Hispaniola - hell or home? : Decolonizing grand narratives about intercultural interactions at Concepción de la Vega (1494-1564)

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HISPANIOLA - HELL OR HOME?: DECOLONIZING GRAND NARRATIVES ABOUT INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS AT CONCEPCIÓN DE LA VEGA (1494-1564)

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"Whoever you are...I have always depended on the kindness of strangers."
A Streetcar Named Desire

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It's perfectly fine if you don't believe in these "superstitions." In fact, it's better than fine — it's perfect. Because no matter what you believe, fukú believes in you.

Junot Diaz - The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao

¡ZAFA! (BIS)

Yomi Mita

APPENDIX A: TABLES

APPENDIX B: FIGURES

1 INTRODUCTION CHAPTER

1.1 Introduction

As more Caribbean territories become independent, the questioning of colonial discourse has permeated many disciplines in the region, and archaeology is no exception. This is particularly true in the sub-discipline of historical archaeology, which has examined “official history” and found that it did not include the lifeways of the ordinary citizens, a group which, in turn is quite present in the archaeological record (Scott 1994, 3; Little 1996, 45). However, in recent years, historical archaeology itself has been questioned with regards to downplaying the severity of Caribbean colonial encounters (Silliman 2005, 55). The question still remains on how intercultural interactions occurred in the Caribbean, and particularly at Concepción de la Vega, one of the first settlements on Hispaniola.

This dissertation will attempt to better understand these colonial intercultural interactions by analyzing two prevalent discourses (or Grand Narratives) on the matter, one coming from history and the other from archaeology, through a Decolonial, Post-Processual, approach. The first Grand Narrative is based on historical chronicles highlighting the conflicts between different peoples on Hispaniola, resulting in a “hellish” experience for all (Las Casas 1945, 1992, 1994; Morison 1942).

The second Grand Narrative, Benign Culture Change, is based on archaeological research about the origins of household (home) patterns and processes in the Spanish-American colonial period (Spanish Colonial Pattern). First applied to 18th century St. Augustine, Florida (Deagan 1996, 154), and identified as the St. Augustine Pattern (Voss 2008). It was later modified and applied to 16th century Spanish colonial sites in the Caribbean (Ewen 2000), and became known as the Spanish Colonial Pattern. Both of these have been questioned with regards to their portrayal of Caribbean colonial encounters (Guitar 1998; Voss 2008), being either too severe (Juderías 1971; Voss 2015, 354), or not enough (Silliman 2005, 55).

Meanwhile other alternative methods have been suggested to describe early colonial lifeways, including the Decolonial approach (Mignolo 1999, 2011). Decolonization of these narratives does not mean that the events did not occur, or that the raw data related to events does not exist, but rather that their interpretation, their narration, needs to be critically analyzed and reinterpreted (Voss 2015, 353). The Decolonial approach suggests the reanalysis of primary data, and the presentation of data from the colonized’s point of view (Liebmann and Murphy 2011a; Mignolo 1999, 239). It uses data from various avenues of inquiry (strands of evidence, discipline) to build a more complete picture of an event, giving all sources equal weight, rather than choosing one avenue over another (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 4; Jamieson 2004,

432; Little 1996, 45; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Scott 1994, 3; Silliman 2010, 42; Singleton 1998).

It also suggests the creation of narratives that cover shorter time periods and are more site-specific (Carvajal-López 2016a, 23). These discourses are known as “Small Narratives.” One such effort to reveal Small Narratives comes from the NEXUS 1492 synergy project financed by the European Research Council, which addresses intercultural Amerindian-European-African dynamics at multiple temporal and spatial scales across the historical divide of 1492 (Hofman et al. 2012; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 246-247).

The archaeological material to be studied is the previously excavated, but unanalyzed, archaeological material excavated from 1976- 1995, and stored at the Concepción archaeological site. This was due to requirements from Dominican governmental authorities, which expressed an interest in identifying how much information about the site’s lifeways can be obtained from this material. Previous attempts at understanding lifeway aspects at Concepción de la Vega have focused on archaeological material obtained from surveys (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a; Kulstad 2008; Pérez-Montás 1984).

The research presented here focuses on the use of all artifacts (not just ceramics) as opposed to artifact manufacture chaine opératoire (Pestle et al. 2013, 4). It will focus particularly on use in nondomestic areas. This will be more in keeping with new trends in archaeological research (Lettany 2018; Pestle et al. 2013, 4; Silliman 2016, 809), focusing more on problem solving, as opposed to a more chronological or typological approach. More specifically, the research will attempt to answer the following questions:

- What environmental, sociocultural, and biophysical intercultural interactions that occurred at Concepción de la Vega in the early colonial period, contributed in the formation of today’s multicultural Dominican society?

- How is this evidenced in the various avenues of inquiry (ethnological, historical, archaeological, architectural, etc.) available?

- What are the Grand Narratives related to Concepción de la Vega?

- Can a Small Narrative present a decolonized version of what occurred at Concepción de la Vega?

It must be noted that the research presented here builds on the investigations undertaken by the author from 1997-2008, and compiled in an MA thesis presented, at the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Florida (Kulstad 2008). This thesis’ major focus was on the compilation of historical data related to Concepción de la Vega, and updated versions of this information is presented in Chapters 4 and 5 below.

This dissertation has a more archaeological focus, particularly focusing on the interactions (environmental, sociocultural, and biophysical) as presented in the archaeological record.

1.2 Grand Narratives about the Colonization of Hispaniola

In postmodern and critical theory, Grand Narratives are narratives that aim to legitimize particular historical meaning, experiences or knowledge, often with the purpose of accruing political power, and controlling perceptions of the world (Lyotard 1984; Voss 2015, 354, 356). Most Grand Narratives are written from the perspective of those coming to a particular place, as opposed to those who are stationary and receiving those who arrive (Mignolo 1999, 239). They eclipse all other possible narrations pertaining to a particular place and/or time (Voss 2015, 354).

The danger of these Grand Narratives is that they are often mistaken as reality, rather than a subjective representation which is modified according to the audience, and circumstances, in which they are told (Voss 2015, 353). Grand Narratives of colonization, especially ones related to Spanish and Portuguese Americas, began circulating soon after 1492 (Voss 2015, 354).

1.2.1 Hell in Hispaniola

The first Grand Narrative is often referred to as “Hell in Hispaniola,” especially in non-Spanish history books. The phrase itself was popularized as the name of a chapter in Samuel Eliot Morison’s book, Admiral of the Ocean Sea: a life of Christopher Columbus (1942). It describes the early Spanish colonial period on the island of Hispaniola during which the brutal Spanish conquest and search for gold vanquished the Indigenous populations of the island. This Grand Narrative is largely based on data culled from the official government chronicles and policies of the period “re-discovered” by Spanish scholar Martín Fernández de Navarrete, when compiling information related to the 400th Anniversary of the “Discovery of America.” American writer and diplomat, Washington Irving, in Spain at the time, also had access to the data. He proceeded to write a biography about Columbus in the “romantic history” style (Irving 1828a, 1828b, 1828c, 1829), making it more accessible to the public, but unfortunately mixing research data with fictional elements (See Chapter 4). Irving’s romantic history style undoubtedly influenced the way history related to Columbus was presented. Particularly important is the designation of all Indigenous people as “Indians,” and no mention of the name they used for themselves, or for their island (Keegan and Hofman 2017).

Concepción de la Vega plays a small, but important, role in this narrative, particularly in Dominican textbooks of the period (García 1906). On March 24th, 1495, a great battle occurred between the Spanish and the local “Indians,” on the Santo Cerro [Holy Hill], close to Concepción fort in the Cibao Valley (Anghiera in Parry and Keith 1984b, 210-11; Charlevoix 1730, 108; Columbus 1959, 148-49; Deagan and Cruxent

2002b, 61; Didiez-Burgos 1971, 41-42; Floyd 1973, 30-31; Kulstad 2008, 40; Las Casas 1985, vol.1, 413; Sauer 1966, 89; Wilson 1990b, 90-91). Columbus's troops numbered about 200 Spanish men with some Indian allies from the north coast (Charlevoix 1730, 108; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 61; Kulstad 2008, 40; Wilson 1990a). The Indigenous forces that fought against Columbus were substantial, numbering from 5,000 to 100,000, depending on the source consulted (Cassá 1978, 33; Las Casas 1985, vol.1, 413; Wilson 1990a). During this fierce battle, many Indians were killed and subjugated by Spanish firepower, horses and war hounds, but could not be defeated (Anghiera in Parry and Keith 1984b, 210-11; Charlevoix 1730, 108; Columbus 1959, 148-49; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 61; Didiez-Burgos 1971, 41-42; Floyd 1973, 30-31; Guitar 2002; Kulstad 2008, 40; Las Casas 1985, vol.1, 413; Sauer 1966, 89; Wilson 1990b, 90-91). Finally, when the Spaniards were at the point of being defeated, the Virgen de las Mercedes [Virgin of Mercy] appeared on a cross that their leader, Christopher Columbus, had planted on the ground. The Indians fighting against Columbus tried to burn down the cross, but were unable to do so. The Spanish rallied around the Virgin and were able to beat the attackers, in spite of the great difference in numbers (Charlevoix 1730, 399; Didiez-Burgos 1971, 29; García 1906, 34; Kulstad 2008, 40; Rueda 1988, 78). The Spanish claimed this event was the start of the Spanish way of life not only at Concepción, but in all of Hispaniola (Guitar 2002; Kulstad 2008) (Fig. 1).

According to the Hell on Hispaniola Narrative, the defeat at the Santo Cerro meant that the Indigenous people of the island were obliged to pay a tribute in gold to the Spanish - a hawksbell full of gold every three months. The hard work in the gold mines caused the death of most of the Indians soon afterwards. An attempt to save the Indigenous peoples of the Americas by Bartolomé de Las Casas involved bringing in Africans as substitute slaves (Abreu 2015; Coste 2015). According to this narrative, the hard work and Old World diseases killed all of Hispaniola's original inhabitants, leaving the current population to be mostly mulatto - i.e. a mix of only Europeans and Africans (Albert-Batista 2010; Stevens-Acevedo 2004, 149).

This narrative is linked to another, wider reaching, Grand Narrative, namely the Leyenda Negra [Black Legend], which presents Iberian (Spain and Portugal) colonization of the New World as barbaric and violent, a product of violent and barbarian men (Voss 2015, 354). The Leyenda Negra narrative is largely based on the writings of Father Bartolomé de Las Casas, known as the Defender of the Indians (Pérez-Fernández 2010). Las Casas wrote several first-hand accounts of the events happening during the colonization, mostly focusing on exposing the mistreatment of the Indigenous people by the Spaniards, including the Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias (1945, 1992, 1994), Historia de las Indias (1951, 1985), and the Apologética Historia Sumaria (1958, 1967). Unfortunately, soon after his death, his writings were used against Spain as early as the Dutch independence movement

(Pérez-Fernández 2010, 341), and were used as one of the justifications for non-Iberian colonization (Pérez-Fernández 2010).

In the 19th century, around the time of the 400th Anniversary in 1892, a counter-narrative to the Leyenda Negra emerged, known as the Leyenda Blanca/Verdad Histórica, which highlighted the positive contributions Iberian culture had given the Americas, as well as arguing that Iberian colonial policies and practices had treated Indigenous people better than the ones from other European peoples (Juderías 1971; Voss 2015, 354).

1.2.2 Home on Hispaniola: Grand Narrative of Benign Culture Change

With the advent of the discussions between those in favor or against the Leyenda Negra and the Leyenda Blanca, some suggested that the use of other disciplines, such as archaeology, to settle the argument (Rangassamy 2013, 7; Deetz 1977). However, a first question that must be asked is why it is necessary to examine this period from an archaeological perspective, given the relatively extensive historical research available about colonization of Hispaniola during this time period. Colonial historians (Moya-Pons 1974, 1978, 1983, 1987, 2008; Morales-Padrón 1974; Chocano-Mena 2000; Didiez-Burgos 1971, 41-42; Floyd 1973; Sauer 1966, 89; Stevens-Arroyo 1993; Wilson 1990b, 90-91; Mira-Caballos 1997, 2007, 2017) have written extensively about the period, many basing their work on various first-hand sources such as Las Casas (1985, 1994), Fernández de Oviedo (1959, 1988), Girolamo Benzoni (1992, 2008), and Pané (1974, 1990, 1999).

The answer lies within an inherent flaw in the discourse used in the written texts being produced during this period (Rangassamy 2013, 7). These chronicles were not objective, but rather were written with a persuasive purpose in mind (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 4; Jamieson 2004, 433; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 243; Kulstad 2008, 16; Rangassamy 2013, 15; Sauer 1966, 29). An example of this are Bartolomé de Las Casas' (1945, 1951, 1955, 1958, 1967, 1984, 1985, 1994) writings, meant to persuade Charles V to abolish the Indian labor system (Jamieson 2004, 433; Rangassamy 2013, 15). Additionally, historical accounts of the early contact/colonial period in the Americas concentrated on recording events which dealt with Spanish elites, usually related to the Church and government (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 4; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 243; Kulstad 2008, 16), rather than giving a complete view of everyday life of all members of society.

The problem is aggravated when these same documents are taken to be ethnohistorical accounts of the events which occurred in that period, or even in the precontact eras (Cook and Borah 1971; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 243, 248; Sauer 1966). It is often forgotten that Spanish chroniclers had no historical or anthropological training, and were writing from a Medieval European mindset, fraught with particular

political and religious mores (Deagan and Scardaville 1985, 34; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 243).

Unlike documentary sources, archaeology presents a more "tangible" representation of past societies. It studies small, ephemeral things (Deetz 1977), as well as long-term processes, through the material assemblage left behind in the ground (Gonzalez-Ruibal 2015, viii; Jamieson 2004, 433). This data can be used to create a more complete picture of the inhabitants of a particular community (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 4; Kulstad 2008, 17; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Scott 1994, 3; Singleton 1998). It can inform about foodways, material possessions, architecture, and urban planning, and most especially interactions between peoples (Deetz and Dethlefson 1967; Deagan 1987, 2002a; Kulstad 2008, 17; South 1977), the contributions of all members of the society, not just those of the dominant social, political and economic group, can be examined (Kulstad 2008, 17; Little 1996, 45; Scott 1994, 3). This critique, in fact, has been one of the main trends in Historical Archaeology (Orser 2001, 625; Scott 1994, 3; Little 1996, 45).

One important way of recognizing interactions in the archaeological record is through the spatial distribution patterns of the material assemblage left in the ground to study ethnicity, race, and status (Jamieson 2004, 433). Pioneered by Stanley South (1977) in British-American archaeological sites, this patterning approach assumes that human lifeways and deathways follow an organized design (Deagan 1996, 154; Harris 1974, 4). These patterns serve as material correlates (Deagan 1981; Deagan 1983) for activities and cultural processes undertaken within a particular landscape. (This is described in greater detail in Chapter 2).

Kathleen Deagan (1983) studied the patterns of 18th century material culture deposits in St. Augustine, Florida. However, she had to modify South's pattern models after noticing that refuse distribution patterns of domestic areas at these sites were different from those at Anglo-American sites (Deagan 1983, 1996). She proposed that the presence of Indigenous women in the households due to intermarriage between men and women of different origins, was the main cause behind these differences. Since few European women travelled to the Americas in the early colonial period, there was an unequal distribution of people of different origins by gender (Deagan 2004), making women in early Spanish colonial settlements predominantly non-European. This was reflected in the larger abundance of non-European artifacts found within parts of the household space, such as kitchens, where more women would be found in everyday life (Deagan 1983). This artifact distribution pattern is known as the St. Augustine Pattern.

Charles Ewen (2000) applied the St. Augustine Pattern to 16th century Puerto Real site in northern Hispaniola (modern-day Haiti). He modified the patterning model to the 16th century temporal context, naming it the Spanish Colonial Pattern. This pattern will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 2, 4 and 6.

However, in spite of the apparent objective nature of archaeological research, a Grand Narrative has risen within the discipline, based in part on the St. Augustine Pattern (Voss 2015, 356). Known as the Grand Narrative of Benign Culture Change (Voss 2015, 356), this archaeological narrative presents and highlights non-violent cultural and genetic mixing, often forgetting the unequal power relationships that are part of colonialism dynamics (Voss 2015, 354). This narrative has particularly prevalent in the last 50 years, amongst English-speaking scholars of both the Caribbean and the rest of the Americas (Voss 2015, 354). Additionally, the narrative promotes a more generic approach, applying “colonialism” to all times and places (Gosden 2004), as opposed to the events consequent to the encounter in 1492 on Hispaniola (Senatore and Funari 2015, 1). It could be argued that this approach is complementary to the Leyenda Blanca/Verdad Histórica.

1.3 16th Century Concepción de la Vega

It is important to remember that Hispaniola was the sole focus of European colonization for nearly 20 years (Deagan 1996, 134,136), and many of the early Spanish documentary accounts focus on life there (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 248). However, very few large scale, systematic archaeological excavations have been undertaken at early colonial sites, with the exceptions of Deagan (1995a, 1995b, 1999); Deagan and Cruxent (2002a, 2002b); Hofman et al. (2014), Ortega and Fondeur (1978, 1982), and Hoogland and Samson (2007); Samson (2010).

Concepción was chosen as a study site because it is one of the earliest and most affluent Spanish settlements in the Americas, and it offers the opportunity to assess some of the earliest Spanish, Amerindian and African entanglements and interactions in the Americas. Additionally, the archaaeological site represents a tightly dated context (1495 to 1564) with no large, subsequent, occupation until the 20th century.

It must be noted that the name "Concepción de la Vega” first referred to the fort established on, or around, December 8th, 1494, day of the Vírgen de la Concepción – the Virgin of Conception (Concepción 1981; Kulstad 2008, 38; Torres-Petitón 1988, 2009). The location of this first site has yet to be archaeologically confirmed.

After a battle against a coalition of Amerindians from the island around April 1495 (Wilson 1990b, 90-91), the settlement was moved to the site known as locally as “La Vega Vieja”. Its inhabitants remained there until 1564, when they moved again, to the present-day location of the modern provincial capital of La Vega, 8 km to the south., due to a devastating earthquake. To differentiate time periods and locations, I have designated events and locations pre-1564, as related to “Concepción,” in following with previous usage (see Kulstad 2008). Events and locations related to the modern city of Concepción de la Vega are designated as related to “La Vega.”

Several attempts have been made to identify both the location of the first Concepción fort (Coste 2015), and the extent of the city of Concepción between 1494

and 1464 (Deagan 1999; Gonzalez and Pimentel 1990; Roca-Pezzoti 1984), with varying degrees of success (Kulstad 2008, 94-97). However, three important sections of the La Vega Vieja/Concepción site - the Franciscan monastery, the Fort, and the cistern, or aljibe - were consolidated into a National Park and are under the jurisdiction of the Dominican Ministry of Culture (Duval 2017).

As is common with many historical archaeology sites in the Dominican Republic, the Concepción site was not considered to be an archaeological site until close to the second half of the 20th century. Before then, it was considered to be a historical monument, more in tune with architecture and history than archaeology. This is especially evident in the writings of Narciso Alberti Bosch ([1912] 2011), who lived in La Vega and is considered to be one of the pioneers of systematic archaeological work in the country (Hayward et al. 2009, 92; Samson 2010, 28).

The site was also included in all of the major military recognizance reports written about the area by other colonial powers. These include Pedro Francisco Charlevoix's Historia de la Isla Española o de Santo Domingo (1730, 379). This report, written for French General Napoleon, is based on the missionary work done by Father Jean Bautista Le Pers on the island in the first decade of the 18th century (1700-1710). It is also mentioned in David Dixon Porter's report on the new country of the Dominican Republic (1978 [1846], 193), and in Samuel Hazard's investigation on the possible annexation of the country to the United States (Hazard 1974 [1873], 311).

None of the chroniclers mentioned above recorded digging at the site, or receiving objects obtained from there. However, there is little doubt that looting occurred at the site, especially since architectural material was recycled in posterior buildings. A case in point was the use of bricks from the site by architect Onofre de Lora to reconstruct the Santo Cerro Church in 1886 (Palm 1955a, 47-48). It is said the parish priest asked each member to bring a brick for the construction as penitence, at the architect's recommendation (Abreu 2015).

Yet, it was with the commemoration of the 400th anniversary of Columbus's arrival in 1892 that specific interventions that could be considered archaeological were undertaken at the site, particularly by foreign dilettantes (Mañón Arredondo et al. 1971, 10; Samson 2010, 27). These are described in detail in Chapter 3.

In the next year, Fr. Nouel of La Vega, later Monsegnior, and eventually president of the country, created a group with national personalities to protect and restore the La Vega Vieja ruins (González 1978). In spite of Nouel's efforts, bricks continued to be taken from the site to be used to construct new homes around the area (González 1978). A new effort to clean and restore the site was undertaken by the Despradel family, prominent La Vega historians in 1917, with limited results until the area was declared a National Park in 1976 (González 1978).

1.4 Terminology

Before continuing, it is important to define certain terminology to be used in this dissertation, particularly the one referring to social/cultural differentiation categories (See Tables 1-1, 1-2, 1-3, 1-4). As will be explained in more detail in Chapter 5, peoples have been divided according to three main geographic origins: American, African and European (sensu Voss 2005). Due to an emphasis on peoples from Concepción de la Vega in particular, and Hispaniola in general, these terms may not be applicable elsewhere.

The classification of Indigenous peoples is perhaps the most complicated. Firstly, the word "Indigenous" will always be capitalized as a sign of respect (Joseph and Joseph 2017). Due to reasons better explained in Chapter 5, the Pre-contact Indigenous peoples mentioned in this document will be denominated as "Indigenous people(s) from…" identifying their place of origin. This is in accordance to the social classification system used by the Europeans/Castilians during this period on Hispaniola, as opposed to the prevalent Cultural-Historical archaeological terminology currently used in the region (See discussion in Chapter 5). Unfortunately, the chronicles do not document the names used by the Indigenous social, political or ceremonial communities to name themselves (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 12), so no official name exists.

The general category denominating post-contact Indigenous peoples used here is "Indio." When Columbus arrived to the Caribbean he mistakenly named the people he found there "Indios," or those from India, believing he had arrived in Asia (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 12; Morison 1942). Although Valcárcel-Rojas (2016), and others (Ulloa-Hung 2016, 214; Valcárcel and Pérez-Concepción 2014) have limited the term "Indio" to those Indigenous peoples who left their precontact lifeways behind and became a part of colonial society, not enough is known about the lifeways of these peoples at Concepción to make this distinction, prompting this more general definition.

More specific terms will be used to denominate particular social ranks. The *Indios* from Hispaniola were divided into two: the *Nitaíno* (elites) and the *Naborías* (non-elite). *Perpetual Naborías* is a blanket term used to describe all *Indios* brought from outside of Hispaniola for a particular type of enslaved labor.

Due to the variety of territories (both in Europe and around the world) under "The Crown" during this period (see Chapters 4 and 5), the peoples from this continent have been denominated as "Europeans/…" with their place of origin following. When place of origin is unknown, the term "European/UID" will be used.

People of African descent will be classified according to terminology commonly used in Afro-Dominican research (see Deive 1989; Franco 1975; CUNY DSI 2015). *Libertos* were free Africans who either came from Spain as free persons, or managed to gain their freedom while on the island (Deive 1989; Franco 1975; Kulstad 2008, 179). Ladinos were enslaved peoples of African ancestry, brought from Spain, who already

knew Spanish language, religion and culture because they had resided in Spain for at least a year (CUNY DSI 2015; Deive 1989, 20; Franco 1975; Kulstad 2008, 179). *Bozales* were enslaved peoples brought directly from Africa (Kulstad 2008, 2013b; CUNY DSI 2015).

Other terms used here relating to peoples include:

- *Resistant Indios*: *Indios* who had been part of the European establishment, but rebelled against it. Enriquillo was the best known.

- *Cimarrones*: (later known as Maroons), African ex-slaves who had managed to escape their masters (Deive 1989; Franco 1975; Kulstad 2008, 179). It must be noted that this term only includes those of African descent.

- *Roldán followers*: Non-elite artisans who rebelled against Christopher Columbus and went to live in Indigenous villages.

- *Primeros Pobladores*: Roldán followers who were re-integrated into society, receiving benefits previously reserved for elite members of society.

Artifact and site nomenclature in Chapters 1-5 is based on the terms used by the investigators who undertook the original interventions/excavations/classifications. Particularly, Indigenous ceramics will be referred to as either, “Indigenous ceramics,” “Decorated Indigenous ceramics,” “Undecorated Indigenous ceramics,” and rarely, “Chicoid” and/or “Mellacoid” ceramics. This classification is based on their decorative features, with no implied cultural norms, or expressions of identity, unlike what is done in the Caribbean Cultural Historical School (see Keegan and Hofman 2017, 21; Meggers 1996; Rouse 1939). Explained in more detail in Chapter 6, this is mainly due to a difficulty in placing them chronologically before or after 1492.

1.5 Summary of Chapters

Theory and Methodology will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2. That chapter will present how to identify and interpret intercultural interactions at Concepción through the Historical Archaeology paradigm. The first part of the chapter will describe the theoretical framework, based on the Archaeological Processual-Plus Approach, and the second part will cover the methodology, namely a qualitative study of interactive cultural processes.

Chapter 3 - Archaeology of Archaeology - compiles the archaeological and architectural interventions at Concepción in chronological order. The archaeology and architectural avenues of inquiry will be presented first, since they are the ones more closely linked to the Concepción archaeological site itself. This chapter will attempt to recreate archaeological documents as much as possible. Its emphasis will be on the Dominican Parks Service excavations undertaken in from 1976 to 1995.

Chapter 4 will present a chronology of military, political and diplomatic events which affected intercultural interactions at Concepción during our period of study (1494-1564). Data will be culled from the historical, sociological and anthropological avenues of inquiry, and highlight primary historical sources related to the colonial policies. Unlike Chapter 3, this chapter will deal with pertinent events at a global scale, consequence of the Columbian Exchange. An attempt will be made, however, to organize the data according to the pertinent environmental/landscape interactions which have transformed the Concepción local landscape.

Chapter 5 will focus on biophysical and sociocultural intercultural interactions, and how these affected the classification and social differentiation within Concepción. It also discusses the terminology used to identify different peoples present at Concepción during the period covered in this research, including division of people by geographic origin, gender, enslaved/free, elite/non-elite, clergy/laity. It will also discuss the labor activities where interactions could have occurred.

Chapter 6 presents the archaeological analysis of the artifacts and artifact distribution patterns at the two previously excavated areas of the Concepción site, namely the Fort campus (Fig. 2) and the Monasterio de San Francisco campus (Fig. 3) to identify those that could inform about intercultural interactions. As mentioned before, interaction can vary depending on the scale of analysis (Sluyter 2001, 423). For this reason, archaeological data about Concepción will be analyzed at three levels for this dissertation: Site, Structure, and Artifacts.

Chapter 7 will compile and interpret the results presented in the previous chapters. This interpretation will focus on re-interpreting the intercultural interactions that occurred there during our period of study (1494-1564). More specifically, it will answer the main research question: What environmental, sociocultural, and biophysical intercultural interactions that occurred at Concepción in the early colonial period, contributed in the formation of today's multicultural Dominican society?

Finally, Chapter 8 will answer the subquestions:

- How are the different types environmental, sociocultural, and biophysical intercultural interactions evidenced in the various avenues of inquiry (ethnological, historical, archaeological, architectural, etc.) available?

- What are the Grand Narratives related to Concepción de la Vega?

- Can a Small Narrative present a decolonized version of what occurred at Concepción de la Vega?

This chapter will analyze how the data compiled in the previous chapters compares to the Grand Narratives presented above, and present an optional Small Narrative related specifically to Concepción, and more in tune with the findings. Suggestions for future research will also be included.

2 THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

Current Dominican archaeological practice is divided into two distinct fields, Pre-Historical and Historical, although methodologically they are quite similar (sensu Deetz 1977). Both fields share a base in the Boasian tradition, and in Latin American Social Archaeology; and both prioritize links to current-day populations (Samson 2010, 27). These traditions consider Archaeology to be one of the four fields of Anthropology (Deetz 1977; Samson 2010, 27; Ulloa-Hung 2016, 218), and as such, attempts to answer socially motivated questions. Theoretically, however, these traditions rise from different paradigms. Dominican Pre-Historical archaeology has been influenced by two major traditions, the Cultural-Historical (sensu Rouse 1939,1977) and Latin American Social Archaeology (sensu Vargas-Arenas 1990). Dominican Historical archaeology has been mostly undertaken under the direction of restoration architects (González 1984; Pérez-Montás 1984, 1998; Prieto and Gautier 1992; Roca-Pezzoti 1984), using the historical archaeology paradigm and methodologies pioneered by Jose María Cruxent and Kathleen Deagan, in both the country and in the circum-Caribbean area (Deagan 1983, 1995b, Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 2002b).

As expressed in Chapter 1, this research concerns the previously excavated, but unanalyzed, archaeological material stored at the Concepción archaeological site. This was due to requirements from Dominican governmental authorities, which expressed an interest in identifying how much information can be obtained from such data. The use of previously excavated material is a concern in the Caribbean and elsewhere (Chou 1994; Curet 1992a; Curet et al. 1994; Duff 1996; Halekoh and Vach 2004; Pestle et al. 2013, 14; Scwaiger and Opitz 2003; Stark and Curet 1994), specially when dealing with collections without absolute dating. In the case of the present collection, the use of artificial, rather than natural, has created a mix of proveniences. Instead of using artifact TPQ for diacronic organization, the chronology of environmental interventions of the landscape will function to link artifact deposition to specific historical time periods.

The present research, then, will be more in keeping with new trends in archaeological research (Lettany 2018; Silliman 2016, 809), focusing more on problem solving - particularly the answering of the main question: “What environmental, sociocultural, and biophysical intercultural interactions that occurred at Concepción in the early colonial period, contributed in the formation of today’s multicultural Dominican society?” In an effort to answer this question, the research has been focused on artifact use, as opposed to artifact manufacture (Pestle et al. 2013, 4).

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework and methodology used to organize this dissertation (a summary of this can be seen in Table 2-1). The first part of this chapter will describe the theoretical framework, based on the Archaeological

Processual-Plus Approach, and the second part will cover the methodology, namely the identification of artifact deposition patterns that can signal interactive cultural processes. More specifically, the following will present how to identify and interpret intercultural interactions at Concepción through the Historical Archaeology paradigm.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

As stated above, this research is based on the previously excavated, unanalyzed, archaeological material stored at the Concepción archaeological site. Given that these materials were excavated following a Dominican Historical Archaeology paradigm, both in theory and methodology, this dissertation has continued in the same vein, and has analyzed materials accordingly. For this reason, a discussion of Dominican Pre-Historical Archaeology theoretical frameworks (i.e. Cultural-Historical and Latin American Social Archaeology) is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Additionally, given the excavation biases and limitations (discussed in more detail in the next chapter), there has to be room for possibility of uncertainty/falsehood of conclusions (Deagan and Scardaville 1985, 34). Elsewhere in the Caribbean, particularly in the Bahamas, Mary Jane Berman (2014, 4, 7) has suggested the use of a Processual-Plus approach when dealing with similar issues.

