quite intentionally.

Multi-banded intersecting wavy lines are common decorations in many regions of West and Central Africa, but especially among Yoruba and Edo peoples of Nigeria and Benin, where variations of the design commonly adorn ceramics, pipe bowls, circular divination boards, and carved wooden doors.<sup>17</sup> Such ornamentation in West Africa is often related to the cult of the Rainbow Serpent deity, although it did not necessarily hold the same charge in Nasca. A long tradition of research on slave-produced pottery (Armstrong 1990; Ferguson 1980, 1992; Schávelzon 2003; Smith 1995; see also Deagan 2002: 103-105) suggests that although the specific conditions of cultural entanglements and labor at different times and places were

<sup>17</sup> See for example a tobacco pipe bowl excavated from the site of Okun Settlement in Nigeria (Ogundiran 2007: 85, Fig. 3.7E).



distinct, African aesthetic traditions have reproduced enduring signs within the aesthetico-political regimes at the confluence of disparate ceramic traditions in a number of colonial contexts in the Americas (Weik 2004: 35). The transposition of West and Central African aesthetics onto Iberian ceramic forms is also discussed by de Souza and Agostini (2012), who demonstrate a strong correlation between certain types of African scarification practices and pottery at 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century estates in Brazil.



Figure 8.17. Decorative treatments and motifs on Nasca botijas.

The goal of inventorying a sample of sherds from the surface of San Joseph's botija midden was to select for as close to the full range of forms and decorative elements as possible.

Of the sample of 164 botija sherds, 135 exhibit decorative techniques which could be grouped into families based on the presence of specific elements. The remaining 29 sherds were slipped and otherwise undecorated, yet were useful in establishing parameters for the range of botija forms present at San Joseph. A sort of the 135 decorated sherds yielded 39 distinct decorative types (see Figures 8.18a and 8.18b). These types can be generally grouped by those bearing cord impressed decoration and those that do not. Both of these groups can be broken down by specific types of stylistic techniques such as finger or stylus drawn annular line or wave motifs, or a combination of such elaborative techniques and motifs. This typology helps contextualize the diversity of the stratigraphically-recovered sherds. Excavations to date demonstrate that specific design elements of the botijas changed very little over time, suggesting the importance of these designs in habitual practices situated within the broad distribution of the sensible across the hacienda spaces. However, future excavations will help to better understand the correlations of these decorative elements, the categorization of which could aid in better understanding the specifics of how and why botija aesthetics changed over time.

While previous studies of botijas in the Americas have contended that stamped makers' marks on the necks of the amphorae signaled the estate of origin or contents (e.g. Carruthers 2003; Goggin 1960), the overwhelming majority of botija necks recovered do not bear such markings. The exception are the occasional type "A" mouths which were stamped with the Jesuit monogram. It seems that for these estates, stamped plaster stoppers played a greater role in such indexing. Plaster stoppers recovered from opportunistic surface collections at Puerto Caballa depict floral medallions, geometric designs, and a Star of David, although none of these symbols may be specific to the Jesuit estates and may instead have indexed secular wine and brandy producers in the valley.

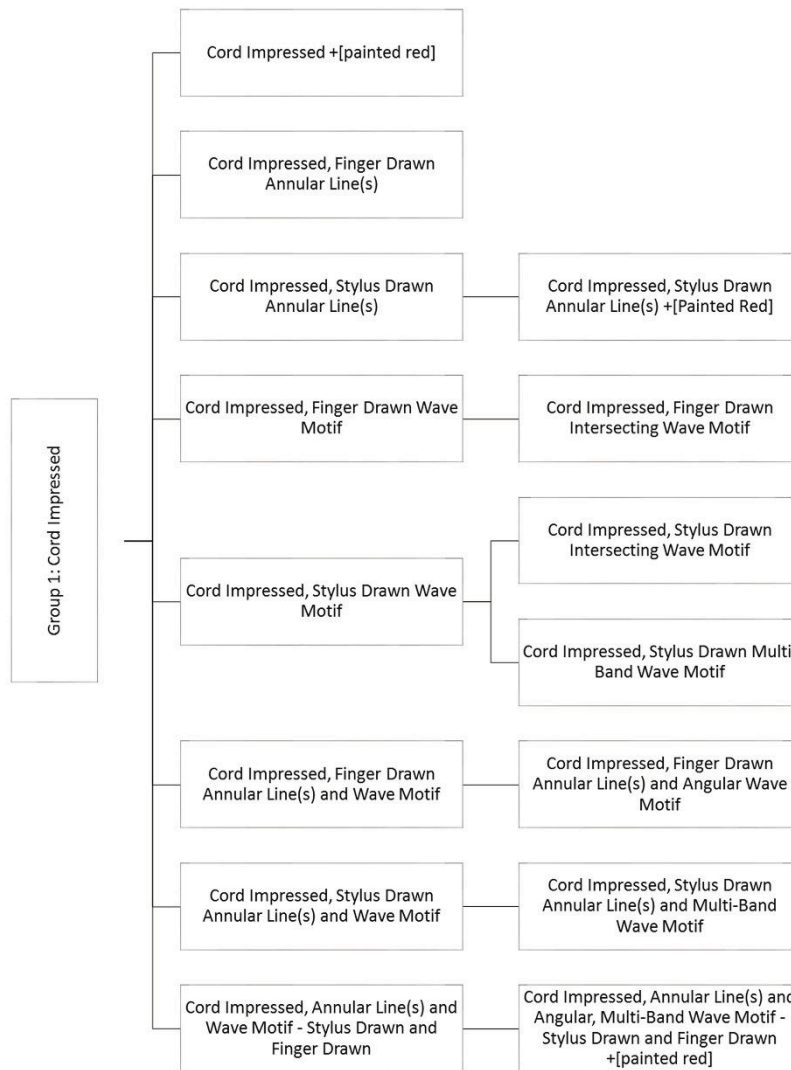


Figure 8.18a. Taxonomy of botijas inventoried from surface of the San Joseph “botija midden.”



Figure 8.18b. Taxonomy of botijas inventoried from surface of the San Joseph “botija midden.”

The material conditions of production, the field labor, the technologies of wine, brandy, and botija making, and the seasonal rhythm of these efforts, constituted an aspect of the distribution of the sensible across the hacienda environment which controlled enslaved bodies and produced a specific kind of enslaved subject. The use of signs from West and Central African aesthetic traditions as motifs and modes of ceramic treatment enter into this aesthetico-political regime at the contentious nexus between top-down and bottom-up processes. This is a point of Rancièrian political disagreement, in which the signs emerge successfully incorporated into the hacienda aesthetic and pass into the routine of daily praxis. Stratigraphic evidence suggests that the aesthetics of botijas from the Nasca estates changed very little during the tenure of the Jesuits from 1619 to 1767. Although production was a locus of agentive expression for the ethnically diverse enslaved craftsmen, which was manifest in the manufacture of tools like setters or commercial products like botijas, hacienda aesthetics were located in the habitus of daily praxis, and largely influenced by a founder effect of early enslaved ceramicists and artisans. The selection of these signs by those who first employed them was meaningful; the designs were not random nor are they idiosyncratic, but reference specific signs within West and Central African aesthetic traditions, the original meanings of which are now lost to modern interpretation. Understanding the original referents or specifying which African traditions were specifically evoked is not important in drawing out the dynamics of this process. What is at stake is recognizing that process and understanding how these signs produced alternative meanings and modified the distribution of the sensible across the hacienda environment by transforming a specific aspect of the material conditions of enslaved viticultural production.

## **Aesthetics of Power**

Considering the materiality of production, the built environment, lagares, furnaces, stills, kilns, tinajas, setters, and botijas, and the ways in which this production and these materials shaped daily life, opens a window onto enslaved workers' quotidian engagement with larger colonial structures. Embodied and personal aesthetics are also powerful manifestations of, and challenges to, the dominant aesthetico-political regime and the distribution of the sensible. Aesthetics of the self (*sensu* Foucault) are a powerful locus of contestation between disparate aesthetic logics. Through the use and display of small personal items and bodily adornment, enslaved actors can actively engage and manipulate social relationships and broader aspects of the distribution of the sensible. The aesthetics of pan-Atlantic smoking culture are particularly powerful because they directly relate to the presentation of the self. The manipulation of personal signs, however, contrasts to the way signs are purported and engaged publicly in widely distributed art, architecture, and the material conditions of production.

Smoking culture was ubiquitous in the colonial experiences of the early modern world, leading to the expansive manufacture and exchange of material culture and prescript social norms across communities in the Atlantic African diaspora. Jesuit and post-Jesuit accounting books list regular disbursements of tobacco to the enslaved population of the Nasca haciendas, however only two ceramic pipe fragments were recovered in my excavations, and none of the plain kaolin tobacco pipes ubiquitously present at plantation sites throughout the Atlantic World were found. Given the documentary evidence for the regular disbursement of tobacco, it is curious that the remains of only two smoking pieces of smoking equipment were found. Even given the relatively low excavation to surface area ratios at the sites, it would be expected that more pipe fragments would be found, especially in the deeply stratified 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century

domestic midden contexts. The fact that only two pipes were found, suggests that most enslaved smokers likely smoked rolled tobacco, and that possession of such pipes represents an important and restricted status.

The two excavated fragments came from coarse earthenware pipe bowls, and both were recovered from Jesuit-era middens at San Joseph, one from Locus 1299 in Unit 8 and the other from Locus 1395 in Unit 9 (see Figure 8.19). Both seem to have been slave-made, having flattened rims and resembling other pipe bowls found in excavations throughout the Spanish Americas and attributed to members of the African diaspora; one has annular incised parallel lines and the other a tiny triangular motif.



Figure 8.19. Slave-made pipe bowl sherds recovered from excavation at San Joseph. A. Annular incised parallel lines and facing triangle motif, Locus 1299, Unit 8. B. Annular incised parallel lines, Locus 1395, Unit 9.

Throughout the Americas, archaeologists have long suggested that geometric incisions, such as crosses, on pottery in the American South (Ferguson 1992, 1999; see also articles and comments in Ewen 2011:132-184) and geometric incisions on tobacco pipes in the United States, Dominican Republic, Brazil, Barbados, and Cuba (Arrom and García 1986; Emerson 1988, 1999; Fennel 2007a, 2007b; Handler 1997, 2008; Handler and Norman 2007, Orser 1996: 123-

129) are associated with African aesthetic traditions. The pipe with an incised triangular motif bears a strong resemblance to an archaeologically recovered pipe found at the 17<sup>th</sup> century Quinta de Presa house in Lima (García Soto 1980: Figura 19), as well as those recovered in excavations from the Kingdom of Dahomey in Benin (Norman 2008: 338), Notsé in Togo (Aguigah 1986: 353), the maroon community at Palmares in Brazil (Orser 1996: 126), and maroon sites of Santo Domingo (in the Dominican Republic) and Cuba (Arrom and García 1986: 50, 64, 65). Possession of such pipes has been linked with restricted statuses and ownership and display of such smoking equipment is an assertion of power as well as a symbol of leisure (Agbe-Davis 2015).

Neil Norman (2015) has made use of Robert Farris Thompson's (1973) "aesthetic of the cool" to discuss the use of tobacco pipes by African diasporans of royal Dahomeyan origin. Since the late 16<sup>th</sup> century introduction of tobacco to West Africa, in the Dahomeyan tradition, pipes are closely related to accessing the *coolness* in spirituality (Norman 2015), relating to a metaphor of moral aesthetic accomplishment for having control, individual composure, and social stability, and is related to purity, transcendental balance, and power (Thompson 1973: 41). Norman suggests that in a diasporan context, smoking indexes one's status and references one's own personal power and importance in maintaining social stability and the dignity of one's personal composure. In this sense, the smoker could transcend the status of slave. In Dahomey, the pipe was an extension of the elements of coolness, and specifically related to the deification of the royal family. Men were served their pipes by their wives; the old smoked, while the young waited (Norman 2015). Of course, in a diasporan perspective, smoking culture transcended boundaries of gender and age, and important enslaved women have been found buried with



elaborate slave-made or modified pipes (e.g. Handler and Lange 1978: 231-250; Smith and Crain 2004).

The lack of evidence for smoking equipment beyond the two bowl sherds found at San Joseph suggests that these pipes likely represented a restricted status. While most of the enslaved population may have smoked rolled tobacco, higher ranking enslaved individuals may have reinforced their positions of authority both in productive and social activities by harnessing and restricting Atlantic African signs of power. The pipes at the Nasca estates were likely made locally by the same ceramicists who produced the setters and botijas, persons whose enslaved status afforded them unique access to materials and kilns. The pipes were either made by the ceramicists for their own use or for specific individuals within the enslaved community, individuals whose capital value to the estate as skilled labor afforded them a position of power in the hacienda hierarchy over domestics and field hands.

Tobacco pipes, and other means of strategically constructing the aesthetics of the self, established modes for enslaved actors to engage in meaning building and manipulation of the hierarchies among the enslaved communities. Similarly, the use of African stylistic repertoires for decorating products of the estate and tools and offered contentious claims within the aesthetico-political regime. Still, some signs enacted Rancièrian disagreement through the polyvalence of signs embedded within the established distribution of the sensible.

At San Xavier, a molded plaster sculptural frieze on the pilaster of the triumphal arch separating the nave from the chapel's chancel represents an example of a potential site of the politics of contentions among multiple hierarchical, but coeval, aesthetico-political regimes at play within the hacienda's distribution of the sensible. The frieze depicts a classical urn with a flowering plant, from which emerges a grotesque human form and the serpentine bodies of two

zoomorphic creatures who bite the cheeks of the individual (see Figure 8.20). Serpent imagery also appears on the Jesuit chapel at San Joseph. A prominent example is the two stylized serpents on either side of the exterior portal of the sacristy, overlooking the area which may have been San Joseph's cemetery (see Figure 8.21). These serpents appear in a much more European stylized tradition with coiled bodies, collars, and grotesque anthropomorphic heads. However, like the serpent friezes at San Xavier, the snakes are intertwined within flowering scrolls of roots and vines.

While the intent of either frieze by unidentified (potentially African descended) artisans is unknown, the imagery at San Xavier may have been a baroque interpretation of the fall of man. However, West African cultural observers may have also recognized the serpentine creatures as the Rainbow Serpent,<sup>18</sup> known as Oṣùmàrè in the Yoruba religious tradition, Da or Dangbe among Fon Gbe speakers, and in the New World as Damballah among practitioners of Louisianan Voodoo and Haitian Vodou. The deity is associated with the python and the rainbow and is responsible for creation and procreation. The West African Rainbow Serpent is commonly depicted as a dog-headed serpent consuming its own tail in a representation of the life cycle, creation, and destruction, or as two intertwined facing serpents (the male and female aspects of the god) poised to consume each other. The serpent deity, who is often associated with symbols of fertility and life, such as plant roots and the umbilical cord, is also responsible for linking the world of the living with the watery world of the ancestors and the dead. While snakes do appear as motifs in pre-Hispanic Nasca iconography (see Proulx 2006: 157) and small constrictors (particularly of the family Colubridae) are common in the valleys of the Nasca desert, the

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of the historical role of Dangbe in the Dahomeyan landscape see Norman and Kelly 2004.



Figure 8.20. Grottesque molded plaster sculptural frieze on a pilaster in the Jesuit chapel at San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca, with detail.



Figure 8.21. Plaster molded sculptural frieze around the exterior portal of the sacristy of the chapel of San Joseph de la Nasca, with detail of stylized coiled serpent.

Peruvian boa (the animal most similar to African python) is not indigenous to the Peruvian South Coast. Whether an observer understood the San Xavier friezes to represent the fall of man, the baroque juxtaposition of life and death, and the promises of eternal life through divine covenant, *or* the Rainbow Serpent, bringer of life and fertility, through whom one accesses the world of the dead, the message is relatively similar.

## **Conclusions**

The spatio-material conditions of San Joseph and San Xavier produced a specific kind of enslaved subject. The aesthetico-political regimes of the estates emphasized the importance of labor within the daily routinized practice of Christian discipline. Jesuit evangelization of the enslaved communities on their estates was predicated on using labor as the conditions of indoctrination and bodily discipline, furthering both the goals of production, and fulfilling Christian responsibility. The ubiquitous constructions of Spanish colonial settlement, plazas and church bell towers, became, through such indoctrination practices, crucial aesthetic elements of the distribution of the sensible which interpolated enslaved subjects in very particular ways, encouraging self-discipline and self-monitoring.

Archaeological evidence suggests the highly intertwined nature of the productive and residential aspects of hacienda life. The spatio-material conditions of the Jesuit wine haciendas of Nasca also structured domestic and agroindustrial activities, the “tasks” of daily life, constituting an hacienda landscape aesthetically imbued with the emphasis of labor as Christian discipline, permeating all aspects of daily life. Enslaved labor was situated at the nexus between administrative strategies and enslaved agency, and both the conditions and products of such labor were aesthetically suffused with the politics of such tensions. Items such as high quality majolica

supplied to enslaved residents, signified for the Jesuit administration the wealth and power of the estates, as well as the indebtedness of the enslaved subjects. However, self-provisioning, a necessity for the maintenance of the enslaved population acknowledged by the administration, offered opportunities for the introduction of new signs by enslaved agents, creating points of aesthetic contention which could potentially transform the distribution of the sensible. Growing one's own foodstuffs, the creative use of foodways, or the acquisition of goods from markets beyond the estates, were all both essential to the maintenance of the enslaved populace, and constituted opportunities for aesthetico-political creativity.

Embodied and personal aesthetics could call upon the strategic use of restricted signs of power, offering powerful manifestations of, and challenges to, the dominant aesthetico-political regime and the distribution of the sensible. Tobacco pipes for example, represented a likely-rare form of material culture at San Joseph, and were probably used by higher status enslaved residents as restricted signs which carried an overtly political valence. Motifs and decorative elements on botijas and botija setters produced at the estates often specifically and intentionally reference Atlantic African aesthetic traditions. While for some botija potters these signs reference signs associated with life prior to captivity, and for others these elements are seated in habitual practice. Such signs, however, introduce Rancièrian disagreement to the aesthetico-political regime and through their engagement, transform the distribution of the sensible across the estates.

As discussed above, the polyvalence of signs was likely a staple feature of the hacienda aesthetic. While controlling movement and use of space and regulating the aesthetics of time across the estates, the aesthetico-political regime was simultaneously open to both creative and habitual engagement presenting modes for meaning making across multiple registers.

Engagement with contentious signs across both estates presented disjuncture between the distinct logics of multiple aesthetic fields, the resolution of which transformed the distribution of the sensible across the hacienda environment. By considering the material conditions of the hacienda within the aesthetic field, the politics of the sensible emerge, and so reveal the process in which enslaved actors both maintained aspects of autochthonous aesthetic traditions as well as engaged in ethnogenic transformations.

## CHAPTER IX

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this dissertation I have examined, through archaeological and ethnohistorical methods, the daily lived experience of enslaved African laborers on the wine haciendas of San Joseph and San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca, owned by the Society of Jesus on the southern Peruvian coast in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The research agenda I laid out in Chapter 1 called for the analysis of the material conditions of production on these estates as well as the quotidian experience of the enslaved laborers. I argued that such an approach, when considered through the lens of hacienda aesthetics (*sensu* Rancière 2004, 2010), could bring to the fore the dialectics of power inherent in the institution of the hacienda – an institution which was both the condition of the laborers’ enslavement as well as the process through which they were subjugated (*sensu* Silliman 2001). An examination of these processes and material conditions offers important insight into how coercion operated within the setting of Jesuit racial slavery in colonial Latin America, and equally as important, how enslaved actors responded to the conditions of their enslavement, how they engaged socially, and how they participated in the construction of meaning within the context of a captive society.

This project employed a multi-scalar and diachronic approach to examining these conditions, using both historical and archaeological methods to render perspectives on the institution of the hacienda, as well as the daily engagement of enslaved laborers with the hacienda environment and the materiality of production (as outlined in Chapter 5). From a historical perspective, I consider the development of Jesuit hegemony in the Ingenio and the middle and lower Grande Valleys, as well as the Lima and Cuzco colegios’ strategies for

managing their properties and organizing the labor of the estates. This historical analysis is the result of an examination of records which span both sides of the Jesuit expulsion in 1767; property titles and administrative reports and accounting records are brought into contrast with the large collection of records produced by the Crown administrators from the moment of the expulsion until Peruvian independence.

Archaeologically, the project's strategy set out to document the spatio-material evidence of these estates and the material culture of their residents and laborers at several scales, from the ultra-local and microscopic of the excavation unit, to the perspective offered from a survey of the annex sites located throughout the drainage. Through this dissertation I contend that the African experience in colonial Peru, like in many other parts of the Americas, was both ethnogenic and conservative of aspects of West and Central African traditions. Specifically, within the context of the coercive and totalizing institution of slavery on the Jesuit haciendas of Nasca, enslaved actors found modes for expression, the maintenance of cultural traditions, and also engaged with a market economy beyond the estate, and exerted limited control over one's own life course within the hacienda system. In this chapter, I summarize my findings and arguments, reflecting on enslaved praxis on the Nasca vineyards and the specific nature of hacienda aesthetics.

### **The Development of the Jesuit Haciendas of Nasca and their Annexes**

In this dissertation, I first traced the origins and development of the properties owned by the Society of Jesus in the Grande Drainage of the South Coast of Peru, making use of both the archaeological and historical records. Likewise, I described the material conditions of these estates, focusing on the daily praxis of the enslaved laborers and residents. Using written texts, in Chapter 3, I examined the 16<sup>th</sup> century indigenous depopulation of the Ingenio Valley, launching



the historical political and economic parameters for agricultural experimentation with sugar, and leading to the mid-century development of the wine industry. The establishment of the first viticultural enterprises in the Nasca region relied heavily on imported enslaved African labor.

In Chapter 4 I offered an exploration of the development of Jesuit power in Nasca and the ways both structures of labor and laborers were fashioned historically over time. I began the chapter with a discussion of the historical acquisition processes of the Jesuit properties in Nasca. The Jesuit landlords established their estates through the scrupulous mercantilism of the colegios' business managers and estate administrators. Both San Joseph and San Xavier grew as the result of meticulous acquisition strategies, which transformed the Nasca holdings from small-to-medium sized vineyards to the largest and most profitable of the Jesuit wine haciendas in the viceroyalty. The principal estates were important as productive, residential, and administrative cores of an hacienda "system"; each of the annex properties offered important resources vital to the sufficiency of the estates, producing a landscape of Jesuit hegemony from the middle Ingenio Valley to the seaport of Puerto Caballa.

Slavery, from the perspective of the Jesuit administration of San Joseph and San Xavier, was not only a means of funding the Jesuit educational mission, but also presented an opportunity for evangelization of the African. Most 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Jesuits who had direct experience with the institution of slavery took a practical moral and economic approach to the issue, believing that "benevolent" treatment of the enslaved was both necessary to properly exploit the maximum labor potential of an individual and was mandated by Christian doctrine. Generally, Jesuit strategies and attitudes toward labor, including slavery, are encapsulated in the discourse of labor as Christian discipline, and obedience to the estate was aimed at producing obedient Christian subjects. Such attitudes toward race and slavery illuminate the process of the

making of enslaved subjects who existed within the institution of the Jesuit hacienda at the nexus between person and property. As exemplified in Chapter 4, Jesuit slavery, although taking a particular moral and religious philosophical administrative approach, was just as coercive and oppressive as secular institutional slavery in its overall application. However, the particularities of the Jesuit approach to captive labor, which relied heavily on technologies of embodied discipline which reinforced labor as Christian discipline rather than an emphasis on the threat of corporal punishment, is particularly important in understanding the material conditions of production on Jesuit estates as a totalizing institution.

The Jesuit haciendas in Nasca were cosmopolitan, and all Jesuit slaves were baptized, most, even those born in Africa, taking Christian surnames. The 18<sup>th</sup> century slave inventories list a number of ethnonyms suggesting a broad distribution of ethnic origins from across West and Central Africa, from Senegambia to Angola, although the majority of the enslaved on the Nasca estates were likely of creole American origin. As evident in the 1767 Crown inventories, both San Joseph and San Xavier conformed to the Jesuit practice of maintaining a relatively equal ratio between male and female slaves and encouraged marriage and the cultivation of families on the estates. Documentary evidence also suggests that skilled laborers were placed in positions of authority on the haciendas and that such individuals were often able to use institutional authority to further manipulate their position of power in the haciendas' enslaved hierarchies.

### **The Material Conditions of Production and Hacienda Aesthetics**

In chapter 2, I outlined a theoretical approach to examining dialectics of power in enslaved labor and the material conditions of hacienda production from the perspective of

material aesthetics. I argued that the adaptation of a combined aesthetic and Peircean semiotic approach can aid in the study of the praxis of enslaved actors within the totalizing institution of the hacienda. Because there are no wholly dominated nor wholly resistive subjects, understanding the object personhood of the enslaved requires a broad understanding of the quotidian experience. Examining the material conditions of labor as practice within an aesthetic field (Rancière 2004, 2010) and using semiotic tools (Preucel 2006; Preucel and Bauer 2001), I contend that it is possible to approximate the processes of subject formation within a highly coercive institution, as well as gain an understanding of some of the crucial aspects of the dynamics of the quotidian beyond the near-inescapable poles of domination and object resistance (see Liebmann and Murphy 2010). In other words, such an approach offers tools to explore everyday dynamics of meaning building and social life, the processes of enslaved subject formation, and the ways in which enslaved actors responded to the conditions of their enslavement.

In Chapter 8, I examined the spatio-material conditions of production through the lens of the hacienda aesthetic. I analyzed how the aesthetics of production operated within the social environment of the haciendas and in the context of racial slavery, while simultaneously exploring how these aesthetics are produced through the political process of Rancièrian disagreement or dissensus. By evoking contentious signs belonging to an alternative, but coeval, register within the aesthetico-political regime, the distribution of the sensible is disrupted through political engagement and the aesthetico-political regime is reconfigured, thus transforming the police order and the effects of power, meanings, and representations of the aesthetic. Below, this argument is specified through summary of the analyses of the project data presented in the preceding chapters.

I described the evolution of the spatio-material conditions of the haciendas of San Xavier and San Joseph through the end of the Jesuits' tenure in 1767. The police order at both estates manifested in a distribution of the sensible that controlled movement and use of space and the experience of productive time in very specific, habitual, and internalizing ways, much like the self-reflexive technologies discussed by Foucault (1977). However, this aesthetico-political regime was simultaneously open to both creative and habitual engagement, presenting modes for meaning making across multiple registers. Hacienda spaces, while maintaining conceptual distinctions between productive and residential spaces, encouraged the internalization of labor and Christian discipline within the enslaved subjects through aesthetic production and the distribution of the sensible. In practice, domestic and productive activities were habitually intertwined as demonstrated by refuse from 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century midden contexts at the productive and residential core of San Joseph. As explored in Chapter 8, thin, alternating depositional events, occurred in succession within a relatively short period of time, but over a long duration. The agroindustrial components of household waste, such as gourd discs used to manufacture botija stoppers reveal the naturalized connections between what are often thought of as separate domains of everyday activity.

The aesthetics of production of the commercial products of the estate (principally wine, brandy, and botijas, along with vinegar and raisins) necessitated the use of specific viticultural technologies and materially regulated productive time: the rhythm of daily labor and the seasonality of agroindustrial production. The production of material aesthetic culture on the Nasca estates emerges at the nexus of top-down and bottom-up processes, at the political disagreement between the logic of one aesthetic field and another. This process is made explicit through the consideration of botijas and setters. Botijas were not only a commercial product of

the estate, but represent a specific type of slave-made pottery, which commercially represented the estate. Setters were tools used both in pottery production and for setting botijas upright during alcohol production, that enslaved craftsmen created for their own use. In both cases, the designs and stylistic treatments employed are not random nor are they idiosyncratic. The motifs and decorative treatments often specifically reference Atlantic African aesthetic traditions, and are not chosen at random from the available stylistic repertoire. For some enslaved craftsmen, the production of meaning and the engagement with material signs index a life prior to captivity, and for others, these relatively stable signs reference the cultural fact that such aesthetic production is rooted in hacienda tradition, and although seated in the habitus, is firmly within the domain of the enslaved ceramicists.

Likewise, embodied and personal aesthetics, such as the strategic use of restricted signs of power such as tobacco pipes or the creative use of cuisine, music, dance, or alcohol consumption are also powerful manifestations of, and challenges to, the dominant aesthetico-political regime and the distribution of the sensible. There is better evidence in the use of tobacco pipes – specifically in the restricted use of such smoking equipment among the enslaved community – and more generally on how enslaved residents supplemented the provisions of the estate. The former, represents a piece of strategic material culture whose sign indexes a restricted status and is symbolic of traditional West and Central African forms of authoritative power, evident in stylistic ornamentation of the pipe bowl sherds and in the fact that so few were recovered (n=2), despite documentation for frequent disbursements of tobacco, which was presumably smoked generally as rolled tobacco. The paucity of tobacco pipe sherds is significant even given the relatively low excavation to site surface area ratio, especially given the abundance of deeply stratified domestic midden contexts.

The ways in which enslaved residents supplemented the provisions of the estate, is visible through non-estate-provisioned or slave-made ceramics, and the creative use of self-provisioned food stuffs to create meals which semiotically borrowed from aesthetic traditions beyond the estate and specifically referenced West and Central African foodways. While the uniformity of high-quality majolicas provisioned by the hacienda administration indexed the subordination and indebtedness of the enslaved to the estate, the incorporation of slave-provisioned ceramic accompaniment and foodways transformed the ways in which the sign functioned within the aesthetico-political regime. The archaeological record demonstrates that these two ways of slave material consumption – through administrative provisioning and self-provisioning – were well established modes within the everyday material conditions of the haciendas. This, combined with documentary references to the importance of slave usufruct lands and the availability of capital in enslaved hands, particularly in the hands of women who presumably engaged in market exchanges beyond the estates. These two lines of evidence therefore align to show how these activities were integral to the administrative agenda on the Jesuit vineyards of Nasca. This arrangement differs significantly from British Caribbean plantations, where the slave participation in a market economy or self-provisioning practices typically occurred beyond the gaze of the planter (Hauser 2008: 3).

The polyvalence of signs within the distribution of the sensible – the way in which the material world of the estate signaled multiple and discrete meanings among different participants within the hacienda system – was ubiquitous in the hacienda aesthetic. As enslaved actors engaged contentious signs across both estates, disjuncture was introduced through the disagreement between distinct logics of multiple aesthetic fields. In other words, by materially evoking the multiple meanings of differently understood signs, the contentious nature of these

meanings became *explicitly* political. Enslaved agents could have a profound impact on the political economy of the estates in a number of ways, but by simply introducing disagreement through a contentious new sign, either through habitual engagement resulting in new indexical, iconic, or symbolic relationships between aspects of the signed and signified, or through an active strategy, the results must be understood in terms of their political effect. The resolution of such dissensus transformed the distribution of the sensible across the hacienda environments. That is to say, through the introduction of new or alternative and subordinated meanings, larger structures of power, represented in the material world of the estates, were transformed. Considering how enslaved workers and residents engaged the materiality of production – at once both coercive and the medium through which actors could transform the hegemonic distribution of the sensible – opens a window onto their quotidian engagement with larger colonial structures.

In Chapter 7, I discussed the results of the surveys of San Joseph and San Xavier's annex properties throughout the Grande Drainage, building on the multi-scalar archaeological data from survey and excavation of the main estates presented in Chapter 6. This research sought to identify the material manifestation of the hacienda aesthetics at the regional level, identifying the relationship between these discrete satellite properties and the principal hacienda cores across an integrated landscape of agroindustrial production. The regional data reveals that investment in built infrastructure was heaviest in the areas closest to the cores of the principal estates of San Joseph and San Xavier, a trend that is particularly visible at the annexes of La Ventilla and San Pablo, located near the principal estates in the middle valley of the Ingenio River. The majority of the Jesuit-era annexes along the middle and lower valleys of the Grande River had a light Jesuit-era occupation and loose integration into the productive aesthetico-political regime of the vineyards, especially in comparison with the heavier 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century occupations. Both

survey data and the historical record demonstrate that rather serving an integral function to the actual productive aspect of the haciendas, the annex properties located outside of the middle valley of the Ingenio River played a greater role in supplying needed resources, and aided in the transportation of botijas to Puerto Caballa. Annex properties were particularly important in securing water rights for the vineyards of the main estates, and supplying commodities such as huarango wood, livestock, or staple crops. Understanding the role of these individual properties within the two hacienda “systems” offers a more complete picture of Jesuit administrative strategies and the nature of the hacienda aesthetic and Jesuit hegemony in the valley.

### **The Jesuit Expulsion and the Post-Jesuit Period**

The moment of the Jesuit expulsion in 1767 and the expropriation of the former-Jesuit haciendas in Nasca by the Crown was a moment of significant disjuncture both in the administrative strategy of the estates as well as among the enslaved communities. In the last third of Chapter 4, I offer a discussion of the events surrounding the expulsion and the consequences of the Crown expropriation from the perspective of the historical record. Understanding this important moment and its effects through the early 19<sup>th</sup> century is important to the diachronic aspect of this project. The Jesuit expulsion in Nasca reveals much not only about the impact of one of the most important Bourbon Reforms on the estates and the enslaved workers and residents, but also brings into relief the specific nature of Jesuit hegemony. The Jesuit expulsion was a watershed event that brought dramatic administrative transformations to both estates, of which the greatest changes were affected within the enslaved communities. The Crown expulsion of the free black communities living on the haciendas and the spread of epidemic diseases that devastated both haciendas were symptomatic of greater structural transformations.



These changes eventually manifest in material concerns for the enslaved communities. The haciendas' Crown administrators and lessees did not have access to the same exchange networks as their Jesuit predecessors, likely putting increasing pressure on slaves to provision for themselves when possible.

Archaeologically, the effects of the Jesuit expulsion are observed in a number of ways. While this dissertation remains focused on the Jesuit-era haciendas of Nasca (1619-1767), excavation and survey data suggest a substantial late 18<sup>th</sup> century departure from patterns well established during the Jesuit administrations. At both San Xavier and San Joseph, while most areas saw an intense Jesuit-era occupation, some only had an ephemeral post-Jesuit occupation from the late 18<sup>th</sup> through early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and others still had their most intense occupations in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For example, as the space around the ex-casa hacienda at San Xavier transitioned from mixed residential and productive space, which included quarters for the hacienda's Jesuit administrator, to becoming the elaborate home of the 19<sup>th</sup> century hacendados and their families, the structure expanded and incorporated the western garden as a site where domestic refuse was deposited, an area which during Jesuit administration was a canal at the periphery of the hacienda's nucleus. At San Joseph, excavations north of the hacienda plaza note a considerable transformation in the use of this space from the late 18<sup>th</sup> through the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Excavation Unit 8, on the natural hill north of the plaza and Jesuit chapel, which yielded deeply stratified Jesuit-era domestic midden contexts, had no refined earthenwares or other materials related to the post-Jesuit historical period. Unit 9 exhibited a similar pattern as Unit 8; however, Unit 7, located only 55 m northwest of Unit 8, exhibited a number of post-Jesuit depositional events. Within the earliest of these post-Jesuit strata the numbers of fine majolicas decreased almost immediately, and were replaced with larger numbers of coarse

earthenwares and a sparse number of imported refined earthenwares. These patterns can be directly attributed to the aesthetico-political transformations which occurred on the estates in the wake of the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from the Spanish Empire and the collapse of the Jesuit trade network which supplied the estates.

### **Contributions and Broader Impacts**

Historical archaeology is uniquely situated to contribute to knowledge about the development and origins of the modern world and the condition(s) of modernity (Little 2007). In the past decade, a new current of Afro-indigenous multiculturalism has manifested in Latin America (Greene 2007), but nowhere do these trends stand in more sharp contrast than the (re)emergence of the Afro-Andean against the background of a wave of a rejuvenated Indigenism in the Andes (Walsh 2007). This dissertation sheds light on the history and material culture of a still-marginalized segment of the Peruvian population, one which is actively seeking national recognition and access to equal opportunities. Research which highlights the ethnogenesis of Afro-Peruvian identity is an important component of the struggle against homogenizing and silencing histories (Trouillot 1995), which in the case of Peru, have relegated persons of African descent to the margins of history as an invisible 'other' (Golash-Boza 2011).

Although this research does not focus on the role of wine and brandy as commodities which circulated in global exchange networks (see Brown 1986; Cushner 1980 156-180; Rice 2011: 133-188), nor specifically the role of alcoholic commodities in the development of the modern world (Smith 2005), it does aim to contribute to the growing body of archaeological research related to the production of alcoholic commodities (Smith 2008). Specifically, it probes

the processes involved in the production of slave-made alcoholic commodities, an aspect of the global commodity chain of colonial Peruvian wine and brandy which is least understood.

An archaeological examination of colonial structures through production and daily life on the Jesuit wine estates has the potential to broaden the approach for a comparative perspective of slavery and the African diaspora, drawing what Heidi Feldman (2005, 2006) has called the “Black Pacific,” into the Atlantic World. Recent scholarship of the archaeology and history of the African diaspora has called for a broadening of the field for the comparative purposes of understanding difference, variation, and common processes in the history and cultural practices of African descended peoples throughout the world (Funari and Orser 2015; Klein 2014; Singleton 2010; Weik 2004; Yelvington 2006), whose diasporic origins are inextricably linked to the origins of globalism in and the birth of the modern world (Funari and Orser 2015; Orser 1996, 2010). The research in this dissertation offers initial steps toward broadening the archaeological perspective of the African diaspora and racial chattel slavery through a consideration of the daily lived experience, processes of subjectification, and responses to the conditions of captivity and coerced labor of enslaved actors in colonial coastal Peru.

APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE INVENTORY OF THE HACIENDA SAN FRANCISCO  
XAVIER DE LA NASCA, 1767

Archivo Histórico Nacional de Chile

Vol. 344, #16, Inventario. Testimonio de la Hacienda viñatera San Francisco Javier de la Nazca. Valle de Nazca, Ica. 27 hojas. 1767.

/f.230r/

Original y Testimonio de Ynventario de la Hazienda Viña nombrada San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca, Jurisdiccion de Yca.

Yca

Leg. 67 , No. 30.

/f.231r/

Verdadero Testimonio de la Hacienda de Viña nombrada San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca, Yca.

/f.232r/

Correxido

Remitese al Director General de Temporalidades las veinte documentos originales acompañan este decreto en que se incluien los ynventarios de Haciendas cituadas en los valles de Chinchá Pisco Yca y Nasca con sus accesorios para que no solamente le sirvan de ynstrucion y as Reglo sino que mandando sacar sde todos y cada uno testimonio por duplicado que dondose con el que le corresponde haga que asu tiempo sepase el otro con el original para dar cuenta por primera y segunda via al Exelentísimo Señor Conde de Aranda como segreuene en las Ynstruciones generales de primero de Marzo de este añ o tomándose antes todas cosas Razon de este Descreto en el Libro destinado aesta Yncubencia Lima nueve de Diziembre de mil setecientos sesenta y siete = dos Rubricas = elexpuru -----

En la hacienda de San Xavier de la Nasca del correximiento de Yca, en diez días del mez de Septiembre de mil setecientos sesenta y siete años, Yo don Andres de Aramendi y Ferrer, Sargento Maior del Reximiento de Chinchá en cumplimiento de la Redelegacion hecha en mi de la comisión que el Exeletísimo Señor virrey de estos Reynos ha conferido con amplia /f.232v/ falcutad de subdelegaria al Señor Conde de Monte Blanco del horden de Santiago, Coronel de el Espresado Reximiento de Chinchá para el sequestro de vienes y demás diligencias que Su Magestad que Dios Guarde manda actuar en los Padres Jesuitas les notifique he hize saber en su Persona al Padre Domingo Laño Religioso lego de dicha Religion Cacaiero de esta expresada hacienda el Real Decreto de estrañamiento y haviendose conformado con el lo desposiciones de las llaves que como administrador traía consigo y habiendo puesto guardas en las Puertas del Aposento de dicho Relixioso que se paso a otro Desembarazado y a las Bodegas de los Aguardientes dejándolo todo al cuidado de don Juan Carrillo y Melo, con alguna compañía del Paisanaje habiendo cerrado todas las puertas de las piezas y oficina que tuve por conveniente para que no se experimentase ni prestimiese usurpación de vienes tomando en mi las llaves sese en esta actuación para asar á actuar la misma diligencia a la hazienda de San Joseph que dista de esta una legua antes que llegase á ella la noticia de la Real dispocision para seguirla quando mas brevemente lo permitan los ocurrencias y para que conste de diligencia lo firme con los tres

testigos que se hallaron presente que lo fueron don Juan Carillo y Melo, don Antonio de Portuondo, y don Rafael de Sedano, con quienes actuo á falta de escribano = Don Andres de Aramendi = /f.233r/ Juan Bernabel Carillo=n Antonio de Portuondo= Raphael Francisco Sedano Ramos -----

En onze días de dicho mes, yo dicho Juez para proceder al imventario del secuestro hecho en esta hacienda hize com[p]arecer al Padre Domingo Laño, a don Juan Carill á don Antonio de Portuondo, y á don Pedro Palomino y empresencia de los guardas que dejé puestas cuando se executo el se cuesto que lo fueron Josseph Diaz, Balthasar Vera, Miguel Vera, y Bizente Toledo. Saque la llave y abri la Puerta y con asistencia del dicho Padre y testigos Principie el ymbentario siguiente -----

Primeramente tomé una llabe que sedijo ser del oratorio ó capilla y habiendo ávierto con ella la puerta se hallaron las Alaxas sig[u]jientes: [h]ay en el altar mayor de esta capilla un deposito de Nuestro amo con sus cortinas de Tesu usadas con galon de oro un Pipside de Plata dorada y dentro de ella una cazoleta de la misma especie: y también en el una cajuela de plata dorada para ministrar fuera los Santos sacramentos con mas ara y corporales -----  
Yten mas arriba del deposito [h]ay un sargrario con su belo de Tesu con galon de oro corporales y ara con mas doze la minitas de cristal que bradas que tienen gravadas la passion del Señor -----  
Yten un retablo de escultura bien trabajada y nueva en donde se hallaron colocadas cinco efoies de santos de vulto de cuerpo entero que son San Francisco Xavier, San Ygnacio, San Francisco /f. 233v/ de Borja, San Estanyslao de Kosca, y San Luis Gonzaga. Yten [h]ay en dicho altar cuatro bultos de Santos y Santas mas medianos que son San Josseph, San Jacinto, Santa Rosa, y Santa Barbara y en el medio del Retablo [h]ay un nicho en el que se halla colocada la Santima Virgen del Rosario y tiene delante su belo de raso azul ya usado -----  
Yten un Altar de la abocazion de San Antonio de Pauda en el que esta colocado de vulto un Retablito mediano de escultura buena. Altar ara y un Santo Christo mediano -----  
Yten un Pulpito de obra detalle nuevo con un crucifixo aun lado con una moldura alrededor -----  
Yten diez bancos buenos de á quatro varas de largo cada uno -----  
Yten dos confesonarios buenos de buena obra y escultura -----  
Yten ocho lienzos de la vida de San Francisco Xavier de quatro varas de largo con sus marcos de madera dorados de oro los que estan alrededor de la capilla -----  
Yten dos lienzos pequeños. Con sus marcos de madera dorados que se hallan en el presbiterio el uno de la abocazio de San Joseph y el otro de Nuestra Señora del Loreto -----  
Yten dos dichas maiores que estan bajo de el coro á los dos lados el uno de la adbocasion de San Ygnacio y el otro de San Pablo -----  
Yten dos dichos debajo del coro a los lados de la Puerta de la Capilla el uno con las Yndulgencias que estan /f.234r/ con sedidas a dicha capilla el otro en que expresa la colocazion de la espresada capilla con sus marcos dorados -----  
Yten catorze lienzos de la via sacra con sus marcos de madera con molduras los que estan alrededor de la Yglesia -----  
Yten otro dicho de tres varas de alto con sus marco de madera el que esta en el coro de la efigie de San Christobal -----  
Yten uno dicho chico de San Luis el que esta en el coro -----  
Yten dos dichos del mismo tamaño el uno delante del órgano y el otro a las espaldas con la adbocaiion dela virgen -----

Yten un órgano bueno -----  
 Yten una alfombra de pelo y de colores con 9 ½ varas de largo y 2 varas de ancho de dos pedasos  
 Yten una dicha con nueve y tres quartas varas de largo dos de ancho en dos pedazos-----  
 Yten una dicha con nueve y tres quartas varas y tres y media var de ancho en dos paños -----  
 Yten una dicha con nueve y media varas y tres varas de ancho en tres paños-----  
 Yten una dicha con nueve y media varas y tres varas de ancho en tres paños-----  
 Yten una dicha con doze y quarta varas, y quatro y quarta de ancho con quatro paños -----  
 Yten una dicha con nueve y media varas y quatro de ancho en quatro paños -----  
 Yten una dicha con doze varas y quatro varas de ancho en quatro paños-----  
 /f.234v/  
 Yten un chuse con tres y media varias de largo y dos y tres quartas de ancho el que esta en el  
 Altar de San Antonio -----  
 Yten dos alfombras de Berveri viejas que la una esta en el presbiterio y la otra en la sacristía ----  
 Yten una custodia de plata forados en madera que pesaron veinte una libras -----  
 Yten dos piezas de plata, la una de las palabras de la consagración y la otra del evangelio de San  
 Juan con peso de ocho libras-----  
 Yten una lámpara grandecita de plata toda maltratada con veinte libras -----  
 Yten un lamparín de plata que esta junto al altar mayor al lado del evangelio en su achero de  
 madera que peso cinco libras -----  
 Yten dos arañas de plata que estan en el altar mayor que pezan onze libras -----  
 Yten un baso de plata para la lámpara en que se hecha el aceite para que alumbre con peso de  
 catorze onzas -----  
 Yten veinte candeleros y dos ciriales de plata todos maltratados y dos varas de madera para los  
 siriales que todo pesa cinquenta libras -----  
 Yten siete marjoletas de tres candilejas sin los ganchos de fierro pesaron veinte y tres libras-----  
 Yten un zentellero de plata con el pie de cobre con quatro libras -----  
 /f.235r/  
 Yten dos serafines de plata que se ponen delante de el sagrario con sus peañas de y espaldares de  
 tabla pesaron ocho libras -----  
 Yten una zenefa de plata en doze piezas que cubre todo el pie de trono de la virgen ssantisima  
 con quince libras-----  
 Yten seis mallas sin asiento con catorce y media libras -----  
 Yten cuatro mallas grandes con sus zenefas con veinte y quatro y media libras-----  
 Yten ocho mallas con sus garros por asiento con veinte libras -----  
 Yten seis puntas de plata para las colunas con una libra-----  
 Yten dos pares de vinajeras de plata doradas con sus platillos unas lisas y otras labradas las unas  
 con campanillas de plata dorada y la otra de plata blanca con ocho libras-----  
 Yten un azetre con hisopo con tres libras -----  
 Yten un incensario con sus patenas y cuchara con tres y tres quartas libras-----  
 Yten dos calizes con sus patenas doradas-----  
 Yten un copon de plata con una libra y nueve onzas-----  
 Yten una cajeta para ostias con doze onzas-----  
 Yten una agua manil con su lebrillo para los bautismos. Con alta y dos chicas con dos libras  
 cinco y media onzas-----  
 Yten dos cazoletas con dos libras una y media onza -----  
 Yten un niño de marfil con mundo de plata y una bandera con dies y nueve libras-----

Yten el espíritu santo que esta en el pulpito ocho onzas-----  
/f.235v/

Yten la media luna de plata que tiene la virgen de los pies con pesso de ocho libras catorze onzas  
ynclusa la madera en que esta forrada-----

Yten un rosario azul de la virgen con un choclo de perlas seis cuentas de oro chicas dos dichas  
grandes un Santo Christo de oro con veinte perlas que todo pesso seis y media onzas -----

Yten unas manillas de tumbaga con sobre puestos de oro con peso de diez onzas, obras antigua --

Yten dos sortijas de oro de la virgen con media onza-----

Yten un sol de plata dorada con doze estrellas alrededor de lo mismo que no se peso por no poder  
quitar como también la corona de la virgen y del niño Jesus que es de plata dorada-----

Yten una cajita de plata en la que estan guardados los santos oleos -----

Yten trese pesos del cuño antiguo y dos sortijas de oro para los velorios-----

Yten cuarenta y dos floresitas de mano de hilado de plata y oro -----

Yten cuatro misales tres llanos y el otro con chapas y manisuelas de plata -----

Yten dos manuales uno romano usado y el otro mexicano viejo -----

Yten una casulla verde de Damasco con fleco de seda alrededor y forrada en tajetan carmesí ya  
usada con estola manipulo bolsa y paño de caliz -----

Yten una dicha morada con flores y franja de plata forrada en choleta con estola manipulo bolsa  
y paño de caliz -----

/f.236r/

Yten dos dichas Negras de Raso la una con franja de oro y la otra con galon de oro ya usadas ----

Yten una casulla carmesí de chamelote de seda con flores de plata y frangas de oro toda nueva  
con manipulo estola bolsa y paño de caliz-----

Yten dos dichas coloradas de raso viejas la una con frangas de plata y la otra con o alones de oro

Yten otra sihca de tela colorada vieja con galones -----

Yten dos dichas blancas de raso vieja con galones-----

Yten dos dichas blancas de tela la una con flores y matrizes y la otra llana con galones de oro ----

Yten una capa de coro colorada ya usada con las de lanternas bordadas -----

Yten un hornamento de brocato blanco con dalmática capa de coro y alma y sal de lo mismo con  
galones de oro todo bien tratado -----

Yten dos casullas de tezu blancas con franxas de oro ya usadas -----

Yten una muzeta de brocato blanco -----

Yten una capa de coro negra ya usada -----

Yten un palio con sus baras de palio con argollas de fierro -----

Yten dos mangas de cruz una blanca y otra negra-----

Yten dos guiones uno colorado y otro blanco-----

Yten un paño colorado viejo-----

Yten dos paños de comulgatorio de raso amarillo-----

Yten unas puntas finas de ylo para el ruedo del /f.336v/ pulpito= Yten tres alvas de puntas usadas  
y otras tres con en caxes-----

Yten ocho amitos sinco con e4n caxes y tres llanos-----

Yten onze cornialtares diez y siete purificadores ocho pailas de colores siete roquetes colorados  
quatro singulos dos de franxas de plata uno de galon de oro y otro de sintas y ocho sobre pellises  
que sirven a los sacristanes-----

Yten seis mallas de madera y espejeria y quatro ramos de trones siete frontales de baqueta dorada  
y otros siete de seda de colores usados-----



Yten uno dicho de tezu de colores usados -----  
 Yten uno dicho de tezu usado con otro de madera y espejeria con dos laminas en el medio la una  
 de corazón de Jessus y la otra de de [sic] la virgen con marco y sobre puesto de rata -----  
 Yten quatro pedazos de frontal de madera dorados -----  
 Yten tres sillas de tripe labrado de colores con frangas de plata y fleco de seda y otra dicha  
 torrada en baqueta lisa -----  
 Yten una gradilla de tabla con quatro es calones -----  
 Yten un San Pablo de madera -----  
 Yten dos sobre pellizes para sacramentar -----  
 Yten dos tablas doradas la una las palabras de la consagración y la otra con el evangelio de San  
 Juan -----  
 Yten un lienzo en la sacristía de marco dorado con advocación de tansito de Nuestra Señora dos  
 dichos á los lados el uno de Nuestra Señora /f.237r/ el otro de San Francisco Xavier -----  
 Yten quatro dichos de los quatro Doctores de la Yglesia -----  
 Yten cinco dichos medianos -----  
 Yten otros tres dichos menores con moldura -----  
 Yten la caxoneria de la sacristía nueva para guardar hornamentos -----  
 Yten un cruzifixo con su peaña de madera de tres quartas de alto -----  
 Yten dos puertas con sus chapas y al davas corrientes -----  
 Yten una bentan de balaustres con puerta de dos [h]ojas, y aldaba -----  
 Yten un achero grande de madera para poner el lamparín -----  
 Yten la capilla de bobeda de sercha con sus puertas de dos [h]ojas chapa y serroxos -----  
 Yten diez tribunas de balaustres con sus puertas de dos [h]ojas -----  
 Yten un coro alto con una puerta -----  
 Yten dos torres con dos campanas grandes tres medianas y dos pequeñas con lo que se concluye  
 lo perteneciente á capilla y alrvasn de ella -----  
 Y luego yn continente passe al aposento del Padre administrador que esta en la ramada principal  
 y tiene puerta de una [h]oja con tableros de roble tres ventanas de valaustres con puerta de dos  
 [h]ojas de tableros las dos con aldaba, y la una sin ella y la puerta dicha con chapa y llave  
 corriente el cubierto de tabla de chile con madres y quar- /f.237v/ tonsillos de robles en la pieza  
 interior una puerta de una [h]oja enrrasada de tabla de Chile con chapa y la llave corriente y tres  
 ventanas de balaustres ordinarios y puertas de dos [h]ojas y en una aldaba de fierro y el cubierto  
 de tabla de chile con madres y quartones de guarango y habiendo sacado de dicho aposento una  
 petaca aprensada de guaranga la abri y halle en ella la ropa de color del uso del Padre  
 administrador de la hacienda la que le debolui, y luego incontinente hize sacar otra dicha  
 semejante que parece compañerra de la antecedente y haviendola abierto reconosi aber solon  
 ropa blanca de dicho – padre la que le devolui y luego y luego [sic.] hize sacar una caja de  
 Panama pequeña con su chapa y llave y en ella seis libras de pimienta de castila dos de chapa y  
 varias escrituras de negros -----  
 Yten otra dicha caxa mediana con chapa y llave y en ella trecientos y cinquenta pesos y tres  
 arrobas de javon -----  
 Yten una petaquilla de Guamanga con chapa y llave y dentro de ella seis servilletas de valles y  
 una campanilla de caloto -----  
 Yten otra dicha con chapa y llave y en ella unata legita con ochos pesos -----  
 Yten dos dicas Viejas con chapa y llave basias -----  
 Yten una frasquera de christol con ocho frascos regulares y quarto ázeiterass -----

Yten otra dicha con dos frascos de Yngalaterra-----  
 /f.238r/  
 Yten otra dicha con doze frascos de cristal pequeños y ocho menores. Doze mas chicos y dies y  
 nueve piezesitas de variar formas -----  
 Yten un reloj de pendola de sordenado -----  
 Yten sinco vidrios grandes cristalinos-----  
 Yten ochenta y tres pequeños de la misma material-----  
 Yten seis quebradores de vidrio -----  
 Yten dos cocos de tomar chocolate con piez de plata-----  
 Yten dos mates para azucar, y yerba con las vocas perfiladas de plata-----  
 Yten una olleta de plata con manisuela de madera -----  
 Yten quarto chapas sueltas corrientes la una con serrojo -----  
 Yten una ámaca de Panama -----  
 Yten dos chuzes servidos-----  
 Yten un almofres nuevo -----  
 Yten ochenta y dos cordocanes de otoca y dos baquetas viejas de Guamanga-----  
 Yten una sombrerera vieja. Con un par de estribos de madera armados -----  
 Yten sinquenta y tres oranchetes de vendimias -----  
 Yten seis libras de municion y tres de polvora-----  
 Yten quarto libras de pabilo de algodón para sera-----  
 Yten un quitasol viejo de crudo -----  
 Yten dos lienjecitos de avara de Santo Domingo y otro santo y uno malo de San Nicolas -----  
 Yten quarto dosenas de sintas de arreata-----  
 Yten una piedra de estilar pequeña y sutinaxera /f.238v/ de guarango vieja -----  
 Yten dos mesitas Viejas con piez de lauzela una y= la otra de roble y tablas de chile y un banco  
 de roble -----  
 Yten un libro Viejo de quantas de esta hacienda que empieza en roxas doze, y acaba en noventa,  
 y nueve-----  
 Yten otro dicho de quantas que empieza á foxas una y acaba foxas ciento veinte y quarto-----  
 Yten otro dicho que empieza desde foxas una hasta foxas dos sientas setenta y tres -----  
 Yten una palangana de plata con peso de dos libras -----  
 Yten una palmatoria de metal Amarillo y un antedichos de larga vista y tres tazitas de talavera  
 con sus patillos y tres libras de pita destorsida-----  
 Yten una botella de plata y un mate con voca de lo mismo -----  
 Yten una preña de cartas y un estuche de nabajas de barva con seis de ellas -----  
 Yten un pesito de oro en su caxita -----  
 Yten una vazia de madera y otra de talavera -----  
 Yten un estante con su meza y en el los libros siguientes, un tomo en quarto intitulado devocion y  
 patrozinio de San Miguel = quarto dicho de áfolio Cauzino, Corte Santa = uno dicho de afolio  
 Flox Santorum = otro dicho de á folio San Francisco de Borja = otro dicho de afolio Historia de  
 La Florida = otro dicho de á folio Historias de los Yngas del Peru por Garzilaso = otro dicho en  
 quarto ápolo- /f.239r/ jias de San Milan= otro dicho en quarto recopilacion de varias obras= otro  
 dicho en otavo meditacion espirituales= otro de aflies yinstruenda ethiopum saluem= otro en otavo  
 mano escrito en quarto de ordenes de la hazienda de San Xavier= otro dicho de afolio  
 manuscrito del reziuo de dicha hacienda -----  
 Yten otro de gastos de dicha hacienda -----

Yten otro dicho mano escrito de quenta y rason de las casechas de esta dicha hazienda-----  
 Yten un libro manuescrito de baustismos casamientos y entierros-----  
 Yten un quaderno en folio de apuntes de quantas particulares -----  
 Yten quarto mas de dicho asumpto -----  
 Yten una balanza vieja con marco de ocho libras diminuto-----  
 Yten dos fuegos de chirimias -----  
 Yten dos lienzos pequeños de pintura de el Cuzco el uno de la adbocasion de Nuestra Señora de la Mercedes y el otro de áranzazu-----  
 Yten otro dicho de San Ygnacio de Loyola -----  
 Yten veinte y nueve estampas de humo entregrandes y medianas -----  
 Yten doze cillas aprenzadas de siguales y una poltrona -----  
 Yten una meza grande forrda en baqueta con cajon chapa y sin llave-----  
 Yten un canpe-----  
 Yten dos lienzos de Christo crucificado y un heseomo -----  
 Yten un Santo Christo de bulto con cruz y peana de madera -----  
 Yten una mesita de ponertinteros con un fuego de ellos de vidrio -----  
 Yten siete arrovas veinte y tres libras de sera labrada -----  
 Yten ochenta y seis libras de pabilo de algodón -----  
 Yten un reloj coriente -----  
 Yten un catre de cuero -----  
 Yten la puerta principal de la hazienda grande de dos ojas de roble con postigo chapa serrojo y llave y otra chapa en el postigo y una cadena de fierro en una oja-----  
 Yten una ramada á la entrada que haze sombra a dos quartos con cubierto de estera de carriso con horcones madres y varas de Guarango -----  
 Yten un quarto vajo la dicha ramada con puerta de roble, enrasada chapa y llave corriente una ventana de balaustres conm puerta de dos [h]ojas de roble con aldava y el cubierto de table de chile com madres y quartones de guarango labrada y otra pieza interior á que se comunica por un postigo sin puerta con una ventana pequeña de balaustres /f.240r/ con puertas de dos [h]ojas de roble y aldava y el cubierto de table de chile con madres y quartones labrados de guarango-----  
 Yten otro quarto baxo de dicha ramada en todo semejante al dicho -----  
 Yten una ramada inmediata a la capilla con cubierta de estereras de carriso con varas y madres de guatrango y sercado de balaustres -----  
 Yten un aposento vaxo de dicha ramada con puerta de una [h]oja con tablero de table de chile chapa y llabe coriente dos ventanas de balaustres con puerta de dos [h]ojas de roble con aldava y dos alazenas con puertas de tableros de roble y aldavas-----  
 Yten un Corral de Bestias con puerta vieja de verjes de guarango chapa llave y serrojo coriente -  
 Yten un quarto de puerta de pellojo mui maltratado y otro que sirve de enfermeria par alas mujeres con puerta vieja de guarando chapa serrojo y llave el techo de totora con harcones varas y madres de guarango ambos -----  
 Yten otro dicho que sirve de emfermeria de hombres semejante al dicho -----  
 Yten otro quarto con puerta vieja de guarango con un serrojo grande chapa y llave y un zepo dentro con su candado y el techo lo mismo que los antesedentes -----  
 /f.240v/  
 Yten otra pieza grande con puerta vieja de table de chile chapa serrojo y llave corriente que sirve de dormitorio de los solteros con el techo destrosado de la misma material que los ante sedentes -

Yten una puerta grande de dos [h]ojas de verjes de guarango por donde se comunica a la viña con chapa llave y serrojo corriente-----

Yten una colca de pared dentro del serco dela vina con dos separaciones la una sin techo y la otra con cubierto de carriso y maderas varas quartones ruines de guarango con dos puertas viejass de dos [h]ojas de table de chile con chapas llaves y serrojos corrientes -----

Yten en dichas piezas ochenta fanegas de maiz-----

Yten fuera de dicha viña en el costado de el patio otro quarto con puertas enrrasada de table de chile con chapa y llave corriente y el techo de totora con madres horcones y varas de guarango---

Yten otro quarto con puerta vieja de table de chile chapa y serrojo corriente y el techo como los antesedentes -----

Yten la puerta del galpon vieja con chapa y serrojo corriente y sobre dicha puerta una campana --

Yten el dicho galpon con quarenta y siete /f.241r/ quartos y el serco de pared mediana -----

Yten en dicho galpon un pilon de cal y padrillo con su asequia y tasa de lo mismo y dos cañones de bronze -----

Yten fuera de dicho galpon otro quarto con puerta vieja de roble chapa y serrojo corriente-----

Yten otro quarto semejante al antesedente-----

Yten otro quarto que sirve de cosine para la jente como los antesedentes con lo nesesario para el efecto -----

Yten otro quarto con puerta vieja y el techo maltratado como los antesedentes -----

Yten otra pieza grande donde esta una thaona con rueda de bronze piedras y lo demas nesesario corriente con puerta de dos [h]ojas de verjes de guarango con chapa y llave corriente-----

Yten un corral con puerta de una [h]oja de verjes de guarango y dentro del un quarto con puertas paredes y techo ridiculo como los antesedentes -----

Yten dos lagares y una lagareta sercados de piedra de ala de mosca con sus dos pernzas Corrientes vajo de una ramada en maderada de guarango y sin cubierto -----

Yten la ofizina de la bodeha con siete piezas en que seguardan la cosecha y se comunica /f.241v/ á ellas por la principal y en ella [h]ay una puntalla grande y tres posuelos de cal y ladrillo como la sequia por donde corre el caldo quarto piqueras y quarto tinajas de trasegar vino uno troje de adoves donde sepone el yeso. Asimismo [h]ay en dichas bodegas ocho puertas la principal de dos [h]ojas con chapa serrojo y llave otra que cae immedioto a la puerta de la huerta de dos [h]ojas con chapa serrojo y llave las restantes seis de una [h]oja Viejas una con chapa y las demas sin ellas los cubiertos á pedazos descubierto con madres varas y horcones de guarango -----

Yten otra bodega immediata a la principal con puerta de table de chile y chapa llave y serrojo corriente con dos trojes para de pasitar la arina de maiz para la jente -----

Yten quarenta y una petacas de pasa mollar con sesenta y dos quintales -----

Yten otra puerta de alerse lisa que sirve de entrada á la cosine y dentro de primer quarto un fogon con su chimenea un almirez de cobre un asador de fierro un casito y una paila de cobre picadera y dos bareas el techo con esteras de totora cubierto, madres varas y horcones de guarango -----

/f.242r/

Yten otra pieza con puerta bieja enrrasada de table de chile con armellas y sin candado -----

Yten otra pieza con puerta y techo del mismo modo que el antesedente y otra sintecho en que [h]ay dos hornos en la techada dos artezas dos sedazos y lo de mas nesesario en dicha ofizina---

Yten otro quarto con puerta de una [h]oja de table de chile y balaustres de guarango con chapa y llave y el techo de maguelles y totora -----

Yten un escaparate enrasado de table de chile en armason de roble con chapa y llave corriente y por dedentro rodeado de un orden de caxones de caova y varias de visions en forma de estante de botica-----

Yten el almanen con puerta de dos [h]ojas de roble con tableros de table de chile chapa y llave y serrojo coriente y dos ventanas pequeñas de verjes sin puertas y el techo con madres quartones y horcones de guarango en bruto y esteras de carriso y unas varvacoas, y en el los efectos siguientes-----

Quarto peroles de cobre de martillo tres grandes y uno pequeño quebrado-----

Yten una piedra de amolar armada-----

Yten un zurrón de yerba con siete arrobas bruto-----

Yten dos vetas y dos cordeles-----

Yten una red de pescar con su veta-----

/f.242v/

Yten un casonal-----

Yten un zurrón de lantejas-----

Yten cuatro palos y dos vigas-----

Yten una concha de piedra-----

Yten diez asientos de sillas-----

Yten tres suelas y una empezada-----

Yten un asador de reloj-----

Yten un par de arguenitas-----

Yten una arroba de yerva-----

Yten un costal de arroz-----

Yten cuarto embudos de vronze dos con viton y dos sin el-----

Yten una arroba de almendra-----

Yten ocho botijas llenas de aniz-----

Yten cinco y media botijas de cemilla de alfalfa-----

Yten diez libras de alucema-----

Yten veinte y ocho panes de azúcar con quarenta y dos arrobas-----

Yten un par de petacas-----

Yten cinco platos de peltre y seis menores-----

Yten ocho libras de polvora ordinaria-----

Yten dos fardos de soga de cabillo-----

Yten diez y seis asadones nuevos con sus cabos-----

Yten un arnero de trigo-----

Yten medio zurrón de cocos-----

Yten cinco fustes de lomillo-----

Yten fardo y medio de Tabaco de Saña-----

/f.243r/

Yten tres [h]ojas de sierra de las caules una nueva y dos Viejas-----

Yten una sierra pequeña armada-----

Yten dos vanderas-----

Yten un gato de levantar [sic.] vijas-----

Yten una arrastradera y un trapo de la Aguardentera-----

Yten dos colchones-----

Yten un almofres con su baqueta-----

Yten una pieza de cordellate con sesenta y siete varas -----  
 Yten una pieza de pañete con sesenta y dos varas -----  
 Yten una pieza de cordellate con noventa y tres varas -----  
 Yten una pieza de valleta de la tierra con ochenta y cinco varas -----  
 Yten una pieza de pañete con quarenta y nueve varas -----  
 Yten siete arrobas de estaño -----  
 Yten una arroba diez y ocho libras de el dicho terado -----  
 Yten un taladro -----  
 Yten una platina en dos pedazos con quarenta y dos libras -----  
 Yten una romana vieja -----  
 Yten una ramada de dos naves sostenido el techo con dos pilares de cal y ladrillo madres de  
 guarango y mangle y por cuarterones cañas de Guayaquil que por el demasiado ancho de la pieza  
 [h]ay muchas rendidas y otras quebradas -----  
 Yten en dicha ramada y en los angulos que forman el patio [h]ay cuarenta arcos de cal y ladrillo  
 y entre ellos uno quebrado -----  
 Yten en la ramada principal ó corredor cuatro vancas -----  
 /f.243v/  
 Yten dos mezas grandes -----  
 Yten dos lienzos ápaisados uno de San Ygnacio y el otro de San Francisco Xavier -----  
 Yten tres dichos pequeños uno de Nuestra Señora otro de San Joseph y el otro de Santa Theresa -  
 Yten cinco mapas y dos paizes -----  
 Yten onze estampas de humo entre grandes y pequeñas -----  
 Yten un callejón con puerta de una [h]oja de tabla de chile con chapa y llave que sirve para  
 comunicar a la ramada que esta á las de afuera de esta hacienda -----  
 Yten el cuarto que se sigue con puerta en rasada de tabla de chile chapa y llave corriente dos  
 ventanas de valaustres con sus puertas de dos [h]ojas y aldabas y el cubierto de tablas de chile  
 madres y cuarterones de guarango y una alcoba de firme con pies derechos de armazón de  
 guarango -----  
 Yten otro dicho que se sigue con puerta rasada de tabla de chile chapa y llave corriente dos  
 ventanas de valaustres con puerta de dos [h]ojas de roble y sus aldabas, y el cubierto con madres  
 de roble cuarterones de guarango labrado y tabla de chile y una alcoba con pies derechos y  
 armazón de guarango -----  
 Yten una alacena con armazón de roble y tableros de los mismo chapa llave y cerrojo corriente y  
 tablas de chile -----  
 Yten otra pieza que sirve de refectorio con puerta de dos [h]ojas de roble vieja chapa y llave  
 corriente /f.244r/ y una alacena con puerta de tabla de chile vieja con serrojo sin llave ni chapa ---  
 Yten tres ventanas ordinarias con tiras lisas de madera por balaustres, puertas de dos [h]ojas de  
 tabla de chile viejas las de una ventana en rasadas y las otras dos de tableros y el cubierto de  
 madres y cuarterones de guarango vastamente labrados y estera de carriso -----  
 Yten una espencita que se comunica por dicho refectorio con puertas de dos [h]ojas de tabla de  
 chile en rasada chapa y llave corriente una ventanita de una [h]oja sin balaustres y con aldaba de  
 fierro y el cubierto con madres de guarango cuarterones de maguey y estereras de carriso -----  
 Yten otro cuarto con puerta en rasada de una [h]oja de tabla de chile chapa y llave no corriente  
 una ventana y esta ordinaria de dos [h]ojas con verjes y el cubierto de madres de guarango y  
 cuarterones de lo propio en bruto y estereras de carriso -----

Yten una puerta que hace transito del refectorio para un callegon de una [h]oja de tabla de chile  
 vieja y marcos de guarango sin chapa ni llave -----  
 Yten en el refectorio un lienzo grande de San Ygnacio otro mediano de San Geronimo otro dicho  
 de San Francisco de Paula otro de San Lorenzo otro pequeño de Jessus Nazareno otro dicho de  
 Christo Crucificado dos dichos de /f.244v/ Nuestra Señora dos dichos San Francisco, y uno de  
 San Francisco de Borja -----  
 Yten tres vancas, una Meza, orandes y dos sillas -----  
 Yten una campanilla chica que sirve para llamar á comer -----  
 Yten el quarto que se sigue para la huerta con puerta de tabla de chile enrasada y vieja con  
 candado y el cubierto de totora con madres y quartones de guarango bruto -----  
 Yten otra pieza nombrada el vodegon con puertas enrasada de dos [h]ojas corrientes de tabla de  
 chile marcos de roble chapa y llave y cerrojo corrientes dos ventanas de guarango que le altan  
 dos balaustres y la otra de lo mismo sin ventanas y sin puertas y otra dicha de la misma forma y  
 el cubierto de totora mui maltratado sobstenido de ridículas maderas de guarango y semejantes  
 cuartones de varias espesies de maderas -----  
 Yten la aguardentera con Puertas de dos [h]ojas de verjes y armazones de guarango chapa llave y  
 cerrojos corrientes -----  
 Yten nueve pailas de sacar aguardiente con sus cabezas de cobre de las quales sinco son de  
 fundición, y las quatro de martillo corrientes con sus cañones de lo mismo modo de covre vatido  
 con su cajón de cal y canto y nueve canales de aguardiente -----  
 Yten las emfriaderas que se compone de medio /f.245r/ tinajon acompañado de cal y ladrillo y  
 sutapa de roble vieja con gosnes de fierro -----  
 Yten la ramada en la mayor parte arriunada con dos mangles por madres y otras malas maderas,  
 cañas de Guayaquil todo cayendo sobstenida en pilares de varro á excepción de uno de cal y  
 canto y los de mas con cimientos de cal y ladrillo -----  
 Y tres escaleras de cal y ladrillo para bajar á la aguardentera, y otra desecha por donde se baja á  
 los fondos -----  
 Yten una puerta de una [h]oja de tabla de chile vieja con chapa y llave -----  
 Yten una puerta vieja que esta a la entrada de la fuerta mui matratada de verjes -----  
 Yten en dicha puerta se hallan cuarenta pies de platanos -----  
 Yten seis peros los dos frutales y los otros cuatro chicos -----  
 Yten tres naranjos -----  
 Yten seis sidros -----  
 Yten un limón dulce -----  
 Yten un ciruelo -----  
 Yten un guayabo -----  
 Yten un pacay -----  
 Yten veinte y tres parras frutales de barbacoa -----  
 Yten terinta y dos cepas nueva que no dan todavía fruto -----  
 Yten un nosqueto -----  
 /f.245v/  
 Yten un jazmin -----  
 Yten dos granados -----  
 Yten en dicha huerta una pieza que sirve de herrería con una puerta vieja de tabla de chile con  
 chapa, y cerrojo y en el una fragua fuelles bigornia tornillo el yunque ya vencido y quebrado,

cuatro machos, cuatro tenazas un espeton un agarrador, tres martillos pequeños, dos caules, seis  
 limas, y una tajadera -----  
 Yten la ramada que esta fuera sobstenida de tres pilares y ocho arcos de cal y ladrillo con  
 madres de guarango cañas de Guayaquil por cuarterones y el cubierto destrozado-----  
 Yten en dicha ramada el primer cuarto de una puerta enrasada de roble con su chapa y llave dos  
 ventanas pequeñas y techado de tijeras de guarango-----  
 Yten otro que sesigue de mismo modo de puerta de roble chapa y llave techo y tijeras de  
 guarango -----  
 Yten otro cuartito en la será de enfrente con puerta de tabla de chile una [h]oja con chapa y el  
 techo de estera y maderes de guarango-----  
 Yten otro que se sigue del mismo modo chiquito con puerta de tabla de chile chapa y llave-----  
 Yten en dicho cuarto un órgano pequeño una harpa corriente otra quevrada un clave  
 descompuesto dos monacordios corrientes /f.246r/ y tre violines-----  
 Yten una puerta vieja por donde se sube al mirador con chapa y llave corriente -----  
 Yten el mirador con diez arcos ramada de tijeras y el cubierto de estera de caña brava y maguey  
 dos mangles que sostienen , que sirven de madres de la mitad del mirador hasta el descanso de la  
 evcalera sigue de balausteria lisa de guarango el que cerca un transito en cuadro antes de llegar á  
 dicho mirador -----  
 Yten un bodegón de la brea con puerta enrasada de tabla de chile vieja con techo de paja -----  
 Yten una noria con ruedas buenas y sin cangilones ni cuerda y su tuza de cal y ladrillo maltratada  
 Yten un corral de carneros con puertas y dentro: trecientos veinte carneros -----  
 Yten la ramada de orcones de guarango y el cubierto de totora todo mui maltratado en donde esta  
 la fabrica de las botijas con ocho ruedas mui malas y dos puertas mui viejas hechas pedazos -----  
 Yten tres hornos para coser las botijas -----  
 Yten la herramienta que esta á cargo de el caporal. Lampas de hombres quarenta y dos -----  
 Yten dichas de mujeres cuarenta -----  
 Yten dichas conyugo tres-----  
 /f.246v/  
 Yten cinco hachas -----  
 Yten podaderas de San Xavier cinquenta y nueve-----  
 Yten dichas de San Pablo tres -----  
 Yten achetas de podar cuatro -----  
 Yten oces nueve -----  
 Yten dos fondos grandes quebrados de empegar -----  
 Yten en la ramada principal una campañilla chica -----  
 Yten en el patio una pila de cal y ladrillo y su taza de lo mismo con dos cañones de bronce-----  
 Yten dos sientas nobenta y cinco mulas, con ochenta á parejos de carga -----  
 Yten cinco madrinas caballares -----  
 Yten veinte y dos toros -----  
 Yten diez y seis vacas madres -----  
 Yten diez y siete torillos pequeños -----  
 Yten toda la viña cercada de quincha de espinos y guarango que por la parte de abajo linda con un  
 espinal par otro lado con la casa por el lado de arriba con el guaranoal y por la otra con el rio, y  
 dentro de dichas quinchas secontiene la dicha viña mui cala y casi perdida toda ella con  
 cinquenta y siete mil, trezientas sesenta y nueve cepas-----  
 Yten un mil docientas treinta y nueve cepas ynfrustiferas -----



Yten dos mil novezientas setenta y tres de parras /f.247r/ de barbacoa con buena madera y  
 horconada-----  
 Yten toda la viña horconada, excepto dosientas y siete que se hallaron mui malos -----  
 Yten un molino dentro del cerco de la viña con su herido dos tolvas de tabla de chile con todo lo  
 necesario, cuatro piedras dos soleras y dos voladoras dos rodesnos corrientes tiene dicho molino  
 una puerta vieja de tabla de chile con chapa y sin llave una ventana de verjes de guarango madres  
 y cuarterones de lo propio, y el cubierto de paja de totora-----  
 Yten doze borricas -----  
 Yten todas las tierras de pan llevar que se comprenden en la distancia que [h]ay de la toma de  
 San Xabier hasta la chacara que llaman de suares cuio numero he yndividualidades constaran en  
 los títulos que paran en el archivo de San Pablo -----  
 Yten un alfalfar con su cerco de quincha de guarango-----  
 Yten un fiero de errar ganado-----  
 Yten se hallan en esta hazienda y en la de San Pablo los esclavos siguientes -----  
 Gregorio Marquez-----  
 Julian de la Rosa-----  
 Balthasar de los Reyes -----  
 Bisente Ferrer -----  
 /f.247v/  
 Pedro Pablo Terranovo -----  
 Estanyslado Terranovo -----  
 Juan de Zuñiga-----  
 Silvestre Figueroa -----  
 Thomas Chala-----  
 Casimiro Martinez-----  
 Thomas Borja -----  
 Juan Joseph Boca-----  
 Ambrosio Terranovo-----  
 Juan Joseph Servantes -----  
 Juan de Ribas -----  
 Simon Chala-----  
 Bartolome Phelipe-----  
 Carlos de Aguirre-----  
 Manuel Labandero -----  
 Francisco Mandiga -----  
 Salvador de los Santos-----  
 Juan Antonio Quinoz -----  
 Francisco Regis-----  
 Pascual Remisgio-----  
 Francisco de Paula -----  
 Ygnacio Funes -----  
 Basilio Magno -----  
 Cayetano Trujillo-----  
 Christobal Castillo-----  
 Diego de Alcalá-----  
 Pedro de la Asumpcion -----

Joseph Maria -----  
 /f.248r/  
 Francisco de Borja -----  
 Xabier de Jessus -----  
 Urbano del Espiritu Santo -----  
 Anacleto de Jessus -----  
 Nicomeo de la Cruz -----  
 Telesforo de Santa Cruz -----  
 Jorje de Jesus -----  
 Juan Anteportalatina -----  
 Prudencio de Jessus -----  
 Antonio Congo -----  
 Domingo Chala -----  
 Bartolome Mandinga -----  
 Martin Mari -----  
 Agustin Moncada -----  
 Basilio Manuel -----  
 Francisco Alzamora -----  
 Francisco Romano -----  
 Francisco Congo -----  
 Joachin de los Rios -----  
 Ygnacio de Villa -----  
 Juan de Vlibaren -----  
 Salvador Martines -----  
 Marcelo Barrera -----  
 Carlos Primero -----  
 Eusebio de la Concepcion -----  
 Manuel Rumaldo -----  
 Pedro Xamayca -----  
 Emergildo de Jessus -----  
 /f.248v/  
 Juan Evangelista -----  
 Juan Chaco -----  
 Marcelo de la Cruz -----  
 Xavier Congo -----  
 Pio de la Vega -----  
 Cleodoro de Jessus -----  
 Leonardo de Jessus -----  
 Josephe Phelipe -----  
 Esteban de Ungria -----  
 Manuel Banduria -----  
 Miguel Angola -----  
 Atanacio de la Cruz -----  
 Cayetano de Jessus -----  
 Juan de Dios Servantes -----  
 Juan Bautista de Jessus -----

Antonio Congo-----  
 Mariano de Jessus -----  
 Bernardino de Sena -----  
 Toribio de Jesus -----  
 Luis Beltran -----  
 Leopoldo Ygnacio-----  
 Feliz Gonzaga-----  
 Bernabel de Jesus-----  
 Joseph Quadrato -----  
 Eulario de Jesus-----  
 Clemente de Jessus-----  
 Phelipe Santiago-----  
 Miguel Congo-----  
 Santiago de Jessus-----  
 /f.249r/  
 Feliciano de el Sacramento -----  
 Gaspar de los Reyes-----  
 Manuel de la Calera-----  
 Joseph Mateo-----  
 Juan Climaco-----  
 Sevastian de Guara -----  
 Bisente -----  
 Julian de San Juan-----  
 Nicolas Tagle -----  
 Pedro de la Calera-----  
 Joseph Morellano-----  
 Juan Bautista-----  
 Francisco Popo-----  
 Juan de los Ynocentes -----  
 Geronio de Jessus -----  
 Miguel Congo-----  
 Florenciano-----  
 Nicolas, Carabajo-----  
 Ventura-----  
 Pablo de la Calera -----  
 Joseph de Jessus -----  
 Matheo -----  
 Santiago Canga -----  
 Juan Perales -----  
 Joseph Antonio Portuguez -----

**Muchachos**

Manuel de Jesus -----  
 Bentura de Jesus -----  
 /f.249v/  
 Bitoriano de Jesus -----  
 Nedeo de Jesus-----

Benancio de Jessus -----  
Miguel de la Aparicion -----  
Gregorio del Espiritu Santo -----  
Fermin de Jessus -----  
Faustino de Jessus -----  
Domingo de Jessus -----  
Sebastian de Jesus -----  
Ciriaco de Jessus -----  
Enrique de Jessus -----  
Theodoro de Jessus -----  
Martin del Patrocinio -----  
Xabier Zamudio -----  
Melchor Castillo -----  
Pedro del Espiritu Santo -----  
Nicolas Agustin -----  
Eustaquí Matheo -----  
Ygnacio Bizente -----  
Juan de la Rosa -----  
Marcelo Garcia -----  
Juan Anteportalatina -----  
Bisente de Jessus -----  
Ygnacio de Jessus -----  
Mariano de Jessus -----  
Manuel de la Asumpcion -----  
Thomas de Jessus -----  
Mariano de Jessus -----  
/f.250r/  
Xavier de Jesus -----  
Joseph del Sacramento -----  
Julian de Jessus -----  
Joseph Ylarion -----  
Modesto Garzia -----  
Jacinto de Jessus -----  
Migel de Jesus -----  
Joseph Eufrazio -----  
Juan de los Ynocentes -----  
Juan de Dios -----  
Estanislado Cayetano -----  
Pedro Alcantara -----  
Policarpo de Jesus -----  
Joseph Santiago -----  
Bentura de Jesus -----  
Policarpo de Jesus -----  
Thadeo de Jesus -----  
Francisco Xabier -----  
Policarpo de Jessus -----

Juan de Dios-----  
Thomas Feliberto-----  
Juan de Dios Molero-----  
Thiburcio de Jesus-----  
Juan Fermin-----  
Pedro Alexandrino-----  
Juan Climaco-----

**Negras Esclavas de la  
Haçilenda de San Xavier**

Estefania Ygnacia-----  
Juana del Aguila-----  
Brigida de Jesus-----  
Cayetana Ygnacia-----  
Petrona Palamino-----  
/f.250v/  
Juana de Mata-----  
Urbana del Carmen-----  
Feliciana de Jesus-----  
Blasa de la Candelaria-----  
Maria de la Asumpcion-----  
Maria del Populo-----  
Ysabel de Portugal-----  
Marcela de San Pablo-----  
Damiana Margarita-----  
Dionisia de Ribera-----  
Martina de Loyola-----  
Romualda de Loyola-----  
Maria de la Encarnazion-----  
Maria Jocoba-----  
Maria Ygnacia-----  
Maria de la Ó-----  
Manuela del Castillo-----  
Juana Evangelista-----  
Monica Agustina-----  
Lorenza de la Soledad-----  
Rufina Martines-----  
Martina del Aguila-----  
Maria Patrocinio-----  
Michaela Castillo-----  
Maria Basquez-----  
Dionisia Cayetana-----  
Cayetana Nonata-----  
Estebania Pizarro-----  
Escolastica Figueroa-----  
Clara de Jesus-----  
Josepha Januaría-----

Lusia Sinecia -----  
Josepha Vitalina -----  
/f.251r/  
Margarita Vernabela -----  
Maria Enrrica -----  
Alfonsa de Jesus -----  
Romana Nonata -----  
Phelipa Juliana -----  
Maria Comcepcion -----  
Ygnacia de los Reyes -----  
Dionisia Lauteria -----  
Vibiana de Jesus -----  
Maria Cecilia -----  
Margarita de jesus -----  
Vitoriana de Jesus -----  
Graciana de Jesus -----  
Gregoria de Jesus -----  
Baltasara de los Reyes -----  
Fernanda de Jesus -----  
Maria de la Esaltazion -----  
Maria Rosalia -----  
Maria de la Ó -----  
Esistaquia de Jesus -----  
Maria Josepha -----  
Marcelina de Jesus -----  
Josepha de Jesus -----  
Racida Custodia -----  
Fermina de Jesus -----  
Manuela Vasquez -----  
Melchora de los Reyes -----  
Feliciana de Jesus -----  
Chistina de Jesus -----  
Maria Filotea -----  
Maria Germana -----  
/f.251v/  
Petronila Arbues -----  
Andrea de Jesus -----  
Ynes de Jesus -----  
Joachina -----  
Maria Manuela -----  
Agustina de Jesus -----  
Maria de la Natibidad -----  
Damiana de Jesus -----  
Martina de Jesus -----  
Ylaria de Jesus -----  
Ysabel de la Visitacion -----

## Muchachas

Aoustina [sic] Pastora-----  
Maria Magdalena de Pacis-----  
Agustina Theresa-----  
Esteja de Jesus-----  
Maria de Jesus-----  
Cayetana de la Esaltazion-----  
Petrona Cayetana-----  
Rafaela de Jesus-----  
Maria Margarita-----  
Dominga de la Calzada-----  
Juana de Jesus-----  
Maria de la Soledad-----  
Laurencia de Jesus-----  
Maria de las Mercedes-----  
Cayetana de Jesus-----  
Petronia-----  
Maria Patrocinio-----  
Petronila Josepha-----  
Petrona Alcantara-----  
/f.252r/  
Catalina de la Asumpcion-----  
Ygnacia de Loyola-----  
Modesta Maria-----  
Maria de la Natibidad-----  
Joachina-----  
Cayetana de Jesus-----  
Metildes de Jesus-----  
Pheliciana-----  
Leonor-----  
Polaya-----  
Rufina Segunda-----  
Manuela del Sacramento-----  
Maria de Jesus-----  
Ursula de Jesus-----  
Dionisia de Jesus-----  
Thomasa-----  
Maria de la Asumpcion-----  
Francisca Romana-----  
Maria de la Cruz-----  
Martina de Jesus-----  
Theodora de Jesus-----  
Christina de Jesus-----  
Michaela de Jesus-----  
Petronila de Jesus-----  
Leandra Florentina-----

Josepha Germana -----  
 Barbara de Jesus -----  
 Esteja Dominga -----  
 Josepha Trijonia -----  
 /f.252v/  
 Angela de Jesus -----  
 Vicenta de Jesus -----  
 Claudia de Jesus -----  
 Eufracia -----  
 Magsimiana -----  
 Esmagrada -----  
 Segunda -----  
 Serafina Josepha -----  
 En di[e]z y ocho días del mez de septiembre del año de mil setezientos sesenta y siete, yo dicho  
 Juez para la prosecuzion de los ymbentarios que estoi actuando pase a la Hacienda de Cabella  
 cui nombrada San Pablo anexa á esta en que halle lo siguiente primeramente una capilla vieja  
 con una puerta de dos [h]ojas de roble maltratadas y su harmella el techo de dicha capilla toda  
 entablada ciñco ventanas de guarango de balasustres -----  
 Yten dos torres maltratadas contres campanas la una grande otra mediana y otra menor -----  
 Yten, se hallo dentro de dicha capilla una imagen de la puricima concepcion con su manto de  
 Perziana Carmesí forado en Ólandilla azul su fraboa de plata llana angosta su singulo de una  
 cinta de tapiz carmesí, un paño en la cabeza de gaza una corona de plata dorada y el vaso de  
 formas toda de plata con seis marcos dos onzas -----  
 Yten un caliz con su patena dorada que pezaron dos marcos tres onzas -----  
 /f.253r/  
 Yten un par de sarcillos de oro con cinquenta perlas entre chicas y grandes -----  
 Yten una gargantilla chica con veinte y cinco perlas de dos reales y seis de amedio chiquitas y  
 una facha de oro esmaltada en medio de ella -----  
 Yten un cazon demanda de la abocazion de un Hece Homo, viejo y maltratado -----  
 Yten un lienzo viejo grande de un Santo Christo con su marco dorado que haze el medio de la  
 capilla y a los lados dos cuadros medianos uno de San Pablo y el otro de San Ygnacio -----  
 Yten dos santos de bultos Jesuitas viejos -----  
 Yten cuatro candeleros viejos -----  
 Yten un atril de tabla llana -----  
 Yten un misal viejo mediano -----  
 Yten dos manteles de altar viejos y ordinarios una hara y una paila vieja -----  
 Yten una mesa vieja con chapa caxon de tablas de chile donde se guardan los hornamentos que  
 son lo siguientes un hornameto de carmezi viejo de seda -----  
 Yten otro morado de la mesma calidad viejo -----  
 Yten otro blanco assi mismo de seda veijo -----  
 Yten dos frontales de seda viejos -----  
 Yten otro en el altar de vadana pintada -----  
 Yten dos alvas de bramante tratables llanas -----  
 /f.253v/  
 Yten otra de Bretaña vieja con su punta abajo -----  
 Yten dos amitos uno tratable con encaje y el otro viejo -----



Yten dos mantos de la virgen el uno de perziana azul traída con su franja de plata de punta con  
 forno de choleta grueza y el otro de un jenero azul viejo de flores que ya no sirve -----  
 Yten el techo de la sacristía de carizo con dos horcones de guarango y una madre de lo mismo ---  
 Yten una ramada en el patio en contorno vieja con cinco horcones de guarango y los demás de es  
 pino y todas las alfagias de lo mismo con el techo descubierto -----  
 Yten el primer cuarto con un postigo de roble sin chapa con dos ventanas de puertas de tablas de  
 chile se verjes y su techo bien tratado con alfagias de mangles y su cubierto de carizo todo nuevo  
 Yten el segundo cuarto con su postigo de roble farrado en tabla de chile con su chapa y tirador y  
 dos ventanitas de verjes y sus puertas de una [h]oja de tabla de chile y su techo bien tratado con  
 su cubierto de carrizo y sus alfagias de manglesillos -----  
 Yten el tercer cuarto con un postio de roble tableros de cedro y sus armellas una ventana de  
 verjes de una [h]oja hecha de roble su cubierto vi[e]n /f.254r/ tratado de carrizo con dos madres  
 de roble y manglecillos y un catre viejo sin pellexo -----  
 Yten el otro cuarto con una puerta de dos [h]ojas de roble entabladas entabla de chile con su  
 chapa grande sin techo y un horcón de guarango-----  
 Yten la cosina con su postigo de roble todo su techo bien tratado con estera de totora y  
 manglesillos -----  
 Yten un horno maltratado -----  
 Yten el quinto cuarto con su postigo de roble todo con su chapa corriente el techo con cubierto  
 de totora y palas de espino -----  
 Yten el sexto cuarto con su postigo de roble su chapa y llave corriente con dos ventanas de verjes  
 de guarango su cubierto de carrizo y madera de guarango -----  
 Yten el séptimo cuarto con sus postigo de roble todo su chapa y llave y el techo de cubierto de  
 carrizo y palos de guarango -----  
 Yten un galpón que sirve á los negros con puerta de una [h]oja de roble toda, con serrojo grande  
 corriente una campana mediana a la puerta y otra puerta de roble toda que se hala dentro de ella  
 que dicen ser quarto de los solteros de una [h]oja con su serrojo y llave corriente y otra puerta  
 vieja acomodada en una casa vieja-----  
 Yten otro quarto que se sigue con su postigo de roble todo con armellas y una ventana sin puerta  
 de valaustres de roble su techo corriente /f.254v/ cubierto de carrizo y de madera de espino -----  
 Yten otro que se sigue con sus postigo de roble todo con chapa y cerrojo corriente su cubierto  
 maltratado de totora y madera de espino-----  
 Yten otro dicho que sirve de enfermería con su postigo de roble todo con sus armellas una  
 ventana de verjes de guarango su techo maltratado todo dentro de el se halla un cepo con su  
 telera y sin candado -----  
 Yten una puerta de dos [h]ojas grande de verjas de guarango nueva con armellas que sirve a la  
 salida de la hazienda de San Xavier -----  
 Yten se sigue un corral de vestias con sus puertas de dos [h]ojas de verjas de guarango  
 maltratadas con armellas -----  
 Yten se sigue una despenza grande cayda con sus horcones y madres de guarango con cubierto  
 bien trabajoso y su puerta de una [h]oja vieja de gu[a]rango tablas de roble y sus armellas-----  
 Yten la aguardentera con sus puertas de guarango y balaustres torneados y sus armellas con un  
 candado grande corriente-----  
 Yten nueve pailas fundidos de bronce con sus cabezas a martillo y los cañones como las cabezas  
 de cobre amartillo -----

Yten nueve botijas enfriaderas y un tinajon que sirve de lo propio con su techo maltratado de totora y caña de Guayaquil que afirman /f.255r/ entres pilares de adoves -----

Yten nueve canaletas de cobre por donde cae el a[g]uardiente -----

Yten una puerta de verjes de guarango de dos [h]ojas que sirve á la viña vieja con sus armelias---

Yten otra puerta de dos [h]ojas de verjas de guarango con serrohojo y su llave que sirve al manejo de San Pablo-----

Yten un lagar grande y dos lagaretas y en cada lagareta su viga todo corriente su ventanita de roble que cae a una puntalla con su cerrojo y sin llave y su techo maltratado con cañas de Guayaquil-----

Yten un tendal en ladrillado donde se pone la huba para hazer el vino con dos tinajones de varro donde escurre la lagrimilla -----

Yten una bodega grande con varias puertas la primera que comunica á la aguardentera de dos [h]ojas de roble y sus tablas de chile nuevas su serrojo grande y su llave corriente-----

Yten, la otra puerta al manejo del lagar de dos [h]ojas de roble tablas de chile nuevas y su cerrojo grande corriente-----

Yten se hallan dos postigos viejos uno de sauce y otro de roble sin llave ni armellas entre medio de las bodegas, con tres tinajones, dos se trasegar vinos y uno de arropar, y una puerta de una [h]oja de verjas de guarango suelta dentro de la bodega -----

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Yten otra puerta de una [h]oja de roble en madra de guarango que cae al patio por donde sesaca el aguardiente ya maltratada con serrojo y llave corriente -----

Yten, otra puerta que sale al patio principal de una oja de roble y tabla de chile con chapa corriente por donde se saca el vino -----

Yten, en la bodega se hallan tres puntallas una grande y dos medianas-----

Yten se hallan en dicha bodega seis sientas y tres botijas de vino vacias -----

Yten ocho botijas de aguardiente -----

Yten diez botijas de binagre -----

Yten un mil cuatrocientas ochenta y cuatro botijas vacias que sirven de mosteras -----

Yten toda madera de la bodega de guarango con su cubierto de totora toda maltratada con una ramada en esta dicha puerta al patio quese compone demadera de espino toda y su cubierto de totora -----

Yten un cuarto del maryordomo [sic.] con su puerta de una [h]oja de roble y tabla de chile con su chapa y llave corriente su techo de totora con madre de roble y lo demás de espino y una ventana con su puerta de roble de verjes de guarango una meza mediana de cajón con piez de guarango y tres sillas viejas -----

Yten una puerta de verjes de guarango vieja /f.256r/ sin llave y otra del mismo modo -----

Yten trezes lampas entre grandes y pequeñas dos achas un machete una baretilla dos podaderas tres pares de prisiones un martillo y un fondito rajado donde cosina para la jente -----

Yten la viña que se sompone de treinta y seis quarteles con veinte y un mil veinte y ocho sepas orconeadas-----

Yten, en barbacoas quatrocientas noventa y ocho parras -----

Yten, un majuelo con mil ciento treinta y una sepas con sus [h]orcones-----

Yten tres sercos de ramas de guarango en que se comprehende el numero de sepas que va referido-----

Yten quatro mulas con dos aparejos viejos un sillón y sinco angarillas-----

Yten diez y ocho borregas, y todo lo qual queda al cuidado de don Jayme Comas, mayordomo de dicha Hacienda y un sembrado de trido que esta en color, en que entraron quatro fanegas y media de semilla, con lo que se con cluyo el ynventario de esta dicha hacienda -----

En dicho dia habiendo pasado para la prosecuzion de estos ymbentarios á la hacienda de con yungo con los testigos de mi actuazion alle en ella un rancho de caña sin puerta con cubierto de carrizo suelto con madres horcones y varas de guarango-----  
/f.256v/

Yten una ramada donde se pone las botijas de pino, y aguardiente, de la hacienda de San Xavier y anexas para dimidiar el transito al Puerto de Caballa donde se embarcan, con orcones madres y varas de guarango -----

Yten, en dicha ramada ochocientas nobenta y nueve botijas de aguardiente -----

Yten. en dicha bodega y en las de San Xavier mil y cien botijas de bino ordinario -----

Yten mil y docientas botijas de bino costeño en ambas bodegas -----

Yten. trezientas y cinquenta botijas de binagre, ambas, partidas de bino, suman dos mil y trecientas botijas -----

Yten ocho alfalfares sercados con quincha de guarango -----

Yten varios potreros de guarangal sercados con quincha de lo propio con lo que se concluyeron los ymbentarios de la hazienda de San Xavier y las de mas á ella anexas con todos sus aperos, esclavos, muebles, raizes y ganados: y habiendo reconosido los libros de estas haciendas y no encontrando razón de otra cosa que le pertenesca requerí al Padre Domingo Laño para que dixese a de mas de lo que consta de estos ymbentarios que en su presencia se han actuado [h]ay otra cosa que agregar que por alguna rrazon le pertenesca /f.257r/ digo que [h]ay que agregar las tierras de Copara que estan cerca de la Nasca en que [h]ay varios potreros de guarangal para en grande de la requa y son pertenecientes a esta hazienda-----

Yten que teniendo dado en se arrendamiento las tierras de Ygipata, pertenecientes a la Hacienda de San Xavier a don Joseph Muñoz. El mes de agosto de este presente año, en trezsientos pesos--

Yten que tiene tomado en arrendamiento por cantidad de trescientos nobenta pesos las tierras de otucabra pertenecientes á don Francisco de Robles por aprovechar los derechos de agua de dichas tierras en la viña de esta hazienda de San Xavier -----

Yten que don Alphonzo Ortega clérigo Presvitero Residente en Parinacochas de ve porbale cumplido á esta dicha hazienda de San Xavier un mil dozientos ochenta y dos pesos y que para recaudazion de la cantidad se le tiene entregado á don Joachin de Aguirre residente en Lucanas, y que no sabe que áiga otra cosa á beneficio de esta dicha [h]azienda y para que conste lo firme actuando por mi y ante mi con los testigos de mi actuazion á falta de escribano publico ni real se aduierte que el peso de las alafas de esta yglecia que desde foxas dos á delante corre sea hecho en bruto con las maderas y fierros que para su uso tenían las piezas /f.257v/ y haviendose extraido esta tara peza neto el todo diez arrobas siete libras nueve onzas en las mismas piezas que por menor van expresadas en este ymventario el qual peso se ha hecho en una romana vieja por no aber otra de mas sastifazion fecho ut supra = don Andres de Aramendí y Ferrer = Rafael Sedano = Pedro Arias -----

Concuerta este tralado con el imventario de la Hazienda de viña nonbrada San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca cita en la Ciudad de Yca hechos por don Andres de Aramendi y Ferrer como su delegado del Conde de Monteblanco y de mas docieimentos que lo á compañan; ba cierto y verdadero corregido y concertado a que mi remito y para que conste y obre los efectos que haia lugar en derecho doy la presente en virtud de lo mandado en el superior decreto de su exelencia

en los reyes del Peru en veinte y nueve de diciembre de mil setecientos secenta y siete años entre renglones = setentay = v al el =

En Testimonio [rubrica] De Verdad=

[Firmado: Domingo Gutierrez]

Escribano de Su Magestad - Director de Temporalidades

Damos fee que don Domingo Gutierrez de quien este traslado ha signado y firmado es tal escriba[no] de Su Magestad como se suscribe, fiel, legal y de toda confianza y a sus semejantes, autos, y demás despachos que ante el susodicho han pasado y pazan siempre ce les hadado /f.258r/ y da entera fee y crédito judicial y estra judicialmente que es hecho en la Ciudad de los Reyes del Peru en veinte y nueve de diciembre de mil setecientos sesenta y siete años

[Firmado: Santiago Martelos]

Escribano de Su Majestad

[Firmado: Josseph de Aizcorbe]

Escribano de Su Majestad Publico

[Firmado: Gabriel de Guizabas]

Escribano de Su Majestad Publico

APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE INVENTORY OF THE HACIENDA SAN JOSEPH DE LA  
NASCA, 1767

Archivo Histórico Nacional de Chile

Vol. 344, #17, Testimonio de la hacienda San José de Nazca. Valle de Nazca, Ica. 22 hojas. 1767.

/f.259r/

Original y Testimonio de Ynventario de la Hacienda nombrada San Joseph de Nasca, Jurisdicción de Yca. Yca. No 31.

/f.260r/

Testimonio de Inventario de la Hazienda de San Joseph de la Nasca. Jurisdiccion de Yca.

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Rémitese al Direccion Grál de Temporalidades los veinte documentos originales, que acompañan ese decreto, en que se incluyen los inventarios de Haziendas vineadas en los valles de Chíncha, Pizco, Yca, y Nasca con sies accessorios, paraque no solamente le sirvan de instrucción, y areglo, si no que mandando sacar de todos, y cada uno testimonio por duplicado, quedan dosse con el que le corresponde, haga que á su tiempo se passe el otro con el original; para dar quenta por primera y segunda via al excelentísimo señor Conde de Aranda, como se previene en las instrucciones generales de primero de Marzo de este año; tomandosse ante todas cosas razón de este decreto en el libro destinado á esta incumbencia. Luna nueve de Diziembre de mil setesientos sesenta y siete: dos rubricas: Clex puru.

[al margen izquierdo: Inventario]

En la Hazienda de San Joseph de Nasca en diez días de el mes de septiembre de mil setesientos sesenta y siete años: Yo don Andres de Aramendi y Ferrer, Sargento mayor de el Regimiento de Chíncha, en virtud dela subdelegación hecha en mi po el Sr. Conde de Monte Blanco de el Orden de Santiago; coronel de el dicho regimiento de Chíncha, de la comisión que el Excelentísimo Sr. Virrey de estos reynos le confiere con amplia facultad de poder la subdelega para el se queste se de más diligencias que Su Magistad que Dios guarde manda practica en los Padres Jesuitas y sus bienes passe aá estas dicha Hasienda de los expressados Padres á ponerlas en execucion. Y ha viendo llegado á ellas y entrado en la puerta principal de la casa de vivienda, encontré en cama enfermo al Padre Carlos Pastorira Rector provisto de el Colegio de el Cuzco, que esta de transito á dicho retorado; y habiéndole insinuado que para el serviuto de Su Magistad huriesse con vocar á todos los Padres, assi transeúntes que en su compañía hacen viage al Cuzco, como al Administrador, y de mas que tuviesen exercicio en dicha Hazienda, para insinuarles las reales ordenes que se me han conferido; habiendo lo executado, se hurieron presentes el Padre Santiago Pastor Sacerdote, el Padre Juan Trigoso Estudiante, viajantes ambos al Cuzco, el Padre Pedro Días Coadjutor y administrador de esta Hazienda, y el Padre Juan Pedro Lano Coadjutor su Compañero. Y estando juntos todos en presencia de tres Testigos esapañoles, que lo fueron don Antonio Portuondo, don Raphael Sedano, y Ramos, y don Juan Antonio de la Torre, les leí, notifiqué y habiendo actuado con profunda veneración se conformaron con la real disposicion que oyeron; y siéndoles pedidas las llaves de las papeletas y arcas en que llevaban sus equipajes los transeúntes, y al Administrador, y su compañero las de sus arcas, y Hazienda trabe embargo en todo; y pasando los muebles que avía en los aposen los de dichos Padres á piesa separados

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puse en ella, y en los almarenos y bodegas guardas dobles, y continelas de vista, que estuvieren al reparo de evitar las subintracciones, á que con la novedad pudiessen propender los esclavos, encomendando el cuidado y vigilancia á don Raphael Sedano y Ramos, por serme previso retroceden á la Hazienda de San Xavier, que desta dos leguas de esta donde dejaba actuada en el dia la misma diligencia, por haber quedado los esclavos de la Hazienda de San Xavier en amagos de tumulto con la novedad que les aviasor pretiendido. Y para que conste la diligencia lo firme con dichos testigos, con quienes actuo á falta de escribano. – don Andres de Aramendi y Ferrer = Raphael Sedano. = Juan Antonio de la Torre = Antonio de Portuondo.

En onze días de el mes de septiembre de mil setesientos sesenta y siete años: Yo don Andres de Aramendi y Ferrer para la actuación de los inventarios de los bienes sequestrados por mi en esta dicha Hazienda de San Joseph, passe á la pieza donde están depositadas las arcas y muebles con el Padre Pedro Días, don Juan Carrillo, y Melo, don Raphael Sedan y Ramos, y don Juan Antonio de la Torre, y en presencia de dicho Padre y Testidos, abrí la puerta de dicho pieza á hizi sacar una petaca aprehensada de Guamanga, que dijo dicho Padre ser de el Padre Rector de el Cuzco Carlos Pastorizas; y ha viendo abierto, entre la ropa de su uso halle sinco tomos de a folio en pasta, su titulo Fabre consione

Yten otros sinco tomos en quarto en pasta, su autor Gintem-----

Yten otro platicas de Calatayud. -----

Yten otro en quarto el confessor instuido. -----

Yten otro tomo en quarto arte de la santidad. -----

Yten otra en octavo observaciones doctrinales. -----

Con lo que se concluyó el reconocimiento de dicha

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Petaca, y con los breviarios y otros libros destos que [h]ay se le entregó; y á exepción de los que ban inventariados, luego se saco una petaquilla de Guamanga, y se hallo ropa blanca de dicho Padre Rector, y una cartera con varias cartas caerradas que conducía á diferentes sujetos de el Cuzco. -----

Yten dos encomiendas roheladas al Oadre Fray Thomas Astay de el orden de San Augustin de el Cuzco-----

Yten otras dos a Padre Fray Joseph de los Ríos de el dicho orden de San Augustín de dicha ciudad de el Cuzco, las que extraje con lo demás que ba expresado, y lo restante con la Pestaquilla se le entregó. Y habiendo sacado un pan de arguenas, que dijo el Padre Pedro Dias asistente, eran de el expresado Padre Rector, las abri, y halló solo utensilios de cosina y comestibles. -----

Yten se hallaron dos frazcos de tabaco en polvo, el uno chico rotulado á la Madre Ana Josepha de San Joachin Priona de el monasterio de el Carmen de el Cuzco, y en el otro mayor para la Madre María Dominga de dicho Monasterio. -----

Yten otra unsueta de la Compañía de Jesus, y excludas dichas encomiendas, se le devolvieron dichas arguenas; y luego hize sacar una escribanía, y en el un cajón de ella encontré veinte y nueve papeles de apuntes, y razón de las visitas de varios Colegios que hizo dicho Padre Rector quando fue Visitador, los que extraje, y le volvi dicha papelera. Y luego incontinentí hize sacar un Baul de Guamanga premado, que dijo el Padre Asistente era de el Padre Santiago Pastor, y habiéndole abierto, halle ropa de color de el usso de dicho Padre -----

Yten dos lo mas de a folio de el Padre Lacoix. -----

Yten un tomo de a folio Hurtado Theologia reformada-----

Yten dos tomos de á folio Theologia de el Padre Muniesa. Con lo qual se concluyó el rexistro de dicho Baul; y exeptuando estos libros, se le entregó con lo demás. Y luego incontinentí híze sacar otro Baul semejante al antecedente, y abierto se hallo ropa blanca de el usso de dicho Padre.-----

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Yten dos tomos en quarto quaresma de San Gabriel. -----

Yten un tomo en quarto de Tardío. -----

Yten otro dicho en quarto Oraciones de Hortensío. -----

yten otro dicho en quarto simple de homilías. -----

yten otro dicho en quarto de el Padre Carejas. -----

Yten dos dichos en quarto de el padre Viegra con lo que se concluyo el inventario de dicho baúl y á excepción de los libros contenidos en este, se le entregó con lo de mas. Y habiendo sacado una Petaca de dicho Padre, y habiéndola abierto, se hallo en ella provision para el viaje que seguía. -----

Yten un tomo en quarto de sermones de el Padre Aguilar.-----

Yten un tomo en octavo de Juan Barclayo.-----

Yten una materia de Theologia manuscrita de el Padre Aguilar. -----

Yten en tomo de instituta. -----

Yten otro dicho de Arnaud. -----

Yten otro tomito de los privilegios de la Compañía. -----

Yten uno suma moral de el Padre Saá, con lo qual se concluyo el reconocimiento de esta Petaca; y á excepción de los libros contenidos de este inventario, se le entrego lo demás. Y habiendo sacado, y abierto dicha petaca, se hallo en ella comestibles de dicho Padre. -----

Yten varios papeles manuscritos de varios assumptos -----

Yten un quaderno de apuntes pertenecientes a la administración de Hazienda de Caña de Caucato de el tiempo que corrió á su cargo. -----

Yten una encomendita con rohelo al Padre Antonio de el orden de San Augustin de el Cuzco. ----

Yten en dicha petaca una escribanía, y en ella varias cartas rotuladas al Cuzco, las que habiendo extraido como los papeles inventariados, se le entrego dicha petaca, y escribanía con lo demás. Y luego un continentí hize sacar otra petaca que dijo el Padre asistente Pedro Días ser de su usso; y abierta se encontró solo ropa de color, la que se le entregó con dicha petaca, y luego hize sacar otra compañera

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En la que se hallo ropa blanca y de color de dicho Padre, y de su Compañero el Padre Juan Pedro Lano, la que le entregue. Y luego hize sacar otra Petaca quella prensada de Guamanga, en que hallé alguna ropa blanca y de color de el usso de dicho Padre.-----

Yten un quaderno de á folio con forro de baclana colorada de apuntes que extraje, yu le devolví con lo de mas. Y luego hize sacar una caja ordinaria con su chapa y llave corriente, y haciendo la abierto, Halle como cossa de seis libras de jabon. Y siendo ya de noche suspendí esta actuación hasta otro día, que de lugar la que estos siguiendo de los inventarios de la Hazienda de San Xavier, la que suspendi hoí por venir á esta al reconocimiento de los bienes particulares de los Padres, y que no carezcan de el usso de lo que [h]ayan menester. Y para que conste lo firma con los testigos de esta achiacion don Juan Carrillo, don Rafael Sedano, y don Juan Antonio de la Torre. – don Andres de Aramendi y Ferrer. = Juan Bernabé Carrillo. = Raphael Sedano. = Juan Antonio de la Torre.-----



En dies y ocho de el mes de septiembre de mil setesientos sesenta y siete años: Yo don Andres de Aramendi, y Ferrer para la prosecución de los inventaríos de esta Hazienda de San Joseph, passe con los testigos de esta actuación y el Padre Pedro Dias á la pieza que dejé cerrada donde se depositaron los muebles sequestrados; y habiéndola abierto, hize sacar una caja mediana de cedro con chapa y llave corriente, la que abiendola abierto se halló vacias. -----  
Yten una escribanía con chapa, y llave corrientes y en ellas los papeles siguientes. -----  
Primeramente un testimonio de los títulos de las tierras donde esta plantado el majuelo, que llaman de el Padre Alzuru. -----  
Yten el testimonio de la Hazienda de Ucaucage. -----  
/f.264r/  
Yten el testimonio de la Hazienda de viña de La Ventilla. -----  
Yten una composission de demasias de las Haziendas que tiene el Colegio de el Cuzco en este Valle, y en la sierra nombradas San Joseph, La Ventilla, Lacra, Ucucaje, Locchas, y Usaca, en que se contienen las de Yngaguací, Tocaguací, y Casaní, y los linderos de todas. -----  
Yten otra composission hecha de las dichas Haziendas de este valle el año de mil setesientos y doze.  
Yten un testimonio de los títulos de Locchas archivados en el oficio de Estacio Melendes, y unos papeles originales pertenecientes á dicha estancia rotos, y pegados con oblea. -----  
Yten un testimonio de los títulos de esta Hazienda de San Joseph de letra antigua, y tres fojas de apuntes de letra moderna, que con claridad instruyen en el derecho que el dicho Colegio tiene á la expressada Hazienda. -----  
Yten el testimonio de los títulos de las tierras de el gramadal que estan incorporadas en esta de San Joseph -----  
Yten los títulos de la Hazienda de Lacra. -----  
Yten varias cartas que parecen inútiles, de quesse ha formado un legajo. -----  
Yten ochenta y sinco pesos en reales en un cajón de dicha escribanía. -----  
Yten un libro de baptismos, ynumerado desde fojas una hasta tresientas noventa y ocho. -----  
Yten dos libros de la estancias de Locchas, uno de rezivo, y otro de gasto. -----  
Yten un libro de rezivos de esta Hazienda de San Joseph. -----  
Yten otro tres libros, uno de gastos, otro de cargos de cosechas de esta Hazienda de San Joseph, y La Ventilla; y otro de descargos de cosechas de dichas dos Haziendas. -----  
Yten otro libro de matrimonios y velaciones todos a folio. -----  
Yten un libro en quarto de ordenes de dichas Haziendas. -----  
Yten otro dicho en quarto de alhajas de la sacristía. -----  
/f.264v/  
Yten un cajón de clavos con tres arrobas sinco libras bruta. -----  
Yten otro cajón de clavos menores con dos arrobas dies libras bruto. -----  
Yten otron cajón de dichos clavos con sinco arrobas bruto -----  
Yten una fanega de tachuelas con una arroba. -----  
Yten quatro sientas ocho baras de cordellate en varias piezas, y retazos -----  
Yten dosientas quarenta y quatro baras de pañetes de varios colores. -----  
Yten un fardo de lana, y un retazo de quartenta y ocho baras. -----  
Yten un trozo de cera virgen de Castilla con treinta y tres libras. -----  
Yten seis dichas labradas. -----  
Yten dies y ocho libras de polvora ordinaria. -----  
Yten media arroba de municion -----

Yten seis libras de cardenillo. -----  
 Yten un reloj viejo hechado aperder. -----  
 Yten dos libras de incienso. -----  
 Yten una messa pequeña con un estante vacio. -----  
 Yten unas balansias pequeñas de biotica. -----  
 Yten veinte y sinco sogas de cabulla. -----  
 Yten dos arrobas de ylo acerresto. -----  
 Yten una messa pequeña. -----  
 Yten seis armellas, y veinte nudos de gonze. -----  
 Yten una chapa ordinaria sin llave. -----  
 Yten ocho dichas Ynglessas con llaves y cerrojos. -----  
 Yten doze cinchos de fierro con sesenta y ocho por otra parte. -----  
 Yten treze pares de grillos corrientes, y dos anillos sueltos. -----  
 Yten quatro pares de coposas con argolla para la garganta. -----  
 Yten quatro pares dichos de manos. -----  
 Yten dos tovas. -----  
 Yten tres pares de bragas corrientes, y dos anillos sui colabones. -----  
 Yten una campanilla de garganta. -----  
 Yten una cadena griezta de fierro. -----  
 Yten quatro fierros de herrar ganados. -----  
 /f.265r/  
 Yten onze combas de fierro. -----  
 Yten dos gorriones de bronce sueltos para puerta. -----  
 Yten trienta y quatro lampas viejas. -----  
 Yten un par de petacas vacias, en que se han puesto los libros, y papeles, que se han sacado de las de los Padres. -----  
 Yten un mate guarnecido de plata. -----  
 Yten un pataguái con una cuchara y una bombilla con pesso de un marco, y quatro onzas de plata. -----  
 Yten tres azafates de plata con seis marcos tres onzas. -----  
 Yten dos tembladeras grandes, y un cucharon de plata con pesso de veinte y dos marcos. -----  
 Yten una muestra pequeña de faltriquera desarmada; con lo qual se concluyo todo lo depositado en la pieza separada. -----  
 Yten la casa de vivienda con dos puertas grandes, la una que mira al camino de San Xavier en resada de tabla de Chile con cerrojo, chapa, y llave corriente.  
 Yten la otra al camino real de el ingenio, de berjes de guarango. -----  
 Yten el sementerio redeado en tres ordenes de balaustres de guarango con tres puertas con sus cerrojos y rematados con coruvia de talla pulida de yeso. -----  
 Yten la facha de la puerta principal que cae á dicho sementerio de talla pulida de yeso, y un San Joseph de vulto en un nicho en medio. -----  
 Yten dos torres de cal y ladrillo cercheria, talla de yesso, y barandas de balaustres con dies campanas de mayor á menor. -----  
 Yten dos puertas en dicha Capilla grandes de dos ojas de roble con postigos, chapas, y llaves: la una que cae al sementario, y la otra que cae á un costado de dicha capilla con fachada de yesso, y talla menuda de menos obra de la principal, y en un nicho de en medio un San Francisco Xavier de vulto -----

Yten dentro de dicha Capilla una puerta pequeña de una hoja de roble con tableros de cedro por donde se sube al coro, sin chapa, ni llave-----

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Yten el coro con su baranda y balaustreria de guarango, y la testera con bancas de roble. -----

Yten un Christo crucificado de vulto en medio de dicha baranda-----

Yten un órgano corriente y una silla. -----

Yten dos ruedas de campanillas. -----

Yten dos puertas de una hoja de roble con tableros de cedro, chapas y llaves corrientes. -----

Yten un lienzo grande pintura de el Cuzco de la Corte Celestial, y coronación de Nuestra Señora, que cubre toda la testera de dicho coro. -----

Yten la Capilla con paredes dobles de cal y ladrillo en barnizada de yeso, con cornizas de lo mismo, de sercheria el cubierto, y ocho tribunas rodeadas de balaustres con sies puertas de dos hojas, y aldabas de fierro -----

Yten unas bancas de roble en ambos costados de dicha capilla.-----

Yten dos pilas pequeñas de piedras de Guamanga para agua bendita, caelas quales la una esta quebrada. -----

Yten una Puerta grande de roble de dos hojas con tableros de cedro, y coronación de lo mismo con remate de hoja de Laurel dorado con cerrojo. -----

Yten una pieza de la misma materia, y fabrica de la Capilla que se comunica por dicha puerta rodeada de bancas, donde se hallan dos féretros, uno grande, y otro pequeño, y paños de difuntos.-----

Yten en dicha pieza tres lienzos grandes con marcos dorados. -----

Yten en el cuerpo de dicha Capilla ocho Lienzos grandes con sus marcos dorados; que contietien la vida de San Jospheh, y assi mismo dies y ocho lienzos pequeños, los treze con su marco dorado, dos con marcos sin dorar, y tres sin marco alguno. -----

Yten un pulpito de cedro de exquisita talla, y un San Xavier encima.-----

Yten dos confesionarios de cedro bien tallados. -----

Yten en uno de los alteres colaterales á la mano derecha es de Nuestra Señora de la Purisima, cuya señora tiene corona, y arco de plata de doze estrellas

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que la rodea, y la luna á los pies, cuyas piasas de plata no se sabe su peso por estar remachadas --

Yten dos santos de vulto negros-----

Yten un crucifixo pequeño de bronce con sus rematitos de plata. Componese dicho altar de ara, manteles, palia, y frontal de crudo estampado, y una alfombra vieja en el pedestal. -----

Yten el segundo altar de la mano izquierda compuesto de ara manteles, palia, y su frontal de crudo estampado: tiene un señor crucificado con potencias de plata, y al lado derecho Nuestra Señora de los Dolores con Diadema y Espada de plata fixas en dicha imagen, y al lado izquierdo San Juan Evangelista, y al pie de la cruz Nuestra Señora de la Purisima, todos de vulto -----

Yten el presbuiterio con barandas de balustres -----

Yten el retablo de el altar mayor de cedro con talla pulida con quatro santos de vulto á los lados, y dos nichos en medio, el uno de Nuestro Padre San Joseph, y el segundo dorado de Nuestra Señora de el Rosario con una corona de plata dorada que pessa onze marcos y siete onzas, que le queda puesta por decencia, y un Rosario de vidro azul con sus dos choclos de perlas. Tiene dicho altar ara, manteles, palia, y un frontal de crudo estampado y dos atreles de caray embultidos de concha de perla.-----

Yten siguesse una puerta de dos hojas de roble con tableros de cedro, chapa, y llave que corresponde á la sacristía, en donde se hallan una messa contresternos de cajones, y alacenas con chapas y llaves, en donde se guargan los ornamentos siguientes. -----  
Primeramente de Nuestra Señora de el Rosario de el altar mayor dos vestidos de brocato, el uno de oro carmesí, y el otro verdegai de plata.-----  
Yten dos paños de cabeza, y dos paros de puños con los que tiene puestos con en cajas y trensillas.-----  
Yten un manto de tajestan carmesí guarnecido de encajes.  
Yten un vestido de brocato de sombras, blanco con un sobre puesto de gaza de oro.-----  
Yten un vestido de brocatillo viejo con una franja ordinaria de plata.-----  
Yten otro dicho de brocato blanco con su manto de Frias y franja de oro -----  
/f.266v/  
Yten dos cortinas de brocatillo. -----  
Yten un singuio de sinta de brocato carmesí de plata con sus arurnas de ilado de plata-----  
Assi mismo se halla en una cajita las alhajas siguientes. Seis rosarios, dos de corales, el uno con dos choclos de perlas, y su relicario de oro, y el segundo engarzado según parece en plata dorada inclusive dos sichos de vidro azules con Padre nuestros de oro, y cruz engastada en lo mismo con un cholo de perlas, y el segundo llano sin guarnición assi mismo inclusive uno de cristal llano, y otro de vidro que parece venturino, que son los seis dichos.-----  
Yten una corona de plata dorada con pesso de cinco marcos y seis onzas que le queda puesta para adorno al Niño Jesus, que tiene en los brazos Nuestra Señora de el Rosario de el altar mayor. ----  
Yten una joya de oro con esmeraldas.-----  
Yten quatro temblequez, que por todo se halla en ellos sinquenta y ocho diamantes, quatro perlas que ñuas, y una grande en uno de los dichos. -----  
Yten seis sortijas de oro con piedras falsas. -----  
Yten tres dichas de oro llanas.-----  
Yten un par de sarcillos de oro, de esmeraldas-----  
Yten una manillas de tumbaga con sobre puestros mui débiles de oro. -----  
Yten se hallaron en dichos cajones dos casullas, una blanca, y otra colorada de Damasco viejas, que se llevaron á la estancia de Locchas perteneciente esta Hazienda.-----  
Yten una dicha verde vieja. -----  
Yten una de genero negro vieja.-----  
Yten dos moradas una mas vieja que otra.-----  
Yten una de tizu blanco-----  
Yten una dicha de brocato blanco de sombras con sus dos dalmaticas. -----  
Yten otra dicha de tizu de seda carmesí ussada. -----  
Yten otra dicha de brocato blanco ussada-----  
Yten una de brocato de sombras bien tratada -----  
Yten otra ddicha blanca de brcato de sombras nuevas. -----  
Yten otra de brocato carmesí nueva.-----  
Yten otra dicha de tizu de seda carmesí-----  
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Yten otra dicha blanca de brocato nueva las mas de las dichas tienen manipulo, estola, y bolsa.---  
Yten tres singulos de sintos de brocato carmesí de plata con sus azuzenas en las caidago de ilado y seda-----

Yten quatro capas de coro: la una de brocato de sombras, otra de tizu blanca con flores de oro; y dos de Damasco, la una negra, y la otra murada viejas con una museta mui vieja.-----  
 Yten dos mangas de la Cruz alta, la una colorada y la otra negra viejas -----  
 Yten un paño de el palio de tizu de sedo, y otro de tastetan carmesí viejo, que sirve al pulpito. ---  
 Yten tres almaises viejos. -----  
 Yten tres frontales el uno de tizu de plata blanco, el segundo de brocato blanco, y el tercero negro de seda viejo -----  
 Yten tres dichos de crudo estampados y uno mas de baqueta. -----  
 Yten ocho pálias de varios generos entre viejas y usadas, y una mas de terciopelo carmesí bordada de plata.-----  
 Yten siete alvas entre nuevas, usadas, y viejas con sus guarniciones de puntas y encajes al respective de sus lienzos.-----  
 Yten seis amitos viejos á excepción de uno de clacin con sus puntas de fabrica.-----  
 Yten quatro manteles de lienzo usados y viejos -----  
 Yten quatro missales dos razonables, y los otros dos viejissimos con un manual assi mismo. ----  
 Yten una alfombra grande y otra pequeña, y dos etruses viejos. Y de todo lo dicho, lo que queda para el usso de essa Capilla consta de la memoria que le queda al Administrador de esta Hazienda. -----  
 Yten sirve de adorno en dicha sacristía dos bancas de roble de firme. -----  
 Yten quinze la minitas de varias advocaciones, y sus, y sus marquitos, á distinción unos de otros.  
 Yten sinco liensos grandes, y quatro menores.-----  
 Yten una lamina de Nuestra Señora de Belen con vidriera y marco de cristal con cantoneras de plata dorada -----  
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 Yten un copejo mediano. -----  
 Yten una mesita pequeña con una silla poltrona de baqueta. -----  
 Yten un atril de madera con su pie. -----  
 Yten un cruzifixo mediano con su peaña de madera -----  
 Yten yuna puerta y ventana que corresponde afuera con su chapa y llave. -----  
 Yten por dos puertas de roble con tableros de cedro colaterales al altar mayor de entra á una pieza ó almacen, en que se hallo lo siguiente: nueve paños de cordellate negro para lutos. -----  
 Yten noventa y dos canes de guarango con guarnicion -----  
 Yten dose mallas de madera con barniz blanco con butidas de vidro, las mas de ellas quebradas. -  
 Yten una caja grande con chapa y sin llave en que se hallo lo siguiente. -----  
 Primeramente una lampara que servia al altar mayor. -----  
 Yten una lamina de Jesus, María y Joseph.-----  
 Yten dos dichas con las palabras de la consagración y en evangelio de San Juan. -----  
 Yten dos ciriales con sus candeleros.-----  
 Yten dos campanillas. -----  
 Yten dos atriles.-----  
 Yten un azetre con su hisopo. -----  
 Yten dos Coronas de la Virgen. -----  
 Yten dos casoletas. -----  
 Yten una paloma de plata dorada.-----  
 Yten quarto blandones. -----  
 Yten siete mazioletas grandes. -----

Yten veinte y quarto dichas medidianas.-----  
Yten un hostiario que queda en dicha Capilla.-----  
Yten quarto candeleros.-----  
Yten quarto marioletas mas.-----  
Yten ocho mallitas pequeñas.-----  
Yten dos yncensarios y una naveta sin cuchara para el usso de dicha capilla.-----  
Yten un cerco de plata dorada con doze estrellas y correspondientes rayos de Nuestra Señora de el Rosario.-----  
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Yten una media coronita sin dorar, y una meda luna mui pequeña.-----  
Yten un par de vinageras dorados con su salvillas.-----  
Yten la Cruz de el Guion.-----  
Yten un Lamprarin.-----  
Yten dos arañas. Todo lo dicho de plata, lo qual fue pessado en una romana defectura, y vieja de esta dicha Hazienda y monta su peso quinientos y sinquenta marcos neto salvo el yerro que ocassioni dicha romana, incluyendose en el numero dicho de los marcos, que pesan dichas alhajas un incensario con su naveta sin cuchara y un hostiario para el uno de dicha capilla á exepcion de los varios sagrados, que por mayor veneracion no se pessaron, y son los siguientes. --  
Primeramente tres calizes con sus patenas de plata, y uno mas que queda fuera para el sacrificio de la missa-----  
Yten una custodia de plata labrada.-----  
Yten un relicario de plata dorada enforma de custodia con dos reliquias, una de San Francisco de Borja, y otra de San Joseph.-----  
Ytenm una pixide con su copon, tapa de plata dorada, y un porta viatico.-----  
Yten tres ternos de crusmeras, el uno en su salvilla, y los dos restantes en sus cajonsitos de madera con sus punzones.-----  
[al margen izquierda: Vivienda Principal]  
Primeramente la Ramada que haze sombra á la vivienda principal con madres orcones, y barras de guarango con su cuvierto de carrizo, y pilares de adove, que acompaña.-----  
Yten en dicha ramada dos mesas, y dos bancas de roble Viejas.  
Yten la pieza principal de la vivienda con tres puertas de una hoja de roble y tableros de Chile con chapa y llaves, y un cerrojo todo corriente-----  
Yten tres ventanas de balaustres de guarango con puerta de dos hojas de roble, y aldabas de fierro-----  
Yten una messa de cajon grande con pies torneados de guaranga, y tablas de Chile.-----  
Yten dos mesitas pequeñas de table de Chile con pies lisos de roble, y la una con cajon,-----  
Yten un estante pequeño vacio, un canapé Viejo y sies sillas aprensadas.-----  
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Yten un reloj no corriente de campanilla en caja de table de Chile.-----  
Yten una alcoba de table de Chile con su zeneja de moldura, y un catre de cuero.-----  
Yten otras ocho sillas aprensadas servidas:-----  
Yten una estampa con su marco de madera, y otra de menor marco, y dies y seis estampas de humo entre grandes y chicas, todo viejo, y dicha pieza con todas las demas de esta vivienda, de pared senzilla y el cuvierto de estara de carrizo de tijera de barras de maguei, orcones y madres de guarango.-----  
Yten un catre de cuero, y una barbacoa de cañas de firme en orcones bastos de guarango.-----

Yten unas tablas de Chile puestas sobre citaras de adove en dos ordenes.-----  
 Yten una pieza que sirve de refectorio con una puerta vieja de dos hojas de roble con unos pocos  
 clavos de bronze con aldaba solo.-----  
 Yten otra dicha de dos hojas de roble con chapa y llave en razada de table de Chile. -----  
 Yten dos ventanas de balaustres lisos de guarango de dos hojas de roble enrazadas en table de  
 Chile, y sus aldabas de fierro. -----  
 Yten dos alazenas compuestas de dos hojas con cerrojo y llave corriente, y su cuvierto de estera  
 de Carrizo de tijera, orcones y madre de guarango -----  
 Yten un lienzo grande de San Ygnacio, otro menor de nuestra Señora de Dolores, y otro mas  
 chico de San Cayetano, todos viejos. -----  
 Yten una messa grande de guarango vieja -----  
 Yten otra pieza con puerta de una hoja de roble con su chapa y llave corriente con otra mas en  
 la misma forma con su cerrojo y aldaba.-----  
 Yten dos ventanas con balaustres lizos de guarango y puertas de dos hojas con sus aldabas de  
 fierro en razada en table de Chile, el cuvierto de dicha pieza de tijera con cuvierto de Carrizo,  
 madres, y orcones de guarango. -----  
 Yten un carcel con pilares de guarango cuviertos  
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 de table de Chile -----  
 Yten una messa grande vieja con dos cajones sin chapa y un estante encima assi mismo viejo y  
 vacio con una banca de roble nueva -----  
 Yten otra pieza con dos puertas de una hoja de roble, la una con chapa y llave, y la otra con  
 cerrojo, con dos ventanas de balaustres lozos de guarango y puertas de dos hojas de roble  
 enrazadas en table de Chile, una alazena de dos hojas con chapa y llave y el cuvierto de esta  
 pieza de tijera, estera de carrizo, orcones madres de guarango forrados de table de Chile; una  
 messa grande de roble con pies torneados de guarango, y su cajon sin chapa.-----  
 Yten otra messa larga vieja con dos cajones pequeños sin chapa, y dos catres de cuero con dos  
 sillas prensadas nuevas y otras dos viejas. -----  
 Yten una pieza que sirve de dezpensa con puerta de dos hojas vieja con clavos de bronze, chapa  
 y cerrojo corrientes. -----  
 Yten quatro ventanas de berjes de guarango sin puertas. -----  
 Yten el cuvierto de tijera con estezas decarruzo, orcones, madres, y baras de guarango, y en  
 dicha piesa se halla lo siguiente. -----  
 Primeramente una tina grande de table de Chile con sus cinchos de fierro y brocal de olivo. -----  
 Yten dos romanas Viejas. -----  
 Yten un fardo de tobacco de saña con media petaca de jabon -----  
 Yten un gato de suspender bigas. -----  
 Yten onze arrobas de fierro de platina-----  
 Yten un cajon de herrajes de Ynglaterra, que sirven para puertas con siete arrobas en bruto  
 pessado en la romana defetura. -----  
 Yten una cadena de fierro, y un cincho de jundicion.-----  
 Yten un tacho y almines de cobre inserbible -----  
 Yten una petaca vieja con cadena -----  
 Yten otra pieza con puerta de una hoja de table de Chile; una ventana con balaustres lisos de  
 guarango con puertas de dos hojas errazadas de tablas de Chile con aldaba de fierro. Y otra  
 ventana chi

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quita de la misma material y forma el cubierto de tijera con estera de Carrizo con madres  
horcones, y quartones de guarango. -----  
Yten una messa llan con carpeta de baguea -----  
Yten quarto sillas aprensadas ussadas. -----  
Yten otra pieza despensa con puerta grande de roble vieja con clavron de bronce, chapa, llave, y  
cerrojo corriente, cubierto de estera de Carrizo, baras madres y horcones de guarango sin puertas.  
Y en ella se hallan catorse tinajones grandes para guardar [h]arinas, y nueve tinajones de azeite,  
las seis llenas dos medias, y la una vacia que en ellas tendra de azeite catorze arrobas. -----  
Yten unas balanzas desarmadas con cruz, y dos pesos de bronce de dos arrobas cada uno. -----  
Yten un cajón de chuño, mas otro de dicho lleno. -----  
Yten una messa de caminar y seis silletas.-----  
Yten una rueda de fierro de labrar cera -----  
Yten un turrón de sebo enbruto, y varias marquetas derretido con treinta arrobas mas ó menos. ---  
Yten dos perotes de martillo usados, uno grande y otro mediano -----  
Yten un cajón de vidros casi entero.-----  
Yten un mil salones de cabra. -----  
Yten setenta y sinco arrobas de cezina de baca. -----  
Yten dies y seis arrobas de algodón.-----  
Yten una messa vieja puesta de firme con pies fe guarango. -----  
Yten una pieza con puerta vieja de una hoja con chapa y llave corriente, y una ventana e berjes  
de guarango con puerta de dos hojas de tabla de chile, el cubierto de totora con baras de magueí,  
madres y horcones de guarango. -----  
Yten otra ventana semejante á la dicha. -----  
Yten la piera de amasijo con puerta de una hoja de tabla de Chile vieja. Ventana de berjes de  
guarango, y la dicha puerta con chapa, llave, y cerrojo corriente -----  
Yten el cubierto con estera de carrizo, baras de magueí maltratadas, madres, y horcones de  
guarango. -----  
Yten otra puerta vieja de una hoja enrazada de tabla de chile sin chapa, y con armellas. -----

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Yten una arteza grande, un poyo cubierto de tablas viejas, una messa de firme de tabla de Chile,  
dos bateas, dos horcones, y dos veleres de madera. -----  
Yten una ramada de totora maltratada con horcones de guarango, madres, y baras de sauce, y dos  
mangles donde se hacen velas. -----  
Yten la cocina con puerta de una hoja de roble con tabla de Chile, su chapa y llave, y tirador  
corriente con una ventana de berjes de guarango sin puertas. -----  
Yten el cuvierro de estereras de carrizo, varas, madres y horcones de guarango.-----  
Yten otra puerta vieja de una hoja con tabla de Chile, chapa y llave corriente.-----  
Yten una ventana de berjes de guarango con puerta de dos hojas de tabla de Chile.-----  
Yten un forgon con su chimenea, un asador grande, una parrilla, un almiros grande, otro  
pequeño, un perolio viejo de martillo, machete y picadera.-----  
Yten en la vivienda antigua una pieza sin puerta con las paredes de molidas, los techos medio  
caidos, y alguna madera de guarango buena.-----  
Yten dos quartos abandonados, el uno sin puerta ni techo de madres, y horcones de guarango  
bueno, y el otro de el mismo modo y con puerta.-----



Yten la despensa de el maíz con puerta de una hoja de roble vieja, tableros de tablas de Chile, chapa y llave corriente, y el cubierto de totora, y barras de guarango, espinos y mangles, madres y horcones de guarango, y varias separaciones de adobes. -----

Yten una mediada de media fanega de tabla de Chile. -----

Yten una pieza con puerta de una hoja de roble, y tableros de tabla de Chile viejas sin chapa, y con armellas, y una alazena con puerta de dos hojas de tabla de Chile. -----

Yten el cubierto de estera de carrizo, viejo, madres, horcones, y barras de guarango: dos catres de cuero, y una mesita de firme. -----

Yten otro cuarto con puerta de una hoja de roble  
/f.270v/  
con tableros de tabla de Chile, chapa, y llave corriente todo viejo. -----

Yten una ventana de balaustres de guarango, puertas de dos hojas de robles, y tableros de lo propio. -----

Yten el cubierto de estera de carrizo vieja y rota con barras, madres, y horcones de guarango. -----

Yten una mesa ordinaria vieja de tabla de Chile, y armazón de guarango. -----

Yten tres sillas aprensadas, y dos catres de cuero.

Yten otro cuarto que sirve de guardar la passa con puerta de una hoja enrazada en guarango con armellas, y candado grande corriente; con techo de totora, barras, y madres de guarango en ella ochenta botijuelas empegadas, y dies y seis en blanco, setenta y dos bateas de vendimia, y sesenta cinchos de fierro que sirve para pipas de madera. -----

Yten tres hojas sueltas de ventana. -----

Yten otra puerta que se comunica á otra pieza de tabla de Chile de una hoja con cerrojo, chapa y llave corriente, con madres, horcones y barras de guarango, cubierto de totora, viejo. -----

Yten en esta pieza se hallan sinquenta y quatro petacas de passa mollar. -----

Yten una ramada con cubierto de totora maltratado, madres, y horcones de guarango, y barras de sauce delante de la capilla vieja, que fue de esta Hazienda -----

Yten bajo de esta ramada un torno de carpin teria descompuesto y un banco. -----

Yten un molejon con su piedra armada. -----

/f.271r/  
Yten una angarilla de cargar maíz, y ocho dichas de vendimia. -----

Yten treze piedras canteadas, y algunas de ellas maltratadas. -----

Yten la puerta de dicha capilla antigua de dos hojas viejas de roble, y tableros de chile con armellas y sin candado. -----

Yten el techo arruinado en la mayor parte con madres horcones, y quartones de guarango. -----

Yten veinte y tres ventanas nuevas de balaustres de guarango torneadas, puertas de dos hojas de roble, y tableros de cedro sueltas en dicha pieza. -----

Yten otras dos dichas de berjes de guarango viejas con puertas de dos hojas de roble también sueltas. -----

Yten otra ventana vieja con falta de la mitad de berjes de guarango. -----

Yten una puerta de dos hojas de roble, tableros de cedro, y marco de guarango sin engonzar. -----

Yten otra puerta grande de dos hojas de roble con tableros de cedro sin chapa. -----

Yten otra puerta de dos hojas con marcos de guarango enrazadas en tabla de Chile sin chapa. -----

Yten otra puerta de dos hojas enrazada en cedro, en armazos, y marco de guarango sin chapa. -----

Yten otra puerta de dos hojas de roble, y tableros de cedro sin chapa. -----

Yten una ventana de dos hojas enrazada de tabla de chile con marco y balaustres de guarango. -----

Yten una ventana volada sin balaustres con armezón de roble en lo exterior, y en lo inferior de guarango. -----

Yten dos hojas de puerta sueltas de roble y tableros de cedro. -----

Yten una armazón vieja de roble de puertas de dos hojas grandes, que estuvieron enrazadas en tabla de Chile. -----

Yten veinte y seis columnas nuevas de guarango. -----

Yten otras treze más de dichas columnas menores todas sin servir nuevas. -----

Yten doscientos veinte y nueve quartones de guarango labrados y nuevos. -----

Yten un tendal donde se escoge la uva para el vino, de cal y laxas de piedra. -----

Yten una ramada mal cubierta de totora que cubre de el sol los lagares con horcones, y madres de guarango. -----

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Yten seis lagaretas, dos de ellas con suelos de madera, y las quatro de cal y ladrillo. -----

Yten tres vigas en dichos lagares con sus usillos y demás menesteres, y una ventana pequeña con su puerta de una hoja de tabla de Chile que cae sobre la puntalla con sus armellas y candado.