To understand the Processual-Plus approach, it is necessary to briefly review the main North American archaeological paradigms of the 20th century. Berman (2014) identifies four distinct paradigms - Classificatory- Descriptive, Classificatory-Historical, Processual and Post-Processual. The Classificatory-Descriptive paradigm rose around the 1880s (Berman 2014, 4), with the archaeological discipline. During this period, focus was on description and classification of archaeological assemblages, mostly for collections (museums and probably private) (Berman 2014, 4). The Classificatory-Historical paradigm, lasting from circa 1940 to 1960, also described and classified artifacts, but additionally identified cultures, usually through cultural chronologies based on the artifact assemblages (Berman 2014, 4; Trigger 2007). The Processual (also known as Explanatory) paradigm, dominated North American archaeology in the 1960s and 1970s (Berman 2014, 4). This approach relies on law-like behaviors, hypothesis testing, and deductive reasoning, but seen from Positivism, rather than Marxist historical materialism (Berman 2014, 4; Samson 2010, 30). Processual research in the United States prioritized the use of settlement organization, settlement patterns, trade, social organization, and environmental adaptations as material correlates (Berman 2014, 4; Trigger 2007, 442-443). The Post-processual approach emerged in the late 1970s and 1980s as a critique of Processualism's limited scope of investigation, particularly with regards to identity (Berman 2014, 6; Hodder 1985; Trigger 2007, 444). Post-processualism is particularly known for the application of critical theory to research (Berman 2014, 6; Potter 1994). The split between those following Processualism and

those practicing Post-processualism increased as the century ended, not only in the United States, but in Britain as well (Hegmon 2003, 216-217).

However, with the advent of the 21st century, these schools of thought began to be less distinct, particularly in practice. In places like The Bahamas, most archaeologists embraced the differing focuses of all different paradigms at different points of their research, with the understanding that the differences were not incompatible (Berman 2014,6).

In the United States, the gap between Processualism and Post-processualism was blurred, with the research of postprocessual topics, such as culture, agency, religion, gender, ethnicity, and identity, using processual methodology (Berman 2014, 7; Hegmon 2003, 216-217. This new paradigm is known as the Processual-plus approach (Berman 2014, 4).

Processual-plus is not one unified theory (Hegmon 2003, 216-217), but rather is an approach that identifies the most suitable paradigm to answer the research questions (Berman 2014, 7). The scientific method is used, but more inductively than deductively (Berman 2014, 6-7). Critical theory, particularly archaeology's connection to contemporary political, cultural, and social contexts, is an important part of the Processual-plus paradigm (Berman 2014, 7; Hegmon 2003, 230; Trigger 2007), even when it is not the focus of the research. Examples of the Processual-plus approach on Hispaniola include the research done by the University of Florida at the sites of Puerto Real and En Bas Saline in Haiti (Deagan 1995a, 1995b), and at La Isabela and Concepción in the Dominican Republic (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 2002b; Woods 1998; Cohen 1997b).

In many ways the Processual-Plus paradigm owes its existence to the rise of an archaeological focus on gender in the 1980s, a large portion of it in an effort to understand gender interactions after the European arrival in the Americas (Hegmon 2003, 218). This research noticed biases and ambiguities in the research scope within Processual archaeology, while recognizing the value of its knowledge production and research organization (Hegmon 2003, 218). More specifically, these were noticed while conducting Historical Archaeology.

Historical archaeology and prehistoric archaeology share the same methodology for creating excavation grids, trenches and test pits (Deetz 1977, 19), but differ in the variety of other sources used to help interpret the data obtained. An example of this can be found in context dating. Thanks to historical documents such as manufacturing catalogues, ceramic types can be used to date historical contexts, sometimes to a 10-15 year range, as opposed to Pre-Historic Archaeology which must rely on dating techniques such as radiocarbon dating, with a much wider range (Deetz 1977, 18-19).

The sub-discipline of Historical Archaeology was recognized as such in the late 1960s (Orser 2001, 621) and it has been defined in many different ways since the 1970s (Orser 2001, 625). Some definitions are more temporal, as in Spain, where it is

referred to as Modern Archaeology (Ramírez 2017), while other are more theoretical, defining it as the study of the rise of Capitalism (Funari 1999; Orser 1996; South 1977). Both of these definitions are inherently problematic in assuming an “improvement” in the economics of the studied spaces. A more accurate definition is Historical Archaeology as the study of European colonization starting in the 15th century (Deetz 1977, 5; Politis 2003, 128; Potter 1994, 138). The definition used in this dissertation is the study of the spread of European culture via interactions in colonial settings through data gathered from various sources, or avenues of inquiry (Deagan 1982; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 4; Deetz 1977; Jamieson 2004, 432; Little 1996, 45; Hodder 1986; Jamieson 2004, 432; Wiley 1989, 1993). These various avenues of inquiry (strands of evidence or disciplines) build a more complete picture of an event. Historical Archaeology gives all sources equal weight, rather than choosing one avenue over another, i.e. it is not dialectic (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 4; Jamieson 2004, 432; Little 1996, 45; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Scott 1994, 3; Silliman 2010, 42; Singleton 1998). These avenues can include historical documents, architectural ruins, material culture, oral history and/or social memory (Amores-Carredano and Chisvert-Jiménez 1993, 270; Carver 2002; Kern 1996; Pedrotta and Gómez-Romero 1998; Politis 2003, 127).

Historical archaeology deals with a variety of social phenomena (Politis 2003, 128), both tangible and intangible. Tangible phenomena include urban settlements (Shavelzon 1999; Andrade-Lima 1999; Fusco-Zambetogliris 1995; Vargas et al. 1998; Veloz-Maggiolo et al. 1992; Rovira 2001; Matos-Moctezuma 1993); military settlements (Albuquerque 1996; Gómez-Romero 1999); and religious missions (Curbelo 1999; Graham 1998; Kern 1996; McEwan 2001). Intangible phenomena include the lifeways of different peoples living in these places, with a particular interest, in recent times, on Afro-American peoples and post-contact Indigenous peoples of the Caribbean, and their apparent “invisibility” in the archaeological record (Deagan 2004; Hofman et al. 2012; Politis 2003, 128).

Like other archaeologists, historical archaeologists use material culture people have left behind, in the ground, as a form of evidence about issues (archaeological-social stratification; inter-ethnic relations, relations outside official policy; diet; kinship and marriage patterns; or residential patterning) in past lifeways (Deagan and Scardaville 1985, 34; Jamieson 2004, 433). These issues can be addressed at different scales of analysis, such as regional, site, building and/or artifact (Sluyter 2001, 423).

Historical archaeology’s distinction is its use of various “avenues of inquiry” (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 4; Jamieson 2004, 432; Little 1996, 45; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Scott 1994, 3; Silliman 2010, 42; Singleton 1998) or “strands of evidence” (Collingwood 1946; Hodder 1986; Jamieson 2004, 432; Wiley 1989, 1993). These various avenues of inquiry allow for more interpretative flexibility and better understanding of lifeways and interactions at a particular site (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 4; Scott 1994; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Singleton 1998; Silliman 2010, 42).

This is based on the fact that not all materials used/manufactured by people are preserved in the ground (wood and/or cloth objects), nor are all materials "important" enough to be recorded in documents (utilitarian ceramics) (Jamieson 2004, 433).

These avenues can include archaeology, history, zooarchaeology, ethnobotany, economics, architecture, and oral history, depending on the research question(s) to be answered (Deagan and Scardaville 1985, 33). Although each avenue offers pieces to the overall puzzle, and overlapping happens in less places than expected, it is useful to use paradigms within these disciplines that are compatible with archaeology.

In the case of traditional History, for example, historians are often focus on military, political, diplomatic events that are too specific for anthropological/ archaeological interests (Deagan and Scardaville 1985, 34-35). In fact, one of the main trends within Historical Archaeology has been its critique of the modern historical focus on the elite, powerful and overwhelmingly male members of society (Orser 2001, 625; Scott 1994, 3; Little 1996, 45). Meanwhile, a large portion of data about nonelite lifeways can come from the material culture found at an archaeological site, particularly the use of certain artifacts in a particular space and context (Potter 1992, 117; Silliman 2009, 214).

However, if history is approached as a process (known as Longue Durée), rather than a chronicle of events, as is done within the French Annales School of Social History, the historical discipline can be of great use (Braudel 1990; Deagan and Scardaville 1985, 35). Chapters 4 will organize events according to their relation to settlement patterns, while Chapter 5 will identify demographical and economic activities in the historical record.

Likewise, the use of anthropological data, such as oral history, can add information about both the site's historical trajectory (González-Tennant 2014, 45; Meskell 2005; Schmidt 1997, 2006; Schmidt and Walz 2007) as well as, in the present case, the excavation itself. Additionally, these interviews can both give insight into local community needs and perspectives, and show respect to its current inhabitants (Franklin 1997; González-Tennant 2014, 43, 44; McDavid 1997; Potter 1991). This is especially important in those communities that may have been forgotten by traditional history, and allows for the addition of another avenue of inquiry in such cases (Brown 1973; Christman 2010; Purser 1992; Schuyler 1974, 1977).

Although this dissertation is focusing on the use of the material culture related to Concepción, as discussed in Chapter 1, it is important to assess the political, economic and social contexts where all these cultural items were produced. An item's biography records its intended use, its actual use, and its final use, as per suggested by Rice (2015, 417). Intended use is the one for which the object was manufactured (Potter 1994, 122). Actual use may be the same as the intended use, or could also be a secondary, or recycled, use (Silliman 2009, 211). Finally, the recovery context gives final

use: mortuary, storage room, firepit, construction fill, or discard (midden) (Rice 2015, 417).

The lack of concordance between the intended use and actual use material culture is a central element of Spanish-American colonial life - the interplay between the Conceptual and the Material. This is known as the “play of tropes” (Fernández 1991). Conceptual processes represent the “ideal,” intended process that exists in the mind (Sluyter 2001, 425). These are often manifested in the colonial-administrative policies, and often recorded in historical documents (Silliman 2010, 42). The Material processes deal with praxis (Sluyter 2001; Vargas-Arenas 1990). This includes not only the material record, but the associated actions related to these processes. The lack of concordance can be a sign of macro and microscale resistance within the society.

Colonial administrative policies were the manifestation of control and domination (Deagan 2011, 55; Rothchild 2015, 183). These policies included classification structures created to explain where different individuals are located in relation to power. The most prevalent method of domination in Spanish colonies was cultural separatism, particularly between a united “Spanish” identity and those considered non-Spanish (Rodríguez-Alegría 2005, 553). Manifestations of “Spanishness” denoted elite status (Voss 2008, 862; Deagan 1983, 104).

It was believed that the use of prestige items taught people to behave in a certain way, guiding behavior and shaping society (Card 2013a, 3; Gonzalez-Tennant 2014, 42; Potter 1994, 127, 142). This reciprocal interaction with societal structures is known as recursivity (Potter 1994, 122). Recursivity may have played a role in the religious education offered to the sons of *caciques* (Indigenous chiefs) at the Monasterio de San Francisco.

Recursivity can also be implanted through the use and distribution of space (Tilley 1984, 137). Bourdieu promoted the idea that certain opinions and actions were influenced by particular settings (habitus) (Bourdieu 1990, 53; Gonzalez-Tennant 2014, 4; Orser 2007). Examples of this are the various settlement patterns imposed by the Spanish (including the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan), imposing cultural separatism on the landscape of Hispaniola (see Chapters 5, 6, 7).

As stated above, the lack of concordance of actual artifact use can be a sign of macro and microscale resistance/agency by the non-elite and non-dominant. To understand this agency, it is necessary to “delink” artifacts from their use in the power structure (in cultural separatism), as suggested by Decoloniality theory. Decoloniality is a subset of Critical Theory, emerging from Latin America, and pioneered by Walter Mignolo (2011). It proposes “delinking” Latin American discourse from the sources of colonial power (Mignolo 2011, xxvii). This would also mean looking at other interactions that are not economic/labor related, such as those of cohabitation or mestizaje. Also, it means looking at important roles played by those not in power in colonial society, as well as their material culture (McEwan 1992,106; Rodríguez-Alegría 2005, 554).

As opposed to past, more traditional approaches, which focus on binary categories, Decoloniality brings the complexity and ambiguity of colonial lifeways to the fore (González-Tennant 2014, 44; Liebmann 2008, 5, 2013, 3; Silliman 2010, 49; Voss 2008, 861). This does not imply a rejection of the status quo, but it is rather an acknowledgement that artifacts and interactions may be functioning at more than one level at a time (Potter 1994, 126; Silliman 2010, 39). Fernando Ortiz (1940,1947) has identified this as a counterpoint, a relationship between voices and/or instruments that is, at once, harmonically interdependent, and independent in rhythm and contour.

This is related to the way in which Dominican social studies teachers describe Dominican culture - it is a merengue song played by several instruments at once - drums (representing Africa), accordion (representing Europe), and guira (representing Indigenous peoples). If one is missing, it is not a merengue (Con-Aguilar et al. 2017; sensu Mieses-Burgos 1943). Additionally, Decoloniality within Historical Archaeology advocates for the prioritization of the voice of the colonized (Liebmann and Murphy 2011a; Mignolo 1999, 239). Too often, within the coloniality of power, interactions occur between people who travel and arrive, and others who are stationary and receive, with priority given to the travelers (Mignolo 1999, 239). This priority can reach a point where the “stationary receivers” (and their culture) are objects of discussion, and yet they themselves are not invited to participate in the debate (Mignolo 1999, 241).

The narratives produced from this perspective are more localized and are known as “Small Narratives” (Carvajal-Lopez 2016a, 23). Small Narratives narrate specific processes that occur at a particular time and place (Carvajal-Lopez 2016a, 23), at a smaller scale than Grand Narratives. Due to its early colonization, a Small Narrative about Concepción will necessarily have to deal with social differentiation, given the concerns with cultural separatism, and the failures of implementation, caused by both freedom of purchase (Jamieson 2004, 445), marronage (Price 1979, 3; Weik 1997, 81) and intermarriage (Deagan 1996, 153; Jamieson 2004, 445)(Discussed in Chapters 5 and 7).

2.3 Research Methodology

As stated above, in the Processual-plus approach, processual methodology is often used to answer Post-Processual queries (Berman 2014, 7; Hegmon 2003, 216-217). Given that the archaeological assemblage to be studied has several biases and limitations related to absolute dating (discussed in Chapter 3), other approaches will be used to answer the research questions. More specifically, the methodology will focus on interaction on the spatial (horizontal) landscape as opposed to (vertical) chronology.

In 2014, the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America identified archaeology’s most important scientific challenges in the 21st century, according to its members (Kintigh et al. 2014). These challenges fall quite firmly within

the Processual Plus Approach (Berman 2014). These challenges focused on the dynamics of cultural processes, and how humans affect and are affected, culturally by natural environments (Kintigh et al. 2014). Twenty-five grand challenges were identified, and divided into five main categories:

- Emergence, communities, and complexity
- Resilience, persistence, transformation, and collapse
- Movement, mobility, and migration
- Cognition, behavior, and identity
- Human–environment interactions

The research in this dissertation falls within the scope of the fourth category - Cognition, behavior, and identity. Through this category, our overarching objective - how archaeological analysis can help elicit the environmental, sociocultural, and biophysical intercultural interactions manifested in different sources of information (avenues of inquiry) related to public spaces at the Concepción site - can best be met.

Interactions can be defined in various ways, particularly in archaeology. Interactions can be seen as embodiment of the organization of labor and production (Samson 2010, 29-30; Veloz- Maggiolo 1972, 2003; Vargas-Arenas 1990). A more inclusive definition is “the exchange of materials, ideas, beliefs, and information between members of different corporate groups” (Odess 1998, 417), Although, for the most part, this dissertation will be using this last definition, because of the focus on intercultural interactions, biophysical interactions (mestizaje) will also be discussed.

Lifeways and deathways in Spanish-American colonial cities of the 16th century were structured by these different types of interaction (Ewen 1991; Deagan 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 2004, 622), often occurring simultaneously (sensu Ortiz 1940; 1947). This dissertation will use the “pattern” Processual approach, which assumes that the artifact distribution pattern on the landscape is a result of actions stemming from ideas and values shared by a group of people (Binford 1977, 30; Cordell and Plog 1979; Pestle et al. 2013, 2). The adherence and/or deviance from these patterned approaches can help identify agency within the site.

Pioneered by Stanley South (1977) in British-American archaeological sites, this Pattern approach assumes that human lifeways and deathways follow an organized design, and are not random or capricious (Deagan 1996, 154; Harris 1974, 4).

Based on this idea, South devised a classification system for organizing the artifacts found within each pattern according to their use, their relation to structures, and their position in the landscape (South 1977, 1978). These patterns serve as material correlates (Deagan 1981; Deagan 1983) for activities and cultural processes undertaken within a particular landscape. These patterns include the Brunswick Pattern of Refuse Disposal, which identifies patterns in midden locations; and the Carolina Pattern and Frontier Patterns which have inverse architecture to kitchen artifact

relationship (South 1978, 223). More specifically, the Carolina Pattern has a high amount of kitchen artifacts to architecture artifacts ratio, denoting a domestic area (South 1978, 229), while the Frontier Pattern has a higher amount of architecture artifacts, interpreted as being partly caused by the frequent rebuilding/construction at forts (South 1977). This approach also assumes that if similar artifact distribution patterns are found, the related activities/behaviors can be extrapolated to the new location (South 1977).

Kathleen Deagan (1983) later adapted South's methodology to study 18th century material culture deposits in St. Augustine, Florida. However, she had to modify South's patterns after noticing that the distribution patterns of discarded artifacts in domestic areas at these sites were different from those at Anglo-American sites. Deagan (1983, 1996) proposed that mestizaje, or intermarriage between men and women of different origins at Spanish American sites, was the main cause behind these differences. Since few European women travelled to the Americas in the early colonial period, there was an unequal distribution of people of different origins by gender (Deagan 2004), making the women in Spanish colonial settlements predominantly non-European. This was reflected in the larger abundance of non-European artifacts found within parts of the household space, such as kitchens, where more women would be found in everyday life (Deagan 1983). This would facilitate the identification of such areas within a domestic structure. A lack of non-European items would suggest a space more occupied by men (Deagan 2002a, 34). Also, high status areas should have more European artifacts because of the uneven power relations between colonizer and colonized (Voss 2008, 862; Deagan 1983, 104). Additionally, the St. Augustine Pattern postulates that trash pits and middens should be found behind the structure, in the patio, in an effort to mitigate the smell of decomposing trash inside the home (Deagan 1981, 2017; Jamieson 2004, 432).

Charles Ewen (2000) applied the St. Augustine Pattern to 16th century Puerto Real site in northern Hispaniola (modern-day Haiti). As Deagan did before him (1983), he modified the patterning model to the 16th century temporal context, naming it the Spanish Colonial Pattern. Ewen (2000, 39) suggested five points that confirm the Spanish Colonial Pattern:

- Food preparation activities, as represented in the archaeological assemblage, should show an admixture of European and locally manufactured wares.

- Status-related artifacts should be almost exclusively European in manufacture.

- Structures, while employing locally-available construction materials, will be Hispanic in architectural style and layout.

- The diet of the colonist should show an admixture of the Iberian barnyard complex of peninsular Spain and the mixed hunting-farming strategies of the Indigenous peoples.

- The material and faunal assemblage should reflect the combination of several ideas into one congruent object of thought to create a proposed Spanish colonial pattern (known as crystallization process) through time.

2.3.1 Praxis

The second part of the chapter presented the processual methodology to be used in this research, namely the "Pattern" Processual approach. It included a discussion of the application of the Pattern approach in the Circum-Caribbean, and how it will be analyzed at the Site, Building/Structure and Artifact scale. A first methodological step was the compilation of previous research conducted at the site in the various avenues of inquiry. This included maps, blueprints, excavation reports, archaeological classification forms, and previous archaeological reports. A previous compilation attempt, mostly focusing on historical data, with some archaeological interpretation, is found in Kulstad 2008. The process of compiling the existing archaeological data is presented in Chapter 3. A list of the artifacts found at the Concepción site, based on Deagan and Cruxent 2002a (Appendix 7), is found in Table 2-2. Informal interviews were conducted of several La Vega Park guides (Hipólito Abreu, Frank Coste, Fabio Pimentel, and Francisco Polanco) who had worked in the 1976-1995 excavations and remembered pertinent information. Additionally, our Dominican government counterpart, Archaeologist Frank Coste, is a member of the family that owns the land surrounding the heritage area. Their information helped fill in incomplete excavation information since most of the Principal Investigators are either dead or out of the country.

The next step was to identify the environmental, sociocultural, and biophysical intercultural interactions found in historical documents. This was particularly important with regards to settlement patterns' use of the landscape, but other interactions, such as biophysical (disease), and sociocultural (resistance) are also highlighted.

Archaeologically, this dissertation strongly focuses on researching artifact use in deposition contexts, with the belief that a large portion of artifacts excavated at the site were found in primary use locations due to their deposition during a cataclysmic event (the earthquake of 1562). This is important because artifacts found in use-locations often give more information than those found in discard (midden) locations (Jamieson 2004, 432). Additionally, there will be a more pronounced focus on landscape, rather than stratigraphic, distribution of artifacts.

A first step in this process that a series of artifacts were identified and plotted as material correlates of activities where interactions could have occurred. These were identified through historical data and previous classifications at similar circum-Caribbean sites (see Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, Appendix 7). These plotted artifacts would serve two purposes: identification of their actual, particular use; and the identification of the area on the landscape in which they were used. The landscape information can be obtained through the artifact's provenience (Rice 2015).

The plan is to analyze three variables related to artifacts - presence/absence of particular artifacts, relative percentages between artifacts, and artifact context on the spatial (horizontal) axis. Artifact context is made up of its biography, its provenience, and its relation to other artifacts found in close proximity. As stated above, an artifact's biography records its intended use, its actual use, and its final use (Rice 2015, 417). Their uses are often found in written records. It is also important to note the amount and variety within the artifact context.

The artifacts were plotted onto adapted site maps, based on those used in previous excavations (González 1983; Woods 1998). The resulting distribution maps were used to identify the spatial organization of various activity areas. The spatial relationship between all of these types of areas gives information about lifeways and deathways at the site (Siegel and Roe 1986, 111-112). The areas of interest were identified as possible perishable/non-perishable structures, middens, fill, interior/exterior areas, burials, and those related to activities (food preparation, food consumption, hospital, religion, military).

Meanwhile, interaction between archaeological elements can vary depending on the scale of analysis (Sluyter 2001, 423). For this reason, archaeological data about Concepción was analyzed at three levels for this dissertation: Site, Structure, and Artifacts. Given that most anthropologists/archaeologists see their discipline as comparative, comparison will play an important role in this multi-scalar interpretation (Handler 2009, 628).

At the site scale, the St. Augustine Pattern assumes that Spanish American colonial settlements will be laid out in the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan (Cohen 1997; Deagan 1995b; Deagan and Cruxent 2002a; Ewen 2000; Woods 1998). This standardized settlement model was implemented by the Spanish Crown to quickly populate their possessions in the New World (Brewer-Carías 2007, 53). This model laid out cities and towns in a grid pattern, radiating from a central plaza and intersecting at right angles to form an orderly, rectangular defined space. The main plaza would be surrounded by the Church, administration offices and military headquarters, and elite residences, forming the town's physical and social center (Charlton and Fournier 2011, 127; Rodríguez-Alegría 2005, 558; Voss 2008, 870). This patterning was confirmed to be present in 16th century Puerto Real (Ewen 2000). However, at La Isabela, founded only two years previous to the settlement of Concepción at the Concepción site, was found to have an organic, medieval, layout after excavation (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 87). This will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 4 and 6.

Little research has been done at a non-domestic building level in the Caribbean, in spite of the activity areas which can be identified when verifying the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan. The study of non-domestic buildings has mostly been undertaken by preservation architects, especially in the Dominican Republic (Pérez-Montás 1984, 1998, 2001; Prieto and Gautier 1992; Roca-Pezzoti 1984).

Most of the archaeological research at the Building/structure scale both before and after contact with Europeans, which has focused more on domestic structures (Curet 1992b; Samson 2010; Deagan 1983, among others. Domestic material culture has been used to study status and ethnicity in the Spanish colonies since they reflect how people imagined their place, and that of others, in society (Jamieson 2004, 431, 433). As stated above, the St. Augustine Pattern was developed to explain the distribution of artifacts within domestic structures of the 18th century settlement (Deagan 1983). Of note, however, is the identification of a backyard refuse pattern particular to Spanish colonial sites (Deagan 1981; Jamieson 2004, 432). This refuse pattern stems from the knowledge that urban properties in Spanish cities were divided by walls, fences, or hedges, and garbage was discarded in the patio or rear yard. This allows for a way to link the archaeological material to a particular property (Deagan 1981; Jamieson 2004, 432).

Unlike the lack of research at the Building scale, research at the Artifact scale has been more prolific in Caribbean Historical Archaeology. Although for comparative purposes it is useful to use similar criteria and classification schemes when studying archaeological assemblages, it is important to note that artifact names and classifications are not intrinsic (Card 2013a; Deagan 2013, 269; Hauser 2013; Potter 1992, 118-119). They are imposed by the researcher for the purpose of answering specific questions asked in the research (Binford 1965, 206; Potter 1992, 119; Silliman 2009, 211). It is especially dangerous to equate the finding of particular artifact types with particular cultural activities without considering artifact context (Loren 2000, 90; Silliman 2010, 36). For example, equating the existence of blue beads with the presence of African enslaved peoples (DeCorse 1989; Silliman 2010, 39), or equating changes in ceramic style with ethnic, political, and social evolutions and revolutions (Pestle et al. 2013, 15).

Chapter 6 presents a description of the artifacts selected to be plotted, listed in Table 2-3. The names of the European artifacts follow the nomenclature of the Florida Museum of Natural History codebook and the DAACS Ceramic Catalogue Manual. The American made ceramics were classified according to three main attributes, in order of application: paste type, surface treatment, and decoration. The names used for these ceramics were based on decorative features, and in no way reflect the identity or cultural norms of the people that may have used them. This is marked opposition to the Caribbean Cultural Historical school (see Keegan and Hofman 2017, 21; Meggers 1996; Rouse 1939).

This multi-scalar comparison will recognize commensurability (likeness) and incommensurability (differences) between sites (Handler 2009, 628). It is important to note that there must be commensurability in terms of scale (Deagan 2013, 266), but also in terms of excavation methodology (Deagan 2017). Evidence recovered at the Building scale should not be extrapolated to be applicable to the Site and or Artifact

scale. Similarly, data excavated using arbitrary stratigraphy should not be compared to natural stratigraphy excavations on a temporal scale. Most importantly, special care must be taken when comparing findings of these non-domestic, public, sites to what has been found in domestic archaeological sites.

2.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to outline the theoretical framework and methodology used to organize this dissertation, following a Processual-Plus Approach within Historical Archaeology, which attempts to answer postprocessual questions through processual methodology.

This research concerns the previously excavated, but unanalyzed, archaeological material stored at the Concepción archaeological site, due to requirements from Dominican governmental authorities. The material was analyzed under the same paradigm under which it was excavated, namely the Dominican Historical Archaeology approach. This has been mostly undertaken in the country under the direction of restoration architects (González 1984; Pérez-Montás 1984, 1998; Prieto and Gautier 1992; Roca-Pezzoti 1984), using the historical archaeology paradigms and methodologies pioneered in the Circum-Caribbean region by José María Cruxent and Kathleen Deagan (Deagan 1983, 1995b, Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 2002b).

The first part of this chapter presented the theoretical framework, which focused more on problem solving, rather than on chronological seriation. This included an overview of the Historical Archaeology approach. More specifically, it presented how the research questions will be answered (see Chapter 1). To answer these questions, the research has been focused on artifact use, as opposed to artifact manufacture, given the “invisibility” of certain cultural groups in the historical record. This section also included a discussion regarding the “play of tropes.”

The second part of the chapter presented the methodology and praxis to be used in this research, namely the “Pattern” Processual approach. It included a discussion of the application of the Pattern approach in the Circum-Caribbean, and how it will be analyzed at the Site, Building/Structure and Artifact scale.

The chapters to follow will present the data obtained from these analyses. First, however, it is important to present a summary of the archaeological interventions that have been undertaken at the Concepción site.

3 ARCHAEOLOGY OF ARCHAEOLOGY: CHRONOLOGY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERVENTIONS AT CONCEPCIÓN

3.1 Introduction

A first methodological step in the analysis of intercultural interactions at Concepción has been the compilation of archaeological research to date. This chapter presents the archaeological and architectural interventions that have occurred at the Parque Histórico y Arqueológico de la Vega Vieja, with emphasis on the Dominican Parks Service excavations undertaken in from 1976 to 1995.

Previous, incomplete compilation attempts were included in Deagan (1999), Deagan and Cruxent (2002a, 2002b) and Kulstad (2008). The following compilation, presented in chronological order, includes information from the available excavation maps, blueprints, archaeological classification forms, and previous archaeological reports. It also highlights the limits and biases of those who have undertaken these interventions, and describes both sites and artifacts according to their terminology.

Although the 16th century town of Concepción de la Vega covered a large portion of the Valley of the Vega Real, contained within the larger Cibao Valley in the center of the Dominican Republic, the present compilation will focus on the excavated portion of its central urban location.

3.2 Frederick Ober (1892)

The first semi-systematic archaeological intervention at the fort was undertaken by Frederick Ober in 1892 (Ober 1893). He had been assigned as Commissioner of the Columbian Exposition of 1893, and one of his tasks was to collect artifacts to be exhibited from all around the Caribbean (Ober 1893). From Concepción he not only collected previously excavated material, but also spent a day excavating and photographing the site. He had plans to work for a week, but it rained during the rest of his stay (Ober 1893, 330).

Ober describes a large town site, scattered over a great area, with the most salient ruins being those of the fort, the church and a large convent (Ober 1893, 321). He postulated the fort to be 200 feet square, made of brick, and possibly having four bastions, and noticed that the surrounding houses were higher up on the slopes (Ober 1893, 321-323). He includes a picture of the fort bastion in his book (Ober 1893, 324), apparently taken before he has set workers to dig the angle of the fort. He does not specify what he recovered in the dig, with the exception of a hawks-bell (Ober 1893, 325). He also bought old iron and brass from the locals who believed there was a great treasure under the walls (Ober 1893, 325, 321). In the end he takes several hundred small artifacts with him for the Exposition (Ober 1893, 325). It is uncertain where these artifacts are today (Watters 2003).

3.3 Narciso Alberti Bosch (1912)

Narciso Alberti Bosch briefly mentions the Concepción site in his book, Apuntes Para la Prehistoria de Quisqueya (1912). Alberti Bosch, lived in modern La Vega, and is considered to be one of the pioneers of systematic archaeological work in the country (Hayward et al. 2009, 92; Samson 2010, 28). Concepción is mentioned as a reference point to the place called "Las Tembladeras" [The Shaky Ground], where volcanoes of mud were said to erupt. Meanwhile, he dedicates one whole chapter to Angelina, a site made of stone close to Cotui, but not found on any maps, and which he considered linked to ancient Greece (Alberti-Bosch 2011 [1912], 81-84).

3.4 Erwin Walter Palm (1945)

In 1945, Erwin Walter Palm, Section Chief for Colonial Archaeology (1948-1952) of the INDIA (Instituto Dominicano de Investigaciones Arqueológicas) at the Universidad de Santo Domingo (Boyrie 1960, 35), was the first titled archaeologist (graduate from Heidelberg University) to intervene at the site. Part of his research was to determine Concepción's layout in a search for the earliest manifestations of the Iberian Grid Town Plan (Palm 1955a, 46-47). He was unable to determine the town layout due to the lack of substantial remains (Palm 1955a, 46-47). He was, however, able to determine the main areas to be the remains of the Cathedral, the fort and an artisan well (aljibe) (Palm 1955a, 47-48). He determined the fort to be in the medieval tradition of the 16th century, such as those found in Jaen, Spain (Palm 1955a, 47-48). His physical impact was minimal since he only visited the site as part of his survey of Dominican monumental architecture (Palm 1950, 1952, 1955a, 1955b), and apparently did not dig.