Yten un posuelo de cal y ladrillo, donde se lavan las botijas.-----

Yten la puerta principal de las bodegas, que están inmediatas á los lagares, donde, de dos hojas de roble con clavos de bronce, con chapa, cerrojo, y llave corriente, y una cadena de fierro para candado. -----

Yten el cubierto de dicha pieza de totora, con horcones, madre, y quartones de guarango, y esta dicha pieza está la puntalla con un posuelo de cal y ladrillo. -----

Yten quatro tinajones de guardar yeso molido y un escaño viejo de tabla de Chile. -----

Yten en dicha pieza y en otras diferentes se hallan tres mil seiscientas botijas mosteras. -----

Yten una puerta de dos hojas en razadas de tabla de Chile con chapa, cerrojo, y llave, a que cae á otra bodega, cuyo cubierto es de totora con horcones, madre y barras de guarango, y una ventana de berjes de lo mismo. -----

Yten otra puerta de dos hojas enrazada de tabla de Chile con cerrojo, chapa y llave corriente, que comunica á otra bodega, cuyo cubierto es de totora con horcones, madres, y barras de guarango. --

Yten otra puerta vieja enrazada de tabla de Chile, que comunica á otra bodega sin chapa, ni llave, la qual tiene el cubierto de totora maltratado con horcones madres, y barras de guarango, y algunas de espino, viejo todo. -----

Yten otra puerta de dos hojas de roble enrazada de tabla de Chile con cerrojo; chapa, y llave corriente y el cubierto de totora maltratado y otra segunda puntalla con posuelo de cal y ladrillo. -

Yten una puerta pequeña sobre la puntalla con dos hojas con tableros de tabla de Chile con armellas y candado. -----

Yten dos ventanas de berjes de guarango sin puertas. -----

/f.272r/

Yten una tinaja de trasegar vinos.-----

Yten otra puerta de dos hojas enrazada en tabla de Chile con cerrojo, chapa, y llave corriente, que comunica á otra bodega con cubierto de totora, madres, y horcones de guarango, y barra de lo mismo maltratadas con tres ventanas de berjes. -----

Yten otra puerta de dos hojas enrazada de tabla de Chile cerrojo, chapa, y llave corriente, que comunica á una bodega cuyo cubierto es de totora, horcones madres de guarango, y barras de espino, y de guarango algo apolilladas. -----

Yten una tinaja de trasegar. -----

Yten una artesa que sirve de lo propio.-----

Yten una ventana de berjes de guarango. -----  
 Yten otra puerta de dos hojas de tabla de Chile con aldaba y cerrojo que comunica á una bodega, cuyo cubierto es de totora en horcones, madres, y quartones de guarango. -----  
 Yten dos ventanas de berjes de guarango. -----  
 Yten una puerta de tabla de Chile de una hoja que corresponde á una de las bodegas dichas con armillas y candado, y otra puerta mas de dos hojas que corresponde al corral con candado y cerrojo. -----  
 Yten la aguardentera con cerco de adobes maltratado de el salitre por el pie. -----  
 Yten dos puertas grandes de balaustres de guarango con cerrojo, chapa, y llave corrientes. -----  
 Yten nueve pailas corrientes con falcas de bronce fundido, y cabezas de cobre de martillo, y cañones de dicho cobre de martillio. -----  
 Yten el cajón de dicha aguardentera de cal y ladrillo con sus acequias de lo mismo. -----  
 Yten dies y seis pilares de cal y ladrillo, que solo tienen una ramada hecho de madres de guarango, y mangles, y cañas de Guayaquil, y estera de carruzo. -----  
 Yten tres tinajas grandes, y nueve botijas que sirven de enfriaderas. -----  
 Yten quatro ventanas de berjes de guarango sin puertas. -----  
 Yten doscientas y sesenta botijas empegadas. -----  
 Yten la botijeria con su ramada de totora maltratada  
 /f.272v/  
 Horcones, madres, y baras de guarango, todo ruin con dos puertas viejas, y ocho ruedas corrientes. -----  
 Yten un molino con puerta de una hoja enrazada de tabla de Chile, chapa, y llave corriente, y el cubierto de estero de carrizo, horcones madres de guarango todo nuevo. -----  
 Yten una ventana de berjes de guarango, y puertas de dos hojas de lo mismo. -----  
 Yten dos paradas de molino una mediana, y otra menor corrientes. -----  
 [al margen izquierda: Herramienta]  
 Yten la herramienta que tiene el carpintero, que la asiste, lo siguiente. -----  
 Primeramente una sierra armada. -----  
 Yten una hacha. -----  
 Yten una gurbia. -----  
 Yten dos hojas de sierra sin armar. -----  
 Yten una azuela gurbia. -----  
 Yten otra dicha llana. -----  
 Yten seis formones. -----  
 Yten dos junteras. -----  
 Yten un cepillo. -----  
 Yten un canalador. -----  
 Yten un martillo. -----  
 Yten un gramil. -----  
 Yten dos bancos de carpintería y un torno. -----  
 Yten un molejon con su piedra corriente. -----  
 Yten una alcoba de madera corriente dentro la pieza de el molino. -----  
 Yten dos gaveras de hacer adobes. -----  
 Yten quatro juegos de angarillas, y seis de garabatos. -----  
 Yten una piedra solera, y otra voladora sueltas. -----  
 Yten dos hornos de fundición. -----

Yten doze alvercas de cal y ladrillo para colar barro. -----  
 Yten quatro hornos de cozer botijas y los tres de ellos llenos de boticas cocidas. -----  
 Yten tres hornillas con sus pailas de fundición corrientes para cocer brea. -----  
 Yten un pozuelo de brea refinada con que se empegaron quatro sientas, y quatro botijas costeñas de vino. -----  
 Yten una biga de guarango para lagar sin usso. -----  
 /f.273r/  
 Yten un corral grande de mulas con cerca de adobe, puerta de dos hojas de berjes de guarango y candado grande corrientes. -----  
 Yten un quarto caído con puerta vieja de tablas de Chile sin llave con horcones, y madres de guarango apollillado. -----  
 Yten un quarto donde se guarda el yesso con puerta vieja de tabla de Chile, llave de palo con horcones madres, y baras de guarango; el cubierto de totora caído. -----  
 Yten otro dicho enfrente en que vive el Caporal con su puerta de tabla de Chile de una hoja vieja sin llave, con horcones, madres, y baras de Guarango, y su cubierto de totora maltratado. -----  
 Yten otro que le sigue con postigo viejo con chapa y llave corriente, con horcones, madre, y baras de espino, el cubierto de totora mui viejo. -----  
 Yten otro dicho donde se guarda la brea, con puerta vieja enrazada de tabla de chile, con cerrojo, chapa, y llave corriente, techo de estera de totora; horcones y madre de guarango, y sus baras de espino. -----  
 Yten en dicha pieza se hallan once panes de brea de chile con peso de treinta y siete arrobas, y veinte libras. -----  
 Yten un pan de Nicaragua con peso de tres arrobas y tres libras. -----  
 Yten un texo de amolape, que pesa quatro arrobas quince libras. -----  
 Yten un jurron y una botija de brea dicha con dies y seis arrobas bruto. -----  
 Yten una botija de polvora ordinaria para las funciones de Yglessia. -----  
 Yten otro quatron donde se guardan los aparejos de la requa con puerta de una hoja de tabla de Chile con chapa y llave corrientel; una ventana de berjes con puerta de dos hojas con aldaba de fierro, horcones, madres, y baras de guarango, y su cubierto de totora mui viejo y maltratado. ---  
 Yten otro dicho en que vive el otro Caporal con puerta de guarango enrazada de tabla de Chile, chapa y llave corriente; una ventana de berjes de guarango con puerta de dos hojas de tabla de Chile con aldaba dos sillas viejas, y el cubierto de totora mui viejo, con horcones, madres, y baras de guarango. -----  
 Yten otra dicho en que se alojan forasteros con puerta viejas  
 /f.273v/  
 de guarango y tabla de Chile; chapa, y llave corriente, con una ventana de berjes de guarango, y puertas de dos hojas de tabla de Chile con aldaba; horcones, madres, y baras de guarango, y cubierto de totora maltratado. -----  
 Yten una mesa pequeña con pies lisos de guarango y tablas de Chile, y un catre de cuero. -----  
 Yten un quarto que sirve de Herreria con puerta de una hoja de tabla de Chile, chiapa, cerrojo, y llave corriente, cubierto de totora mui viejo, horcones, madres, y baras de guarango. -----  
 Yten una fragua con dos fuelles. -----  
 Yten un yanque. -----  
 Yten una bugorria de bronze. -----  
 Yten quatro machos. -----  
 Yten dos martillos. -----

Yten quatro tenazas.-----  
Yten una tijera, un espeter, un allegador, una tajadera, una clavera, y un taladro. -----  
Yten treze limas, dos zinceles, un rompedor, y una broca, un martillo de piña. -----  
Yten un tornillo, un candado viejo, quatro tubillos, y un pan de estaño. -----  
Yten un galpón cercado de pared de adobe con botijas por caballete, con puerta de guarango, chapa, y llave corriente, y sobre la dicha puerta una campana mediana.-----  
Yten una colca con puerta de una hoja de tabla de Chile. -----  
Yten otra puerta chiquita de una hoja de tabla de Chile. -----  
Yten otra puerta de roble que comunica á otra pieza donde [h]ay una tahona con rueda y piedras corriente y el cubierto de esteras de totora; horcones, y madres de guarango, y baras de todo genero de madera ridícula. -----  
Yten en dicha pieza seis tablas de vitola y una puerta vieja enrazada de tabla de Chile suelta. ----  
Yten un corredor rodeado de balaustres con dies y seis arcos de cercheria, que estriban en columnas torneadas de guarango, simentada en vasas [varas?] de piedra, y el cubierto de tabla de Chile con madres y quartones de roble. -----  
/f.274r/  
Yten una enfermería de mujeres en ladrillada con puertas de roble de dos hojas. -----  
Yten seis ventanas de balaustres de guarango con puertas de dos hojas enrazadas de roble. -----  
Yten en dicha pieza veinte camas de firme con pies derechos de guarango labrados simentados en vasas [¿varas?] de piedra.-----  
Ytne el cubierto de tabla de Chile con madre, quartones, y sintas de roble. -----  
Yten una puerta de una hoja de roble con chapa y llave corriente, que comunica a una pieza de unciones. -----  
Yten dos ventanas de balaustres de guarango con puertas enrazadas de roble, y el cubierto de tabla de Chile con madres y quartones de roble.-----  
Yten una puerta de dos hojas, digo de una hoja enrazada de tabla de Chile con chapa y llave corriente de la pieza que sirve de botica, y en ella [h]ay dos ventanas de balaustres de guarango con puertas de dos hojas enrazadas de tabla de Chile. -----  
Yten el cubierto de tablas de Chile, madres y quartones de roble. -----  
Yten un estante que rodea toda la pieza con cajones de roble, y botes de medicamentos en el resto de el. -----  
Yten otra puerta grande de dos hojas de balaustres de guarango, que dá entrada á un saguan, el qual tiene marco cubierto de yeso, y dicha puerta con llave y cerrojo corriente. -----  
Yten el cubierto de dicho saguan de tabla de Chile y madres con quartones de roble. -----  
Yten en el patio empedrado á que se comunica dicha pieza [h]ay un horno y fogón de cozina, y una alacenas de dos hojas enrazada de tablas de Chile.-----  
Yten en dicho patio [h]ay una pieza para paridas con puerta de roble de una hoja con chapa y llave corrientes. -----  
Ytne dos ventanas de balaustres con puertas de dos hojas de tabla de Chile, y el cubierto de dicha tabla con madres y quartones de roble.-----  
Ytne sinco camas de firme con pilares de guarango labrado. -----  
Yten quatro cunas de madera, y dos sillas de parir. -----  
Yten otra pieza con puerta de una hoja de tabla de Chile, chapa, y llave corriente, y otra dicha puerta semejane. -----  
/f.274v/

Yten dos ventanas de balaustres de guarango con puertas de dos hojas enrazadas de tabla de Chile. -----  
 Yten el cubierto con madres y quartones de roble. -----  
 Yten un carcel de tabla de Chile, y un catre de cuero. -----  
 Yten otra enfermería de hombres con puertas de dos hojas enrazadas de roble, chapa y llave corriente. -----  
 Yten seis ventanas de balaustres de guarango con puertas de dos hojas enrazadas en tabla de Chile. -----  
 Yten el cubierto de dicha pieza de tablas de Chile con madres y quartones de roble. -----  
 Yten veinte camas de firme con pies derechos de guarango labrado que suben hasta el techo. ----  
 Yten una puerta de una hoja enrazada de tabla de Chile que comunica ás la pieza de unciones, la qual tiene dos ventanas de balaustres con puertas de dos hojas enrazadas de tablas de Chile. ----  
 Yten el cubierto de dicha pieza de tabla de Chile con madres y quartones de roble. -----  
 Yten seis camas de firme, y divididas como todas las de mas con pies derechos de guarango labrado; su cielo de madera, y todo lo demás con tablas de Chile.-----  
 Yten otra pieza que tiene las paredes concluidas de adobe doble y el techo armado de madres, horcones, y baras de guarango, y sin cubierto ni puertas. -----  
 Yten en el patio una ramada que sirve de pesebre con horcones, madres, y baras de gaurango y cubierto de carrizo. -----  
 Yten veinte y quatro piezas de guarango labrados en la ramada de la enfermerías, que estan sueltos. -----  
 Yten assi misimo dos ventanas de balaustres de guarango con puertas de dos hojas sin usso. -----  
 Yten una huerta cerrada de pared con dos puertas viejas: la una de dos hojas con cerrojo, con varios arboles frutales, un platanar, y bien limpia. -----  
 [al margen izquierda: Herramienta]  
 Yten ochenta y tres lampas. -----  
 Yten ocho hachas. -----  
 Yten seis machetes. -----  
 Yten dos azadores, y dos barretas. -----  
 Yten sinquenta y una hozes. -----  
 /f.275r/  
 Yten seis embuda de cobre batidos, dos espumaderas, y una cuchara de lo mismo. -----  
 Yten un cubo de lo mismo, que sirve para vacear la brea en las botijas de empeigo. -----  
 Yten treinta y ocho podaderas. -----  
 Yten quatro hachas pequeñas de podar. -----  
 Yten dosientos carneros de Castilla. -----  
 Yten treinta y ocho mulas aparejadas de reata á bajo, y sus aros con dos pares de collares de bronce, y un par de pretales con sus cascabeles. -----  
 Yten sinquenta y dos mulas en pelo, y una madrina con su esquila. -----  
 Yten dies mulas viejas mas de el manejo servil de la Hazienda. -----  
 Yten ocho burros para lo mismo. -----  
 Yten quarenta y nueve torillos para el gasto de la Hazienda. -----  
 Yten un Caballo moro aguilillo para el servicio de el administrador. -----  
 Yten dos puertas grandes de berjes que sirven á la viña con armellas, sin candado, con una quincha de ramas de espino, que sirve de cerco á toda la viña, con otra puerta mas de berjes de guarango que cae á la parte de el rio con candado. -----

Yten la viña que por una parte linda con la casa vivienda por la cavezera. Con el camino que ba para la hazienda de la Ventilla por el costado de abajo: con el rio por el piucon el camino real de Nasca, y por el costado de arriba con los serros y camino real de San Xavier. Y dicha viña tiene sesenta y dos quarteles, con sesenta y un mil, y novesientos cepas entre nuevas, y viejas, y caídas en tierra; con mas quinientas sesenta ty cinco cepas tendidas en barbacoas, y ochosientos quinze sarmintos recién presios, que todos montan sesenta y tres mil dosientas noventa. Y aunque el ámbito que contienen los linderos, es capaz de mucho mayor numero de cepas; solo [h]ay las /f.275v/

expressadas, por que [h]ay muchos huecos desocupados de las que se han secado en tiempos antecedentes, y en este año, por el mucho salitre, grama, Carrizo, humedades que [h]ay en el terreno. -----

#### Esclavos de la Hazienda de San Joseph

[al margen izquierdo: Esclavos] Primeramente Feliciano Coronado invalido caporal que fue de esta Hazienda de setenta y cinco años. -----

Yten Tiburcio Coronado segundo Caporal de quarenta y dos años. -----

Yten Domingo Nuñez de sesenta y quatro años.-----

Yten Valentin Figueroa de sesenta y cinco años. -----

Yten Juan Congo de setenta años. -----

Yten Diego Ygnacio de sinquenta y cinco años.-----

Yten Romualdo de Jesus de sesenta y cinco años.-----

Yten Faustino de la Rosa de quarenta y cinco años.-----

Yten Anselmo de San Marcos de quarenta y cinco años.-----

Yten Joseph Antonio Carabali de sesenta años.-----

Yten Joseph Camacho de setenta y cinco años. -----

Yten Juan Ciriaco de quarenta y cinco años. -----

Yten Salvador Mina de sinquenta y seis años. -----

Yten Domingo Congo de sesenta años. -----

Yten Christobal Baptista Villegas de sinquenta y cinco años. -----

Yten Ventura Angola de quarenta y cinco años. -----

Yten Miguel de Figueroa inútil de setenta años.-----

Yten Santiago Olmedo de sinquenta y dos años. -----

Yten Ventura de la Natividad de quarenta y cinco años. -----

Yten Diego Estanislao de quarenta años. -----

Yten Juan Muñoz de quarenta y cinco años. -----

Yten Joseph Xauregui de sinquenta y quatro años.-----

Yten Cayetano de Jesus de quarenta y cinco años. -----

Yten Marcelo Varrutia de quarenta años.-----

Yten Miguel de el Espíritu Santo de trenta y cinco años.-----

Yten Salvador Agapito de treinta y cinco años.-----

Yten Antonio de el Castillo de sinquenta años.-----

Yten Ygnacio Congo Vergara de sinquenta años. -----

Yten Joseph Antonio Canga de quarenta y cinco años.-----

Yten Antonio Copacabana de quarenta y dos años. -----

/f.276r/

Yten Pedro Joseph Alcantara de veinte años. -----

Yten Miguel de Loyola que fue con el Padre Armendarizo de sinquenta años.-----  
 Yten Francisco Xavier de quarenta años. -----  
 Yten Antonio de San Joseph de quarenta años. -----  
 Yten Andres Corsino de quarenta y dos años. -----  
 Yten Manuel Ames de quarenta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Juan Francisco Rexis de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Matheo Mauricio de sinquenta y ocho años.-----  
 Yten Manuel Negron de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Joseph Miguel de sinquenta y quatro años. -----  
 Yten Alexandro de la Natividad de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Pedro Martir de treinta años. -----  
 Yten Victoriano de Jesus de treinta y dos años.-----  
 Yten Pedro Pablo de el Campo de veinte y seis años. -----  
 Yten Policarpo de Figueroa de treinta años.-----  
 Yten Galo de Figueroa de veinte y quatro años. -----  
 Yten Joachin de San Joseph de veinte y quatro años.-----  
 Yten Joachin Salzedo de sinquenta y cinco años.-----  
 Yten Marcelo de San Joseph de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Baltahazar de los Reyes de sinquenta años. -----  
 Yten Dionirio Areespagita de treinta y quatro años. -----  
 Yten Bernardino de Senta de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Augustin Elmeto, y Olmedo de quarenta años.-----  
 Yten Joseph Carabali de treinta y cinco años.-----  
 Yten Eusebio Subieta de treinta años. -----  
 Yten Francisco Congo de sinquenta y dos años.-----  
 Yten Antonio Carabali de trinta y ocho años. -----  
 Yten Joseph Arias de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Manuel Uribe de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Antonio Rodriguez de sinquenta y dos años. -----  
 Yten Pasqual Bailon de treinta y quatro años. -----  
 Yten Lorenzo Flores de quarenta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Sebastian Joseph de quarenta años. -----  
 Yten Antonio Xavier de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Mathias Ygnacio de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Joseph Theodoro de dies y ocho años.-----  
 Yten Juan Bozal de dies y siete años. -----  
 /f.276v/  
 Yten Anselmo Sotero de treintea años.-----  
 Yten Francisco Figueroa de sesenta y cinco años.-----  
 Yten Antonio Correa de treinta años.-----  
 Yten Victorino de los Ynocentes de treinta y dos años. -----  
 Yten Leon de la Resurreccion de veinte y dos años. -----  
 Yten Favian Joseph de veinte y dos años. -----  
 Yten Joseph Olmo de treinta y seis años. -----  
 Yten Pablo Mendes de sesenta años. -----  
 Yten Francisco Subieta de setenta años. -----



Yten Gregorio Palacios de quarenta años. -----  
 Yten Anselmo de la Madre de Dios de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Joseph Antonio Aumonte de sinquenta años. -----  
 Yten Juan Prospero de veinte y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Estevan de Jesus de veinte y quatro años. -----  
 Yten Joachin Armendaris ausente, que fue con el Procurador de veinte años. -----  
 Yten Maximo Fernando de dies y nueve años. -----  
 Yten Juan Joseph Mina inútil de setenta años. -----  
 Yten Francisco Loyola inútil de setenta años. -----  
 Yten Xavier Mina inútil de setenta años. -----  
 Yten Ygnacio Passadas inútil de setenta años. -----  
 Yten Antonio de Jesus de quarenta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Sebastian Collantes de sinquenta años. -----  
 Yten Juan de Dios Mina de treinta y dos años. -----  
 Yten Pedro de Olavide de quarenta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Ygnacio Herrera de sinquenta años. -----  
 Yten Joachin Pizarro de sinquenta años. -----  
 Yten Joachin Carabali de sesenta y dos años. -----  
 Yten Francisco de el Campo de quarenta años. -----  
 Yten Manuel de la Natividad de Treinta años. -----  
 Yten Juan Antonio Cueto de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Antonio de San Joseph de Nasca de treinta y dos años. -----  
 Yten Mansueto de Figueroa de treinta y dos años. -----  
 Yten Espiridion de la Concepcion de veinte y seis años. -----  
 Yten Jorge de San Joseph de veinte y quatro años. -----  
 Yten Joseph Fortunato de veinte y quatro años. -----  
 Yten Juan Joseph Orellana de quarenta años. -----  
 Yten Antonio Choco de sinquenta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Antonio de los Reyes de treinta años. -----  
 /f.277r/  
 Yten Marcos de la Cruz de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Miguel de la Cruz de treinta y dos años. -----  
 Yten Antonio Chabaque de sinquenta años. -----  
 Yten Pedro Camacho de quarenta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Thomas de San Joseph de quarenta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Joseph Manuel Rodriguez -----  
 Yten Joachin de el Castilla veinte y dos años. -----  
 Yten Joseph Polonio de veinte años. -----  
 Yten Manuel de la Rosa de veinte y dos años. -----  
 Yten Pedro Nuñez de quarenta años. -----  
 Yten Feliciano de Jesus de veinte y ocho años. -----  
 Yten Cayetano Medina de treinta y dos años. -----  
 Yten Thomas Casao de treinta y tres años. -----  
 Yten Celemente Vazquez de veinte y seis años. -----  
 Yten Joseph Pastrana de veinte y tres años. -----  
 Yten Domingo Carrillio de veinte y tres años. -----

Muchachos.

Yten Pedro Uringa de dies años. -----  
Yten Ciriaco Joseph de doze años. -----  
Yten Thomas de Villanueva de onze años. -----  
Yten Leanaro Magno de nueve años. -----  
Yten Francisco de Asis de dies años. -----  
Yten Cosme Damian de dies años. -----  
Yten Gabriel Benico de dies años. -----  
Yten Evencio de la Cruz de nueve años. -----  
Yten Augustin Joseph de ocho años. -----

Parsulos.

Yten Severino de Jesus de siete años. -----  
Yten Ygnacio de el Espiritu Santo de seis años. -----  
Yten Pedro Nolasco, muerto  
Yten Joseph Phelipe de siete años. -----  
Yten Pedro Joseph de seis años. -----  
Yten Pasqual de Jesus de quatro años. -----  
Yten Celedonio de Jesus de tres años. -----  
Yten Agapito de Jesus de tres años. -----  
Yten Luis Gonzaga de tres años. -----  
Yten Manuel de el Espiritu Santo de dos años. -----  
Yten Anselmo Sotero de dos años. -----  
Yten Adriano Joseph de dos años. -----  
Yten Joseph Mariano de dos años. -----  
Yten Gavino de Jesus de dos años. -----  
*/f.277v/*  
Yten Francisco de Borja de quatro años. -----  
Yten Ambrosio de la Concepcion de un año. -----  
Yten Pedro Chrisologo de un año. -----  
Yten Pasqual de Jesus de un año. -----

Mugeres grandes.

Yten Mauricia de Villegas inútil de sesenta y cinco años. -----  
Yten Andrea Maria de Castro de sesenta años. -----  
Yten Juana Josepha inútil de sesenta años -----  
Yten Cathalina de la Rosa de quarenta y ocho años. -----  
Yten Ursula Perez de quarenta y cinco años. -----  
Ytne Rita de la Trinidad de sinquenta años. -----  
Yten Valentina de San Juan de quarenta y cinco años. -----  
Yten Magdalena de la Rios inútil de quarenta y cinco años. -----  
Yten Maria Asencion de sinquenta años. -----  
Yten Petrona de el Espiritu Santo de quarenta años. -----  
Yten Victoria Yldegarda de quarenta y cinco años. -----  
Yten Maria Estinislal de quarenta y dos años. -----  
Yten Damiana de Jesus de veinte y quatro años. -----  
Yten Thomasa de la O<sup>l</sup>. inútil de quarenta años. -----  
Yten Vitalina de la Rosa de treinta años. -----

Yten Ana de el Rosario de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Cassiana Coronado de treinta y dos años. -----  
 Yten Paulina de el Sacramento accidentada de veinte y ocho años. -----  
 Yten Bernardina de Sena de treinta y quatro años. -----  
 Yten Maria Eusebia de treinta años. -----  
 Yten Rosa Maria de treinta y dos años. -----  
 Yten Petrona de San Xavier de quarenta años. -----  
 Yten Michaela Ximenes de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Josepha Maxima de treinta y seis años. -----  
 Yten Augustina Aguilar de quarenta años. -----  
 Yten Valeriana Lacunia de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Juana de la Trinidad de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Maria Manuela de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Francisca Sales de treinta y dos años. -----  
 Yten Yldegarda de Jesus de treinta años. -----  
 Yten Mauricia Yldegarda de treinta años. -----  
 Yten Lorenza de San Juan de veinte y ocho años. -----  
 Yten Maria Josepha de San Joseph de treinta años. -----  
 Yten Maria Josepha de el Patrocinio de treinta y dos años. -----  
 Yten Petrona Nolazco de veinte y ocho años. -----  
 /f.278r/  
 Yten Antonia de Jesus de treinta años. -----  
 Yten Justa Maxima manca de treinta años. -----  
 Yten Modesta Crecia de treinta años. -----  
 Yten Alexandra Matrona de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Andrea Ninpha de treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Juana Baptista de treinta años. -----  
 Yten Evarrita Cossio de treinta años. -----  
 Yten Victorina de San Miguel de treinta años. -----  
 Yten Maria de el Patrocinio veinte y seis años. -----  
 Yten Manuela de Jesus treinta y dos años. -----  
 Yten Melchora de los Reyes de treinta y dos años. -----  
 Yten Maria de la Trinidad veinte y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Torquata de los Reyes de veinte y seis años. -----  
 Yten Juana de la Cruz de treinta años. -----  
 Yten Dionisia de Borja treinta y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Juana Chrisostoma de treinta años. -----  
 Yten Maria Ciriaca de veinte años. -----  
 Yten Josepha Gabriela de veinte y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Luiza Gonzales de veinte y cinco años. -----  
 Yten Antonia de Padua de veinte y seis años. -----  
 Yten Juana Evangelista de veinte y quatro años. -----  
 Yten Cathalina de el Rosario de quarenta años. -----  
 Yten Maria de Grazia de treinta y dos años. -----  
 Yten Maria Ygnacia de Castro de veinte años. -----  
 Yten Maria Theresa de Villegas de veinte y seis años. -----

Yten Maria Nicolaza Olmedo de veinte y quatro años. -----  
 Yten Ana Martina de veinte y dos años. -----  
 Yten Maria Josepha de la Cruz de teinta años. -----  
 Yten Josepha Marcelina de veinte y quatro años. -----  
 Yten Josepha Calixta de veinte y dos años. -----  
 Yten Lorenza Justiniana de veinte y sinco años.-----  
 Yten Cathalina Romero de veinte y ocho años. -----  
 Yten Rosa Maria de veinte y sinco años. -----  
 Yten Maria Mercedes de veinte y sinco años.-----  
 Yten Pasquala de la Asumpcion de treinta años. -----  
 Yten Josepha Fortunata de veinte y seis años. -----  
 Yten Juliana Protasia de veinte y dos años. -----  
 /f.278v/  
 Yten Maria de los Santos veinte y dos años. -----  
 Yten Gabriela Josepha de veinte años. -----  
 Yten Brigida de Jesus inútil de sesenta años. -----  
 Yten Sabina de la Trinidad invalida de ochenta años. -----  
 Yten Polonia Nicephora de sinquenta y siete años. -----  
 Yten Maria Antonia Mendez de sesenta años. -----  
 Yten Manuela de Villegas de sesenta y nueve años. -----  
 Yten Liberata de Jesus de sesenta y sinco años. -----  
 Yten Theodora de Castro de sinquenta años.-----  
 Yten Esetrecedis de San Juan de Sinquenta y sinco años.-----  
 Yten Ana Dionisia de sinquenta años.-----  
 Yten Maria Chica invalida de ochenta y sinco años.-----  
 Yten Maria Rosa Lozada de sinquenta y sinco años. -----  
 Yten Rosa Yldegarda de quarenta y dos años. -----  
 Yten Maria Martina de sinquenta y dos años.-----  
 Yten Juan de la Rosa de sesenta años.-----  
 Yten Maria Vicenta de treinta y seis años. -----  
 Yten Dionisia Cayetana de sesenta años. -----  
 Yten Eustachia Bastidas de treinta años.-----  
 Yten Maria Adriana de la Trinidad de quinze años.-----  
 Yten Victoria de Jesus de quinze años. -----  
 Yten Romualda de Jesus de treze años. -----  
 Yten Rosa de Santa Maria de treze años. -----  
 Yten Yldegarda Rodriquez de doze años.-----  
 Yten Victorina de los Santos de dies años. -----  
 Yten Valentina Coronado de dose años. -----  
 Yten Andrea Josepha de doze años. -----  
 Yten Pasquala de el Espiritu Santo de doze años. -----  
 Yten Estephania Dominga de doze años. -----  
 Yten Andrea de la Cruz de ocho años. -----  
 Yten Estephania de la Natividad de ocho años.-----  
 Yten Maria Ygnacia de la Assumpcion de siete años. -----  
 Yten Pulcheria de los Santos de seis años.-----

Yten Jacoba de Jesus de siete años.-----  
 Yten Francisca Xaviera de seis años.-----  
 Yten Dorothea de Jesus de seis años.-----  
 Yten Ygnacia de la Asumpcion de siete años.-----  
 /f.279r/  
 Yten Romualda de la Candelaria de seis años.-----  
 Yten Hermenegilda de Jesus de tres años.-----  
 Yten Francisca de el Espiritu Santo de quatro años.-----  
 Yten Manuela de San Ygnacio de tres años.-----  
 Yten Juana de los Ynocentes de tres años.-----  
 Yten Rudecinda de Santa Maria de un año.-----  
 Yten Josepha de el Patrocinio de dos años.-----  
 Yten Pasquala Morales de dos años.-----  
 Yten Maria Eulalia de dos años.-----  
 Yten Rosa de Santa Maria de dos años.-----  
 Yten Maria Josepha de un año.-----  
 Yten Maria de los Santos de un año.-----  
 Yten Francisca Xaviera de un año.-----  
 Yten Anastasia de la Natividad de un año.-----  
 Yten Maria Josepha Leona de un año.-----  
 Yten Balbina Josepha de Pecho.-----  
 Yten Maria Ysidora de Pecho.-----  
 Yten Barbara de la Resurreccion de Pecho.-----  
 Yten Rita de la Trinidad de Pecho.-----  
 Yten Braulia Josepha de Pecho.-----  
 Yten Thoribia Josepha de Pecho.-----  
 Yten [h]ay en la enfermería de los hombres un cepo de guarango nuevo con su telera y gonzes, y otro en la de las mujeres, assi mismo, y con candado, cuyas Oficinas sirven juntamente de cárcel, por no haber otras piezas pistintas para este efecto.-----  
 Yten un Perol viejo que sirve para hazer velas; y dos balanzas viejas con sus platillos, y un marco de una libra, todo diminuto y viejo. Con lo que se cerro el inventario de esta Hazienda de San Joseph, y si alguna otra cossa pareciere, se incorporará con anotación especial.-----  
 [al margen izquierdo: Inventario de La Ventilla] Enveinte y dos de dicho mes, y año: Yo dicho Juez para prosecución de los inventarios, que estoi achiando, passé a la Hazienda nombrada la Ventilla, que dista de esta, á que es anexo un quarto de legua, la que no tiene mas casa de vivienda, que tres puras con dos puertas viejinsimas: la una con  
 /f.279v/  
 armella, y la otra sin cosa alguna; y otra mas de cuero, y sus cubiertos de totora de trozada, con madres y horcones de guarango, en que habitan dos Negros viejos.  
 Yten otro quarto junto á la Capilla con dos puertas de table de Chile de una hoja, con horcones, madres, y baras de Guarango.-----  
 Yten una Capilla compuesta de dos hojas de tableros de rroble, Cerrojo, Chapa y llave corriente, y su cuvierto de tijera con esteras de Carriizo, y quartones labrados de guarango.-----  
 Yten por altar una messa de adobes, donde está un nicho dorado, y en el colocada la imagen de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, con corona de plata, la qual consta ya en las alhajas de el inventario de la Hazienda de San Joseph.-----

Yten su manto de seda, y su Cortina de lo mismo. -----  
Yten en dicho altar su ara con mantal viejo. Frontal de table barnizado con blanco, y talcos  
embutida. -----  
Yten en el cuerpo de dicha Capilla que es de adobe, nueve lienzos grandes, y dies y seis  
medeanos de diferentes advocaciones todo Viejo. -----  
Yten un trono de cedro tallado en una anda. -----  
Yten una messa ordinaria vieja. -----  
Yten la sacristia sin puerta, y con una ventana de berjes de dos hojas viejos, con cuvierto de  
esteras de Carrizo maltratada, con quartones de guarango labrado. -----  
Yten una messa vieja de cajon y vacio. -----  
Yten un lienzo de Christo de la humildad con su marco de madera, y su Cortina de seda todo  
viejo.-----  
Yten dos frontalitos de cruedo pintados con talco viejisimo. -----  
Yten en la pieza de esta capilla una armazon de ramada con horcones, madres, y bares de  
guarango. -----  
Yten la ramada de el lagar con armazon de horcones madres, y bara de guarango, con cuvierto de  
totora de trozado. -----  
Yten dicho lagar, y dos lagaretas que le acompanan  
/f.280r/  
Con bordes de piedra a la de mozca labrada, dos bigas de guarango con sus usillos, tablonas, y  
demas meuesteres corrientes. -----  
Yten un suelo enlozado de piedras laxas, y revocadas con mezcla de cal, y rodeado con una  
pared de adobe de tres quartas que llaman pusera. -----  
Yten la puerta principal de las bodegas de dos hojas vieja con su chapa, que comunica á otras  
tres piezas de las quales una tiene puerta de una hoja vieja de tabla de Chile sin chapa, los  
cubiertos de totora, con horcones, madres, y baras de guarango, y en una de ellas una puntalla  
grande, otra menor, y uso peraelo hecho de cal y ladrillo. -----  
Yten en una de dichas pazas una puerta vieja de una hojas, que cae al campo con cerrojo  
corriente. -----  
Yten ocho ventanas de berjes en todas estas piezas, siete en los techos, y dos a los lados en la  
pared. -----  
Yten una puerta de dos hojas, que comunica á la aguardentere con su cerrojo, y llave corriente  
enrazada en tabla de Chile.-----  
Yten tres tinajones de barro, y quatro barcones de madera para trasegar los vinos. -----  
Yten tre mil quinientas ochenta botijas mosteras. -----  
Yten una puerta chica sobre la puntalla de tabla de Chile con armellas y candado. -----  
Yten setesientas setenta y dos botijas de vino recientra segadas. -----  
Yten la aguardentera cercada de adobes con una puerta grande de dos hojas de balaustres de  
guarango con cerrojo y llave corriente. -----  
Yten nueve pailas corrientes con falcas de bronce jundidas las cabezas, cañones, y canaletas de  
cobre de martillo. -----  
Yten un cajón de cal y ladrillo, que baná los dichos cañones con sus acequias corrientes. -----  
Yten quatro escaleras de cal y ladrillo: las tres vuestras, y la una maltratada con ocho pilares de  
cal,  
/f.280v/

Y ladrillo, y quatro horcones formados de mangles con que se sobitiene una ramada vieja, que haze sombra á esta oficina, con madres de mangle, cañas de Guayauil, y estera de carrizo viejo todo. -----

Yten dos tinajones con nueve botijas que sirven para enfriaderas.-----

Yten tresientas botijas manchadas de aguardientes.-----

Yten veinte y ocho botijas de aguardiente que estan en esta pieza.-----

Yten la viña que se compone de treinta y tres quarteles con treinta y tres mil quinientas setenta y quatro cepas con horcones buenos bajo de quinchas con entrada por dos puertas de berjes de guarango. -----

Yten quatro sientas ochenta y tres cepas en barbacoas.-----

Yten trsientos treinta y seis sarmientos recién presos y las tres partidas componen treinta y quatro mil trescientas noventa y tres parras. -----

Yten las tierras de esta Hazienda y la de San Joseph que consta de los títulos inventariados, con lo que se cerró el ynventario de esta Hazienda; y si pareciere alguna otra cosa se anotará.-----

[al margen izquierdo: Inventario de Lacra] Yten en veinte y tres días de dicho mes y año, yo dicho juez para prosequucion de los inventarios que estoí actuando, passe á la Hazienda de Lacra, que dista de esta sinco leguas, y se halla en ella una pieza de vivienda con una puerta de una hoja enrazada de tabla de Chile y llave corriente y chapa, con una ventana de balaustres vieja con puerta en razada de tabla de Chile, el cubierto de totora con horcones, madres, y baras de guarango, y una ramada de semejante cubierto. -----

Yten la Capilla de pared de adobe con puerta de dos hojas enrazada de tabla de Chile con cerrojo, chapas y llave corriente, con cubierto de esteras de carriso, horcones, madres, y baras de guarango. -----

/f.281r/

Yten una mesa de altar de adobe y en ella un San Juan de vulto, ara, mantel, frontal, atril, y candeleros, sacrcristia sin puerta con una ventana de balaustres de dos hojas con una messa llana con su cajón en que se guarda un ornamento de celebrar con calis, patena, missal y todo lo necesario. -----

Yten una bodega de dos piezas, en quese resiven los caldos que vienen para conducirse a la playa de las Haziendas de San Joseph y la Ventilla; y dichas dos piezas con su puerta cada una de una hoja enrazada de tabla de Chile con cubierto de totora, horcones, madres, y baras de guarango.---

Yten novesientas setenta y ocho botijas de vino costenas que con setesientas setenta y dos inventariadas en La Ventilla, hacen mil setesientas y sinquenta.-----

Yten mil quinientas doze botijas de aguardiente que con tresientas veinte y ocho inventariadas en La Ventilla, hacen mil ocho sientas quarenta y quatro.-----

Yten tres botijas de aguardiente de anis, y seis de romero, que agregadas a las antecedentes, hacen todas mil ocho sientas sinquenta y tres botijas. -----

Yten ocho alfalfares con quinchas de guarango.-----

Yten varios potreros de guarangales cercados de ramas y palos secos de lo mismo.-----

Yten ;as tieras que se contienen en los títulos inventariados de esta Hazienda, con lo que se concluyo el inventario de ella.-----

[al margen izquierdo: Inventario de Locchas] En veinte y sinco días de dicho mes y año: Yo dicho Juez para la prosecución de los inventarios que estoí actuando, passe á la Hazienda de Locchas, en que halle una pieza de vivienda con puerta enrazada de tabla de Chile con chapa y llave corriente, un cubierto de paja con madre ade alizo, y varas de maguei. -----

Yten una messa y dos bancas. -----

Yten dos piezas con puertas de cuero, armellas y candados, y cubierta de paja, madre de alizo, y  
baras de maguei. -----  
Yten dentro de dichas piezas unas barbacoas de maguei. -----  
/f.281v/  
Yten una capilla de adobe con puerta de dos hojas con cerrojo, chapa, y llave corriente.-----  
Yten la messa de el altar de adobe con ara, mantel frontal, atriles, y quatro candeleros de madera.  
Yten una imagen de la Purissima concepción con corona de plata.-----  
Yten un vulto de San Antonio Abad con su manto. -----  
Yten otro dicho de San Antonio de Padua. -----  
Yten un cruzifixo con su velo de bretana. -----  
Yten una caja con su chapa y llave en que se guardan los ornamentos.-----  
Yten se hallo en dicha caja dos mantos de dicha imagen de la concepción.-----  
Yten dos ornamentos con su alva y amilo.-----  
Yten un calis con su patena, purificación y corporales.-----  
Yten un missal y un mantel corriente.-----  
Yten alcaidado de el mayordomo tres hachas, una barreta, seis lampas, onze hores, tres machetes  
y dos fierros de herrar ganado. -----  
Yten dos rejas y una romana corriente con quatro costales viejos. -----  
Yten ocho mulas aparejadas de reata abajo y otras dos de silla en pelo. -----  
Yten dos peroles de marfill, el uno bueno, y el otro ahujereado.-----  
Yten siento y setenta y una bacas, de las quales, las siento treinta y ocho son de vientre y las  
tresientas y tres herradas.-----  
Yten sinquenta y nueve toros de los quales los ocho son Padres, y los sinquenta y uno herrados.--  
Yten siento y tres bezerros señalados.-----  
Yten quatro sientas dies y ocho borregas madres. -----  
Yten sinquenta y ocho Carneros Padres.-----  
Yten sesenta y nueve corderos.-----  
Yten dosientas sesnta y seis cabras madres. -----  
Yten siento dies y seis chivatos.-----  
Yten siento treinta y quatro cabritos. -----  
/f.282r/  
Yten las tierras de dicha Hazienda de Locchas, que se contienen en los títulos inventariados.-----  
Yten porción de Ganado alzado de que no se trahe á consideración su numero en las partidas  
antecedentes: todo lo qual queda al cuidado de Gregorio Robles mayordomo de esta dicha  
Hazienda, con lo que concluyo el inventario de ella. -----  
[al margen izquierdo: Inventario de Puerto de Caballa] En veinte y seis días de dicho mes: Yo  
dicho Juez passe al Puerto de Caballa, y halló en el un rancho de caña con tres piezas cubiertas  
de totora, y madera de sauce con una puerta de una hoja de tabla de Chile vieja con armella y  
candado,; y otra de cuero sin armellas, ni llave. -----  
Yten una messa pequeña llana. -----  
Yten dos ramadas cubiertas de totora en armazón de sauce, en que se defienden de el sol los  
aguardientes y vinos que conducen á este Puerto de las Haziendas de San Joseph y San Xavier en  
las que no encontré con alguna, porque no se ha empezado á transportar la cosecha de el presente  
año á este puerto. Con lo que se concluyo el Ynventario de la Hazienda de San Joseph, y las á  
ella anexas con sus raíces, muebles, aperos, esclavos, y ganados. Y habiendo reconocido los  
libros de estas haciendas, no he encontrado razón de deudores de ellas requiré al Padre Pedro



Dias, para que difese si además de lo que consta estos dichos inventarios; que en su presencia se han actuado, [h]ay otra cosa que agregar, que por alguna razón le pertenezca,; dijo que no [h]ay dependencia alguna, ni otra cosa que lo que contienen estos autos; y para que conste lo firme con los testigos de mi asistencia a falta de escribano = don Andres de Aramendi y Ferrer = Raphael Sedano = Diego de Alza. -----

Testado = mod = enmendado = yen = go = de = veince =

v= s= t= a= cinco= con cones=-----

/f.282v/

Concuerta este traslado con el Ynventario de la Hazienda de San Joseph de la Nazca [h]echo por don Andres de Arramendi y Ferrer, y testigos, y demás documentos que le acompañan: ba cierto y vendadero corregido y concertado a que me remito y para que conste en virtud de lo mandado en el Superior Decreto de Su Excelencia que ba por [¿?] besa doy el presente en la Ciudad de Los Reyes del Peru en treinta de diciembre de mil setecientos sesenta y siete años. -----

En Testimonio [rubrica] De Veerdad=

[Firmado: Domingo Gutierrez]

Escribano de Su Magestad - Director de Temporalidades

Damos fee que don Domingo Gutierrez de quien este traslado ba signado y firmado es tal escribano de Su Magestad como se suscribe, fiel, legal y de toda confianza y a sus semejantes, autos, y demás despachos, siempre se les hadado, y da entere feal y eredeta [¿?] y eso trajudia almente que es fechia en en la ciudad de los Reyes del Peru en treinta del Diciembre de mil setecientos sesenta y siete años=

[Firmado: Santiago Martelos]

Escribano de Su Magestad

[Firmado: Gabriel de Guizabas]

Escribano de Su Magestad

[Firmado: Joseph de Arzeorbe(¿?)]

Escribano de Su Magestad y Publico

## APPENDIX C

### GEOPHYSICAL SURVEY DATA

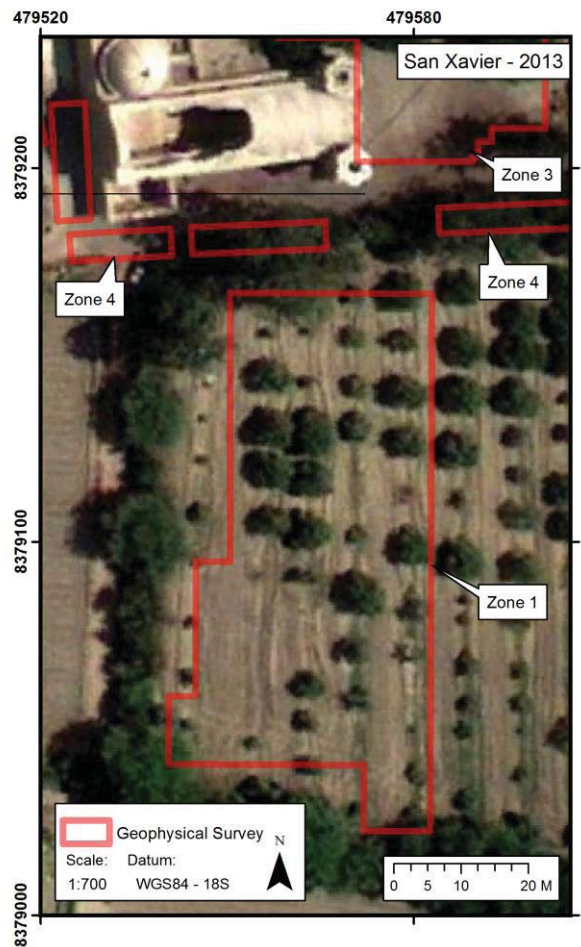
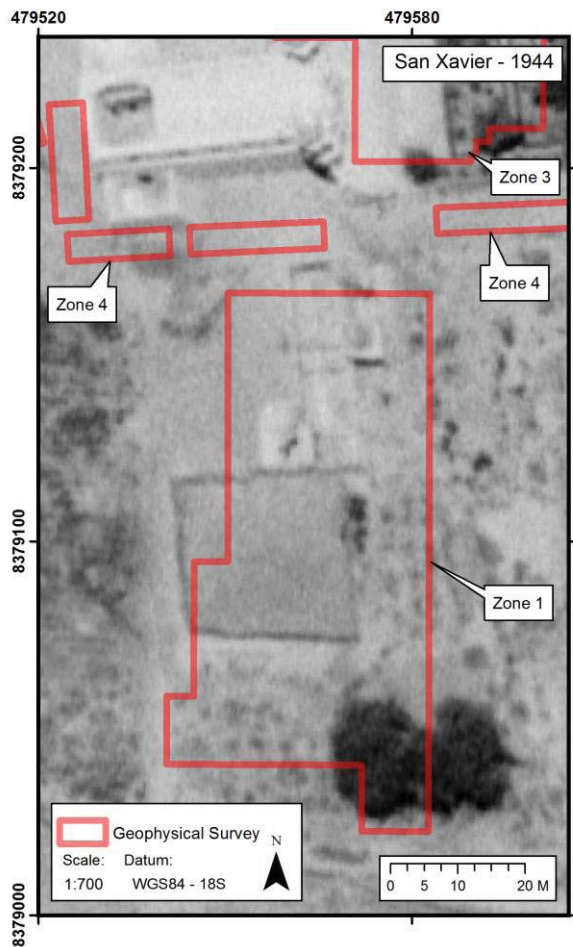
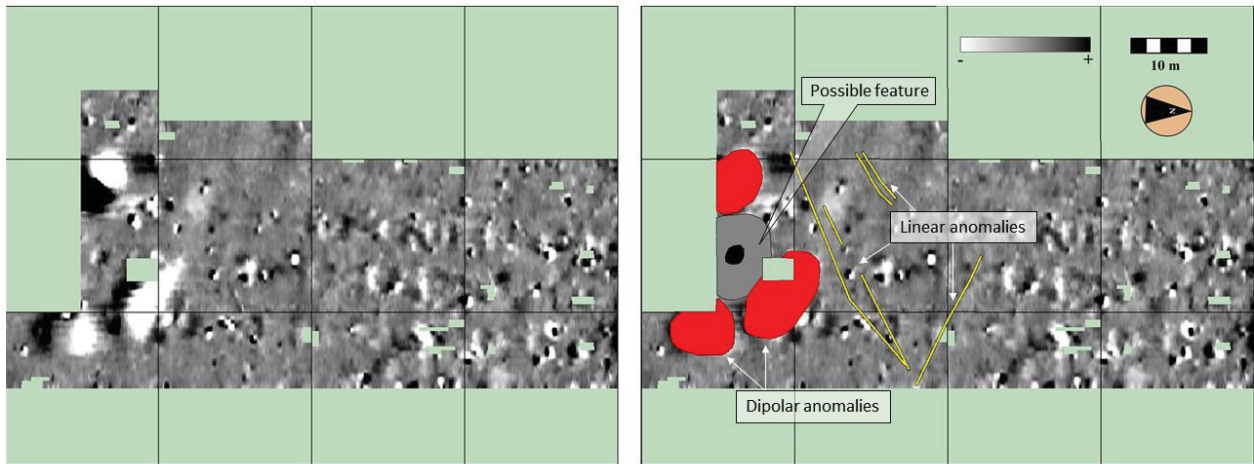


Figure 1. Above, gradiometry results for Geophysical Survey Zone 1 at San Xavier with interpretive diagram. Lower left, location of Zone 1 over 1944 SAN aerial imagery. Lower right, 2013 satellite image of same location.

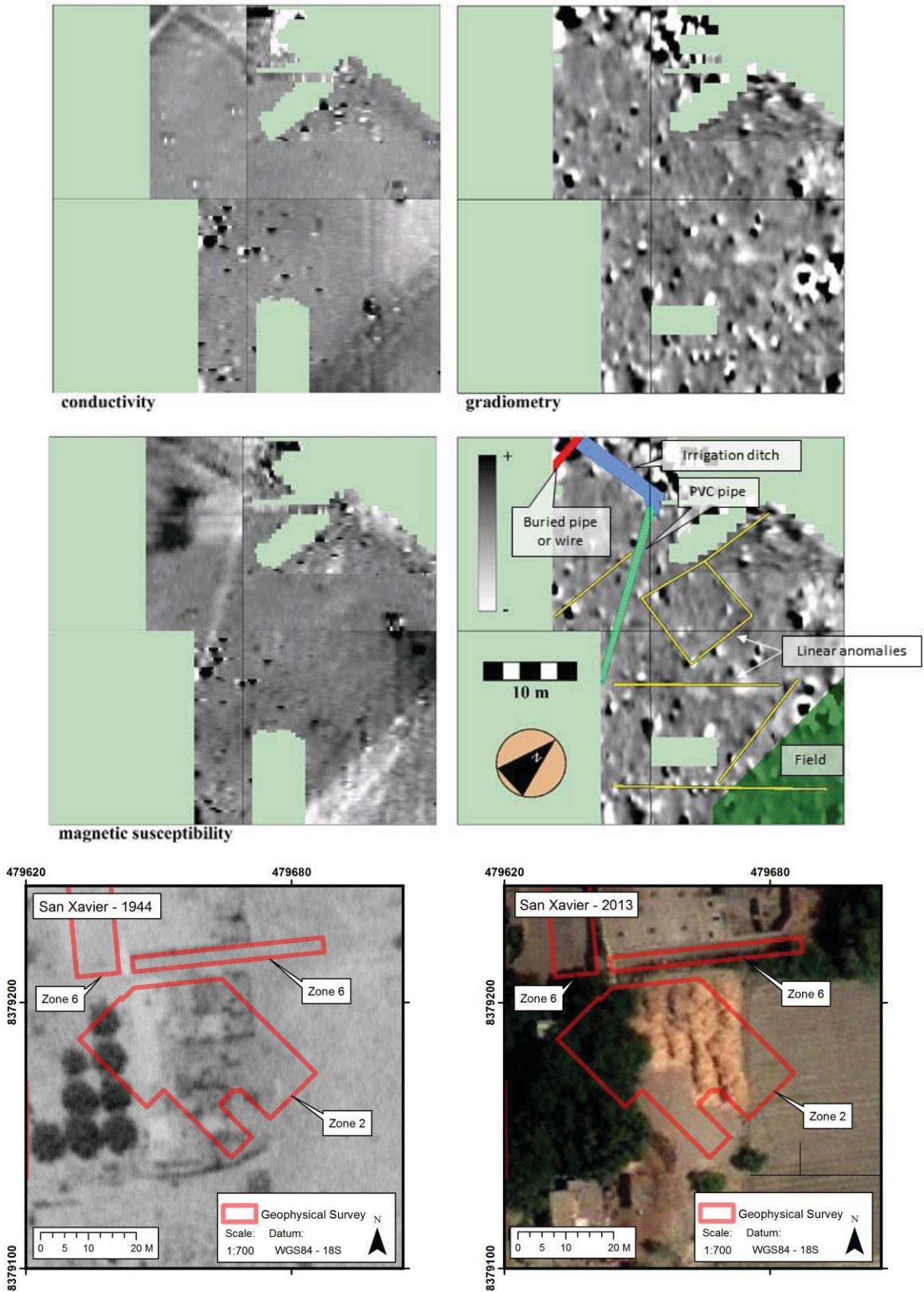


Figure 2. Above, results for Geophysical Survey Zone 2 at San Xavier with interpretive diagram. Lower left, location of Zone 2 over 1944 SAN aerial imagery. Lower right, 2013 satellite image of same location.

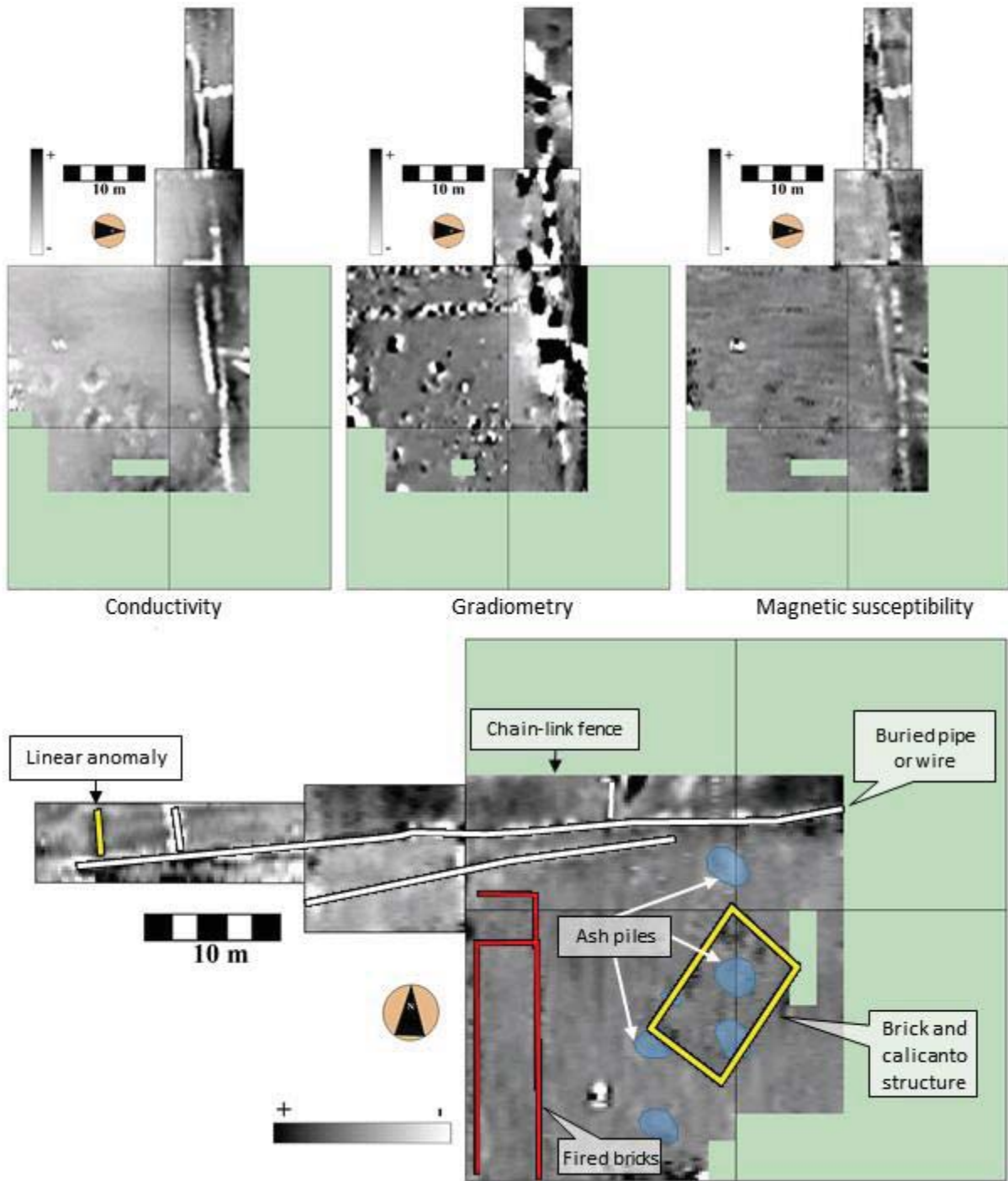


Figure 3. Results for Geophysical Survey Zone 3 at San Xavier with interpretive diagram. Note the anomalous outline of the brick and calicanto structure in the hacienda plaza confirmed through excavation of Unit 5.

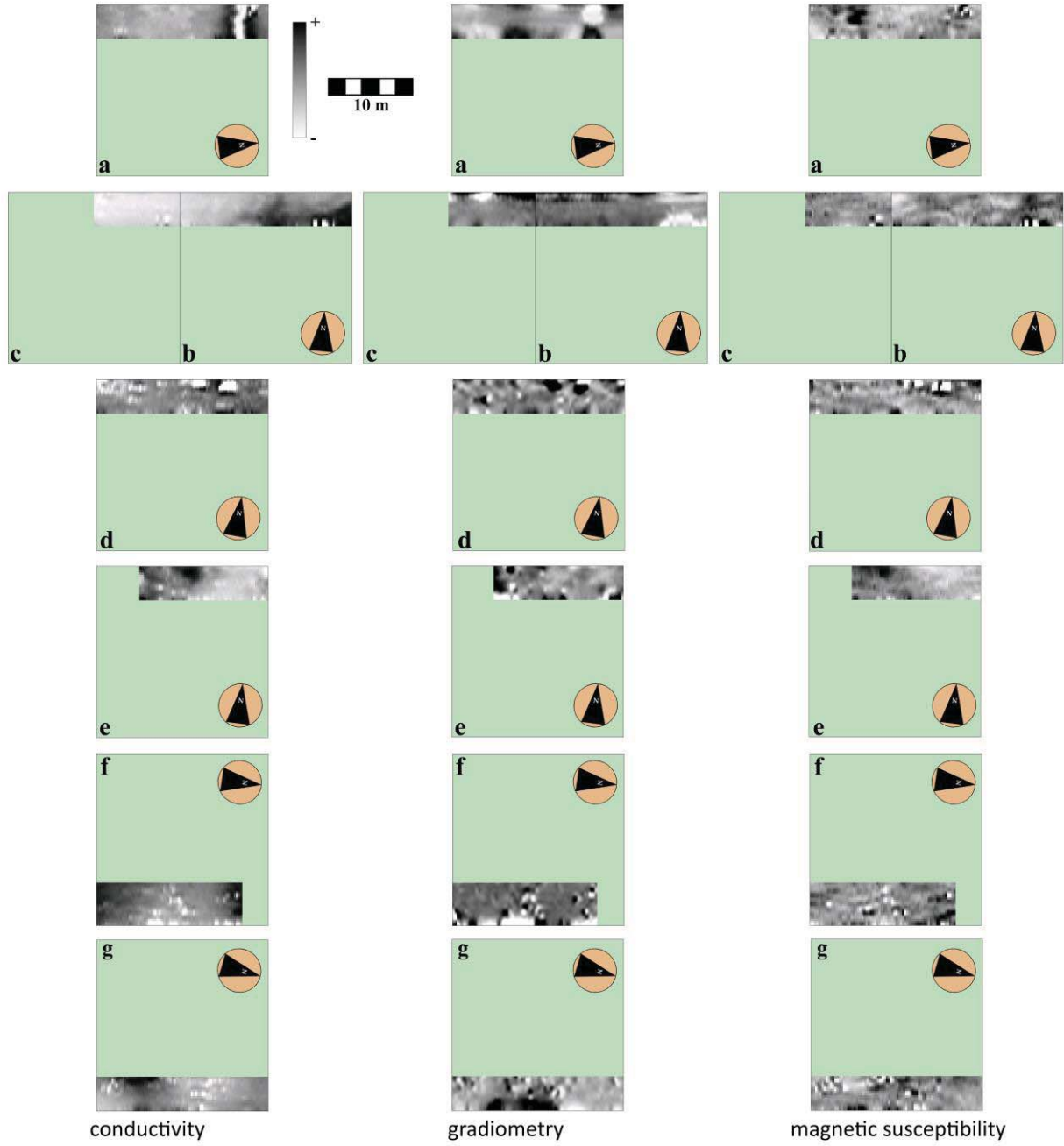


Figure 4. Results for Geophysical Survey Zone 4 at San Xavier.



Figure 5. Left, location of grid segments for Geophysical Survey Zone 4 at San Xavier. Right, interpretive diagram of Zone 4.

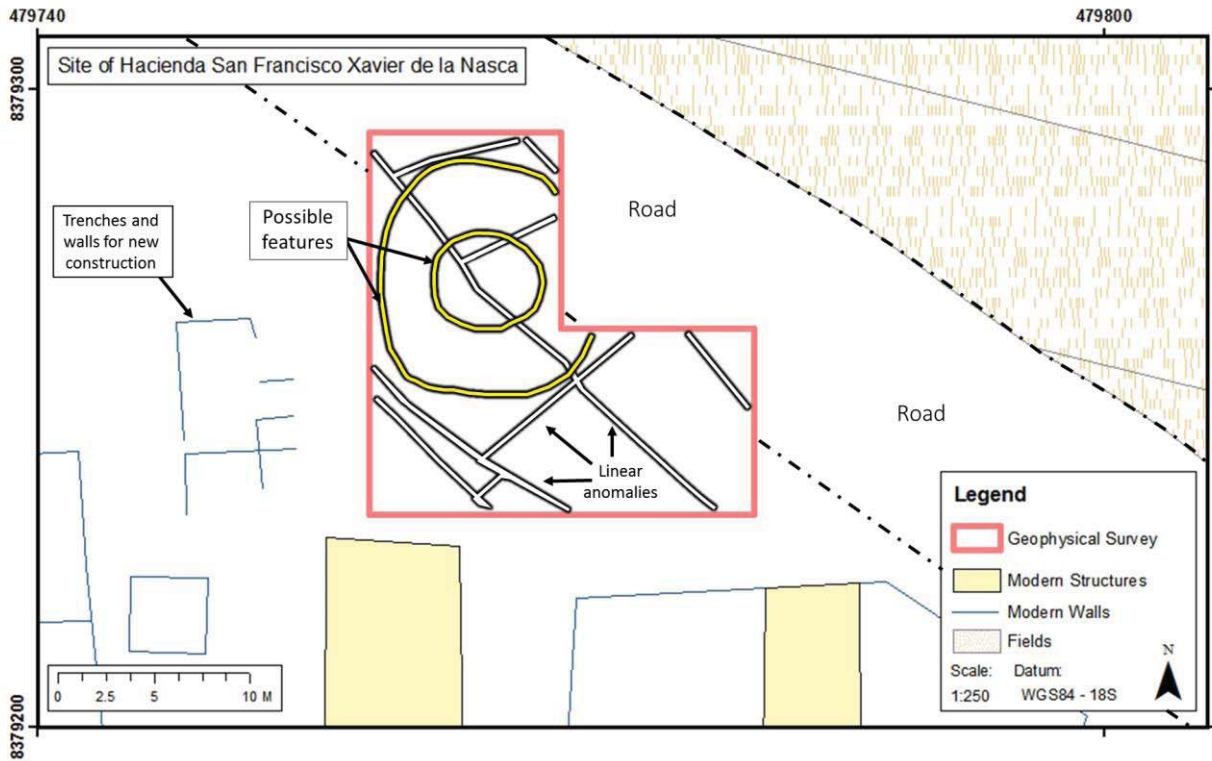
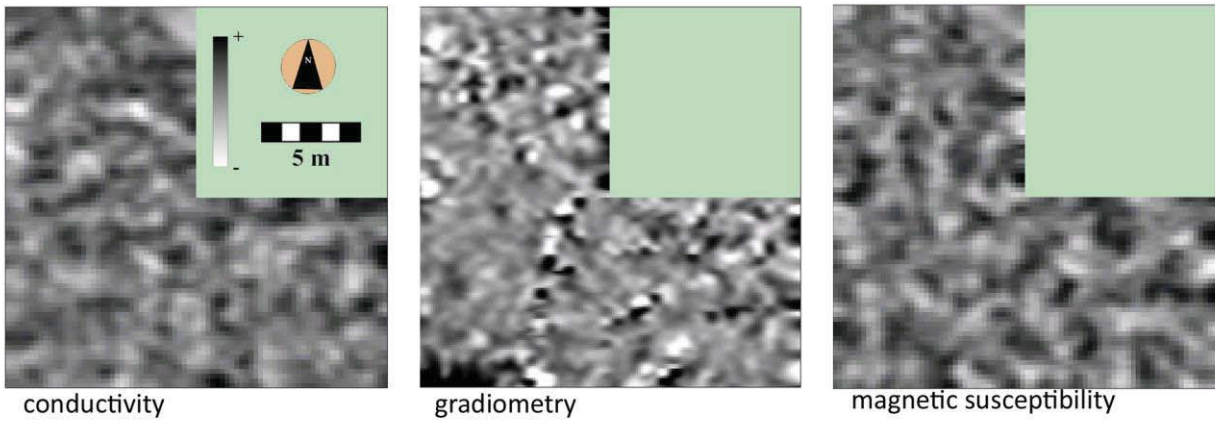


Figure 6. Above, results for Geophysical Survey Zone 5 at San Xavier. Below, interpretive diagram and location of Zone 5 in relation to trenches for new construction which reveal archaeological evidence of ceramic production in the vicinity.



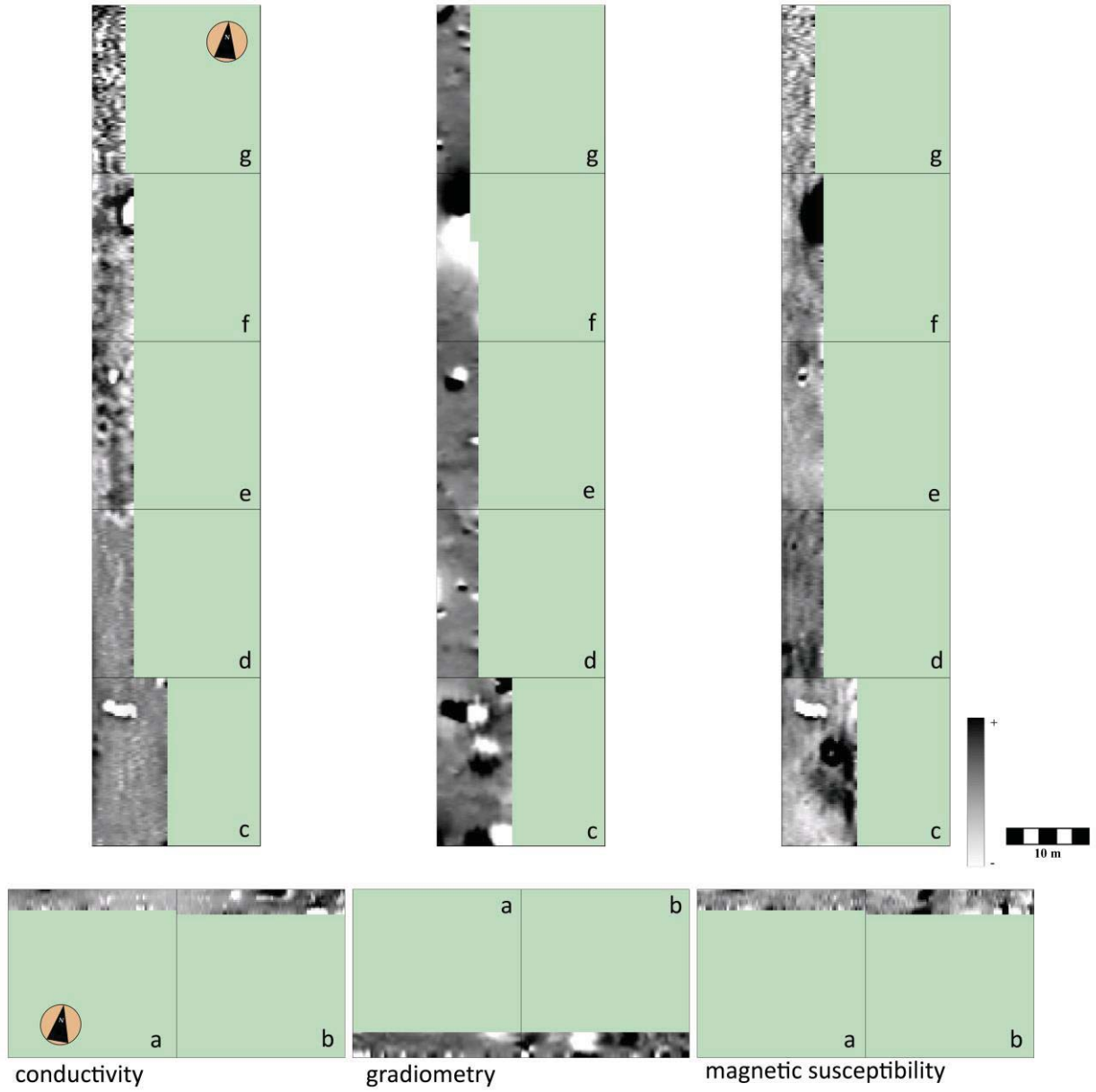


Figure 7. Results for Geophysical Survey Zone 6 at San Xavier.

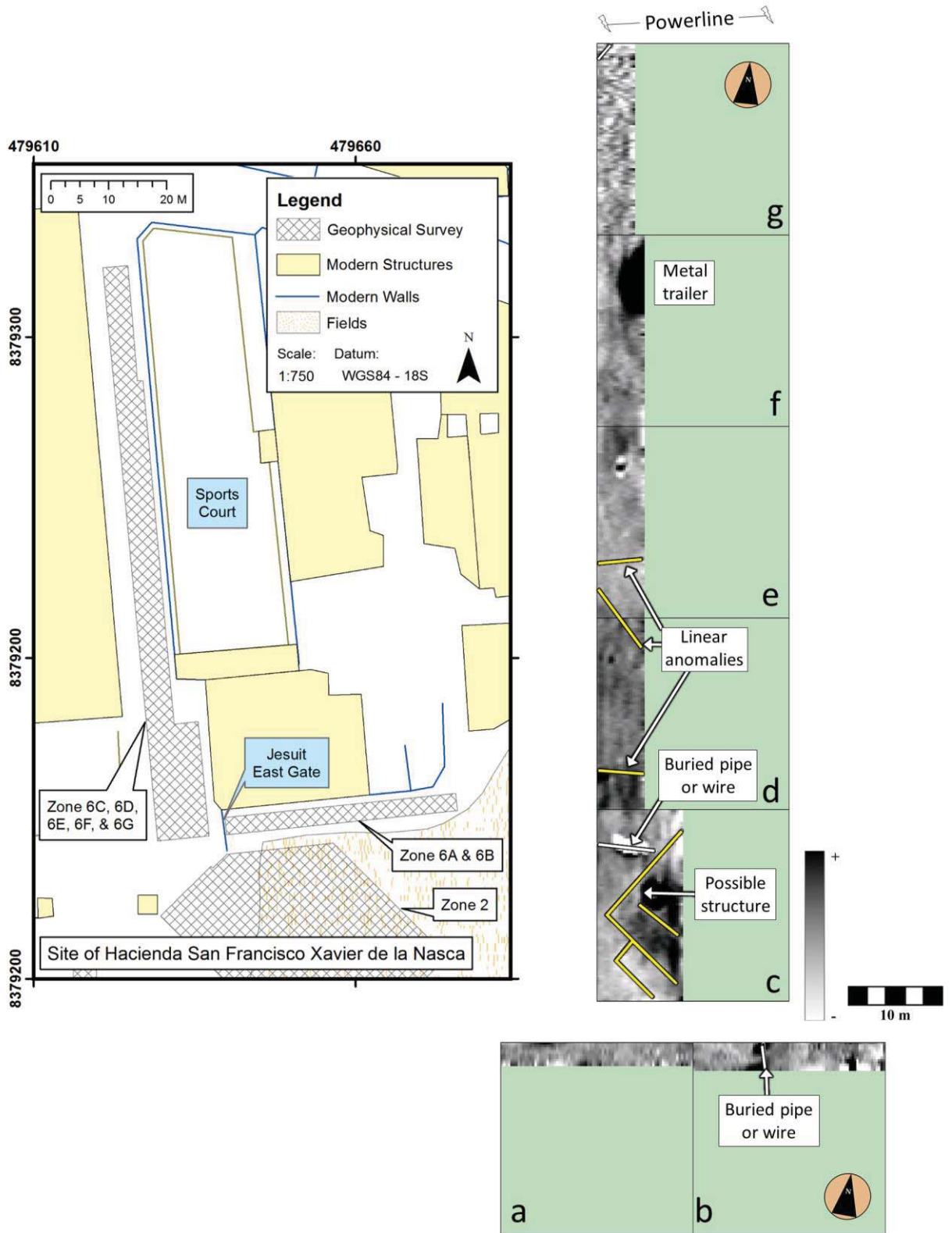


Figure 8. Left, location of grid segments for Geophysical Survey Zone 6 at San Xavier. Right, interpretive diagram of Zone 6.

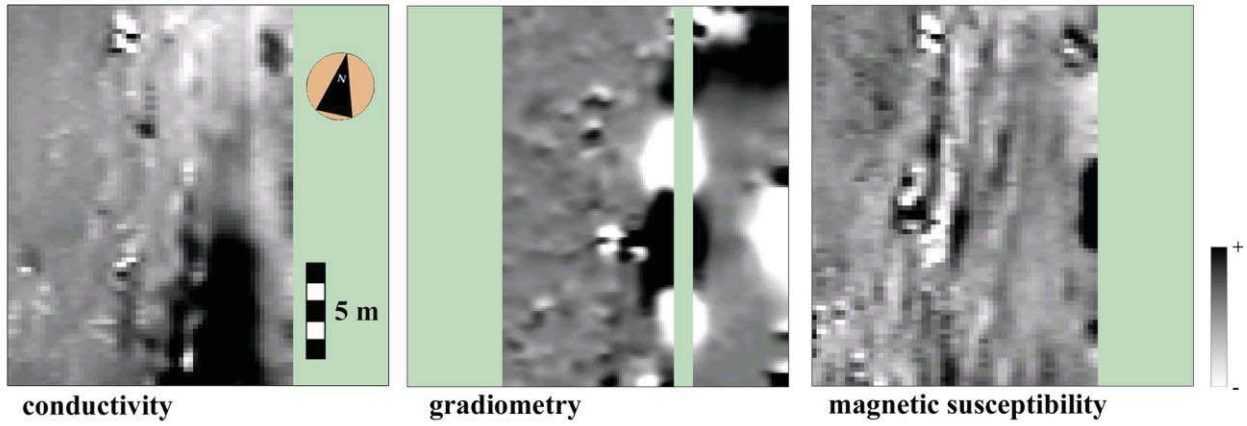


Figure 9. Above, results for Geophysical Survey Zone 7 at San Xavier. Below, location of Zone 7 over 2013 satellite imagery with integrated interpretive diagram.

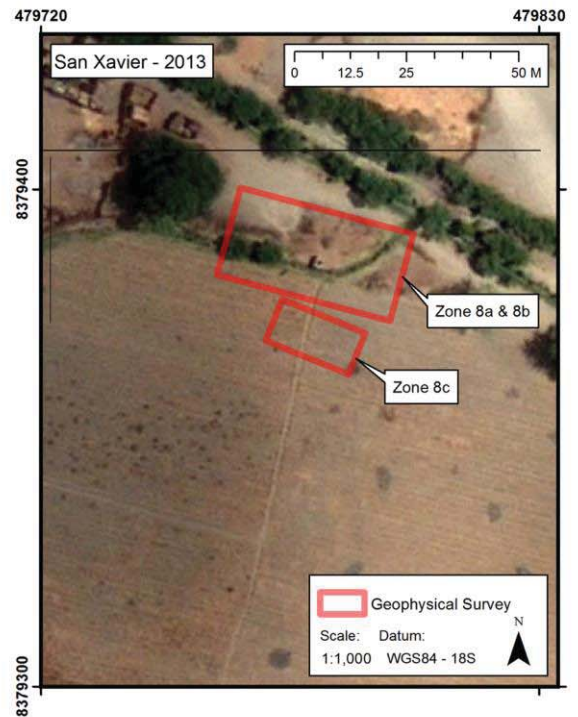
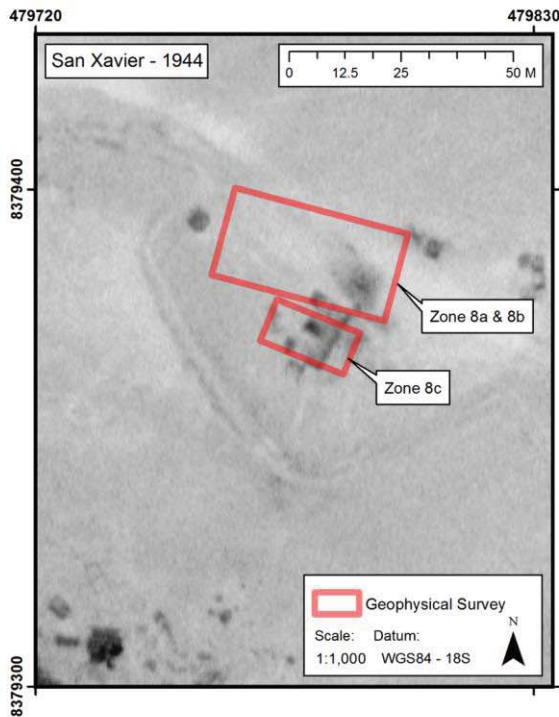
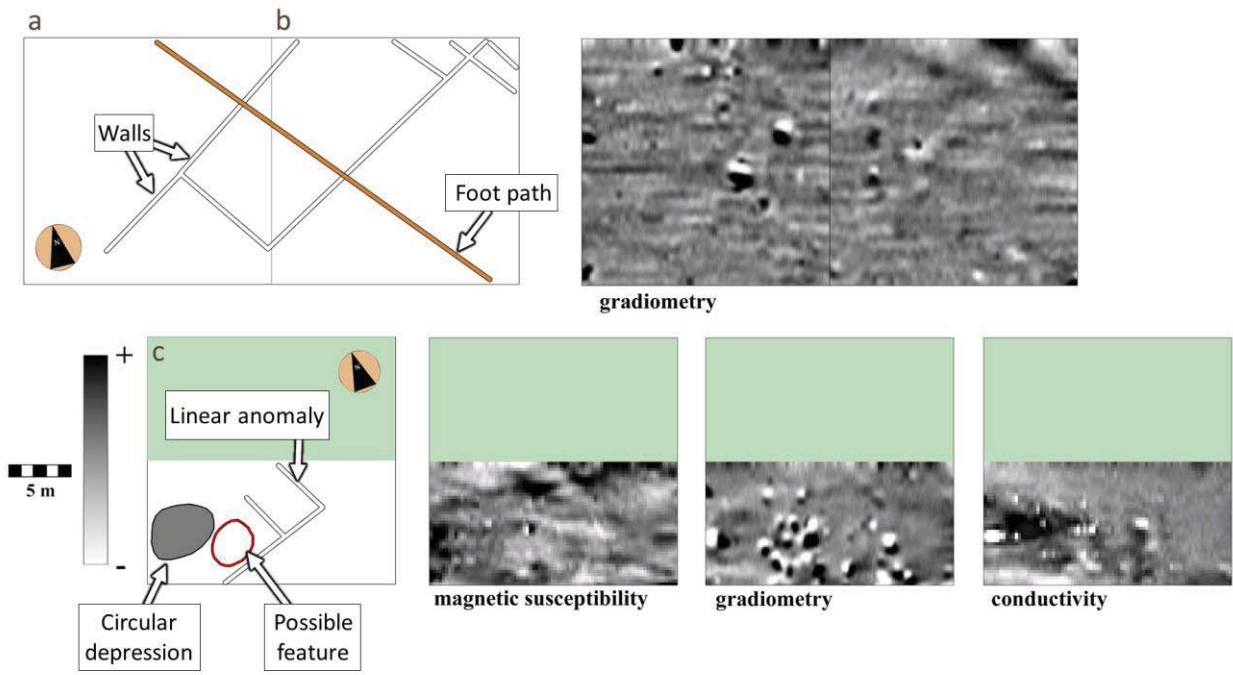


Figure 10. Above, results for Geophysical Survey Zone 8 at San Xavier with interpretive diagram. Lower left, location of Zone 8 over 1944 SAN aerial imagery. Lower right, 2013 satellite image of same location.

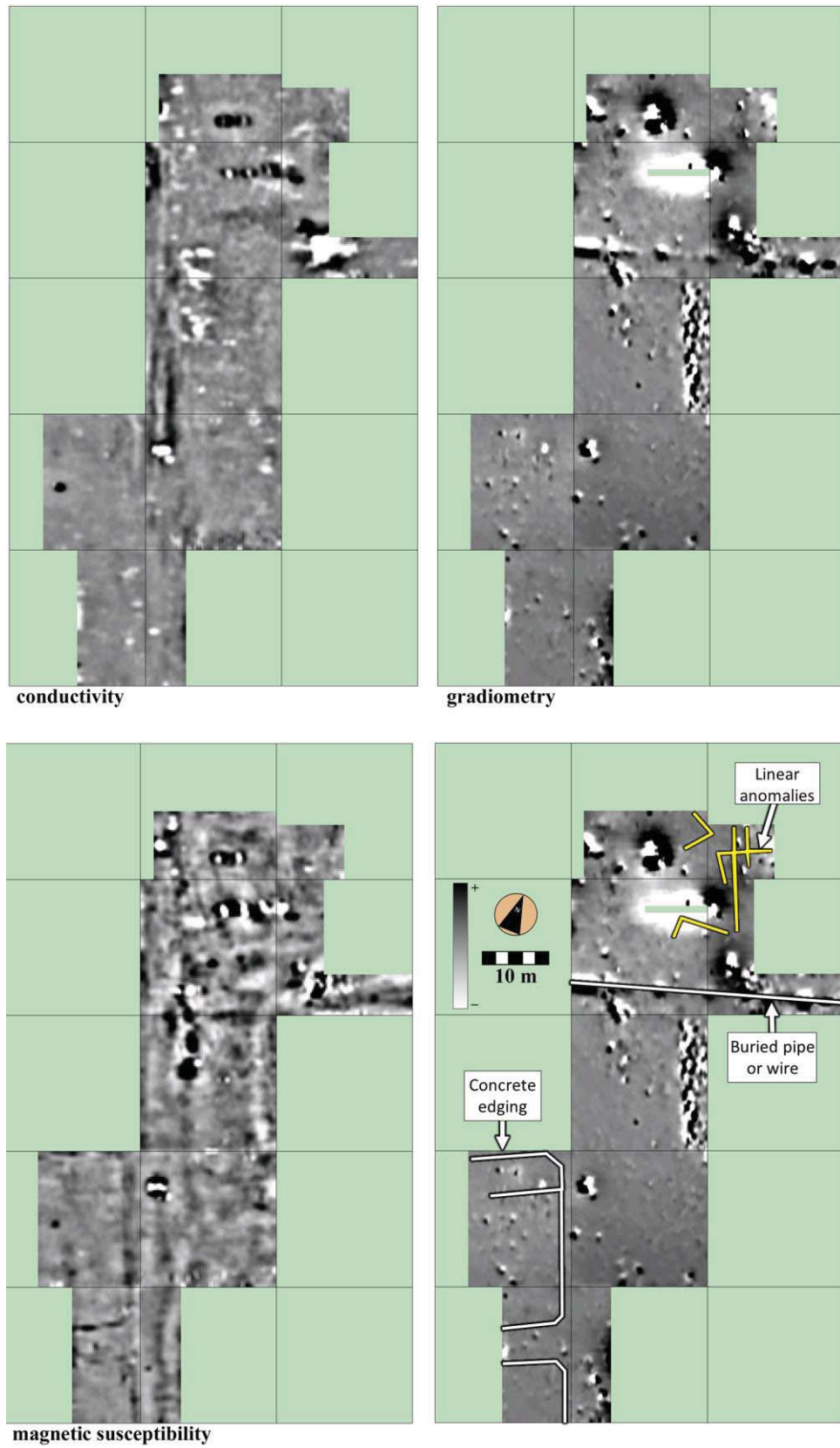


Figure 11. Results for Geophysical Survey Zone 1 at San Joseph with interpretive diagram.

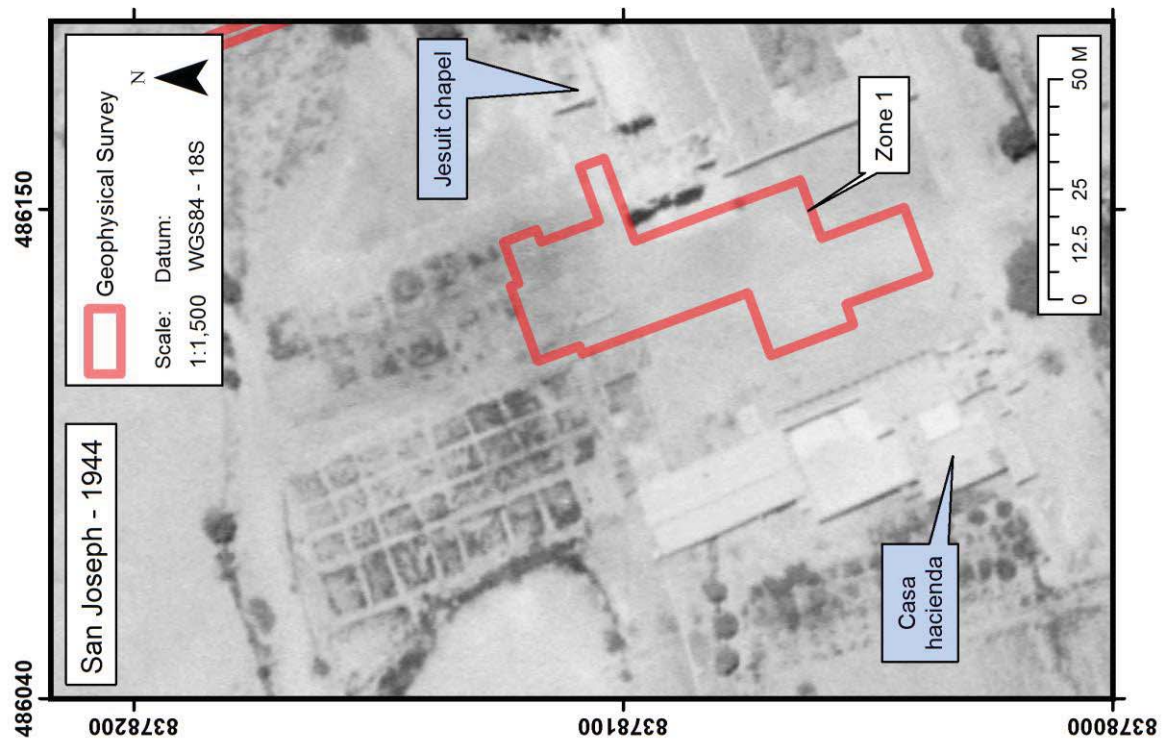
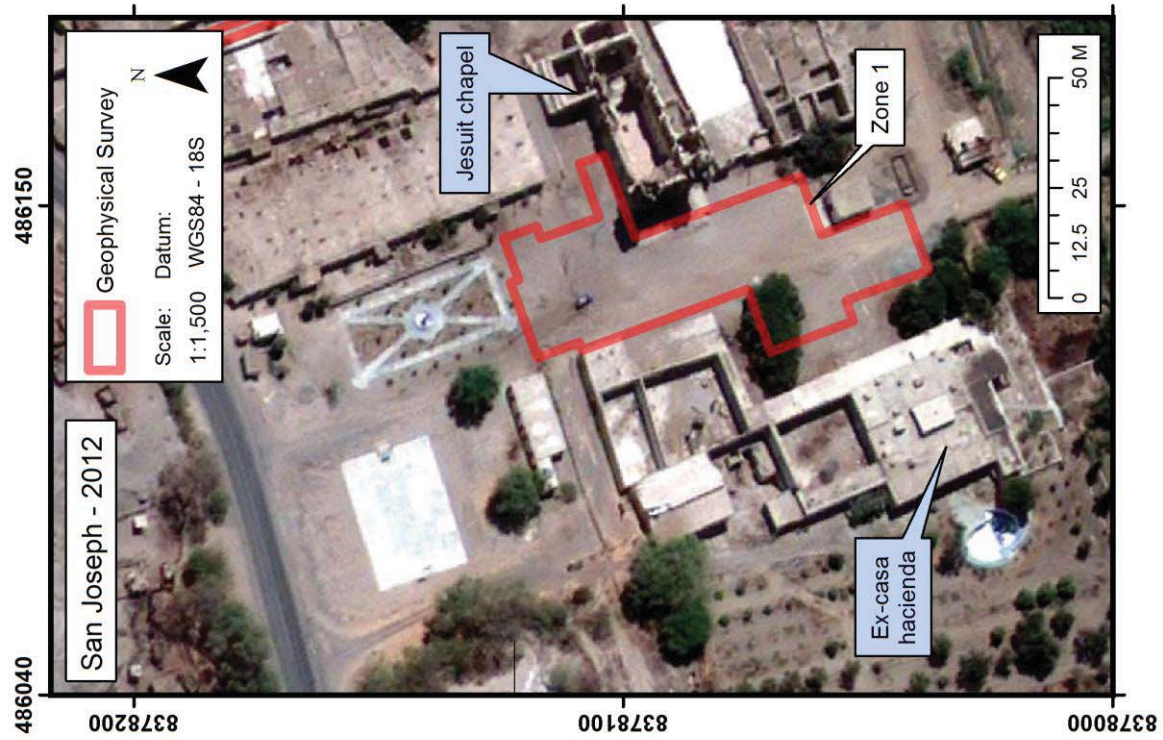


Figure 12. Left, location of Zone 1 at San Joseph over 1944 SAN aerial imagery. Right, 2012 satellite image of same location.

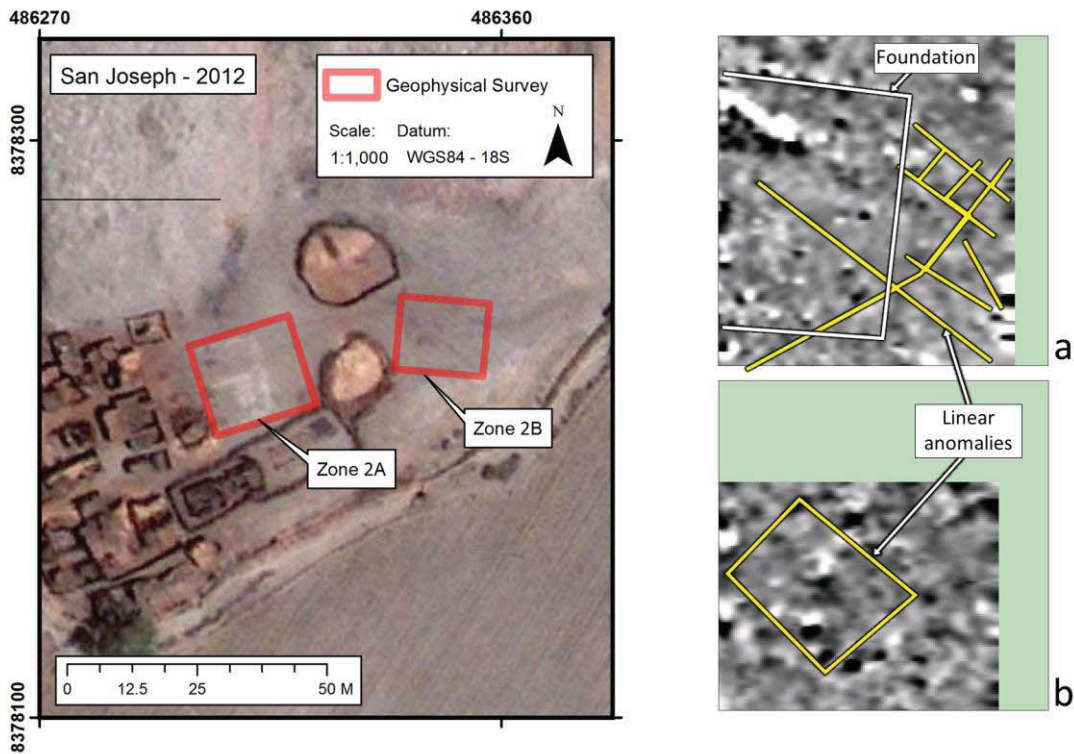
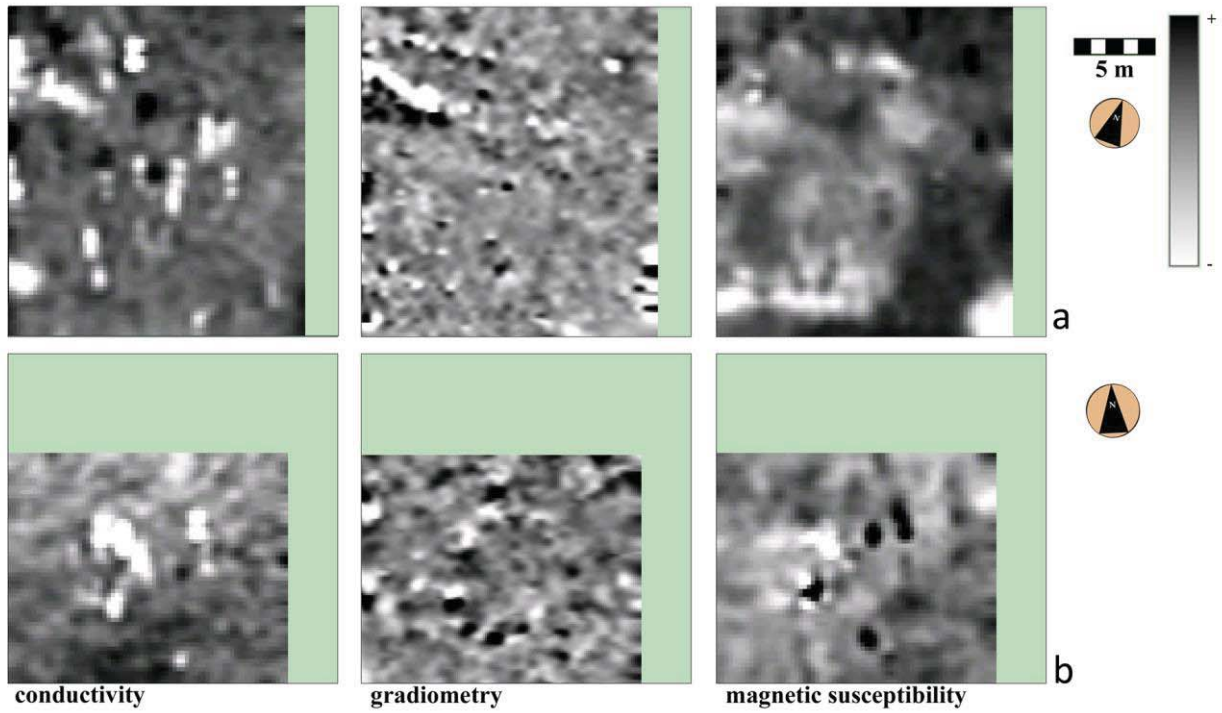


Figure 13. Above, results for Geophysical Survey Zone 2 at San Joseph. Lower left, location of Zone 2 over 2012 satellite imagery. Lower right, interpretive diagram.

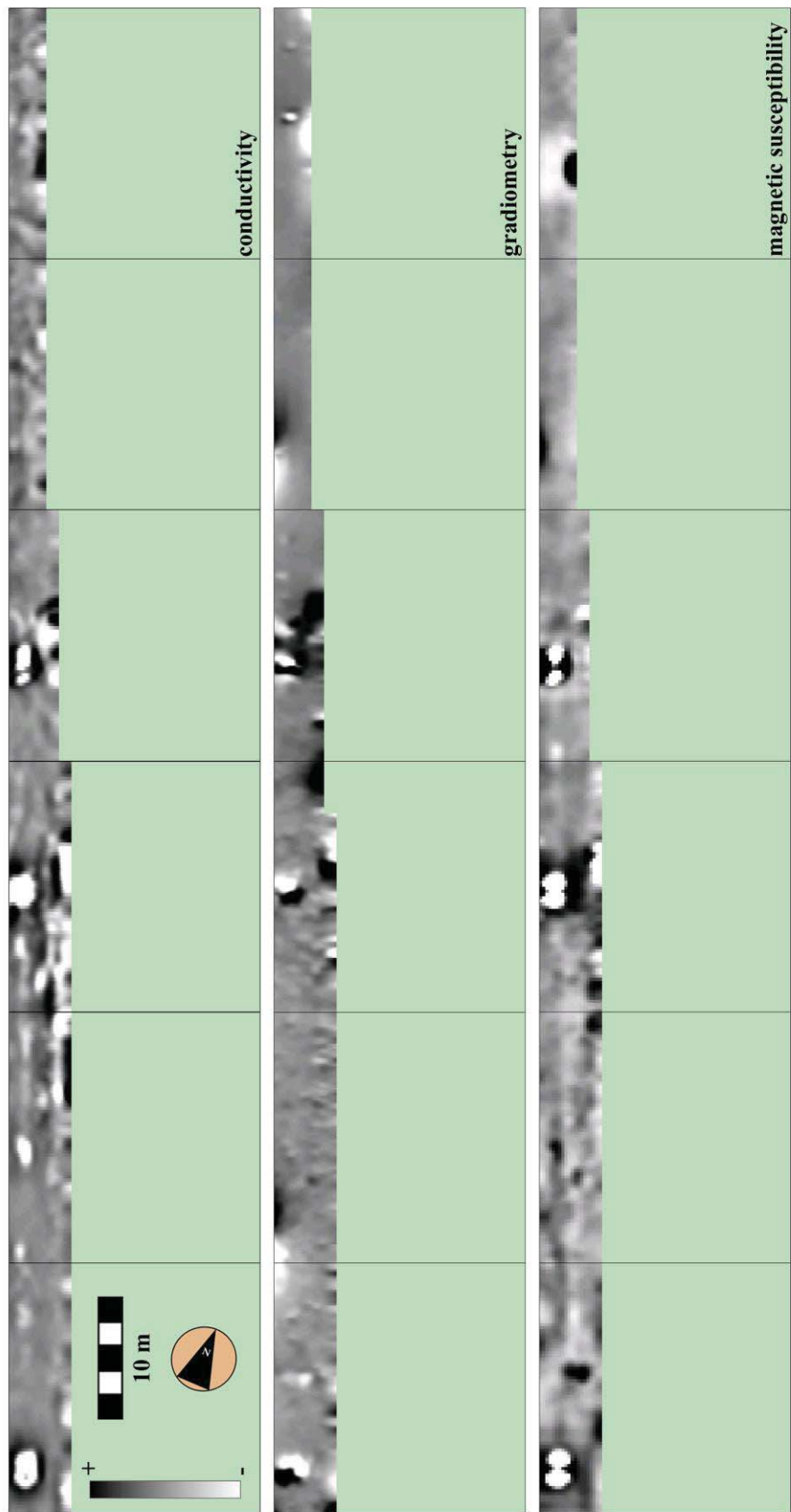


Figure 14. Results for Geophysical Survey Zone 3 at San Joseph. Note that no anomalous features have been identified within this dataset.



## APPENDIX D

### EXCAVATION NARRATIVES AND LOCI SUMMARIES

## **Unit 1, San Joseph de la Nasca**

Location (WGS 1984): 486167 8378060 18S UTM

Dimensions: 2 m x 1 m

Declared Loci: 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1026, 1027, 1028, 1030, 1031, 1032

Unit 1 was located in the domestic and agroindustrial core of the site of the Hacienda San Joseph de la Nasca, south of the Jesuit chapel in an area with homes which have recently been re-occupied by residents of the town of San José. The excavation unit was excavated in the house located at Block F, Lot 6 of the village of San José, the home immediately south of enclosed paved sports court along the southern side of the Jesuit chapel. The room had, at the time of excavation, had a dirt floor. The unit was placed in the northeast corner of the room, at a distance of 45 cm from the eastern wall and 30 cm from the northern wall – the adobe wall which the home shares with the enclosed sports court between the chapel and the residential complex. The unit was aligned to the same orientation as the east wall, at -23°.

### *Summary of Loci*

In total, Unit 1 had twenty contexts, among natural strata and features, which were identified as loci. The excavation team tried to follow each natural level as completely and faithfully as possible. Locus 1008 represented the room's current floor surface, and consisted of a very loose light brown (10YR 6/3) medium grained sand, with inclusions of gravel mixed with

modern domestic debris. Beneath this modern surface, a small wall prepared with hardened earth and adobe (Locus 1010) was encountered, which enclosed a rectangular space in the northeastern quadrant of the unit. The area enclosed by the small adobes was designated as Locus 1009 and consisted of modern fill with a semi-loose brown (10YR 4/3) sandy matrix. The modern trash and domestic refuse within this matrix included small modern corncobs. Locus 1011, the soil surrounding the low, single-coursed adobe feature (Locus 1010), was very similar to Locus 1009 in that it consisted of fill and 20<sup>th</sup> century refuse, although the surface of Locus 1011 was more compact and was characterized by brownish gray (10YR 6/2) sandy clay. In this context a coin dated 1977 was found, suggesting an occupancy of this floor in the 1970s and '80s. The locus appeared to have been a formally prepared floor from hardened earth. The rectangular adobe feature, Locus 1010, sat on the surface of Locus 1011. In the southwest corner of the unit at about 10 cm below datum (BD), excavators exposed a small-gauge modern plastic water pipe (Locus 1012), which was intrusive upon Locus 1011, and which provided water to the shower in the northeast corner of the room. To the southwest of the water pipe a modern concrete slab was found (Locus 1013). At the request of the property owner, the excavation team covered and protected this corner of the excavation unit, in order to avoid damaging the water pipe as excavations continued.

Beneath the surface of the second floor (Loci 1009, 1010 and 1011), which consisted mostly of modern fill, the excavators encountered another prepared another floor surface, Locus 1014, which spread throughout the entire unit at an average depth of 22 cm BD. The soil matrix of this locus was a compacted light brown (10YR 6/3) sandy clay, included by animal bones, glass, macro-botanical specimens, and fragments of ferrous metal. Beneath this third floor, Locus 1014, the excavators encountered a fourth floor surface, Locus 1016, with a series (Loci 1015, 1017,

1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1024, and 1025) of holes of different sizes and shapes. Since all of these postholes intruded upon the same prepared surface, it is likely that they represent relatively contemporaneous events, if not different phases of construction given the variety of shapes and alignments. The floor surface itself (Locus 1016) consisted of compacted brown (10YR 5/3) clayey sand, and had inclusions of gypsum plaster, ceramic sherds (including botija sherds and whiteware), animal bone, and carbonized organic material. The presence of blue transfer-printed whiteware dates the context to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, post 1820.

Immediately below Locus 1016 and the included postholes, at about 30 cm BD, was a very organic level, Locus 1026, which had a very organic consistency of semi-compacted sandy clay of yellowish brown mottled with dark yellowish brown coloration. Locus 1026 is interpreted as the result of a collapsed ceiling made of wooden beams and reed matting, as evidenced by the organic nature of the soil matrix and the high quantity of wooden fragments and deteriorated matting, in addition to two wooden planks. The first plank measures 53 cm and was found in the eastern portion of the unit, projecting from the profile toward the southwest. The second fragment measures 43 cm and it appears as to be part of the same wooden plank. Both wooden finds have embedded hand-wrought nails.

Below Locus 1026 Locus 1027 was encountered, which covered the whole of the unit and represents a deposition of midden fill. Artifacts recovered from this context include botija, majolica, and miscellaneous coarse earthenware sherds, fragments of brown and olive green glass, and wood fragments. The matrix of this locus was a semi-loose yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) sandy loam mottled with flecks of gypsum plaster. The locus ended at approximately 49 cm BD onto a brick floor (Locus 1028) which covered the western half of the unit.

Locus 1028, the red brick floor in the western half of the unit was the third living surface below the current floor. The bricks measure about 50 cm by 26 cm with a minimum thickness of 4 cm and laid east to west. All of the bricks are similar in size, paste, and firing as those of the atrium of the Jesuit chapel, built in the 1740s, and is very likely that brick floor in Unit 1 is contemporary with the construction event of the church. A circular posthole measuring 11 cm in diameter and 11 cm deep interrupted the brick floor breaking a brick. In the eastern part of the unit (Locus 1029) where there were no bricks present, was a very organic layer of fill consisting of yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) loose sandy loam. Locus 1029 also had inclusions of wood fragments, some of which were carbonized.

Below Locus 1028, the brick floor, the excavators encountered Locus 1031, a surface of brown (10YR 5/3) semi-compacted silty sand, which represents a formal preparation for the bricks above. In the eastern half of the unit, below Locus 1029 find another distinct stratum, Locus 1032, which was a layer of pale brown (10YR 6/3) compacted sand that covered a high density of rounded and smoothed river stones. This locus appears to be a preparation for a formal floor as well. At the request of the property owners, excavation of Unit 1 was terminated without excavating all of Loci 1031 and 1032. Excavation ended at an average depth of 63 cm BD. Immediately after drawing the northern unit profile and taking photos, the unit was closed and backfilled with the sieved soil.

### *Unit 1 Level Groupings*

Level 1: Loci 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013

Level 2: Locus 1014

Level 3: Loci 1016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1025

Level 4: Locus 1026

Level 5 Locus 1027

Level 6: Loci 1028, 1029, 1030, 1032

Level 7: Locus 1031

## **Unit 2, San Joseph de la Nasca**

Location (WGS 1984): 486196 8378097 18S UTM

Dimensions: 2 m x 2 m

Declared Loci: 1033, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1038, 1039, 1040, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1044, 1045, 1046, 1047, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1054

Unit 2 was located in the domestic and agroindustrial core of the site of the Hacienda San Joseph de la Nasca, immediately behind (east) the Jesuit chapel. It measured 2 m by 2 m and was located exactly 2.40 m east from the southwest corner of the Jesuit chapel, along the same axis as the orientation of the structure. The unit itself, however, was oriented to the cardinal directions, although it was positioned along the projection of the church's south wall. Such positioning was intended to capture within the unit any possible walls, structures, or activity areas that may have extended from the back of the religious structure.

### *Summary of Loci*

The upper 50 cm (approximately) of Unit 2 were decidedly modern in origin, containing various fill events and suggesting a number of trash fires (Loci 1033-1045). These strata also contain the possible remains of an informal modern structure, represented by fiber matting (Locus 1043). The surface layer (Locus 1033) consisted of loose brown (10YR 5/3) sand, and was on average 1 cm thick. Beneath the surface two new strata were encountered: Loci 1034 and

1035. Locus 1034 was a general layer containing fragments and chunks of adobe, and modern trash, with some older artifacts (including ceramic sherds and fragments of ferrous metal), within a matrix of semi-compact brown clayey sand. Locus 1035, which extended from the northwest corner toward the center of the unit, was of the same texture, color, and soil, but differed in its inclusions having a greater amount of adobe fragments and small stones. The general strata, Locus 1034, had an average thickness of only 6 cm, but Locus 1035 was on average 12 cm thick.

Below Locus 1035, Locus 1037 spread out in almost the same as the layer above, but it appeared to have been wetted before Locus 1035 was deposited. The soil of Locus 1037 was cracked and amorphous, with an undulating surface, and the light brownish gray (10YR 6/2) sandy loam soil was very compact. In the southwest corner of the unit Locus 1036 appeared. The stratum had 9 cm of average thickness, and was semi-compacted, consisting of brown (10YR 5/3) clayey sand. The general level below Locus 1034, Locus 1038, represented a wall fall event, or the dumping of adobe construction material, perhaps from a time in the mid-to-late 20<sup>th</sup> century when the area behind the church was used as a livestock corral. Locus 1038 was light reddish gray (2.5YR 7/1) and consisted mostly of clay mixed with calicanto. It also extended below Locus 1037, as well.

Starting in the southwest corner, under Locus 1036, a new layer was encountered, Locus 1039, which extended beneath the entirety of Locus 1038. Locus 1039 consisted of semi-loose grayish brown (10YR 5/2) sandy loam. The locus was included with a high quantity of modern trash (fragments of glass from pop and beer bottles, plastics, etc.). Apart from its high organic component, there were many fragments of wood and reed matting, as well as ashes and charcoal, with high concentrations of charred material in the southwest and northeast corners of the unit.



An irregularly shaped cut feature, probably a posthole, was identified in Locus 1039 near the center of the eastern half of the unit.

At the next level the excavators encountered three new contexts: Loci 1041, 1042, and 1043. Locus 1041 extended from the southwest corner of the unit to the center point of the northern unit profile. The southern portion of this locus consisted of burnt soil with a high concentration of ash. Judging from the presence of modern artifacts in this context, it is very likely that the burned portion represents a trash fire even which occurred in the 1980s or '90s. The soil of Locus 1041 is generally a loose silty sand, and similarly, the Locus 1043 consisted of a semi-loose silty sand with a high concentration of vegetable material and trash, dating to the early 1990s. In the northeast unit corner there was a concentration of deteriorated reed matting. At this level Locus 1042 covered the rest of the unit to the south of Loci 1041 and 1043, consisting of a compacted sandy clay and having evidence various burn events and a high quantity of modern trash mixed with a small proportion of older artifacts.

In the northern half of the unit, below Loci 1041 and 1043 and part of Locus 1042, Locus 1044, a fill layer of semi-loose brown (10YR 4/3) silty sand appeared. This locus had inclusions of organic material, pieces of native copper, small stones, botija and majolica sherds, but none of the plastic or modern glass that was present in the upper layers. The southern part of the unit was declared as Locus 1045, and consisted of a compacted sandy loam soil, but unlike Locus 1044, Locus 1045 was mixed with modern garbage and older materials. Additionally, the western half of Locus 1045 was burned. Loci 1044 and 1045, although appearing at almost the same level in the unit, most likely represent the last two contexts with modern disturbance or influence. Both strata ended upon the surface of Locus 1046, at an average depth of 58 cm BD.

Beginning with Locus 1046, was a very compact layer of melted adobes that persisted for approximately 1 meter. The feature was subdivided adobe arbitrary into four loci for better control over the vertical deposition: Loci 1046, 1049, 1052, and 1054. In general, the feature consisted of hard packed brown (10YR 4/3) sandy clay which comprised the melted adobes, whose individual forms were unidentifiable. Two postholes were identified on the surface of Locus 1046: Locus 1047, a rectangular hole near the western unit profile which measured 28 cm by 19 cm and 24 cm deep, and Locus 1048, a centrally positioned circular hole measuring 19cm in diameter and 8cm in depth. Although the two were on the same level, their disparate shapes would suggest two distinct events. At the southeast corner of the unit at about 93 cm BD, there appeared a small pocket of empty space in the profile, which revealed a disturbance originating on the surface reaching deep with the unit. This feature was identified as Locus 1050, and in addition to representing the fossa, included the loose fill, gravel, and modern trash that comprised the disturbance in the southeastern corner of the unit.

Beneath the disturbance represented by Locus 1050, at a depth of 108 cm BD, another layer of fill was encountered, which also contained some modern material: Locus 1051. This locus consisted of a semi-compacted brown (10YR 5/3) sandy clay. Locus 1051 seems to be a modern fill event consisting of modern trash which accumulated next to the colonial adobe wall (or platform). Locus 1046, the upper most stratum of the wall feature, covered a large portion of Locus 1051, and therefore represented an event of collapse of an upper portion of the wall which must have still be extant in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Due to the number of modern materials in Locus 1051, it was not excavated, and instead it was left as a baulk, which also facilitated the entry of the excavators in the unit.

At 90 cm BD in the northeast corner of the unit, a distinct stratum, Locus 1053, was identified that had a matrix of semi-loose sandy clay mottled yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) and brown (10YR 4/3). The context had a high number of rounded and smoothed river stones which were surrounded by a slightly looser matrix. At about 159 cm BD the largest of the stones were no longer present and the change was identified as Locus 1054. This next layer extended below the adobe wall (Locus 1052) for the entire unit on this level, and it was determined to be a preparation for the construction of the adobe feature. Locus 1054 was barren of any material culture and consisted of semi-compact silty sand with inclusions of small smooth stones. This was the last context excavated in the unit, determining that the excavation had indeed arrived upon culturally sterile soil. The unit obtained a maximum depth of 1.69 m BD.

#### *Unit 2 Level Groupings*

- Level 1: Loci 1033, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1038, 1039, 1040, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1045, 1050, 1051
- Level 2: Locus 1044
- Level 3: Loci 1047, 1048
- Level 4: Loci 1046, 1049, 1052
- Level 5: Locus 1053
- Level 6: Locus 1054

### **Unit 3, San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca**

Location (WGS 1984): 479527 8379198 18S UTM

Dimensions: 2 m x 2 m

Declared Loci: 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1062, 1063, 1064, 1065, 1066, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1091, 1092, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1098, 1099, 1100

The first excavation unit at the site of San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca was the third of the season. Unit 3 measured 2 m by 2 m and was placed about 8 m west of the ex-Casa Hacienda, in the garden of the owners of the western apartment. The unit was setup with an orientation toward the cardinal directions. The exact location of the unit was chosen with reference to the alignment of the church, being placed just shy of 14 m north along the projection of the Western Jesuit Gate adjacent to the Jesuit chapel.

#### *Summary of Loci*

The surface level, Locus 1056, was shallow with an average thickness of 3.5 cm. It consisted of brown (10YR 5/3) semi-compact clay and sandy. The locus ended on a flaky compaction (Locus 1057), and had inclusions of very modern material. Beneath Locus 1057, at an average of 13 cm BD the excavators encountered two different contexts, Loci 1058 and 1059. The later was a general locus which was very similar to the upper two loci, but with a medium density of medium-sized river stones. Like the levels above, this layer was probably compacted by foot

traffic and exhibits signs of episodes of repeated wetting and drying. Locus 1058 was an irregular band along the southwest corner of the unit consisting of light brown (10YR 6/3) fine grain loose sand. According to the homeowners, this area has been used for cleaning, temporary storage, and drying of the potatoes in recent history, and the sandy nature of these upper stratum is probably due to the sand and the water used to clean the tubers.

At 16.5 cm BD Locus 1060 was encountered, which had patches of loose, fine sand surrounded by a sandy clay matrix of semi-compact mottled brown (10YR 5/3) and yellowish brown (10YR 6/3) soil. In the northeast corner of the unit the excavators come across construction materials such as brick and concrete fragments and stones from a relatively modern structure. Locus 1060 had a very light density of artifacts, including some modern material along with older ceramic sherds and glass fragments. In the course of excavating Locus 1060, another stratum, Locus 1061, first appeared in the southwest corner. The locus was discovered to extend under the entirety of 1060, and consisted of brown (10YR 5/3) loose sand. In the northeast corner there appeared a small inclusion of modern refuse. The loose sand characteristic of this locus also appeared in southeast of the unit.

At an average depth of 49.5 cm BD two new loci were declared, Loci 1062 and 1063. Locus 1062 occupied the eastern part of the unit and Locus 1063, the west. The first was a compact layer of grayish brown (10YR 5/2) clay with inclusions of roots. The stratum was deep, with an average thickness of 5.5 cm, which exhibited modern material as well as a few older artifacts. The continuous context, Locus 1063, was a level of clayey soil slightly darker (10YR 5/3) than Locus 1062, and also presented a small lens of ash in its southern extension. It represents modern disturbed deposition, in which there were the remains of a burn event, evident from a 1cm thick ash lens included in the context.

Locus 1064 had an average thickness of 17 cm, and covered the entire unit. It also exhibited similarities with Locus 1062, as it consisted of compacted clayey earth associated with fragments of brick, and a few nearly intact bricks, which appeared within the first 5 cm of the level. While the majority of the artifacts in this context were 20<sup>th</sup> century in origin, there were some 19<sup>th</sup> century materials, as well as some which might date to even earlier occupations.

Locus 1065 was the first context in Unit 3 without any modern artifacts, and it represented a deposition of fill with brick fragments, miscellaneous earthenware sherds, animal bone, assorted glass, refined earthenwares, majolica, and porcelain. It appeared as a loose soil with associated stones and bricks, and was lighter (more yellow) with respect to the layer above (10YR 5/2). Given the depth of the context, and not yet seeing any change in matrix, the excavators closed the locus after 11 cm, and declared a new and arbitrary locus, Locus 1066. In this way, the excavators were able to exercise better vertical control over the provenience of materials. Locus 1066 continued for another 16 cm, before terminating on top of Loci 1067, 1068, and 1091 in the eastern portion of the unit. However, at this depth, the matrix of Locus 1066 continued in the rest of the unit. The excavators therefore declared this continuation a Locus 1069, again controlling for spatial provenience.

Loci 1067, 1068, and 1091 form part of a small slope from the eastern profile toward the middle of the unit. Locus 1067 was a thin layer of clay soil with small pebbles, which sat on the Locus 1068 along the eastern unit profile. Locus 1068 was a strata of sand and gravel of a lighter color than that of Locus 1067. Both Loci 1067 and 1068 appeared to be non-anthropogenic deposits lacking any artifacts. The Locus 1091 was an ash lens found in the northeast corner of the unit and did not present any artifacts.

In the eastern portion of the unit, below Loci 1091 and 1068, the excavators encountered Loci 1094 and 1095, at an average of 108 cm BD. Locus 1093 was situated contemporaneous with Loci 1094 and 1095, and was very similar to Loci 1063, 1064, 1065, 1066 and 1069, but seemed to be at one moment, an occupational surface, given that it had an intrusive round feature, possibly a posthole, Locus 1092. This circular hole was approximately 15 cm in diameter, although appearing to be a posthole, the possibility cannot be ruled out that it was created through a natural process, as excavators recovered for the context only a single animal bone and a sherd, and the context was also cut by a root. Excavators also encountered a large number of ants in the unit at this level from a nearby colony.

At 149 cm BD Locus 1093 ended, revealing the greater extent of Locus 1094, as well as three new contexts: Loci 1096, 1097, and 1099. Although Loci 1094, 1095, 1096, and 1099 all differ slightly in color, soil composition, and compaction, all were culturally sterile, in that they contained no artifacts and do not appear to be the result of anthropogenic processes. These loci sloped from the western and eastern profiles toward the center of the unit. However, those loci which had filled the resultant trench, Loci 1097 and 1098, contained an abundance of material culture. Locus 1097 consisted of brown (10YR 5/2) loose sandy loam, and ended on to Locus 1098, which was encountered at 158 cm BD. Locus 1098 was the last anthropogenic locus in Unit 3, and its matrix was a brown (10YR 5/3) of the unit compact clayey sand, and had inclusions of stones and bricks, just as the loci above it, and some ceramic sherds (including majolica and refined earthenware) and glass.

The last stratum excavated in Unit 3 was Locus 1100, which ended with at a maximum depth of 171 cm BD. The locus was completely sterile of cultural materials and was composed of light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) loose sand.

*Unit 3 Level Groupings*

Level 1: Loci 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1062

Level 2: Loci 1063, 1064, 1065, 1066

Level 3: Locus 1092

Level 4: Locus 1097

Level 5: Locus 1093

Level 6: Locus 1098

Level 7: Locus 1067

Level 8: Loci 1068, 1091

Level 9: Locus 1094

Level 10: Locus 1095

Level 11: Loci 1096, 1099

Level 12: Locus 1100



#### **Unit 4, San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca**

Location (WGS 1984): 479635 8379299 18S UTM

Dimensions: 2 m x 1 m

Declared Loci: 1071, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1077, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1089, 1111, 1112

Unit 4 was located between the road and the north wall of the enclosure of the community of San Javier's Sports Complex. Unit 4, a 2 m by 1 m excavation, was placed 50 cm north of the northern wall of San Javier's enclosed Sports Complex. The unit was aligned parallel to the complex's brick wall, oriented at 280°, and was set 37 cm west of the gate to the complex.

#### *Summary of Loci*

The unit's surface level (Locus 1071) was comprised of an olive gray (5Y 4/2) medium grain loose sand. The cultural materials in this context consisted of modern trash, adobe fragments, and botija sherds, which can be found on the ground surface everywhere in this area of the site. The soil matrix also contained a number of medium sized cobble stones. Locus 1071 had an average thickness of 2.5 cm.

Below the surface level three contexts (Loci 1072, 1073, and 1074) were identified, all of which seem to have been related to fill or wall fall events resulting from the construction of the adjacent Sports Complex. Locus 1073 was concentrated on the eastern portion of the unit and

seems to represent a wall fall event due to the pulverized and compacted adobe material; its soil was compact and semi-dark grayish brown (2.5Y 4/2) sandy clay. Locus 1074 occupied the western portion of the unit, and like Locus 1073, was quite shallow with only a centimeter of average depth. This layer had gravel inclusions in a matrix of olive brown (1.5Y 4/4) medium grain sand. It had little compaction and also had adobe fragments and good deal of modern trash. At this level, Locus 1072 appeared in the southeast corner of the unit. The same matrix was present under Loci 1073 and 1074 as well, however the excavators gave this part of the level its own designation: Locus 1075. Both Loci 1072 and 1075 consisted of a semi-compacted layer of dark gray olive medium grain sand, and had an average thickness of 2.5 cm.

Below Locus 1075 the excavators encountered Locus 1076, a loose reddish layer of organic material and very dark brown (10YR 2/2) loose clay, with gravel of relative uniformity throughout the unit. Continuing an average of another 5 cm in depth two distinct loci (Loci 1077 and 1078) were identified at an average of 33 cm BD.

Locus 1077 was, in part, stratigraphically above Locus 1078, especially in the southern part of the unit. The two layers were very similar fill events, although Locus 1077 had a higher density of compact clayey soil, and Locus 1078 was sandier and softer. Locus 1078 also had a presence of ash lenses, and inclusions of small and medium cobble stones.

Locus 1079 first appeared in the excavation of Unit 4 at around 50 cm BD. It was a layer of compact very dark brown (10YR 2/2) coarse sand, and had inclusions of rounded stones, brick fragments, and an assortment of ceramic sherds, the majority of which were botija, and only one of which was majolica. The next level, Locus 1080, was roughly the same as Locus 1079, and represents an arbitrary distinction, which the excavators identified for better vertical control over the excavation. At this point in the excavation a disturbance was encountered in the southeast

corner of the unit, which presented a water pipe; the excavators covered the pipe with sieved soil to protect it, and left the disturbed area in place, as the excavators continued the excavation.

At an average depth of 70 cm BD the excavators were met with another layer of fill, Locus 1081, which although having a similar soil matrix, was distinct from Locus 1080 due to its inclusions. Locus 1081 exhibited a great presence of domestic material, including utilitarian wares, and a lesser proportion of botijas sherds than the locus above. Similarly, Locus 1082 was a continuation of Locus 1081, but had a lighter color and was mottled (7.5YR 4.2 and 7.5 YR 5/2). This layer was excavated to about 94 cm BD, and, in order to control the vertical provenience of artifacts, a new locus, Locus 1083, was declared. The later was equal in all respects to Locus 1082, but completely lacked any refined earthenwares. The next layer, Locus 1084, began at an average of 10.5 cm BD, and was also an arbitrary continuation of the locus above, but had marked reduction in the presence of brick fragments. There was a substantial number of botija sherds, just as in the layers above it, and the excavators also recovered two majolica sherds, but most notably there were a number of glass shards (of various colors), refined earthenwares, nail fragments, and at least one modern artifact (the neck of a beer bottle).

Locus 1086 was "U"-shaped, lying along the southern, eastern, and western unit profiles, at an average depth of 118.5 cm BD. It was a semi-compacted layer of clay with inclusions of modern (such as bottle caps) and older artifacts (some, potentially colonial). The layer situated higher in the unit than Locus 1085, which began at an average of 123 cm BD. Locus 1085 is best described as a layer of household refuse with a predominantly 19<sup>th</sup> century provenance, with a number of refined earthenware sherds and glass shards of various colors. The excavators also recovered mixed with this decidedly 19<sup>th</sup> century material botija and majolica sherds, as well as a

few intrusive modern artifacts such as a fragment from a plastic comb. The soil of Locus 1085 was a loose medium grain brown (5YR 4/3) sand.

Loci 1087 and 1088 were situated below Locus 1085. Locus 1087 consisted of a layer of melted adobe (compact olive brown, 2.5Y 4/3, clayey soil), and relatively occupied the space in the unit below Locus 1086, but was also below the layer of domestic refuse, Locus 1085. Locus 1088 was a semi-compact layer of different composition, lacking the clayey component of the Locus 1087. It was located in along the northern unit profile, and consisted of a brown (10YR 4/3) medium grain sand, and was 3 cm thick.

Loci 1087 and 1088 both rested atop a layer (Locus 1089) principally comprised a layer of large botija sherds (n=1443, with an average weight per sherd of 271.5 g). This context represents a very important deposition of colonial botijas, from the time when the viticultural estate was administered by the Jesuits of the Lima's Colegio Maximo de San Pablo. The matrix of Locus 1089 was a semi-compact dark grayish brown (10YR 7/2) medium sand, and was about 40 cm thick, ending at an average depth of 173 cm BD on to the surface of another, but distinct, layer of a sherds (Locus 1111). This next layer, Locus 1111, consisted of was a brown (10YR 5/3) sandy silt matrix with many inclusions of vitrified material and a light density of charcoal and fire cracked rock. Some large brick fragments were recovered with vitrification and probably represent the base of a kiln. While there was a substantial amount of botija sherds in this context (n=230), it was less than in the layers above. Locus 1111 had an average thickness of about 29 cm, and ended at an average of 202 cm BD.

The last layer excavated in Unit 4 was Locus 1112 which consisted of light brownish gray (10YR 6/2) semi-loose silty clay. The layer had a higher density of clay than in the preceding locus, Locus 1111. The western part (approximately 45 cm) had the highest concentration of

clayey soil, however the eastern part was of a differently composed, with sandy soil with gravel inclusions. Locus 1112 was declared the final layer in the unit, as it did not present any cultural material. Excavation of Unit 4 was terminated at a maximum depth of 225 cm BD.

*Unit 4 Level Groupings*

Level 1: Loci 1071, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1077, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083,  
1084, 1086

Level 2: Locus 1085

Level 3: Loci 1087, 1088

Level 4: Locus 1089

Level 5: Locus 1111

Locus 6: Locus 1112

## Unit 5, San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca

Location (WGS 1984): 479583 8379164 18S UTM

Dimensions: Irregular, 2 m x 2 m – extended to 9 m<sup>2</sup>

Declared Loci: 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1149, 1167, 1168, 1170, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1174, 1175, 1176, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1183, 1184, 1185, 1186, 1187, 1188, 1189, 1190, 1191, 1192, 1192, 1193, 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197, 1198, 1199, 1200, 1201, 1202, 1203, 1204, 1205, 1206, 1207, 1208, 1209, 1210, 1211, 1212, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1216, 1217, 1218, 1219, 1220, 1221, 1222, 1223, 1224, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230

Unit 5 was placed in the Jesuit plaza at San Xavier, in front of Jesuit chapel and south of the of ex-Casa Hacienda complex. The unit was placed in this location in an effort to investigate an anomaly identified in Geophysical Zone 3, which appeared to be a structure. The excavation crew began excavation of Unit 5 as a 2 m by 2 m unit, but eventually expanded excavations in three phases, covering a total of 9 m<sup>2</sup> (see Figure 1). The original 2 m by 2 m unit was placed in the southwest corner of the anomaly, as identified by the geophysical data. The unit was aligned with the cardinal directions and the southwest corner fell 14.5 m east of the second column of the northern façade of the church. Upon encountering the first signs of the collapsed brick wall in the northeast corner of the unit, it was realized that the unit must extended the unit eastward in order

to capture both the corner and the interior of the structure. Expansion of the excavation began cautiously with a 1 m by 1 m extension ('A') east from the northeast quadrant of the unit, but it was soon realized that it would be necessary to extend excavations by another 1 m<sup>2</sup> (Extension 'B') from the southeastern quadrant of the original 2 m by 2 m unit, making Unit 5, at that point, a 3 m by 2 m excavation. Once enough of the modern surface layers were removed from above the brick and calicanto of the collapsed wall, it became clear that in order to capture a portion of the interior of the structure it would again be necessary to expand the unit to the northeast (Extension 'C'). The unit was extended from its northeast corner by one meter north, and one meter east, adding an additional 3 m<sup>2</sup> of excavation area, with a total coverage of 9 m<sup>2</sup>.

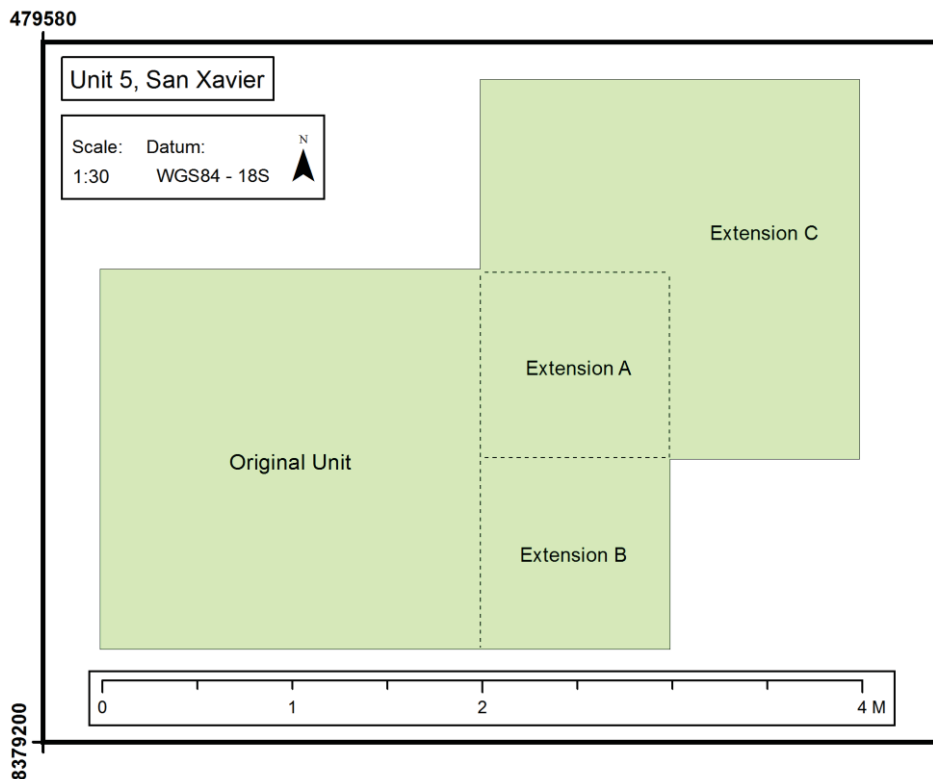


Figure 1. Unit 5. Original excavation unit and extensions.

### *Summary of Loci*

Loci 1101 (originally part of the unit), 1119 (Extension 'A'), 1139 (Extension 'B'), and 1186 (Extension 'C') represent the modern surface of the plaza. Generally, the brown (10YR 5/3) surface soil was sandy with a semi-compact to loose texture, and inclusions of gravel and small stones. The loose sand was easily removed with a brush and trowel. This surface layer contained modern trash mixed with older historical artifacts, and presented a good deal of evidence for periodic disturbance.

Immediately below the surface layer, several earlier (modern and early Republican) surfaces of the plaza were encountered. Some of these in the eastern extreme of the excavation resulted from the quadripartite garden that was in the middle of the plaza in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The 25 loci declared for these surface contexts are Loci 1012, 1141, 1130, 1187, 1106, 1104, 1107, 1140, 1131, 1167, 1105, 1142, 1132, 1133, 1103, 1143, 1134, 1108, 1109, 1144, 1137, 1135, 1110, 1145, and 1136. Some of these represent not only earlier plaza and garden surfaces, but also organic fill events, modern trash fires, and root intrusion, from the trees planted in the non-extant garden. In Extension 'C,' the excavators only declared two loci related to these superficial and relatively modern contexts (Loci 1187 and 1167). Locus 1187 was a compact layer representing an earlier plaza surface, and very similar to Loci 1102 (the original 2 m by 2 m unit), 1141 (Extension 'A'), and 1130 (Extension 'B'). Locus 1167 was arbitrarily defined, in that the excavators grouped several thin superficial layers into a single locus in order to more efficiently and expeditiously reach the wall fall feature.

Throughout the majority of the unit, the uppermost levels of wall fall began to appear at an average depth of 25 cm BD (Loci 1115, 1116, 1114, 1138, and 1168). The wall fall consisted of bricks (more or less of a uniform size: 21 cm x 26 cm x 8 cm) and melted calicanto suspended in



a soil matrix of semi-compact sandy clay. The upper strata of wall fall contained a mixture of materials dating from the 19<sup>th</sup> century and earlier, as well as a number of small rodent bones, suggesting that the context may have been disturbed by bioturbation from a colony of rats. By removing the upper layers of brick and rubble masonry, the excavators were able to define a clear pattern of wall collapse. The wall was concentrated in the eastern part of the unit, and its corner and alignment was just as had been anticipated based on the results of the geophysical survey. Loci 1169, 1189, and 1190 represent the wall fall present in the interior of the structure. Locus 1188 represents the wall fall most consistent with the structure's northern wall, while Loci 1149, 1183, and 1184 represent the collapse outward of the western and southern walls. Finally, Locus 1118 Locus represents the bricks and calicanto of the most intact segments of the walls and the corner itself. Each of these loci was carefully excavated by first removing the loose soil matrix and smaller fragments of calicanto and brick, and then collecting the larger bricks, in order to achieve a better understanding of the evident patterns of the wall collapse event. Loci 1113, 1117, 1146, and 1147 seem to be deposited contemporary to the wall fall feature, but were found along the western unit profile and contained very brick or calicanto. Once the lowest levels of wall fall had been carefully removed, the excavators anticipated finding a formal foundation, however no such evidence was found, probably due to the mode in which the structure was destroyed. It is likely that the lack of a clear structural foundations is the result of a very strong earthquake event that probably destroyed the structure during the Jesuit period, before the construction of the extant Jesuit chapel.

At 43 cm BD, directly beneath Locus 1189, a layer of wall fall inside the structure, the excavators encountered a hard, but very thin, concentration of lime (Locus 1191) in the northeast corner of the unit. The lime of Locus 1191 rested upon another, larger concentration of lime below

it (Locus 1192), which was made of purer lime. It is very likely that these loci represent formal preparations of the original floor of the building. Locus 1193, a layer of compacted fill, had a matrix of light brownish gray (2.5Y 6/3) sandy clay with inclusions of angular stones, calicanto, and brick, and was likely a preparation for both the construction of the interior floor and the structure's foundation, as evidenced by its presence below the lime not only on the inside of the structure, but the entire exterior area as well.

Loci 1172, 1178, and 1179 were contemporary with Locus 1193, and represent colonial efforts to level the surface of the plaza at the time when the brick structure was occupied. Synchronous with the base of the structure, Locus 1213 was a cut filled with a soil containing fragments of calicanto and brick. The feature was located along the southern profile, just south of the corner of the brick structure; it was first encountered at about 58 cm BD, and had a maximum depth of 96 cm BD.

Below the structure, at about 62 cm BD, a level of fill extended throughout the entire unit. The fill, deposited before the construction of the brick structure, had a number of historical period postholes cut into it. This layer (Loci 1197, 1173, and 1206) consisted of light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) compact sandy loam. The artifacts included in this layer were animal bones, fragments of calicanto, botija sherds, miscellaneous colonial ceramics, and some pre-Hispanic material, which had been mixed into the matrix. In order to maintain horizontal control over the excavation, the excavators declared the area below the interior of the brick structure Locus 1206, and the area below the exterior Loci 1197 and 1173, but it should be noted that all three of these loci represent the same stratigraphic deposition. The seven postholes that cut into Locus 1206 were: Loci 1200, 1201, 1202, 1203, 1204, 1205, and 1207. The eight postholes cutting into Loci 1197 y 1173 were: Loci 1174, 1175, 1176, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1194, and 1195. Not all of these postholes were

necessarily from the same construction event, but they are all relatively contemporaneous, and suggest that at least one structure built with wooden posts stood in this place before the brick structure.

Between 72 and 83 cm BD the excavators encountered in the above described layer of historic fill two ash lenses that probably represent thermal features or temporary hearths. Also at 62 cm BD a small pit was found in the southeast corner of the unit which had a depth of 5 cm. The excavators declared the levels below these features Loci 1210 and 1214, but the distinction between these and Loci 1197, 1173, and 1206 is more or less arbitrary, given that the matrix continues without much distinction until about 93 cm BD (Locus 1215). At this depth a slightly more compact, but very similar matrix, completely devoid of colonial materials was identified. In the course of excavating in the northeast corner of the unit, water makers were encountered in the form of whitish wavy fine lines. There was also medium sized gravel in the western half of the unit. The high density of pre-Hispanic ceramics in this context had various cultural provinces and represented a number of phases (including the Late Horizon, Nasca, and the Formative), which were mixed together, as if the area had been disturbed during an event in the late pre-Hispanic or early colonial times.

At an average of 98 cm BD, the sandy soil shifted slightly to grayer color (10YR 6/2) and became a little more compact with some gravel. A new locus was declared (Locus 1216), which covered the entire unit. This stratum also had a high density of pre-Hispanic pottery from various proveniences. Digging about 118 cm BD, the excavators found thirteen new loci (features) within the matrix of a new stratum, Locus 1217. These features consisted of seven postholes (Loci 1219, 1220, 1223, 1224, 1225, 1226, and 1230) of circular shape with an average diameter of 10 cm, five circular pits (Loci 1218, 1221, 1222, 1228, and 1229) with an average diameter of 32 cm, and

an irregularly shaped pit feature (Locus 1227) along the southern profile, which measured about 34 cm by 135 cm.

The excavation of Unit 5 was completed at Locus 1217, which seemed to have been an undisturbed pre-Hispanic context of the mid-to-late Nasca culture (AD 450-750). The surface of Locus 1217 consisted of very light grayish brown (10YR 8/2) compact loamy sand, dotted with many small droplets of lime inclusions. There was also a number of plant roots throughout the matrix. The layer appeared to be intact and undisturbed, which represented a change from the previous disturbed layers of fill above. The surface of this locus was marked by a number of pit and posthole features (as described previously). To confirm suspicions that this layer was a pre-Hispanic floor surface, the team excavated a test area of only of original portion (2 m x 2 m) of the unit. This test was excavated through two natural strata of Locus 1217: 1) very light grayish brown soil compact sandy loam, and 2) light gray (10YR 7/2) compact sand. This first natural stratum was of variable thickness, being about 7 cm thick in near the northern profile and roughly 13 cm thick close to the southern profile, and it ended onto the highly irregular surface of the second natural level. Although this test portion of Locus 1217 was excavated with the goal of examining what lay beneath the surface of the first natural stratum, the excavators did not stop at the natural next level, but continued to dig approximately 10 cm beyond the second level's horizon in order to properly assess the presence and density of cultural materials, finishing at an average of 135 cm BD.

Between the first and second natural stratum of Locus 1217, there were some small (3-8 cm long) angular stones. There was also a small amount of charcoal flecks scattered lightly in both strata of the locus, but it is noteworthy that it was only a very light dispersion. The density of materials from this locus was also very light compared to the layers of sandy fill above it, and

almost all of the sherds were from utilitarian cooking vessels with little or no decoration. Most ceramics came from the interface between the first and second natural strata of Locus 1217. There were some small pockets of sand, as well within the interface, especially notable in the north profile. The eastern profile and the floor of the unit also demonstrate these two natural strata were fairly shallow, the second terminating onto a third natural stratum of very pale brown (10YR 7/3) medium/fine sand.

As the principal goal of the project was not focused on the pre-Hispanic aspects of the site, excavations of Unit 5 were terminated at Locus 1217. Before backfilling the unit with sieved soil, the floor of the unit was covered with plastic in order to better preserve the unexcavated contexts.

#### *Unit 5 Level Groupings*

- Level 1: Loci 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1119, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1167, 1186, 1187
- Level 2: Loci 1114, 1115, 1116, 1138, 1163
- Level 3: Loci 1113, 1149, 1169, 1170
- Level 4: Loci 1117, 1183, 1189
- Level 5: Loci 1118, 1146, 1147, 1184, 1188, 1190
- Level 6: Loci 1148, 1171, 1177, 1185, 1195, 1191, 1199
- Level 7: Loci 1172, 1178, 1179, 1213, 1192
- Level 8: Locus 1193
- Level 9: Loci 1174, 1175, 1176, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1194, 1195, 1200, 1201, 1202, 1203, 1204, 1205, 1207

Level 10: Loci 1173, 1197, 1206

Level 11: Loci 1208, 1209, 1211

Level 12: Locus 1212

Level 13: Loci 1210, 1214

Level 14: Locus 1215

Level 15: Locus 1216

Level 16: Loci 1218, 1219, 1220, 1221, 1222, 1223, 1224, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230

Level 17: Locus 1217

## Unit 6, San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca

Location (WGS 1984): 479583 8379203 18S UTM

Dimensions: 2 m x 1 m

Declared Loci: 1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166

South of the gallery of the ex-casa hacienda at San Xavier are three gardens that occupy the space between the house and the old Jesuit plaza. In conversation with the owners of these properties, it was decided to excavate a unit in the central garden. Unit 6 was a 2 m by 1 m excavation unit, placed 30 cm west of the garden gate, and 30 cm south of the north garden wall (constructed of woven reed matting).

### *Summary of Loci*

Located south of the ex-Casa Hacienda, in the garden of Maria Hernandez, the upper 34 cm (Loci 1120, 1121, 122, 1124, and 1125) of Unit 6 contained layers of remains from trash fires, mixed organic fill, modern garbage, and historical artifacts. The soil in these upper levels was visibly depleted and crumbly, and appeared to have been wetted and dried repeatedly. These superficial soils had coarse textures, ranging from sands to silty clays, and had colors between brown (10YR 5/3) and dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2). At about 6.5 cm BD the excavators encountered an irregular stratum (Locus 1123) of brown (10YR 5/3) clayey soil. This locus had

inclusions of roots and was quite compact. At around 20 cm BD, the irregular patch of clayey soil had spread throughout the unit, and the excavators gave the context a new locus number (1126) in order to maintain better vertical control over the excavation. The Loci 1123 and 1126 seem to represent a pit associated with the cultivation of the garden, but contain a higher concentration of trash. Apart from a high concentration of roots and organic material in the semi-compact matrix of the clayey loam, the excavators found fragments of brick, animal bone, ceramic sherds (including fragments of botija, majolica, and refined earthenware), plaster, transparent glass, and miscellaneous pieces metal.

Locus 1126 ended at about 31 cm BD on to a very similar stratum (Locus 1127), but with a much higher concentration of plaster and brick fragments – architectural debris discarded from one of the many episodes of structural remodeling of the Casa Hacienda. While this context was located at a considerable depth below the surface, it still represents a 20<sup>th</sup> century event, as a plastic button was recovered. Around 38 cm BD, the fragments of brick and plaster disappeared from the matrix, and although most of the soil's characteristics remained the same, the excavators declared a new locus (Locus 1128). This locus contained no modern plastic, metal, or glass artifacts, indicating that the excavation had likely reached an intact pre-1950 context.

The next locus (Locus 1129) was found at about 45.5 cm BD, and was considerably darker in color (10YR 4/2) and very compact. Most of the artifacts were a mix of late colonial and early Republican materials (refined earthenwares, botijas, etc.). However, there was evidence of bioturbation around the heavy concentrations of tree roots in this level. A large fragment of late colonial brick was also found, which extended into the next level (Locus 1150). In order to gain better control over vertical provenience, at an average depth of 56 cm BD, the excavators declared Locus 1150 as an arbitrary division from the locus above. This locus presented a tree stain, which



represents a significant bioturbation. Locus 1150 ended at about 62 cm BD, exposing three distinct contexts (Loci 1151, 1152, and 1153).

Locus 1151 represents a compact layer of brown (10YR 5/3) clayey loam, and took the form of a shallow band of bioturbation associated with the circular feature of the tree stain from the locus above (locus 1150). Locus 1152 was found just below both Loci 1150 and 1151, representing a transitional layer to Locus 1153, which exhibited notable mixing from root activity. This layer's soil was a brown clayey loam (10YR 5/3) mottled with light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4).

Locus 1153 consisted of a yellowish light brown (10YR 6/4) semi-compact sandy clay. The layer was spread over a large part of the unit, except the southwest corner and along the eastern profile. It seems that soil of this locus originated from the collapse of a small adobe wall (or perhaps a platform), represented by Locus 1156, that ran across the garden during the 19<sup>th</sup> (or possibly late-18<sup>th</sup>) century with a general north-south alignment. This feature (Locus 1156) was likely a double-coursed adobe wall, with a maximum block width of 30 cm, although the bricks were very deteriorated and difficult to identify as such. Given its strong and very straight western frontier, the wall seems to have collapsed toward the east (if it represents a structural wall, it is likely that it collapsed inward). It is also possible that at one time the adobe wall was plastered and painted blue, as fragments of plaster with blue pigment were recovered from this locus. In addition to recovering glass shards, ceramic sherds, animal bone, and fragments of brick, a square-head nail was found. While many of the cultural materials recovered from this context may have been embedded within the adobes, and therefore representative not of the activities carried out in the vicinity of Unit 6, but representative of the place of manufacture for the adobes, the nail may have actually been used structurally.

Locus 1154 was a layer of fill that accumulated to the east of the adobe feature, Locus 1156. The stratum consisted of yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) compacted clay mottled with flecks of charcoal; the matrix was similar to that of Locus 1158, a fill layer to the west of Locus 1156. Locus 1155 was an irregular (semi-rectangular) feature – a cut into Locus 1154. Its matrix consisted of very dark gray (10YR 3/1) loose loamy sand with charcoal inclusions, but was otherwise devoid of artifacts. The feature may have been an irregular posthole, or, more likely, a bioturbation.

West of Locus 1156 the excavators recorded two fill events: Loci 1157 and 1158. Locus 1158 was found in the southwest corner of the unit, west of Locus 1156 and south of Locus 1157. The fill consisted of compact brown (10YR 5/3) silty clay, which was much more similar to Locus 1154, than to Locus 1157 to its north – in fact, it seems to have been uniformly different from Locus 1157, with a very straight and strong boundary between two contexts. Locus 1158 also had inclusions of charcoal, clay, and (small and flat) stones.

Locus 1157 was recorded in the northwest corner of the unit, to the west of Locus 1156 and north of Locus 1158. This fill layer consisted of brown (10YR 4/3) compact clay, with inclusions of roots, flecks charcoal, and many medium-sized (<10 cm) river stones.

Below Loci 1156, 1154, 1158, 1160, and 1157, the excavators recorded Locus 1160, a layer of compacted brown (10YR 4/3) clay, which first appeared at an average depth of 80 cm BD. This layer appears to have been prepared, possibly as a sub-floor, but its surface was undulating and irregular, and was slightly higher in the eastern half of the unit. If degraded adobe feature (Locus 1156) was an architectural element associated with Locus 1160, it is possible that the surface represents an interior sub-floor. There were patches of a thin crust of lime (an element used in the construction of floors) throughout the unit, but they were mostly concentrated in the northeast

corner. In addition, there was evidence of root action penetrating from the upper levels that may have caused some bioturbation in this locus as well. A small circular intrusion (Locus 1159) was found in the surface of Locus 1160 in the eastern half of the unit. The hole measured about 10 cm in diameter and 5 cm deep. Locus 1159 could have been a posthole, but was filled with the same soil as Locus 1156.

A new Locus (1162) was declared at an average of 88 cm BD, when the excavators encountered a large (~40 cm diameter by 14 cm deep) posthole (Locus 1161) in the eastern half of the unit. Locus 1161 was filled with semi-compact brown (10YR 5/3) clayey loam and yielded a light density of artifacts, including fragments of brick and calicanto, and a cobalt transfer-printed pearlware sherd (diagnostic of 1795-1820). This posthole was probably part of a larger structure, probably built with posts, thatch, and reed mats. The surrounding matrix, Locus 1162, was very similar to the 1160 locus, but was extremely compact and exhibited a higher density of material culture, including botija sherds, transparent and green glass, brick fragments, and animal bone.

In the western corners of the unit there were patches of light, loose soils with distinct borders. While the stain in the southwest corner was very superficial and seems to have been a mottled mixture of soils, the stain in the northwest corner (Locus 1163) was a pit feature, which cut about 25 cm into Locus 1162 and through it to the next layer (Locus 1165). Locus 1163 consisted of semi-compact grayish brown (10YR 5/2) clayey loam and was slightly mottled with charcoal flecks and included with brick fragments. Both refined and coarse earthenware sherds were recovered from this context, as well as animal bone, plaster, and glass.

Just below Locus 1162 the excavators recorded Locus 1165, a layer of light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) semi-compact sandy loam with an average depth of 104 cm BD. This layer contained a high density of small roots, but only a single artifact, a small piece of brick was

recovered. In the northwest of the unit, below Locus 1163, was a square pit (Locus 1164) containing dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) semi-compact clayey loam very. This second basin-shaped square pit was shallow (6 cm deep), and contained only a few animal bones, fragments of brick, and inclusions of small stones. The layer ended upon Locus 1165, and next level, Locus 1166, which proved to be sterile.

Because the Locus 1165 had a very light density of artifacts, and a large number of river stones were present in Locus 1166, it was decided to split the unit in half and just dig the western half of Locus 1166. The deposition consisted of light brown loose sand with inclusions of medium sized river cobbles and iron oxide. Twenty centimeters were excavated into this context in order to guarantee that sterile soil had been reached. Locus 1166 contained no artifacts, and therefore excavation was terminated, with a maximum unit depth of 131 cm BD.

#### *Unit 6 Level Groupings*

Level 1: Loci 1120, 1121, 1122, 1124, 1125

Level 2: Loci 1123, 1126

Level 3: Locus 1127

Level 4: Locus 1128

Level 5: Locus 1129

Level 6: Locus 1150

Level 7: Locus 1151

Level 8: Locus 1152

Level 9: Loci 1153, 1155

Level 10: Loci 1154, 1157, 1158

Level 11: Locus 1156

Level 12: Locus 1159

Level 13: Locus 1160

Level 14: Loci 1161, 1163

Level 15: Loci 1162, 1164

Level 16: Locus 1165

Level 17: Locus 1166

## **Unit 7, San Joseph de la Nasca**

Location (WGS 1984): 486093 8378135 18S UTM

Dimensions: 2 m x 1.5 m

Declared Loci: 1231, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1248, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1284, 1285, 1286, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1300, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1304, 1305, 1306, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1320, 1321, 1322, 1323, 1324, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1328, 1329, 1330, 1331, 1332, 1333, 1335, 1336, 1337

Unit 7 was placed south of the concrete paved sports court and north of the fence surrounding the primary school at San José. This area of the archaeological site of San Joseph de la Nasca is northwest of the Jesuit church and plaza and directly south of the road to Ingenio. The size and location of the unit was limited due to the probability that this area was disturbed when the electrical cables were placed for the lighting of the sports court, as well as by the proximity to the trench excavated for the wall/fence around the school. The unit measured 2 m from east to west, 1.5 m north to south, and was aligned to the angle of the sports court, approximately  $-15^{\circ}$ . Its northeast corner was 1.2 m south of the sports court's pavement and 2.65 m west of the pavement's southeastern corner.

### *Summary of Loci*

Unit 7 yielded modern, early Republican, colonial, and pre-Hispanic contexts within 53 loci excavated to a maximum depth of 244 cm below the surface. The surface level consisted of loose brown (10YR 5/3) sand. The first 53 cm excavated consisted of superficial and disturbed soils dating to the mid-to-late 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. The majority of the cultural materials were commercial plastics and glass beer and soda bottles, although some earlier pre-Hispanic, colonial, and Republican materials were mixed with the modern trash. In total, there were seven distinct superficial modern depositional events (Loci 1231, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1235, 1236, and 1237). These strata seem to have been created through modern processes of construction and remodeling in the vicinity since the destruction of the large multi-roomed structure present in this area in the 1940s. Of particular note in these strata were the exceptionally well-preserved tire tracks of a 20<sup>th</sup> century automobile in the compact fine clayey sand of Locus 1237, at about 47 cm BD.

Below Locus 1237, at 57 cm BD, was Locus 1238, the first strata to be completely absent of modern materials. The layer covered the entirety of the unit and was very similar to the level above, also consisting of brown (10YR 5/3) compact fine clayey sand, although there was a very superficial dark yellowish brown coloration which separated the two depositional events (especially in the northern profile). The layer was a fill event containing a variety of domestic and industrial artifacts including majolica and botija sherds, animal bone, green and clear glass, miscellaneous ferrous metal, and slag, as well as architectural debris such as calicanto, nail fragments, and brick fragments. An area of compaction in the northern part of the unit at about 68 cm BD might have been a very eroded series of adobes, possibly wall fall from a Republican-era structure.

At about 75 cm BD, below Locus 1238, the excavators encountered Locus 1239, a compact light brownish gray (10YR 6/2) clayey layer of sand. The level covered the entire unit, and had inclusions of carbon flecks and plaster, with a higher density of ceramics and bone than in the previous locus. The soil in the northern half of the unit remained slightly darker and less compact than in the southern portion. A large angular stone appeared in the southwestern corner and an irregularly shaped patch of fine sand (Locus 1241), also appeared below this locus. The level seems to have been a layer of mixed fill, covering architectural debris.

The above mentioned Locus 1241 was encountered at about 95 cm BD and was located in the northwest quadrant of the unit. Despite its irregular shape, it is likely that the feature was a posthole cut into Locus 1242, rather than a pit. The hole is about 5 cm deep and measures about 30 cm in diameter. The brown (10YR 4/3) fine loose sand had inclusions of small stones and charcoal, as well as some animal bone and coarse earthenware.

Locus 1242 is the first true floor surface encountered in Unit 7. The layer consists of a brown (10YR 4/4) compact clayey sand and had a moderate density of charcoal flecking and a moderate density of animal bone. The large angular stone that appeared in the previous locus continued into the southwest corner of the present locus, as well as degraded adobe fragments in the northern portion of the locus and near the northwestern corner of the unit, surrounding Locus 1241. Artifacts included bone, square-headed nail fragments, shell, and an assortment of coarse earthenware ceramics including botija and majolica sherds. In addition to the stone and adobes, there was a light scatter of architectural debris near the surface of the locus, including calicanto and brick. This floor probably dates to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

Below the floor surface of Locus 1242, at about 96.5 cm BD, an earlier floor surface (Locus 1245) was encountered. This floor had two features which intruded upon it, a circular posthole



(Locus 1243) and a small circular feature (Locus 1244). Locus 1243 was centrally located in the unit, near the northern profile, and had a diameter of about 20 cm and was 10 cm in depth. It was filled with brown (10YR 4/3) loose loamy sand that was devoid of artifacts. The second feature, Locus 1244, was a circular pit about 5 cm in diameter and about 7 cm deep, in the northeast quadrant of the unit. The feature may have been a posthole, but because it differs greatly in size from Locus 1243 and was filled instead with very compact pale brown (10YR 6/3) clayey sand matching the consistency of adobe, its function or original form cannot be determined.