3.5 University of Florida/Universidad de Santo Domingo/Grupo Guama (1950s)

Starting in 1952, Dominican archaeologist Emile de Boyrie of the INDIA of the Universidad de Santo Domingo, and University of Florida Professor John Goggin conducted archaeological research in the Concepción area to complement Palm's architectural investigations. They undertook a joint University of Florida (USA) / Universidad de Santo Domingo (DR) /Grupo Guama (Cuba) project in 1952 and 1953 (Boyrie 1960, 41; Goggin 1968; Kulstad 2008, 29). This investigation was documented in a film and a lecture presented in the 1954 Archaeology Congress in Santa Fe, New Mexico (Boyrie 1960, 44). Further excavations were undertaken in 1954, 1956 and 1958 (Boyrie 1960, 46, 54, 72; Goggin 1968; Kulstad 2008, 29).

Boyrie conducted surface explorations, surveys, measurements and mapping at Concepción with the purpose of declaring the site a National Monument and relocating the inhabitants away from the most archaeologically important areas (Boyrie 1960, 54, 72; Kulstad 2008, 29). All the collected material was brought to the Dominican National

Archaeology Museum, washed, and classified by the staff (Boyrie 1960, 34; Goggin 1968).

Meanwhile, for Goggin, this was part of a Caribbean-wide investigation in which he collected samples of different types of majolicas, particularly Spanish majolica types and olive jars. His interest started from an excavation at Fig Springs, Florida and the need to interpret his Spanish material findings (Goggin 1968). Due to the nearness of the Caribbean to Florida, and the early occupation of these islands, Goggin connected with Grupo Guama in Cuba, Emile Boyrie de Moya in the Dominican Republic, and Jose Cruxent in Venezuela to undertake joint research (Goggin 1968). Unfortunately, due to various political events in the Caribbean, his death, and later Boyrie's, his complete findings were not organized for publication. His findings were later edited by Irving Rouse and published by Yale University in 1968 (Kulstad 2017). This publication includes information about the extensive surface collection he carried out at Concepción. The ceramics he collected are stored at the Florida Museum of Natural History.

In 1959, after five years of work by the INDIA, Archaeologists Elpidio Ortega and Marcio Veloz Maggiolo decided to continue and expand the investigations (Veloz-Maggiolo et al. 1971?). They conducted an area survey, topographic mapping and survey blueprints as part of a salvage plan for the site (Veloz-Maggiolo et al. 1971?). However, this was stopped due to political upheaval (González 1977b, 1978).

3.6 1960s

During that decade the Concepción site was not studied. It reverted to its abandoned state and became a place for children to play, with goats living among the ruins and the fort bastion turned into a pigsty. It also became a depository of all types of human discard materials (González 1977b).

3.7 First Half 1970s

3.7.1 La Vega Vieja Site (1970)

In 1970, a group of prominent La Vega citizens of the time, including the Bishop, J.A. Flores, the governor, and the directors of the Museo de Casas Reales and Dirección Nacional de Parques de la República Dominicana tried to continue the 1959 project (González 1978). The modified project was included as one of the proposed areas of excavation for the collection of objects to be exhibited in the planned Museo del Hombre Dominicano (González 1978).

The project was to be undertaken by Elpidio Ortega and Marcio Veloz Maggiolo. The project started with the premise that La Vega Vieja (Concepción) had been built on a plateau that was being destroyed by erosion. The city center (around the fort) was the highest point of the plateau, with the main streets extending out from this main center

(Veloz-Maggiolo et al. 1971?; Kulstad 2008, 97). Although approved, the proposal was not implemented until the site was declared of Public Utility in 1976.

3.7.2 Mellacoid Sites (1971, 1977)

Meanwhile, Elpidio Ortega, Marcio Veloz Maggiolo and Angel Caba began an archaeological survey of the Cibao area with the purpose of finding objects that could be exhibited in the forthcoming Museo del Hombre Dominicano (Veloz-Mggiolo et al. 1981, 8, 206). One site identified was the Rio Verde site, located less than 2km north of the Concepción site (Veloz et al. 1981, 205). The site was identified as Mellacoid. Two field seasons, one in 1971 and another in 1977, revealed 2 distinct phases, the Rio Verde and the Cutupu, with the latest radiocarbon date being AD 1025 (Veloz-Maggiolo et al. 1981, 218, 239). Comparison to other radiocarbon dates from the rest of the island prompted Veloz, Ortega and Plinio Pina to propose that the Mellacoid had expanded from the eastern Cibao Valley to the west into Haiti, and south towards Santo Domingo (Veloz-Maggiolo et al. 1981, 312). No efforts were made to compare the Indigenous materials found at the Rio Verde site with those found at Concepción at the time. It is unknown where the Rio Verde materials are stored.

3.8 July – Dec. 1976: Pre-Excavation Investigations

On July 6, 1976, President Joaquín Balaguer issued a Decree declaring the site to be of Public Utility and designated a Commission to undertake the archaeological work at the site (González 1979). There were three objectives to this work (Ortega 1976). The first was to unearth the built features and identify the type of urban layout. The second was to complete a map of the site, while the final was to develop tourism there (Ortega 1976). At that point in time, the site was considered to be contained within the areas of Pueblo Viejo, San Francisco, Carrera de Palmas and the Santo Cerro (González 1977b). However, before all of this could be accomplished, several pre-excavation investigations had to be undertaken (González 1977a, 1977b, 1979; Ortega 1976; Vásquez 1991), Grammetric aerial photography assessment; grid implementation; measurement and survey of the First Stage (88 ½ tareas - 1 tarea = 1.5 hectares); mapping; topographic survey; preliminary plans for restoration; archaeological level color bank; archaeological survey; cadastral survey and contour lines.

Unfortunately, it has not been possible to find any of the graphics or images related to this work. However, a short report by Ortega (1976) gives a summary of the results of the aerial photographic survey, the archaeological survey and the cadastral survey.

The aerial photographic survey, undertaken with the help of the Instituto Cartográfico Universitario, confirmed what had been stated in the 1971 proposal – that

Concepción had been built on a plateau. The area around the fort (possible city center) was the highest point of the plateau, with main streets extending out from this point (Kulstad 2008, 97; Ortega 1976). In addition, they found some areas with straight lines in the vegetation which they interpreted as having underlying walls, throughout the proposed city area. The central part of the city was identified (fort and Cathedral), as well as some peripheral parts (Monasterio de San Francisco). A possible cistern (aljibe) was also identified (Ortega 1976) (Fig. 4).

Ortega undertook three archaeological surveys during this period. According to Abreu (2015), these surveys were limited to the “Camino Real,” that is the path leading from the Carretera La Vega-Moca to the Aljibe, then turning left to the road which connects back to the Carretera-Moca (Camino al Aljibe) – roughly ½ km2 (Fig. 4). It is important to note that the main purpose of these surveys was to determine the level of the Spanish floors, that is, the floor of the stonemasonry buildings. This was determined to be between a meter and a half and 50 cm from the surface. It is stated elsewhere (Ortega 1977) that any excavation below this point would be too costly and time-consuming. In spite of this, the surveys yielded great amounts of materials, specially coins and ceramic sherds (Ortega 1976).

Although not stated in the Ortega 1976 report, it appears that this was when the Spiral Grid (see below) was measured and implemented, starting from the center of the Fort. The grid appears to have been measured in 5 x 5m squares (González 1978). In this system, each unit was assigned a number, beginning with 1 and increasing as it circled around itself clockwise. In this system, the number referred to the entire test unit rather than any particular point or corner (Cohen 1997a). It appears to have been measured out by an independent surveying company, given how it was later substituted for other grid systems by different archaeologists.

21	22	23	24	25	26
20	7	8	9	10	27
19	6	1	2	11	28
18	5	4	3	12	29
17	16	15	14	13	30

It is possible that the Spiral Grid was put in by the company that did the cadastral survey of the area (González 1978). They proposed the settled area to be at least 34,778 m2, extending between the Carretera Santiago-Moca and the Carretera La Vega-Moca and connecting with the Santo Cerro (Ortega 1976). They apparently did quite a few drainage level studies, but none of the resulting maps are available. Attempts at locating points on the Spiral Grid on the Concepción landscape have not been successful (Cohen 1997b, Woods 1998, 1999), present research included. However, it has been possible to locate the material excavated in the survey pits dug while using the Spiral Grid during this period, within the assemblage currently housed at the site.

It appears that the surveyors left some of their measuring and sighting bars in the ground, held in by cement (Pimentel 1978b). These were later used by other archaeologists to measure out excavation units (Pimentel 1978b), regardless of the nomenclature of their grids. This also means that all grids used at later dates at the site have the same starting datum point.

3.9 Fort Excavation July – Dec. 1976

3.9.1 Fort Excavation First Stage: Dec. 1976- June 1977

Although systematic excavations were officially started on Dec. 19, 1976, actual work was not started until January 1977, and only in the Fort area, or “campus” (Ortega and Fondeur 1982, 255). Although Architect Jose Gonzalez was the Director of the activities, at this stage much of the archaeological work seems to have been directed by Elpidio Ortega (González 1977b).

Ortega’s influence can be inferred by the imposition of a new grid system in the fort area coinciding with his research on the La Vega Vieja transcultural ceramics (González 1977b; Ortega and Fondeur 1982, 255) (Description of these ceramics in Chapter 6). This grid system was made up of 5m x 5m units (Cohen 1997a). The East-West axis was assigned numbers, and the North-South axis, letters of the alphabet. The test units were named for the cardinal point which intersected at the SW corner of the unit (Cohen 1997a). Line 1 was parallel to the Carretera La Vega-Moca, and Line “K” was perpendicular to a line that aligned with the base of the Fort wall (González 1977b). This intersection coincides with unit 1 of the Spiral Grid. This grid will be referred to as the “Ortega Grid” in this manuscript.

According to Ortega, excavations were started using an arbitrary stratigraphy of 25 cm levels, but later changed to natural stratigraphic levels (Ortega and Fondeur 1982, 255). However, this change is not so clear in the documents. This must have been difficult to control, given that Ortega only visited the site weekly, and most of the work was supervised by non-archaeologists (González 1977b).

A 1978 site report (Pimentel 1978b) records the excavation of 66 units (approx. 330 m2) during this period. Ortega (Ortega and Fondeur 1982, 255) states that all of these units were sifted.

All excavated material was bagged in the field (bags were both cloth and plastic) together with 2 cards (one interior and one exterior) indicating Unit #, strata, date, name of excavating technician and provenience (Pimentel 1978a).

During this stage, more emphasis was put on object recovery than on the recovery of context, basically an artifact-oriented approach (sensu Rouse 1977). This due to Ortega's interest in the recovery of the transcultural ceramics denominated as La Vega Red on White (Ortega and Fondeur 1982, 249). Ceramics were routinely washed and classified, and a provisional ceramics storage deposit was set up with shelving to temporarily store the catalogued material. Tables were set up to restore and put together the unearthed ceramic objects González 1977b). Excavated ceramics were marked with the section in which they were found using India ink and covered with clear nail polish. Finds were counted and recorded on the excavation forms (Bueno 1980). Special finds received an individual form (Bueno 1980). A large number of metallic objects were also found, including close to 800 nails (Pimentel 1978a). All materials were to be sent to the Museo de las Casas Reales for storage (González 1977a).

Meanwhile, Gonzalez was more interested in the built elements found within the Fort area or campus. By May 1977, the following features had been identified (González 1977b):

- Aqueduct system
- Human burial with ceramics
- Fort floor
- Traces of wooden flooring
- Traces of wooden postholes
- Carved stones (for lintels?)

In spite of being limited to the area which contains the Fort, the first excavation stage yielded an extraordinary amount of data. Most of it is recorded and available in Ortega and Fondeur 1982.

3.9.2 Fort Excavation Second Stage: Plan Experimental (Aug.-Oct. 1977)

In June 1977, the site became part of the Dirección Nacional de Parques of the Dominican Republic (Kulstad 2008, 96; Torres-Petitón 2009, 176), after Pres. Balaguer named it one of three historic parks in the country (Torres-Petitón 1988, 2009, 176). No longer under the jurisdiction of the Museo de las Casas Reales (or the Museo del Hombre Dominicano), this next stage of excavations, known as the Plan Experimental, was conducted under the supervision of Archaeologist Jose Maria Cruxent. Work was conducted from August through October 1977 (Ortega 1977), in an area that extended beyond the Fort to include the paths connecting it to the Aljibe and the Carretera La

Vega-Moca (Pimentel 1978b). Ortega was no longer in charge of the excavations at Concepción, instead being involved in the second stage of the excavations in the Mellacoid sites nearby (Veloz-Maggiolo et al. 1981).

Independent reports by Cruxent and Ortega describing the excavation methods used during this period give insight into how excavations occurred during this stage (Cruxent 1977b; Ortega 1977). It is obvious they disagreed on how excavations should be conducted, and this conflict influenced the way Architect Gonzalez later handled the site excavations.

After the first few weeks of work, Cruxent decided to re-train the workers according to his methodology (Ortega 1977; Pimentel 1977). This training included the use of natural stratigraphy in excavations (González 1981, 2); leaving artifact cleaning and classification for rainy days; sifting of all material; excavation to bedrock (as opposed to just the Spanish floor); excavation of the complete 5m2, as opposed to doing test pits to see if there is material present (Ortega 1977).

Cruxent mentions instituting certain classification forms to be filled out about the material, as well as training of the use of field logs (Cruxent 1977a). He stated he was trying to implement systematic, responsible, archaeological work, as opposed to the finding of objects for collectors (Cruxent 1977a).

The point of greatest conflict between Cruxent and Ortega appears to have been where to leave the excavated materials (Cruxent 1977b; Ortega 1977). Apparently, all excavated materials were left within the excavated units, usually on top of unearthed walls (Cruxent 1977b; Ortega 1977). Ortega was concerned that these objects (stones, bricks, ceramics, etc.) could be lost during the normal movement of excavated earth (Ortega 1977). Cruxent, on the other hand, preferred to keep the excavated materials from each unit close by to be eventually used by the architect in the building reconstruction (Cruxent 1977b). It must be noted that Cruxent does not mention where artifacts should be stored, but a report from a Comission from the Museo de Casas Reales suggests the creation of an in-situ museum and storage facility (Santiago 1977).

In terms of the material recovered, little information is available, except for the finding of large numbers of nails (Pimentel 1978a). However, there is no information about whether these were modern or from the 16th century. Most of them came from an area of wooden homes found adjacent to the fort (Pimentel 1978a).

There is some information about finding different floor levels within the Fort, as well as paved paths, and more La Vega transcultural ceramics (Ortega 1977), but most of the information of the period about these excavations are Ortega's concerns about Cruxent's methodology. His main concern seems to be one of time and funds. He believed Cruxent was working too slowly and that excavation work would not be completed in the six years allotted (Ortega 1977). He was also concerned about the amount of archaeological artifacts accumulating without cleaning or classification. Another concern was that Cruxent seemed to have left some of the excavation units

open, or at least to the Spanish floor level (Ortega 1977). He did state, however, that the classification forms used to document the data were appropriate for the task (Ortega 1977).

3.9.3 Fort Excavation Third Stage: Dic. 1977-July 1979

There is sparse information about this period, with only one set of field notes available - although there should be at least 2 sets per year according to Cruxent (Bueno 1980). It appears that work during this period was mostly supervised by Pablo Diaz, who was substituting for Architect Gonzalez, with some suggestions for expediting the work coming from Veloz-Maggiolo in Sept. 1978 (Bueno 1978). Gonzalez was away in Mexico, studying Conservation Architecture (Díaz 1978).

There is evidence that both the Spiral and Ortega grid systems were used during this period, and even simultaneously after Aug. 1978 (Bueno 1978). It appears that the Ortega grid system was used within the Fort building itself, while the Spiral Grid nomenclature was used for the units found in the surrounding areas and paths (Bueno 1978).

It appears that excavation returned to arbitrary levels during this period. There appears to be some evidence that the fort area (owned at the time by Florentino Romero) had more, deeper, material than the units found in the path area (González 1979). Great effort was made to backfill excavations to Spanish floor levels due to water filled holes which would wash away parts of the site (Díaz 1978).

The available field notes mention a suggestion by Veloz-Maggiolo to limit the marking of artifacts to Saturdays (Bueno 1978). There is also a suggestion to not spend time specifying work done in the lab in the field notebooks (Bueno 1978).

Although there is little information about the material found during this period, there does appear to have been enough information from the earlier stages to be able to identify which excavation units belonged, or did not belong, within the Fort building itself.

3.10 Monasterio de San Francisco Fort Excavation

In mid-1979, excavation in the Fort area had to be stopped due to problems with landowners (Vásquez 1991). Fortunately, 23 tareas of land holding the Franciscan Monastery were ceded to the government soon after, and work was transferred to this “campus” (Fig. 3) (Vásquez 1991). At this point the scope of the project was reformulated, aiming for the creation of a medium sized historical park attractive to potential tourists coming for the 1992 Quincentenary celebrations (González 1980). This park would have extended from the Rio Verde ovens in Cutupú to the Santo Cerro (roughly 5 km away) (González 1980). Excavations would be ongoing, with no end date, as they were to have been a tourist attraction (Abreu 2015).

3.10.1 Monasterio de San Francisco Excavation First Stage (A and B): Aug. 9, 1979-May 1980

After totally clearing the land, work was started at the Monasterio de San Francisco on Aug. 9, 1979 (González 1981). Work was briefly disrupted at the end of that same month by Hurricane David (González 1981), but the hurricane does not seem to have caused mayor damages to the area, since work was restarted before the end of September (González 1981).

Two different grids were implemented at the Monasterio de San Francisco during this stage (Bueno 1980) (See Table 3-1):

- Stage 1 A: Aug. 1979-Feb. 1980 - named by letters of the alphabet. This will be referred to in this research as the “Alphabet” Grid.

- Stage 1 B: Feb. 1980-May 1980- named by letters of the Alphabet with an additional number afterwards. This will be referred to in this research as the “Alphabet Integer.”

It is unclear who led the excavations during both of these stages, and there appears to have been little archaeological supervision. Although the records show that the excavation units were 5 x 5m2, there are no maps showing were these units actually were, or the point from where they were measured (Rosado 1979). Apparently, units were surveyed before they were dug (Bueno 1980). The artificial levels dug were 0.50 m deep each (Bueno 1980).

Since this was the first systematic excavation at the Monasterio de San Francisco campus, large amounts of material were found, including most of the skeletal remains currently on display at the Monasterio de San Francisco campus (Bueno 1980). All non-skeletal material was sent to the Museo de las Casas Reales for curation (Coste 1982; Vásquez 1991).

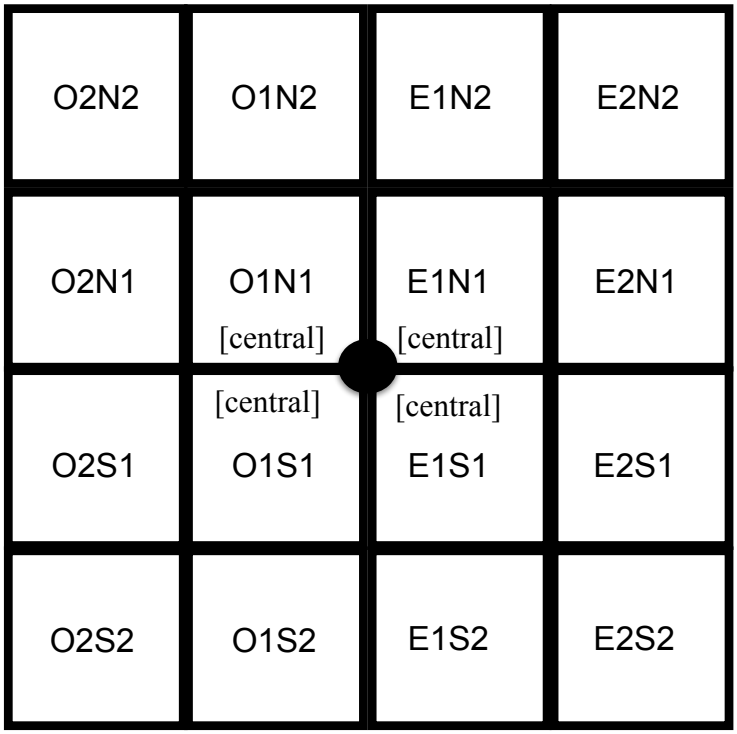
3.10.2 Monasterio de San Francisco Excavation Second Stage: Trench Survey (May-June 1980)

In May 1980, a new grid and excavation methodology were instituted (González 1981). It may have been related to a new visit by Cruxent. The purpose of this new methodology was to determine:

- Indigenous area of the campus (related to skeletal remains in fetal position)
- Spanish masonry construction areas
- Trash areas, including ceramics and faunal remains

The grid system instituted for this survey was one with East-West integers and North-South integers that increased numerically from a central block as you moved Este (East), Oeste (West), Norte (North) or Sur (South). These units were labeled binominally

by either E or W first and N or S second. Each adjacent block would be named according to the direction it lay relative to the Central Point. The label refers to the whole unit (Cohen 1997a). For the purposes of this research, this grid system will be referred to as the “Monasterio de San Francisco E-W/N-S Integers Grid.” A sample block would look like this:



A blueprint of how this grid was laid out over the existing structural remains of the Monasterio de San Francisco is available at the Bienes Culturales Office (González 1983). Once the grid was implemented, a series of 1m x 5m trenches were dug, running along the eastern wall of each 5 x 5m delimited units (González 1981). A total of seven trenches were dug to identify architectural remains and determine “whether there was more than one settlement at the campus” (González 1981).

There appears to be some attempt during this stage to identify whether there were separate Indigenous and Spanish settlement areas (González 1981), but there is no documentation regarding whether this aim was achieved.

3.10.3 Monasterio de San Francisco Excavation Third Stage:(July 1980-Dec. 1981)

It appears that during the beginning of this period, Cruxent developed a series of classification forms and a methodology which were implemented and followed by Gonzalez. Among these was the designation of units as belonging to Construcción [Construction] or Basurero [Trash Pit] (Bueno 1981) (Fig. 5).

There was an attempt in May 1981 by two archaeological technicians (Fabio Pimentel and Juan Rosado), with the support of archaeologist Veloz-Maggiolo to modify the methodology (Bueno 1981), but this was only implemented for a few weeks.

The “Monasterio de San Francisco E-W/N-S Integers Grid” continued to be used at the Monasterio de San Francisco campus during this period. There is documentation that a topographic survey was done in 1981, but there is no evidence that this caused a change in the grid system used (González 1981).

All excavations in this period were done at a 5m x 5m scale, although there is some doubt as to the depth of each discrete excavation unit, since there was some attempt to implement natural stratigraphy again, as suggested by Cruxent, but this appears to have been abandoned later (González 1981).

Here we find a description of the work crews involved for the first time. Each unit was worked on by one technician and two workers (González 1981). There is also a description of the forms that must be filled out:

- Excavation Form, which includes a vertical section of the unit wall at a 1:50 scale, as well as a horizontal scale drawing at a 1:75 scale. It includes the following information: Site, Identification number, Section, Level, Date, Excavator, Soils, Observations, Artifacts, Form number and a place to record related forms.

- Drawings to scale that include measurements of levels on all four walls.

Once again, there was some concern with excavations taking too long. In May 1981, archaeological technicians Pimentel and Rosado, along with Veloz-Maggiolo, suggested that the material not be sifted as a way to expedite work (Bueno 1981). This

was only done for a short time (González 1981), though it is uncertain why this was not implemented.

Although there is documentary evidence that at the beginning of this period the recovered materials were curated on-site (González 1981), it appears that by the end of the period, most of the classification and labeling was being done at the Museo de las Casas Reales (Coste 1982). However, there is evidence that the material returned to the site in the early 1990s may correspond to this period (Coste 2015). It must be noted, though, that the more complete objects were kept at the Museo de las Casas Reales, and make up a large portion of their exhibited ceramics (Coste 2015).

3.11 Architectural Interpretation of the Concepción Landscape – González/Pérez-Montás 1984

In 1984, Architect Eugenio Pérez-Montás, interested in studying the origins of the grid town pattern layout in the Americas, published the first interpretation of Concepción's landscape layout. Although he personally seemed to agree with Palm's interpretation (Palm 1955a, 46-47) that there was a lack of evidence to determine a grid layout, he did present González's interpretation of the existence of an Iberian Grid Plan layout (Pérez-Montás 1984, 82). González proposed a 2-block rectangle layout occupied by the Cathedral and the Plaza de Armas. The Town Hall is to the south of the Cathedral, and to its west is the Fort, located at the highest point. The fort bordered Indigenous cropland and housing (Pérez-Montás 1984, 82).

3.12 Return to the Fort (1983-1995)

3.12.1 Fort Excavation Fourth Stage: March 1983-April 1985

During this time period, work returned to the Fort campus and focused on the Fort building itself. The work was, once again, advised by Cruxent, at the time working in Santo Domingo (Pimentel 1984).

Unfortunately, apparently due to Cruxent's influence, an "E-W/N-S Integers Grid" was also instituted here in this period. This complicated interpretation in this dissertation research because it was difficult to separate which units were excavated at the Fort, and which were excavated at the Monasterio de San Francisco, simply by using their nomenclature. Fortunately, the use of excavation dates solved this problem.

Another unfortunate happening during this period was the continued use of artificial levels, this time being 50 cm deep, as opposed to 25 cm, as had been the norm during the earlier excavations at the fort campus.

Most of the information from this time period comes from the field notebooks, but which give little information about material curation. There was a field office with a small

storage room at the site during this period (Abreu 2015), and it appears that the material was stored there without curation, uncleaned and unmarked.

3.12.2 Fort Excavation Fifth Stage: April 1985-1995

The excavations during this period focused on other building structures outside the fort structure, within the Fort campus (Fig. 6). Work during this period was greatly affected by González's declining health and eventual replacement in 1992 (Vásquez 1992). Work continued haphazardly under the direction of Technician Serafín Vásquez until excavations were officially halted in 1995 (Pimentel 1997).

In 1987, work was started on a new cement annex at the site, with storage and a small, on-site museum (González 1988). During its construction, from April through October 1987, excavations were halted (González 1988). In November and December 1987, an inventory was made of the artifact bags stored at the site. They were classified in the following manner (González 1988):

- Referenced material (437 bags)
- Washed material (45 bags)
- Material from the First Period (1977-1979) (25 bags)
- Unwashed material (211 bags)
- Materials perturbed by mice, without reference card (71 bags)

All of this material was stored in the new storage facility, inaugurated in 1988 (González 1989). Also, the backlog in material classification continued. A note from Sept. 1989 said the Spanish material was classified first, before the Indigenous (Bueno 1989).

In 1991, during Gonzalez's illness, Archaeology Technician Serafin Vasquez substituted for him (Vásquez 1991). The "Fort E-W/N-S Integers Grid" continued to be used. He returned to arbitrary levels 25 cm in depth due to collapsing walls and prioritized the location of Spanish floor levels and masonry walls (Vásquez 1991).

During this stage, González and Pimentel (1990) proposed that the city was bounded by the Fort on the northern-most point, the San Francisco Monastery as the southern-most, the Carretera Moca as the eastern limit, and the mountains and aljibe (cistern) forming the western limit. Another assessment keeps the same northern, western and eastern limits, but extends the southern boundary for some 5 kilometers south to a place called Piralejos, and includes the Santo Cerro (Abreu 1998; Kulstad 2008, 98; Pimentel 1997). There is little physical evidence, however, to support these proposed limits (Deagan 1999; Kulstad 2008, 98).

3.13 University of Florida 1996-1999: Project for the Conservation and Development of the Rural, Physical and Human Resources at the Parques Nacionales of the Dominican Republic: La Isabela and Concepción de la Vega)

Until 1996, archaeology at Concepción had been focused on the visible monumental structure and had made no attempt to delineate site boundaries. At the same time, more than 200,000 recovered artifacts lay in storage without classification. The University of Florida and the Dominican government considered that these two areas of missing information needed to be tackled before any additional in-depth excavations could be done, and these two concerns became the two goals of a joint venture, undertaken between 1996 and 1999 (Cohen 1997; Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 278; Kulstad 2008; Woods 1998).

The project's specific objectives were:

- Definition of site boundaries through a sub-surface survey
- Recovery and classification of artifacts found from 1976-1994

Priority was given to demarcating the site's limits through a new survey which did not rely on previous research, and the creation of a quantitative database of the previously excavated material (Deagan 1999; Woods 1998).

From 1996 to 1998, the University of Florida archaeology team, working with a team of 25 local residents, surveyed and mapped the Concepción area, with the purpose of delineating the boundaries and internal organization of the city of Concepción (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 278; Kulstad 2008, 98). Although some attempt was made to continue the use of the previous gridding system, the difficulties in replicating previous work (Woods 1998) prompted the introduction of a systematic subsurface survey program similar to the ones carried out at two other 16th century settlements on Hispaniola - La Isabela (on the north coast of the Dominican Republic) and Puerto Real (on the north coast of Haiti) (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 283). In this research, this Grid will be known as the "UF Survey Grid."

The Survey Grid implemented by the University of Florida team was a modified Chicago grid system of Cartesian coordinates which provided horizontal control for the survey, and facilitated input of newly excavated materials data into computerized mapping programs (Deagan 1999, 16, 24; Kulstad 2008, 101). This grid shares the same Meridian and Baseline point of all the grids implemented in the Fort. The local site datum (key stake) is inside the fort on the East-West baseline and was designated 4000N 4000E. Permanent datum points were also put in place to facilitate future reconstruction of the grid (Deagan 1999, 16; Kulstad 2008, 99).

Test pits (sondeos) were excavated at every accessible 10m grid intersect (Cohen 1997b; Kulstad 2008, 100; Woods 1999). By 1997, the team had identified a preponderance of material clustered around the fort, as opposed to the Monasterio de

San Francisco, and focused their efforts in that area (Woods 1997). A total of 1,625 test pits were excavated between 1996 and 1998 (Deagan 1999, 19; Woods 1999). Beginning at the fort, they were excavated in all directions until at least three units in a line were found to be culturally sterile. A large area at the site's center remains un-surveyed, due to the fact that property owners would not give permission for excavations. Much of the central residential portion of the city, including the Cathedral, is believed to have been located there (Deagan 1999, 19). Other untested areas included the area beneath the Carretera Moca, and what is beneath the modern buildings to the east of that highway (Deagan 1999, 19; Kulstad 2008, 100).

Each test pit itself was 25 cm by 25 cm square, and 1 meter deep, or until bedrock or culturally sterile soil was reached (Deagan 1999, 17). The material recovered was screened through ¼ inch wire mesh. Everything, including rocks, modern objects, wood, etc., was retained and bagged together and labeled (date of excavation, North and East coordinates), and given a unique field-specimen number (FS#) (Deagan 1999, 17; Kulstad 2008, 100).

The bags were then taken to the field laboratory, where all recovered items were cleaned. Masonry construction materials such as bricks, roofing tiles, rock and mortar, were weighed in grams and discarded once their weights had been recorded by locally trained field technicians (Deagan 1999, 17; Kulstad 2008, 100). Woods (1998) identified, counted, analyzed and recorded the rest of the cultural material. All artifacts recovered are currently stored at the on-site museum at the Concepción National Park, with copies of the records at the Florida Museum of National History at the University of Florida.

The data on the forms was then entered into computerized database and mapping programs (PARADOX and SURFER) to create a series of artifact distribution maps to be used in more in-depth site assessments (see Cohen 1997b; Deagan 1999, 18; Kulstad 2008, 101; Woods 1999).

The second goal of the University of Florida intervention was the recovery and classification of the artifacts excavated from 1976-1994, and create a computerized database of all the materials found. Additionally, it was necessary to appropriately storage these same materials to facilitate their study (Deagan 1999; Kulstad 2008, 99).

The first step was to attempt to organize of the site's excavation documents (Deagan 1999, 23; Kulstad 2008, 101). Unfortunately, the team had little access to this material, especially due to Gonzalez's illness (Pimentel 1997). Of special interest was an attempt to unify all earlier grids with the new "UF Survey Grid" (Cohen 1997b). However, due to this being a time-consuming process, this process was left to the end of the project, and only partially achieved (Woods 1999).

Meanwhile, all the artifact bags were re-labeled using a Field Specimen number (FS#) and added to a newly created FS# catalog (Deagan 1999, 24). Many bags included their previous excavation data, and this was added to the computerized

database (Deagan 1999, 23). A catalogue of proveniences defined during the Park Service excavations was compiled (Deagan and Kulstad 1998, 3). It assumes that all items with the same FS share the same space and temporality. FS numbers were assigned to similarly labeled material at the site, although it was necessary to consolidate some of the numbers due to having overlapping excavations. Currently there are close to 900 FS numbers, including over 278,000 artifacts (Deagan 1999, 24).

Next, artifacts were washed and classified quantitatively (Deagan and Kulstad 1998, 3). Local high school students were hired and trained to classify the material under the supervision of Hipólito Abreu, Fabio Pimentel, and Pauline Kulstad (Deagan and Kulstad 1998, 7). Masonry construction materials such as bricks, roofing tiles, rock and mortar, were weighed in grams and discarded once their weights had been recorded (Deagan 1999, 17). The rest of the cultural material was classified into general categories similar to the ones used at La Isabela using general material and functional categories (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 281; Kulstad 2008, 101).

Since the focus of the University of Florida/Dominican National Park Service was to identify features at the site level, no effort was made to precisely plot the previously excavated materials at a building and/or campus-wide level. All material, including the conserved objects, were stored at the on-site museum at the Concepción National Park. The special artifacts worthy of exhibit were stored in special secure cabinets built as part of the Project (Kulstad 2008, 102).

The survey suggested that 16th century Concepción extended approximately 400 m north-south and 640 m east-west, for an area of more than 250,000 m2, making it the largest European settlement in the Americas until the 1520s (Deagan 1999, 19). The structural remains of the fort, the cathedral and other structures around the Plaza de Armas suggest a rectilinear organization of the site (Deagan 1999, 20). Distribution maps were created from the material found in the survey, including (Deagan 1999; Woods 1998):

- Masonry building materials
- 16th century ceramics
- Aboriginal wares
- Slag remains

Unfortunately, the project was unable to unify the various grids used at the site. This meant that it was difficult to provenience most of the pre-1995 material.

The second aim of the project, namely the organization of pre-1995, artifacts managed to store and preliminarily classify all materials by type, at the attribute level, according to the Florida Museum of Natural History system (Deagan 1999). This classification system is based on the work undertaken by Goggin (1968) and is explained in Deagan's two volumes (1987 and 2002a).

An effort was made to divide faunal remains from other artifacts since mice seem to be more attracted to them. The non-bone materials were stored in the Wooden Park's office, while the bones were stored in the deposit in the cement structure. However, all of the classification forms were digitized onto a database available at the Florida Museum of Natural History. An interpretation of the findings of this project is found in Deagan and Cruxent 2002a.

3.14 Concepción de La Vega 1495-1564: A Preliminary Look at Lifeways in the Americas' First Boom Town (Kulstad 2008)

In 2008, Kulstad presented a Master's thesis which used an anthropological/ historical approach to attempt to recreate the lifeways of the inhabitants at Concepción. Historical documentation and archaeological data gathered through the University of Florida 1996-1999 Project, particularly the Survey Materials Distribution Maps, were interpreted to attempt to identify activity areas and buildings within the complete Concepción site from 1494-1564, at a site-wide scale. As happened with the University of Florida Project, this thesis prioritized the Concepción city center and the built structures of that area, neglecting the Monasterio de San Francisco.

However, several potential building locations were identified, with special focus on identifying the site hospital. An attempt to plot health related artifacts using the UF Survey nomenclature suggested this building could be found in the southeast corner of the Fort campus (Kulstad 2008, 122).

3.15 Transfer to the Ministry of Culture (2010)

With the creation of the Ministry of Environment in 2000 (Duval 2017), the Concepción site no longer fit the National Park criteria and was transferred to the Ministry of Culture. It was incorporated in 2010, after seven years of unofficial affiliation (Abreu 2016). During a visit to the site by Patrimonio Monumental authorities it was determined that it was necessary to tear down the Park office's wooden structure due to termite damage. All of the stored archaeological material bags were taken to an unfinished second floor of the Cement annex with no windows or doors, with their empty storage boxes stored in the downstairs bone deposit. Also, the Especiales materials were taken out of the wooden storage drawers and placed in the upstairs room without special care.

3.16 NEXUS1492: Kulstad Dissertation Research (2013-2016)

The research undertaken is related to the first NEXUS 1492 Project objective, which is to provide a new perspective on the very first encounters between the New World and the Old World. The dissertation research has followed a trans-disciplinary research design, using various avenues of inquiry, to target the intercultural nexus of

colonial encounters and Amerindian-African-European dynamics. This research was undertaken with the help and collaboration of Ministry of Culture of the Dominican Republic/Patrimonio Monumental Office, the Museo del Hombre Dominicano, Fomento Turistico de la Ciudad Colonial de Santo Domingo Project of the Ministry of Tourism of the Dominican Republic, the Academy of Sciences of the Dominican Republic, and the Florida Museum of Natural History of the University of Florida. All of these institutions formed a synergy web which supported this research, particularly since the data used for this research is partially archived at each of these centers.

As part of this research, Kulstad, along with Pierre Denis, Frank Coste, Santiago Duval, Pablo Coste, Hipolito Abreu, Francisco Polanco, Junior, and Domingo Abreu, attempted to recreate and update the storage system implemented by the University of Florida. More specifically, cardboard boxes were substituted with museum-grade plastic boxes, and broken plastic bags were substituted. Both bags and boxes were generously provided by the NEXUS1492 project.

The upgrade allowed for the minimization of storage space, allowing for the storage of most materials in the cement building. The organization of material by FS order allowed for its its subsequent use by other NEXUS1492 researchers (Ernst 2017).

Although information and artifacts from the 1976-1995 excavations were tracked down by Kulstad in the Dominican Republic, other information and artifacts were not so readily available. In two subsequent trips to the University of Florida (2013, 2017), the archaeological documents related to the University of Florida investigation from 1996-1999 were found at the Florida Museum of Natural History. The Florida Museum of Natural History also houses the material excavated by Goggin at both Concepción and other similar Circum-Caribbean collections, which were used for comparison purposes (see Chapters 6 and 7). Information about the Goggin archaeological excavations were found at the Smathers Library Special Collections (University of Florida).

3.17 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to chronicle the archaeological interventions undertaken in at the Concepción site, in chronological order. Where possible, the purposes, biases and limitations of each of these efforts have been presented. It is possible to discern that excavation in the 19th century was more focused on artifact recovery, but the more architectural focus of the 20th century excavations allowed for more attention to landscape.

This focus at the building scale has been a more useful for the present research than the traditional artifact-oriented approach, since it created documentation which allowed for easier identification of artifact provenience. These included the identification of nine grid systems, and the recreation of the Ortega and Fort E-W/N-S Integers Grid (at the Fort), and the Monasterio de San Francisco E-W/N-S Integers Grid.

Although the recovered excavation information (particularly from 1976-1995) is incomplete, it has been possible to ascertain enough excavation methodology to know that sifting was used fairly consistently (although the mesh gauge size is unknown), most of the site was excavated following artificial stratigraphy, and did not go to bedrock, but rather to the Spanish building masonry floors. This means that the cultural material assemblage temporally comes from the approximately 70 years of European occupation (1495-1564), with few instances of pre-contact intrusions, mostly related to skeletal remains (this will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7).

Due to the architectural bias, all excavation units where building foundations were found were completely excavated. This resulted in a large, detailed, collection of cultural materials, most probably deposited during the 1562 earthquake. The assemblage includes more than 280,000 artifacts, and 1,158 kg of weighed material (shell, bone, tile, and construction material) (Deagan and Kulstad 1998, 7). However, in terms of landscape, this resulted in little focus on non-building areas and difficulty in identifying more activity areas within the site.

The archaeological information presented in this chapter will be combined with information from other avenues of inquiry (such as historical documents and oral history) to interpret intercultural interactions at Concepción. The next chapter will focus on pertinent historical events which occurred, both in the Americas and in Europe, that influenced these interactions.

4 HISTORY OF HISTORY: PARTIAL CHRONOLOGY OF MILITARY, POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC EVENTS AFFECTING INTERACTIONS AT CONCEPCIÓN (1494-1564)

4.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, Historical Archaeology gathers data from various avenues of inquiry to create a more complete picture of past lifeways (Collingwood 1946; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 4; Hodder 1986; Jamieson 2004, 432; Little 1996, 45; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Scott 1994, 3; Silliman 2010, 42; Singleton 1998; Wiley 1989, 1993). Chapter 3 presented a chronology of the archaeological interventions which have been undertaken at the Concepción site, and this Chapter will present a chronology of military, political and diplomatic events which affected intercultural interactions at Concepción during our period of study (1494-1564) (For a succinct list of governing authorities, See Table 4-1).

Traditionally, historical chronologies are closely linked to Grand Narratives, which often are subjective, rather than objective, recording of events, as discussed in Chapter 1 (Voss 2015, 353). Additionally, Historical Grand Narratives present data in a very descriptive and event-specific way, which are often hard to link to more anthropological concerns, such as household level activity and materiality (Deagan and Scardaville 1985, 34-35).

In spite of this limitation, it is important to examine the events which occurred at Concepción and other cities of Hispaniola during this crucial period. It must be remembered that from 1492 to 1509 - 17 years - Spanish colonization was focused solely on Hispaniola (Deagan 1996, 136), and Santo Domingo and Concepción were the largest settlements on the island at that time. Due to Concepción's political and economic importance in the Spanish colonization process, its lifeways and cultural practices were not only shaped by events which occurred within the city, but also by events which occurred elsewhere in the Spanish empire. Of particular importance are the government and religious policies used to mold the 16th century colonial experience.

The events will be subdivided and linked to the different settlement types imposed by the Spanish Crown during the period of study on the landscape of Hispaniola. The settlement process of Concepción itself was achieved in a series of steps, going from peopling a settlement to the foundation of a city (see Utrera in Guerrero 2016, 12). The settlement types were, in chronological order:

- Pre-contact Indigenous Settlements
- Palisades
- Casas Fuertes/Medieval
- Grid Town Plan
- Pueblo Tutelado

4.2 Examination of Historical Documentary Sources

For the purposes of this dissertation, historical documentary sources have been divided into primary and secondary. Primary sources have been defined as those contemporary documents which were written about Concepción by authors who did not base their work on other accounts. Secondary historical sources are considered to be those interpretive or narrative studies based on the works of earlier chroniclers. It is important to note that these are all European documents, since no documents have been found written by the Amerindians or the Africans who lived at Concepción during this period of occupation (See previous discussion of this in Kulstad 2008, 15).

Spanish primary documents were divided into two main categories: official chronicles and official correspondence. Information from the official chroniclers was commissioned by the colonial government and/or the Spanish Crown. Official correspondence covers both colonial government and religious sources (see Kulstad 2008, 15).

Primary source chronicles of the period during which Hispaniola was the only colonized island are limited to those written by Fray Ramón Pané (1974, 1990, 1999), Christopher Columbus (1947; 1982), Ferdinand Columbus (1959), Bartolomé de las Casas (1945, 1951, 1958, 1967, 1985, 1994), and Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes (1959). Various authors have extracted data from these sources related solely to Santo Domingo and/or the Dominican Republic, such as Marte (1981), Rueda (1988), Patronato (1995), Rodríguez-Demorizi (1971) and Rodríguez-Morel (1999, 2000, 2011). These compilations do not include any interpretation of this data.

Although Christopher Columbus founded the fortress of Concepción in 1495, his writings do not offer much information about his time at Concepción. It is believed that his writings were edited by his son and by Las Casas (Keen 1959; Varela 1982), and it is possible that pertinent information about Concepción may have not been included (previously discussed in Kulstad 2008, 15).

Fray Ramón Pané, a Jeronymite priest, came to Hispaniola on Christopher Columbus's second voyage and was chosen by Columbus and the Crown to record the religious tradition of the Indigenous peoples (Arrom 1988; Kulstad 2008, 24). His writings are discussed in more detail below.

Although Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo lived in the Americas since 1515 (Guerrero 2016, 13), he did not become Mayor of the Fort at Santo Domingo and Official Chronicler of the Indies until 1533 (Rueda 1988, 14). His Historia general y natural de la Indias (1959) covers events in the New World from 1492 to 1548. It is an important primary source about the island as a whole, recording economic activities and natural resources of the island (Keegan and Carlson 2008; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 244). Although not officially published until 1548 (Guerrero 2016, 13; Palm 1955a, 73), Las Casas and others must have seen some of the earlier drafts.

Las Casas was dismayed by the fact that Oviedo only recorded natural history, and did not record the political and human events that were happening (Keegan 2007; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 244), particularly events relating to the mistreatment of the Indigenous people of the New World (Pérez-Fernández 2010). He decided to write his own history because the King needed to know about the terrible actions of the laity in the New World (Pérez-Fernández 2010, 363). His first volume, written in 1525-1527, covered the period from 1492 to 1520 (Pérez-Fernández 2010, 363).

Las Casas planned to publish a second volume of his history, covering from 1520 to 1550 (Pérez-Fernández 2010, 331). For this purpose, he collected documents from the Columbus family, Fray Ramon Pané, the Royal Court and others (Pérez-Fernández 2010). However, he died in 1566 before being able to finish writing, and all of the documents were sent to the Colegio San Gregorio in Valladolid (Pérez-Fernández 2010, 331).

Unfortunately, soon after his death, his writings were used by Spain's enemies as justification for actions against them, both in Europe and the Caribbean (Pérez-Fernández 2010, 363). His writings were used against Spain as early as the Dutch independence movement (Pérez-Fernández 2010, 341).

Fray Bartolomé de las Casas lived at Concepción around the year 1523 (Las Casas, Historia II, 1927, 152-54; Rueda 1988), and it is possible that his experience influenced his writings, particularly Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias (1945, 1992, 1994), Historia de las Indias (1951, 1985), and the Apologética historia Sumaria (1958, 1967). However, most of Las Casas's writings focused on exposing the mistreatment of the Indigenous people by the Spaniards. For this reason, there is little information about everyday life at Concepción in his work. Concepción is mentioned specifically in the Apologética Historia Sumaria, but this source only covers from 1492 to 1520, and was not written until 1527 (Rueda 1988, 30) (See previous discussion of this in Kulstad 2008, 25).

Official correspondence came from various government and religious officials and dealt with various subjects (see Kulstad 2008, 16). Rodriguez-Morel (1999, 2000, 2011) has compiled religious correspondence dealing with Santo Domingo and Concepción, while Marte (1981), Incháustegui (1955), Utrera (1946, 1973), compiled government correspondence dealing with Hispaniola as a whole.

There were secondary sources produced both in the colonial and modern period. Although Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (1989) was the first to publish information related to the New World, he never lived in Concepción, or even the Americas. His work is nevertheless very important, since he had first-hand access to Columbus's writings, to Columbus himself, and the accounts of others who had also returned from the New World (see Kulstad 2008, 23). Others continued in later periods in the same vein, including Antonio de Herrera (1601) and Luis Joseph Peguero (1975).

In 1571 King Philip II commissions Herrera y Tordesillas to write a more complete Spanish history, presumably more objective than the one written by Las Casas (Pérez-Fernández 2010, 341). Philip II gave Herrera all the documents collected by Las Casas and the Archivo de Indias to use as sources (Pérez-Fernández 2010, 341). In spite of this, Herrera's book, published in 1601, only seems to use Las Casas's first volume (up to 1520), and mentions little of Hispaniola after 1520. Like Martire d'Anghiera and Oviedo, Antonio de Herrera did not visit Concepción, receiving his information from persons who had lived there. His chronicles cover the period from 1492 to 1554 (see Kulstad 2008, 26). In 1762, Luis Joseph Peguero extracted information from Herrera's document related to Hispaniola.

French Jesuit priest Pedro Francisco Charlevoix (1730) was directed to write a history of the French possessions in the New World, and decided to chronicle the entire history of Hispaniola, both Spanish and French. He based much of his historical data on the Spanish chroniclers, but also traveled throughout the island (1717-1722) and described the condition of each place (Charlevoix 1730, X). Of particular importance is his description of the architectural remains still present at the Concepción site during his travels (Charlevoix 1730) (see previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 27).

In Spain, meanwhile, a new compilation of documents about the the Spanish arrival in the Americas was attempted in time for the 400th Anniversary of Columbus' First Voyage. Between 1825 and 1837, Spanish scholar Martín Fernández de Navarrete undertook a review and census of the materials regarding the Spanish colonial attempts in the Americas during late 15th and early 16th centuries. Unfortunately, he used a system to compile material which was neither chronological, nor accurately indexed. For example, indexation of documents by important personalities mentioned takes precedent over the related geographical locations.

American writer and diplomat, Washington Irving, was notified of Fernández de Navarrete's work in 1826, and he went to Spain to look over the documents. Although Irving stated his purpose for republishing the documents as making the research more accessible to the public (see introduction to A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus), he used a "romantic history" style, which mixes research data with the writer's interpretation. Irving's writings (1828a; 1828b; 1828c; 1829) are considered secondary sources.

Several modern (20th century) Dominican historical texts, based on interpretations of historical data, are also secondary sources. Some of these include Cassá (1978), García (1906), Guitar (1998), and Moya-Pons (1974, 1978, 1983, 1998, 2008) to name a few. A group of La Vega historians must be highlighted amongst them, principally Mario Concepción (1981), his niece Patria Quisqueya Ana Concepción (2000), and Francisco Torres-Petitón (2009) (See previous discussion of this in Kulstad 2008, 27).

Starting in the 1980s, the Archivo de Indias in Seville has been working on the digitation of material related to the Spanish colonial effort. The project has been ongoing and, at this time, has stated that it has been able to digitize most of the 16th century material (Kulstad 2018; Stevens-Acevedo 2018). However, attempts to use these collections both for this dissertation and for research about commerce at Concepción for the CUNY Dominican Studies Institute (Kulstad 2018), has shown the digitation to have been non-systematic and biased to previously researched topics (Stevens-Acevedo 2018).

The Dominican Academy of History believes that these files are not complete and have permanently hired Genaro Rodríguez-Morel to conduct historical research in the Archivo de Indias (Coste 2015). Unfortunately, Rodriguez-Morel is only assigned to research about the city of Santo Domingo, as opposed to the Santo Domingo province, and has collected little information about Concepción (Olsen 2011).

Of note is the CUNY Dominican Studies Institute's collection of documents dealing with Africans and/or the sugar industry, which have been transcribed and translated are included in an online exhibit "First Blacks" (CUNY DSI 2015). Although dealing with a different region and time period from the ones delimited in this dissertation, this collection contains important documents about Africans living on the island.

4.3 Before: The Pre-Contact Magua Cacicazgo Indigenous Settlement

As the base of operations for European actions in the American continent during most of the 16th Century, there is a good amount of historical documentation related to the island named La Española [Hispaniola] by Christopher Columbus, starting in 1492. Attempts were made by the Crown to record some of the history and lifeways of the Indigenous people living on the island, including the way settlements were laid out. Unfortunately, due to the fact that Indigenous people of the Caribbean did not have a writing system, only the information about the areas of interest of the Europeans were recorded (see discussion in Diamond 2005, Chapter 12, 215).

According to the Hell on Hispaniola Grand Narrative, the island was divided into five major cacicazgos: Maguá, Marién, Higuey, Maguana and Xaragua (Cassá 1974; Las Casas 1994; Moya 1976; Moya-Pons 1983; Rouse 1992; Tavares 1976, 33; Wilson 1990b). Vega (1980, 8) suggests this is based on Charlevoix's (1730) divisions, who, in turn does not cite his source, but appears to use Oviedo's divisions (Oviedo I, 1959, 62). However, the locations and boundaries of these divisions have been questioned (Vega 1980), and are still not fully understood today, and may have been more social than geographical (For further discussion see Cassá 1974; Herrera-Malatesta 2018; Rouse 1992; Vega 1980; Wilson 1990b).

Concepción de la Vega was founded in the Cibao Valley, in the Maguá cacicazgo (Las Casas I, 1967, 15-51), which was ruled by the Indigenous cacique (or chief)

Guarionex (Sauer 1993, 83; Kulstad 2008, 112; Las Casas I, 1967, 97; Wilson 1990b, 90). The main settlement of his cacicazgo was Guaricano (Wilson 1990b, 15), at a location currently unknown.

Las Casas described Indigenous settlements as varying from small to very large (Las Casas 1985, vol. 1, 156–58). He described the settlements as not having any distinct streets, with the ruler's house found in main place or position. Ruler's homes were known as caneys (Rouse 1992,16–17; Wilson 1990b, 31–32), while the rest of the people lived in bohíos (Prieto 2010, 271). Although most archaeological data seems to present that bohíos were made of perishable materials, and laid out in a circular pattern (see also Hofman and Hoogland 2015; Hofman et al. 2014, 2018; Samson 2010; Sonneman et al. 2016), it has been suggested that the caneys may have been made of perishable materials in a square layout (Prieto 2010, 271).

Las Casas describes a well-swept and leveled rectangular open space in front of the ruler's dwelling (Las Casas 1985, vol. 1,156–58). This space, according to Las Casas, was known as the batey, and was used for a special ball game. Large settlements had several bateys within them (Las Casas 1985, vol. 1,156–58). Later researchers (Curet and Torres 2010, 262; Oliver 1998) have identified three types of ceremonial spaces in the Caribbean: rectangular, quasi-cuadrangular, and circular. It appears that only the rectangular were used as bateys, but the other spaces also had social and ceremonial uses, and are alternatively known as plazas (Curet and Torres 2010, 262). No ceremonial bateys or plazas have been found, so far, in the Concepción area.

4.4 Castile and Aragon in 1493

As has been amply documented elsewhere, Columbus did not anticipate arriving in a "New World" in 1492. His mission was to find a new trade route to the Indies so that the Spanish could create trade colonies there, similar to those already held by the Portuguese known as "feitorías" [factorías] (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 12; Diffie and Winius 1977, 41-50; Kulstad 2008, 35; MacAlister 1984, 46-51).

Isabella, Queen of Castile, offered to sponsor Columbus in his quest under a set of generous terms contained in the *Capitulaciones de Santa Fe*. Signed in April 1492, the Capitulaciones gave Columbus and his heirs the right to govern the lands he discovered in perpetuity, as well as economic benefits similar to those given to the leaders which fought with the Crown during the Reconquista and the colonization of the Canary Islands (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 12; Kulstad 2008, 36; Stevens-Arroyo 1993). It has been suggested by some that the ample rights given Columbus in the Capitulaciones reflect a lack of confidence in his success (García-Gallo 1987, 29; Pérez-Collados 1992, 95). Nevertheless, Columbus was successful, and returned to Spain in early 1493 with the idea of expanding the colony he had left on the northern coast of the island of Hispaniola (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 47; Chanca 1907). The

way in which this colony would be organized and governed became a point of contention between Columbus, Queen Isabella, and King Ferdinand.

The political situation in Castile, at the time of Christopher Columbus's return from his first voyage, was greatly affected by events which later influenced the way in which the New World colony would be governed. These events included the end of the Spanish Reconquista in 1492, and the power conflicts between the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon (see previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 35).

Spain had just completed the Reconquista in 1492. The Reconquista had been an 800 year war which had the unification of the country under Christian rule as its principal purpose. This process was mainly achieved through the conquest of lands in the hands of Moslem Moors living on the Iberian Peninsula (Fernández-Álvarez 2000, 49; Kulstad 2008, 36; Moya-Pons 1983, 11; Pérez-Collados 1992, 116; Pérez de Tudela 1955a). Success came partly due to the unification of the two main kingdoms, Castile and Aragon, through the marriage of its rulers, Isabella and Ferdinand (Fernández-Álvarez 2000, 49; Kulstad 2008, 36).

Although both Castile and Aragon had worked together in the Reconquista effort, each kingdom functioned as a separate entity, and would do so until the death of both Isabella and Ferdinand, and their joint heir ascended to the throne - Philip II in 1556 (Fernández-Álvarez 2000, 176; Kulstad 2008, 77). Of the two, Castile, governed by Isabella, had the most power, including the right to explore parts of the Atlantic, a Papal right shared with the kingdom of Portugal (Pérez-Collados 1992, 66; Pérez-Embrid 1951). The Papal mandate meant that when Columbus returned, only Castile could ask the Pope for the rights to these new territories (Ballesteros-Beretta 1945, 440; Charlevoix 1730, 64; Giménez-Fernández 1955, 316-317; Pérez-Collados 1992, 67). In 1493 the Pope granted Castile exclusive rights to the territories found by Columbus through the Bulas de Donación (García-Gallo 1982, 638; Pérez-Collados 1992, 36). These Bulas not only excluded other European countries from ownership of the new territories, but also excluded other Spanish kingdoms as well, including Aragon (Charlevoix 1730, 64). Major decisions regarding the Columbus enterprise during this period were undertaken by Queen Isabella as ruler of Castile. This continued until her death in 1504 (Fernández-Álvarez 2000, 262) (See discussion of this in Kulstad 2008, 62).

4.5 Medieval Casa Fuerte - La Isabela Feitoría (1493-1494)

Columbus planned to organize a gold-acquiring *feitoría* at Fort La Navidad, where he had left a group of Spaniards during his first trip (Chanca 1907; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 47;Kulstad 2008, 32). When he arrived to see La Navidad destroyed, he moved further east, and settled there(Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 47; Chanca 1907). The settlement was named La Isabela, leaving little doubt as to the Queen's leadership role in the enterprise (see previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 35).

Feitorías were a type of settlement set up in isolated locations to facilitate trade between two distant locations (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 8; DeCorse 2010, 210; Kulstad 2008, 35), and often close to existing African settlements (DeCorse 2010, 212-213). These settlements often exploited raw materials not readily available in Europe, such as gold or spices (Haring 1947, 31; Incháustegui 1955, 53; Pérez-Collados 1992, 117; Pérez de Tudela 1954, 317-318). These settlements were backed by private capital, and led by an individual who hired artisans, craftsmen, and laborers to undertake the labor (Arranz-Márquez 1991, 27; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 8; Kulstad 2008, 35). These types of trading posts had been used in the Mediterranean by several different countries since the mid-14th century (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 8; DeCorse 2010, 210)

Pérez de Tudela (1954) established that Columbus was quite familiar with the Portuguese feitoría model used in West Africa. It is believed he visited Saõ Jorge del Mina in coastal Ghana shortly after it was founded in 1482 (DeCorse 2010, 216). According to this model, the community leader would receive a license from the Portuguese Crown to start his colony and funds to pay the workers' wages. In exchange, the Crown would receive one-fifth of the profits generated, however, the Portuguese Crown did not assume political control over the territory in which the feitoría was established (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 8; Kulstad 2008, 35). (For more detailed information on feitorías see Diffie and Winius 1977, 41-50; MacAlister 1984, 46-51).

The La Isabela feitoría was set up according to the terms presented in the Capitulaciones de Santa Fe (Parry and Keith 1984,18–20). Columbus became the Governor of the settlement, fairly independent of Crown authority (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 12; Kulstad 2008, 35). He also took 1/10 of the merchandise acquired, i.e. the gold produced (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 12). Feitorías were considered purely economic (DeCorse 2010, 209; Kulstad 2008, 35; Moya-Pons 1983, 13), so religion and its representatives did not play a big role in these types of settlements.

4.6 Columbus Palisade Settlements (1494-1495)

Gold was necessary for the success of the La Isabela feitoría, so forays were planned to the Cibao, where this mineral was to be found(Chanca 1907; Sauer 1993, 127; Wilson 1990b, 76). There were two forays into the island inland in January 1494. One led by Alonso de Ojeda, gathered relatively large amounts of gold (Chanca 1907; Wilson 1990b, 76). In March of the same year, Columbus recreated Ojeda's trip with close to 500 people, seeing several villages on the plains along the way where they traded various items (Las Casas 1951, 368; Wilson 1990b, 78). The path cleared became known as the Paso de los Hidalgos (Coste 2015; Hofman et al. 2018; Las Casas 1951, 368;Wilson 1009b, 78).

According to Las Casas, Columbus set up various fortresses along the way, La Magdalena, Santo Tomas de Janico, Santiago, Santa Catherina, Esperanza,

Concepción and Bonao (Las Casas 1875 TII, 30-35; Ulloa-Hung and Sonneman 2017, 12). As with similar forts in West Africa (DeCorse 2010, 212-213), these were more outposts with few people, close to existing Indigenous villages. Concepción seems to have been established on December 8th, 1494 (Concepción 1981; Kulstad 2008, 38; Torres-Petitón 1988, 2009). It was located close to the Indigenous village of Guarícano (Deagan 1999, 8; Kulstad 2008, 38; Las Casas 1985, 400).

As trade did not yield enough gold, Columbus decided to modify his settlement model and incorporate an Indigenous tribute system (AGI, Indiferente General 418, LI, ff121v-122; Charlevoix 1730, 110; Cassá 1978, 33; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 62; Wilson 1990b, 89). According to the tribute system, each Indigenous community had to pay one hawk's bell full of gold for each member of their community over 14 years of age, every three months (Cassá 1978, 33; Charlevoix 1730, 110; Las Casas 1951, I, 417; Wilson 1990a). In those areas where gold was difficult to find, the tribute was negotiated as 25 lbs of cotton Charlevoix 1730, 110; Las Casas 1985, vol. 1,445–46; Wilson 1990b, 93), labor, food (Sauer 1993, 86; Las Casas 1951, I, 417; Wilson 1990b, 93) or personal services rendered to the Spanish every three months (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 62; Columbus 1959,149–50). *Indios* had to wear a brass or copper token around their neck as proof of payment. Those who did not wear it were punished (Columbus 1959, 149-50; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 62) (see previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 40).

Guarionex, unlike other caciques, was willing to negotiate with the Spanish and fulfill their tribute requirements (Anghiera 1970, 21-122, 142-149; Wilson 1990b, 90). The Spanish were also willing to be more lenient with him due to the fact that his region paid the most tribute (Las Casas 1951, 458; Wilson 1990b, 105). As a consequence, a Spanish settlement grew around the Concepción fortress.

The collection of tribute was haphazard, creating tensions between the European/Spanish and the *Indios*, leading the European/Spanish to impose the tribute through force (Incháustegui 1955, 51; Kulstad 2008, 40; Las Casas 1951, I, 417). Tensions between the two groups grew, leading to armed conflict (Incháustegui 1955, 51; Las Casas 1951, I, 417).

4.6.1 Battle of the Santo Cerro (1495)

As discussed in Chapter 1, the Battle of the Santo Cerro is a foundational element of the "Hell on Hispaniola" Grand Narrative. What actually occurred during the battle, its actual location, and even its appropriate name, has been debated by historians and chroniclers since colonial times (González 2013; Guitar 2013; Kulstad 2008, 40). The pertinent details are reviewed in the next sections.

4.6.2 Battle(s) of the Vega Real

The Dominican Academy of History has stated that the “Battle of the Santo Cerro” could not have occurred as tradition records it (see Chapter 1) (González 2013). The Academy has debated the incongruity of accounts, and has proposed that two separate events actually occurred: the Battle of La Vega Real and the Battle of the Santo Cerro. This is based on incongruities in accounts (Columbus 1824, 128) which state that the Battle of La Vega Real occurred two days travel from La Isabela, making a battle at the Santo Cerro geographically impossible, since the Santo Cerro is farther away (González 2013; Incháustegui 1955, 83; Kulstad 2008, 40).

Wilson (1990b, 74), after reanalyzing historical documents at the Archivo de Indias, proposed that more than one battle occurred. He suggested that the legendary battle is actually based on three skirmishes within the Vega Real. More specifically, he pinpoints one in March 1495, the second in the spring of 1497, and the third in the summer of 1498 (Battle of El Cabrón).