The floor (Locus 1242) appears to be from a mid-19<sup>th</sup> century context, judging from a sherd of whiteware (generally manufactured in the 19<sup>th</sup> century post-1820) and a clear glass candlestick holder. There was also a medium density of animal bones, cut stone, coarse earthenware sherds (particularly majolica and botijas), as well as mixed material (including a pre-Hispanic obsidian flake fragment and ceramic sherds) which was likely impacted into the fill making up the floor.

Below Locus 1242, at about 113 cm BD, the excavators encountered yet another floor surface (Locus 1248) in the western two-thirds of the unit, which was cut by a pit feature in its eastern third (Locus 1246), which itself was cut by another shallow pit (Locus 1247). This secondary irregularly shaped pit, located centrally along the eastern profile, measured 40 cm north to south, 30 cm east to west and was 4 cm deep. This locus was filled with very loose brown (10YR 4/3) sand and had no artifacts. Locus 1246 was 9 cm deep and filled with dark grayish brown (10YR 5/2) loamy sand. It contained small fragments of charcoal and angular stones and an assortment of artifacts including botija sherds and other coarse earthenwares, animal bone, metal fragments (including a piece from a door frame), calicanto, and a single sherd of porcelain with a hand painted cobalt design. Like the floor surface above it, these contexts also likely date to the early-to-mid 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The floor surface, Locus 1248, consisted of a semi-compact light yellow brown (10YR 6/4) clayey sand. The matrix was included with small stones, flecks of charcoal, adobe fragments, and lumps of whitish clay. The locus was slightly damper and looser in its northern portion and the artifact density was lower than in the floor surface above (Locus 1245), but consisted of an early 19<sup>th</sup> century assemblage of green glass fragments, animal bone, miscellaneous ferrous metal fragments, botija sherds, miscellaneous coarse earthenwares, and a sherd of pearlware. Architectural debris included in the matrix consisted of nail and brick fragments.

Below the floor surface of Locus 1248 and the pit feature of Locus 1246, at about 123 cm BD, yet another floor surface was encountered in the eastern third of the unit (Locus 1249), a shallow layer of sand along the floor's western frontier (Locus 1281), and two fill events in the western half of the unit (Loci 1280 and 1282). Although its western frontier was not well defined, and seems to have been disturbed at the moment of the structure's abandonment and remodeling, the floor surface represented by Locus 1249 seems to be the youngest context of the four. The level consists of light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) compact clayey sand containing a light density of charcoal in its matrix, likely suggesting domestic habitation. The artifact density for this floor is very low compared to the floors above it and the highest concentrations of artifacts came from the southeastern corner of the locus, where the amount of charcoal was also highest. A sherd of flow blue pearlware (circa 1820-1840) confirms the early 19<sup>th</sup> century designation of the context.

Locus 1281 consisted of dark brown (10YR 5/3) semi-compact sand that was slightly looser in the northern half of the unit. The artifact density of this locus was very low compared to other contexts in the unit, but the assemblage included animal bone and assorted coarse earthenware sherds. There were a number of small stones also included in the matrix. This layer may have been slightly older or contemporary with Locus 1249, and may have been the preparation

for a wall. The context had a clear linear western frontier, and it rested on an extension of Locus 1282 in the northern half of the unit and Locus 1280 in the south.

Locus 1280 consisted of pale brown (10YR 6/3) semi-loose sand with a high density of carbonized seeds and charcoal. There were also a number of small stones included within the matrix. Majolica and botija sherds were recovered from this context along with some metal fragments, animal bone, and miscellaneous coarse earthenware sherds. The locus covered the southern portion of the western half of the unit, and is contemporaneous with Locus 1282, which covered the northern portion of the western half. Locus 1282 was yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) semi-loose clayey sand and contained a fragment of ferrous metal, animal bone, and miscellaneous coarse earthenware sherds. The eastern frontier of both Loci 1282 and 1280 was linear and abuts Locus 1285, another floor surface, at about 134 cm BD. Inferior to both loci was the surface of Locus 1286.

The floor surface represented by Locus 1285 was located in the eastern third of the unit. The matrix of this prepared surface consisted of brown (10YR 5/3) compact sandy clay. The locus had inclusions of adobe fragments, suggesting that the floor surface was likely constructed using material which included adobe wall fall from an earlier structure. Miscellaneous ferrous metal strips, animal bone, sherds of coarse earthenware (including botija), seeds, brick fragments, and a sherd from a pearlware cup with cobalt hand painting (circa 1780-1815) were recovered from the context and suggest a late 18<sup>th</sup> century or early 19<sup>th</sup> century occupation, during the Crown's administration of the estate.

Adjacent to the northwest of, and under, Locus 1285 was a narrow (about 40 cm maximum width) strip (Locus 1287) extending 70 cm toward the south from the northern profile, and proved to be a cut into the surface of Locus 1286. It had a maximum depth of 9 cm and was filled with

brown (10YR 4/3) loose fine sand with traces of oxidation; there were no artifacts recovered from within it. The cut may have been a bioturbation caused by a root.

Locus 1286 was a thin (average of 3 cm) layer of pale brown (10YR 6/3) semi-loose medium grain sand with many inclusions of white clay. The layer was higher by several centimeters in the southwestern quadrant of the unit, but extended across the unit's entirety. The density of artifacts was light, but included fragments of brick, botija and olla sherds, animal bone, and miscellaneous ferrous metal. Below Locus 1286 the excavators encountered two general loci: Locus 1300, which covered the western half of the unit, and Locus 1289 in the eastern half.

At this point during excavation, the excavators decided to maintain a baulk of 55 cm along the western profile, in order to facilitate entrance into the unit. Therefore only the section of Locus 1300 located east of the baulk was excavated. The locus had a clear linear frontier that extended diagonally from the center of the northern profile to 75 cm from the southeastern corner along the southern profile. Its matrix consisted of light gray (10YR 7/2) semi-compact clay with inclusions of medium angular stones. The texture indicates periodic episodes of wetting and drying and may have served as an exterior patio space. Among the artifacts including animal bone, slag, brick fragments, and botija and majolica sherds, there were also sherds of cobalt transfer-print pearlware (circa 1795-1840) and creamware (circa 1775-1820), suggesting a late 18<sup>th</sup> century or early 19<sup>th</sup> century depositional event.

Cut into the southwest corner of Locus 1289, a pit feature was encountered which was designated Locus 1288. The irregularly-shaped pit measured about 40 cm by 20 cm and was 15 cm deep. It was filled with very dark brown (10YR 2/2) very loose ashy/silty sand, and had inclusions of carbonized seeds, partially carbonized organic material, and burned stones – clear

indications of thermal activity within a domestic context. Other artifacts recovered included animal bone, green glass, and sherds of botijas among other coarse earthenwares.

Locus 1289 seems to have been a fill event, perhaps covering a destroyed floor surface. Its matrix consists of semi-compact pale gray (10YR 7/2) clayey sand that was looser than the compact clay of Locus 1300. Inclusions in the matrix consisted of medium stones and several pockets of sand. Artifacts included animal bone, coarse earthenware sherds, miscellaneous ferrous metal fragments, green glass, plaster, and sherds of creamware.

Below Locus 1289, at about 155 cm BD, the excavators encountered the shallow and undulating surface of Locus 1301, a remnant interface between the superior locus and Locus 1302. Upon completing the excavation of Locus 1289, Locus 1302 was found partially exposed, its matrix consisting of dark grayish brown loose sandy loam with inclusions of charcoal. This fill event consists mostly of burnt domestic refuse. In addition to recovering animal bone, green glass, nail fragments, native copper, and an assortment of coarse earthenwares (including botija and majolica sherds), a sherd of molded creamware (circa 1780) was also found.

Below Loci 1289 and 1302, the excavators encountered Locus 1303 in the southeastern corner of the unit. Locus 1303 was flanked by a late 18<sup>th</sup> century brick (about 20 cm x 10 cm x 5 cm) to the north and had sharp 90° borders with Locus 1302, suggesting the corner of a feature – likely the remnants of a hearth at the corner of a floor surface. The matrix consisted of compact grayish brown sandy clay with inclusions of adobe, angular small stones, and flecks of charcoal. Fragments of brick, animal bone, and miscellaneous coarse earthenwares were also recovered, nearly all of which were burned. Below it, at 168 cm BD, the excavators encountered a floor surface consisting of compact gray (10YR 5/1) clayey sand with inclusions of charcoal.

At the same depth in the rest of the unit, the surface of a midden (Locus 1321) was encountered, likely exterior to the structure housing the floor surface represented by Loci 1303 and 1309. Cut into Locus 1321 were five shallow pits (Loci 1304, 1305, 1306, 1307, and 1308) filled with the remains of trash fire events. Within these burn events the excavators found animal bone, botija and majolica sherds, and green glass. Locus 1320 was a similar pit cut into Locus 1321, but its contents were unburned. The midden surface represented by Locus 1321 consisted of semi-compact light yellow brown clayey sand. The matrix was included by small and medium angular stones and artifacts included animal bone, shell, black felt, miscellaneous ferrous metal, native copper, clear and green glass fragments, miscellaneous coarse earthenware sherds, and cobalt transfer-print pearlware (circa 1795).

Just below Locus 1321, at an average depth of 184 cm BD, Locus 1322 was encountered, a layer of fill with semi-loose brown (10YR 4/4) loamy sand with inclusions of small stones and charcoal. This stratum represents a deposition from the earliest part of the Crown period after the Jesuit expulsion as indicated by the artifacts recovered from this context: animal bone, brick fragments (including one mostly whole brick), botija sherds, miscellaneous coarse earthenwares, majolica, plaster with red pigment, and creamware with red hand painting (circa 1765-1810). It is likely that this locus, like the one above, was intentionally deposited as a midden when the surrounding space was reorganized.

Below the sandy midden of Locus 1321, refuse contexts were encountered which probably represent the late period of the Jesuit administration of the hacienda in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. At about 191 cm BD the excavators encountered a midden context which covered the entirety of the unit: Locus 1327. On the surface of this midden four refuse features (Loci 1323, 1324, 1325, and 1326) were encountered. Two of these features were fire pits containing burnt domestic refuse

deposited and burned in single events: Locus 1323 in the northwest corner of the unit, and Locus 1324 in the southwest. Loci 1325 and 1326 also contained domestic and food refuse, but were unburned and located along the southern profile west of Locus 1324.

Along the southern portion of the eastern profile, at about 196 cm BD, the excavators encountered a very shallow sandy ash lens (Locus 1328) with inclusions of charcoal. The stain was semicircular in form and contained no artifacts. The excavators interpret it as a burning event associated with the remnants of a burnt wooden post found within the adjacent unit profile. The post (Locus 1337) had a depth of 45 cm and was likely at the corner of a structure or ramada associated with the processing of botijas located south and east of the location of the unit.

Contemporary with Locus 1328, the excavators encountered a similar superficial ash lens in the northwestern corner of the unit, Locus 1329, which was also devoid of artifacts. Locus 1328 was found resting upon the surface of Locus 1330, a layer of semi-compact brown (10YR 5/3) sand with inclusions of small angular stones. Artifacts included unburned animal bones and miscellaneous coarse earthenware sherds, including botijas.

To the north of Locus 1330 was Locus 1331, which seems to have been exterior to the structure represented by the posthole (Locus 1337). Locus 1331 consisted of semi-compact pale brown (10YR 6/3) sand, which also contained small and medium angular stones, characteristic of local bedrock. A number of botija sherds and animal bones were also recovered from this context.

Below both Loci 1330 and 1331 at an average depth of 204 cm BD, the excavators encountered Locus 1332, a deposit of semi-loose light gray ashy sand which surrounded a large cache of intentionally deposited broken botijas. The event occupied the northwestern half of the unit, meeting Locus 1333, a sterile surface of bedrock, at a (mostly) linear frontier running diagonally across the unit. On top of Locus 1333 sat an irregular ash lens (Locus 1334), likely

from a burn event, however the context was devoid of artifacts. Locus 1336, encountered at 210 cm BD, below Locus 1333, also proved to consist of sterile soil.

Below Locus 1332, at an average of 211 cm BD, the excavators encountered Locus 1335, which was identified as a predominantly pre-Hispanic context, containing mostly middle and late Nasca ceramics. The matrix was a light gray (10YR 7/1) compact sand with inclusions of small angular stones. Although the excavation crew did recover some botija and other coarse earthenware sherds from the interface with the superior locus, it was determined that the primary event had been deposited during the Nasca period, and the excavation of the unit was therefore terminate, having reached a maximum depth of 248 cm BD.

#### *Unit 7 Level Groupings*

Level 1: Loci 1231, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1237

Level 2: Locus 1238

Level 3: Locus 1239

Level 4: Locus 1241

Level 5: Locus 1242

Level 6: Loci 1243, 1244

Level 7: Locus 1245

Level 8: Locus 1247

Level 9: Loci 1246, 1248

Level 10: Loci 1249, 1281

Level 11: Loci 1280, 1282, 1285

Level 12: Locus 1287



Level 13: Locus 1286

Level 14: Loci 1288, 1300

Level 15: Locus 1289

Level 16: Locus 1301

Level 17: Locus 1302

Level 18: Loci 1303, 1304, 1305, 1306, 1307, 1308, 1320

Level 19: Locus 1309

Level 20: Locus 1321

Level 21: Locus 1322

Level 22: Locus 1323, 1324, 1325, 1326

Level 23: Locus 1327

Level 24: Loci 1329, 1337

Level 25: Loci 1328, 1331

Level 26: Locus 1330

Level 27: Loci 1332, 1333, 1334

Level 28: Loci 1335, 1336

## **Unit 8, San Joseph de la Nasca**

Location (WGS 1984): 486145 8378122 18S UTM

Dimensions: 1.5 m x 1.5 m

Declared Loci: 1250, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1274, 1275, 1276, 1277, 1278, 1279, 1290, 1291, 1292, 1293, 1296, 1297, 1298, 1299, 1310, 1312, 1313, 1314, 1315, 1316, 1317, 1318, 1319

Unit 8 was located adjacent to the western face of the westernmost modern residential complex overlooking the modern plaza of the town of San José. Unit 8 was placed in front of the house at Block “J,” Lot 11. It was located 62 cm west of the concrete sidewalk in front of the house (which itself is 1 m wide and directly abuts the residential complex), and 12.2 m north of the southwest corner of the residential complex. The unit was aligned to 337°, the same orientation as the residential complex. The unit measured 1.5 m by 1.5 m and was limited by spatial constraints. The unit needed to be placed between the dirt street and the curb of the sidewalk, and where it would not interfere with normal foot traffic or access to the residences.

### *Summary of Loci*

Unit 8 yielded modern, Republican, colonial, and pre-Hispanic depositions, including extensive Jesuit-era midden and structural contexts within 50 loci excavated to a maximum depth of 111 cm below the surface. The surface level consisted of very loose light olive brown (2.5Y

5/3) very fine sand, and was an average of 4.5 cm thick. Below the surface was another superficial modern level (Locus 1251), which showed signs of compaction and wetting and drying caused by many years of residents throwing water on the area in order to keep the sand and dust from blowing into their homes. Locus 1251 consisted of mottled brown (10YR 5/3) and very dark grayish brown (2.5Y 3/2) soft clayey sand, which had indications of several trash burning events in the northern portion of the unit.

At about 11 cm BD another 20<sup>th</sup> century surface context (Locus 1252) was encountered; however, there were a number of intrusions from the deposition of organic trash, floralurbation, and several posts. Locus 1252 had a very loose brown (7.5YR 5/3) clayey sand matrix, which like the superior two loci was included by small gravel. In the northeastern corner of the unit there was an intrusive pit (Locus 1255) filled with organic light brown soft clayey sand and very modern trash, including cigarette butts. A similar intrusion was identified along the northern profile, beginning at the northwestern corner of the unit (Locus 1256). This intrusion had yellow brown (10YR 5/4) loose sandy soil, and extended to a maximum depth of 13 cm BD. In the southeastern quadrant of the unit there was an organic intrusion (Locus 1253) of very loose reddish brown clayey sand, which was included by a mix of modern trash and historic period artifacts (including botija sherds). Locus 1253 seems to have originated as a disturbance due to plant activity and may be the remnant of a 20<sup>th</sup> century garden in front of the residential complex. There were also three postholes (Loci 1268, 1269, and 1270) which cut into Locus 1252; all three were modern and were likely related to recent gardening activities within the past several decades.

During the course of excavating Locus 1253 the excavators encountered seven fragments of wooden posts (Loci 1259, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1264, and 1265) in the southeastern sector of the unit. These were likely originally placed within Locus 1254, which rested stratigraphically

below Locus 1253. Locus 1254 was contained to the southeastern corner and consisted of semi-compact brown (10YR 4/3) sandy clay. Like the above levels, this locus had a mix of some modern and colonial material that was undoubtable swept into the midden at the time of deposition.

Locus 1258 was a continuation of Locus 1254, but was distinct in its coloration and softer matrix, which was grayish brown and very loose, extending to a maximum depth of 36 cm BD in its eastern portion. The feature was highly irregular, and was flanked to the south by a remnant adobe foundation (Locus 1257) and to the north by Locus 1275, a layer of adobe wall fall and (mostly) colonial domestic trash.

Five postholes (Loci 1267, 1271, 1272, 1273, and 1274) cut into Locus 1275. Loci 1271, 1272, and 1273 were relatively small (with an average diameter of 5 cm) and shallow and were all located in the northern portion of the unit. Locus 1266 was an 18 cm deep, 14 cm diameter posthole in the northeast corner of the unit. Locus 1274 first appeared as an irregular disturbance within Locus 1275, but upon further excavation was revealed to have been a circular post (Locus 1278) with a 15 cm diameter. This post cut into Locus 1276, the level inferior to Locus 1275 in the central part of the unit. Like the postholes discovered in the superior loci, there does not seem to be a specific pattern to their size or placement, and these events are likely related to gardening practices in the mid-to-late 20<sup>th</sup> century for the establishment of temporary shade awnings or ramadas.

Locus 1275 is a general layer covering the majority of the unit, except the southeastern quadrant, where its surface is cut by Locus 1258 and flanked by Locus 1257. The layer consists of light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) loose clayey soil and has large inclusions of clumpy adobe fragments. The layer was encountered at an average depth of 10.5 cm BD and it terminated at an average depth of 19 cm BD. In addition to large sherds of botijas, the excavators recovered a large number of majolica sherds from this context. The central part of the unit was less compacted and

seems to have been disturbed by root action. Residents have remarked that pacay trees lined the street in front of the houses in the 1970s, and their roots may have disrupted this context.

Below Locus 1275, the full extent of an adobe foundation remnant (Locus 1257) near the southern profile became apparent. A similar feature (Locus 1277) also became visible in the northern part of the unit and extended from its main portion along the northern profile at a 90° angle to flank the northern portion of the eastern profile as well. The double course of adobes was 40 cm thick, with one course being substantially wider than the other. To the north of Locus 1277 was a sliver of organic dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) semi-loose sandy loam which either cut into the course of adobes or filled a void between the feature and northern profile of the unit. Within this void a 6 cm diameter, 7 cm in length, wooden post was found projecting from the northern profile.

In the central part of the unit at an average depth of 21 cm BD, the excavators encountered a layer (Locus 1276) very similar to Locus 1275. Like its superior level, Locus 1276 consisted of a mix of adobe wall fall debris and colonial domestic trash, comprised of botijas and majolica sherds, animal bone, and some fragments of slag. The matrix was slightly more compact than in Locus 1275 and was a pale brown (10YR 6/3) clayey sand with large fragments of adobe and small to medium pebbles.

Below Locus 1276 the excavators encountered Locus 1292 at an average depth of 29 cm BD. This level consisted of a compact light yellowish brown clayey sand, but the inclusions of adobe fragments were smaller and less frequent than in Loci 1276 and 1275. This context represents a primary midden, where residents of the Jesuit-era hacienda likely deposited domestic trash in the narrow space between the adobe structures represented by the adobe foundation remnants along the northern and southern profiles of the unit.

Upon the exposure of Locus 1292, the excavators noted that a portion of the northern adobe wall fragment (Locus 1277) was resting on the new locus. The excavators removed the top layer of adobes to find a well-defined course of adobes (Locus 1294), which projected a maximum of 10 cm from the northwest corner of the unit, and only several centimeters in the northeast corner. Locus 1294 was intruded upon by a rectangular feature near the northwest unit corner. Similarly, upon removal of the top level of adobes along the southern profile, the excavators discovered a lower course (Locus 1293) with a straighter alignment. Cutting into Locus 1293 at the southern profile was a circular 15 cm diameter posthole (Locus 1297), which had been covered by the adobes of Locus 1257. Interpreting these features, it seems the adobe foundations represent two distinct building episodes, punctuated by an episode in which a circular post (Locus 1297) was erected in the remnants of the southern adobe remnant (Locus 1293) from the first construction event.

Under the adobe feature of Locus 1277 the excavators discovered fragments of two large brick pavers, of the same type of brick used in the construction of the Jesuit church, and likely used there to stabilize the base of the second adobe construction phase, as they were partially embedded into the matrix of Locus 1292. Another 15 cm diameter posthole, Locus 1291, was located cutting into the southeastern quadrant of Locus 1292 just north of Locus 1293, and may have been associated with the construction of Locus 1297, which cut into the adobe of Locus 1293. Locus 1278 also cuts into Locus 1292, but because our first glimpse of the feature was as Locus 1274 cutting into Locus 1275, it cannot be determined if it originated as a cut into Locus 1292 and the wood preserved, allowing the superior loci to form around it, or if the post was planted at a much later date.

Below Locus 1292, at an average of 34.5 cm BD, there were two contexts which became apparent: Loci 1290 and 1296. The former occupied the majority of the unit between the remnant adobe foundations along the northern and southern profiles, except in the southwestern quadrant where the latter was present. Locus 1290 consisted of a smooth dark grayish brown medium grain sand with mottling of black ash lenses. The layer is defined as a deposit of domestic refuse with patches of ash with burnt materials, the result of trash burning episodes. The deposits seem to have been contemporary with, or date to, the period of use of the first adobe constructions; the dark ash can be seen in the profile under the adobes along the northern profile, suggesting that the northern adobe foundation was laid after the deposition of Locus 1290 and the construction of the structure represented by the southern adobes of Locus 1293. Artifacts found within this layer include burnt animal bone, textile fragments, large macrobotanicals (seeds as well as including burnt corn cobs), botija sherds, and fragments of brick, plaster, glass, and majolica. There were also patches of vegetable material which seemed to have been woven reed mats.

Locus 1296 was a medium-loose light olive brown (2.5Y 5/3) medium grain sand, with inclusions of small pebbles, located in the southwestern quadrant of the unit. The deposit consisted of domestic trash, and was soft, but more compacted than Locus 1290 and did not exhibit any burning. Along its northern frontier with Locus 1290 there was a considerable amount of vegetable material from reed matting.

Below the adobes of Locus 1293 in the southern portion of the unit, at about 36 cm BD, the excavators encountered an area of compaction (Locus 1298) of domestic refuse distinct from both Loci 1296 and 1290, and which also sat upon Locus 1299. The matrix of Locus 1298 consisted of a compacted smooth light olive brown (2.5Y 5/4 and 2.5Y 5/3) silty sand with inclusions of pebbles and a few medium (5 to 10 cm) stones. However, because of the difficulty of removing

the adobes of Locus 1294, which were partially embedded in the northern profile of the unit, the excavators elected to leave them intact until a later moment in the excavation, when they could be safely be removed.

Locus 1299 was encountered at approximately 40 cm BD, and covered the entirety of the unit. The layer was identified as a midden deposit consisting of mostly non-burned domestic material, including animal bone, miscellaneous coarse earthenware (such as botijas, majolica, and cooking vessels) sherds, clear and green glass fragments, iron nails, gourd mates, corn cobs, chicken feathers, grape seeds, textile fragments, a wooden rosary bead, and a sherd from a clay tobacco pipe bowl. The matrix consisted of a loose light olive brown (2.5Y 5/3) medium grain sand, with inclusions of pebbles and some medium stones (5 to 10 cm). There were some areas of limey compaction, particularly in the northwest quadrant. There was also an ash lens, likely representing a singular burn event in the southeast quadrant. Some plaster and fragments of wood or vegetable matting came from the southwest quadrant of the unit. There was a large adobe fragment encountered in the northwest corner. The layer terminated at an average of 46 cm BD, on two distinct, but contemporary, loci representing another level of the colonial midden.

Locus 1310 was a general midden layer which covered the majority of the unit, except for an irregular patch (Locus 1311) in the southwest quadrant of the unit. This deposit was a singular event, however the semi-loose sand transitioned from medium grain olive brown (2.5Y 4/3) in the north to a coarser light yellowish brown (2.5Y 6/3) sand in the central part of unit, to a fine sand in the southern third. There were inclusions of small pebbles and some medium river stones (5 to 15 cm) throughout the matrix. The locus contained mostly domestic trash covering a partial floor surface. Like in the locus above, there were organic and botanical material as well as ceramic sherds, animal bones, and some textile fragments. The excavators also recovered some



architectural debris including plaster and brick fragments. A few lithic tools were found, but all seem to be of pre-Hispanic origin, suggesting that such materials were readily on the surface at the time this trash deposit was made, probably in the early 18<sup>th</sup> or late 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Locus 1311 was likely contemporary with Locus 1310, but consists of a heavily organic deposition with a high content of wood and botanical material. The matrix was a soft dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) medium grain sand, with inclusions of wood fragments, small pebbles, and seeds. Additionally, animal bones, cordage, ceramic sherds, and a bead were recovered.

Along the northern profile, at about 48 cm BD, just below Locus 1310, the excavators found a triangular patch of soil that seemed to represent a remnant living surface (Locus 1312), which at one time likely extended over the floor of a structure. The matrix of this floor consisted of semi-compact dark yellow brown (10YR 4/4) clayey sand. Some artifacts were recovered from Locus 1312, including animal bone, botija sherds, and at least one pre-Hispanic sherd.

To the east, below Locus 1312 was a pre-floor surface prepared with intentionally deposited fill and smoothed river stones (Locus 1313). At this level, the western quarter of the unit consisted of another deposition of domestic trash (Locus 1314). Locus 1313 had a matrix consisting of compact pale brown (10YR 6/3) fine sand, with inclusions of pebbles amongst the small and medium stones (5 to 15 cm). Locus 1314 had a matrix of semi-loose yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) medium grain sand and was included by small pebbles. This layer had a number of domestic artifacts, including shells, botanicals, wood fragments, botija sherds, clear, yellow, and aqua glass fragments, and plaster, but notably absent were majolica sherds. In the central part of the unit there was an ashy grey lens, probably caused by the deposition of burnt material.

At about 60 cm BD another general layer was encountered that covered the entire unit (Locus 1315). The matrix consisted of semi-loose light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) sand, with inclusions of pebbles and small stones (2 to 5 cm). Locus 1315 cut into the inferior level (Locus 1316) and sloped down toward the west. Some majolica sherds, animal bones, and a few examples of pre-Hispanic sherds were recovered. The majority of the pre-Hispanic material was found primarily within the western half of the unit, which also contained a higher content of organic and vegetable material (probably remnants of reed matting). However, the context seemed to yield very little material culture as compared to the loci above.

At about 73 cm BD, the excavators encountered Locus 1316, which was present throughout the majority of the unit, except in the northeastern quadrant, where Locus 1317 was located. Along the western frontier of Locus 1317, the later layer of Locus 1316 only superficially covered a portion of Locus 1317. The matrix of Locus 1316 generally consisted of a semi-soft to soft light brown (7.5YR 6/4) fine sand with inclusions of pebbles and small and medium stones (up to 12 cm), however the soil was noticeably more compact and had a higher density of gravel in the southwest corner of the unit, just south of Locus 1317. While the excavation did recover some colonial artifacts, the majority of the present ceramic sherds were pre-Hispanic in origin, suggesting that the context was mixed, and perhaps represented the earliest colonial event in the vicinity.

Locus 1317 also represents an intentional deposition of sand and medium (10 to 12 cm) river stones. The matrix of the layer consisted of compact brown (10YR 5/3) loamy sand. The context yielded only a single artifact, a small polishing stone of likely pre-Hispanic origin.

Directly below the majority of Locus 1316 and to the west and south of Locus 1317, the excavators encountered Locus 1318 at an average depth of 81.5 cm BD. The locus consisted of

semi-loose olive brown (2.5Y 4/4) medium grain sand, with inclusions of charcoal and river stones (mostly about 2 to 5 cm, but some as large as 20 cm). Because it seemed that the excavation had reached the lowest colonial context for this unit, the excavators elected to only excavate a 70 cm by 70 cm test “window” in the southeast corner of the unit in order to test the hypothesis that Locus 1318 was purely of pre-Hispanic origin. In this test area, the excavators recovered animal bone and 18 ceramic sherds, most of which seem to be pre-Hispanic, likely late Nasca. The locus terminated at 104.5 cm BD, when the excavators encountered Locus 1319.

Locus 1319 consisted of two contextually unique depositions. Context ‘A’ was a semi-loose olive brown (2.5Y 4/3) silty medium grain sand, with inclusions of small stones and a light density of pebbles, and was located in the northern portion of the test area. This soil was the very similar to that of Locus 1318. Context ‘B’ was a loose light yellowish brown medium sand, with a few small stone inclusions. Both contexts of Locus 1319 were excavated to an average depth of 114 cm BD, but the excavators only recovered one ceramic sherd of pre-Hispanic origin and a single animal bone. It was concluded that a pre-Hispanic context had been reached, and therefore excavation of the unit was terminated in accordance with the goals of the project. Excavation of Unit 8 was completed at a maximum depth of 115 cm BD.

#### *Unit 8 Level Groupings*

Level 1: Loci 1250, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1259, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1271, 1272, 1273, 1274, 1278, 1279, 1295

Level 2: Loci 1258, 1275

Level 3: Loci 1257, 1276, 1277

Level 4: Loci 1291, 1297

Level 5: Loci 1292, 1293, 1294

Level 6: Loci 1290, 1296, 1298

Level 7: Locus 1299

Level 8: Loci 1310, 1311

Level 9: Locus 1312

Level 10: Loci 1313, 1314

Level 11: Locus 1315

Level 12: Loci 1316, 1317, 1318, 1319A, 1319B

## Unit 9, San Joseph de la Nasca

Location (WGS 1984): 486135 8378120 18S UTM

Dimensions: 2 m x 2 m

Declared Loci: 1350, 1351, 1352, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1378, 1279, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393, 1394, 1395, 1397, 1398, 1399, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413

Unit 9 was located on gently sloping ground adjacent to the south end of the modern plaza of the community of San José and directly west of the modern residential complexes. The 2 m by 2 m excavation unit, was aligned (at 340°) to the concrete sidewalk perimeter of the modern plaza and its northern profile was placed at a distance of 2.14 m south of the main part of the sidewalk.

### *Summary of Loci*

Unit 9 was excavated in 33 discrete loci to a maximum depth of 163 cm below the surface. The unit yielded several strata of modern and Republican contexts, and a number of intact colonial features, middens, and fill events; the lowest strata excavated in the unit were of pre-Hispanic origin. While the first 18 cm below the surface could be understood as originating since the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century due to the presence of modern glass, plastics, and bottle caps, nearly all 10 loci in these upper levels contained a mix of colonial and early Republican material as well. The lower

loci in particular had a greater quantity of non-modern materials, and the presence of later artifacts could be attributed to disturbance.

The surface (Locus 1351) consisted of very loose light yellow brown (10YR 5/3) sand and the level was on average about 2 cm thick. The unit was placed on a landform which slopes west to east at a 5.7° grade; while the eastern profile prior to excavation had an average surface elevation of 8 cm BD (placed 25 cm east of the southeast corner), the western profile averaged 28 cm BD. The next natural level, Locus 1351, was a compact brown (7.5YR 5/2) sandy fill, with inclusions of medium river stones and modern trash. The fill was likely deposited in recent years in order to flatten the slope of the landform to the east of the unit. The layer also included malacological specimens, animal bone, slag, whiteware (stamped blue [post 1830] and red and green annular bands [post 1845]), and miscellaneous coarse earthenware sherds (including botijas and majolica).

At an average of 26 cm BD, the excavators encountered another superficial modern layer of fill, Locus 1352. Its matrix consisted of a coarse gray brown (2.5YR 5/2) sand, which was also included by small and medium stones and a variety of modern trash, including a Peruvian coin minted in 1982. There was also a similar quantity of earlier historic artifacts as well, including three sherds of whiteware. The northwest corner of the unit had an area with a high concentration of roots, likely from an old shrub or tree. The layer had an average thickness of 7 cm, but was much thicker at its eastern profile (~9 cm) than at the western profile (~3 cm), and is an obvious contributing factor to the hill's gradual slope, which as recently as the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century would have been much steeper and its slope would not have extended as far west as the location of the unit.

Below Locus 1352, at an average depth of 33 cm BD, parts of four distinct modern fill events (Loci 1354, 1356, 1357, and 1358) were encountered. Locus 1358 was a semi-compact brown (10YR 4/3) sandy midden deposit with small (1 to 3 cm) and medium (4 to 7 cm) stones in

the northeast corner of the unit. The level presented a mix of modern and historic artifacts. The level terminated at an average of 37 cm BD on the surface of Locus 1370.

Locus 1354 occupied an area along the central portion of the western profile which extended into the central part of the unit floor. Its matrix consisted of compact pale brown (10YR 6/3) sandy clay with inclusions of small (2 to 3 cm) and medium (4 cm) stones, modern trash, charcoal, and roots. There was also some evidence of a modern trash fire, represented by a deposition of light ash. In the northwestern region of the irregular locus, the excavators encountered a very shallow 8 cm posthole (Locus 1355). Locus 1354 terminated on Locus 1356 at an average of 30 cm BD.

Locus 1356 covered the entirety of the unit except where it abutted Locus 1357 along the southern profile and Locus 1358 in the northeast corner. Its matrix was comprised of compact light brownish gray (10YR 6/2) sandy clay mottled with brown (10YR 5/3) soil, and included with small (2 to 3 cm) and medium (4 to 6 cm) stones. The area in the northwest corner of the unit continued to be disturbed by root action as in Locus 1352. The layer yielded three coins from 1980 and 1982, as well as other late 20<sup>th</sup> century trash, however some early Republican and colonial artifacts were also recovered as well.

To the south of Loci 1354 and 1356, and along the entirety of the southern profile, was Locus 1357. It consisted of semi-compact brown medium grain sand with inclusions of small (1 to 3 cm) and medium (4 to 10 cm) stones, charcoal, and modern trash. In addition to the modern domestic refuse, also recovered was a large amount of older material, including six sherds of whiteware, one stamped with “[L]IMA” over “[P]ERU” (post-dating 1891, when place of manufacture became common on whitewares), and a sherd of plain pearlware (1779-1820).

In the western third of the unit, below Locus 1356, at an average depth of 40 cm BD, the excavators encountered Locus 1359. The layer was a semi-compact dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) coarse sand with inclusions of small (1 to 3 cm) and medium (4 to 10 cm) stones and a large number of fine roots. This is the deepest locus to have contained a large amount of modern trash. However, in addition to the modern components, 19<sup>th</sup> century glass shards (from a bottle and a cup), assorted coarse earthenwares, and a sherd of whiteware with green transfer printed swirls (post 1850) were also recovered. Locus 1359 terminated upon Locus 1370 at an average of 46 cm BD.

Locus 1370 covered the entirety of the unit with the exception of the southwest corner (Locus 1372) and an irregular area covering about 20 cm along the majority of the eastern profile (Locus 1371). Laying directly below Loci 1358, 1356, and 1359, the level gently sloped at a 3.4° grade from its deepest point of 49 cm BD in its southwest corner to 37 cm BD in the northeastern corner. The matrix of Locus 1370 consisted of a semi-compact brown (10YR 4/3) coarse sand with inclusions of small (1 to 3 cm) and medium (4 to 10 cm) stones and some charcoal fragments. The soil seemed to contain a mix of mostly late historic fill with some colonial and modern elements, and a very small proportion of pre-Hispanic artifacts (including an obsidian point). The modern refuse may have been introduced through floraturbation.

Below the west half of Locus 1357 the excavators encountered Locus 1372 at about 47 cm BD. The locus consisted of semi-loose dark gray (10YR 3/2) medium sand with inclusions of small (1 to 3 cm) and medium (4 to 10 cm) stones. The locus had very few modern artifacts and yielded a variety of ceramic sherds (including blue on white majolica and botijas), assorted glass shards, a large fragment of adobe, animal bone, and vitrified adobe.



Locus 1371, located along the eastern profile of the unit, and first encountered below Loci 1356 and 1357 at an average depth of 40.5 cm BD is a narrow (~20 cm wide) irregular strip containing a large concentration of botijas in a matrix of semi-loose brown (7.5YR 4/2) medium grain sand. There were also inclusions of medium (4 to 10 cm) and large (10 to 20 cm) rocks, several majolica sherds, animal bone, and some glass shards, but there were no modern artifacts. The locus seems to be the upper extension of a larger deposit of botija sherds and large fragments of adobe (Locus 1374) beginning at an average depth of 47.5 cm BD.

Locus 1374 was immediately inferior to both Loci 1370 and 1371, extending irregularly from the eastern profile and covering roughly a quarter of the eastern part of the unit. The matrix of this feature was a loose dark brown (7.5YR 3/2) loamy sand with inclusions of small and medium rocks, with very few modern artifacts (which may have been introduced through turbation). In addition to the large concentration of botija sherds, several large fragments of adobe, and a few fragments of brick (these fragments stained the soil red in some areas, especially along the eastern profile) were recovered, suggesting that in addition to representing a “botija midden” the feature may also represent debris from a wall collapse event. There was an assortment of coarse earthenware sherds in addition to the botijas, and fragments of calicanto, plaster, natural gypsum, native copper, and pyrite were also recovered. The locus terminated upon the surfaces of Loci 1373 and 1375 at an average depth of 54 cm BD.

Locus 1373 occupied the entirety of the unit, with the exception of an approximately 40 cm by 70 cm patch at the northeast corner of the unit (Locus 1375). The layer very likely represents an adobe wall fall event, and has concentrations of adobe fragments dispersed throughout the locus. The matrix was comprised of semi-compact brown (10YR 4/3) coarse sand, with inclusions of medium and large stones. There were very few modern elements (plastic, bottle caps, and a

piece of a concrete water pipe), however a moderate amount of botija sherds, portions of pitch/tar, glass shards, coarse earthenwares (including majolica and some pre-Hispanic material), and a single sherd of pearlware (circa 1779-1820) were recovered. Notably, this was the deepest context to contain any refined earthenwares, and likely represents the earliest Republican context of the unit. It seems clear that the wall fall event occurred during the post-Jesuit period, but there was a disturbance or turbation during the 20<sup>th</sup> century which introduced the small amount of modern materials. On average this locus was 21.5 cm thick, terminating at an average depth of 69.5 cm BD.

Located in the northeast corner of the unit, Locus 1375 consisted of a loose brown (7.5YR 5/4) fine sand with inclusions of coarse gravel. The locus was primarily a concentration of many fragments of botijas and brick, without any modern artifacts. The excavators also recovered other earthenware sherds and glass fragments. The feature may have been associated with a wall fall event, and its formation was likely coeval to that of Locus 1373. The locus terminated upon Locus 1390 after an average of 13.5 cm (at an average depth of 65 cm BD).

Below Locus 1373, at an average depth of 69.5 cm BD, the excavators discovered the first indications of an adobe wall. The intact portion of the wall (Locus 1393) was located at a distance of about 10 to 20 cm from the western profile, and was covered at the level below Locus 1373 by Loci 1377, 1379, and 1379. Locus 1377 was the (on average 10 cm thick) layer of broken and deteriorated adobes (and wall fall) that most closely conformed to the full extent of the adobe wall (Locus 1393). Locus 1379 was a layer of adobe wall fall mixed with domestic refuse and botija sherds, which covered the majority of the central part of the unit as well as the northeastern extent of the adobe wall beneath. A wide pocket (Locus 1378) of what was probably originally the

grouting between adobe blocks was evident between Loci 1377 and 1379 in the northern portion of the unit.

Locus 1377 consisted of compact pinkish gray (7.5YR 6/2) loamy sand (determined to be deteriorated adobe), with a few inclusions of medium stones. There were very few artifacts, although the excavation did recover a few animal bones (some burned), coarse earthenware sherds (including botijas), and macrobotanical specimens.

Between Locus 1377 and the western profile was Locus 1376, a layer of loose well-sorted brown (7.5YR 4/3) medium grain sand, with inclusions of a few medium rocks. This layer was very likely historic period domestic fill, which was piled against the adobe wall and wall fall, due to the recovery of several botija sherds, miscellaneous coarse earthenwares, and majolica, along with many animal bones, glass, and fragments of adobe.

Locus 1378, which likely corresponds to a layer of fill mixed with original grout, is a loose brown (7.5YR 4/2), well-proportioned fine sand, with inclusions of coarse gravel. The only artifacts that were recovered from this layer were a small fragment of adobe and a small fragment of brick. The layer had a maximum thickness of 7 cm.

Locus 1379 occupied the majority of the unit between Loci 1377 and 1378 and the eastern profile, with the exception of the northeastern quadrant and the southeastern corner of the unit. The matrix consisted of semi-compact light brown (7.5YR 6/4) loamy sand, with inclusions of medium stones (4 to 10 cm) and some charcoal. As noted above, the layer was formed by an adobe wall fall event mixed with domestic refuse, with a particularly high concentration of botija sherds. Majolica, miscellaneous coarse earthenware sherds, and glass shards were also recovered.

Upon removing Loci 1376, 1377, 1378, and 1379, the excavators encountered the intact portion of the double-coursed adobe wall, Locus 1393, at approximately 79 cm BD. The wall was

preserved and not removed during the course of excavation, and was determined to have a final height of 76 cm, along with a preparatory surface of an additional 13 cm. The wall had five rows of adobes laid in the English Bond pattern, upon on a foundational row of reused partial adobe fragments. The adobes measured 55 to 60 cm by 25 to 30 cm, with an approximate height of 15 cm. The adobes consisted of compact light brown (7.5YR 6/4) loamy sand. Earthen grouting was used between the blocks. Also of note, the sandy fill below Locus 1376, stretching between the western profile and the adobe wall, was labeled Locus 1392 and was not excavated, but was preserved along with the wall. Before backfilling the unit the exaction crew placed a geotextile cloth over the wall feature, in order to protect it for future exposure and excavations.

Adjacent to the surface of Locus 1393, at an average depth of 71 cm BD, the excavators encountered Locus 1390, which consisted of a semi-compact brown (7.5YR 4/3) loamy sand, with a few inclusions of large stones (10 to 15 cm), charcoal, and large fragments of fallen adobe blocks. This layer is interpreted as wall fall mixed with trash, particularly with a large concentration of botijas (found as large sherds, predominantly in the eastern portion of the unit). The excavation also recovered a few fragments of brick, wooden stakes, animal bones (some burned), majolica, glass, fragments of ferrous metal, and native copper. Cut into the southwestern portion of the locus, near the adobe wall and west of the concentration of large botija sherds, the excavators encountered a rhomboid-shaped concentration of semi-loose very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) fine sand, without any artifacts or inclusions. This cut was labeled Locus 1391. The feature extended to a maximum depth of 87 cm. Locus 1390 terminated at an average depth at its western extreme of 90.5 cm BD and at 73 cm BD at the eastern profile, a 9° grade.

Below Locus 1390 in the eastern quarter of the unit, the excavators encountered Locus 1394, a feature of domestic hearth refuse dumped upon fragmented botijas. The matrix consisted

of loose dark reddish brown (5YR 3/2) medium grain sand, with inclusions of charcoal and a few medium (4 to 10 cm) rocks. Burned animal bone was recovered, as well as botija and majolica sherds from this context.

Locus 1395 was found below Locus 1390 and occupied the area east of the adobe wall (Locus 1393) and west of Locus 1394. The layer consisted of semi-compact well-proportioned brown (7.5YR 5/4) loamy sand, with a few inclusions of medium (4 cm to 10 cm) stones. Locus 1395 was likely generated from wall fall mixed with domestic refuse. In addition to large botija sherds, majolica, animal bones, and glass shards (green and transparent), a fragment of a slave-made ceramic pipe bowl, and one botija sherd bore the painted monogram of the Society of Jesus were also recovered, strong evidence of a depositional event which occurred during the Jesuit administration of the hacienda (1619-1767).

Locus 1396 was encountered at an average depth of 99 cm BD, covering the majority of the area beneath Loci 1394 and 1395, with the exception of a narrow (~25 cm) strip along the exposed portion of the adobe wall (Locus 1397). The matrix of Locus 1396 consisted of compact poorly sorted dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) loamy sand, included by many medium and large stones. Locus 1396 is interpreted as a wall fall event, with several large portions of adobes included within, although botija sherds and domestic trash were also recovered, including animal bones (some burned), majolica, miscellaneous coarse earthenwares (some lead glazed), and green and transparent glass shards. The strip of soil between Locus 1395 and the adobe wall, Locus 1397, consisted of semi-loose brown (10YR 4/3) fine sand, included by medium (4 to 10 cm) rocks. The layer likely corresponded to an accumulation of sand and food refuse among the botija sherds and adobe wall fall.

The next natural level, beginning at an average depth of 112 cm BD, presented Loci 1398 and 1399. Locus 1398 was located adjacent to the adobe wall (Locus 1393) and Locus 1399 occupied the eastern most quarter of the unit, with the exception of the southeastern corner, which was also occupied by Locus 1398. Locus 1399 consisted of semi-compact well-sorted very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) loamy sand, with inclusions of medium and large stones, and some large fragments of adobe. The locus seems to have been formed through a wall fall event which mixed with (mostly) domestic refuse, given the presence of some botija sherds, miscellaneous coarse earthenwares, animal bones, and small brick fragments. Locus 1398, in contrast, was a layer of semi-loose brown (7.5YR 5/3) sandy fill, with inclusions of medium and small river stones. Locus 1398 does not appear to be coeval to Locus 1399, due to the higher quantity of earlier colonial and pre-Hispanic sherds (some diagnostic of the Nasca culture).

Below Loci 1398 and 1399, at an average depth of 126 cm BD, the excavators encountered Locus 1410, which contained only a single distinctly colonial artifact a: botija sherd. The semi-compact brown (7.5YR 5/3) loamy sand, included with medium and large river stones, yielded mostly pre-Hispanic ceramics (mostly Nasca) and a few animal bones. However, the contiguous context, Locus 1411, which was located along a narrow (~30 cm wide) strip adjacent to the adobe wall, contained a high concentration of botija sherds, miscellaneous coarse earthenwares, animal bones, and a small number of pre-Hispanic sherds. Its matrix consisted of semi-loose brown (7.5YR 4/2) loamy sand and was included by large river stones (10 to 20 cm). Locus 1411 was determined to have been the result of a fill event, using adobe wall fall and refuse.

Below Locus 1411, at roughly an average of 148 cm BD, the excavators encountered Locus 1413, a semi-loose brown (10YR 4/3) loamy sand fill within a trench dug for the initial construction of the adobe wall (Locus 1393). The matrix is included by medium and small stones.

In addition, some botija sherds, pre-Hispanic ceramics, fragments of animal bone, a small brick fragments, and some shell fragments were also recovered. The “trench” appears to have had a maximum depth of 172 cm BD.

Because Locus 1410 contained so few colonial artifacts, and had an abundance of pre-Hispanic sherds, it was hypothesized that its inferior level, Locus 1412, which was encountered at an average depth of 140 cm BD, would yield a purely pre-Hispanic context. To test this the crew excavated a 70 cm by 75 cm window in the northeastern corner of the unit. Locus 1412 consisted of semi-compact light brownish grey (10YR 6/2) loamy sand, with small (1 to 3 cm) and medium (4 to 10 cm) stone inclusions. Very few animal bones were recovered and all of the ceramic sherds were determined to be of pre-Hispanic origin. The soil matrix of the locus began to change around 157 cm BD, becoming softer and yellower. Excavation of the unit was completed at maximum depth of 171 cm BD.

#### *Unit 9 Level Groupings*

Level 1: Loci 1350, 1351, 1352, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1359

Level 2: Loci 1370, 1371, 1372

Level 3: Locus 1374

Level 4: Loci 1373, 1375

Level 5: Loci 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379

Level 6: Loci 1391, 1392

Level 7: Locus 1390

Level 8: Loci 1394, 1395

Level 9: Loci 1396, 1397

Level 10: Loci 1398, 1399

Level 11: Loci 1393, 1411, 1413

Level 12: Loci 1410, 1412



## **Unit 10, San Joseph de la Nasca**

Location (WGS 1984): 486094 8378053 18S UTM

Dimensions: 2.5 m x 1.5 m

Declared Loci: 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1365, 1366, 1367, 1368, 1369, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1289, 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1423, 1424, 1425

Unit 10 was opened in the north courtyard of the ex-Casa Hacienda at San José. The enclosed courtyard has a now closed-off entrance in the house's principal western façade on the old Jesuit plaza, as well as an access to the modern house to the south, and a shed along its western wall. The courtyard measures 15.7 m along its east/west axis and 18.6 m north/south. The courtyard is at present paved with thin, square (28 cm x 28 cm) brick paving tiles. Because of the need to leave the area as it was found, the excavation was constrained to an irregular unit measuring roughly eight and a half by five pavers or 1.5 m by 2.5 m. The unit was located near the northeast corner of the courtyard; the northwest corner of the unit was 90 cm south of the courtyard's north wall and the southeast corner of the unit was 1.2 m west of the east wall. The unit was aligned at the same 340° orientation as the structure in which was located. This exact location was chosen for excavation because the northeast corner of the unit fell 26 cm south of a "staircase" feature constructed of large rectangular red bricks, mortared with calicanto.

### *Summary of Loci*

Unit 10 was excavated to a maximum depth of 126 cm below the surface, in which 36 loci were declared, exposing several different construction phases from the early years of the Jesuit occupation to the courtyard's most recent use history. The surface level (Locus 1360) was primarily comprised by dry laid modern brick pavers, which were likely recycled for their current uses, from either an earlier floor surface at this location or from elsewhere on the hacienda, and likely have a 19<sup>th</sup> century origin. Along the central part of the unit's western profile there was an irregular patch of concrete filling an area roughly 80 cm x 80 cm. According to the property owner, this concrete had been poured around 1962 for the installation of an electric generator. The brick pavers covered the rest of the surface of the unit, except in the northeast corner where there was a 31 cm by 43 cm patch of exposed soil which did not have any extant pavers; this area was treated as Locus 1361. In the central row of pavers, the fourth paver counting from the eastern unit profile was also missing, but its space had been filled with poured concrete in an effort to repair the courtyard's floor.

After carefully removing all of the brick pavers and the concrete slabs, a uniform surface was discovered in which the bricks of the floor had been set (Locus 1362). However, directly below the large poured concrete slab in the western portion of the unit, a hardened sandy clay feature (Locus 1364) was found, which may have been intentionally laid within the matrix of Locus 1362.

Locus 1361, located in the northeastern corner of the unit, was a 4 cm thick deposition of superficial loose sand with inclusions of small stones. It is very possible that since this is a surface context, where no brick pavers were present that this sand and gravel was simply swept into this

area. No artifacts were recovered from locus 1361. Locus 1363, a layer of poured lime mortar, was found directly below.

Locus 1362 consisted of loose light olive brown (2.5Y 5/3) sand included by brick fragments, very small gravel, and some vegetable material. The sand seems to have been a preparation for the brick floor above, and has an average thickness of 2 cm. Below Locus 1362 the excavators discovered Locus 1365, a semi-loose deposition of loamy sand with inclusions of small pebbles and plant roots. The layer had an average thickness of 5 cm and was marked with impressions of the brick pavers from the surface and was likely wetted at the time that the bricks were laid. The layer was also probably a deposition of fill deposited in preparation for the brick floor, containing a good amount of construction (plaster and brick fragments) debris and domestic refuse (animal bone, feathers, macrobotanicals, and coarse earthenwares). The locus ended upon the semi-loose surface of Locus 1367.

Below the compact calicanto of Locus 1363 the excavators also found Locus 1367, but the northeast corner of the unit yielded a rectangular feature (about 35 cm x 20 cm) of compact light olive brown (2.5Y 5/3) loamy sand, with some clay content. The layer was only 3 cm thick, ending at about 11 cm BD onto Locus 1367.

Locus 1364, the adobe feature under the poured concrete slab at the unit's surface (Locus 1360) consisted of a compact brown (10YR 5/3) sandy clay with a very low density of cultural material (including some fragments of animal bone, shell, brick, and botija sherds). The feature had an average thickness of almost 3 cm, and also terminated upon Locus 1367 at an average depth of 13 cm BD.

Locus 1367 covered the entire extent of the unit and had an average thickness of about 9 cm and terminated at an average depth of about 22 cm BD. The matrix of this layer consisted of

semi-loose grayish brown (2.5Y 5/3) sand with inclusions of pebbles, carbon flecks, fragments of adobe (up to 10 to 12 cm), and patches of clayey soil. Generally, the soil has a variable texture, although the softest soil was concentrated in the western half of the locus. The sandier, softer soil was mottled with more compacted soil with greater clay content, which may have resulted from adobe melt. While the majority of the materials seem to be domestic refuse, some of the material is construction debris, such as the adobe fragments and portions of deteriorated woven reed matting. The matting, however, was mostly sandwiched between Locus 1367 and its inferior levels, probably the result of placing roofing material down first and then the domestic fill, assuming that the stratum was deposited intentionally as fill, perhaps in order to provide a surface for an earlier brick or tiled floor.

This stratum is only one of two (the other being a corral context, Locus 1403) in the entire unit to contain any porcelain (n=1) or refined earthenwares. A single sherd of undecorated creamware with a scalloped rim (circa 1762-1820) and a sherd of pearlware with a cobalt transfer-print leaf motif, possibly a fern (circa 1795-1840) were recovered. Although the fill may be a secondary deposition and not the original midden, they all date to the post-Jesuit period, and it would be safe to assume that the fill was deposited, at the latest, within the first few decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Below Locus 1367 the excavators encountered a number of unique surfaces (Loci 1380, 1384, 1385, and 1383), which were smoothed in order to provide a level and stable floor surface, which at one time, may have been paved with brick pavers similar to those which now cover the courtyard's modern floor surface, and which may have similarly been placed atop the surface of the fill in Locus 1367. However, the surfaces, while uniform in that they were all relatively flat and smoothed, were distinct in their depositional origins.

Directly below Locus 1367, in the central part of the unit, adjacent to the northern profile appeared a brick feature (Locus 1369) consisting of four bricks set in lime. The northern two bricks measured about 15.5 cm by 28 cm, while the two southern bricks had been cut in half, measuring about 15 cm by 14 cm. At this level, about 18 cm BD, these bricks may have been integrated into a tiled floor surface.

Locus 1380 consisted of two zones in the western portion of the unit, coming into contact with Locus 1369 to the west and south. The matrix of this context consisted of a thin layer of compacted yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) smooth sandy clay. Zone "A" of the locus covered the southern portion of the locus and contained reeds and canes from matting material, corn cobs, and other assorted macro-botanicals. Zone "B" seems to have been a clayey preparation for a floor surface, and expands throughout the majority of the northwestern quadrant of the unit. There was also an associated posthole feature (Locus 1381) which cut into Zone "A" of the locus, impacting a layer of calicanto beneath, aiding support to the hypothesis that there may have been an informal dirt floor in this area at this level.

After removing the soil of Locus 1380, an area of calicanto was exposed on the western side of Locus 1369 nearly identical to Locus 1383, on the eastern side of the brick feature. At this level the brick feature had also been covered with a layer of calicanto, likely embedding it into the floor around it. Noting some textural differences, which were probably the results of the technique of removing the brick floor, the western area of calicanto was divided into two loci: Locus 1382 the thin layer of lime and calicanto in the majority of the area directly under Locus 1380, and Locus 1386, the thicker layer of calicanto southwest of Locus 1369, into which Locus 1381 had impacted. Locus 1385 was a compact light yellowish brown (2.5YR 6/3) sandy clay lens resting on top of Locus 1386 and Locus 1384, directly south of Locus 1369. It was likely a remnant clay

used to level the floor surface. This layer of calicanto was used to cement brick pavers or tiles in what was the unit's second brick floor.

All three loci of calicanto and lime (Loci 1382, 1383, and 1386) were sitting upon Locus 1384, the southern extent of which was exposed below Locus 1367. Clearing this layer of calicanto exposed the square form of a large (30 cm by 30 cm) posthole, cutting into the adobe, which was designated Locus 1401. This posthole was likely contemporaneous with Locus 1384.

A layer of a compact pale brown (10YR 6/3) sandy clay, Locus 1384 contained inclusions of brick fragments, clumps of clay, and deteriorated botija sherds. The surface of the level was compacted and smoothed and retained small patches in its western extent of very superficial adobe-like soil, which at some moment may have covered the entire surface. The layer had average thickness of about 8.5cm, terminating at an average depth of 32.5 cm BD. This layer of fill contained an assortment of material culture, most of which seems to have been domestic in origin, including macro-botanicals, coarse earthenwares (botijas, lead-glazed wares, etc.), cut gourd shells, pieces of adobe, chunks of carbon, animal bones, and textile fibers. While the matrix of the locus was uniform in both its northern and southern extents, the majority of the artifacts came from the northern half of the unit, suggesting the possibility that the northern deposition may have served as a habitational surface or represent an older deposition, which later mixed with new soils in the southern portion of the unit.

Removing Locus 1384 exposed the calicanto into which the brick feature, Locus 1369, was embedded (Locus 1387), part of an adobe wall (loci 1400 and 1389), a layer of fill in the southern extent of the unit (Locus 1388), and a layer of fill (Locus 1402) between the Locus 1388 and the adobes of the northwestern quadrant of the unit (Locus 1389). The layer of fill in the southern portion of the unit, Locus 1388, consisted of a semi-compact yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) clayey

sand, with inclusions of small adobe fragments and deteriorated bricks and botija sherds. The soil also had a high organic content, and had macro-botanical remains such as chili peppers and reed matting, in addition to coarse earthenwares, animal bone, and fragments of blue-green colonial textiles.

Locus 1402 can also be understood as a mix of adobe wall fall material and domestic refuse filling a cut likely made by floraturbation from a root. It consisted of very soft dark yellowish brown fine loamy sand and contained pebbles, vegetable material, some clay, animal bones, and several botija sherds.

After removing Loci 1388 and 1402, the excavators could see in the profile that Locus 1369 was set in the calicanto of Locus 1387, which rested on the adobe wall. At this moment during the excavation it was decided to cut the calicanto of Locus 1387 back as close to the brick feature as possible and leave the brick feature pedestalled in the unit. This also helped to reveal the chronology of construction, suggesting that a corral context (Locus 1403) post-dates the first brick floor – represented by Locus 1369.

Found to the south under Locus 1388 at an average depth of 36.5 cm BD, Locus 1403 consisted of very loose olive brown (2.5Y 4/3) fine sand with inclusions of macro-botanicals, clumps of straw, and animal fecal matter, suggesting it remained from a time when the area had served as a livestock corral. The locus ended with a maximum depth of 56 cm BD and minimum depth of 43 cm BD, onto a set of compact loamy surfaces (the locus sloped up from south to north at a grade of 9.8°). Locus 1403 was only the second stratum in the unit to contain any porcelain (n=1) or refined earthenwares (two sherds of pearlware). It is possible that these later refined ceramics, which date to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century entered the context through contact and turbation with superior levels in the southern portion of the unit, however it is more likely that they were deposited

toward the end of the corral's use history. The large quantity of middle-colonial era majolica sherds (n=12), accompanied by botija sherds, ollas, and a single sherd lead-glazed coarse earthenware, are suggestive a long period of use of the corral as a midden as well, which was likely initiated early in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and terminated toward the end of the century, when a new dirt floor was laid.

Because the surface of the abode wall was very degraded and melted, Loci 1400 and 1389 were removed in order to better define the form of the wall and the determine the size of the adobes. The first 2 cm were removed carefully with a trowel and screened to recover artifacts impressed into the surface from above. This superficial soil was redder, perhaps due to contact with bricks or deteriorated botija sherds. To the south of the clearly defined adobes of the wall was a compact layer of wall fall, which had been cut by Locus 1403, during the use of the space as a corral. It was determined that the adobes averaged roughly 32 cm by 55 cm and were about 12 cm thick.

In order to measure and define the alignment of the adobes it was necessary to explore Loci 1389 and 1400 through partial excavation. The excavators arbitrarily defined these loci as the upper most row of adobes, in order to conserve the rest of the wall below. The entire first row of blocks ran longitudinally (i.e. header). In Locus 1389, the adobes to the east of the pedestalled bricks of Locus 1369, the excavators removed this first row, first by defining each block and removing the earthen mortar, revealing the next row of large adobes. This next row, which was designated Locus 1406 (which would also include the remained of the wall to the east of Locus 1369), was double-coursed and ran laterally (i.e. stretcher). When the adobes in Locus 1400, to the west of Locus 1369, were removed it was discovered that the inferior row were laid as headers as well, suggesting that the blocks east of Locus 1369 might represent a structural corner, a hypothesis supported by Locus 1407, which projected from the eastern profile just south of adobe wall. During



the course of excavating Loci 1400 and 1389 it was noted that the adobes had fallen out of alignment with each other and the grout spacing was uneven, measuring as little as 3 cm in some places, while others blocks were as much as 6 cm apart. Cleaning and defining the adobes in profile similar misalignments were noted, which were attributed together with broken and repaired adobes as signs of earthquake damage. Below the third row from where the excavation first encountered the wall, the individual adobes become hard to define and the excavators were unable to ascertain the complete pattern. The wall itself was likely built into a trench cut into the compacted clayey sand of Locus 1424 (described below), which itself rests upon degraded bedrock.

Below the soil of Locus 1403, the excavators encountered four contexts: Loci 1404, 1407, 1408, and 1420. Locus 1404 was an undulating irregular surface to the south of the adobe wall, which occupied the majority of the southwestern quadrant of the unit. Locus 1420 was an ash lens sitting on the northeast corner of Locus 1404, and probably represents a burn event. A circular posthole, Locus 1409, cut into both Loci 1404 and 1420, but the dark ashy soil (10YR 3/1) continued under the posthole feature. The matrix of the ash lens consisted of semi-loose fine silty sand with flecks of charcoal, gravel, and angular pebbles; it was first encountered at about 54 cm BD and terminated at an average depth of 56 cm BD upon Locus 1404. The posthole was only about 1 cm deep, suggesting that the extant feature was only the foot print of a post, and that the original surface was cut-down at some point after the post was removed.

Locus 1408 was located below Locus 1403 and between Loci 1404 and 1407; the latter being a section of adobe wall (very similar to the wall in the northern portion of the unit) visibly projecting from the southern portion of the eastern profile. The context of Locus 1408 took the form of a rectangular cut into Locus 1404, and its base at an average depth of 94 cm BD was rounded (like a pit). The fill's matrix consisted of loose pale brown loamy sand with inclusions of

angular rocks, adobe fragments, and charcoal, and can be interpreted as a mix of wall fall material and domestic refuse (also containing some small botija sherds, animal bone, and carbonized macro-botanicals such as corn cobs).

Locus 1404 consisted of compact light yellow brown (10YR 5/3) clayey sand with inclusions of lime and small flecks of charcoal. The layer, which consisted of dense fill, probably served as a floor surface at some moment, and was first encountered at about 55 cm BD and terminated at an average depth of about 89.5 cm BD. During the course of the excavation three postholes (Loci 1421, 1422, and 1423), two with intact wooden post fragments, were located at an average depth of 64 cm BD. They averaged about 6 cm in diameter and were all located in the southern portion of the locus. Curiously there was no distinguishing difference in the matrix of Locus 1404 at the levels in which these post fragments were encountered to suggest a break in Locus 1404's continuity and justify the declaration of a distinct locus. The structural function of these features has not yet been determined.

As excavation approached the terminus of Locus 1404, the excavators noted the lesser presence of material culture. Locus 1408 had terminated at an average depth of 94 cm BD on to a compact surface of brown (10YR 5/3) clayey sand, very similar to Locus 1404. At this level, Locus 1424 was declared for the entire portion of the unit south of the adobe wall. However, because there were no indications that the excavation was approaching sterile soil, the locus was divided in half, only excavating the western portion, which the excavators also hoped would better expose the profile of the adobe wall and aid in our understanding of its construction. In contrast to Locus 1404, Locus 1424 expressed a light density of gravel (or degraded bedrock) included within its matrix. All nine of the ceramic sherds recovered from this context seem to be pre-Hispanic in origin. The locus terminated at an average depth of 112 cm BD, when the excavators encountered

Locus 1425, a culturally sterile layer of degraded bedrock. The excavators dug an average of 10.5 cm in this context of compact brown (10YR 5/3) sandy loam, reaching a maximum of depth in the unit of 131 cm BD.

Upon backfilling and closing Unit 10 the remaining portion of the adobe wall and the pedestalled brick feature (Locus 1369) were covered with a plastic tarp for preservation. Then, at the request of the property owner, all of the sieved soil was backfilled and the original brick pavers were dry laid.

#### *Unit 10 Level Groupings*

Level 1: Locus 1360

Level 2: Loci 1361, 1362, 1364

Level 3: Loci 1363, 1365

Level 4: Locus 1366

Level 5: Loci 1367, 1368

Level 6: Loci 1380, 1381, 1385

Level 7: Loci 1382, 1383, 1386

Level 8: Loci 1384, 1401

Level 9: Loci 1388, 1402

Level 10: Locus 1403

Level 11: Locus 1369

Level 12: Locus 1387

Level 13: Locus 1409

Level 14: Loci 1389, 1405, 1406, 1407

Level 15: Loci 1408, 1420

Level 16: Loci 1421, 1422, 1423

Level 17: Loci 1404, 1424

Level 18: Locus 1425

## APPENDIX E

### EXCAVATION UNIT HARRIS MATRICES

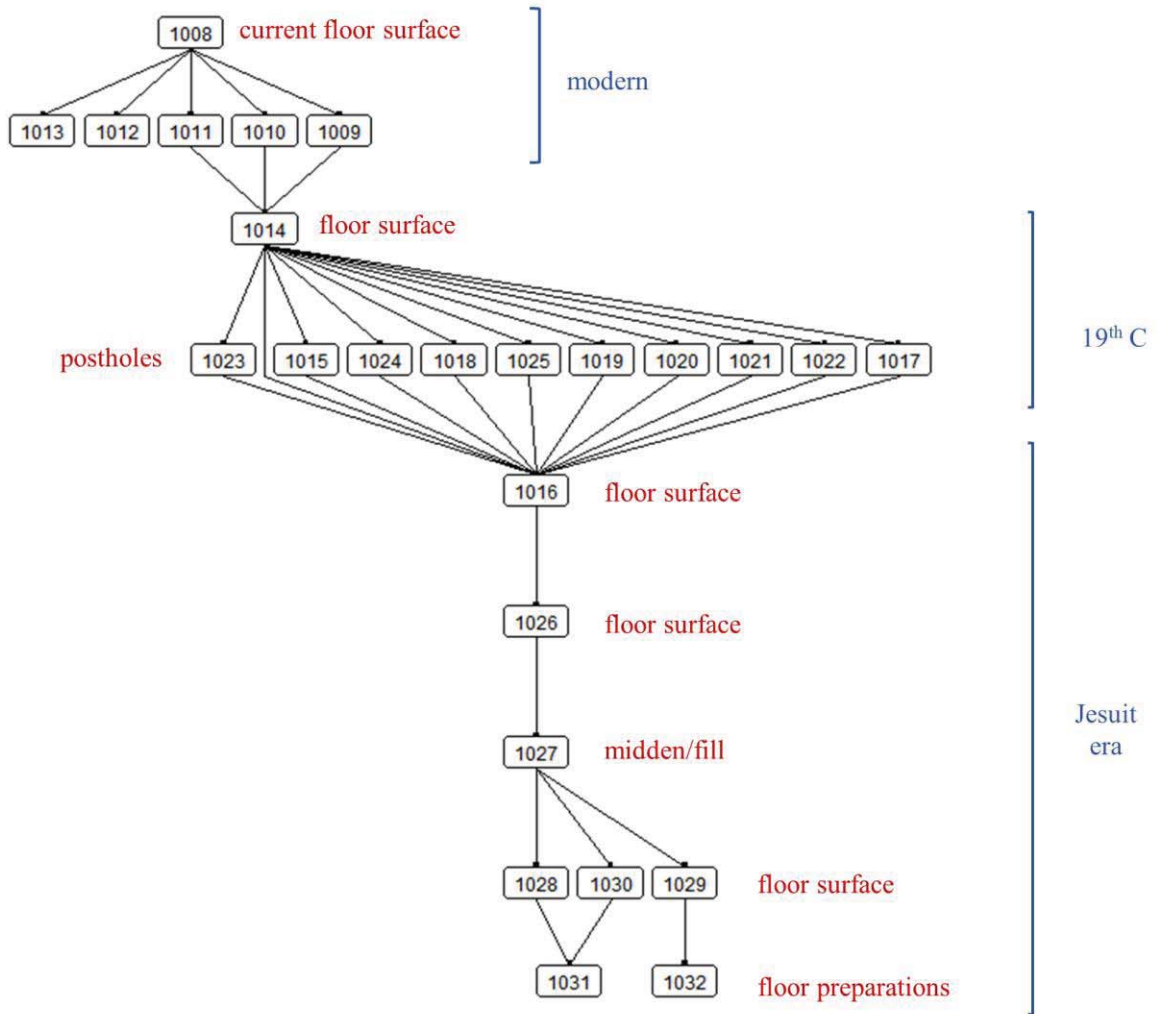


Figure 1. Harris Matrix for Unit 1, San Joseph.

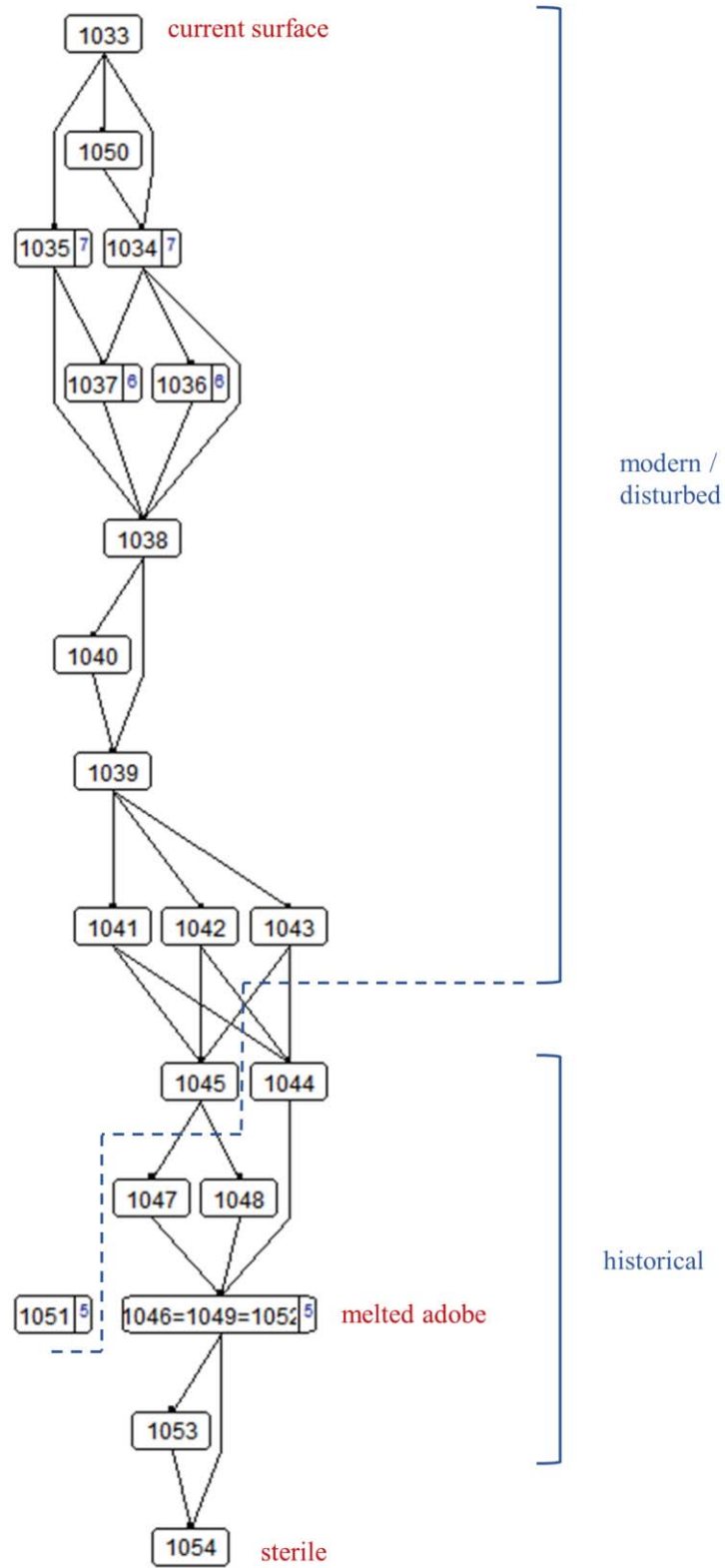


Figure 2. Harris Matrix for Unit 2, San Joseph.

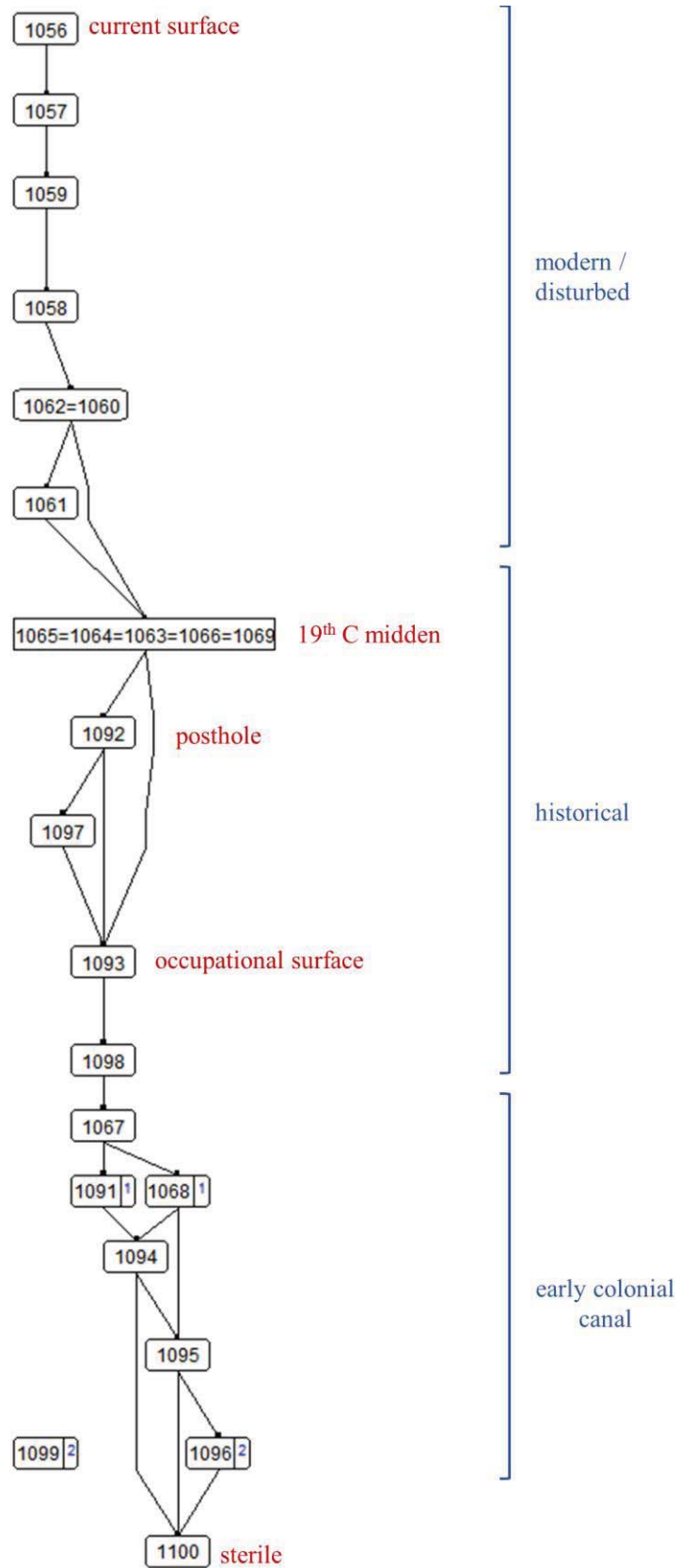


Figure 3. Harris Matrix for Unit 3, San Xavier.



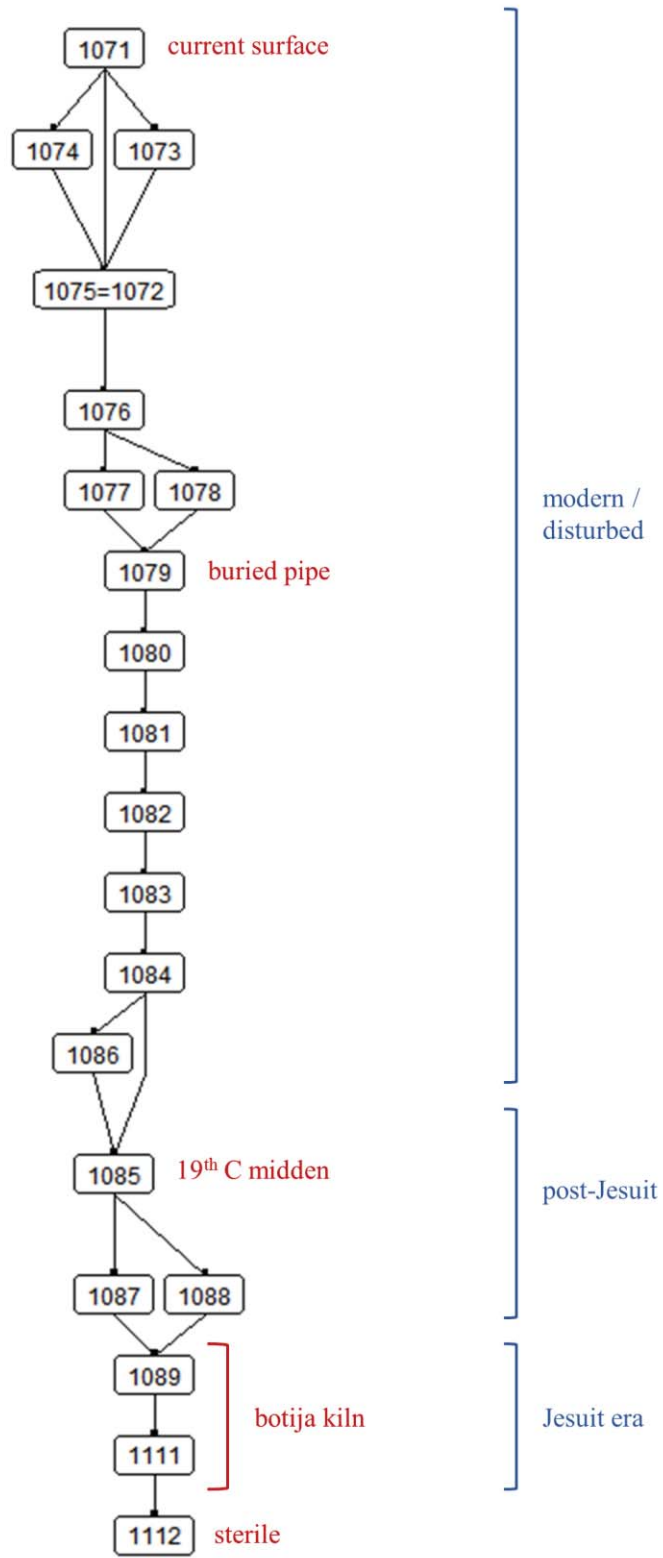


Figure 4. Harris Matrix for Unit 4, San Xavier.

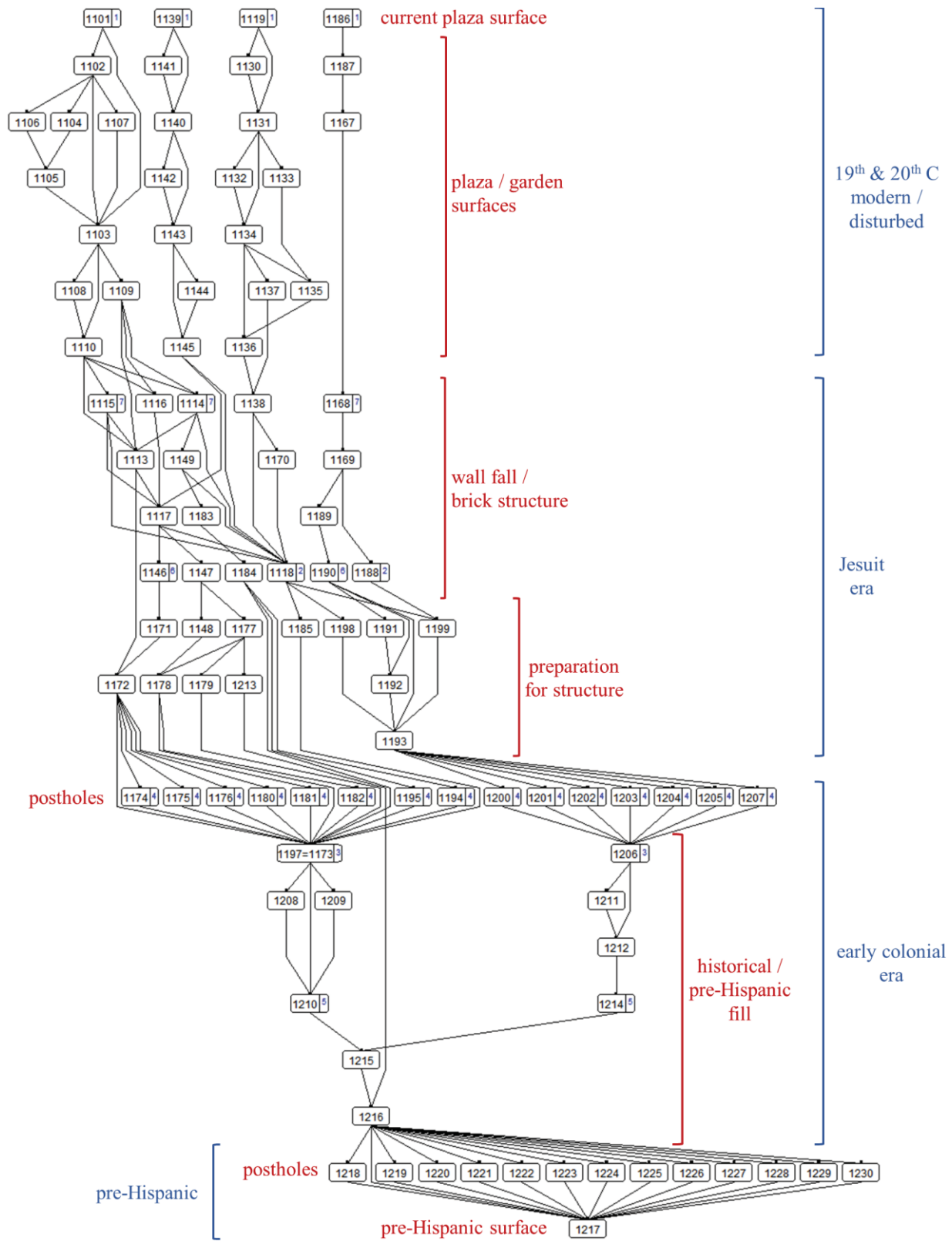


Figure 5. Harris Matrix for Unit 5, San Xavier.

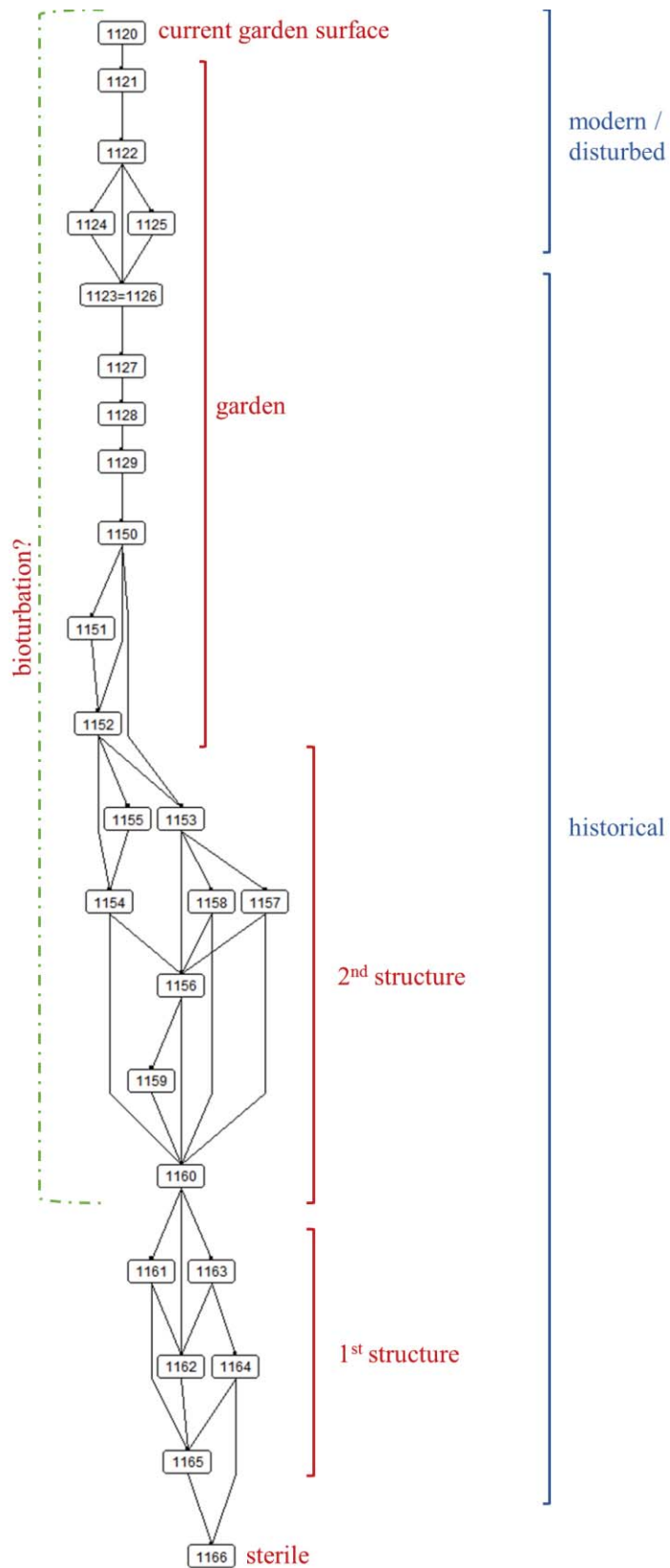


Figure 6. Harris Matrix for Unit 6, San Xavier.

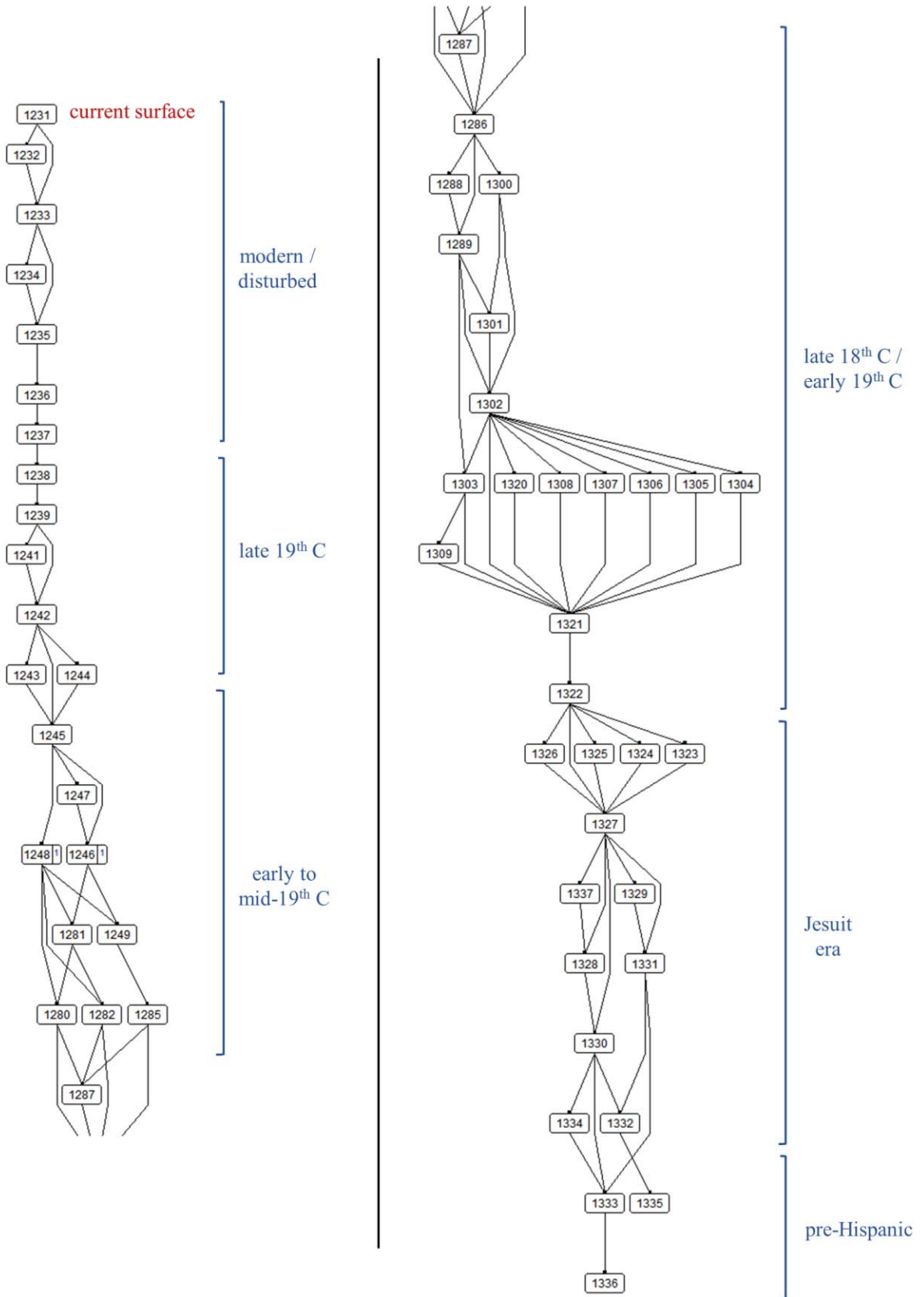


Figure 7. Harris Matrix for Unit 7, San Joseph

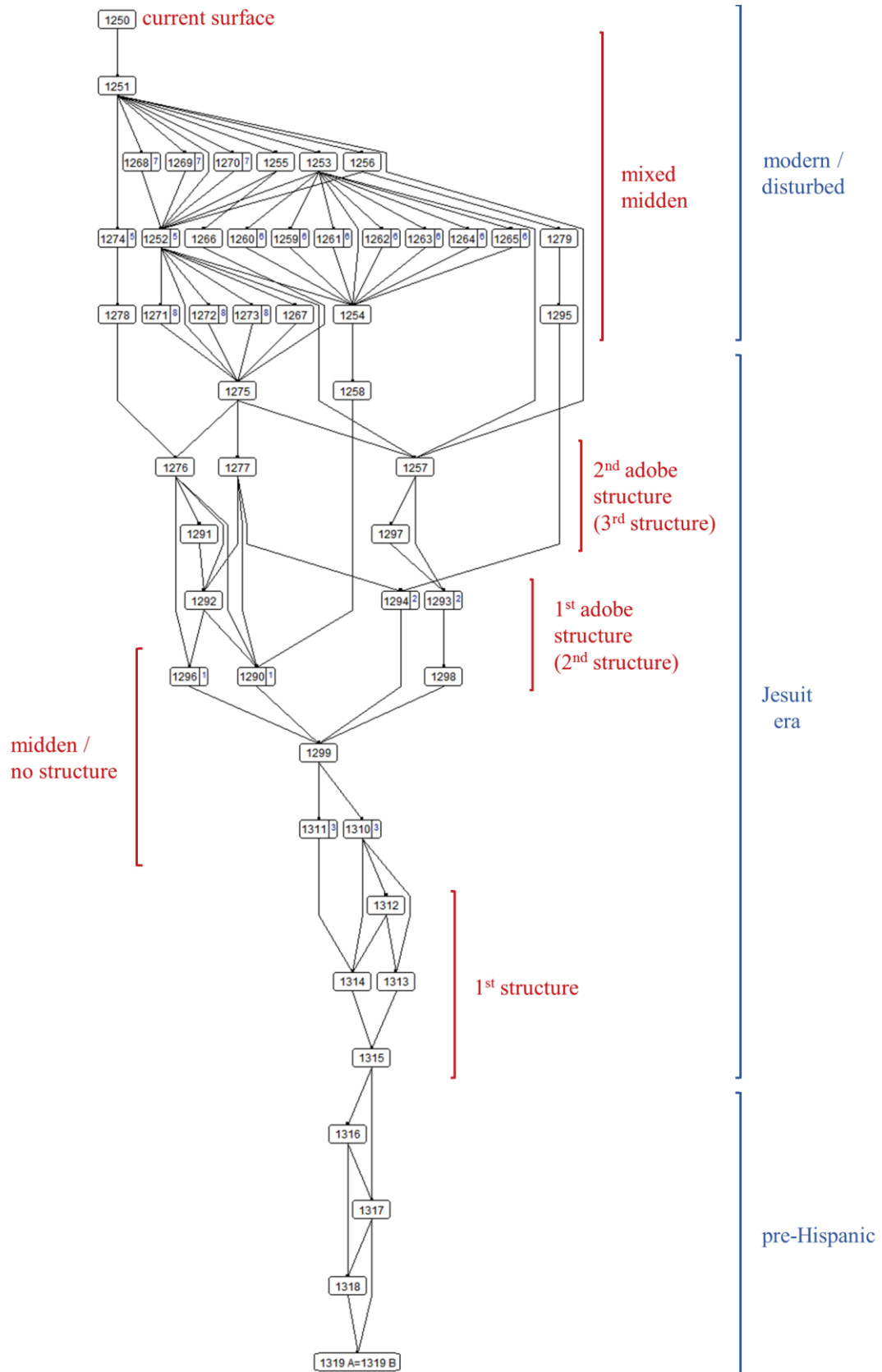


Figure 8. Harris Matrix for Unit 8, San Joseph

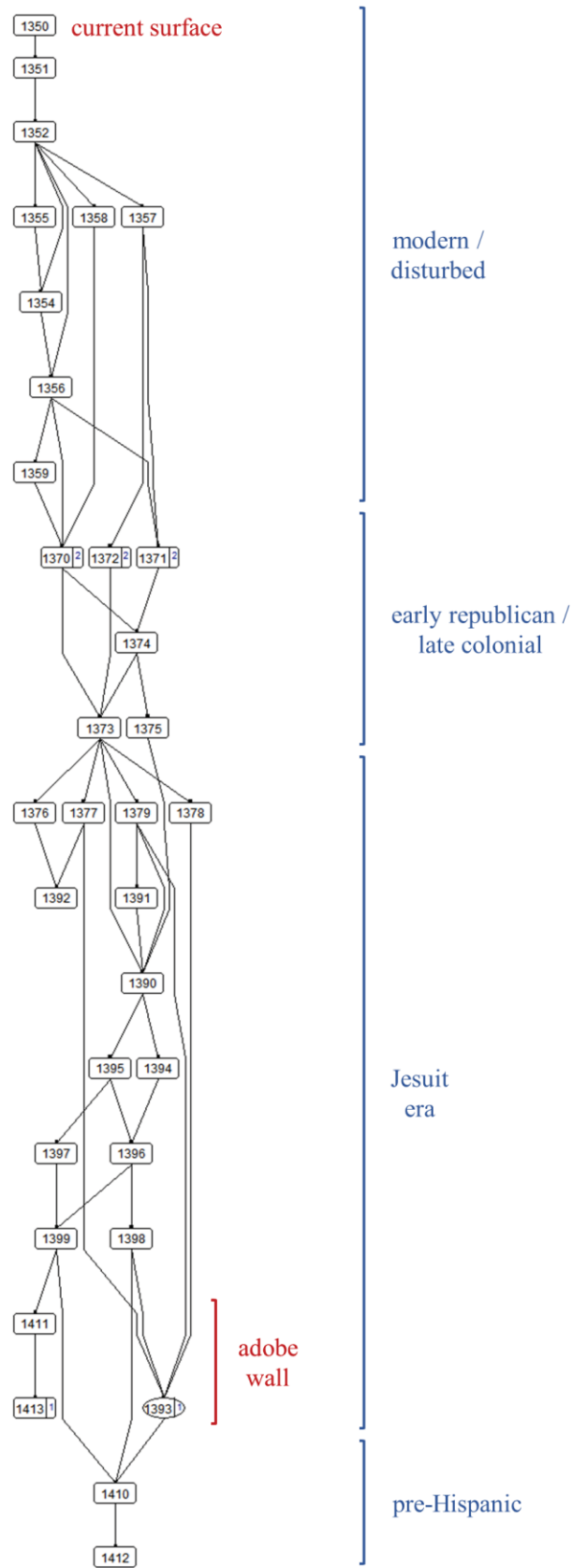


Figure 9. Harris Matrix for Unit 9, San Joseph

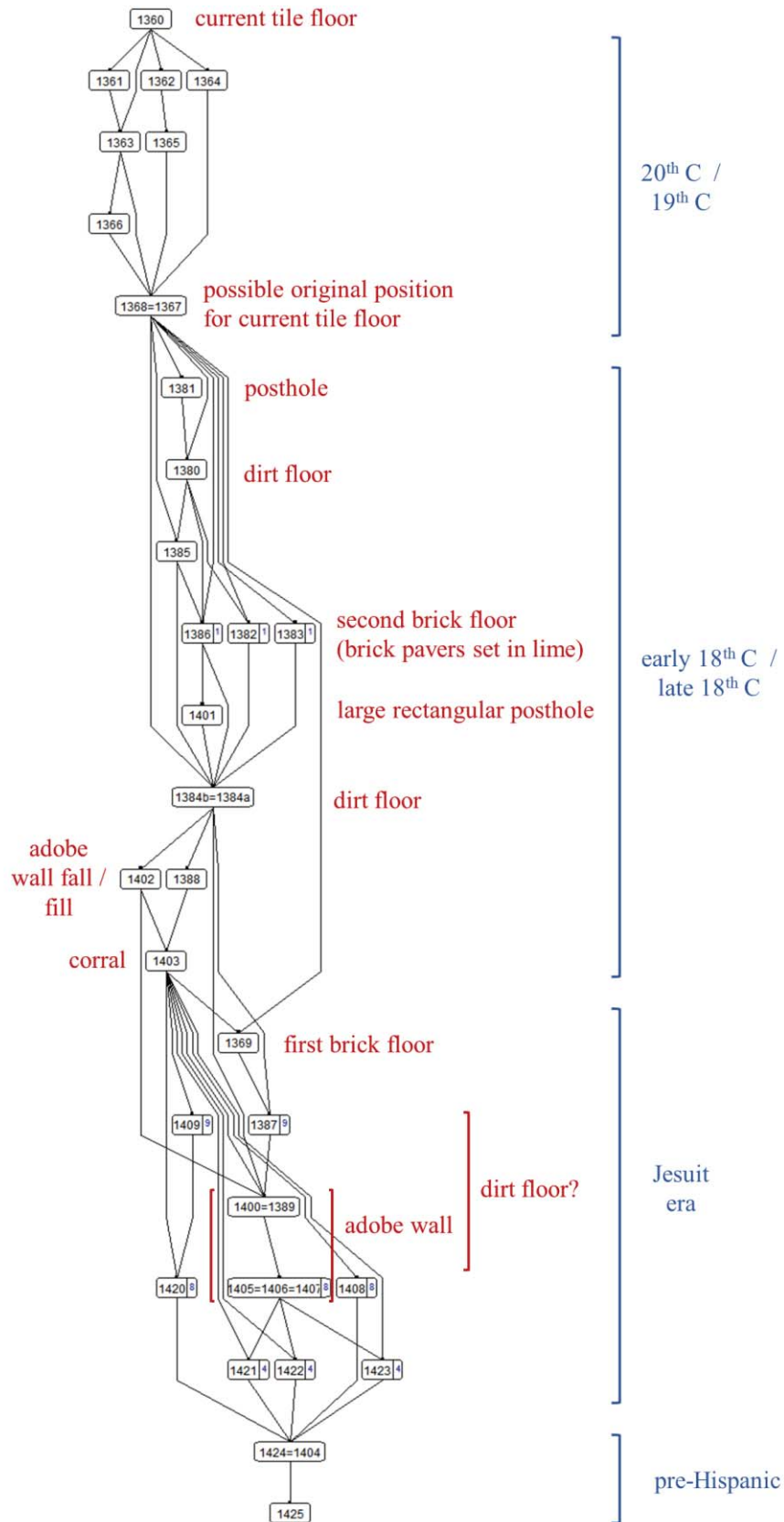
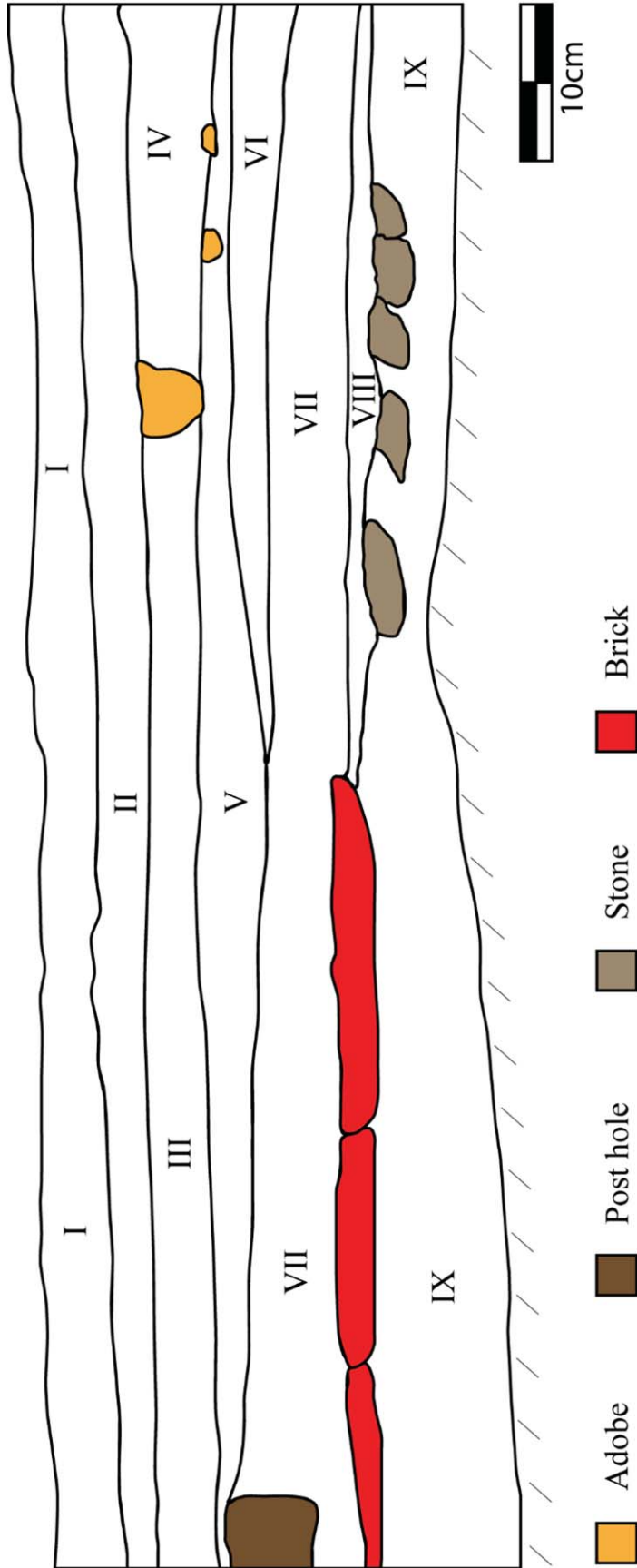


Figure 10. Harris Matrix for Unit 10, San Joseph

APPENDIX F

EXCAVATION UNIT PROFILE DRAWINGS





**Strata**

- I. Loose pale brown sand
- II. Loose pale brown sand
- III. Compact light brownish-gray clayey sand
- IV. Semi-loose brown sand
- V. Compact pale brown clayey sand
- VI. Semi-compact brown sandy clay
- VII. Semi-compact yellowish brown clayey sand with inclusions of wood and reed matting
- VIII. Loose yellowish brown clayey sand with inclusions of wood and carbon
- IX. Semi-compact yellowish brown silty sand

Figure 1. Northern profile of Unit 1, San Joseph



**Strata**

- I. Calicanto
- II. Compact brown clayey sand
- III. Semi-loose grayish brown silty sand with organic material
- IV. Semi-loose brown silty sand with reed matting and native copper
- V. Deteriorated adobes; very compact

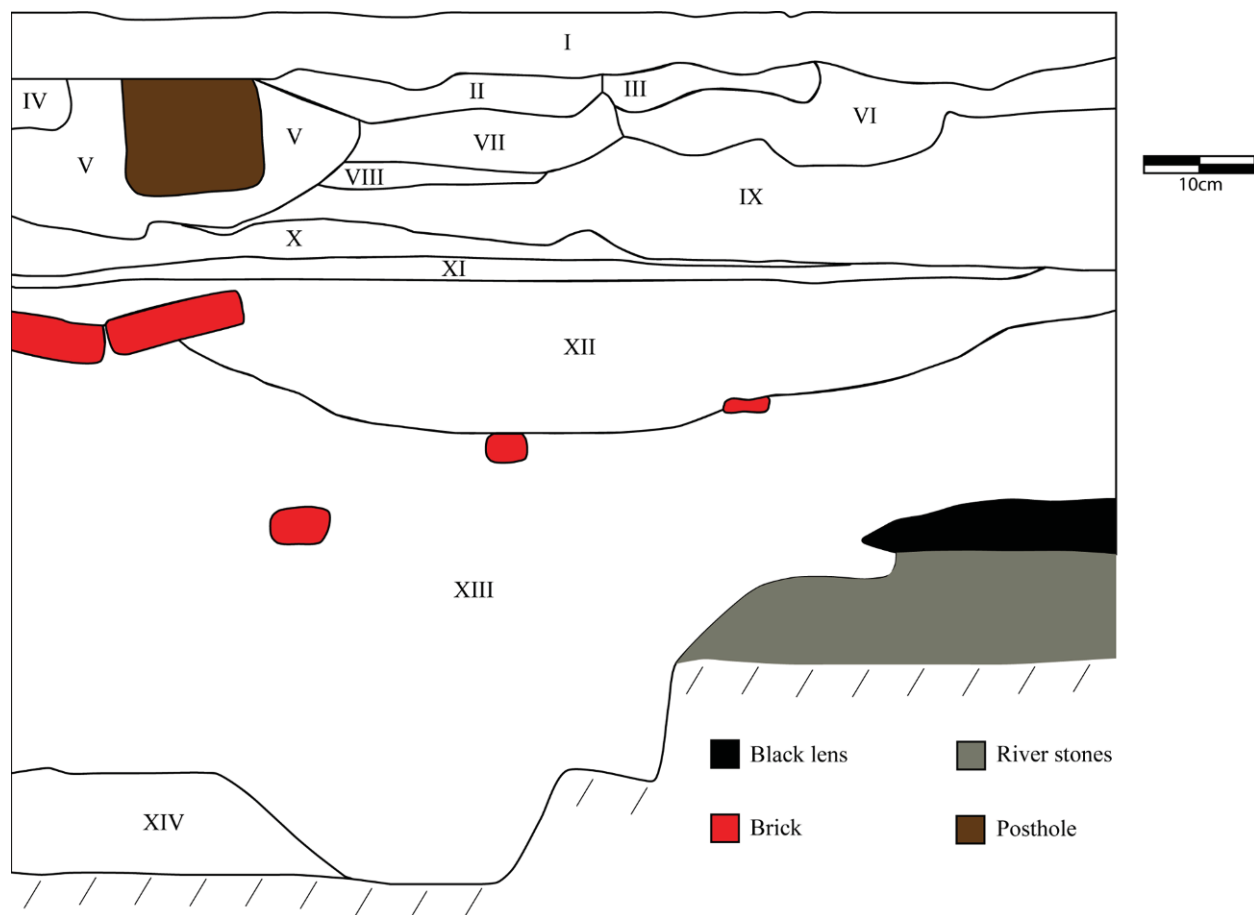
Figure 2. Northern profile of Unit 2, San Joseph.



**Strata**

- I. Semi-loose grayish brown silty sand
- II. Calicanto
- III. Compact brown clayey sand
- IV. White ash
- V. White ash
- VI. Gray ash
- VII. Semi-loose brown silty sand with reed matting
- VIII. Deteriorated adobes; very compact

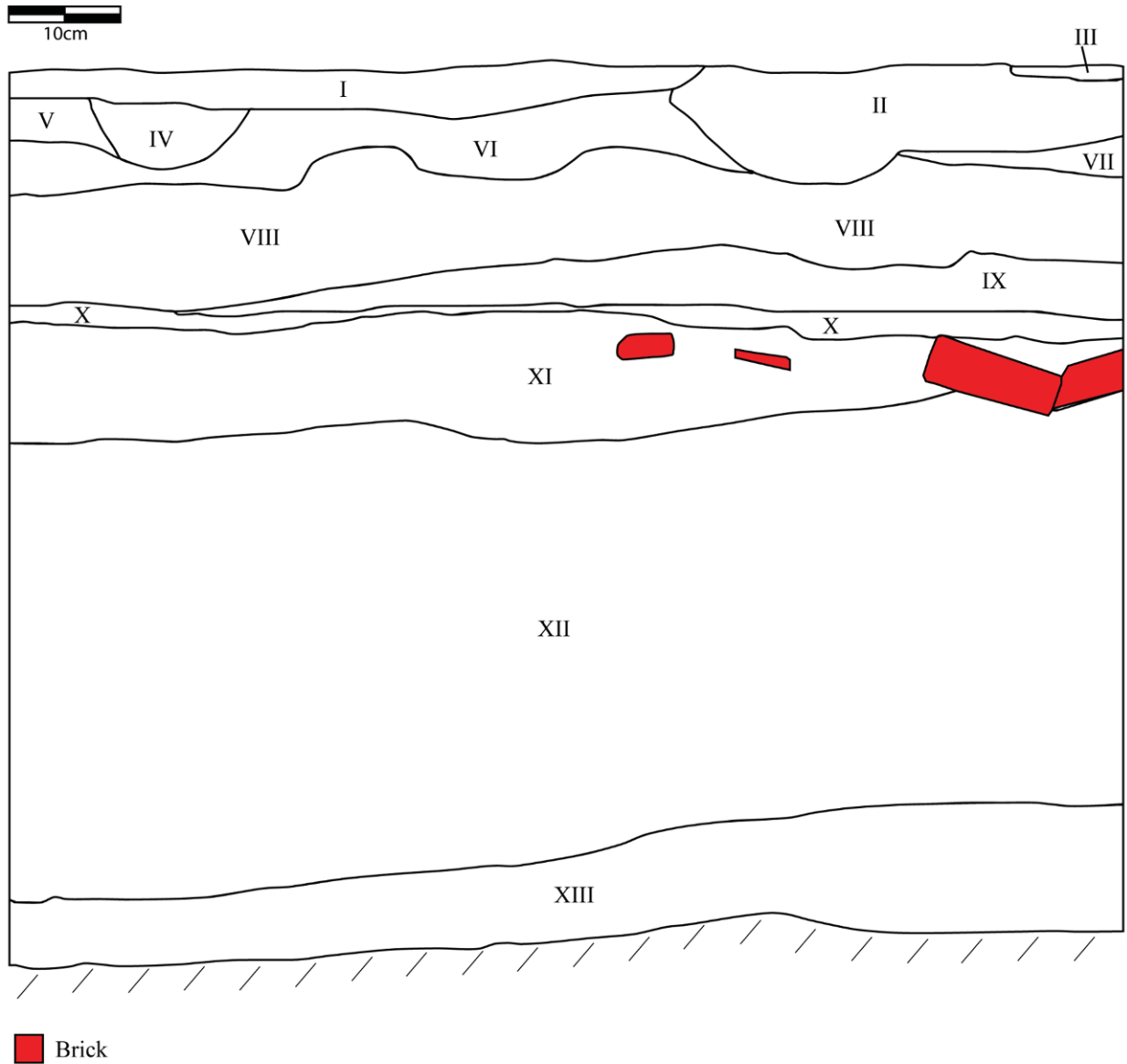
Figure 3. Western profile of Unit 2, San Joseph.



### Strata

- I. Semi-compact brown sandy clay
- II. Compact brown sandy clay
- III. Loose pale brown sand
- IV. Loose pale brown sand
- V. Semi-compact mottled brown and pale brown sandy clay, with patches of loose sand
- VI. Semi-compact mottled brown and pale brown sandy clay, with patches of loose sand
- VII. Semi-compact mottled brown and pale brown sandy clay, with patches of loose sand
- VIII. Compact mottled brown and pale brown sandy clay, with patches of loose sand
- IX. Loose brown sand with clay inclusions
- X. Compact brown clayey soil with organic material
- XI. Loose pale brown sand
- XII. Compact brown clayey soil with brick and stone inclusions
- XIII. Loose grayish brown clayey sand
- XIV. Loose light yellowish brown sand

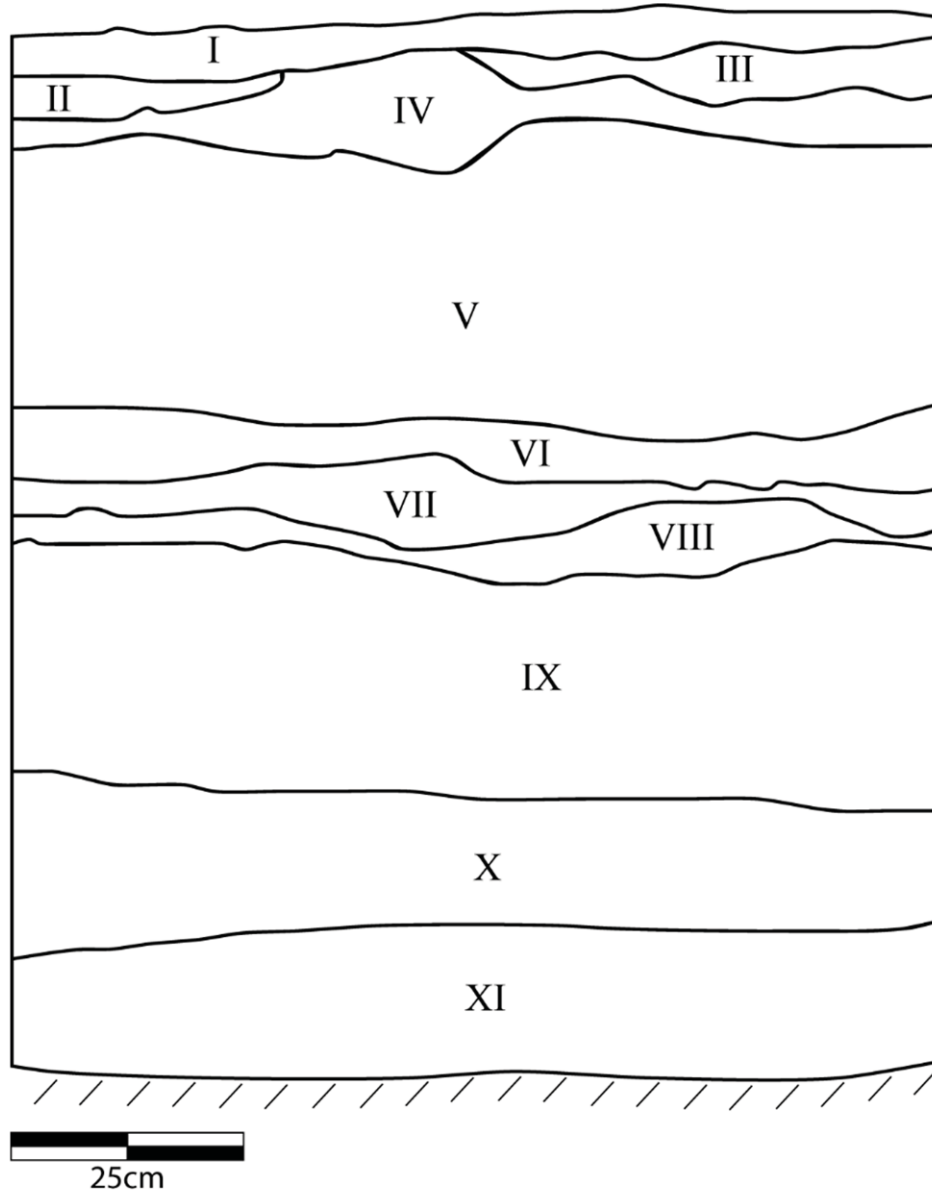
Figure 4. Northern profile of Unit 3, San Xavier.



**Strata**

- I. Semi-compact brown sandy clay
- II. Compact brown sandy clay
- III. Semi-compact brown sandy clay
- IV. Loose yellowish brown clayey sand
- V. Compact brown sandy clay
- VI. Loose pale brown sand
- VII. Loose pale brown sand
- VIII. Loose brown sand with sandy clay inclusions
- IX. Compact brown clayey soil with organic material
- X. Loose pale brown sand
- XI. Compact brown clayey soil with brick and stone inclusions
- XII. Loose grayish brown clayey sand
- XIII. Loose light yellowish brown sand

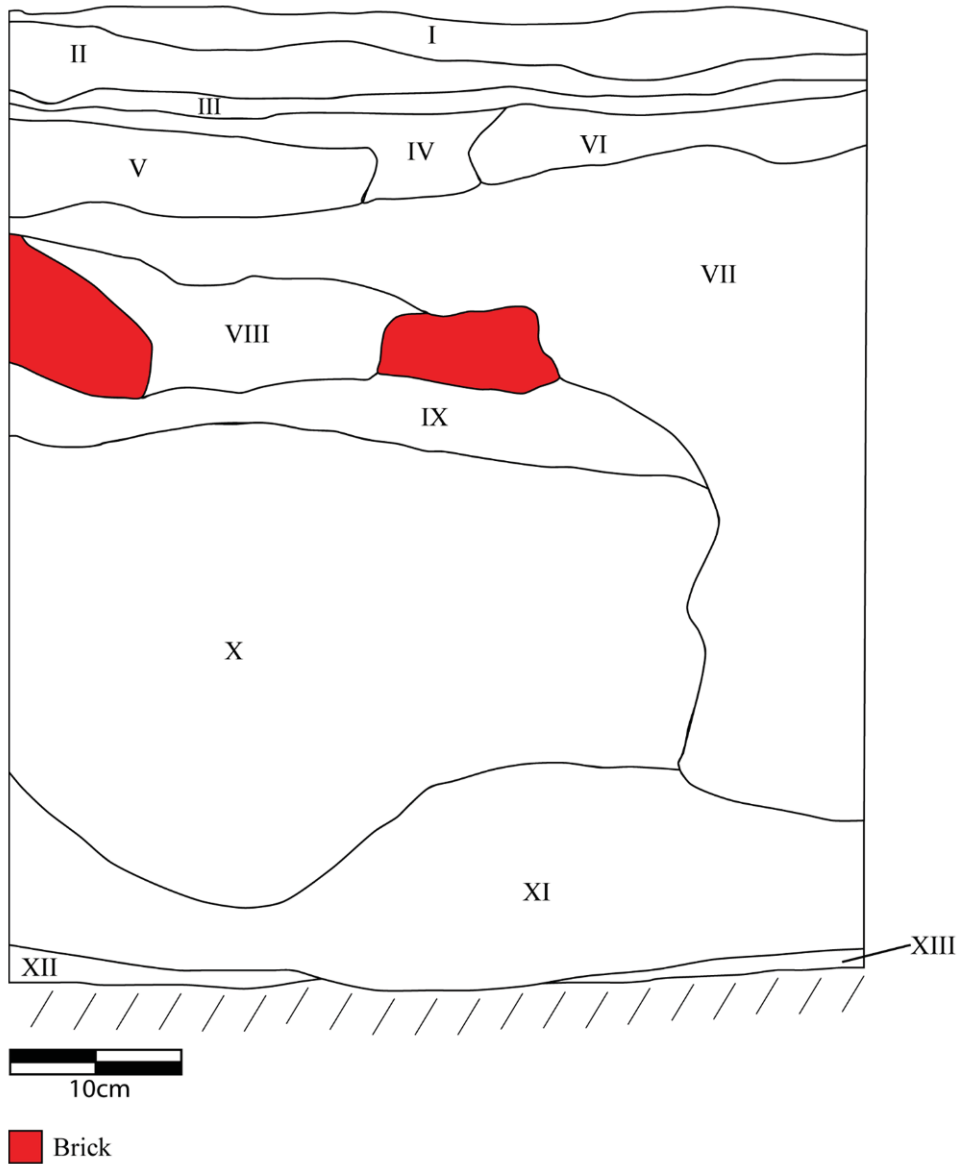
Figure 5. Western profile of Unit 3, San Xavier.



**Strata**

- I. Semi-loose grayish brown silty sand
- II. Compact dark grayish-brown sand
- III. Compact dark grayish-brown sand
- IV. :Loose olive brown sand with gravel
- V. Loose very dark brown clayey sand
- VI. Compact yellowish-brown clayey sand
- VII. Loose very dark gray and
- VIII. Compact dark grayish brown coarse-grained sand
- IX. Dense botija sherds with clay
- X. Loose brown sandy loam with charcoal and fire-cracked rock
- XI. Semi-loose light brownish gray clayey loam with slag and charcoal

Figure 6. Northern profile of Unit 4, San Xavier.



**Strata**

- I. Compact yellowish brown clay
- II. Compact sand with inclusions of brick and calicanto
- III. Slightly darker sand with modern trash, calicanto, brick and ash
- IV. Very compact clayey sand
- V. Loose sandy clay
- VI. Lighter loose sandy clay
- VII. Clayey sand with high concentration of brick and calicanto
- VIII. Clayey sand with high concentration of large brick and calicanto fragments
- IX. Dark yellowish brown sand with inclusions of small stones, brick and calicanto
- X. Compact light yellowish brown sand
- XI. Fine yellowish brown sand
- XII. Compact, fine yellowish brown sand
- XIII. Compact, fine yellowish brown sand

Figure 7. (Southern-most) eastern profile of Unit 5, San Xavier.

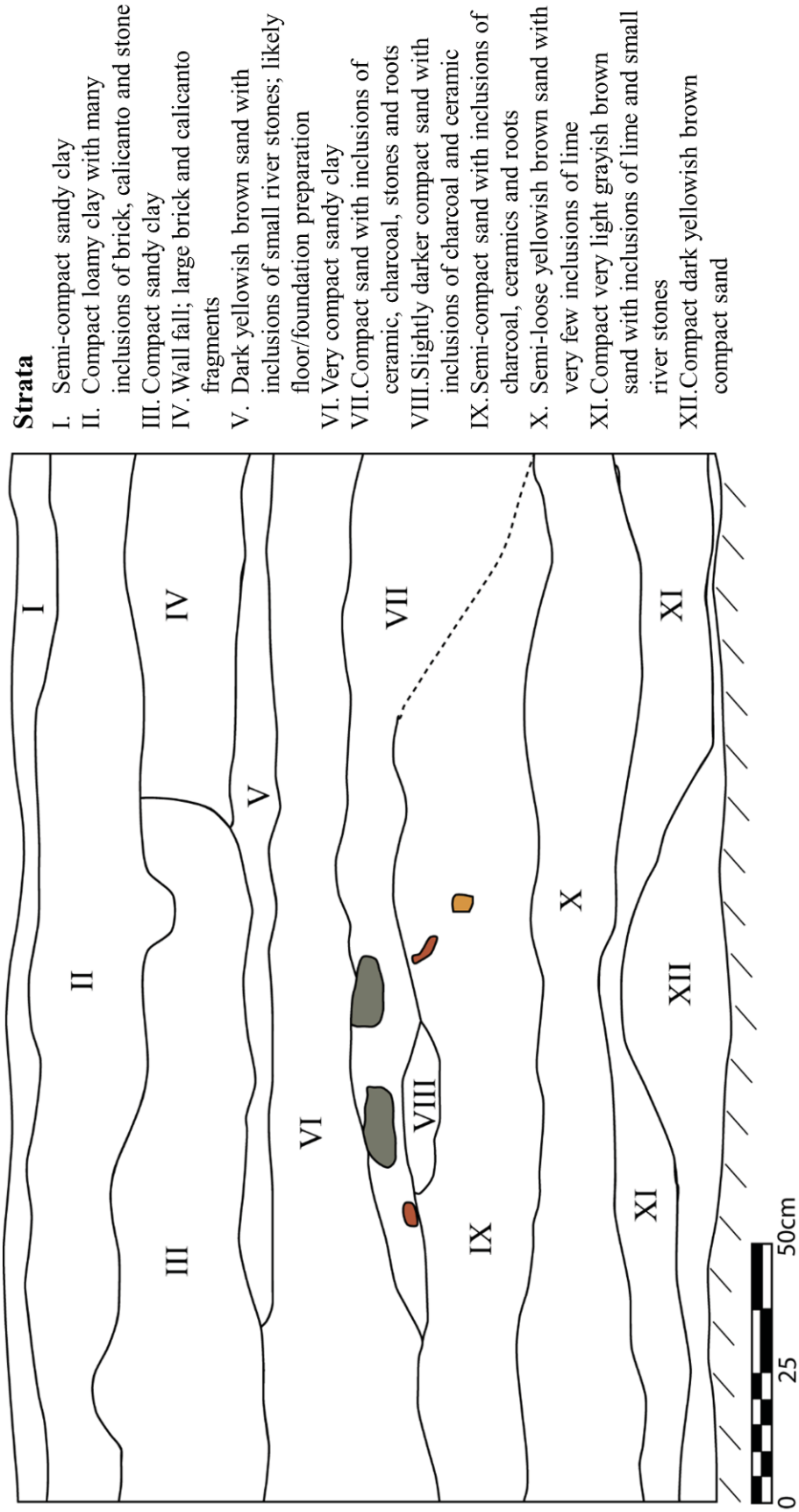


Figure 8. (Eastern-most) northern profile of Unit 5, San Xavier.



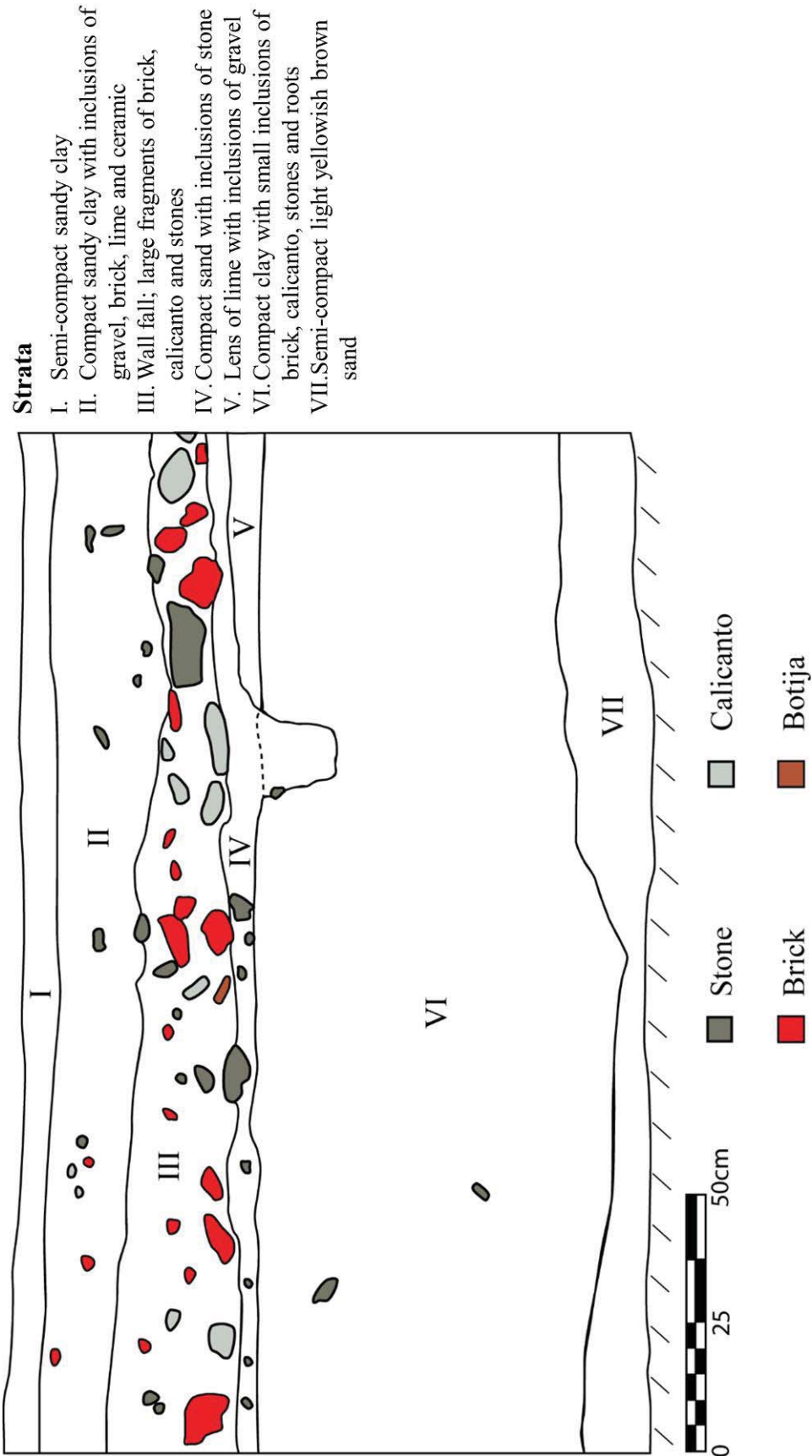


Figure 9. (Western-most) northern profile of Unit 5, San Xavier.

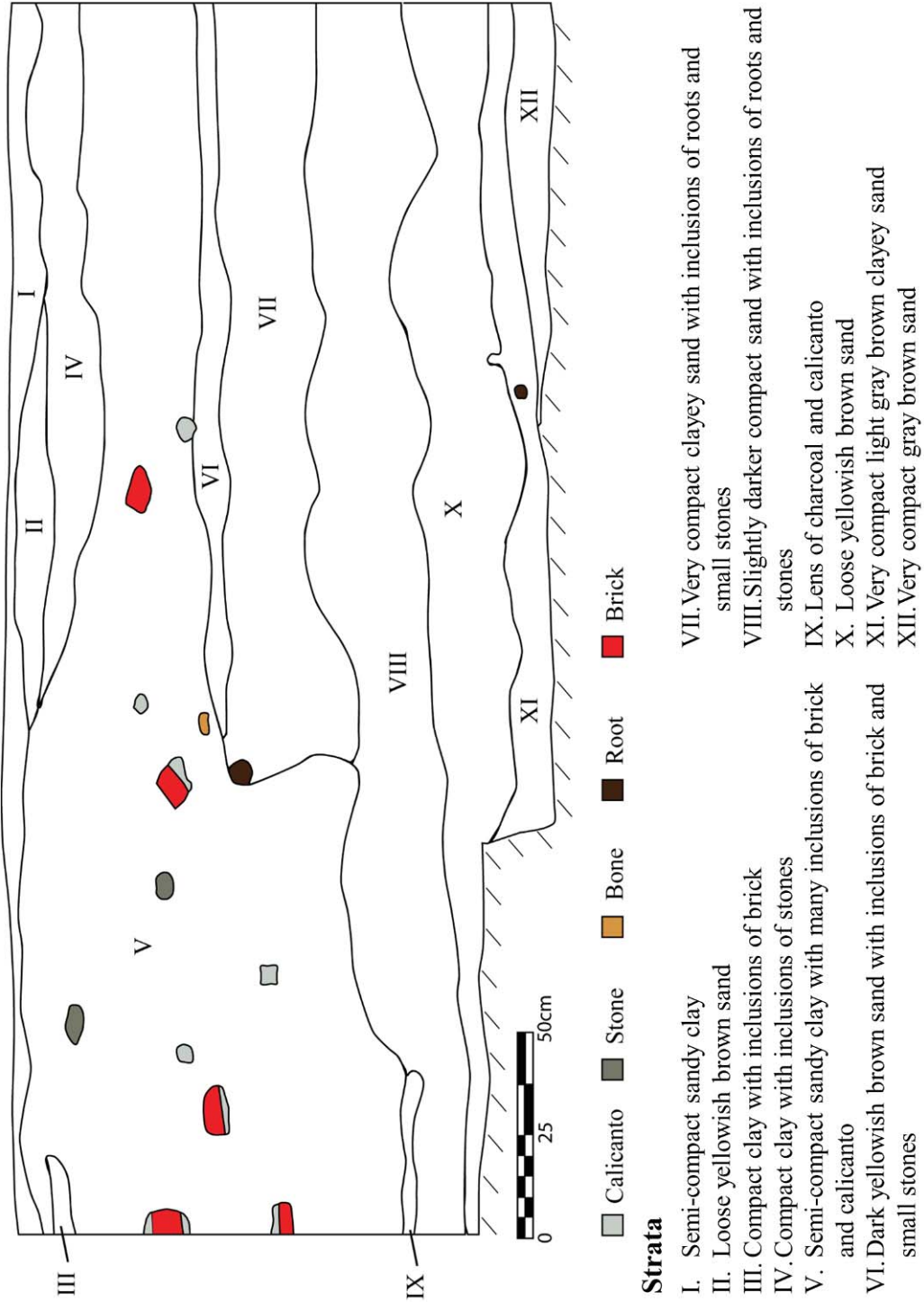
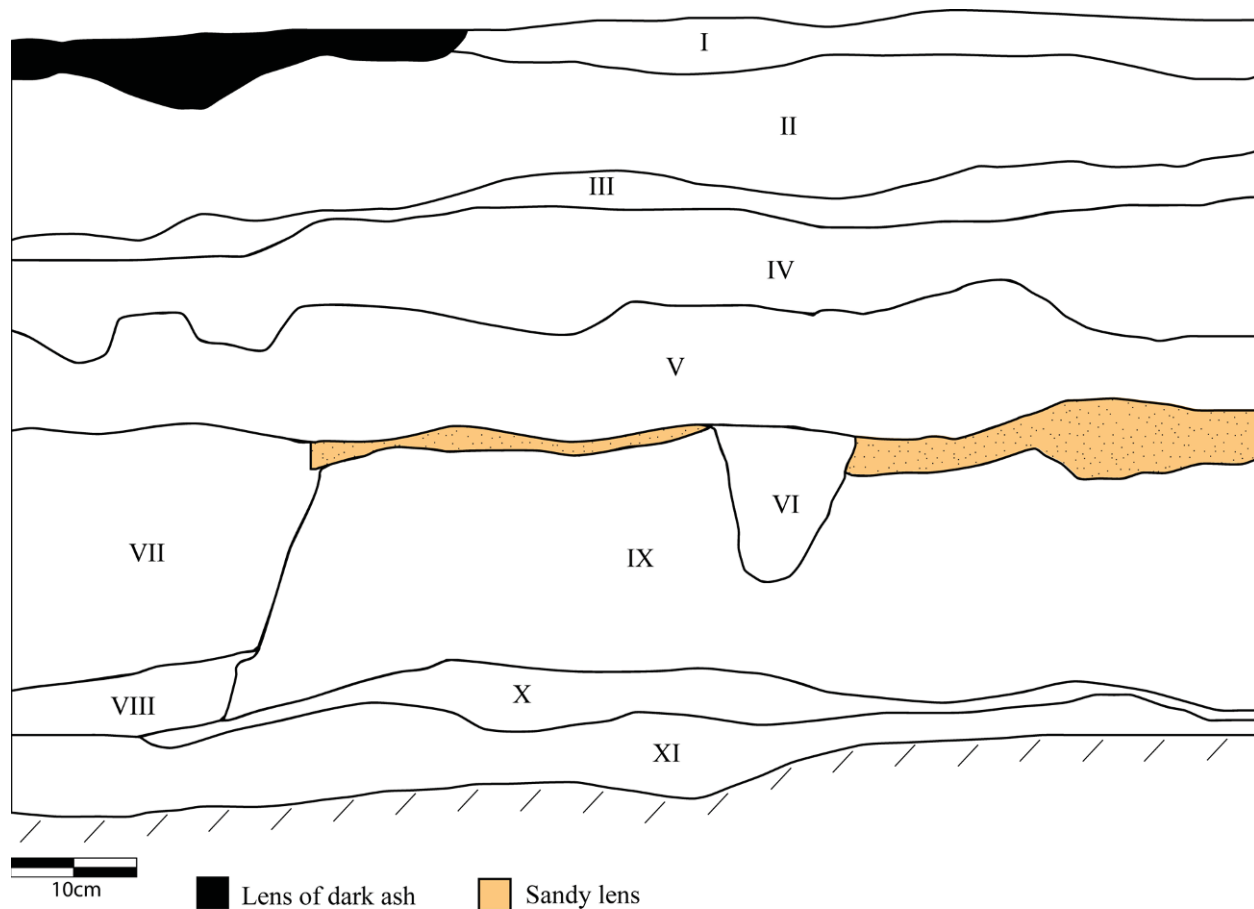


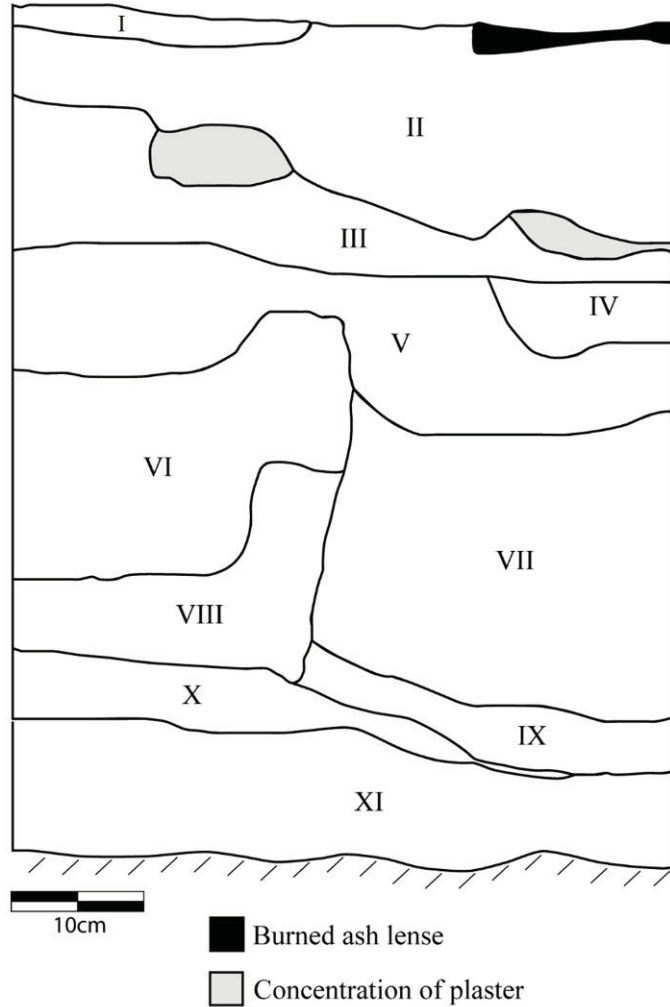
Figure 10. (Western-most) southern profile of Unit 5, San Xavier.



### Strata

- I. Semi-compact brown sandy silt with dense organic material
- II. Compact brown clayey sand, inclusions of brick
- III. Concentration of brick and plaster in a layer of brown sandy clay
- IV. Compact brown sandy clay, inclusions of brick
- V. Semi-compact yellowish brown clayey sand
- VI. Semi-compact mottled light yellowish brown sand with brown clay (pit feature)
- VII. Semi-compact mottled yellowish gray sand with grayish brown sandy clay and brown clay, inclusions of brick and charcoal (pit feature)
- VIII. Compact brown clay, inclusions of charcoal and roots (shallow basin-shaped pit feature)
- IX. Compact brown clay
- X. Semi-compact light yellow brown silty sand
- XI. Loose pale brown medium sand, inclusions of medium stones and natural iron oxide

Figure 11. Northern profile of Unit 6, San Xavier.



**Strata**

- I. Semi-compact brown sandy silt, inclusions of plaster and brick
- II. Semi-compact brown sandy loam, inclusions of moderate density of roots
- III. Compact brown sandy clay, minimal inclusions of plaster, charcoal, and roots
- IV. Compact brown sandy clay, inclusions of plaster, charcoal, and brick
- V. Semi-compact brown sandy clay, inclusions of plaster
- VI. Semi-compact clayey sand, inclusions of charcoal and brick
- VII. Semi-loose mottled yellowish gray sand with grayish brown sandy clay and brown clay, inclusions of brick and charcoal
- VIII. Compact brown clay
- IX. Compact dark brown clayey sand, inclusions of charcoal, plaster, and brick
- X. Loose light yellowish brown sand
- XI. Loose pale brown medium sand, inclusions of medium stones and natural iron oxide

Figure 12. Western profile of Unit 6, San Xavier.

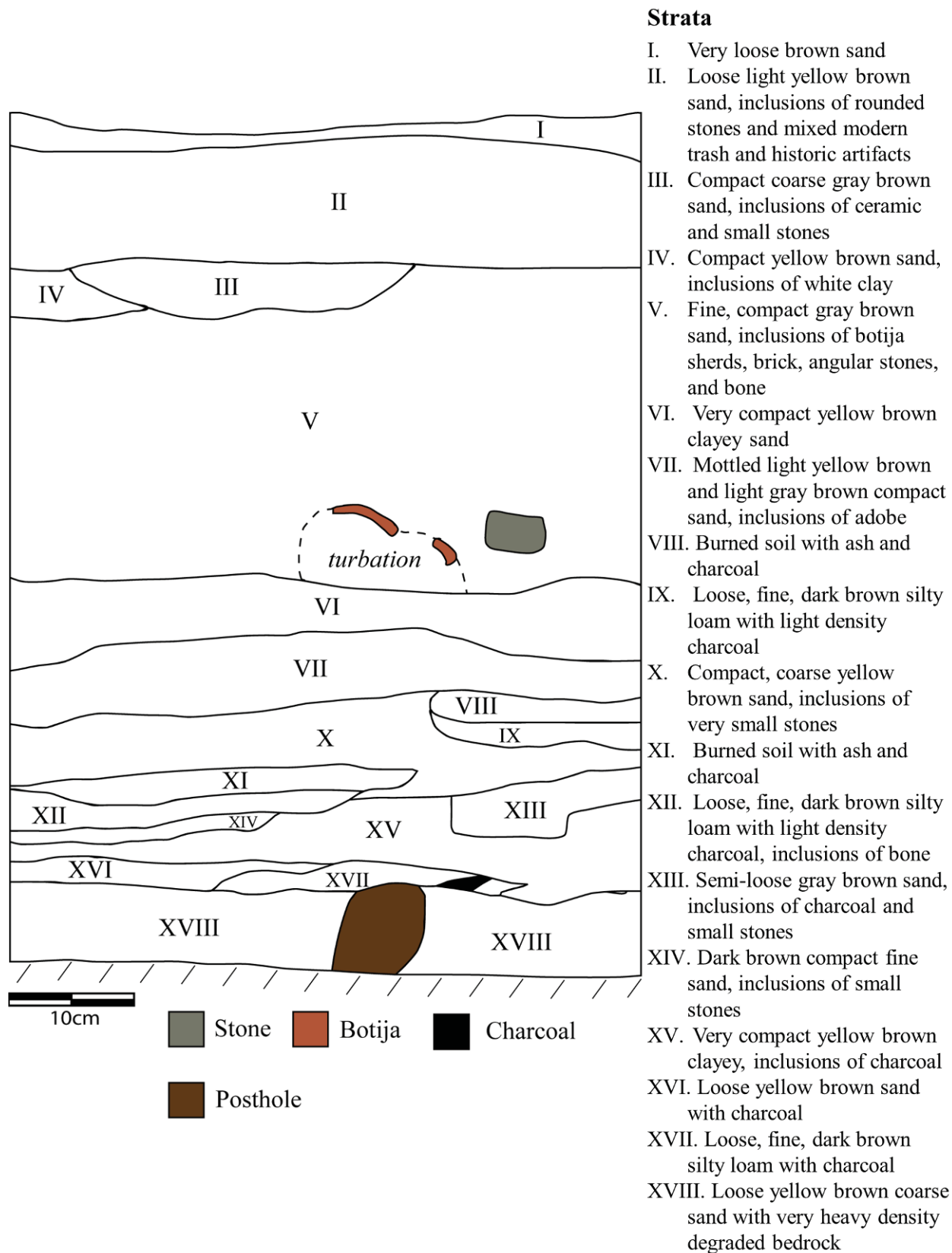
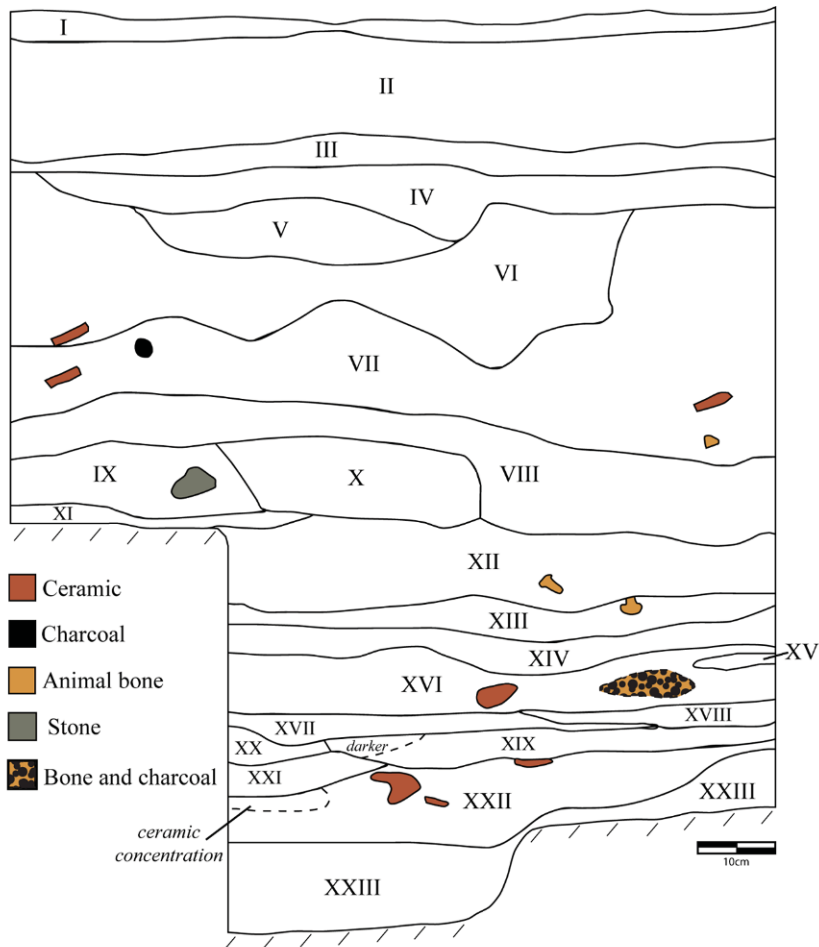


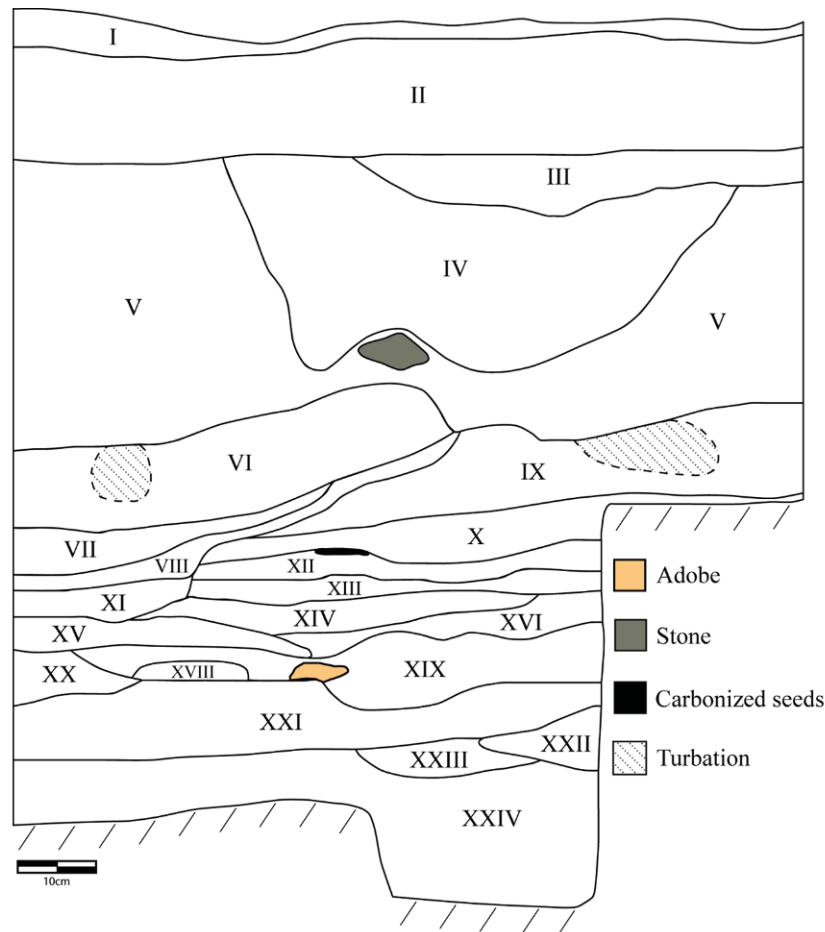
Figure 13. Eastern profile of Unit 7, San Joseph.