4.6.2.1 First battle of the Vega Real (1495)

According to Wilson’s (1990b) research, the first battle of the Vega Real occurred in late March 1595 against “100,000 men” on Cacique Caonabo's side, while Cacique Guacanagarix fought on Christopher Columbus's side (Columbus 1824, 128; Wilson 1990b, 89). Since Wilson found no mention of Guarionex related to this battle (Anghiera 1970, 21-122, 142-149; Columbus 1824, 128; Wilson 1990b, 90), it is possible that this battle did occur closer to La Isabela, in the western part of the Vega valley, but so far there is no definite proof of this.

As a consequence of this battle, the Spanish began to consider Guarionex as the most powerful leader left in the valley (Wilson 1990b, 91), and many important events began to occur in and around Guaricano and Concepción.

4.7 Relocation of the Concepción Settlement (1495)

In 1495 the Fort and settlement of Concepción were moved half a league away from Guaricano after attempts by the Indigenous people to burn them (Las Casas 1985, 430; Deagan 1999, 9). It is uncertain whether the burning occurred during the First Battle of the Vega Real, or at a later time. The new fort and settlement moved away from the Rio Verde and Guaricano (Las Casas 1985, 400; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 60) to be close to the Santo Cerro, at the location known today as Vega Vieja.

As time progressed, King Ferdinand became concerned that a feitoría settlement gave Columbus too much power (Pérez-Collados 1992, 116, 160). For years, as part of the Reconquista process, Ferdinand and Isabella had been centralizing power around their united Crown, taking it away from the old landed nobles in both of their kingdoms

(Fernández-Álvarez 2000, 49; Guitar 1998, 133). If the La Isabela colony were successful, Columbus's success would threaten this effort. For this reason, Ferdinand proposed that the La Isabela settlement be changed from a feitoria to a settlement based on the Castilla-León Reconquista model used during their campaigns in both Spain and the Canary Islands (Aznar-Vallejo 1983; Pérez-Collados 1992, 116; Pérez de Tudela 1954, 317-318; Stevens-Arroyo 1993) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 35).

This model, however, unlike the feitoría, required an involved local work force. The Reconquista model would require that the Indigenous peoples work as opposed to just paying tribute (Cassá 1978, 44; Wilson 1990a). This made the *Indios* the most important element of colonial production ((Moya-Pons 2008, 35). If this were to be implemented, knowledge of Indigenous lifeways would be essential to this endeavor.

4.7.1 Fray Ramón Pané Studies Indigenous Lifeways at Concepción (1496-1498??)

While colonial authorities were re-organizing the economic model of the colony, the Church started to ponder the position of the Indigenous people in the religious world. An all-important question arose as to whether they had souls - where they human? Alternately, depending on their level of knowledge of Christianity, they could or could not be enslaved in the same way Africans had been enslaved (Deive 1995).

For both of these reasons, Christopher Columbus commissioned Fray Ramon Pané to study the religious beliefs of the Indigenous peoples on the island (Arrom 1988; Deagan 1999, 8; Kulstad 2008, 41; Las Casas 1958, 417; Pané 1974, 1990, 1999). Pané attempted to record the Indigenous religious tradition in the area from 1496 to 1498 (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 39; Kulstad 2008, 41; Las Casas 1958, 417; Pané 1974, 1990, 1999). There is some dispute as to whose customs did Pané actually record, since he does not state it specifically (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 115; Pané 1974, 1990, 1999). However, he does record specific events which occurred in Guarionex's settlement (Arrom 1988; Pané 1974, 1990, 1999; Wilson 1990b, 87), where he is believed to have lived close to two years (Arrom 1988; Wilson 1990b, 12).

4.7.2 Roldán Rebellion (1496-1498)

While Pané was undertaking his work at Concepción, the Roldán Rebellion was occurring at La Isabela. In 1496, while Christopher Columbus was in Spain (Las Casas 1985, vol. 1, 448-57; Pérez-Collados 1992, 144), and his brothers were in command of the colony, the Spanish colonists at La Isabela began to resent the fact that they were only paid workers with no stake in the enterprise (Sauer 1993, 112). It did not help that they were starving and were unable to find much gold (Anghiera 1989, 53-54; Cassá 1978, 33; Charlevoix 1730, 127; Las Casas 1951, 448; Pérez-Collados 1992, 153). The

protest was led by Columbus's servant, Francisco Roldán (Charlevoix 1730, 127; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 68; García 1906, 42; Guerrero 2016, 16; Las Casas 1985, vol. 1, 448-57). Up to one third of the Spanish on the island supported Roldán, especially those of the artisan, or non-elite, class Cassá 1978, 35; Charlevoix 1730, 127; Las Casas 1985, vol. 1, 448 – 57) (See previous discussion of this in Kulstad 2008, 42).

In order to successfully defeat the Columbus brothers, the fort system had to be disabled (Las Casas 1985, vol. 1, 448-57; Wilson 1990a). To do this, Roldán had to take over Concepción fort, located in the middle of the fortification line (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 69; García 1906, 43; Kulstad 2008, 41; Las Casas 1985, vol. 1, 448 – 57). Roldán managed to convince many of the caciques of the Vega Valley to support him (Charlevoix 1730, 128; Las Casas 1985, vol. 1, 448 – 57). He left 70 men stationed close to the settlement of a lesser cacique, Diego Marque, close to the Concepción settlement (Guerrero 2016, 16; Las Casas 1985, vol. 1, 448 – 57).

His attack, however, was repelled by Miguel de Ballester, commander of the Concepción fort (Charlevoix 1730, 128; Las Casas 1985, vol. 1, 448 – 57; Kulstad 2008, 41; Las Casas in Rueda 1988, 430; Varela 1982, 234-235). The next day, additional Spanish troops arrived at Concepción fort, led by Bartolomé Columbus, and they disbanded Roldán's troops (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 69; Las Casas 1985, vol. 1, 448 – 57; Las Casas in Rueda 1988, 430). Unable to conquer Concepción, Roldán's followers roamed the island, taking the Indigenous peoples' food and women, and looking for gold. They eventually set up a separate European settlement in Jaragua, on the western part of the island (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 69; Las Casas 1985, vol. 1, 448-57; Guerrero 2016, 16). Roldán's rebellion lasted two years, from 1496 to 1498 (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 69; Las Casas 1985, vol. 1, 448 – 57; Moya-Pons 1978; Pichardo 1944) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 41).

4.7.3 Second and Third Battle(s) of the Vega Real

4.7.3.1 Second battle of the Vega Real/Night of the 14 Caciques

The second Battle of the Vega Real happened in the spring of 1497 (Las Casas I, CXV 1985, vol. I, 445-46; Wilson 1990b, 96). A group of 14 caciques in the La Vega Valley, including Guarionex, united to protest against the tribute system by fighting against the Spanish forces (Anghiera in Gil and Varela 1984a, 90-91; Las Casas I, CXV 1985, vol. I, 445-46; Wilson 1990b, 96). Two main causes are cited as the reasons behind the revolt. The first was the burning at the stake of a group of Guarionex's people who had supposedly desecrated Christian images in Concepción (García 1906, 41; Pané 1974, 1990, 1999). The second was the inability to pay the tribute imposed by Christopher Columbus. Famine and disease also contributed to the disruption of

Indigenous society (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 62, 199; Wilson 1990a). Although Cacique Guarionex had been able to meet the tribute quota in 1495 (Anghiera 1970, 21-122, 142-149; Wilson 1990a), it was impossible the second year, so he offered Columbus the produce of a manioc farm “50 leagues long and 20 wide” (Charlevoix 1730, 110; Peguero 1975, 85; Wilson 1990a). Columbus did not accept that offer (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 70).

In May 1497, Bartolome Columbus led a nighttime raid against the caciques and imprisoned them in the Concepción fort (Anghiera in Gil and Varela 1984a, 90; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 67; Kulstad 2008, 40; Wilson 1990a, 1990b, 100). Las Casas (1951, 445-46) narrates that many lesser caciques were killed, but that Guarionex was spared because of 5,000 of his followers came to beg for his forgiveness. Anghiera (1970, 21-122,142-149 is more cynical and proposes Guarionex was saved to guarantee that his subjects would continue to tend their food plots.

4.7.3.2 Third battle of the Vega Real/Battle of El Cabrón (1498)

At this point Guarionex found himself in a quandary. According to the Spanish regulations, as the cacique he had the responsibility to deliver the gold tribute in exchange for his freedom (Anghiera 1970, 21-122,142-149; Charlevoix 1730, 130; Wilson 1990a). According to his subjects, he had to help liberate them from the Spanish invaders (Charlevoix 1730, 130; Wilson 1990a). He could not break his promise to his people, and would have been imprisoned at the fort again if he went against the Spanish, so Guarionex ran away to a northern province to distance himself from the conflict (Anghiera 1970, 21-122,142-149; Charlevoix 1730, 130; Las Casas I, 1951, 445). Bartolomé Columbus, however, saw this as a breach of Guarionex’s agreement with the European/Spanish (Las Casas I, 1951, 445; Wilson 1990b, 102-108), so he recaptured, and incarcerated him again at Concepción fort. He remained there until he was sent to Spain in 1502, drowning at sea on the way (Las Casas in Rueda 1988, 444).

4.8 Implantation of the Medieval Casa Fuerte Model at Concepción (1499-1502)

By the end of 1499 the situation on Hispaniola had become chaotic. The *Indios* continued to rebel, and Roldán’s followers tried to manipulate the political situation to their advantage through small-scale uprisings (Kulstad 2008, 42; Las Casas I, 1951, 447; Wilson 1990b, 129. Concepción was especially affected, since many of Roldán’s followers lived in the area (Las Casas I, 1951, 447; Charlevoix 1730, 158). Christopher Columbus could no longer govern the colony, and the Spanish Crown sent a judge Bobadilla to settle the disturbances (Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 47; Pérez-Collados 1992, 161).

An agreement was reached which gave Roldán's group the choice of returning to Spain or staying in the official colony, the payment of back wages, and the right to have the vassalage of the caciques linked to the land they received (Cassá 1978, 36; Charlevoix 1730, 153; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 201; García 1906, 47; Las Casas 1985, vol. 2, 103; Pérez-Collados 1992, 156; Varela 1982, 274-275). Those who decided to stay were resettled in the Central Cibao Valley (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 203; Las Casas 1985, vol. 2, 103), specifically in Bonao, around the Rio Verde close to Concepción, and in Santiago (Charlevoix 1730, 153). Some also were settled close to Esperanza Fort (Guerrero 2016, 18; Las Casas 1985, vol. 2, 103). Each settler received 1,000 manioc plants, which were cared for by their *Indio* workers (Charlevoix 1730, 153). It also guaranteed land and *Indio* labor to the non-elite ex-rebels, a privilege that the existing Spanish class structure had previously only allowed the highest classes (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 201; Las Casas 1985, vol. 2, 64; Moya-Pons 1983, 24) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 44).

The Crown took advantage of Columbus's defeat against Roldán to take control of the colony (Julián 2015) and impose the Castilla-León Reconquista colonization model. This model was based on the one implemented in the Reconquista of Spain and in the Canary Islands (see Aznar-Vallejo 1983; Pérez-Collados 1992, 116; Pérez de Tudela 1954, 317-318; Stevens-Arroyo 1993).

The Reconquista, a 800-year war which had the Christianization of the Spain as its principal purpose, created the 15th century Castilian institutions that governed Spanish life (Kulstad 2008, 162; Moya-Pons 1983, 11; Pérez-Collados 1992, 116; Pérez de Tudela 1955a). The Castilians used a specific model to resettle the land they had conquered. This model saw Christians as a force on a military offensive, and then as a colonizing presence which would distribute land, convert the infidel, and establish municipal structures (Kulstad 2008, 162; Pérez-Collados 1992, 116; Pérez de Tudela 1954, 317-318). Unlike the inherently economic feitoría system that Columbus had tried to implement, the Reconquista model followed an intricate moral code of ethics, known as hidalgüismo (Elliott 1963, 38; Moya-Pons 1983, 13; Vicens-Vives 1969, 349). One of the main precepts of hidalgüismo was the disdain for manual labor (Kulstad 2008, 163; Moya-Pons 1983, 12). It considered work done by tradesmen, merchants, and those involved in agricultural labor, to be of less "quality" (Kulstad 2008, 163; Moya-Pons 1983, 12). These precepts were to greatly impact the development of the Spanish colonial system.

Municipal centers and towns were led by a group of landowners who chose their leaders from amongst themselves (Kulstad 2008, 164; Moya-Pons 1983, 16-17). There were several posts, and together they formed a town government (ayuntamiento) whose main functions included collecting taxes, keeping the peace, guaranteeing town supplies, regulating prices, and executing public works (Kulstad 2008, 37; Moya-Pons

1983, 16-17). (For a more comprehensive analysis of this model see Pérez de Tudela 1954, 1956, 1983).

In the Reconquista model, land conquered from “infidels” was distributed among those elite Christians who had helped in the conquest (Kulstad 2008, 36; Moya-Pons 1983, 15; Pérez-Collados 1992, 116; Willis 1984, 12). In exchange, the new owners promised to convert the infidel and establish municipal centers and towns (Pérez-Collados 1992, 116; Pérez de Tudela 1954, 317-318). This type of structure is inherently dependent on centralized Crown control (Pérez-Collados 1992, 163) (see previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 36).

The integration of *Indios* into the colonial system was an essential element of this colonial model, given that manual work was disdained. “Land without Indios were worthless” (Arranz-Marquez 1982, 47), since there was no labor available. This type of colonization model was also more logistically useful for the Church’s christianization efforts. Workers within a colony organized around urbanity were easier to indoctrinate, as they were easier to access (Graham 1998, 26).

4.8.1 Bobadilla Government (1500-1502)

The Crown, especially Queen Isabella, was unpleased with Columbus’s decision to distribute *Indio* workers to Roldán’s followers (AGI, Indiferente General 418, LI, ff121v-122; Charlevoix 1730, 157; Kulstad 2008, 46; Pérez-Collados 1992, 166). They sent Judge Francisco de Bobadilla to substitute Columbus (Cassá 1978, 36; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 203; Kulstad 2008, 46; Julián 2015; Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 47; Pérez-Collados 1992, 161).

The main accusation against the Columbuses was their encroachment on what were perceived to be Crown rights in the colony, most specifically in regards to the distribution of *Indio* laborers (AGI, Indif. Gen., Leg. 418. tomo III, f. 249; Charlevoix 1730, 158; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 203; Las Casas I, 1985, 172; Kulstad 2008, 47; Moya-Pons 1987). The Crown believed that all *Indios* owed vassalage to Castile and its Queen, and only she could decide what type of work, if any, they would undertake (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 206; Incháustegui 1955, 93; Inéditos América y Oceanía XXXI, 1884, 165-174; Kulstad 2008, 47; Lamb 1956, 91; Las Casas I, 1985, 172; Pérez-Collados 1992, 155). The Queen, it should be noted, did not protest the collection of tribute from the *Indios*, just their assignment to private individuals.

Once on the island, Bobadilla opted to maintain the status quo with one notable exception, which was the decision to exempt gold miners from paying the 60% tax on their production (50% for the Crown and 10% for Christopher Columbus) in an effort to boost the industry (Cassá 1978, 40; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 204). Suddenly large amounts of gold were collected, just as Columbus had predicted (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 204). Much of the gold must have come from the Concepción area, since the

city was later chosen as the site of one of the colony's two foundries (Charlevoix 1730, 221; Deagan 1999; García 1906, 68; Inéditos América y Oceanía XXXI, 1884, 18-19, 20, 31, 41, 57; Kulstad 2008, 47; Lamb 1956, 44). This decision led to Bobadilla being recalled by the Crown in 1502 (Cassá 1978, 40; Inéditos América y Oceanía XXXI, 1884, 48; Lamb 1956, 41; Rodríguez-Morel 1999, 444), and to the appointment of Fray Nicolas de Ovando as the new governor (Chacón-Calvo 1929, 39-42; Incháustegui 1955, 28-29, 89; Lamb 1956, 41; Marte 1981, 9).

4.9 Ovando's Implantation of the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan (1502-1509)

Ovando's main tasks were to organize the colony according to the Reconquista model and collect the Crown's revenues (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 205; Marte 1981, 9; Moya-Pons 1983, 24; Pérez-Collados 1992, 168). In order to do this, he had to reorganize both the power structure and the workforce. More specifically, he had to take away the power and workers Columbus had given to Roldán's followers, and find a way to have a productive workforce (Charlevoix 1730, 189) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 48).

Governor Nicolas de Ovando arrived on Hispaniola in 1502 with 2,500 settlers in 30 ships, including women and children. The ships carrying his expedition were to return not only with large quantities of gold-probably mined at Concepción, but also carrying passengers such as ex-Governor Bobadilla, Roldán and his followers, and the imprisoned Cacique Guarionex (Kulstad 2008, 48; Moya-Pons 1983; Peguero and de los Santos 1983). Unfortunately, a hurricane destroyed the entire fleet soon after leaving (Kulstad 2008, 48; Las Casas II, 1985, 226; Moya-Pons 1983; Peguero and de los Santos 1983; Rodríguez-Morel 1999, 444).

Ovando started by liberating all the *Indios* held by Roldán's followers, and taking away the group's source of economic power (Charlevoix 1730, 189). At the same time, Queen Isabela ordered that the *Indios* should live in independent communities and work for the Spanish in the gold mines (and in other activities) for specific periods during the year (Cassá 1978, 44; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 206; Incháustegui 1955, 94; Inéditos América y Oceanía XXXI, 1884, 172; Lamb 1956, 92). This work would serve to pay the tribute, and the *Indios* were to be taught Christian ways and the European/ Spanish way of life (Cassá 1978, 44; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 206; Incháustegui 1955, 9). A final, secret, instruction to Ovando ordered *Indio* communities to be set up close to gold mines to provide a constant workforce(Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 206; Inéditos América y Oceanía XXXI, 1884, 174-179; Lamb 1956, 92; Moya-Pons 1986, 149; 1987, 37) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 48).

The plan was a failure because the *Indios* ran away and would not work (Charlevoix 1730, 189; Incháustegui 1955, 94; Moya-Pons 1987, 37). At the same time, the European/Spanish were unable to perform the agricultural and gold production

work, due to either the lack of desire or the lack of knowledge (Moya-Pons 1983, 12). Ovando's solution was to suggest an expansion of the distribution system whereby all Castilian settlers, not just Roldán's followers, were entitled to "hold" *Indio* laborers (Charlevoix 1730, 189; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 206). As the governor representing the Crown, he would be able to decide who would be assigned laborers, and in what numbers (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 205). The holding of *Indio* workers was justified under the principle that this system would guarantee constant exposition and indoctrination in Christian values (Charlevoix 1730, 189; Las Casas II, 1985, 226; Moya-Pons 1978, 1983, 25; Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 54). The system, known as the Repartimiento, was ratified by the Crown in 1503 (Cassá 1978, 43; Moya-Pons 1978; Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 54) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 49).

Ovando also reorganized the colony's power structure through the imposition of the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan, which implanted an idealized version of the Castillo-Leon social model on the landscape. These settlements were to be run by the settlement's elite members, or vecinos (landowning families). The vecino condition was based on the three elements of Castilian worthiness - honesty, good upbringing and limpieza de sangre [clean bloodlines] (Arranz-Márquez 1991, 172; Kulstad 2008, 51), and on marital status (Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971, 266). No Jews, Moors, or anyone converted from these religions could be considered a vecino. Ideally, the person had to be older than 20, and both a Christian and a Castilian (Haring 1939, 131; Incháustegui 1955, 62; Kulstad 2008, 51).

The Crown was concerned with creating a urban model which guaranteed their possession on the land they conquered, both in Spain and in the Americas. The need to rapidly populate the whole continent was solved through the creation of a standardized population model (Brewer-Carías 2007, 53).

This model was based on the pre-Renaissance and Renaissance ideas which circulated in the Spanish court during the reign of Isabel and Ferdinand, and later Charles V and Philip II (Pérez-Montás 2001, 195). This Ibero-American Grid Town Plan was based on the Partidas of King Alonso X of Castile. This model was also influenced by the Vitruvian principles that had governed Greek and Roman city construction (Brewer-Carías 2007, 32, 35-40; Pérez-Montás 1998). When it was taken to the Americas, the city was adapted to the geographical conditions present at each site, following ideas presented by Renaissance man León Battista Alberti (Brewer-Carías 2007, 40-43; Pérez-Montás 2001, 195).

The plan consisted of a settlement organized around a central plaza, or square. The main streets would extend from this plaza in a square grid pattern (Oviedo n.d. Bar. I, Quin. III, Dial. 6; Pérez-Montás 2001, 104). The lots closest to this main plaza would be reserved for government buildings, commerce, and the highest status families (Lamb 1956, 84; Pérez-Montás 2001, 104; Oviedo n.d. Bar. I, Quin. III, Dial. 6). All of these buildings were to be built from stone (Lamb 1956, 84; Oviedo n.d. Bar. I, Quin. III, Dial.

6). Class status was determined by distance of homes from the main square (Lamb 1956, 84; Oviedo n.d. Bar. I, Quin. III, Dial. 6). This model had two versions, one for coastal cities and the other for inland settlements (Brewer-Carías 2007, 52).

One of the main functional reasons for the use of this model was the ease with which expansion and ordinary city growth could be achieved (Brewer-Carías 2007, 52). In other words, streets and other urban areas could be added to a city more easily if this was organized in a rectilinear, rather than in an organic, manner.

The first Royal instructions for construction using this model were given to Nicolas de Ovando when on his way to Hispaniola in 1502 (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 100; Oviedo n.d. Bar. I, Quin. III, Dial. 6; Pérez-Montás 2001, 104). Ovando was familiar with this type of city because he had helped organize the city of Santa Fe in the province of Granada, in Spain, after the Conquest over the Moors in January 1492 (Pérez-Montás 2001, 106).

These instructions for colonization regulated, among others, the following aspects of the city landscape (Brewer-Carías 2007, 53):

1. The discovery and settlement procedure

2. Regulations of the site and location of the settlements
    - A. Choosing the site
        - a. Principles related to health
        - b. Principles related to supplies
    - B. Location of towns
        - a. Altitude
        - b. Inland towns on river banks
        - c. Coastal towns

3. Regulations on land distribution
    - A. Land as public property and the allocation of property to colonists
    - B. Land distribution
    - C. Distribution of lots to individuals
    - D. The obligation to occupy the land
    - E. Equality in land distribution
    - F. Distribution units: peonías and caballerías
    - G. Colonist obligations

4. Norms about regular and limitless plotting in the foundation of new towns
    - A. The orthogonal grid starting at the main plaza
    - B. Main Plaza
        - a. Location
        - b. Form
        - c. Dimension
        - d. Intersection of streets within the plaza

e. Orientation of corners and protection from the wind
f. Gateways to the main plaza

C. Streets
a. Width of the streets
b. Extension of the regular street grid

D. Minor Plazas

5. Regulations for Buildings
A. Temple or Main Church (Cathedral)
a. Churches in coastal settlements
b. Churches in inland settlements

B. Public Service Buildings
a. In coastal settlements
b. In inland settlements

C. The use of lots

By the end of his term in 1509, Ovando had either created or reorganized 16 settlements to follow the Spanish municipal structure: Lares de Guahaba, Puerto Real, Puerto Plata, Santiago de los Caballeros, Concepción de La Vega, Cotuí, Bonao, Santa Cruz de Icayagua, Higüey, Santo Domingo, Buenaventura, Azua, San Juan de la Maguana, La Vera Paz, Yaquimo, and La Sabana (Cassá 1978, 42; Charlevoix 1730, 196; Deagan 1999, 9; García 1906, 65; Moya-Pons 1987; Sauer 1966). These settlements made up a complementary east/west axis to Columbus's north/south settlements (Guerrero 2016, 21). In 1508, there were also efforts to start organized settlements in Puerto Rico (Moya Pons 2008, 34). Each of these settlements set up a city governance structure, constructed of municipal buildings and churches, installed the mayor and priests, etc. (García 1906, 70). In other words, Ovando organized the town infrastructure in a manner that guaranteed alliance to the Spanish Crown (Concepción 1981; Kulstad 2008, 49; Lamb 1956; Moya-Pons 1978; Palm 1951, 1952).

The shift to the Grid Town Plan also included a religious component. The Pope allowed the Crown to collect tithes and taxes from Hispaniola's settlers in exchange for building and safeguarding all church-related objects, from Cathedrals to the mass accoutrements (Patronato 1995). This made the construction of churches just as important as the construction of forts within a Spanish town (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 111).

In Concepción, there is evidence of construction of not only the Cathedral, but also of a Franciscan monastery (Ober 1893, 321; Palm 1955a, 47-48). Although it is known that Franciscan friars were present on the island since the settlement of La Isabela (Errasti 1998, 25-26), their first large community (12-13 friars) arrived with Ovando in 1502 (Arranz-Marquez 1982, 30; Colección Muñoz, XV, 209 sig.; Lamb 1956, 49). Most of these friars moved to Concepción (Incháustegui 1955). The Franciscan Monastery was one of the first buildings to be commissioned by Ovando at Concepción

(Cohen 1997b, 6; Kulstad 2008, 123; Lamb 1956). It was a temporary structure built of wood and thatch sometime between 1502 and 1509 (Deagan 1999, 10; Palm 1955a, 22- 23). (For more information on the Franciscans in early colonial Hispaniola, see Arranz-Márquez 1991, 19-32; Dobal 1987, 1991; Errasti 1998, 25-26; Tavani 1991, vol. 1, 129).

Only two settlements - Santo Domingo and Concepción - were formally designated as "cities" (as opposed to being towns, as the rest were considered) by King Ferdinand in 1508 (Concepción 1981; Herrera 1601; Marte 1981; Peguero 1975, 154-155; Rodríguez-Morel 2000, xvii). Concepción was designated as a city because of its economic and geographical importance, and is thought to have been larger in area than Santo Domingo during the early 16th century (Deagan 1999, 9; Kulstad 2008, 51).

Ovando visited each of the settlements to personally present them with their coat of arms (García 1906, 70; Inéditos América y Oceanía, 1884 XXXII, 60-65; Lamb 1956, 158). Concepción's coat of arms reflects the city's religious history (Peguero 1975, 154-155). It has a red background, with a silver castle in the center. Over the castle is a smaller blue shield with twelve gold stars. The color blue and the placement of the stars symbolize the Virgen de las Mercedes (Peguero 1975, 156) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 50).

A large portion of European/Spanish settlers went to the gold-mining regions, Concepción and Buenaventura (in the south) (Charlevoix 1730, 221; Las Casas 1985, 226), and by 1503 these were the two places on the island where gold was smelted twice a year (Charlevoix 1730, 221; García 1906, 68; Inéditos América y Oceanía XXXI, 1884, 18-19, 20, 31, 41, 57; Lamb 1956, 44). Concepción's central location also led to its having legal jurisdiction over the northern half of the island, namely the towns of Santiago, Puerto Plata, Puerto Real, Bonao, Lares de Guahaba, and Montecristi (Peguero 1975, 167) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 51).

By 1508, however, gold mining was affected by the loss of *Indio* laborers (known as *Naborías*) to disease and working conditions. This forced colonial authorities to find new sources of laborers (Anghiera II, 1989, 248-274; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 209; Guitar 1998, 127; Las Casas II, 1995, Chps. 43-45). In 1508, the Crown gave permission to import Indigenous people from other parts of the Circum-Caribbean (Arranz-Márquez 1991, 79-26; Ferdinand 1511; Keegan 1992, 221-223; Marte 1981, 89; Moya-Pons 12008, 34; Rogoziński 2000, 31). These *Indios* would be known as the *Perpetual Naborías* (See discussion of *Indio* social/labor classifications in Chapter 5).

4.9.1 First Governorship of Diego Columbus (1509-1514)

After having tried unsuccessfully to restore his family's rights through personal petitions to King Ferdinand (AGI, Patronato, Tomo III, ramo 14, legajo 8; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 243; Pérez-Collados 1992, 171; Sauer 1993, 35-36), Diego Columbus,

Christopher's son, tried to regain the privileges offered in the Capitulaciones de Santa Fe through a trial in the Spanish Courts - the Pleitos Colombinos(AGI, Patronato, Tomo III, ramo 14, legajo 8; Charlevoix 1730, 225; García 1906, 71; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 243; Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 54; Pérez-Collados 1992, 170). Diego had some powerful allies and an agreement was reached in which Ferdinand sent Diego as Governor of the Indies in 1509, in an effort to appease his supporters and get him away from the Court deliberations (AGI, Indif. Gen., Leg. 418. tomo III, f. 249; Pérez-Collados 1992, 171; Rueda 1988, 106). He did not, however, have any special privileges beyond those Ovando had held in the same post (García 1906, 71; Pérez-Collados 1992, 172) and appointed Aragonese government officials to high positions of power (Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 55; Pérez-Collados 1992, 122), including Miguel de Pasamonte. Pasamonte arrived in 1508 holding the second-highest position, that of Tesorero General (Royal Treasurer) (García 1906, 69; Las Casas in Rueda 1988, 98, 108; Moya-Pons 1987, 55). While Diego lived in a court-like atmosphere in Santo Domingo, Miguel de Pasamonte lived in the Concepción fort, and was in charge of gold production in the region (Herrera 1601, III, 110; Moya-Pons 1978, 82; 1987, 61; Pérez-Collados 1992, 176) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 37).

During Diego Columbus's governorship there was a constant power struggle between his supporters and those of King Ferdinand. Most of the conflicts centered around one main topic: who controlled the Indian workforce (Kulstad 2008, 53; Las Casas, Historia II, 1927, 9-12; Lamb 1956, 82; Moya-Pons 1983, 26; Pérez-Collados 1992, 191). Two different types of Indigenous workers were available at this time: the *Naborías*, which were owned by the King, and *Perpetual Naborías*, brought from other areas of the Caribbean. (See discussion in Chapter 5).

Diego Columbus arrived at a moment of great wealth, but great social upheaval. In 1509, a series of sumptuary laws were instituted regulating the use of certain clothing, food and luxury items according to social rank (Acosta-Corniel 2013, 37; Alba 1500?, Box 24-2, Box 144-175, Box 144-176; Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 188; Moya-Pons 1978, 110; Ribeiro 2003, 12–16; Suárez-Marill 1998, 15). At the same time in Spain, during the Habsburg rule, piety was linked to lack of excess, effectively linking high expenditure to sin (Fernández-Navarrete 1626, 519; Ramírez 2016).

4.9.2 Repartimiento of 1510

It seems that Diego Columbus's original plan was to reinstate the tribute system organized by his father (García 1906, 72), but he decided to use the Repartimiento system as a means of empowering his supporters (Moya-Pons 1983, 24). As Ovando had done at the beginning of his term, Diego Columbus collected all *Naboría* workers and distributed them according to his own benefit and convenience (See Kulstad 2008, 53).

Although officially he was to distribute the workers among all qualified vecinos (Spanish landowners), in practice he favored the men married to his wife's ladies-in-waiting (Charlevoix 1730, 229), and those who supported his style of government (Moya-Pons 1983, 26; Rodríguez Demorizi 1971, 52). As a result, he concentrated most of the workforce, and the means to gain economic power, in his supporters' hands (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 54).

The Crown had even less control than it did during the Ovando governorship and instituted measures to change this (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Moya-Pons 1983, 26). One measure was Ferdinand's 1508 decree declaring Indigenous people from other parts of the Caribbean (cannibals or those resistant to conversion) could be enslaved, and imported to Hispaniola. Those loyal to the King were favored in this enterprise (Ferdinand 1511; Marte 1981, 89) (See Kulstad 2008, 54).

4.9.3 Arrival of the Dominican Order (1510)

Although the first members of the Dominican order did not arrive on Hispaniola until 1510 (Charlevoix 1730, 240; Incháustegui 1955, 105), they were influential in New World affairs as advisers to Queen Isabela. Dominicans influenced the Queen's her decision to declare Indigenous peoples as free vassals of the Crown (Inéditos América y Oceanía XXXI, 1884, 165-174; Lamb 1956, 91; Moya-Pons 1978). The first Dominicans were sent to Hispaniola as representatives of the Royal Inquisition, in response to various complaints regarding the deficient methods used to Christianize the *Indios* (AGI, Indif. Gen. 1624; Charlevoix 1730, 240; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971). Claims were made that most of the *Indios* were merely baptized, and no other religious instruction was provided by the Church or the colonists, which was an infringement on the terms of the Repartimiento (Arranz-Márquez 1982, 41; Charlevoix 1730, 240) (See discussion in Kulstad 2008, 55). Also, large numbers of the *Indios* in the care of the European/ Spanish were dying at alarming rates. Eventually the Dominican order created a plan to save the Indigenous people which involved a change in the colony's source of income. There would be substitution of gold production for sugar (Moya-Pons 1978, 176). The *Indio* workers in gold would be substituted for the enslaved Africans in sugar production (Moya-Pons 1978, 176).

4.9.4 Creation of the Real Audiencia (1511)

Another effort to offset Diego Columbus's growing powers was the creation of the Real Audiencia (Royal Court of Appeals) in 1511 (Cassá 1978, 50; Charlevoix 1730, 239; García-Menéndez 1981; Incháustegui 1955, 115; Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 57). This court was made up of three judges, or oidores, who held the colony's judicial, administrative and legislative powers. As the highest provincial court in the New

World, the Real Audiencia handled civil and criminal cases in the colonies, which previously have been resolved by the Governor (See Kulstad 2008, 55).

From 1511 to 1528, the Real Audiencia in Santo Domingo dealt with cases from all colonies in the Americas (Rogoziński 2000, 48). The first three judges appointed were Marcelo de Villalobos, Juan Ortiz de Matienzo and Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón (Moya-Pons 1978, 114). Vásquez de Ayllón had been a vecino at Concepción, and lost his workers in Diego Columbus's Repartimiento of 1510. He became Pasamonte's close ally, and often ruled in favor of other settlers in his same situation (Moya-Pons 1983, 27) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 54).

4.9.5 Bishopric of Concepción de la Vega (1511)

Although the Church had sent various representatives throughout the early colonial period, no organized religious administrative structure existed in the New World until 1511. That year three bishoprics were created, in Santo Domingo, Concepción (under Pedro Suárez de Deza), and San Juan, Puerto Rico (Charlevoix 1730, 260; García 1906, 74; Rodríguez-Morel 2000, xvii). Since the Archbishop of Seville, Diego de Deza, had been one of Christopher Columbus's close friends (Charlevoix 1730, 214; Kulstad 2008, 52; Pérez-Collados 1992, 169), the Bishops in Hispaniola supported Diego Columbus, rather than Miguel de Pasamonte and the King (See Kulstad 2008, 52).

Of the three bishoprics, Concepción de la Vega was the most powerful. Although it officially only had jurisdiction over the northern half of the island, (Santiago, Puerto Plata, Puerto Real, Bonao, Lares de Guahaba and Montecristi) it was the only bishopric with a resident bishop until the arrival of Alessandro Geraldini, sometime after 1516 (García 1906, 74; Kulstad 2008, 55; Peguero 1975, 167).

4.9.6 Montesinos's Sermon (1511)

The Dominicans' campaign to save the Indigenous peoples from extinction through a reform of the labor system was the basis for Fray Anton de Montesinos's Advent sermon in December 1511 in Santo Domingo (Charlevoix 1730, 261; Incháustegui 1955, 106; Kulstad 2008, 56; Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 58; Rodríguez-Morel 2000, 23). Montesinos, however, did not limit himself to denouncing the abuses of the Repartimiento system, but went so far as to question the Crown's right of ownership of land and Indian laborers in the New World (Kulstad 2008, 57; Pérez-Collados 1992, 183), a subject being debated in Spain at the time (García-Gallo 1972, 1976; Kulstad 2008, 57; Manzano-Manzano 1948). Most government officials were present when the sermon was read, including Diego Columbus and Miguel de Pasamonte, and were gravely insulted (Charlevoix 1730, 261; García 1906, 75;

Incháustegui 1955, 106; Kulstad 2008, 57). They asked Montesinos to apologize, but he refused (Incháustegui 1955, 108; Kulstad 2008, 57).

While the Dominicans championed for *Indio* rights within the Repartimiento system, the Franciscans, centered in the gold-rich Concepción area, saw no grave problems with the way *Indios* were treated. They often expressed their support of the Repartimiento through their leader Alonso de Espinal, headquartered at Concepción (Las Casas in Rueda 1988, 535) (See Kulstad 2008, 57).

The dispute between the religious orders grew to such proportion that representatives were sent to Spain to the Castilian courts to solve the problem (Charlevoix 1730, 262; Moya-Pons 1978, 126; Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 59). The Dominicans were represented by Fray Antón de Montesinos, while Fray Alonso de Espinal from Concepción represented the Franciscans (Charlevoix 1730, 262; García 1906, 76; Incháustegui 1955, 107; Kulstad 2008, 57; Moya-Pons 1978, 126; Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 59).

Ferdinand initially officially received the Franciscan friars, but not the Dominicans (Charlevoix 1730, 262; Rodríguez-Morel 2000, 32), since Montesinos had questioned the Crown's ownership rights - the basis of his whole enterprise - in the New World (Pérez-Collados 1992, 183). Eventually, however, Ferdinand was forced to engage with Montesinos due to pressures from the Dominican faction (Charlevoix 1730, 264). Court discussions and debates were held to review both sides of the argument, resulting in the Laws of Burgos of 1512 (AGI Indiferente General 419, L4, f83; García 1906, 77; Incháustegui 1955, 107; Rodríguez-Morel 2000, 32) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 56).

4.9.7 Laws of Burgos (1512)

Court discussions and debates were held to review how Indigenous peoples were being treated in the New World, resulting in the Laws of Burgos of 1512 (AGI Indiferente General 419, L4, f83; Arranz-Márquez 1982, 34; García 1906, 77; Incháustegui 1955, 107; Rodríguez-Morel 2000, 32). Although the Laws declared the *Naborías* to be free vassals of Spain (Rodríguez-Morel 2000, 32), or more specifically to be the equivalent of the Christian peasants, but located on Hispaniola (AGI, Indiferente General 418, LI, ff121v-122; Guitar 1998, 166), they did little more than justify the Repartimiento system (Arranz-Márquez 1982, 47; Incháustegui 1955, 94). This represented a defeat for the Dominicans, who had hoped to abolish the Repartimiento system (Arranz-Márquez 1982, 44; Rodríguez-Morel 2000, 32). Instead, the Repartimientos were declared to be based on the authority given the Castilian Crown by the Holy See, and the Dominicans were not to contest it (García 1906, 76) (See discussion in Kulstad 2008, 58).

A study of the Laws of Burgos presents what is happening in the colony. As often happened, the Crown creates legislation to stop something that was currently happening (Arranz-Márquez 1982, 41). (For a summary description of the Laws of Burgos, see Guitar 1998, 104-108). Although all laws influence and/or reflect *Indio* lifeways on the island, Law #17 is of particular interest. This law stated that cacique sons older than 12 had to go to Franciscan monasteries to learn reading, writing, and matters of the faith for four years, and then return to their communities and teach others what they had learned (AGI Contratación 5090; Arranz-Márquez 1982, 42; Altman 2007, 589). The most famous student of these monasteries was the cacique Enriquillo, educated at the monastery in Verapaz, at the same location as current-day Port-au-Prince (AGI Contratación 5090; Altman 2007, 589; Mira-Caballos 2007, 189).

4.9.8 The New Repartimiento of 1514

In 1514, the Crown sent Rodrigo de Alburquerque and Pero Ibañez de Ibarra to conduct a new Repartimiento at Concepción (AGI, Justicia 6, N4; Charlevoix 1730, 276; Ferdinand 1514; García 1906, 77; Marte 1981, 121; Moya-Pons 1983, 27). As before, specific qualities were required of a vecino who would receive *Naboría* workers at the Repartimientos - honesty, good upbringing, clean bloodlines, be older than 20, Christian and Castilian (Arranz-Márquez 1991, 172; Haring 1939, 131; Incháustegui 1955, 62; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971, 266), but few, if any, of these criteria were used by Alburquerque. Like Diego Columbus before him, he used the Repartimiento to benefit members of his own political faction (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 58).

Alburquerque had been the Mayor of the Concepción Fort until 1513, when he had returned to Spain (Benzo 2000; García 1906, 77). He had a personal enmity with Diego Columbus (Charlevoix 1730, 276). Little is known about Ibarra, except that he died soon after arriving in Santo Domingo, allowing Alburquerque to name Treasurer Miguel de Pasamonte as his assistant (AGI, Patronato 172, R4, ff109-111; García 1906, 77, 78; Guitar 1998, 134; Mira-Caballos. 1997, 123) (See Kulstad 2008, 59).

The 1514 Repartimiento for the entire island took place at Concepción, from Nov. 23, 1514 to Jan. 9, 1515 (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Ferdinand 1514; Kulstad 2008, 59; Marte 1981, 121; Moya-Pons 1978, 157). The main gold mining centers on the island at the time were Concepción, Santo Domingo and San Juan de la Maguana (Inéditos América y Oceanía XXXI, 1884, 18-19, 20, 31, 41, 57; Lamb 1956, 44; Moya-Pons 1987, 109), but vecinos in other cities received workers as well. Each city and town had to pick an official representative to go to Concepción, and receive the *Naborías* assigned to that settlement's vecinos (García 1906, 78; Kulstad 2008, 60). Diego Columbus was not allowed to be present (Kulstad 2008, 60; Moya-Pons 1978, 156).

The process was plagued with corruption and obvious partiality (Cohen 1997b, 5; García 1906, 78; Guitar 1998, 134; Moya-Pons 1983, 27). Alburquerque also used the

process for his own personal gain by taking large bribes (Charlevoix 1730, 276; García 1906, 77). Ultimately, most of the *Naboría* workers were concentrated in the hands of a select group of Pasamonte's friends (Moya-Pons 1983, 27) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 58).

Concepción's distribution was the first completed, on Nov. 23, 1514 (García 1906, 78). Concepción's share of the Repartimiento was the second largest, with only Santo Domingo's vecinos receiving more workers (Arranz-Márquez 1991; García 1906, 78; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971). The process was witnessed by two Concepción vecinos, with no Royal scribe present (García 1906, 78). A number of unmarried men received workers, in opposition to the governmental policy giving family units special privileges (Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971, 252). The Franciscan monastery at Concepción received several *Naborías* workers in the Repartimiento (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Incháustegui 1955, 106; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971). Although the Franciscans explained that they did not benefit personally from the work done by the *Naborías*, the Dominican friars saw this as totally unacceptable (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Incháustegui 1955, 106). Unlike what happened in the Repartimiento of 1510, the Franciscans returned their *Naborías* to the Crown (Arranz-Márquez 1982, 46). (For an in-depth, comprehensive review of the Repartimiento of 1514, see Arranz-Márquez 1991 and Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 59).

One of the main complaints about Repartimiento of 1510 had been that large numbers of *Naborías* were held by persons living in Spain, not on Hispaniola. This complaint came from a group known as the Viejos Pobladores (First Settlers) (Inéditos América y Oceanía XXXI, 1884, 519-521; Guitar 1998, 133; Lamb 1956, 151; Marte 1981, 310). This was not supposed to happen in the new Repartimiento, but the promise was not kept (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Charlevoix 1730, 221; García 1906, 78; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971) (See Kulstad 2008, 59).

Not unexpectedly, Diego Columbus, his followers, the Viejos Pobladores and the less wealthy members of society challenged the Repartimiento of 1514 (García 1906, 79; Guitar 1998, 134; Kulstad 2008, 61; Mira-Caballos 1997, 123; Moya-Pons 1983, 27, 1997, 1998). However, unlike with the 1510 Repartimiento, the Pro-Pasamonte Real Audiencia and Court officials were sufficiently powerful to prevent any changes (García 1906, 79; Kulstad 2008, 61). The Crown, in fact, decreed this to be the last Repartimiento to be undertaken on Hispaniola (García 1906, 79; Kulstad 2008, 61; Moya-Pons 1983, 27, 1997, 1998). It claimed that the process was too controversial and that the *Indios* were dying out (Arranz-Márquez 1991, 328; Guitar 1998, 134; Kulstad 2008, 61; Moya-Pons 1983, 27, 1997, 1998).

Those without *Naboría* workers after the 1514 Repartimiento were unable to force those in power to share their privileges. The settlers in Hispaniola who did not receive Indians saw no reason to remain on Hispaniola. Most left to emigrate to Central America and Mexico (Guitar 1998, 135; Marte 1981, 390; Moya-Pons 1978, 174-75;

Rueda 1988). Although it has often been assumed that the emigration was because of the lack of gold (Floyd 1963, 68-69; Marte 1981, 390; Moya-Pons 1983, 1987, 1997, 1998), in reality it appears to have been due to the absence of mine workers (see Kulstad 2008, 61).

4.10 Pueblo Tutelado Period (1516-1519)

On January 23, 1516, King Ferdinand died, forcing the Spanish government to enter into a complicated series of compromises to ensure succession in Castile and Aragon. A compromise was reached in which his grandson, Charles, was named co-regent with his mother, Juana (Fernández-Álvarez 2000, 175; Incháustegui 1955, 71). Meanwhile, regencies were set up in both Castile and Aragon until Charles' coming of age (Fernández-Álvarez 2000, 141; Kulstad 2008, 62). Cardinal Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros (a close friend of the Columbus family) was named regent of Castile, and Alonzo de Aragón, Archbishop of Zaragoza, became regent of Aragon (Charlevoix 1730, 214; Incháustegui 1955, 89; Kulstad 2008, 62; Moya-Pons 1983, 29, 1997, 1998; Pérez-Collados 1992, 169).

Castile's regent, Cardinal Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros, set up an impartial religious government on Hispaniola, with the main purpose of saving the Indigenous people from extinction (Documentos Inéditos Ultramar IX, 1885, 53-70; Guitar 1998, 240; Incháustegui 1955, 121; Moya-Pons 1983, 28, 1997, 1998; Pérez-Collados 1992, 183). The Jeronymites hoped to not only save the Indigenous people, but also to create a less polarized colony (See Kulstad 2008, 62).

The Jeronymites were concerned with the *Indios'* living and working conditions (Documentos Inéditos Ultramar IX, 1885, 53-70; Guitar 1998, 240; Incháustegui 1955, 121; Moya-Pons 1983, 28, 1997, 1998; Pérez-Collados 1992, 183). It was obvious to Cisneros and the Jeronymites that if the Repartimiento system continued without change it would cause the *Indios'* demise (Charlevoix 1730, 282; Documentos Inéditos Ultramar IX, 1885, 53-70; Guitar 1998, 240; Incháustegui 1955, 124; Moya-Pons 1983, 29). They believed that by changing the main production system in the colony from mining to agriculture using African slave labor, the lives of the Indigenous peoples could be spared (AGI, Indiferente General 1624; Cassá 1978, 58; Charlevoix 1730, 292; García 1906, 84; Moya-Pons 1983, 28, 1997, 1998).

The new program to be implemented on Hispaniola followed much of the rhetoric presented by the Dominican friars, and the writings of Las Casas (Charlevoix 1730, 282; García 1906, 82; Hanke 1935; Kulstad 2008, 63; Moya-Pons 1983, 29, 1997, 1998). Essentially, the Repartimiento system would be replaced by a series of parallel worker villages, or Pueblos Tutelados (Charlevoix 1730, 282; Documentos Inéditos Ultramar IX, 1885, 53-70; Guitar 1998, 240; Incháustegui 1955, 124; Kulstad 2008, 63; Mira-Caballos 2010, 362; Moya-Pons 1983, 29, 1997, 1998). These pueblos would be similar to the Reducciones proposed during the Ovando government, in which the *Indios* would

live in towns close to centers of production (Documentos Inéditos Ultramar IX, 1885, 53-70; Guitar 1998, 240; Incháustegui 1955, 94; Kulstad 2008, 63).

The villages had three main purposes: Christianize the *Indios*, organize their labor, and have them pay tribute extracted from the pay received from their work (Charlevoix 1730, 282; Documentos Inéditos Ultramar IX, 1885, 53-70; García 1906, 83; Guitar 1998, 240). The men of the village would be required to undertake paid work for the European/Spanish a certain number of hours a day (Charlevoix 1730, 282, 283; Documentos Inéditos Ultramar IX, 1885, 53-70; Guitar 1998, 240; Moya-Pons 1978). The tribute would be calculated according to the settlement's location (Charlevoix 1730, 282; Documentos Inéditos Ultramar IX, 1885, 53-70; Guitar 1998, 240). Most of the *Indios* were to labor in the mines, but those living in settlements where gold was not found would cultivate different agricultural products such as cotton, ginger, cañafístola, indigo, or sugar (Charlevoix 1730, 283; Lamb 1956, 58; Las Casas, Historia I, 1927, 99). No more than a third of the villagers could work in the gold mines during a given period of time and for no more than two straight months (Charlevoix 1730, 283; Documentos Inéditos Ultramar IX, 1885, 53-70; Guitar 1998, 240) (See Kulstad 2008, 64).

These towns would have 300 people each, governed by a Spanish-educated cacique and a missionary priest (Charlevoix 1730, 282, 283; Documentos Inéditos Ultramar IX, 1885, 53-70; Guitar 1998, 240; Moya-Pons 1978). Within each settlement, each family would receive a plot of land to cultivate in their free time (Charlevoix 1730, 282, 283; Documentos Inéditos Ultramar IX, 1885, 53-70; Guitar 1998, 240; Moya-Pons 1978). The caciques would receive four times as much land as the rest, with the guarantee that each of the subordinates would work on the plots for at least 15 days a year (Charlevoix 1730, 283; Documentos Inéditos Ultramar IX, 1885, 53-70; Guitar 1998, 240). The villages would also have their own church and hospital (Charlevoix 1730, 283; Hanke 1935; Lamb 1956, 171; Las Casas II, 1927, 268) (See Kulstad 2008, 65).

Although the *Indios* were to be allowed to live in villages separate from the Spanish settlements, they would not be allowed to return to their precontact customs and beliefs. The *Indios* were to be molded into Christians, which for the Spanish meant being molded into Spaniards as well (Charlevoix 1730, 191; Peguero 1975, 187). The caciques to be chosen to rule the villages would come from among those educated "Christians" (Peguero 1975, 187). "Christian" ways included wearing clothes at all times, having only one wife, and learning to speak and read Spanish (Charlevoix 1730, 282) (See previous discussion Kulstad 2008, 65).

In 1517, the Jeronymites began by undertaking an Interrogatorio (or Questioning) into the possibility of creating these pueblos (AGI, Indif. Gen. 1624; Guitar 1998, 158, 166; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971, 273-354), and learned that the vecinos holding the most *Indios* through the Repartimiento (the Pasamonte group) opposed the plan (AGI, Indif.

Gen. 1624; García 1906, 82; Guitar 1998, 158; Incháustegui 1955, 123; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971, 273-354). These vecinos were able to influence judges and officials in their favor (Cassá 1978, 57; García 1906, 82; Pérez-Collados 1992, 188). The Franciscans also opposed the pueblo plan since they believed *Indios* would die faster away from the protection of the Europeans (Arranz-Márquez 1982, 39) (See Kulstad 2008, 63-65).

Although there is historical evidence that some pueblos were established in the Cibao area at unspecified locations (AGI, Indiferente General 1624; Guitar 1998, 176; Hanke 1935, 38-39; Kulstad 2008, 65), the Jeronymites were never able to successfully implement their program on the long term, owing both to political factors and to epidemic disease (Guitar 1998, 176; Kulstad 2008, 65; Moya-Pons 1983, 29, 1997, 1998). A smallpox epidemic struck Hispaniola between December 1517 and January 1518, killing about two thirds of the *Indio* population (Kulstad 2008, 66; Marte 1981, 281-82; Moya-Pons 1983, 29; Pichardo 1944; Zuazo and Espinosa 1528). Given the new circumstances, the Jeronymites did not need much encouragement to maintain the status quo and abandon their pueblo resettlement plan (Guitar 1998, 176), agreeing that the *Indios* should continue to live under the Repartimiento system (Charlevoix 1730, 287, 288; Kulstad 2008, 66).

The turnabout by the Jeronymites alienated several groups in the colony, and consolidated the power of those who had benefited from the 1514 Repartimiento (AGI, Patronato 172, R4, ff109-111; Cohen 1997b, 5; García 1906, 78; Guitar 1998, 134; Kulstad 2008, 66; Moya-Pons 1983, 27, 1997, 1998). In spite of the loans offered to set up the sugar mills, the enterprise was too costly for most settlers (García 1906, 103; Kulstad 2008, 66). Those with few or no workers could not afford to buy African slaves, causing them to migrate to other colonies (Guitar 1998, 135; Julián 1997; Rueda 1988).

The adjusted Jeronymite program also disappointed a third group, the Spanish-educated *Indios* who had been chosen as leaders of the pueblos (Guitar 2001). It must have been hard for these leaders to return to the Repartimiento system after being trained for the relative independence and other expected privileges conferred by the proposed government of the pueblos (See Kulstad 2008, 67).

Due to all of these failings the Jeronymites finally lost the support of the person who had once been their staunchest supporter, Bartolomé de las Casas (Guitar 1998, 172; Hanke 1935, 40; Kulstad 2008, 67). Las Casas traveled to Spain and convinced King Charles to recall the Jeronymites after only three years on Hispaniola (Cassá 1978, 59; Guitar 1998, 177; Kulstad 2008, 67).

4.11 Post Pueblo Tutelado Period (1519-1564)

4.11.1 Figueroa Government (1519-1520)

In 1519, After the recall of the Jeronymites, Governor Rodrigo de Figueroa was sent to Hispaniola (AGI, Indif. Gen. 419, L7, f156v.; Charlevoix 1730, 294; García 1906, 85; Guitar 1998, 253). In 1519, Concepción was the main city of the island (AGI, Patronato Real 172, R35; Guitar 1998, 267). It appears that Figueroa's main goal was to reinstate the pueblo plan (Charlevoix 1730, 341; García 1906, 86; Herrera 1601; Incháustegui 1955, 127). He created two model pueblos at unspecified locations and was bound by law to allow any *Indios* to move there (Charlevoix 1730, 341; Incháustegui 1955, 127; Figueroa Residencia 1521) (See Kulstad 2008, 67).

However, as had happened in previous governments, the interests of the Repartimiento holders, and their power to influence government procedure, caused Figueroa to declare pueblos a failure (Charlevoix 1730, 341; García 1906, 86; Figueroa Residencia 1521; Hanke 1935; Kulstad 2008, 67). He claimed, as had been done before, that the *Indios*, once outside the Spanish sphere of influence, ran away into the hills rather than work, and did not follow Spanish religion and customs (Charlevoix 1730, 341; Guitar 1998, 149; Incháustegui 1955, 94; Inéditos América y Oceanía XXXI, 1884, 54; Kulstad 2008, 67; Lamb 1956, 51) (For a more detailed account of the pueblo experiment during Figueroa's governorship, see Hanke 1935).

Another mayor event during Figueroa's government was Las Casas's experiment in pacific colonization (Pérez-Fernández 2010, 327). Las Casas went to Cumaná, on the modern Venezuelan coast, and attempted to settle the area using peaceful methods to approach the local Indigenous peoples (Pérez-Fernández 2010, 344). His experiment failed because the area was one of the places where *Perpetual Naborías* had been captured in previous years, and his settlement was attacked by the local Indigenous people (Pérez-Fernández 2010, 344). Las Casas had to return to Hispaniola without achieving his goal (Pérez-Fernández 2010, 344).

4.11.2 War of the Bahoruco (1519-1533)

In 1519, Cacique Enriquillo, who had been offered the leadership of a Pueblo Tutelado in the Southwestern part of Hispaniola during the Jeronymite era, rebelled against the Spanish and founded his own pueblo in the Bahoruco Mountains, where he had grown up (Cassá 1978, 60; Guitar 1998, 347; Kulstad 2008, 68; Las Casas, III, 1995, Ch. 12; Oviedo IV, 1959, Ch. 4-8; Wilson 1990b, 14). He was surprisingly effective in his revolt, which only ended in 1533 after receiving a signed agreement from King Charles himself (Guitar 1998, 347; Las Casas, III, 1995, Ch. 12; Oviedo IV, 1959, Ch. 4-8). Enriquillo's story is best known because of Las Casas, who wrote about this rebellion sympathetically, even though he was not on the island during most of the

events of this war (Altman 2007, 587, 596; Guitar 1998, 347; Las Casas, III, 1995, Ch. 12).

Although Enriquillo did not attack the Concepción area, his rebellion inspired similar rebellions (Altman 2007, 588; Guitar 1998, 347; Las Casas, III, 1995, Ch. 12; Oviedo IV, 1959, Ch. 4-8). Such was the case of Ciguayo, who had 80 followers which roamed the area around Concepción, Santiago and Puerto Real in 1529 (Guitar 1998, 388; Las Casas 1985, 127; Espinosa and Suazo 1529; Marte 1981, 347; Utrera 1973, 230). He was captured the next year by a bounty hunter (Guitar 1998, 270; Las Casas III, 1995, Chp. 127;Utrera 1973, 230) (See Kulstad 2008, 68).

4.11.3 Diego Columbus's Second Governorship (1520-1524)

Emperor Charles V is perhaps best known for the vast extent of kingdoms and lands he controlled, both in Europe and the Americas. In Europe his kingdoms stretched from Austria to Spain (Fernández-Álvarez 1975, 194) and it was during his reign (1517-1555) that most of the great discoveries of the New World were made (Incháustegui 1955). Charles was a co-regent with his "mad" mother, Juana, in Castile (Fernández-Álvarez 2000, 175; Incháustegui 1955, 71), and his European kingdoms outside Spain were appointed to him via Imperial election (Fernández-Álvarez 1975, 28). To be able to finance his Imperial bid, Charles asked wealthy individuals to help him, most notably Diego Columbus (Pérez-Collados 1992, 198). In exchange, Charles named Diego Columbus as governor of Hispaniola again in 1520 (Pérez-Collados 1992, 198; Ramos-Pérez 1970, 30) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 68).

Charles V also inherited the responsibility to deal with the incipient movement led by German monk, Martin Luther (Fernández-Álvarez 1975). Luther, which had been questioning Catholic doctrine since 1517 (Fernández-Álvarez 1975), now had a wider audience for his preachings as Germany became part of the Habsburg empire. Charles V met with Luther at the Diet of Worms, a meeting of the whole Empire, in an attempt to get Luther to recant his writings, in 1521 (Fernández-Álvarez 1975). When Luther refused, he was excommunicated (Fernández-Álvarez 1975).

Meanwhile, Diego Columbus returned to Hispaniola in 1520, with the belief that he would be able to establish the Viceroyalty in the manner promised to his father and family (Kulstad 2008, 68; Pérez-Collados 1992, 198; Ramos-Pérez 1970, 30). Unfortunately, during his six year absence, too many obstacles had surfaced to make this possible (Pérez-Collados 1992, 198). Nevertheless, Diego's governance helped create the political environment in Hispaniola for the next 30 years (see Kulstad 2008, 68).

Diego, unlike the Jeronymites and Figueroa, was ordered to help European/ Spanish who wished travel from Hispaniola to Mexico and Central America, rather than making them stay. Many settlers, disgruntled by the Repartimiento of 1514, became part

of these expeditions (AGI, Indiferente General 1961, L1, ff57v-58; Guitar 1998, 130; Kulstad 2008, 61; Moya-Pons 2008, 35; Rueda 1988). Diego also continued the Jeronymite program of establishing sugar mills with their corresponding African slave workforce (García 1906, 90, 91; Kulstad 2008, 68; Letter dated Sep 14, 1519, Marte 1981, 318-319). This was a particularly unstable period for the *Indio* workforce, suffering from epidemics and overwork, and resisting labor organization by constantly running away to join Enriquillo (García 1906, 90; Kulstad 2008, 69; Las Casas III, 1951, Chp. 12; Oviedo 1959, Vol. 117, Book 1).

In 1522, Diego was one of colony's main ingenio (sugar mill) ownersAGI, Patronato 295, No. 104; Moya-Pons 1983, 35, 1997, 1998). During Christmas that year, he suffered a rebellion of Wolof African slaves on his sugar plantation (AGI, Patronato 295, No. 104; García 1906, 90; Moya-Pons 1983, 35, 1997, 1998). The rebellion was quickly dissipated, but created a precedent that had deep repercussions for the whole island, and especially Concepción, where several revolts occurred (see Kulstad 2008, 70).

In spite of the quick resolution of the African revolt, by mid-1523 Diego still had not resolved the Enriquillo revolt (Guitar 1998, 347; Kulstad 2008, 70; Las Casas, III, 1995, Ch. 12; Oviedo IV, 1959, Ch. 4-8; Pérez-Collados 1992, 199). Due to all these problems he was asked to return to Spain to discuss his mismanagement of Hispaniola (García 1906, 92; Kulstad 2008, 70; Pérez-Collados 1992, 199).

4.11.4 Interim Government (1524-1528)

When Diego Columbus left in 1524, the colony's government was once again left in the hands of the Real Audiencia judges, namely Alonso Suazo, Cristóbal Lebrón and Gaspar de Espinosa (Guitar 1998, 70; Incháustegui 1955, 89-80). This was the first of several interim periods during which the Real Audiencia ruled Hispaniola (Incháustegui 1955, 117) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 71).

Two important events during this period greatly affected Concepción. The first was the unification of the Hispaniola bishoprics in 1524 (García 1906, 94; Incháustegui 1955, 129; Schafer 1935, 60), and the second was the designation of the Santo Cerro as a place of absolution in 1527 (Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971, 140). The unification of the bishoprics was justified by the mass out-migrations occurring throughout the island, particularly centered in the Concepción area (Rodríguez-Morel 2000, 36). Concepción appears to have lost its bishopric as its population and its importance declined. In spite of this, the designation of the Santo Cerro as an important religious site points to Concepción's continuous religious importance. The site's appointment may have been a way of appeasing the few, yet influential, Concepción vecinos. The Santo Cerro Church was awarded 20,000 maravedíes a year to take care of the pilgrims, and an important

Mercedarian monastery was built there (Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971, 140) (See Kulstad 2008, 71).

During this period, Las Casas was assigned as the head of the Dominican monastery to be built in Puerto Plata (Pérez-Fernández 2010). The construction of this monastery created a presence of the Dominican order in the northern part of the country, and probably was competition for the Franciscan monastery at Concepción. It was built using the materials left over from the stone church of La Isabela (Duval 2017).

4.11.5 Fuenleal Government (1528-1531)

In 1528, the post of president of the Real Audiencia was united with that of the bishop of Santo Domingo (García 1906, 94; Oviedo in Rueda 1988, 91; Rodríguez-Morel 2000, 36), and Sebastian Ramirez de Fuenleal became the first president/bishop of the new style government. That year, the Real Audiencia governance of the Americas was divided into two Audiencias, one based in Santo Domingo, and the second in Mexico (Rogoziński 2000, 48). Fuenleal presided over the Audiencia which covered the Caribbean islands, Florida and settlements in northern coast of Venezuela (Charlevoix 1730, 371; Rogoziński 2000, 48). The other members of the Santo Domingo Real Audiencia continued to be the same, namely Alonso Suazo, Cristóbal Lebrón and Gaspar de Espinosa (Guitar 1998, 70; Incháustegui 1955, 89-80) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 72).