**Strata**

- I. Very loose brown sand
- II. Loose light yellow brown sand, inclusions of rounded stones and mixed modern trash and historic artifacts
- III. Compact layer of gravel, high density angular stones
- IV. Compact brown sand, inclusion of stones
- V. Compact brown sand, inclusions of brick and charcoal
- VI. Compact very light yellow brown sand, inclusions of brick, botija sherds, and angular stones
- VII. Compact fine yellow brown sand, inclusions of botija sherds, brick, and charcoal
- VIII. Very compact light gray brown sand, light density calicanto
- IX. Compact, fine gray brown sand, inclusions of medium stones
- X. Semi-loose yellow brown sand
- XI. Loose, fine yellow sand, inclusions of very small stones, clay chunks
- XII. Compact light gray brown sand, inclusions of charcoal and bone
- XIII. Loose, dark yellow brown sand, inclusions of charcoal
- XIV. Compact, fine, gray brown sand
- XV. Fire remnants, dense charcoal and burned fine sand
- XVI. Very compact gray brown sand, inclusions of fragments of botija, brick, and bone
- XVII. Compact gray brown sand
- XVIII. Fire remnants, loose burned sand, inclusions of charcoal and ash
- XIX. Compact fine brown sand, light inclusions of charcoal
- XX. Compact fine yellow brown sand, inclusions of charcoal
- XXI. Compact light yellow brown sand, with small stones
- XXII. Very compact gray brown sand, inclusions of degraded bedrock and botija fragments
- XXIII. Semi-loose yellow brown sand, coarse, with very high density degraded bedrock

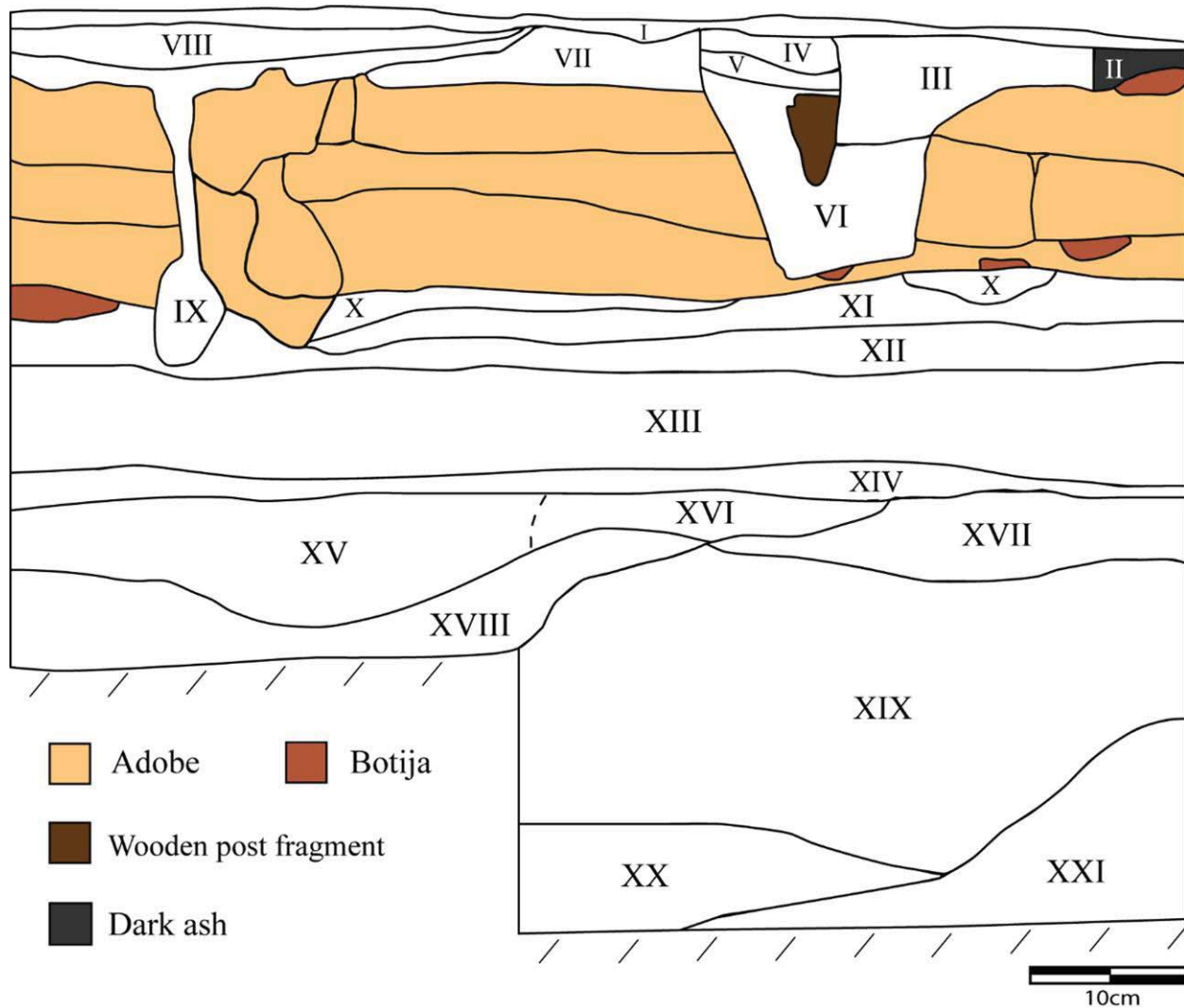
Figure 14. Northern profile of Unit 7, San Joseph.



**Strata**

- I. Very loose brown sand
- II. Loose gray brown coarse sand, inclusions of small stones, modern trash, and historic artifacts
- III. Compact gray brown clayey sand, inclusions of metal, organic material, small stones
- IV. Very compact fine brown (very clumpy) sand, inclusions of brick, botija, and bone fragments. Appears to have been wetted and dried repeatedly.
- V. Compact gray brown clayey sand, inclusions of bone, brick, ceramic, and angular stones
- VI. Very compact light yellow brown sand, inclusions of very small stones and ceramic
- VII. Semi-loose fine yellow brown sand
- VIII. Fire remnants, burned soil with charcoal and carbonized seeds
- IX. Semi-compact fine yellow brown sand with very light density of carbonized seeds, inclusions of adobe
- X. Compact fine gray brown sand with inclusions of gray clay
- XI. Semi-compact dark yellow brown semi-compact fine sand with charcoal
- XII. Semi-compact coarse sand with angular stones
- XIII. Compact dark yellow brown sand, inclusions of charcoal
- XIV. Semi-loose fine gray brown sand with root and small stone inclusions
- XV. Semi-compact yellow brown fine sand with small angular stones
- XVI. Semi-loose dark yellow brown fine sand
- XVII. Loose dark yellow brown sand, inclusions of ceramic and small stones
- XVIII. Fire remnants, burned soil and charcoal
- XIX. Loose dark brown sand with small stones
- XX. Very compact gray brown fine clayey sand, possible melted adobe
- XXI. Loose yellow brown silty sand
- XXII. Very compact fine gray brown clayey sand, possibly melted adobe
- XXIII. Semi-loose yellow brown sand, inclusions of botija sherds, angular stones, and degraded bedrock
- XXIV. Loose yellow brown sand with very high density degraded bedrock

Figure 15. Southern profile of Unit 7, San Joseph.

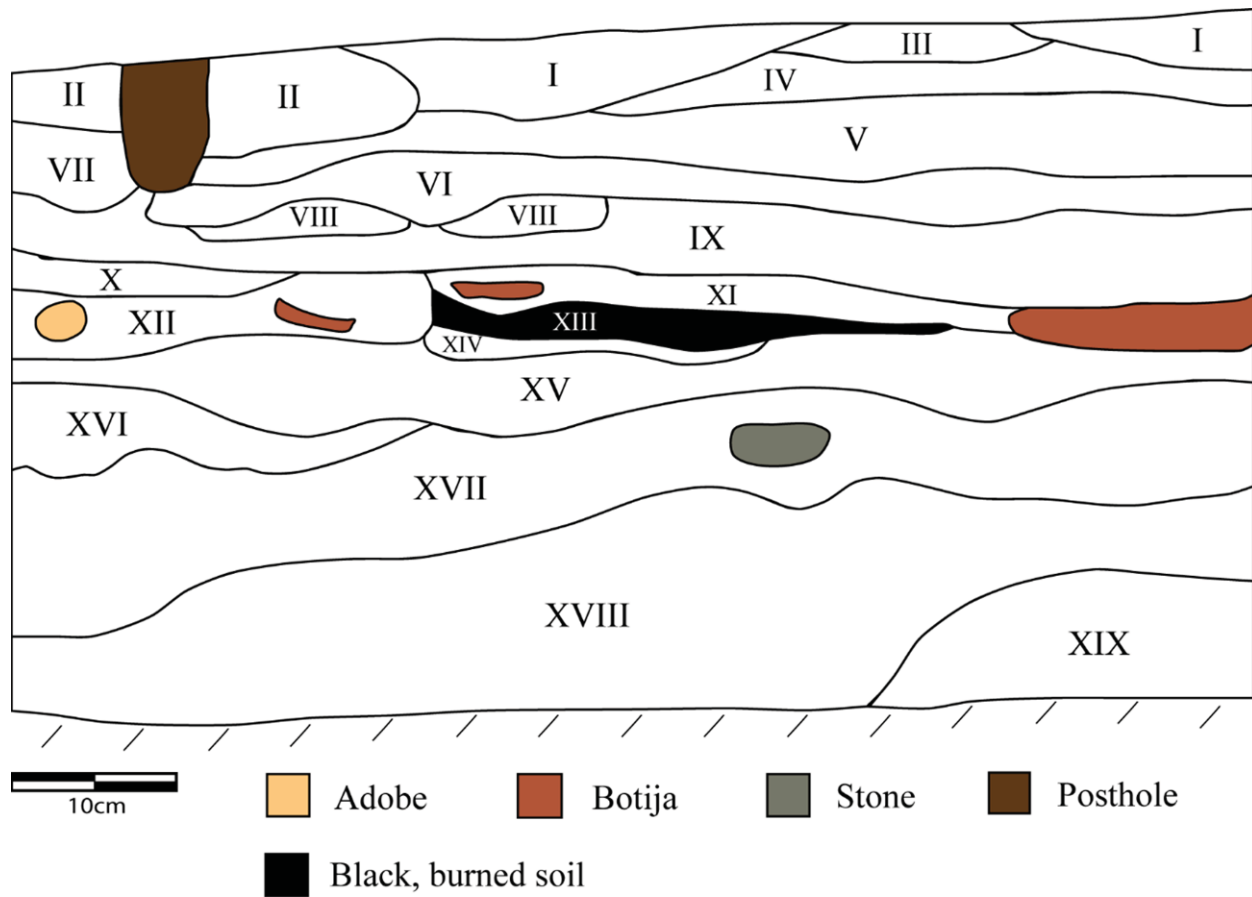


### Strata

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>I. Very loose light olive brown very fine sand</p> <p>II. Dark ashy lens</p> <p>III. Loose brown sand</p> <p>IV. Loose dark reddish brown ashy sand</p> <p>V. Loose dark grayish brown sand</p> <p>VI. Brown sand, inclusions of gravel</p> <p>VII. Loose dark grayish brown sand</p> <p>VIII. Very loose yellowish brown sandy soil (posthole)</p> <p>IX. Loose brown sand, inclusions of animal bone and botija sherds</p> <p>X. Compact pale brown sand</p> <p>XI. Semi-compact pale brown sand, inclusions of small stones</p> <p>XII. Semi-compact light brown sand, inclusions of small pebbles</p> | <p>XIII. Compact pinkish gray fine sand, inclusions of small stones</p> <p>XIV. Loose brown medium grain sand, gravel</p> <p>XV. Compact brown sand</p> <p>XVI. Semi-compact sand, dense inclusions of small pebbles</p> <p>XVII. Semi-compact light yellow brown fine sandy loam</p> <p>XVIII. Medium river stones in yellow brown sand matrix</p> <p>XIX. Semi-loose olive brown silty sand</p> <p>XX. Semi-loose light yellowish brown medium sand</p> <p>XXI.</p> |
|--|---|

Figure 16. Eastern profile of Unit 8, San Josep.

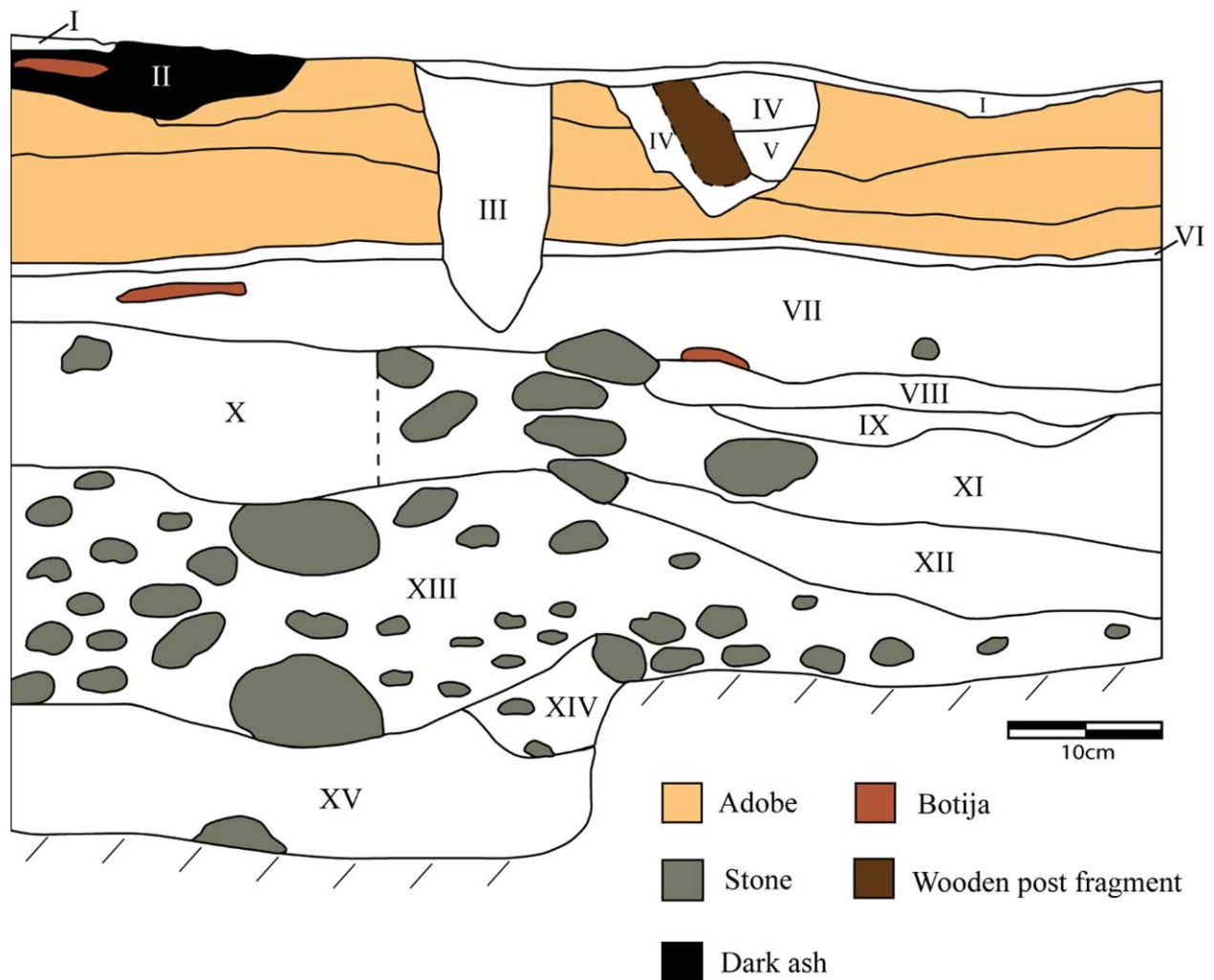




### Strata

- I. Loose dark brown sandy loam with organic material, inclusions of clay
- II. Mottled "I" and "V"
- III. Compact light gray brown sandy clay, compacted adobe
- IV. Compact dark gray brown sandy clay, compacted adobe
- V. Compact light gray brown sandy clay, compacted adobe
- VI. Compact dark gray brown sandy clay, melted adobe with inclusions of lime
- VII. Mottled "V" and "VI"
- VIII. Very compact gray clay
- IX. Compact light yellow brown sandy clay, adobe wall remnants
- X. Semi-compact melted adobe
- XI. Loose silty brown sand, inclusions of botija fragments
- XII. Loose gray ash, inclusions of charcoal and adobe
- XIII. Loose black, burned soil with high density charcoal
- XIV. Loose dark brown silty sand with organic material
- XV. Semi-loose brown silty sand, inclusions of animal bone and ceramic fragments
- XVI. Loose gray silty sand
- XVII. Loose brown coarse sand with moderate density small to medium smooth stones
- XVIII. Semi-loose brown coarse silty sand with high density angular stones
- XIX. Very compact yellowish brown fine silty sand

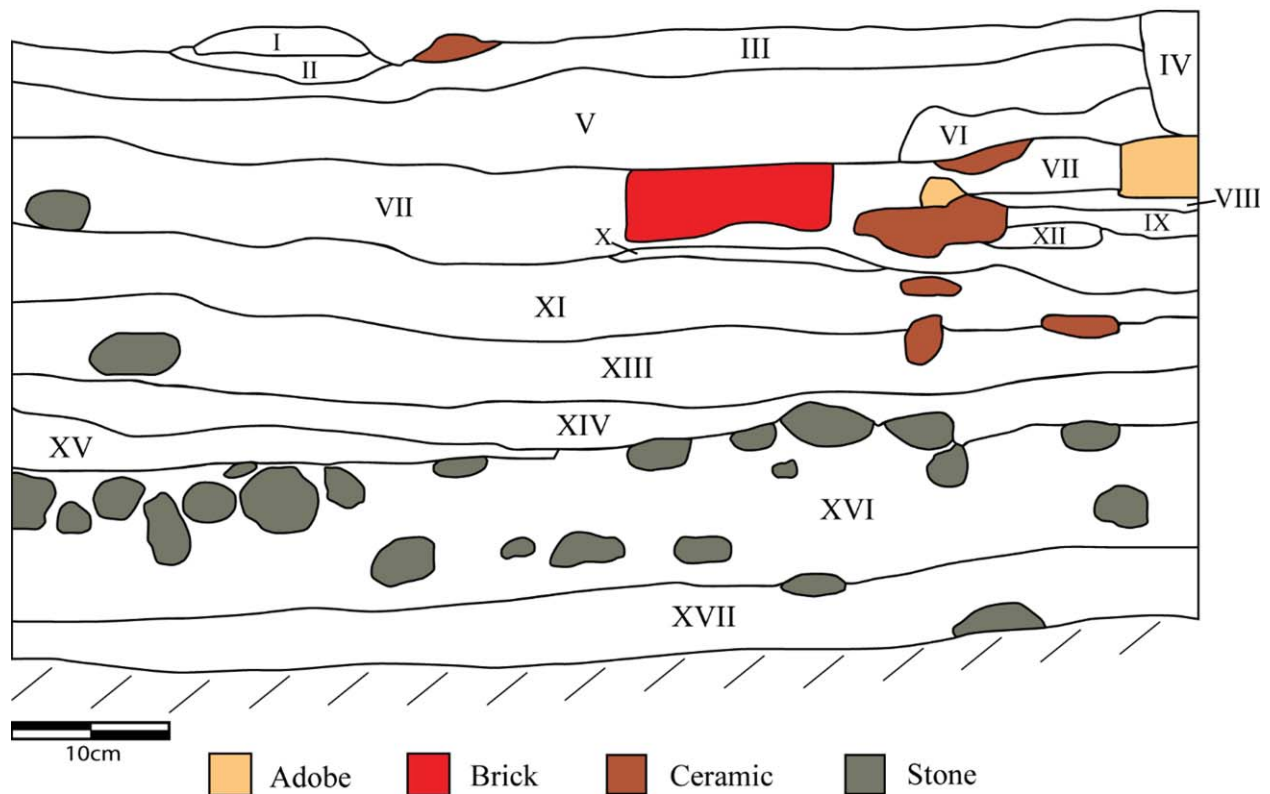
Figure 17. Northern profile of Unit 8, San Joseph.



**Strata**

- I. Loose dark brown sandy loam with organic material, inclusions of clay
- II. Dark ash
- III. Loose dark grayish brown sand (posthole)
- IV. Loose dark yellowish brown fine grain sand (posthole)
- V. Loose very dark brown silty fine sand (posthole)
- VI. Compact brown gravely sand (posthole)
- VII. Loose light yellowish brown medium sand, inclusions of botija sherds, animal bone, and stones
- VIII. Semi-loose light yellowish brown fine sand, inclusions of plaster
- IX. Semi-loose light olive brown sand
- X. Loose light yellowish brown sand
- XI. Compact light brownish gray sand, small pebbles
- XII. Semi-compact light brown gray sand, inclusions of stones
- XIII. Semi-compact grayish brown gravely sand
- XIV. Semi-compact light yellowish brown sand, inclusions of stones
- XV. Semi-compact light yellowish brown sand
- XVI. Semi-compact light yellowish brown sand, inclusions of pebbles

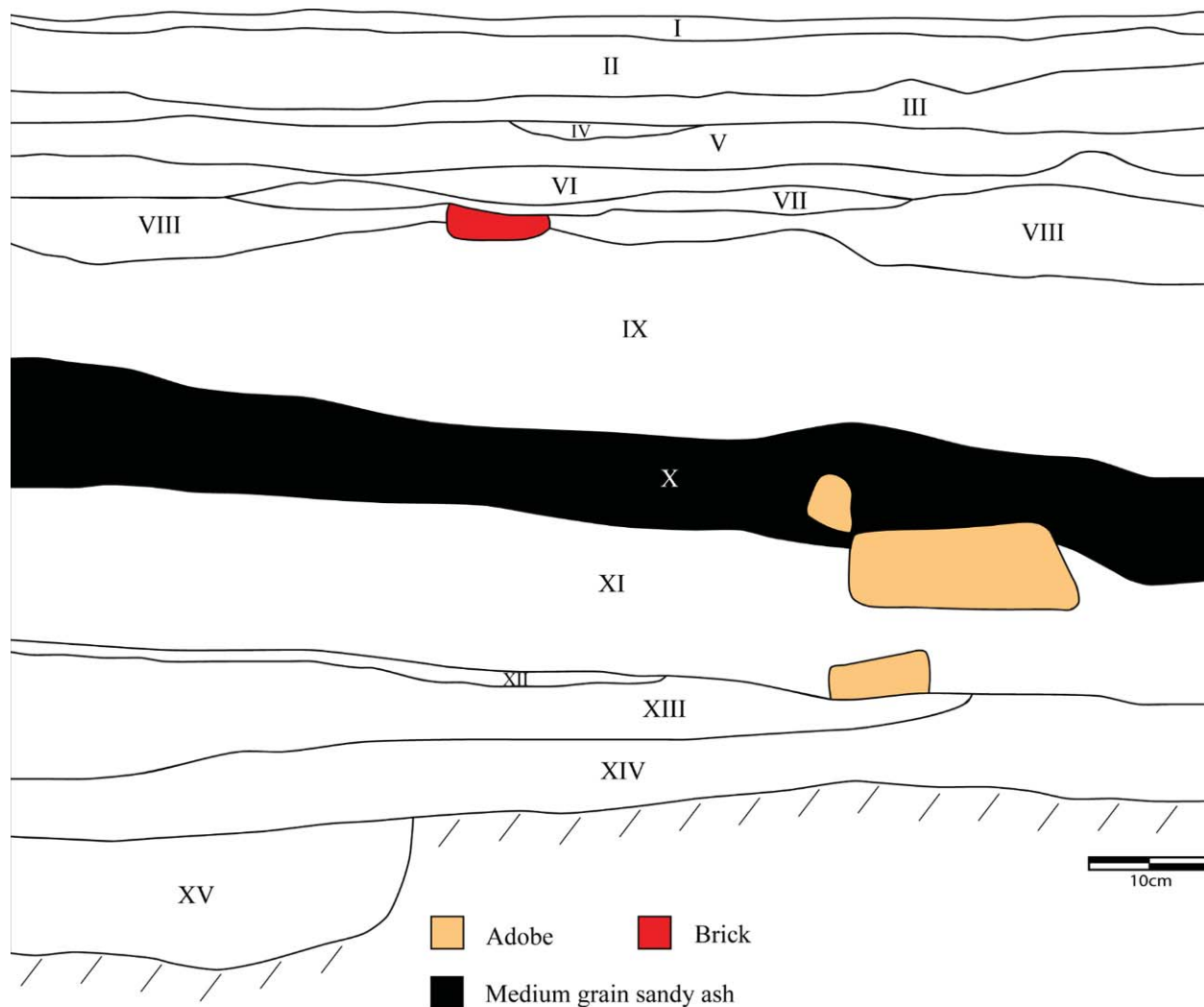
Figure 18. Southern profile of Unit 8, San Joseph.



### Strata

- I. Loose dark brown sandy loam with organic material, inclusions of clay
- II. Loose dark yellowish brown loamy sand
- III. Loose brown medium sand
- IV. Semi-compact very dark grayish brown clayey sand
- V. Adobe wall fall melt
- VI. Adobe wall fall melt
- VII. Adobe wall fall melt
- VIII. Adobe wall fall melt
- IX. Adobe wall fall melt
- X. Lens of vegetable matter (*estera* matting)
- XI. Loose pale brown fine sand
- XII. Loose light olive brown sand, inclusions of vegetable matter
- XIII. Loose light olive brown sand, inclusions of vegetable matter
- XIV. Loose yellowish brown fine sand
- XV. Loose brown sand, inclusions of vegetable matter
- XVI. Semi-loose light yellowish brown sand, rock and pebble inclusions
- XVII. Semi-loose light yellowish brown fine sand

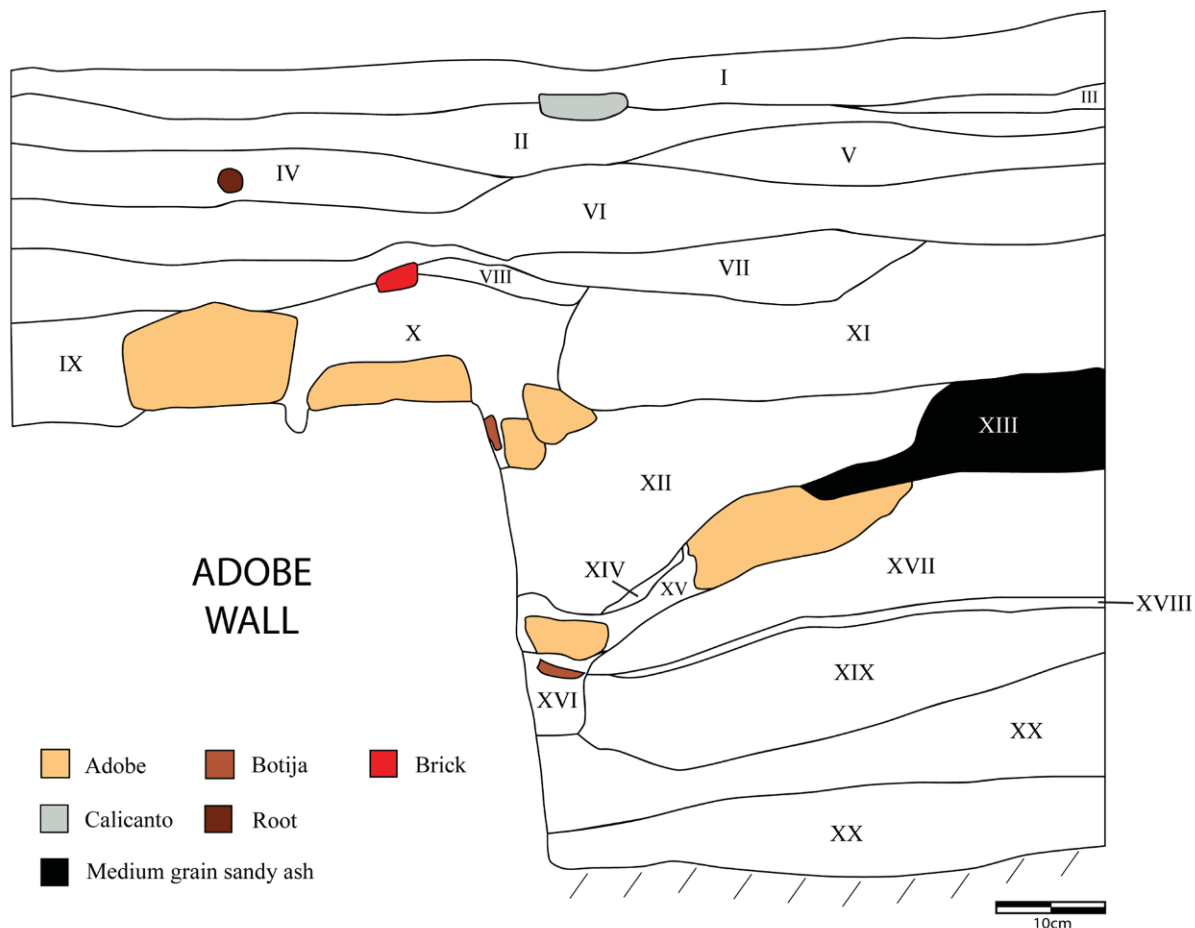
Figure 19. Western profile of Unit 8, San Joseph.



### Strata

- I. Very loose pale brown medium sand
- II. Loose light brownish gray medium sand
- III. Semi-loose brown fine sand
- IV. Semi-loose very dark grayish brown very fine sand
- V. Semi-compact brown fine sand, inclusions of calicanto
- VI. Semi-loose light brownish gray medium sand
- VII. Loose dark grayish brown medium sand
- VIII. Semi-compact brown medium sand
- IX. Compact pink sandy clay (adobe melt), inclusions of large botija sherds
- X. Very loose black medium sand
- XI. Semi-loose brown medium sand, many small and medium stones
- XII. Loose dark gray medium sand
- XIII. Semi-compact grayish brown medium sand
- XIV. Semi-loose light brownish gray fine sand
- XV. Semi-loose brown coarse sand, inclusions of medium stones

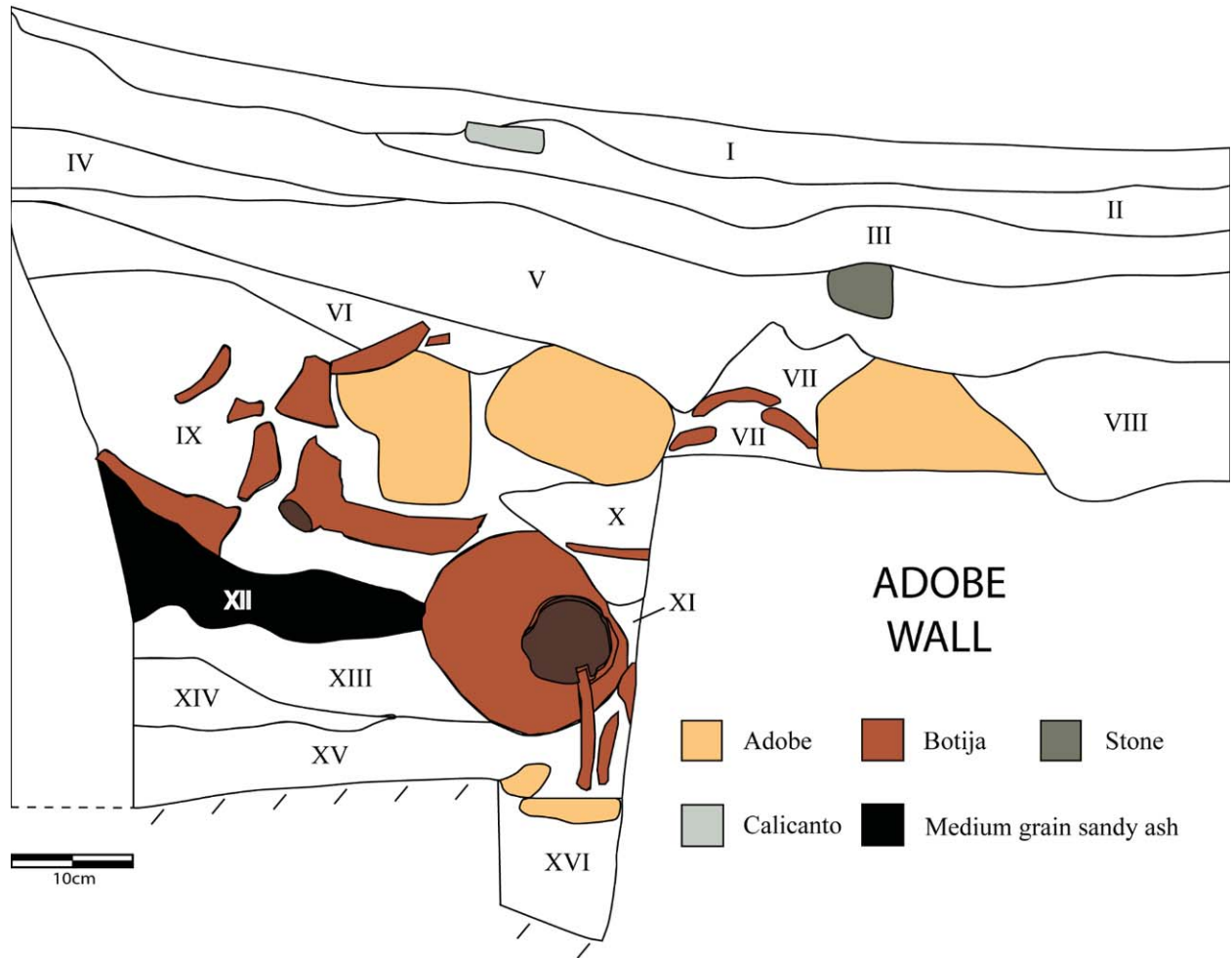
Figure 20. Eastern profile of Unit 9, San Joseph.



**Strata**

- I. Loose light brownish gray medium sand
- II. Semi-loose brown fine sand
- III. Semi-compact brown fine sand, inclusions of calicanto
- IV. Semi-loose brown medium sand
- V. Semi-loose light brownish gray medium sand
- VI. Semi-compact brown medium sand
- VII. Semi-compact brown medium sand
- VIII. Very loose mottled grayish brown and pale brown coarse sand
- IX. Semi-loose dark brown medium sand, lots of roots
- X. Semi-loose brown medium sand
- XI. Compact pink sandy clay, adobe melt, inclusions of large botija sherds
- XII. Loose brown very fine sand
- XIII. Very loose black medium sand
- XIV. Very loose very dark grayish brown very fine sand
- XV. Very compact light brownish gray adobe melt with adobe fragments
- XVI. Semi-loose grayish brown gravel with adobe fragments
- XVII. Semi-loose brown medium sand with many small and medium stones
- XVIII. Loose dark gray medium sand
- XIX. Semi-loose grayish brown fine sand, inclusions of some stones
- XX. Semi-loose light brownish gray fine sand
- XXI. Semi-loose brown coarse sand, inclusions of medium stones

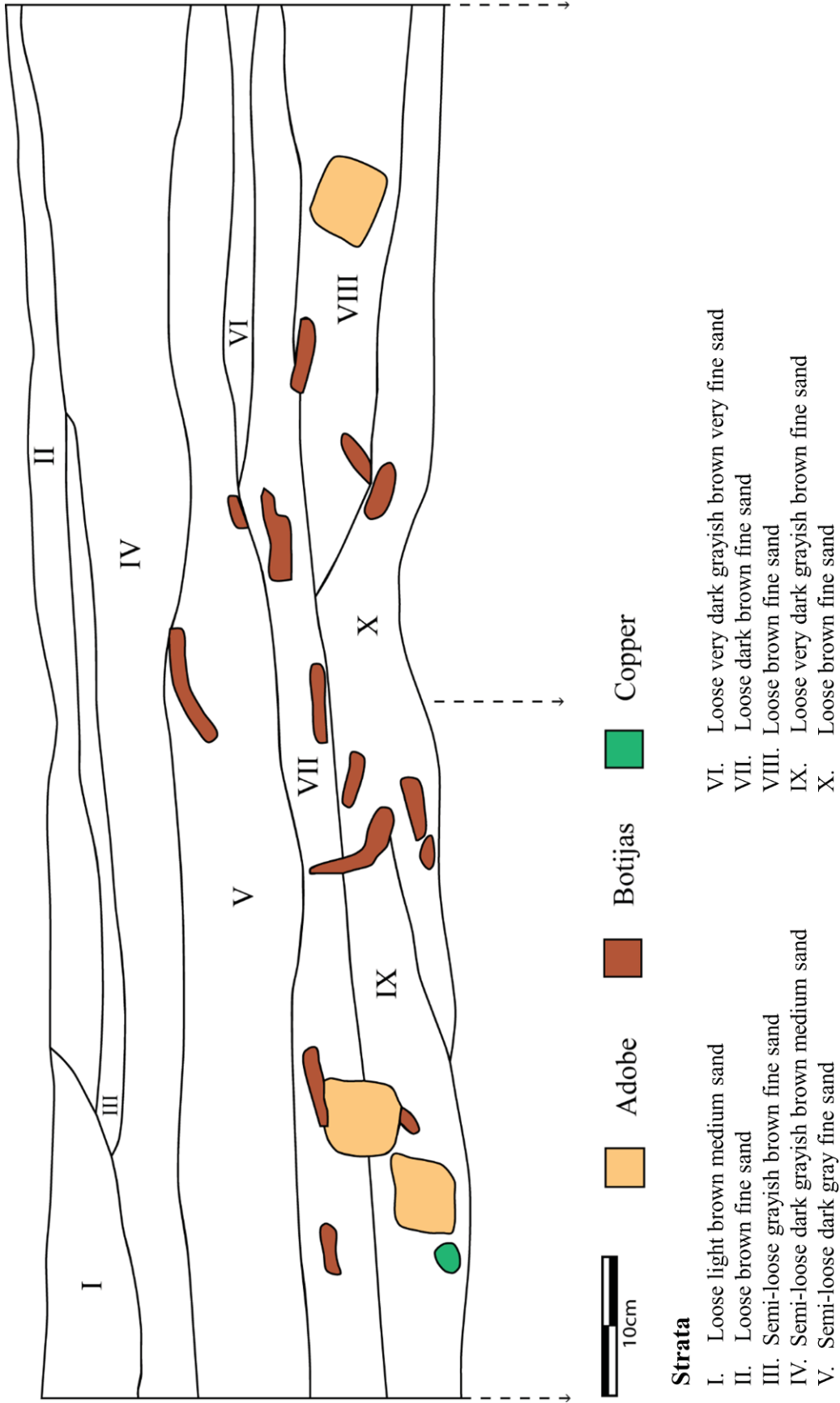
Figure 21. Northern profile of Unit 9, San Joseph.



### Strata

- I. Loose brown medium sand
- II. Semi-loose brown medium sand
- III. Loose brown fine sand
- IV. Loose yellowish brown fine sand
- V. Compact brown fine loamy sand
- VI. Semi-loose brown fine sand
- VII. Compact grayish brown, wall fall
- VIII. Very loose very dark grayish brown very fine sand
- IX. Compact light brown fine loam (adobe melt)
- X. Loose very dark grayish brown fine sand
- XI. Compact brown loam (adobe wall fall)
- XII. Loose black medium sand
- XIII. Compact pinkish gray fine/medium sand
- XIV. Semi-compact yellowish brown medium sand
- XV. Compact light brownish gray fine loam
- XVI. Semi-compact pale brown medium sandy loam

Figure 22. Southern profile of Unit 9, San Josep.



**Strata**

- I. Loose light brown medium sand
- II. Loose brown fine sand
- III. Semi-loose grayish brown fine sand
- IV. Semi-loose dark grayish brown medium sand
- V. Semi-loose dark gray fine sand
- VI. Loose very dark grayish brown very fine sand
- VII. Loose dark brown fine sand
- VIII. Loose brown fine sand
- IX. Loose very dark grayish brown fine sand
- X. Loose brown fine sand

Figure 23. Western profile (above adobe wall) of Unit 9, San Joseph.

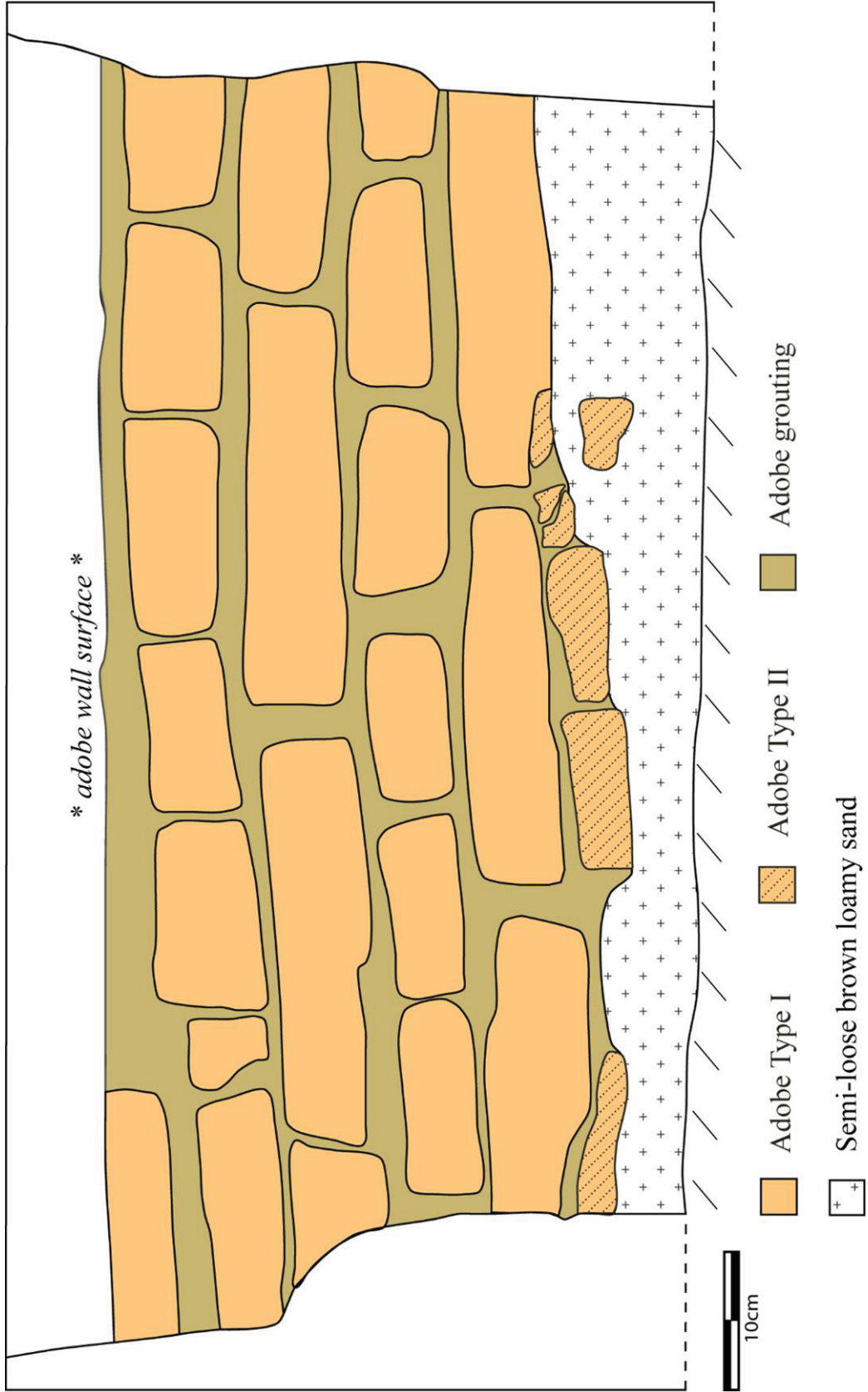


Figure 24. Western profile (adobe wall) of Unit 9, San Joseph.



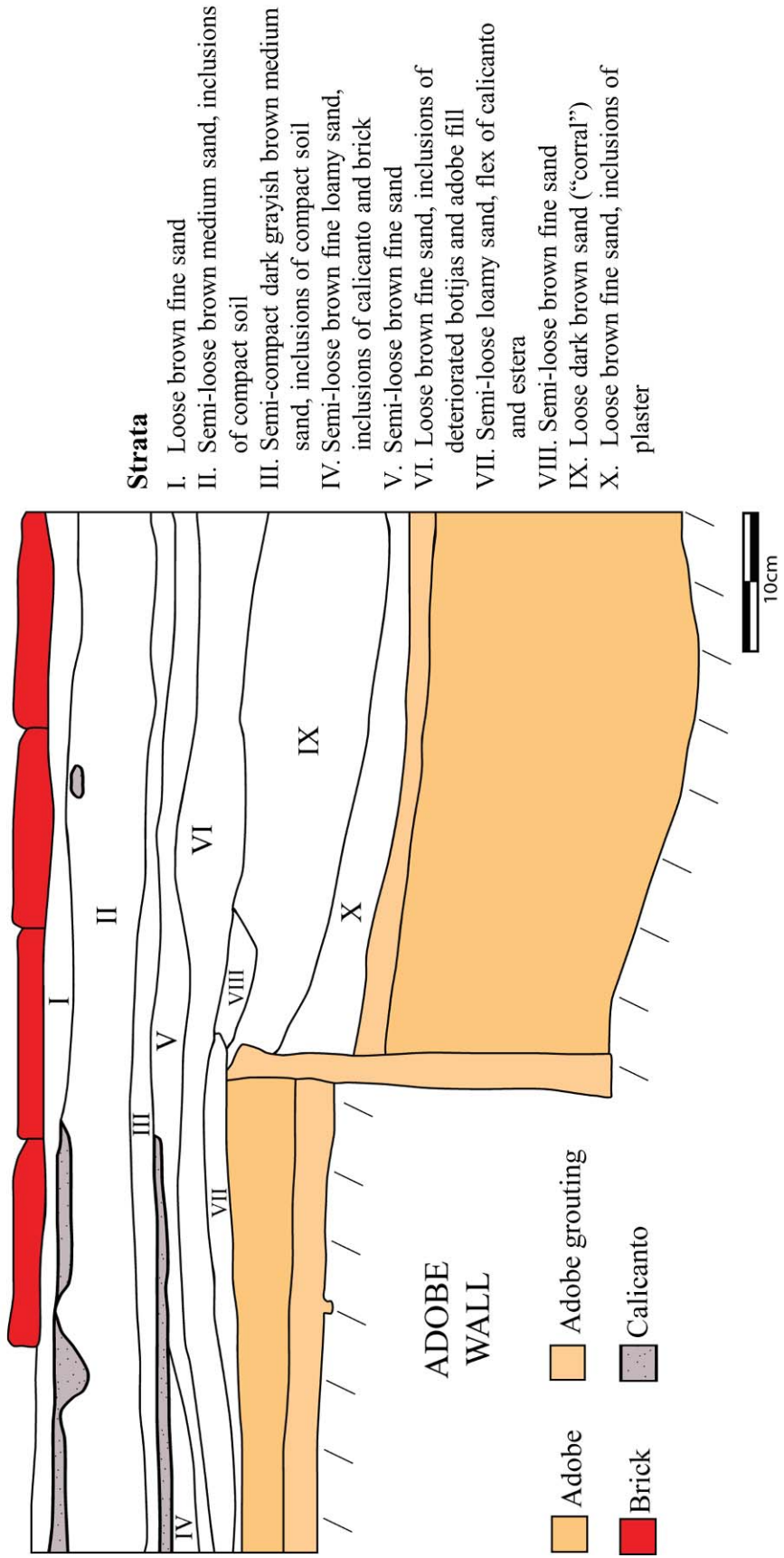
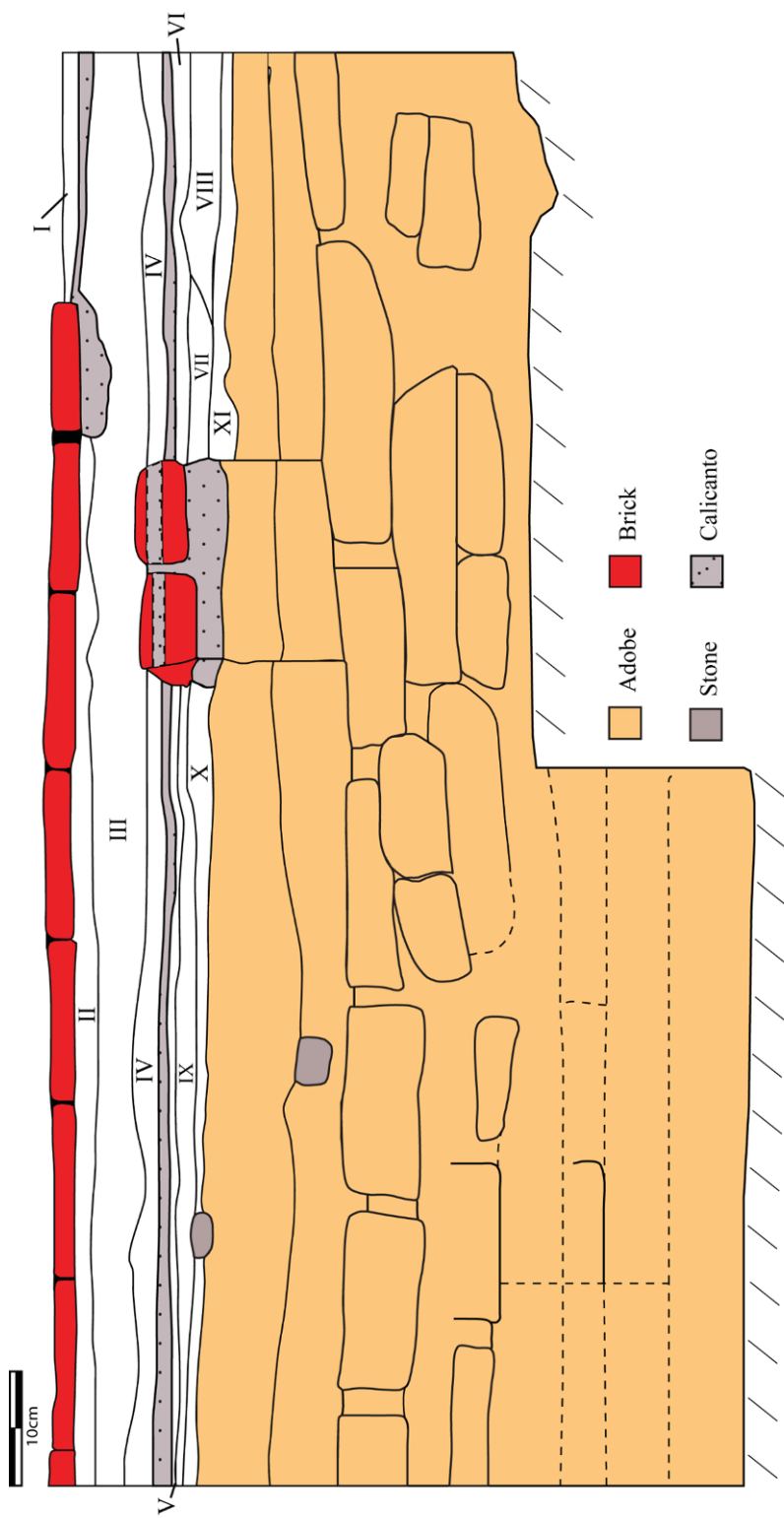


Figure 25. Eastern profile of Unit 10, San Joseph.



**Strata**

- I. Loose brown fine sand
- II. Loose brown fine sand
- III. Semi-loose brown medium sand, inclusions of compact soil
- IV. Semi-compact dark grayish brown medium sand, inclusions of compact soil
- V. Semi-loose brown fine loamy sand
- VI. Semi-loose brown fine loamy sand
- VII. Degraded brick and calicanto
- VIII. Loose brown fine loamy sand
- IX. Semi-compact clayey sand, inclusions of brick and calicanto
- X. Semi-compact clayey sand, inclusions of brick and calicanto
- XI. Semi-compact clayey sand, inclusions of brick and calicanto

Figure 26. Northern profile of Unit 10, San Joseph.

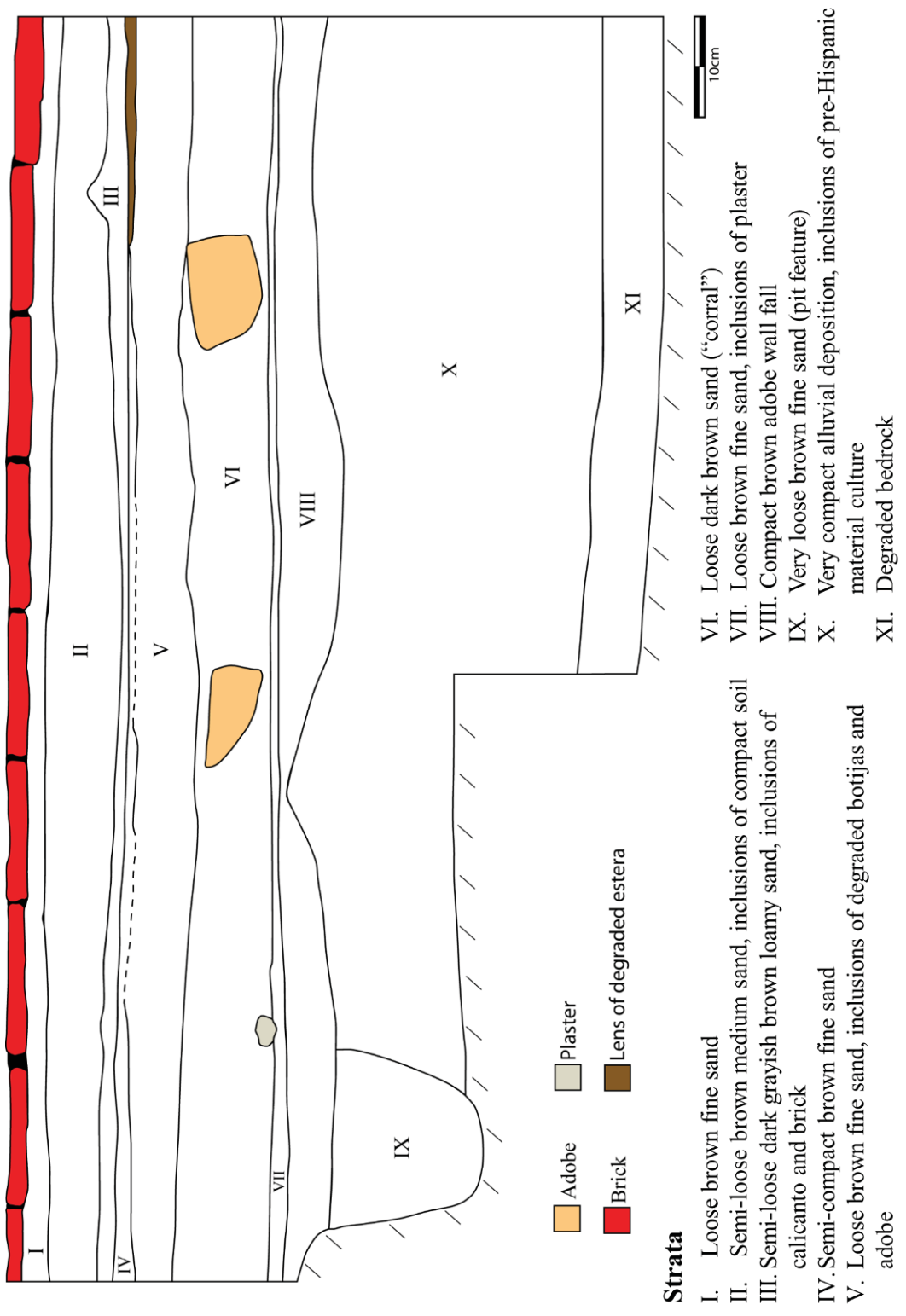
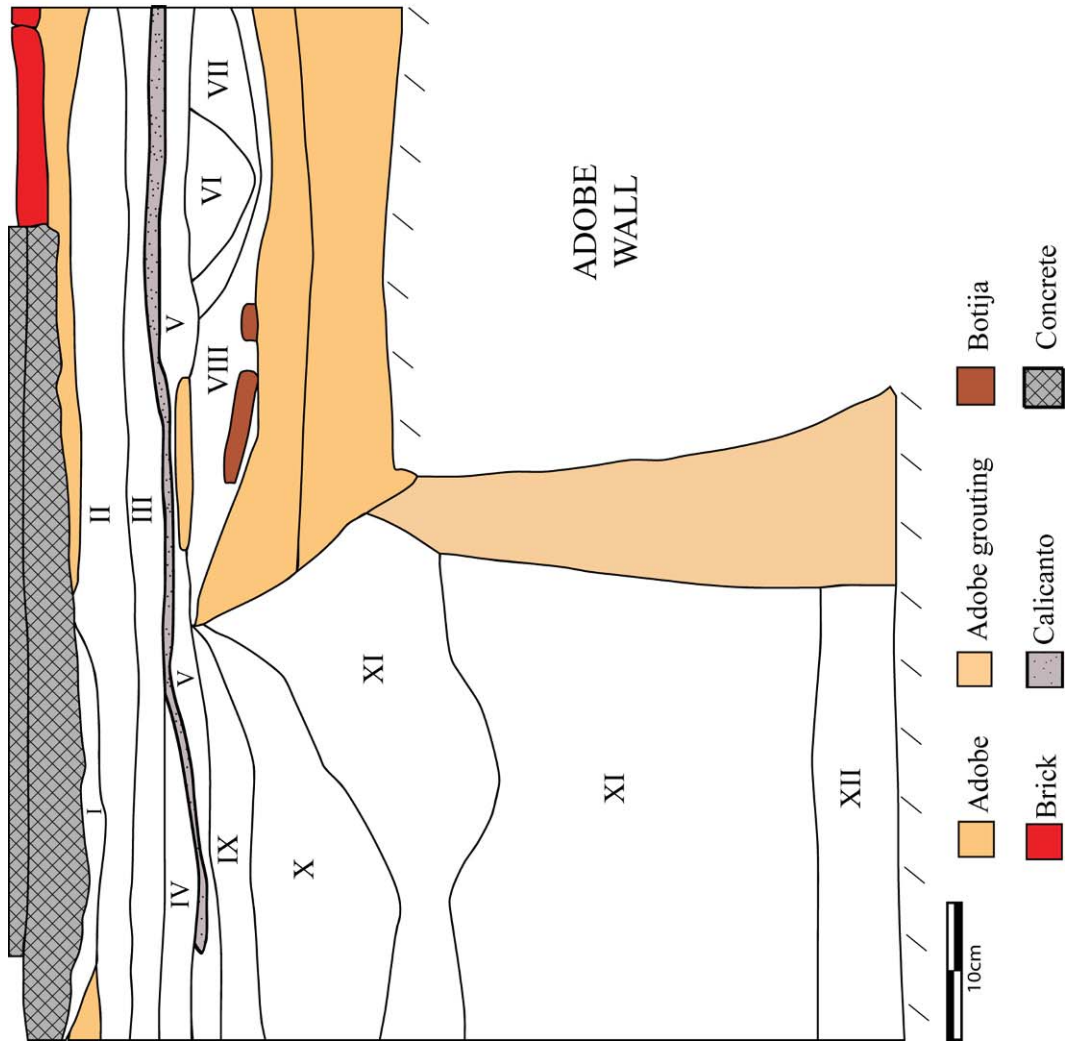


Figure 27. Eastern profile of Unit 10, San Joseph.



**Strata**

- I. Loose brown fine sand
- II. Semi-loose brown medium sand, inclusions of compact soil
- III. Semi-loose dark grayish brown sand
- IV. Semi-compact brown clayey sand
- V. Semi-loose brown loamy sand, inclusions of calicanto and brick
- VI. Semi-loose brown sand
- VII. Semi-loose brown fine sand with gray flecks
- VIII. Semi-compact brown clayey sand, inclusions of calicanto, brick, and botija sherds
- IX. Semi-compact brown clayey sand
- X. Loose dark brown medium sand ("corral")
- XI. Very compact alluvial deposition, inclusions of pre-Hispanic material culture
- XII. Degraded bedrock

Figure 28. Western profile of Unit 10, San Joseph.

## APPENDIX G

### SELECTED ARTIFACT DISTRIBUTION CHARTS

Table 1. Distribution of ceramic classes by excavation unit.

| Unit | botija |            | coarse earthenware |            | glazed coarse earthenware |            | majolica |            | porcelain |            | refined earthenware |            | stoneware |            |
|------|--------|------------|--------------------|------------|---------------------------|------------|----------|------------|-----------|------------|---------------------|------------|-----------|------------|
|      | n      | weight (g) | n                  | weight (g) | n                         | weight (g) | n        | weight (g) | n         | weight (g) | n                   | weight (g) | n         | weight (g) |
| 1    | 61     | 4458.2     | 29                 | 430.8      | 0                         | 0          | 1        | 19.2       | 0         | 0          | 3                   | 7.4        | 0         | 0          |
| 2    | 206    | 9460.5     | 243                | 720.8      | 0                         | 0          | 37       | 70.3       | 4         | 3.9        | 13                  | 71.6       | 0         | 0          |
| 3    | 556    | 25348.7    | 115                | 798.3      | 1                         | 6.9        | 61       | 138.4      | 21        | 77.2       | 349                 | 1388.3     | 5         | 45.1       |
| 4    | 2756   | 464483.5   | 197                | 7132       | 0                         | 0          | 17       | 49.7       | 0         | 0          | 30                  | 92.6       | 0         | 0          |
| 5    | 126    | 7610.9     | 1627               | 12888.1    | 0                         | 0          | 1        | 2.7        | 4         | 33.2       | 58                  | 119        | 0         | 0          |
| 6    | 45     | 1644.8     | 94                 | 2147       | 0                         | 0          | 5        | 17.4       | 38        | 130.9      | 541                 | 1854.9     | 6         | 77.1       |
| 7    | 1969   | 90281.1    | 367                | 1919.9     | 1                         | 1.2        | 32       | 103.9      | 3         | 5.6        | 29                  | 62.2       | 0         | 0          |
| 8    | 682    | 35438.3    | 988                | 6025.9     | 14                        | 470.6      | 67       | 248.1      | 0         | 0          | 0                   | 0          | 0         | 0          |
| 9    | 4321   | 312470.6   | 455                | 1451.5     | 8                         | 105.1      | 165      | 491.5      | 3         | 1.8        | 23                  | 39.1       | 0         | 0          |
| 10   | 254    | 11027.3    | 206                | 859.9      | 2                         | 22.5       | 24       | 45.8       | 2         | 4          | 4                   | 5.2        | 0         | 0          |

Table 2. Distribution of refined earthenware ceramics by unit.

| Unit | creamware |            | pearlware |            | whiteware |            |
|------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|
|      | n         | weight (g) | n         | weight (g) | n         | weight (g) |
| 1    | 0         | 0          | 0         | 0          | 3         | 7.4        |
| 2    | 2         | 1.5        | 0         | 0          | 10        | 66         |
| 3    | 31        | 385.2      | 111       | 385.4      | 207       | 617.7      |
| 4    | 1         | 0.5        | 3         | 4          | 25        | 86.6       |
| 5    | 8         | 17.5       | 31        | 76.4       | 19        | 25.1       |
| 6    | 9         | 14.1       | 7         | 8.9        | 12        | 10         |
| 7    | 7         | 12.9       | 7         | 17.8       | 14        | 29.7       |
| 8    | 0         | 0          | 0         | 0          | 0         | 0          |
| 9    | 6         | 15.1       | 2         | 5.1        | 16        | 19.4       |
| 10   | 1         | 1.9        | 3         | 3.3        | 0         | 0          |

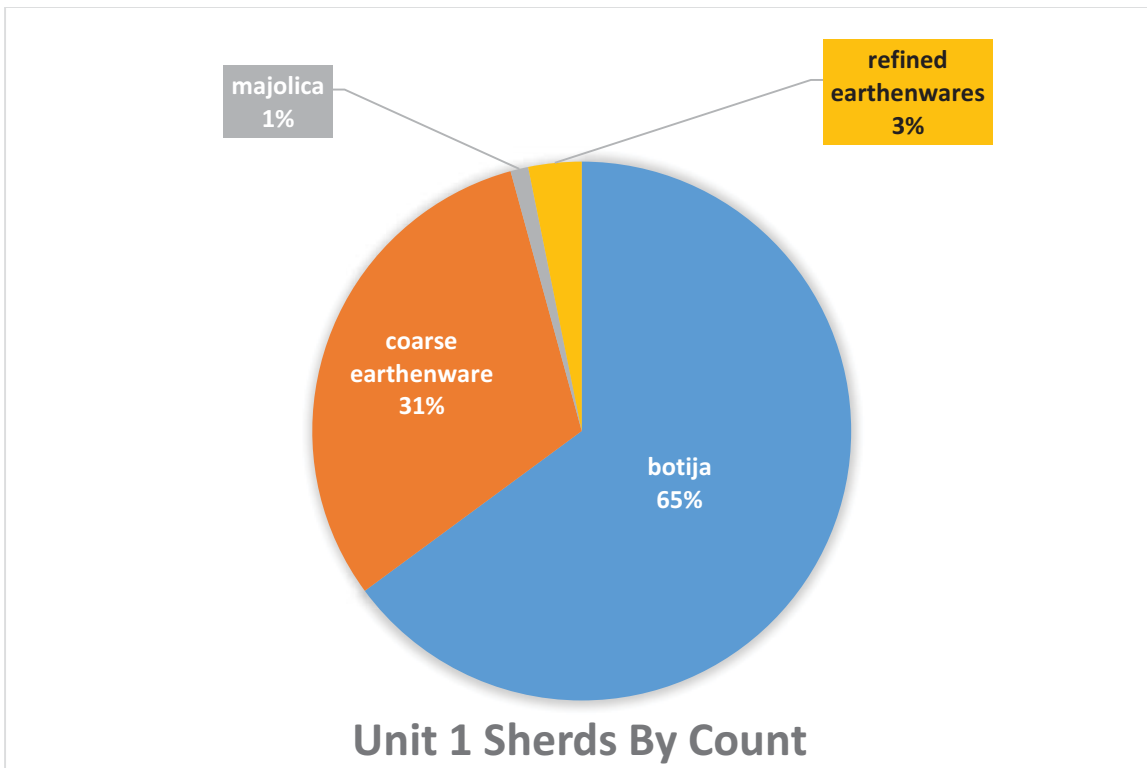


Figure 1. Percentages of sherds by ceramic class from Unit 1, San Joseph.

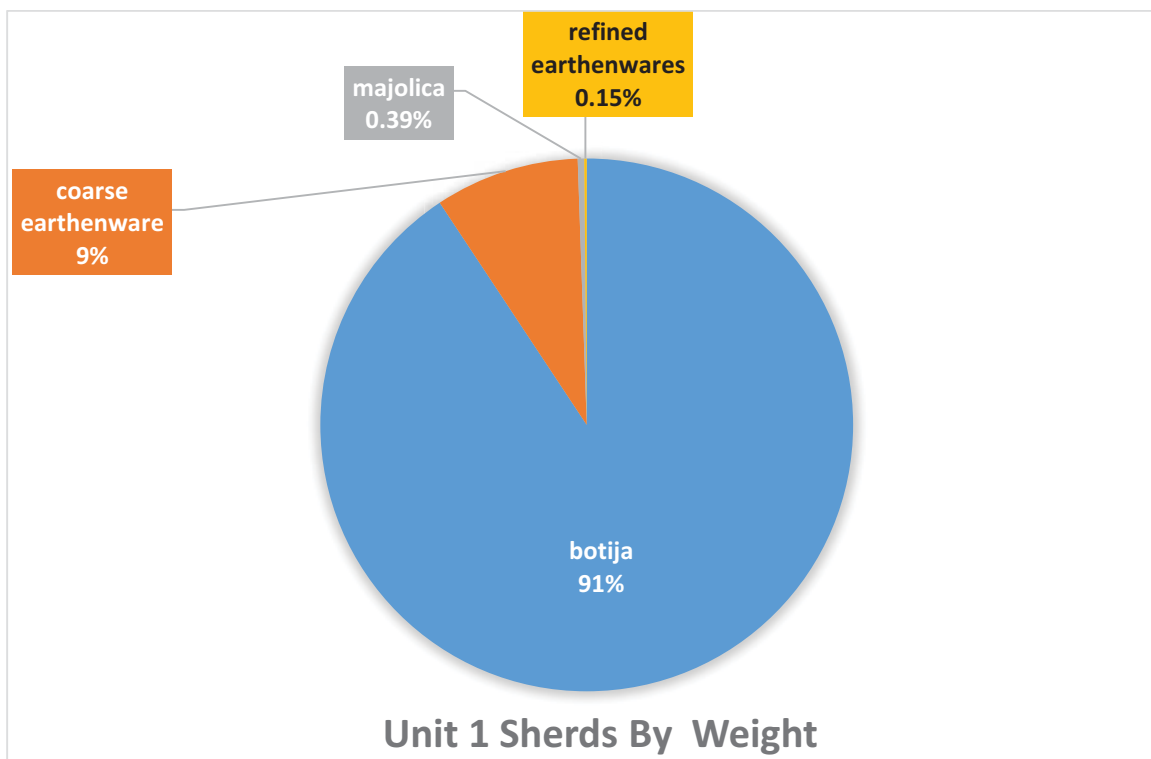


Figure 2. Percentages of weight by ceramic class from Unit 1, San Joseph.

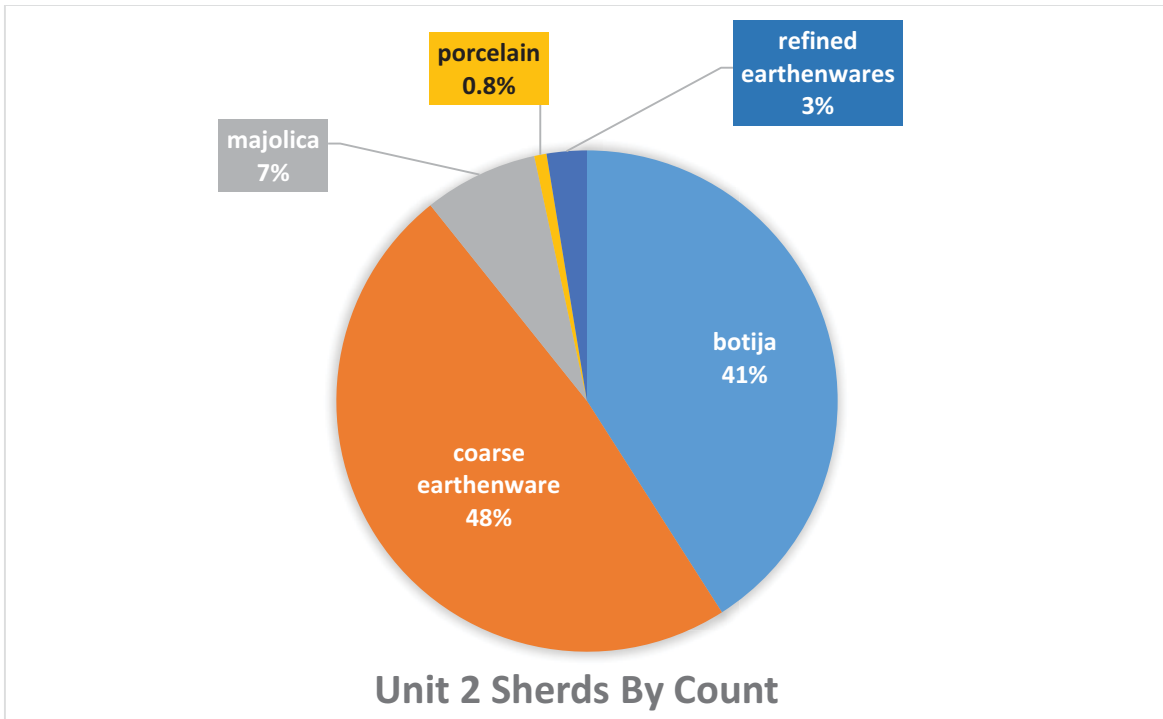


Figure 3. Percentages of sherds by ceramic class from Unit 2, San Xavier.