Fuenleal's government's main goal was to diversify the colony's economy in an effort to halt the massive outward migration (AGI, Indif. Gen., 421, 42, ff216r-216v; Guitar 1998, 268; Kulstad 2008, 72; Moya-Pons 1983, 33, 1997, 1998). Sugar was mostly produced around Santo Domingo and the south coast (Concepción 1981; Incháustegui 1955, 73; Moya-Pons 1983, 33, 1997, 1998; Ortiz 1940, 1947; Wright 1916, 199), while the area around Concepción and the northern part of the island was mostly used for cattle ranching (Concepción 1980, 1981; Kulstad 2008, 73).

Much of Fuenleal's time was spent trying to halt the Enriquillo rebellion (Guitar 1998, 347; Kulstad 2008, 73; Las Casas, III, 1995, Ch. 12; Oviedo IV, 1959, Ch. 4-8; Patronato 1995, 250). Although Fuenleal was unable to sign a peace treaty with Enriquillo, before he left Hispaniola in 1531, he instituted an interesting counter-revolutionary methodology. This involved creating schools for *Indios* who were loyal to the Spanish effort (García 1906, 96; Kulstad 2008, 73). These schools taught religion, reading, writing and math (García 1906, 96; Kulstad 2008, 73).

4.11.6 Interim Period - Trial of Dean Alvaro de Castro (1531-1532)

A period of two years passed between Fuenleal's departure and the arrival of Hispaniola's next bishop-president. There is a relatively large amount of information

available about Concepción during this period found in documents related to Dean Alvaro de Castro's trial in 1532 (Patronato 1995). The document states that gold prospecting and cattle ranching occur within the Concepción area (Patronato 1995, 250). The trial documents also show that a large number of Concepción's inhabitants were non-elites (Patronato 1995, 134, 136) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 26).

The document also presents Concepción as a city where religious authorities were believed to be capable of various crimes, including concubinage and illegal trade (Patronato 1995, 134, 136). It presents the names of several women accused of having affairs with Dean de Castro, including two *Perpetual Naborías* from the Lucayas (Bahamas) (Patronato 1995) (See Kulstad 2008, 133).

The Proceso de Alvaro de Castro also provides what may be the first evidence of the La Vega Carnival (Patronato 1995) which remains one of the most popular carnival celebrations in the Dominican Republic today. The Proceso records horse races being held at Concepción, as well as a mock battle between "Christians" and "Moors" (Patronato 1995, 213). Mock battles between Moors and Christians are an important element of these carnival celebrations (Valdez 1995) (See Kulstad 2008, 271).

4.11.7 Fuenmayor Government (1533-1543)

Lic. Alonso de Fuenmayor assumed the role of Hispaniola's president/bishop in 1533 (García 1906, 103; Incháustegui 1955, 89-80). Although Fuenmayor governed for 10 years, little is known about his period of government, especially outside of Santo Domingo. Most of the chroniclers present on Hispaniola, or their sources, did not travel much outside of Santo Domingo, due either to job requirements, or fear of being attacked by *Indio* or African rebels (see Oviedo in García 1906, 103-105). During his government all productive areas -including sugar and cattle, as well as gold - were plagued with workforce problems (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 73).

Although Enriquillo formally signed a peace treaty in 1533 (García 1906, 99; Guitar 1998, 347; Kulstad 2008, 74; Las Casas, III, 1995, Ch. 12; Oviedo IV, 1959, Ch. 4-8), his example sparked many other rebellions (Guitar 1998, 387; Kulstad 2008, 68; Las Casas III, 1951, Chp. 127; Utrera 1973, 481-82). Many workers ran away, or were "recruited" during the rebels' frequent raids (AGI, Indiferente General 420, L10, f198v; Guitar 1998, 262; Kulstad 2008, 75; Moya-Pons 1983, 1997, 1998). At the same time, African enslaved peoples were expensive and hard to obtain (García 1906, 103; Kulstad 2008, 75).

4.11.8 New Laws of 1542

In 1542, the New Laws of Indies were created, eliminating the Repartimiento system and effectively making the *Indios* free inhabitants of the colony (Guitar 1998, 258; Rogoziński 2000, 31; Rueda 1988, 25). It would be done through a plan that would eliminate *Naboría* labor and fase out *Perpetual Naboría* enslavement (Guitar 1998, 258; (Mira-Caballos 2007, 186; Rogoziński 2000, 31; Rueda 1988, 25) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 106).

For many years it was believed that the Indigenous people of Hispaniola had not survived to see the New Laws of 1542, due to the many abuses they were subjected to (Kulstad 2008, 106; Moya-Pons 1987, 10). Recent studies, however, suggest otherwise. According to ethnohistorical studies by Karen Anderson-Córdova (1990, 122-133, 2017) and Lynne Guitar (1998, 222-227) it appears that certain biases were introduced into primary historical sources used to calculate the number of *Naborías* present on Hispaniola for the purpose of slave importation. For example, decreases due to diseases were exaggerated in order to gain royal permission to import slaves (Ferbel and Guitar 2002, 1, 7). Also, many *Indios* were reclassified as *Perpetual Naborias* after 1542 to retain their labor (Ferbel and Guitar 2002, 7) (See Kulstad 2008, 106).

These workforce difficulties prompted several vecinos on Hispaniola, especially those in the Concepción area, to focus on cattle ranching, which required less workers (Concepción 1980, 1981; Guitar 1998, 326; Sáez 1994, 267-272). Cattle thrived on the island and were so abundant at the time that frequently only their hides were used in commercial trading (Guitar 1998, 281; Espinosa and Suazo 1528; Marte 1981, 332-335) (See Kulstad 2008, 232).

4.11.9 Cerrato Government (1543-1548)

Although Fuenmayor dissipated the Enriquillo rebellion, he was unable to halt the African slave revolts. The resolution of this problem, together with the substitution of the remaining gold industry with cattle ranching, were the main goals of Alonso López de Cerrato, when he was named as head of government in 1543 (García 1906, 114; Moya-Pons 2008, 51) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 74).

In the 1530s, gold was still mined on a small-scale at Concepción (Patronato 1995, 250), but by this period, cattle and cattle derivatives were the main goods produced. In fact, by 1547, gold was no longer smelted at Concepción, and miners had to go to Santo Domingo instead (Rodríguez-Morel 2000, 106). The prevalence of cattle ranching was made obvious in a complaint about the Cathedral being a manure deposit since there was much ranching close to it (Rodríguez-Morel 2000, 107).

Introducing these economic changes was not as difficult as controlling the African slave revolts. African rebels were known as *Cimarrones* – which was later corrupted to

Maroon on French and English colonies (Deive 1989; Kulstad 2008, 179; Mintz 1974; Weik 1997). Most of the *Cimarrones*, like those who followed Enriquillo, knew Spanish customs and language, and used it to their advantage (Kulstad 2008, 68; Marte 1981, 301; Informes 1546). Africans became an important concern as they were now the only peoples eligible to forced labor on the island.

This did not mean, however, that illegal enslavement of Indigeous people did not continue. Girolamo Benzoni, an Italian officially hired to enslave Indigenous peoples on Portuguese territories, tells of his experience raiding the Venezuelan coast in his lesser, yet widely popular chronicle (Moya Pons 2008, 50, 52). In 1546, the lack of enforcement of the New Laws all over the Americas prompted Las Casas to return to Spain and plead for the Court to enforce the laws (Pérez-Fernández 2010, 333).

4.11.10 Are These Not Men?: Religious Debates in Europe and Their Consequences on Hispaniola (1550)

It is often forgotten that when Columbus returned to Europe from the Americas, he created a schism in the European "reality." He discovered a "New World" with a series of new species, including one that appeared to be human. Discussions ensued as to whether or not these were real humans, given that God had not allowed them to know the Gospel until that time, meaning that perhaps they had no human souls and could not reach salvation (Maxwell 1975). After much deliberation, driven in great part by the fact that Christian theologians had to preserve a unity in their established world view of human creation (the Biblical story of Adam and Eve), the Indigenous peoples of the New World were found to be human, have souls, and eligible for conversion to Christianity (Erickson 1983, 21).

Pope Paul III declared Indigenous peoples to be human through the Sublimis Dei papal bull in 1537 (Maxwell 1975), 35 years after Columbus' first landfall. However, discussions continued as to the type of humanity exhibited by these peoples, specifically the amount of "free will" or "free agency" they possessed with regards to their understanding of "good" and "evil," and their capacity to understand the Gospel (Brunstetter and Zartner 2011, 735; Erickson 1983, 21). This was no idle discussion, since if the Indigenous peoples were found to be "barbarians" who had broken certain natural laws, enslavement was justified (Erickson 1983, 22; Las Casas 1999; Maestre-Sánchez 2004, 104; Sepulveda 1984). Humanness meant freedom from slavery, and a higher hierarchical position within society as opposed to Africans (Brunstetter 2012, 97; Las Casas 1999; Maestre-Sánchez 2004; Sepulveda 1984).

To settle this, a long term debate was held in Valladolid, Spain (1550-1551), officially focusing on whether 'just war" could be waged on Indigenous peoples to convert them to Christianity, but unofficially to determine whether they could, or should, be enslaved (Inéditos América y Oceanía XXXI, 1884, 54; Lamb 1956, 51; Losada

1971). The two main discussants in the debate were Fray Bartolome de las Casas, known for being one of the main supporters of giving Indigenous peoples full rights, and the other was Juan Gines de Sepulveda, who believed the Indigenous peoples deserved to be enslaved for breaking certain natural, or universal, laws (Losada 1970). It is important to note that both Sepulveda and Las Casas made their arguments based on considering all Amerindians as a unified "race" (Erickson 1983, 21), as opposed to focusing on a specific "tribe" or ethnic group in the Americas.

Sepulveda presented his argument first in his book, Democrates Secundus. Here he stated that Amerindians were barbarians because they broke natural, or universal, laws based on reason (Brunstetter and Zartner 2011, 733; Sepulveda 1984). The waging of war against them was justified due to (Losada 1970; Sepulveda 1984):

- Their natural condition was fit for slavery
- Spaniards were entitled to stop cannibalism
- Spaniards were entitled to stop human sacrifice
- Slavery was an effective method for conversion

Sepulveda based his arguments on Aristotle's definitions of good and evil, and the fact that the Indigenous peoples practiced idolatry, cannibalism and human sacrifice Brunstetter and Zartner 2011, 736-737; Sepulveda 1984). These actions proved that they had no concept of good and evil, or of the rationality underlying human society (Brunstetter and Zartner 2011, 737; Sepulveda 1984). This made them naturally inferior in Aristotelian terms, that is, subject to slavery (Brunstetter and Zartner 2011, 737; Sepulveda 1984). It must be noted that this was Sepulveda's particular interpretation of Aristotle's natural slave, and that he believed this war would eventually be good for the barbarians (Brunstetter and Zartner 2011, 738; Sepulveda 1984) since their souls would be saved.

His arguments were vigorously challenged by Bartolome de Las Casas in his In Defense of the Indians (Brunstetter and Zartner 2011, 738; Las Casas 1999). Las Casas did not believe war was necessary for evangelization, as per the doctrines of St. Augustine and St. John Chrysostom; in fact it should be avoided at all costs (Losada 1970). For him, war could only be justified to punish crimes against nature, perpetrated by barbarians (Brunstetter and Zartner 2011, 739; Las Casas 1999). His main argument is based on the subjectivity of the term "barbarian" (Brunstetter and Zartner 2011, 740; Las Casas 1999). Las Casas also attacks the idea that barbarism implies inequality and goes on to classify different barbarian types (Brunstetter and Zartner 2011, 739-740; Las Casas 1999):

- Man acting against human reason
- Those without written language (which is a matter of circumstance)

- Those who because of their evil and wicked character are cruel and strangers to reason. (He argues that it would be impossible to find one whole race, nation, region or country that fits into this category).

- All those who do not acknowledge Christ

It is interesting to note that Las Casas points out how his fellow Spanish could easily fit into these different classifications due to their misconduct during the Conquest of the Americas (Brunstetter and Zartner 2011, 739; Las Casas 1999). He also justifies most of the Amerindian's actions as acts of self-defense - 'every nation, no matter how barbaric, has the right to defend itself against a more civilized one that wants to conquer it and take away its freedom. Moreover, it can lawfully punish with death the more civilized as a savage and cruel aggressor' (Las Casas 1999). Most importantly, he sees acts such as human sacrifice and cannibalism as an expression of each particular culture that practices it, and of no concern to the Spanish because it does not harm Spanish sovereignty (Brunstetter and Zartner 2011, 742; Las Casas 1999), putting aside the idea that this falls into natural law. Unfortunately, no clear winner was declared in the Valladolid debates (Losada 1970).

4.11.11 The Last Years of Occupation (1549-1564)

Current Dominican historiography has uncovered little documentation about life on Hispaniola, and particularly Concepción, from 1549 to 1564, the last years of occupation of the Concepción site. Information is available about the sequence of governors present on Hispaniola during this period. These were Lic. Alonso Maldonado (1549-1559), Lic. Cepeda (1559-1560), and Lic. Alonso Arias de Herrera (1560-1562) (Guitar 1998, 70; Incháustegui 1955, 89-90; Kulstad 2008, 77). There is only one regidor in La Vega - Daza - who is not respected by the rest of the vecinos (Escolano-Giménez 2017).

The last mayor event that occurred during this site's occupation was the earthquake of Dec. 2, 1562. Historical accounts (Rodríguez-Morel 2000, 77) describe this as a broad-ranging quake that destroyed Santiago de los Caballeros; Concepción de la Vega; Cotuí; the Dominican convent in Puerto Plata; the Franciscan convent in La Yaguana (Charlevoix 1730; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 76; Palm 155a, s.n.) and was felt on other Caribbean islands (Kulstad 2008, 77; Woods 1999, 5). It is possible that aftershocks continued to be felt weeks after the first, as happened with the most recent large earthquake in the area, on Sept. 22, 2003 (Cocco-Quezada 2006; Kulstad 2008, 77).

4.12 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the influential military, political and diplomatic events related to Concepción during the period 1493 to 1564, previously examined in Kulstad

2008, chronologically. An attempt was made to match these events to a chronological succession of environmental interactions with the landscape (Pre-contact Indigenous settlements; palisades; casas fuertes/Medieval layout; Iberian Grid Town Plan; Pueblo Tutelados; and post-Pueblo Tutelado period) in an effort to identify what events affected which interactions.

In the end, this chronology of events culled mainly from historical records has provided an understanding of the political and economic forces that shaped the colony of Hispaniola, in general, and the city of Concepción in particular. However, the events presented here are too general to provide much information about the daily lives of those who lived at Concepción. A more thorough examination of historical data, with the purpose of gathering information about people and the activities they undertook, undertaken at a more specific scale, in necessary to better interpret artifact deposition patterning. This will be the aim of the next chapter.

5 HISTORY AS A PROCESS: SOCIOCULTURAL AND BIOPHYSICAL INTERACTIONS AT CONCEPCIóN IN NON-DOMESTIC SPACES (1494-1564)

5.1 Introduction

To study sociocultural and biophysical intercultural interactions at Concepción it is necessary to socially identify the “cultural groups” that are interacting. Too often we assume that these classificatory categories are intrisic/biophysical, when in fact they are socially determined. For example, many studies about Spanish colonial societies assume that social differentiation throughout the complete colonial period was organized through the sistema de castas [casta system] (Cope 1994; Jamieson 2005; Loren 1999, 2001; Morner 1967). The casta system was based on a hierarchical social classification of mixed peoples, with more than 40 categories, in which people from three geographic groupings, American, Iberian, and African, were considered to be the "pure" races (Cope 1994, 24; Morner 1967,58-5; Voss 2005, 463). An important distinguishing characteristic of the casta system is that the people born to parents of different races were not assigned the race of the lower-status parent, as was done in Anglo-American colonies (known as hypodescent classification). Rather, they were assigned to a totally new category.

However, the castas system was not instituted in the Spanish colonies until the 1580s (Guitar 1998), meaning that this WAS NOT the official system used to classify people at Concepción. Indeed, the Spanish authorities were at a loss about how to classify peoples during most of the 16th century (Rothchild 2015, 188).

Previous research by the author (Kulstad 2008, 2013b, 2015; Silliman 2016, 810) has focused on identifying the social differentiation categories used at Concepción during the 16th century. Three broad classification criteria were identified: geographic origin, gender, and position within the implemented labor systems.

Current research has found that sumptuary laws were also used during the period to try to create a social hierarchical system. Sumptuary laws regulated the use of certain clothing, food and luxury items according to social rank (AGI, Indiferente General 418, L2, ff168v-169; Acosta-Corniel 2013, 37; Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 188; Moya-Pons 1978, 110; Ribeiro 2003, 12–16; Suárez-Marill 1998, 15).

In an effort to better explore “intercultural” interactions here, this Chapter will first group people by geographic origin. Within these divisions, subcategories based on gender, enslaved/free, elite/non-elite, clergy/laity will be presented. A subsection will also discuss those who resisted these categories and created communities (both real and imagined” “outside of society,” such as the Roldán followers, *Indio* rebels and *Cimarrones*.

An important caveat to add is that, given the subjectivity of colonial documentary sources such as censuses (Guitar 1998), population size of each of these social categories will not be discussed. Population size, particularly that of the Indigenous

population, has been the subject of study of various researchers, and has already been published elsewhere (See Anderson-Córdova 1990, 2017; Cook and Borah 1971; Guitar 1998; Henige 1998; Las Casas 1985, vol. 2, Ch.1; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 255; Mann et al. 2005; Mira-Caballos 1997, 34; Moya-Pons 1987, 2013; Rosenblatt 1954, 102; Watts 1978).

The second half of the Chapter will explore the sociocultural interactions and biophysical interactions recorded in the historical record related to activities which could have occurred at the site in non-domestic spaces. For this study, the European/Spanish gender bias in the recording of men's activities (Rothchild 2015, 183) is useful, as the areas studied are non-domestic spaces, considered to be men's domain (Rothchild 2015, 183).

5.2 Indigenous Peoples/*Indios*

Due to the pre-contact and post-contact split in Dominican archaeology, there are two distinct and different approaches to the study of Indigenous people from the island of Hispaniola. While pre-contact (pre-historic) archaeology focuses on the links of these peoples to the rest of the Caribbean, post-contact (historic) archaeology deals with Indigenous people in a very site specific manner, following the current Dominican Historical Paradigm.

The first classification of Caribbean Indigenous peoples was undertaken by Christopher Columbus (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 12; Morison 1942). He divided Indigenous peoples in the Caribbean into two groups: those friendly with the Europeans, and those who were not (Hofman et al. 2008; Keegan 1996; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 243). Those who were against the Europeans were given the name "Carib," while the ones who were friends with the Europeans were only known as "Indios" (Valcárcel-Rojas (2016). Geographically, for the most part, the friendly *Indios* were located in the Greater Antilles, while the Carib seemed to be limited to the Lesser Antilles(Hofman et al. 2008; Keegan 1996; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 243).

Since the advent of archaeological research in the Caribbean in the 19th century Keegan and Hofman 2017, 13), efforts were made to identify the different pre-contact artifacts being found around the region, as well as describing the cultures that produced them (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 16-17). The first attempts at classification were language based, linking the Caribbean Indigenous cultures of the Greater Antilles to the Arawak of South America (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 13). In an effort to differentiate the Indigenous peoples of the Greater Antilles from those of the South American mainland (Arawak), and from those of the Lesser Antilles (Island Arawak), the term "Taíno" was adopted as a denomination (Lovén 1935; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 13; Rouse 1992; Wilson 1990a). The general Arawak linguistic group (including those denominated "Taino" and "Carib") is believed to have extended, ca. 1492, throughout most of the Caribbean, the northeastern coast of Venezuela (Cruxent and Rouse 1969;

Deagan 2004, 600; Kulstad 2008, 158; Tavares 1976, 7; Veloz-Maggiolo 1972), the Guianas (Duin 2014; Granberry 2013) and northern Brazil (Heckenberger et al. 2003). (For exhaustive bibliographies dealing with the Taíno, see Alegría 1997; Anderson-Córdova 1990, 2017; Guitar 1998; Keegan 1992; Keegan and Hofman 2017; Oliver 1998, 59-93; Rouse 1992; Sued-Badillo 1977; Veloz-Maggiolo 1972; Wilson 1990a, 1990b).

However, at the beginning of the 21st century, there was some question as to the accuracy of the "Taino" designation, both as a term (Curet 2014; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 247) and as an ethnic group (Rodríguez-Ramos 2010). Currently, both archaeologists and historians agree that there were many cultural links between the Indigenous peoples living in the Caribbean archipelago, including language (Granberry 2013; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 247) and trade (Hofman et al. 2007), but have yet to find substitute terms and definitions for "Taíno" (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 12-14, 247).

Meanwhile, archaeologically, Rouse proposed cultural links based on tangible traits, particularly those found in ceramics (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 16-17; Rouse 1992, 33). His Cultural-Historical approach groups local ceramic styles into regional series (ending in -oid), and divides series into sub-regional subseries (ending in -an) (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 16-17; Rouse 1992, 33). These ceramic groupings would reflect the grouping of similar peoples (Rouse 1992, 33). This system was adopted and adapted throughout the Caribbean.

More recently, the Caribbean archaeology group at Leiden University has undertaken ceramic studies in the region which has challenged Rouse's classifications (Ulloa-Hung 2014), but have adopted the nomenclature used by Rouse. Their research found that three distinct cultural/ceramic styles were present on Hispaniola in the Late Ceramic Age (the last pre-contact period), which they have termed Ostionoid, Mellacoid and Chicoid (Keegan and Hofman 2017; Ulloa-Hung 2014). Currently, it is considered that the Ostionoid style was more ephemeral, and limited to beach sites (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 148), so only Mellacoid and Chicoid styles will be discussed here.

Although the Mellacoid and Chicoid ceramic styles will be described in more detail in Chapter 6, it is important to summarize the characteristics of Mellacoid and Chicoid cultures on Hispaniola here. Mellacoid culture appeared earlier, close to AD 900 (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 148), with the earliest dates (AD 778 to 1148) coming from the Rio Verde site, approximately 2 km from the Concepción site (see Chapter 3). This culture is marked by the increase in slash-and-burn agriculture, and the possible introduction of South American cultigens (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 148). Meanwhile, Chicoid culture is believed to be the most complex in the Caribbean, often being denominated as Taíno (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 140). It is linked to the rise of hereditary leaders, social inequality, and chiefdoms/cacicazgos (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 140; Moscoso 1981, 1986). The ruling class's hegemony was expressed through the imposition of tribute (Moscoso 1981, 1986). The unifying element of Chicoid culture

appears to have been a religious unification around cemí worship (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 148; Oliver 2009). This group identity is often referred to as "Tainoness" (Rodíguez-Ramos 2010). Chicoid communities appear to have been large enough to amass enough troops to fight the European/Spanish, as seen in the Battles of the Vega Real (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 147) (See Chapter 4).

Unlike at the north coast of Hispaniola, where the Leiden group proposes possible coexistence between Mellacoid and Chicoid styles (and cultures) (Keegan and Hofman 2017; Ulloa-Hung 2014), there is little evidence of coexistence in the Concepción area (Caba 2018). This is partially due to the shortage of research focused on recovering Indigenous materials, currently limited to the studies undertaken at the Rio Verde and Cutupú sites in the 1970s, and which revealed that the Mellacoid ceramics had a radiocarbon date of AD 778 to AD 1148 (See Chapter 3). However, it is believed that Chicoid and European ceramics (and cultures) coexisted during the early contact period (Coste 2015; Deagan 1999).

Conversely, Dominican Historical Archaeology approaches *Indio* lifeways in a very site specific manner, due to the way in which information about these peoples were recorded in the historical record. An example of this are the Repartimiento records, which separate *Indio* numbers by cities. This dissertation will follow this usage.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Pre-contact Indigenous people(s) from the Americas in this document have been denominated as "Indigenous people(s) from…," identifying their specific place of origin - Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, etc. Indigenous people living after contact with the Europeans, have been labeled as "Indios" to create a temporal distinction. This is due to the fact that the Spanish chronicles did not record the names used by the Indigenous social, political or ceremonial communities in the Caribbean to name themselves (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 12)(For a detailed discussion see Curet 2014). The idea of naming peoples by origin is in accordance to the social classification system used by the Europeans/Castilians in the Caribbean after contact. This use is in an effort to make better connections between historical and archaeological strands of evidence used for this dissertation.

As stated in Chapter 1, although Valcárcel-Rojas (2016), and others (Ulloa-Hung 2016, 214; Valcárcel and Pérez-Concepción 2014) use the term "Indio" when referring to Indigenous peoples who have abandoned their precontact lifeways behind and embraced colonial lifeways. Here the term will be used to designate all Indigenous peoples after contact, since not enough is known about their lifeways at Concepción to make this distinction between those who adopted European lifeways and those who continued to live as before.

As will be further explored below, the European/Castilian authorities divided the *Indios* of the Caribbean into two, those they interacted with in a friendly manner, and those against which they had hostile conflict (Hofman et al. 2008; Keegan 1996; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 243). Again, following the established social classification

system, most of the friendly *Indios* were found in the Greater Antilles, while the conflictive were said to be based in the Lesser Antilles (Curet 2014, 471; García-Arévalo 2012; Guarch-Delmonte 1978: 7; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 243; Veloz-Maggiolo 2003; Wilson 1990). The friendly *Indios* were further divided into two social ranks: Nitaíno (elites) and the *Naborías* (non-elite). It is beyond the scope of this research to explore social rank amongst the conflictive *Indios*, and these will only be referred to in their function as *Perpetual Naborías*, that is, *Indios* brought from outside of Hispaniola for a particular type of enslaved labor.

5.2.1 Gold Tribute Period (1494-1499)

An account of this period at Concepción is found in the Relación acerca de las antigüedades de los *Indios*, by Catalonian Jeronymite friar Ramón Pané (Arrom 1988; Pané 1974 1990, 1999). Best known for being the only one to record "Taíno" religious practices (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 115), in the last chapters of his chronicle, Pané also records the difficult co-existence between the *Indios* and the European/Spanish at Concepción (Arrom 1988; Pané 1974, 1990, 1999). He records the baptism of many Indigenous people and the conversion of the "most evil woman," the mother of Cacique Guarionex (Pané 1974, 1990, 1999).

Modern-day historians and anthropologists (see for example Cassá 1974, 1978; Deagan 2004; Moscoso 1981, 1986; Moya-Pons 1992; Wilson 1990a, 1990b; Oberg 1955; Redmond and Spencer 1994) have analyzed Las Casas and Pané's writings and have suggested that the Indigenous people on Hispaniola were organized into hierarchical, non-egalitarian, chiefdoms (Moscoso 1981, 1986; Wilson 1990b, 28–34). Society was highly stratified, and separated into two major categories, the Nitaíno (elites) and the *Naborías* (non-elite) (Deagan 2004, 600; Kulstad 2008, 158; Moscoso 1981, 1986; Moya-Pons 1992).

The Nitaínos included two major categories: *Caciques* and *Behiques*. Caciques, or chiefs, were the absolute rulers of the chiefdoms or cacicazgos (Wilson 1990b, 28–34). They were also in charge of governance (Oliver 2005, 245). *Behiques*, or shamans, were in charge of the people's physical-spiritual health (Oliver 2005, 245). José Oliver sees an overlap in both of these functions, however, since most of the information about these two categories comes from Pané (Oliver 2005, 245), his role as an evangelizing priest probably limited his exposure to shamanistic rituals.

The *Naborías* were required to pay a tribute to the Nitaínos, both in produce and labor (Kulstad 2008, 166; Moscoso 1981; Tavares 1976, 28). The Nitaínos would then give the required tribute to the European/Spanish (Cassá 1978, 44; Incháustegui 1955, 9). Unfortunately, the gold tribute required by the European/Spanish disrupted the Indigenous lifeways and Columbus refused to change the requirements, leading to different wars, including the Battles of La Vega Real (See Chapter 4).

5.2.2 Repartimiento/Encomienda Period (1500-1508)

The upheaval caused by insurrections both by Resistant *Indios* and Roldán followers (See Chapter 4) was solved by a change from a feitoría-like system of interaction with the Indigenous peoples to one more similar to the Castilla-Leon Reconquista model used in both southern Spain and the Canary Islands (Guerrero 2016, 18; Kulstad 2008, 35). After this change, *Indio* laborers were distributed to work for the colonizers, not pay tribute (Guerrero 2016, 18; Moya-Pons 1983, 26; Rodríguez Demorizi 1971). The land and *Indios* distributed to the Roldán followers were in the gold rich areas of Bonao, La Vega and Esperanza (Las Casas 1985, I, 105). The *Indios* continued to be divided into *Nitaínos* and *Naborías*, but they executed slightly different functions.

5.2.3 Nitaínos (1500-1508)

The Nitaínos during this period were the part of the Indigenous ruling class. It appears that the European/Castilians considered the Nitaíno to be equivalent to the "lesser nobility" in Spain (Guitar 2001; Kulstad 2008, 166). These included the cacique (chief) and the tribe elders, as well as the *behiques*. The caciques could be either men or women, and still commanded centralized political power (Kulstad 2008, 166; Wilson 1990b, 28–34). Marriage to a female cacique was a source of social power (Guerrero 2016, 13).

Although the Nitaíno were an essential part of the colonial work system, they did not perform any manual labor. Their main function was to serve as intermediaries between the *Indio* workers and the Spanish authorities (Deagan 2004, 608; Guitar 2001; Kulstad 2008, 166). In order to do this, the Spanish selected the sons of cacique chiefs to be educated at selected Franciscan monasteries in the colony, including Concepción (AGI, Indif. Gen., Leg. 418, I F. 150v.; Guitar 1998, 170; Mira-Caballos 2007, 189; Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 83-85). This instruction undoubtedly contributed to the lessened influence of the *behiques*.

5.2.4 Naborías (1500-1508)

The *Naborías*, or *Trabajadores libres* ("Free" laborers), were the main worker group. They did not belong to one owner, and were not private property (Cassá 1978, 44; Inéditos América y Oceanía XXXI, 1884, 3 sig.; Lamb 1956, 46). They were under the jurisdiction of a *cacique*, and were mobilized from their native regions to gold mining regions, such as Concepción, to perform manual labor (Cassá 1978, 39, 41; Deagan 2004, 609; Kulstad 2008, 166; Moya Pons 2008, 35). According to the Crown, these *Indio* workers worked for a certain length of time, with long periods of "rest" assigned between seasons (Deagan 2004, 603; Kulstad 2008, 166). More specifically, five

months of work and 40 days of rest in between to work on their own food plots, or conucos (Cassá 1978, 44). Women took care of the conucos on-site while the men were away looking for gold (Deagan 2004). A system called *demora*, or the extension for several months of the mining work, was created in 1504, and eventually lead to continuous work cycles (Cassá 1978, 44; Kulstad 2008, 166).

5.2.5 Repartimiento/Encomienda Period (1508-1542)

This was a period of great changes for the *Indios* on Hispaniola. These changes were prompted by the fast decrease in Indigenous labor on the island, and confirmed by the Census of 1508 (Moya-Pons 2008, 33). It is in this year that the Crown gives colonial authorities permission to bring in Indigenous people from other parts of the Circum-Caribbean (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 209; Deive 1995; Guitar 1998, 127). It is important to note that the Nitaínos of Hispaniola had a higher hierarchical status than those from other islands.Concern for the survival of the Indigenous peoples became an obsession of the colonial imperial-religious system, as *Indios* slowly became commodities within the Repartimientos (Arranz-Márquez 1982, 39). (The Jeronymite plan to save Indigenous peoples is discussed in Chapter 4 - Pueblos Tutelados section).

5.2.6 Nitaínos (1508-1542)

The Nitaínos continued to be equivalent to the Spanish “lesser nobility” (Guitar 2001; Mira-Caballos 2007, 179). A full 20% of the caciques were women. Eighteen percent of the cacique names in the 1514 Repartimiento have a Spanish first name and an *Indio* last name, suggesting that they were baptized Christians. Some of the Spanish names could also be due to the name exchange ritual known as guaitiao (Guitar 1998, 136; Kulstad 2008, 167). These could also be the names of mixed children (Guerrero 2016, 13). Regardless of the reason, the large number of Spanish names among the caciques reflects interaction between upper class *Indios* and European/Spanish (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b; Kulstad 2008, 179).