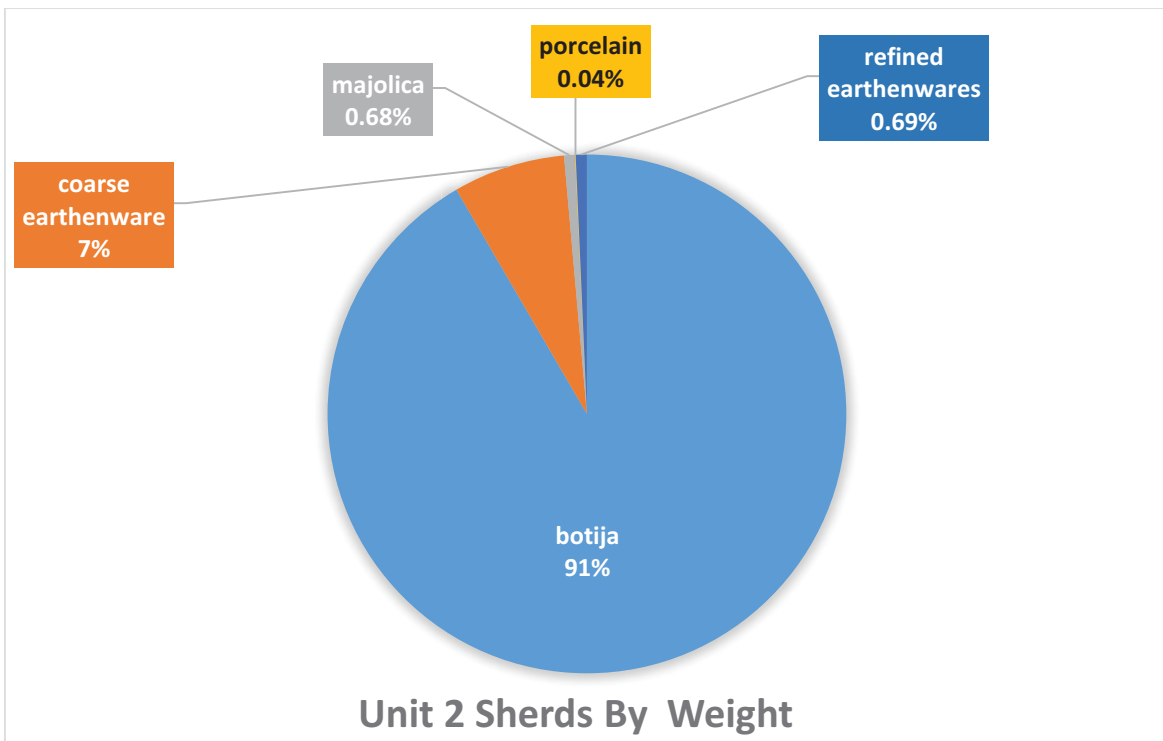


Figure 4. Percentages of weight by ceramic class from Unit 2 San Joseph.



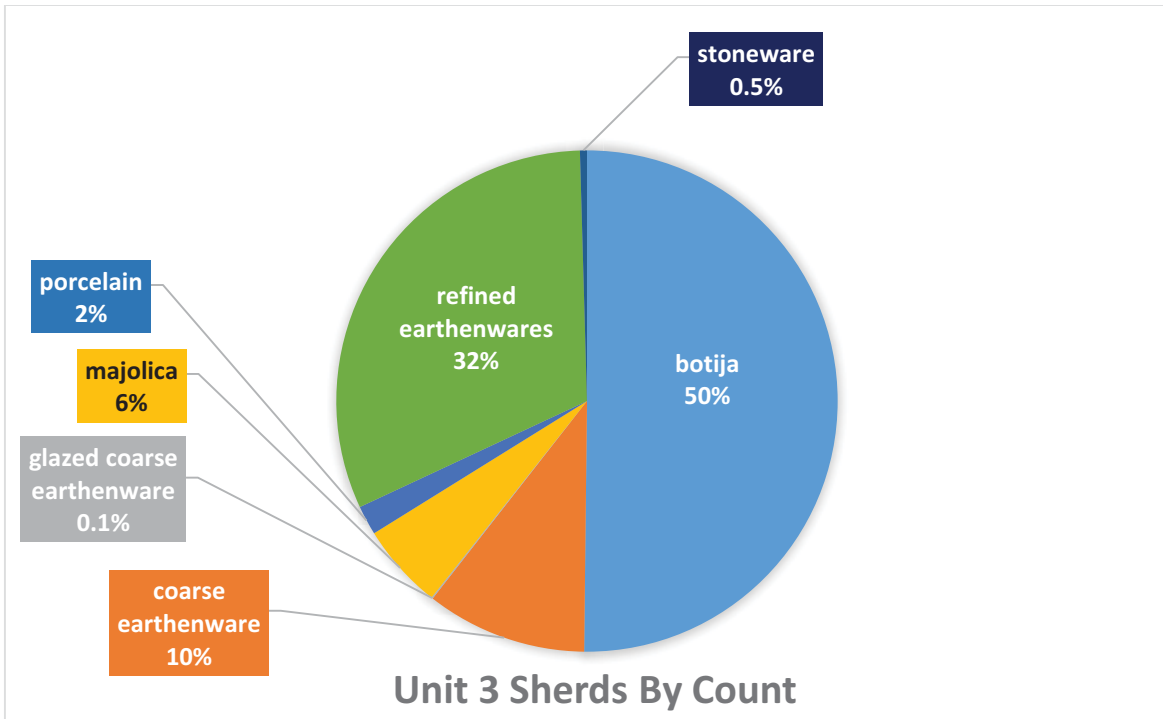


Figure 5. Percentages of sherds by ceramic class from Unit 3, San Xavier.

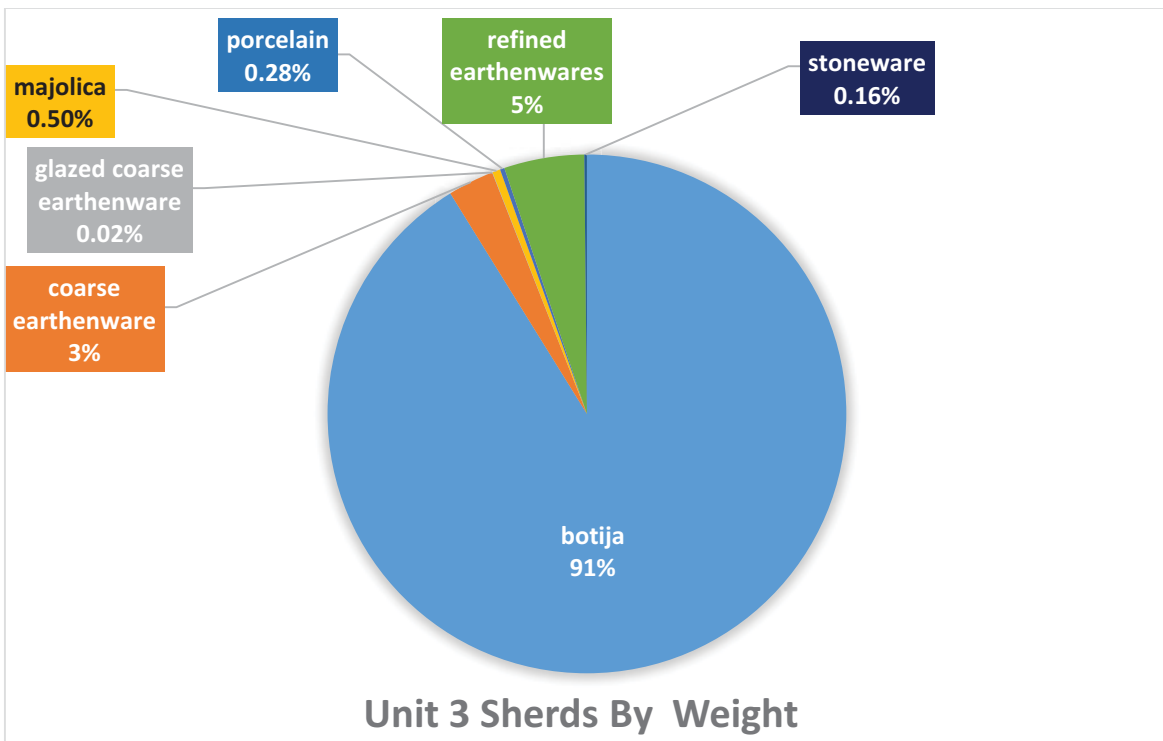


Figure 6. Percentages of weight by ceramic class from Unit 3, San Xavier.

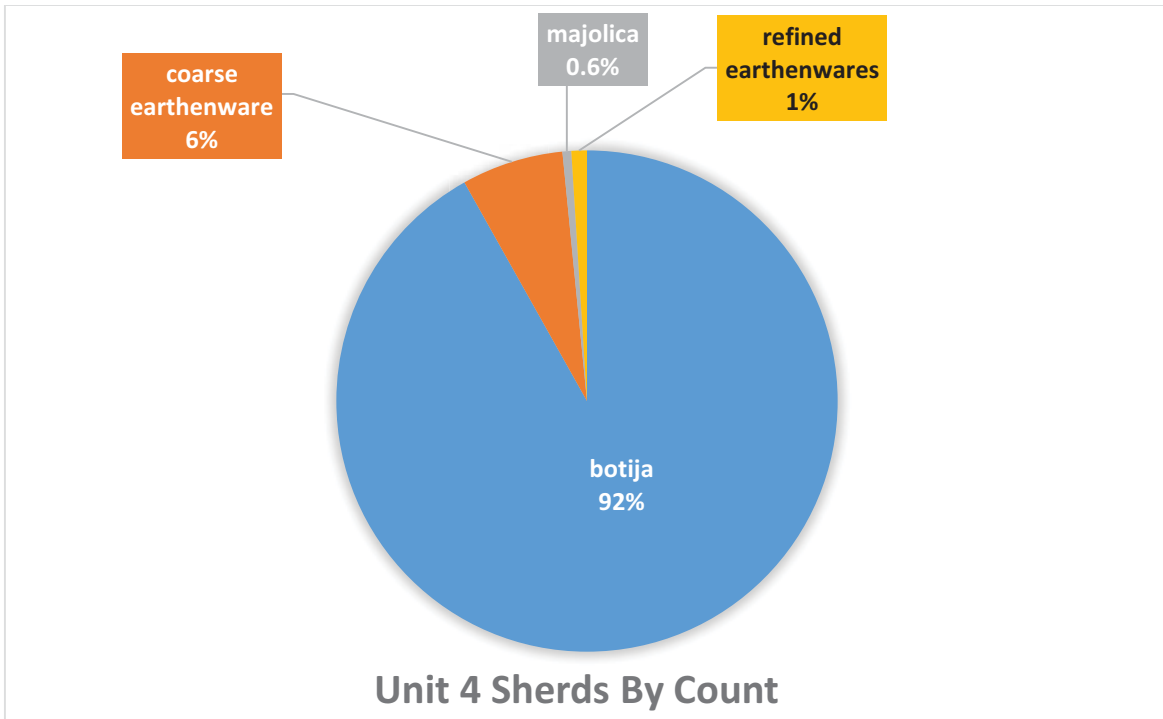


Figure 7. Percentages of sherds by ceramic class from Unit 4, San Xavier.

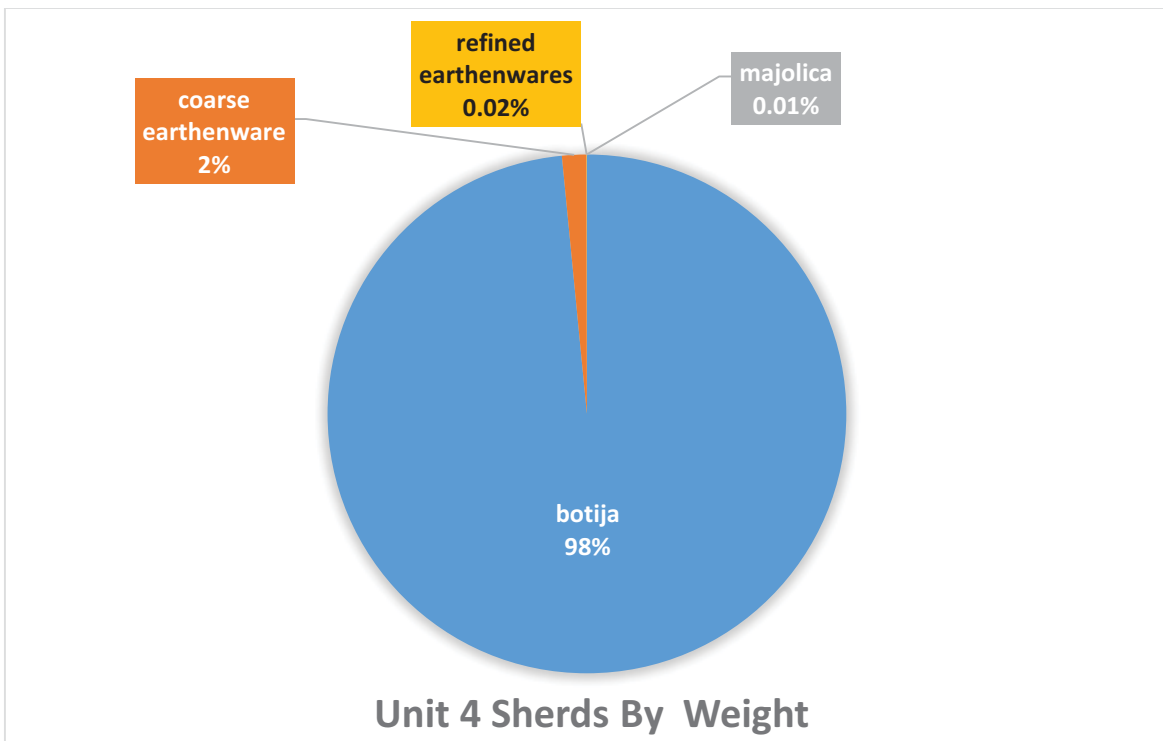


Figure 8. Percentages of weight by ceramic class from Unit 4, San Xavier.

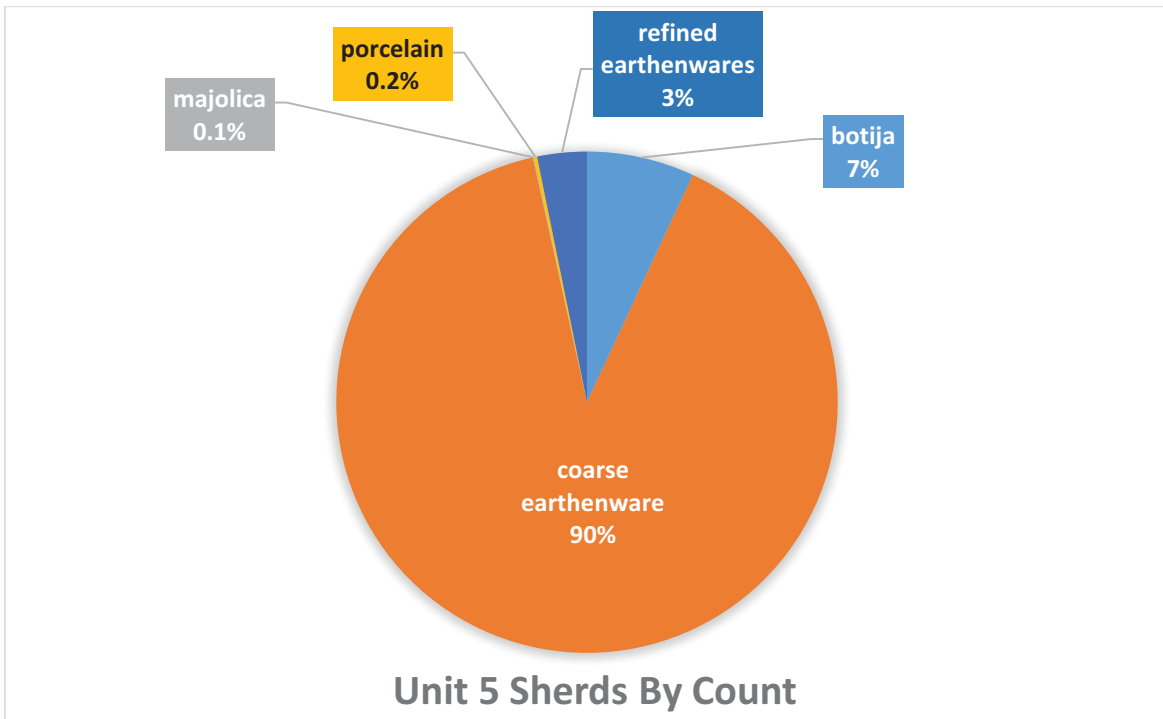


Figure 9. Percentages of sherds by ceramic class from Unit 5, San Xavier.

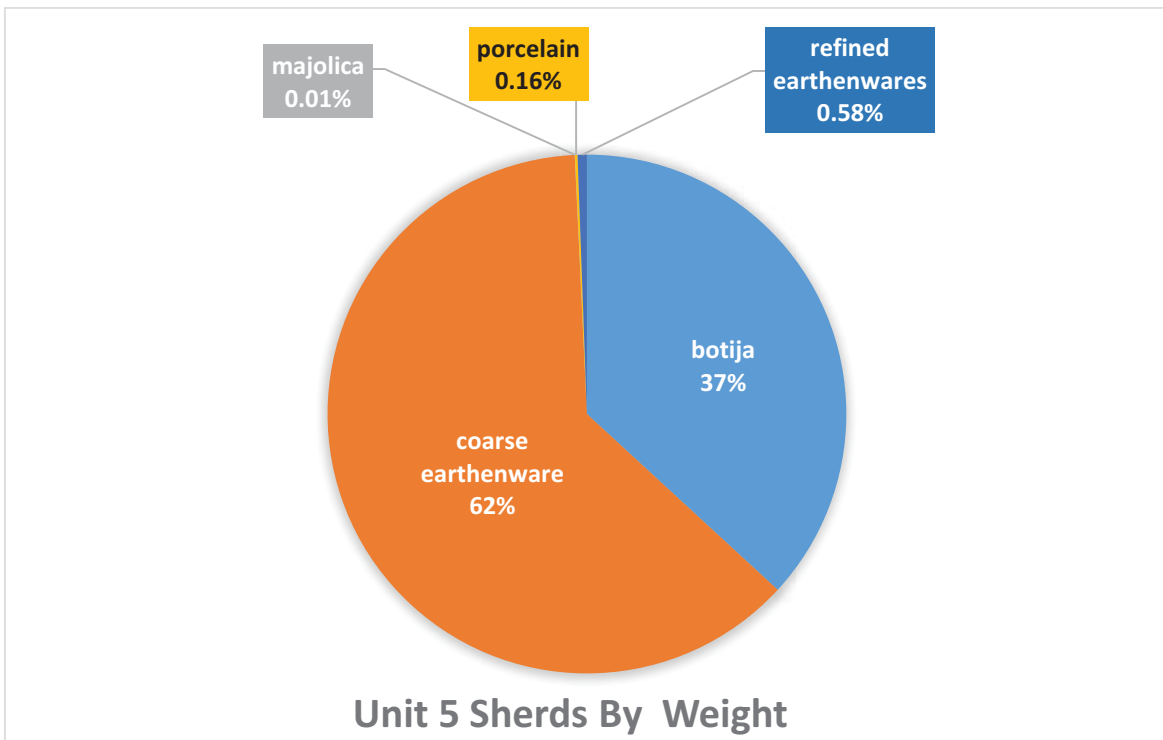


Figure 10. Percentages of weight by ceramic class from Unit 5, San Xavier.

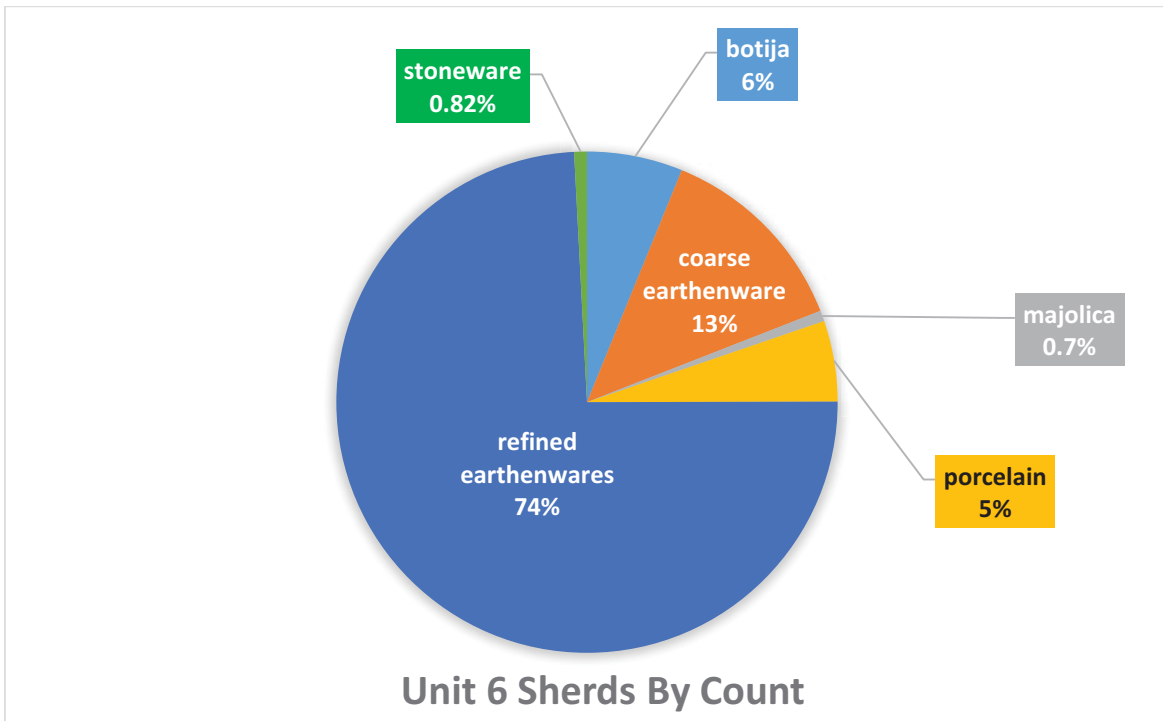


Figure 11. Percentages of sherds by ceramic class from Unit 6, San Xavier.

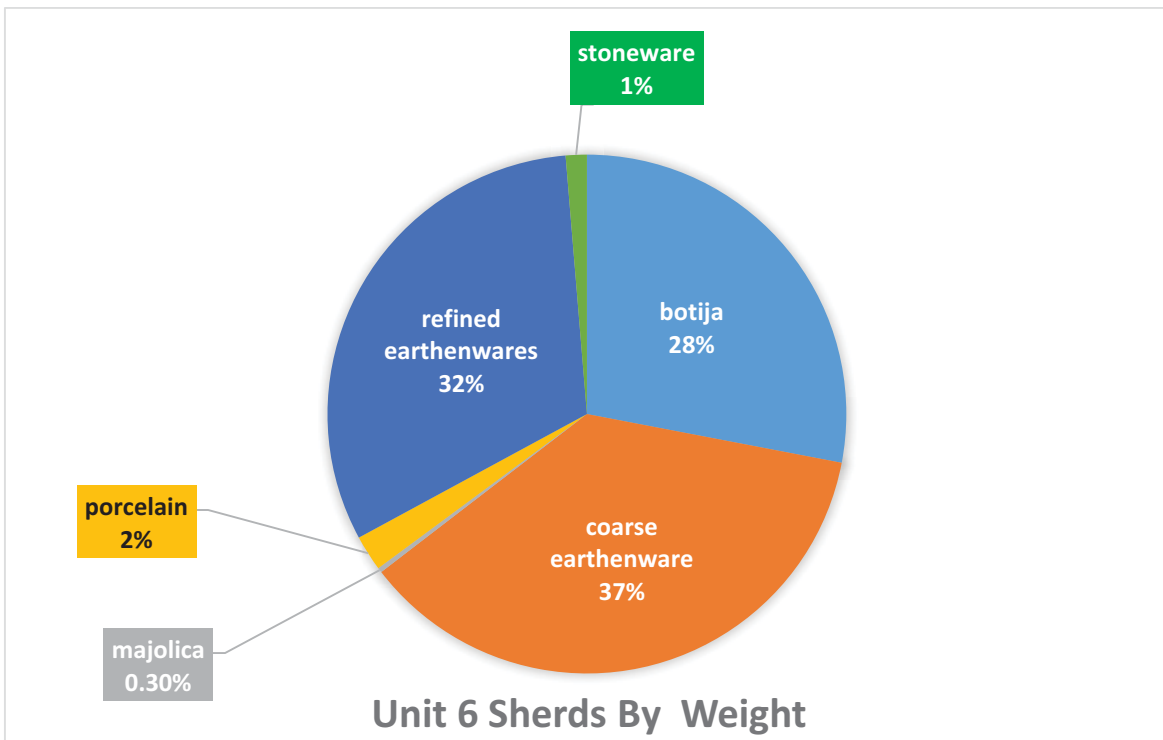


Figure 12. Percentages of weight by ceramic class from Unit 6, San Xavier.

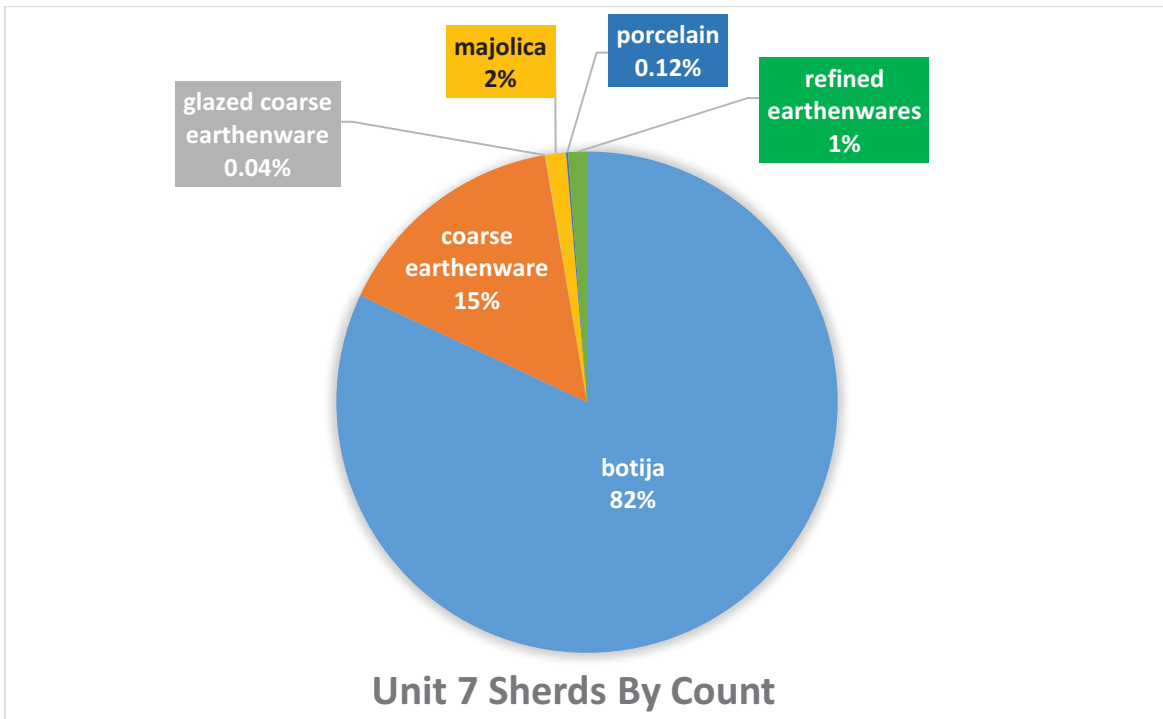


Figure 13. Percentages of sherds by ceramic class from Unit 7, San Joseph.

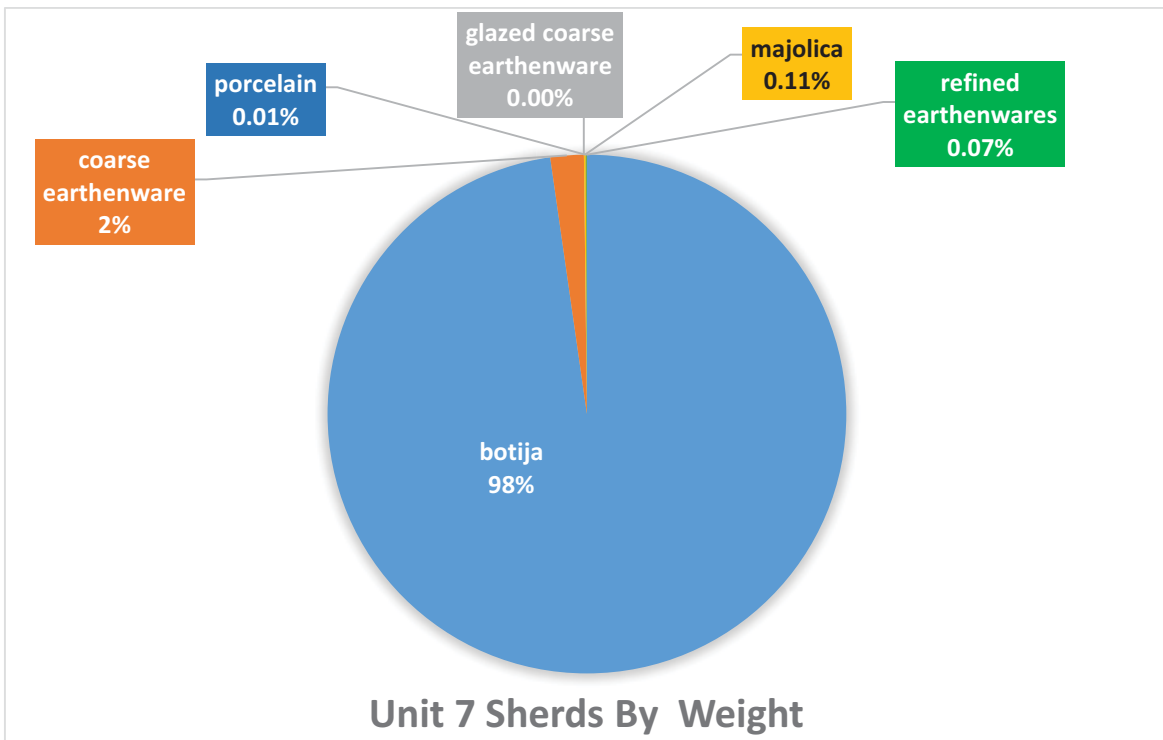


Figure 14. Percentages of weight by ceramic class from Unit 7, San Joseph.

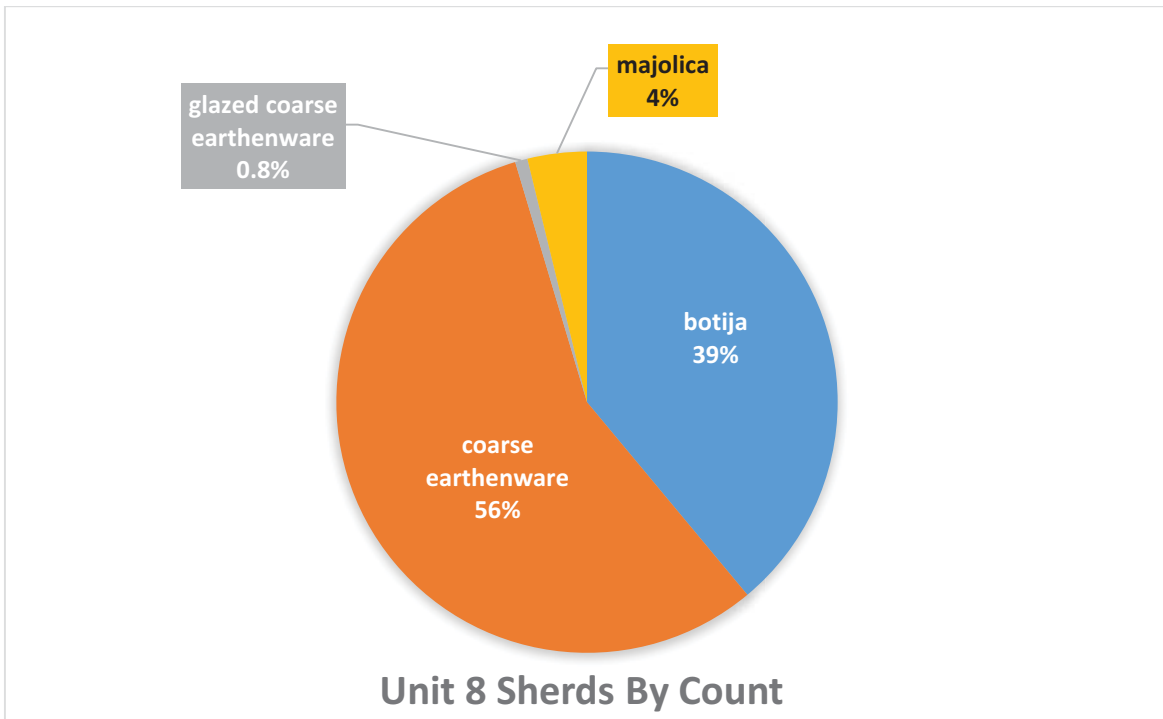


Figure 15. Percentages of sherds by ceramic class from Unit 8, San Joseph.

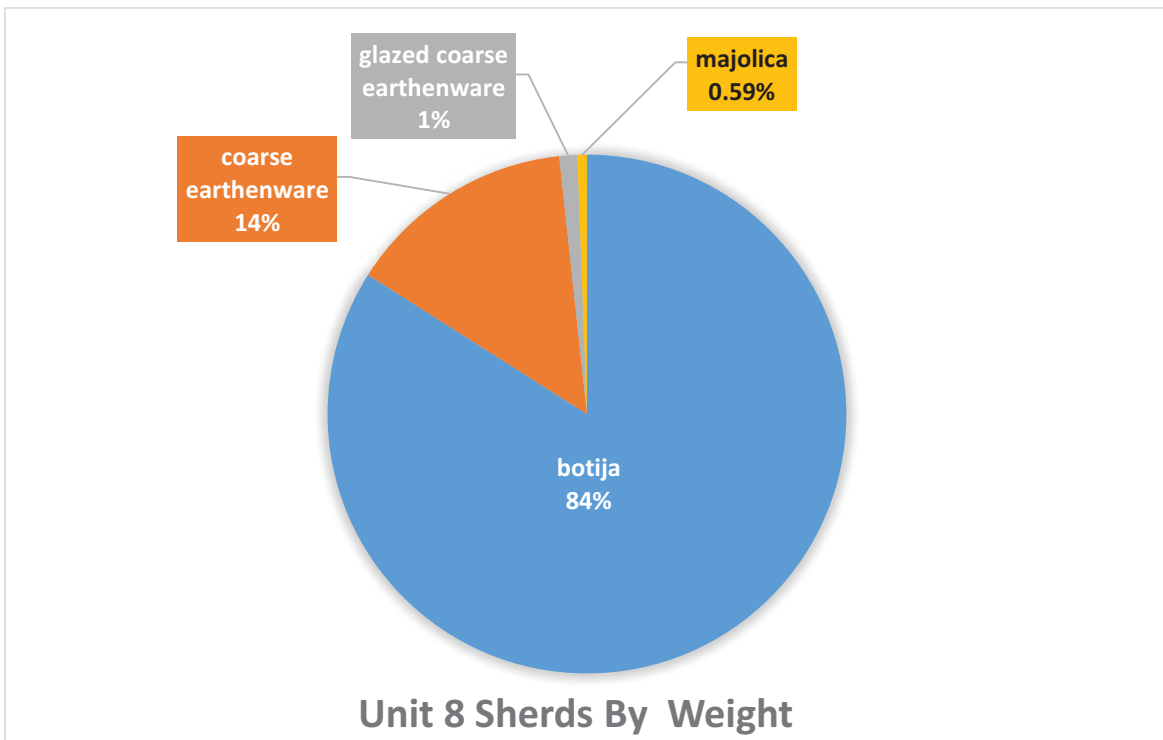


Figure 16. Percentages of weight by ceramic class from Unit 8, San Joseph.

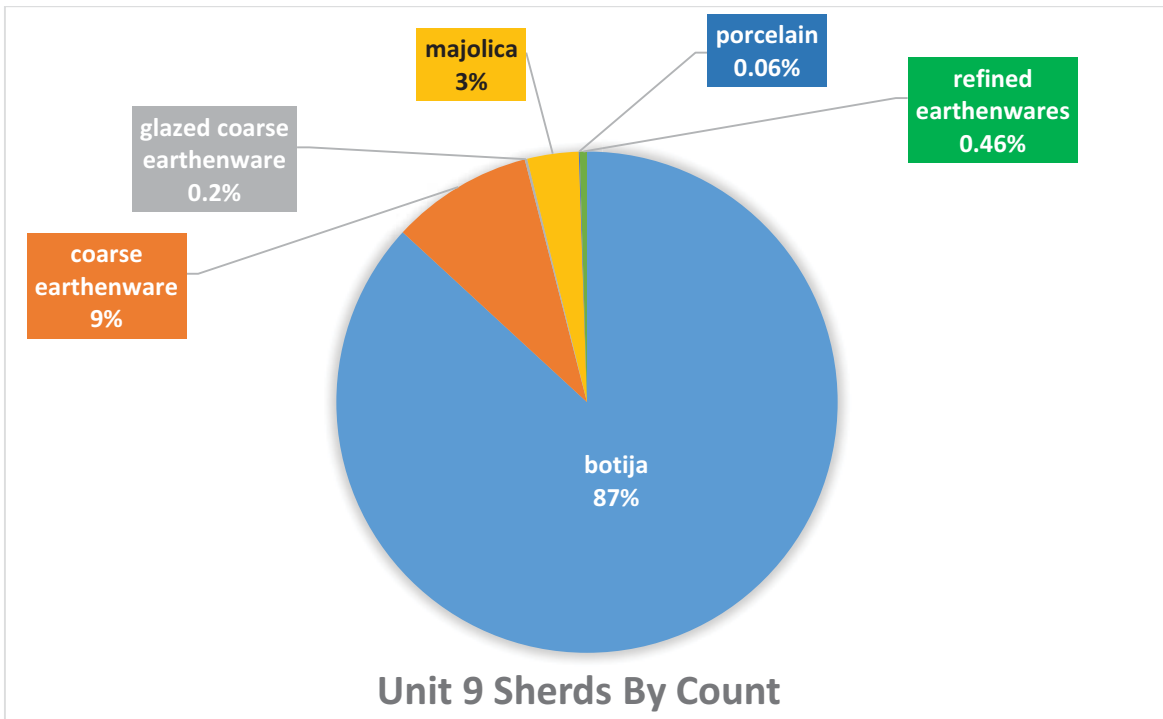


Figure 17. Percentages of sherds by ceramic class from Unit 9, San Joseph.

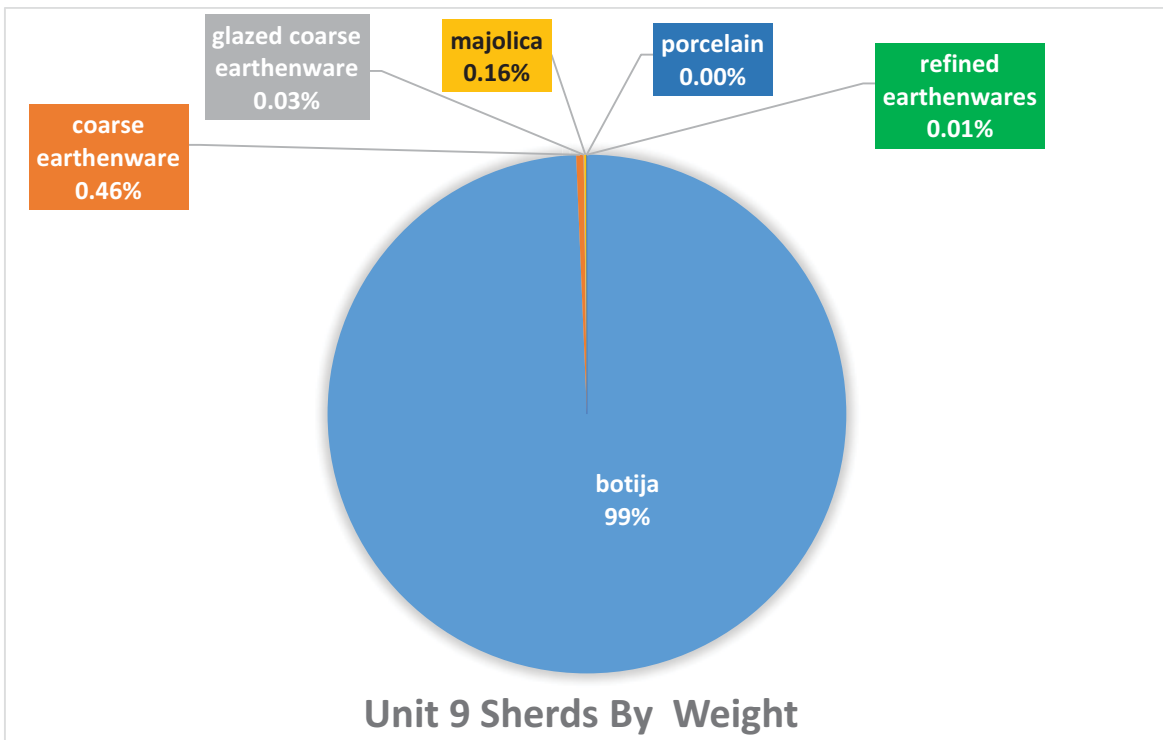


Figure 18. Percentages of weight by ceramic class from Unit 9, San Joseph.

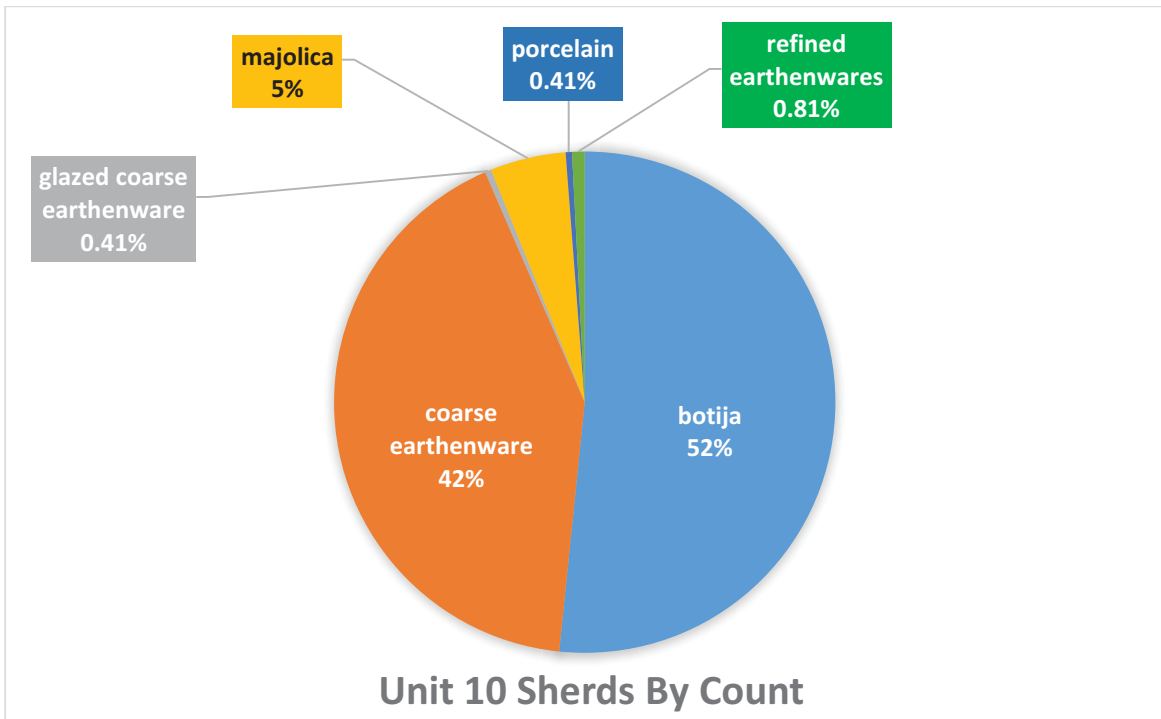


Figure 19. Percentages of sherds by ceramic class from Unit 10, San Joseph.

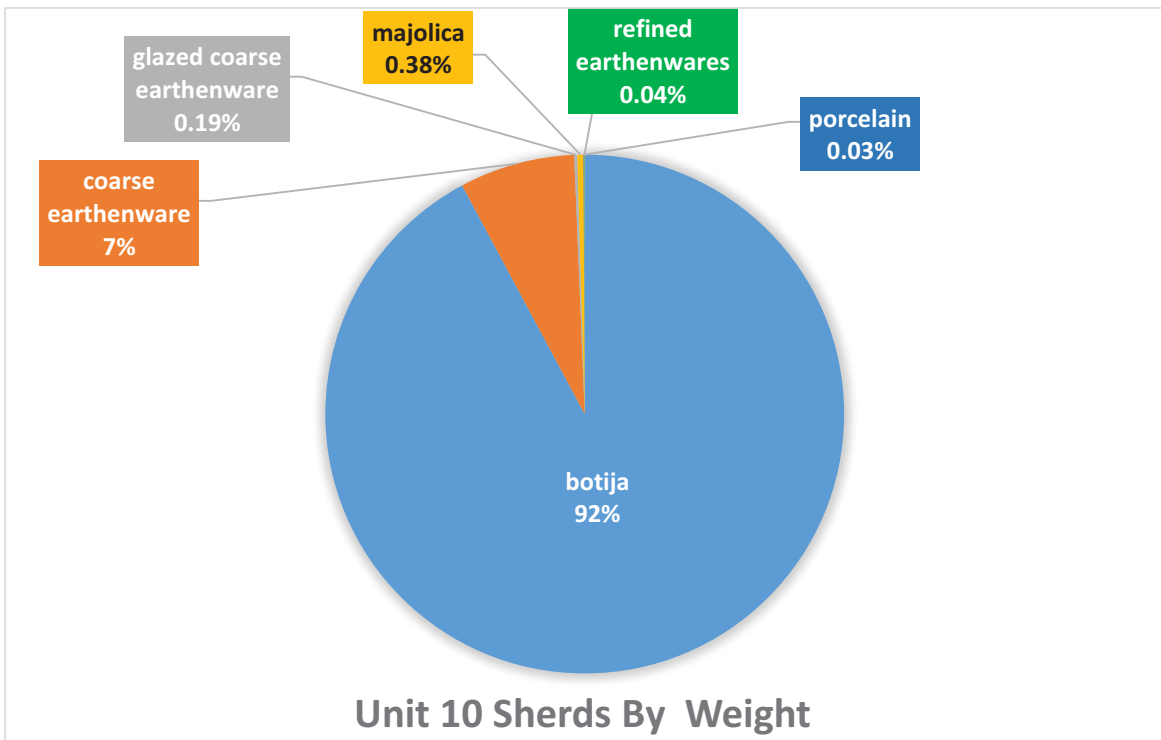


Figure 20. Percentages of weight by ceramic class from Unit 10, San Joseph.



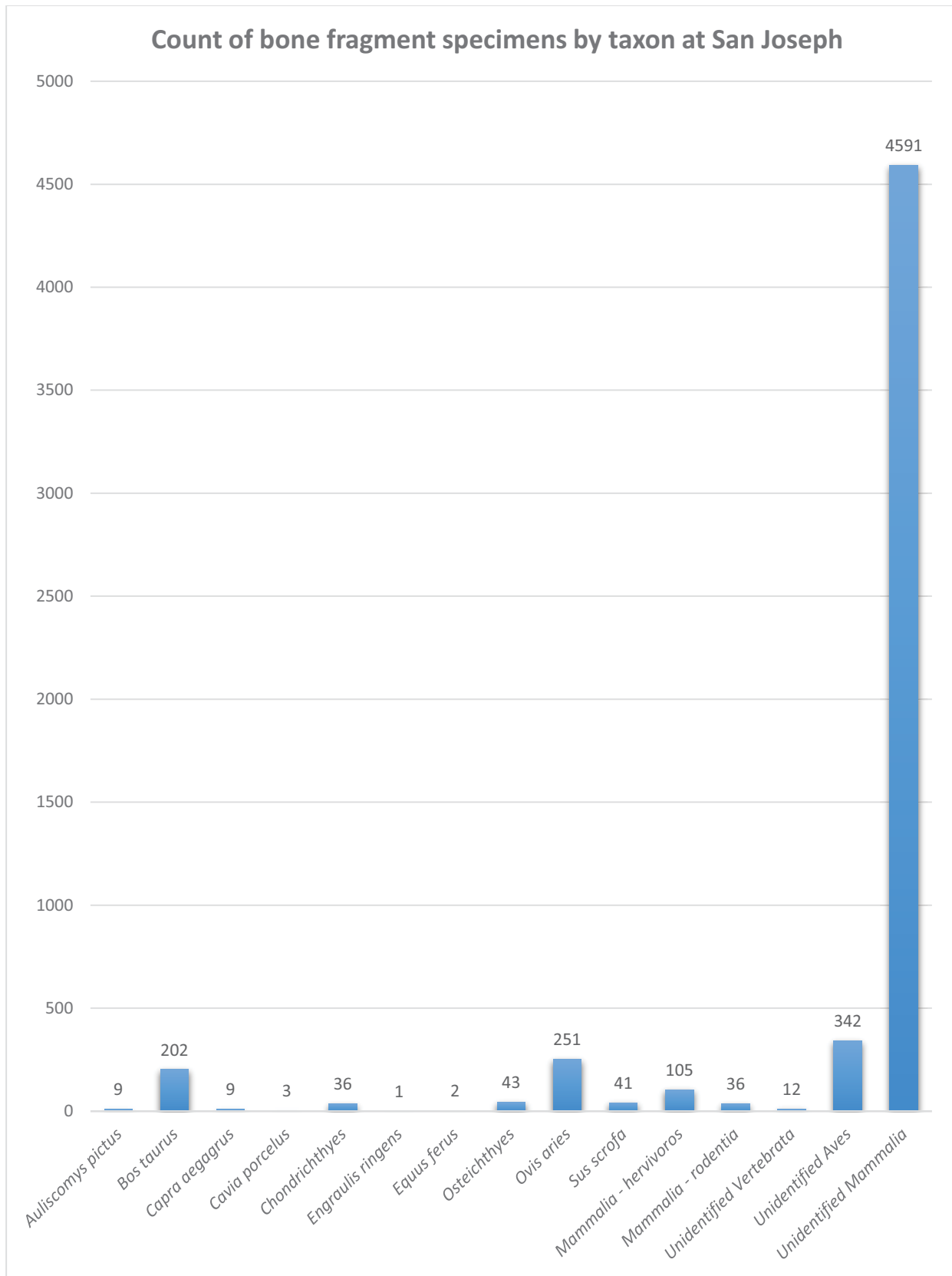


Figure 21. Counts of faunal bone fragments by taxon from excavation at San Joseph.

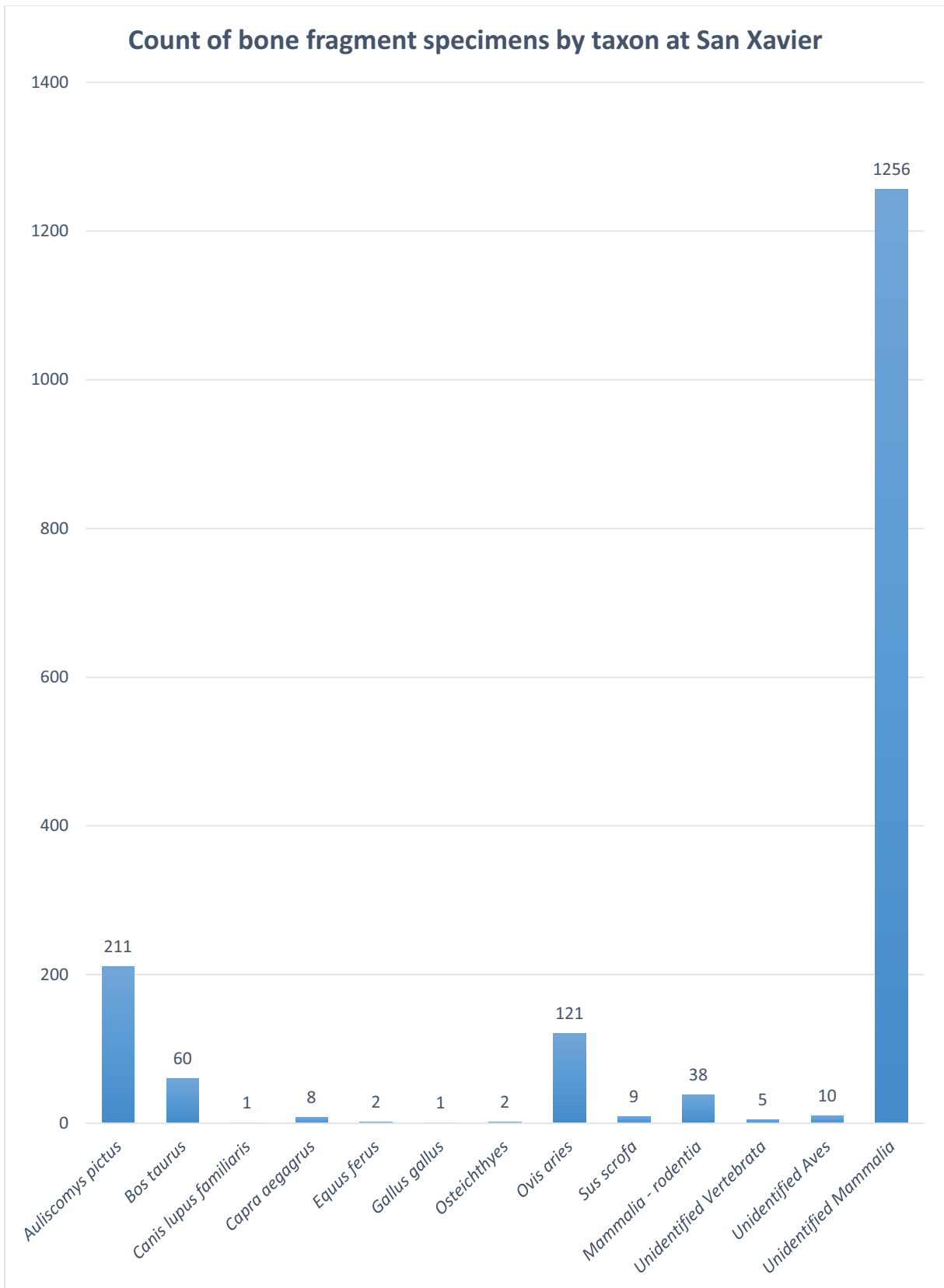


Figure 22. Counts of faunal bone fragments by taxon from excavation at San Xavier.

APPENDIX H

SELECTED ARTIFACT PHOTOGRAPHS



Figure 1. Transfer printed whiteware cup sherd. Locus 1045, Unit 2, San Joseph.



Figure 2. . Refined earthenwares (pearlware and creamware) sherds. Locus 1064, Unit 3, San Xavier.



Figure 3. Refined earthenware (pearlware and creamware) sherds, porcelain (top row, 2<sup>nd</sup> from left), and majolica (bottom right). Locus 1066, Unit 3, San Xavier.



Figure 4. Transfer printed pearlware sherds. Locus 1091, Unit 3, San Xavier.



Figure 5. Handpainted creamware (left) and transfer printed pearlware (right) sherds. Locus 1103, Unit 5, San Xavier.



Figure 6. Dark green transfer printed creamware sherd. Locus 1128, Unit 6, San Xavier.



Figure 7. Transfer printed pearlware sherd. Locus 1148, Unit 5, San Xavier.



Figure 8. Scalloped rim cobalt painted pearlware sherd. Locus 1403, Unit 10, San Joseph.



Figure 9. Majolica sherds. Locus 1046, Unit 2, San Joseph.



Figure 10. Majolica sherds. Locus 1049, Unit 2, San Joseph.





Figure 11. Majolica sherds. Locus 1245, Unit 7, San Joseph.



Figure 12. Majolica sherds. Locus 1357, Unit 9, San Joseph



Figure 13. Majolica sherds. Locus 1290, Unit 8, San Joseph.



Figure 14. Majolica sherds. Locus 1298, Unit 8, San Joseph.



Figure 15. Majolica sherds. Locus 1290, Unit 8, San Joseph.



Figure 16. Majolica sherds. Locus 1296, Unit 8, San Joseph.



Figure 17. Majolica sherds. Locus 1373, Unit 9, San Joseph.



Figure 18. Majolica sherds. Locus 1371, Unit 9, San Joseph.



Figure 19. Majolica sherds. Locus 1310, Unit 8, San Joseph.



Figure 20. Majolica sherds. Locus 1394, Unit 9, San Joseph.



Figure 21. Stoneware sherd from a Nassau Selters springwater company bottle, German (mid-19<sup>th</sup> C). Collected from trench for new schoolyard wall, San Joseph.



Figure 22. Rim of wheel-thrown lead glazed pot. Locus 1396, Unit 9, San Joseph.



Figure 23. Finger impressed (non-botija) earthenware rim sherd. Locus 1374, Unit 9, San Joseph.



Figure 24. Handle of likely slave-made pot, with incised linear decoration. Locus 1397, Unit 9, San Joseph.



Figure 25. Exterior (left) and interior (right) of middle/late period elongated botija form. San Joseph botija midden.



Figure 26. Botija sherd with Type B mouth form and finger drawn angular crested annular waves. San Joseph botija midden.





Figure 27. Detail of botija sherd with Type B mouth form and finger drawn angular crested annular waves. San Joseph botija midden.



Figure 28. Botija sherd with Type C mouth form. San Joseph botija midden.



Figure 29. Botija sherd with finger drawn deep angular crested annular wave motif around shoulder of vessel. San Joseph botija midden.



Figure 30. Detail of botija sherd with finger drawn intersecting round crested annular wave motif, incised annular lines, and brushing. San Joseph botija midden.



Figure 31. Detail of botija sherd with finger drawn intersecting round crested annular wave motif, incised annular lines, and brushing. San Joseph botija midden.



Figure 32. Detail of botija sherd with finger drawn parallel round crested annular wave motif and brushing. San Joseph botija midden.



Figure 33. Detail of botija sherd with stylus incised annular band (at shoulder), brushed parallel annular lines, and cord impressions. San Joseph botija midden.

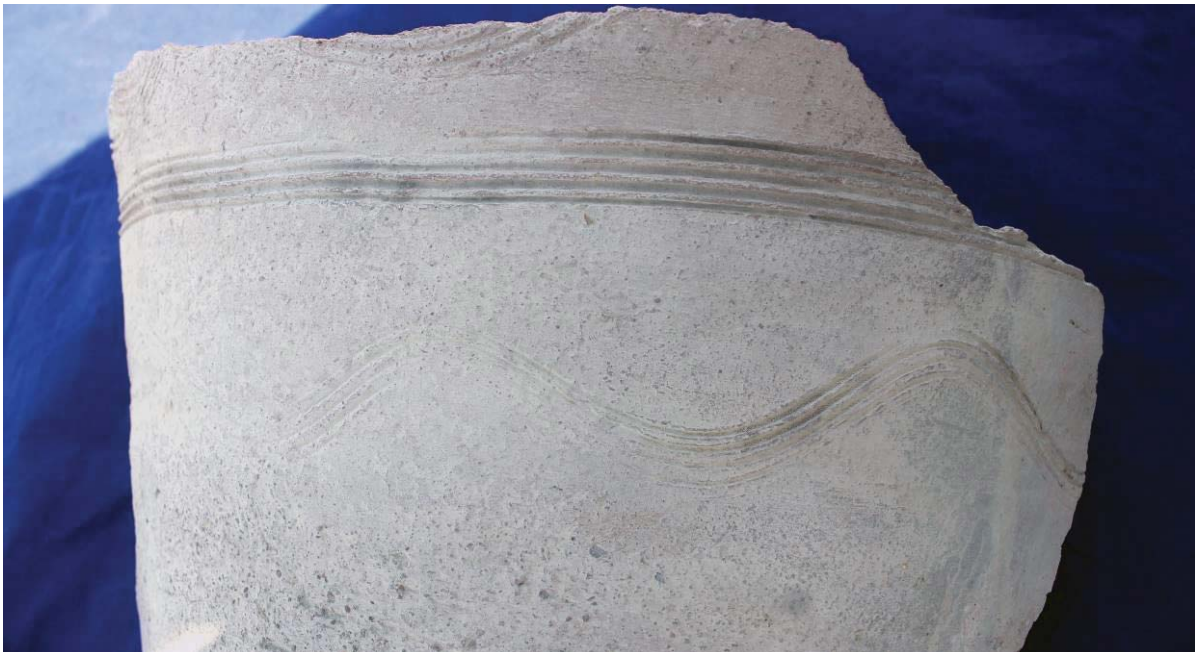


Figure 34. Detail of botija sherd with stylus incised banded annular wave motifs above and below a stylus incised annular band. San Joseph botija midden.



Figure 35. Detail of botija sherd with stylus incised annular bands and a stylus incised banded annular wave motif drawn over a set of stylus incised annular bands. San Joseph botija midden.



Figure 36. Detail of botija sherd with cord impressions above shoulder, finger drawn annular line and finger drawn wave motif with appendages at shoulder, and annular brushing below shoulder. San Joseph botija midden.



Figure 37. Detail of botija sherd with parallel cord impressions. San Joseph botija midden.



Figure 38. Detail of botija sherd with cord impressions below shoulder (non-extant) and finger drawn annular wave motif over parallel annular finger drawn lines. San Joseph botija midden.



Figure 39. Slipped, brushed, and cord impressed botija sherd with black painted Jesuit monogram. Locus 1395, Unit 9, San Joseph.



Figure 40. Type 'A' Botija rim with stamped Jesuit monogram. Locus 1240, Unit 7, San Joseph.

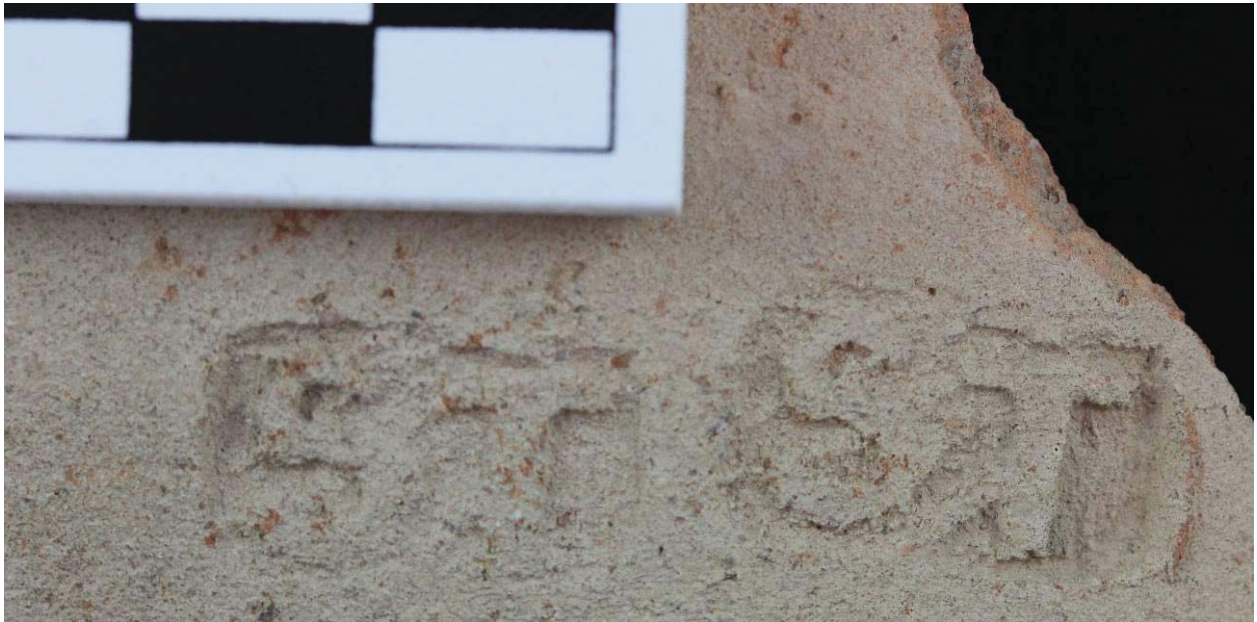


Figure 41. Detail of slipped and stamped ("ST", "ST") botija sherd. Locus 1089, Unit 4, San Xavier.





Figure 42. Detail of botija sherd stamped “XI” on shoulder. Locus 1089, Unit 4, San Xavier.

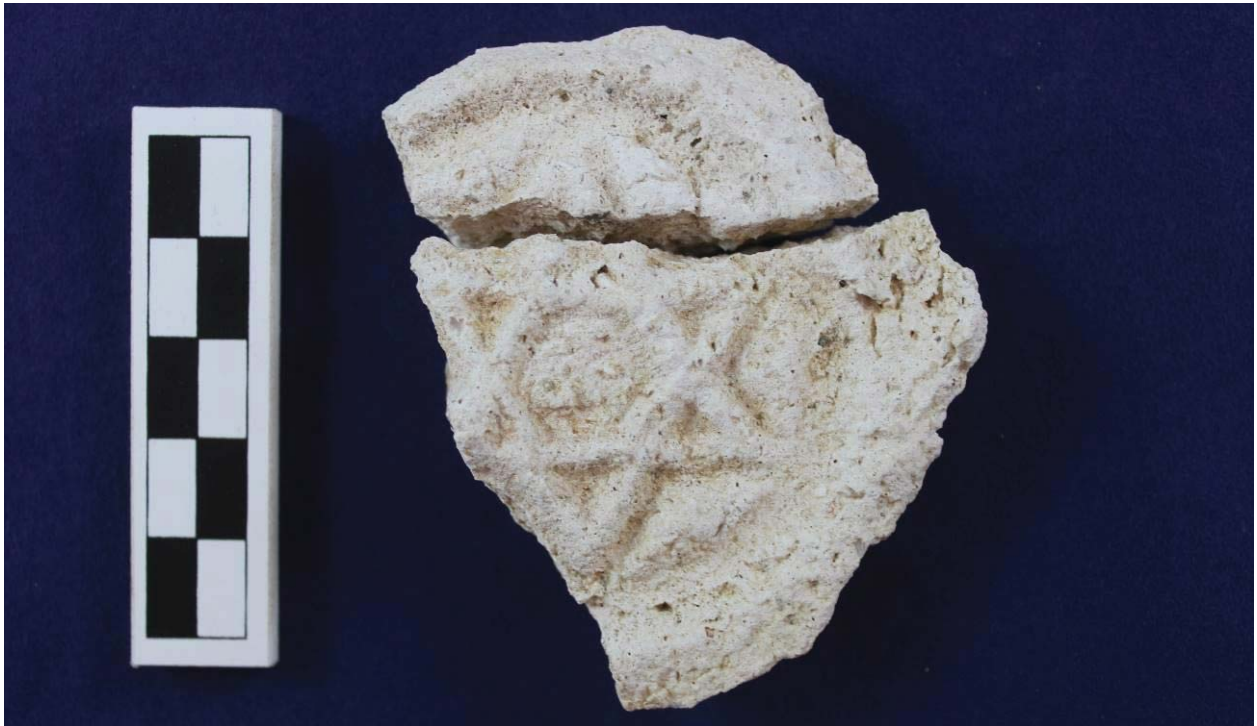


Figure 43. Plaster botija plug. Surface collection, Puerto Caballa.



Figure 44. Plaster botija plug. Surface collection, Puerto Caballa.

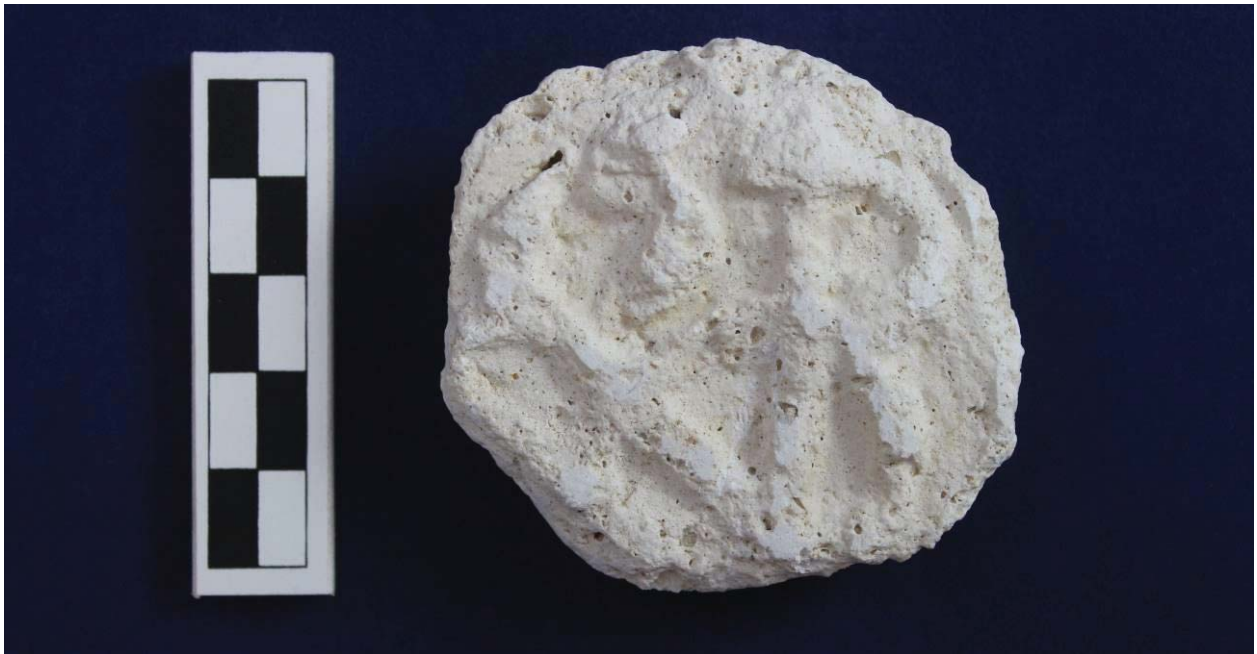


Figure 45. Plaster botija plug. Surface collection, Puerto Caballa.



Figure 46. Plaster botija plug. Surface collection, Puerto Caballa.

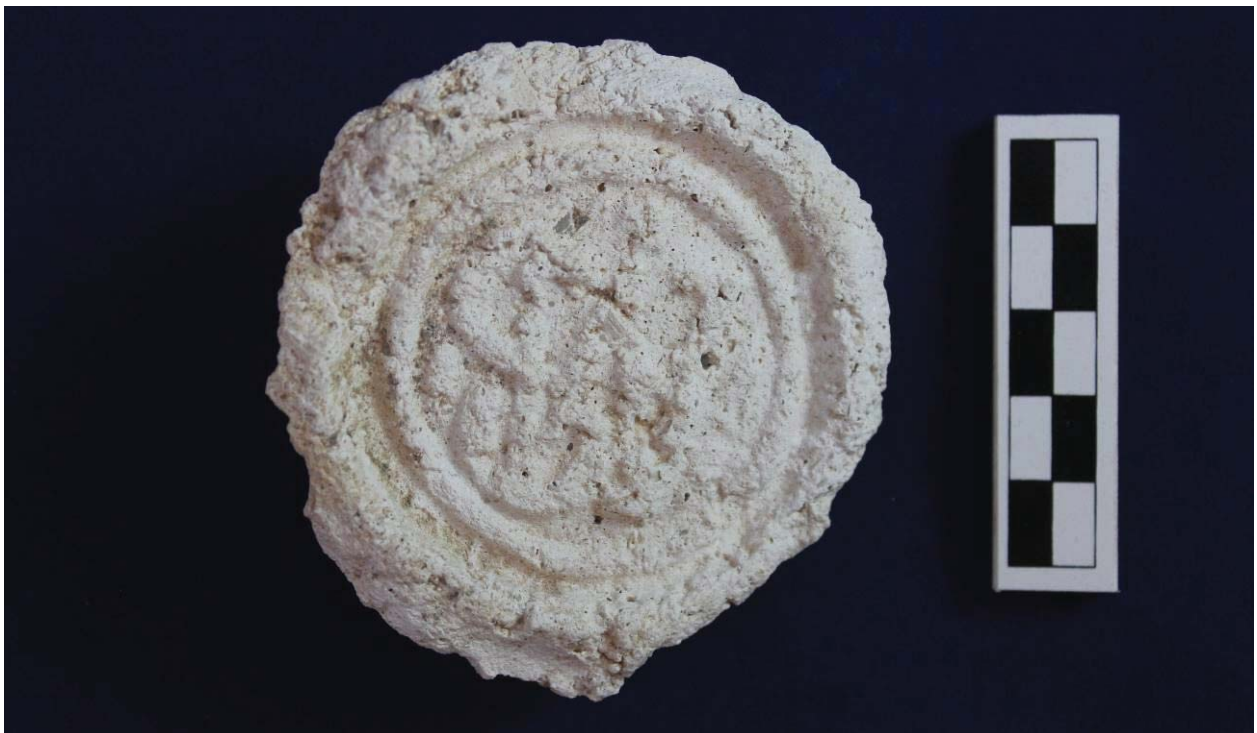


Figure 47. Plaster botija plug. Surface collection, Puerto Caballa.



Figure 48. Wooden rosary bead. Locus 1299, Unit 8, San Joseph.



Figure 49. Glass bead. Locus 1311, Unit 8, San Joseph.



Figure 50. Mother-of-pearl buttons (19<sup>th</sup> C). Locus 1091, Unit 3, San Xavier.



Figure 51. Child's shoe (19<sup>th</sup> C). Surface collection, Puerto Caballa.



Figure 52. Green Italian glass wine bottle, mid to late-19<sup>th</sup> C. Locus 1066, Unit 3, San Xavier.



Figure 53. Jesuit era painted ceramic floor tile (matches examples in the Jesuit chapel). Locus 1284, Unit 7, San Joseph.



Figure 54. Large nail (similar to examples used on the large huarango doors of the Jesuit chapel. Locus 1103, Unit 5, San Xavier.



Figure 55. Various iron nails. Locus 1169, Unit 5, San Xavier.



Figure 56. Fragment of ceramic pendant painted green and in the shape of a bird or fish. Likely 19<sup>th</sup> C provenience. Locus 1121, Unit 6, San Xavier.



Figure 57. Ceramic fabric impressed pendant painted yellow and in the shape of a bird or fish, on cotton cordage. Collected from the surface of Geophysical Zone 2 at San Xavier.



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