Caciques continued to serve as intermediaries between the European/Spanish, but did not manage the *Perpetual Naborías* (see below). This lessened their power within society. Behiques also lost a great amount of their power during this period as new caciques came from the group educated at the Franciscan monasteries, as was the case with Enriquillo (Arranz-Márquez 1982, 44; Mira-Caballos 2007, 189).

5.2.7 Naborías (1508-1542)

The *Naborías* of this time period continued to be made up only of *Indios* from Hispaniola. They still did not belong to one owner (although nominally they were owned by the Crown), and were not private property (Cassá 1978, 44; Inéditos América y

Oceanía XXXI, 1884, 3 sig.; Lamb 1956, 46). This meant they were only supposed to work for the Crown, principally in the mines, construction, and agriculture (Inéditos América y Oceanía XXXI, 1884, 3 sig.; Lamb 1956, 46, 132).

However, a review of the Repartimientos of 1510 and 1514 show that they worked in various industries, alongside their "masters" - health, food production, construction, smithing and tailoring (Kulstad 2008, Tables 6-6 and 6-7). This work, a lot of it urban, made the creation of reducciones, or Indian towns, unfeasible for European/ Spanish colonists. This subject was discussed in the Jeronymite Interrogation in 1517 (AGI, Indif. Gen. 1624; Moya-Pons 2008, 35; Rodríguez Demorizi 1971). Although Spanish chroniclers kept meticulous records of the *Naborías* distributed as labor, they did not keep records of the segments of the population that did not work, such as the elderly, children and pregnant women (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Kulstad 2008, 166).

5.3.8 Perpetual Naborías (1508-1542)

By 1508, the loss of *Naborías* to disease and working conditions forced Spanish authorities to find new sources of laborers from lands in the Circum-Caribbean (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 209; Guitar 1998, 127; Kulstad 2008, 168). The conscription of these was justified by the "just war." (Erickson 1983; Las Casas 1999; Maestre-Sánchez 2004; Sepulveda 1984) This concept stated that Indigenous peoples were to be given a chance to accept Christianity (and its associated Spanish lifeways). If they confronted the Spanish or ran away, this was deemed rejection and these groups could be captured and taken in as workers. Some of these groups were accused of cannibalism, and were known in the documents as "Caribs" (See Cassá 1978, 53-54; Keegan 1992, 8-10, 226; Rouse 1992, 21-25, 145-146; Sued-Badillo 2003; Tavares 1976, 20). The dichotomy between "good and noble" *Indios* vs. "fierce cannibals" survived in the documentary record until recent times, when this was challenged by archaeologists (Hofman et al. 2008; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 115).

These conscripted Indigenous workers were known as *Perpetual Naborías*. Unlike the *Naborías*, they were private property and could be inherited (Cassá 1978, 53; Kulstad 2008, 167). Records show *Perpetual Naborias* were captured in the Bahamas, Colombia, Florida, the coasts of Mexico and Yucatán, the coast of Central America, northern South America (Venezuela and the Guianas), the Lesser and southern Antilles, and Brazil (Arranz-Márquez 1991, 79-26; Cassá 1978, 54; Deagan 1999, 11; Ferdinand 1511; Incháustegui 1955, 113; Kulstad 2008, 168; Las Casas, II 1995, Ch. 43-45 Marte 1981, 89; Otte 1958, 5-6; Rogoziński 2000, 31). The majority arrived between 1510 and 1530 on Hispaniola (Guitar 1998, 313). In the 1510s there were close to 30,000 *Perpetual Naborias* on the island (Guitar 1998, 90; Kulstad 2008, 167).

The process of bringing Perpetual Naborías to Hispaniola appears to have two facets, legal and illegal, with only the legal recorded in the historical documents. In spite

of this, it is possible to roughly trace the progression of captures across the Circum-Caribbean (a more complete description of this process is found in Deive 1995). The first peoples conscripted came from the Lucayas (Bahamas) (Las Casas, II 1995, Ch. 43-45; Moya-Pons 2008, 33). In 1508, Antón Serrano and Diego de Nicuesa were given permission by the Crown to import Indigenous people from the Lucayas to Hispaniola (Arranz-Márquez 1991, 79-26; Ferdinand 1511; Keegan 1992, 221-223; Las Casas, II 1995, Ch. 43-45; Marte 1981, 89; Moya-Pons 1987,49-50; Rogoziński 2000, 31). Lucas Vasquez de Ayllón, Mayor of Concepción, financed the enterprise (Moya-Pons 1987, 50, 61).

In 1511, although efforts were being made to formally colonize Puerto Rico and Cuba. Indigenous peoples from both islands were sent to Hispaniola as Perpetual Naborías (Moya-Pons 2008, 33, 34). Later, as Spanish settlements became more permanent, they started to import Perpetual Naborías themselves. A similar process occurred in Jamaica, starting in 1513 (Moya-Pons 2008, 34).

Captures were also undertaken along the northern Lesser Antilles, and by 1520, historical documents claimed that all islands, from the Virgin Islands to Barbuda, had been depopulated (except for St. Kitts and Nevis) (Kulstad 2008, 168; Moya-Pons 1983, 28, 1997, 1998; Rogoziński 2000, 31). That same year, captures started in Curaçao, Aruba, Bonaire, Barbados, St. Lucia and Tobago (AGI, Indif. Gen. 419, L5, ff68-71; Guitar 1998, 135; Rogoziński 2000, 31). The Venezuelan coast was raided most extensively from 1515 to 1520 (AGI, Indif. Gen. 420, L10, ff243r-243v; Guitar 1998, 135), there is evidence that it continued to be a source of Perpetual Naborías through 1543 (Benzoni 1992; Moya-Pons 2008, 52). Brazil and the Guianas, as part of Portuguese territory, provided workers throughout the colonial period, but were only legally available for purchase in Portugal (Mira-Caballos 2007).

Attempts to identify the Perpetual Naborías at Concepción in the historical record has been meager. First, Deive (1995) focuses more on the place of origin of the Perpetual Naborías, as opposed to where they went, and barely mentions Concepción. In spite of the varied Indigenous peoples listed as part of the Perpetual Naboría group, only Lucayans have been identified as such in the Concepción historical record. Two Lucayan maids are identified in the Cathedral Dean's household as part of his 1532 trial (Patronato 1995). More research is necessary to identify not only other Indigenous peoples that may have lived in Concepción, but also more aspects of their life, including the work they were assigned.

Perpetual Naboría conscription began to wane in the 1530s thanks in large part to efforts by the Dominican order, principally led by Fray Bartolomé de las Casas (Guitar 1998, 258; Kulstad 2008, 170; Rueda 1988, 25). Las Casas championed the idea of "non-violent pacification" of Indigenous peoples, meaning that "just war" could no longer provide Perpetual Naboría workers. Las Casas was successful in his campaign, which culminated in the New Laws of 1542 (Rueda 1988, 25). This greatly improved *Indio*

working conditions outside the Greater Antilles, leading to the survival of many Indigenous cultures outside of the Circum-Caribbean area (See Kulstad 2008, 170).

5.2.9 *Indio* Composition after 1542

As mentioned in Chapter 4, in 1542, the New Laws of Indies instituted a plan to eliminate Naboría labor and fase out Perpetual Naboría enslavement (Guitar 1998, 258; Mira-Caballos 2007, 186; Rogoziński 2000, 31; Rueda 1988, 25). This is a culmination of various attempts throughout the early colonial period to try to stop the fast decline in *Indio* population and again proposed the idea of separate communities, based on the Iberian urban population models (Graham 1998, 26). It must be noted that Indigenous people from Portuguese territories (Brazil and the Guianas) could still be officially enslaved (Mira-Caballos 2007). Often, after 1542, *Indios* from other areas of the Circum-Caribbean were enslaved illegally (Croizat 1992, XXXV; Moya-Pons 2008, 52) and said to be from Brazil (Mira-Caballos 2007, 182).

Similarly, Karen Anderson-Córdova (1990, 122-133, 2017) and Lynne Guitar (1998, 222-227) contend that, on Hispaniola, rather than releasing the Naborías from their posts, they were classified as Perpetual Naborías in subsequent censuses. The lack of Naborías was also used as an excuse to import enslaved peoples, both African and Indigenous (Ferbel and Guitar 2002, 1, 7).

The lack of Naboría labor eliminated the Nitaíno's position in colonial society. This category soon disappears from censuses, but it may be more of a consequence of the active religious indoctrination undertaken by cacique sons throughout the 50 years of the colony (AGI, Indif. Gen., Leg. 418, I F. 150v.; Mira-Caballos 2007, 189). Given that this is before the creation of the casta system, if any intermarriage had occurred, a large portion of this class may have been incorporated into the colony's ruling class.

"Freedom" for the *Indios* appears to have been one related to a freedom in movement. They were no longer required to work for the person owning the land (Mira-Caballos 2007, 179). They were allowed to work as servants everywhere, including cities. They also could undertake diverse labor activities: commerce, shoemaking, tailoring, cooks, etc. (Mira-Caballos 2007, 184). This freedom was not only a consequence of the New Laws, but also from the confirmation of their status as "humans" in the Las Casas-Sepulveda debates of 1550-1551 (Brunstetter 2012; Brunstetter and Zartner 2011; Erickson 1983; Las Casas 1999; Maestre-Sánchez 2004; Sepulveda 1984).

5.3 European Lifeways

5.3.1 European/Spanish

The peoples described in the following section mostly came from the part of the European continent currently known as Spain. However, it would be wrong to call them

solely “Spanish” given that, at that point in time, an even at the time of the writing of this document, the places these people originated from did not consider themselves to be part of such an entity. First of all, the country of Spain did not exist until the unification of the Crowns of Castile and Aragon with the crowning of Philip II in 1556 (Fernández-Álvarez 2000). It must be noted that most of the other European countries as we know them today did not exist either. In fact, during our period of study, the Spanish Habsburg dynasty governed most of the Americas, the Low Countries, and territories now in France, Germany and Italy in Europe (See Chapter 4). However, only Castilians were officially allowed to govern and live on Hispaniola and the rest of the Americas. This was due to the dictate of the Treaty of Tordesillas, in which the Pope divided the world between Castile and Portugal (Fernández-Álvarez 1975). Although eventually peoples from all parts of the Habsburg empire were allowed to come as settlers to Hispaniola, including converted Jews and converted Moors (Haring 1939, 131; Incháustegui 1955, 62), the official requirements to be part of the ruling class still followed the dictates of Castilian limpieza de sangre. Due to the variety of territories (both in Europe and around the world) the peoples from this continent described here have been denominated as “Europeans/…” with their place of origin following. When place of origin is unknown, the term “European/UID” will be used.

5.3.1.1 Castilian lifeways circa 1492

Castilian institutions, social classes and economy served as models for the society created in the early colonial period on Hispaniola (Kulstad 2008, 171; Moya-Pons 1983, 15, 1997, 1998; Pérez-Collados 1992, 116; Willis 1984, 12). The Castilian institutions of the 15th century were formed during the Reconquista (Kulstad 2008, 163; Moya-Pons 1983, 11, 1997, 1998; Pérez-Collados 1992, 116; Pérez de Tudela 1955a) (see Chapter 4, Section: Implantation of the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan).

Spanish society was divided into, in descending order, nobles, professionals, merchants, servants and farmers/herdsmen (Kulstad 2008, 163; Lockhart and Schwartz 1983, 5). The noble class and the hidalgos did not pay taxes, and were exempt of judicial obligations (Kulstad 2008, 163; Moya-Pons 1983, 14, 1997, 1998). There was however, some degree of upward mobility. Certain professionals, such as lawyers and doctors, were able to gain some privileges comparable to those within the nobility (Kulstad 2008, 163; Lockhart and Schwartz 1983, 5). Church officials had special privileges, similar to lawyers and doctors, which were comparable to those within the nobility (Kulstad 2008, 163; Lockhart and Schwartz 1983, 5).

Those who did not have access to funds for education, or a Church career, might earn noble status through war, or being employed by the government (Crown) (Lockhart and Schwartz 1983, 5). Chivalry [hidalgüismo], became a way of life (Elliott 1963, 38; Vicens-Vives 1969, 349). One of the main precepts of hidalgüismo was the disdain for

manual labor (Moya-Pons 1983, 12, 1997, 1998). Hidalgos considered work done by tradesmen, merchants and farmers to be of less “quality,” an attitude reinforced by the fact that a lot of this work was largely done by non-Christians (Moya-Pons 1983, 12, 1997, 1998). (See Chapter 4, and Kulstad 2008, 163).

Urban organization of society was important, especially within the Castilla-León Reconquista model, (later evolving into the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan) (Kulstad 2008, 163; Moya-Pons 1983, 11, 1997, 1998). Municipal centers and towns were led by a group of landowners who chose their leaders from among themselves (Kulstad 2008, 36; Moya-Pons 1983, 16-17, 1997, 1998). There were several posts, and together they formed a town government (ayuntamiento) whose main functions included collecting taxes, keeping the peace, guaranteeing town supplies, regulating prices, and executing public works (Kulstad 2008, 36; Moya-Pons 1983, 16-17, 1997, 1998).

5.3.1.2 Europeans on Hispaniola

Although only Castilians were supposed to go to Hispaniola according to the Tratado de Tordesillas, eventually peoples from all parts of Europe travelled to this island after the Habsburg Empire expanded. Legal documented travelers mentioned in official historical chronicles, the Repartimientos, and official documents will be highlighted here, namely those from Castile, Aragon, Italy (Genoa), Germany and Portugal.

The Castilian adversity to manual work, part of hidalgüismo, created a particular colonial situation which required the need for a labor interaction between workers and masters. The first of this type of interactions was limited to Columbus and his servants (See Chapter 4). This did not end well, due to the fact that the Castilian servants did not feel Columbus’s Genoese family treated them fairly (Julián 2015). Roldán and his followers left La Isabela to live with the Indigenous peoples of Xaragua. In exchange for their return to society, they were given benefits only allowed the Castilian elites on the Peninsula (see section Primeros Pobladores) (Guerrero 2016, 18; Las Casas I, 1927, 577).

5.3.1.3 Columbian period (1494-1499)

Columbus (and his family) governed Hispaniola colony from 1494-1499. Officially, during this period there was little official interaction between the Europeans and the *Indios* due to the implantation of the feitoria/tribute system. Unofficially, Roldán and his followers lived in the same communities as the Indigenous peoples and learned many of their ways. This period ends with the official stance on interaction changing from segregation to integration of the different communities. It is important to note that few, if

any, European women came to Hispaniola during this period (Acosta-Corniel 2013; Rothchild 2015).

5.3.1.4 Ruling class: Columbus family (1494-1499)

Columbus was granted governance of the lands he “discovered” through the Capitulaciones de Santa Fe (García-Gallo 1976). As discussed earlier (See Chapter 4), the process of validating this right took years (García-Gallo 1976). One of the main aspects confirming the Capitulaciones concerned its implantation of segregated *Indio*/ European communities which meant a loss of *Indio* servants living on-site.

5.3.1.5 Ruling class: Castilian elite (1494-1499)

Although the ideal settler, according to the Castilla-León Reconquista model, was the vecino (landowner), in reality, given the precariousness of life on the island, few Castilian elites lived on Hispaniola during this period. At the same time, the feitoría was set up so that Christopher Columbus had most of the governing power (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 12; Sauer 1993, 112).

5.3.1.6 Ruling class: Clergy (1494-1499)

During this period, the clergy were an important part of the ruling class because they were in charge of determining the religious needs of the *Indios*. In fact, the concern over the *Indios’s* position in Christianity became the main concern of the upper echelons of the colonial clergy in the years to come, and regular everyday running of the churches became the task of lower level clergy.

5.3.1.7 Servant class (1494-1499)

The feitoria system implanted in the La Isabela settlement effectively made Christopher Columbus the administrator and governor of the island, and gave everyone else servant status (Sauer 1993, 112). This was one of the reasons behind the Roldán rebellion (Julián 2015).

The servant class learned how to survive on the island better than the elites due to their closer interactions with the *Indios*, particularly those who had followed Roldán. They often were able to rise to the ruling class thanks to this knowledge, together with the wealth they produced through gold mining (Cassá 1978, 35; Charlevoix 1730, 127; Las Casas I, 1927, 577).

5.3.1.8 Ovantine period (1500?-1564)

Although Governor Nicolas de Ovando did not arrive in Hispaniola until 1502, the European/Spanish group did not change much after the reintegration of the Roldán

followers in 1499. This group of ex-rebels became known as “Primeros Pobladores” [First Settlers]. However, it is Ovando’s acceptance of this group into the ruling class that transforms this period, and is something that creates a difference between New and Old World lifeways.

Ovando did not, however, arrive on Hispaniola with this purpose in mind. He came with orders to re-organize the colony's settlements according to the Castilla-León Reconquista model, due to Columbus’s failure with the feitoría model (See Chapter 4, and Kulstad 2008, 35). To achieve this, Ovando created or re-organized a series of settlements following the model (Cassá 1978, 42; Kulstad 2008, 48). This was facilitated by the fact that he arrived with 2,500 new European/Spanish settlers (there had previously been only 300 Spaniards present) (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 276; Kulstad 2008, 48).

These settlements were to be run by its elite members, or vecinos. Ovando set up each city’s governance structure, ordered the construction of municipal buildings and churches, and installed mayors and priests (García 1906, 70; Kulstad 2008, 48). In other words, he organized the town infrastructure in a manner that guaranteed alliance to the Spanish Crown (Concepción 1981; Lamb 1956; Moya-Pons 1978; Palm 1951, 1952).

5.3.1.9 Ruling Class: Vecinos at Concepción (1500?-1564)

Most of the historical information about these families comes from documents related to the 1514 Repartimiento, since only they were supposed to acquire Repartimiento Naboría laborers (Arranz-Márquez 1991). Given their position against Diego Colón, and the fact that half of those living in the city in 1514 had *Indio* wives (Arranz-Márquez 1991), there is little doubt that these vecinos supported communal integration.

As time progressed, power in the form of *Indio* labor became concentrated in the hands of a few Concepción vecinos. One reaction was a mass migration by the elite to Santo Domingo first (Kulstad 2008, 62; Moya-Pons 1983, 37, 1997, 1998), and then onto the mainland settlements, particularly Central America, Mexico, and later Peru (Guitar 1998, 145; Incháustegui 1955, 99; Kulstad 2008, 62; Moya-Pons 1983, 33, 1997, 1998; Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 67). Many historians have suggested that this mass migration of elites was the cause of much the colony’s decline (Charlevoix 1730; García 1906, 102; Moya-Pons 1983, 28, 1997, 1998) (See also Kulstad 2008, 62).

5.3.1.10 Colonial officials (1500?-1564)

It appears, according to historical documents, that a great portion of the European/Spanish ruling class at Concepción during this period was made up of colonial officials. Although some of these officials were part of nobility in Europe before coming to the Americas, most were persons who achieved elite status through the concession of titles and government posts by the Crown. This granting of privileges was a common practice by the Spanish Crown, from the time of the Catholic Monarchs (Isabel and Ferdinand) to Philip IV (1665) (Álvarez-Ossorio 1998, 268). These were usually granted to those who showed military prowess and loyalty to the Crown, regardless of their limpieza de sangre (Álvarez-Ossorio 1998, 268). These privileges could also be bought, and often were, by people who had amassed great wealth in the Americas (Álvarez-Ossorio 1998, 267).

Since wealth could change a European/Spaniard's social status on Hispaniola, the ability to create more wealth (i.e. mine more gold) was integral to the settlement's social organization. In other words, the more workers received in the Repartimiento meant more mining, more gold, more wealth, and consequently a chance to have a higher status amongst the elite (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 209). This lent itself to corruption, especially amongst government officials who did not fit into the traditional "elite" description. The different Repartimientos were plagued with shady dealings and obvious partiality towards those who paid large bribes (Cohen 1997b, 5; García 1906, 78; Guitar 1998, 134; Kulstad 2008, 59; Moya-Pons 1983, 27, 1997, 1998). This became one of the reasons for the Crown to halt Repartimientos after 1514 (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Kulstad 2008, 60). This made it much harder for colonial officials to change their colonial status and solidified the base of the elite status for the rest of the colonial period on Hispaniola.

Although the vecino status could be achieved by all members of a family, only European/Spanish men could be given a governmental post. This has skewed documentary information since most of it focused on governmental activities.

5.3.1.11 Primeros Pobladores [First Settlers] (1500?-1564)

A group of Roldán followers was the first significant group of Spanish non-elites to settle at Concepción. After reaching an agreement with the group in Oct. 1499, Columbus gave land and *Indios* to 120 members of this group in Bonao, La Vega, and Esperanza (Charlevoix 1730, 153; Guerrero 2016, 18; Las Casas I, 1927, 577).

Although the wealth they amassed from their gold mines helped consolidate their elite status (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 201; Las Casas I, 1927, 577; Moya-Pons 1983, 24, 1997, 1998), in practice it was their knowledge of colonial culture that helped

them rise to the top (Benzo 2000), thanks in large part to their connection to *Indio* culture.

Castilian hierarchies were also disrupted by the social mobility bought through wealth during this early colonial period, particularly amongst Europeans. During this period sumptuary laws were instituted to try to curb social mobility (Álvarez-Ossorio 1998; Patronato 1995, 136), but these were ineffective.

5.3.1.12 Clergy (1500?-1564)

The first Franciscan superior, Francisco Espinal (Espinar) arrived in 1502 with Ovando, along with 12-13 monks (Arranz-Márquez 1982, 30). Their main monastery, at least through 1514 appears to have been at Concepción (Cohen 1997b, 6; Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 59). (For more information on the Franciscans in early colonial Hispaniola, see Arranz-Márquez 1991, 19-32; Dobal 1987, 1991; Errasti 1998, 25-26; Kulstad 2008, 123; Tavani 1991, vol. 1, 129).

The first members of the Dominican order arrived on Hispaniola in 1510 (Charlevoix 1730, 240; Incháustegui 1955, 105; Kulstad 2008, 56). (See Chapter 4, Section: Arrival of the Dominican Order) The Dominican position has been well recorded, thanks to the writings of Las Casas (1945,1951, 1958, 1967, 1985, 1992, 1994; 1999). He was one of their main supporters and advocates in Court (Pérez-Fernández 2010). Also, he was assigned to be the prior of the first Dominican monastery built in the Cibao area, in Puerto Plata, in 1527 (Pérez-Fernández 2010). He did not look favorably at the Franciscan position, accusing them of taking advantage of the Repartimiento to get free labor (Arranz-Márquez 1982, 32), although there is evidence that the Franciscan Monastery in Concepción returned the Naborias they received in 1514 (Arranz-Márquez 1982, 46).

5.3.1.13 Servant class: Non-elite Colonists/Gente Baja (1500?-1564)

The first group of non-elite workers that went to Concepción arrived with Ovando in 1502. They came as farm laborers, but most decided to become gold prospectors instead (Kulstad 2008, 177; Moya-Pons 1978, 188). As the Ovando government progressed, efforts were made to have married couples migrate to increase the Spanish presence on the island (Arranz-Márquez 1979; Kulstad 2008, 177; Lamb 1956). However, a drought and grain shortage in Castile and Andalusia, from 1504 to 1507, caused the migration of a great number of non-elite men, and by 1510 there were reports of 3,000 vagrant single men on Hispaniola (Arranz-Márquez 1979, 16-18; Kulstad 2008, 177), many not of the high moral standards demanded by the Crown (Kulstad 2008, 177; Moya-Pons 1983, 15).

The 1514 Repartimiento gives the names of several tradesmen who received *Indio* workers to help them at their crafts (See Benzo 2000; Kulstad 2008, Tables 6-6 and 6-7). Although it is possible to identify some of Concepción's non-elite European/ Spanish inhabitants in the Repartimientos and other records according to their trades, it is difficult to determine their number during this period. Spanish documents did not often focus on non-elite individuals. At the same time, other areas of non-elite lifeways are not well recorded in historical documents. Another factor that hinders the identification of the Spanish non-elites was the relative ease through which upward mobility was achieved during this period. In spite of their intention at migration to undertake farming or trade work (Guitar 1998, 193), most were interested in joining the elite class and refused to work, creating a constant need for non-elite migration. This was especially true at Concepción after gold began to be readily available, and after the Roldán followers achieved elite status through civil disobedience (See discussion in Kulstad 2008, 42).

The Crown offered non-elites many incentives to stay on the island and not migrate elsewhere after later colonies were founded. These included free passage, free food for a year and agricultural tools (Benzo 2000; Incháustegui 1955, 121; Kulstad 2008, 177). In spite of these incentives few non-elites wanted to migrate to Hispaniola. Desperate, the Crown became more lenient in terms of the moral requirements imposed on the settlers (See discussion in Kulstad 2008, 62).

5.3.1.14 Non-elite clergy (1500?-1564)

In spite of the clergy comprising a separate social category which was closely linked with the European/Spanish elite, non-elite church servants, also existed, such as the Cathedral's sexton, and steward. This is evident in the Castro trial proceedings (Patronato 1995). This group dealt primarily with the everyday functions of the Church, as opposed to the elite clergy which seemed to be more involved in the Christianization of the Indios.

5.3.2 Other Europeans at Concepción

As stated above, during most of this period the Spanish Habsburg dynasty governed most of the Americas, the Low Countries and territories now in France, Germany and Italy in Europe, as well as the territory of modern Spain. Although officially other European peoples were not allowed on Hispaniola without special permission (Arranz-Márquez 1991, 172), in reality non-Castilian members of the Habsburg empire came, especially if they were able to undertake a specific, necessary, task.

The first non-Castilians to arrive on Hispaniola were the Genoese family of Christopher Columbus (Moya-Pons 1983). Later there is mention of some Italians acting as representatives of the German Welser family in the gold trade (Palm 1955a, 102). It

is uncertain whether these Italians were only in Santo Domingo, or were also involved in the foundry process in Concepción. There is evidence of Italians being involved in the production and trade of ceramics bound for the Americas in Seville (Deagan 2002a, 27). Later, various Genoese interests played an important role in sugar production, particularly in the African slave trade and the commerce of sugar (Guerrero 2016, 23; Moya-Pons 2008, 65).

The Aragonese were also an early group that came to Concepción. Most of these vecinos were sent to Concepción to counterbalance Diego Colon's power in Santo Domingo (Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 55; Pérez-Collados 1992, 122).

The Welser and Fugger families were banker families in Germany who also had mining and trade interests with the Spanish Crown. They were given concessions to mine in Venezuela and in Cotui (Arciniegas 1991 [1941], 50; Palm 1955a, 97). It is possible that they had an agent at Concepción.

There is evidence of Portuguese at Concepción, apparently involved with the salt trade (Benzo 2000). Elsewhere on Hispaniola, the Portuguese were involved in the sugar and African slave trade (Guerrero 2016, 23; Guitar 1998, 198).

5.4 African Lifeways

As stated in Chapter 2, Historical Archaeology's has a particular interest in the lifeways of the African diaspora in the Americas (Adams and Boling 1989; Armstrong and Hauser 2009; Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Baker 1980; Bullen and Bullen 1945; Ferguson 1980; González-Tennant 2014, 43; Otto 1980; Politis 2003, 128; Schmidt 2006; Weik 2012). However, much of the research in the Circum-Caribbean has focused on the English-speaking colonies (Armstrong and Hauser 2009; Baker 1980; Bullen and Bullen 1945; González-Tennant 2014, 43), plantation settings (Adams and Boling 1989; Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Ferguson 1980; Otto 1980; Singleton 2015), and/or 18th century contexts (Armstrong et al. 2009; Delle et al. 2011; Deagan and Landers 1999; Deagan and MacMahon 1995; Landers 1990; Marron 1989; Piatek and Halbirt 1993; Hauser 2011, 2015).

Conversely, very little is known about African peoples lifeways in 16th century Hispaniola. This is in spite of the fact that this was their first port of entry in the Americas (AGI, Indif. Gen., 420, L8 ff93r-93v.; Albert-Batista 2010; Guitar 1998, 268; Torres-Saillant 2010, 4), and historical documents record their presence in the area under Concepción's jurisdiction (Deagan 1995b; Patronato 1995). Part of the difficulty in identifying their presence stems from the fact that, despite their common geographic origin, peoples of African descent held very different positions in society during this period (Jamieson 2004, 436). They were classified into four major groups: Libertos, *Ladinos*, *Bozales*, and *Cimarrones*. The term Liberto referred to those persons of African origin who came from Spain as free people, as well as those who gained their

freedom through legitimate means while on the island (Deive 1989; Franco 1975). Ladinos were enslaved peoples of African ancestry, brought from Spain with a knowledge of Spanish language, religion and culture, thanks to residing in Spain for at least a year (Deive 1989, 20; Franco 1975; Larrazabal 1975, 13, 17). Bozales were African enslaved peoples brought directly from the African continent (Kulstad 2008, 2013b; Landers 1999, 16). *Cimarrones* (Maroons), were ex-slaves of African ancestry who had managed to become free through escape from their masters (AGI, Indif. General 1624; Deive 1989; Franco 1975; Guitar 1998, 338; Kulstad 2008, 179). This section will discuss Libertos, Ladinos, and Bozales, since they lived within the planned Spanish settlements. *Cimarrones* will be discussed later, as they lived outside organized society.

It is uncertain whether a Liberto or a Ladino was the first person of African descent to arrive on the island, but a person from the African continent was buried at La Isabela (Deagan 2017). The first large contingent of Ladinos which arrived at Concepción, however, was related to Bishop Deza's plan to substitute gold production with sugar production, including the change of laborers (Naborias and Perpetual Naborias) to African enslaved peoples (Moya-Pons 1978, 176) (See Sugar Production section below).

This was not so easy, given that Spain did not have the religious right to capture slaves in Africa, a right granted to Portugal in the Tordesillas Treaty (Deive 1995). Instead, it had to give an exclusive monopoly to foreign merchants to supply them with African slaves (Deagan 2002a, 27-28). This monopoly, known as the Asiento, was granted to Portuguese merchants from 1595 to 1640, passing on to several other European countries in later years (Deagan 2002a, 27-28).

Additionally, there is the tendency to think that all African enslavement was plantation style, where African peoples were allowed limited mobility, mostly within the plantation limits and were subjected to grueling outdoor, agricultural labor (Deetz 1977, 250; Potter 1991). This type of enslavement came with the introduction of sugar production. African enslaved peoples functioned under the jornal system (explained below), similar to the one used in Seville (Landers 1999). The large number of African enslaved peoples involved in sugar production necessitated the limitation of African enslaved peoples' mobility, particularly the men's. Especially harsh were the 1526 provisions that Africans slaves could not have free children (Guitar 1998, 259; Kulstad 2008, 184). This became a reason behind eventual slave escapes. As in other parts of Latin America (Jamieson 2004, 437), it is difficult to find out the "nation" origin of these Africans in Concepción during this time period.

5.4.1 African Lifeways in Spain circa 1492

Ladinos and Libertos who came to Hispaniola before 1516 came from Spain, not Africa. Most of the African enslaved peoples had lived in Spain for several years and had already been taught Spanish language and customs (Deive 1989, 20; Kulstad 2008, 179). African enslaved peoples had been introduced to Spain by the Muslims in 711, and played an important role in southern Spanish society from the 13th Century onward (Kulstad 2008, 165; Landers 1999, 7). Special laws governed African communities, and provisions were made which allowed Africans to become free, usually through buying freedom from their masters (Deive 1989, 20; Kulstad 2008, 179; Landers 1999, 7).

5.4.2 Africans on Hispaniola (1502-1516)

All of the Africans in Concepción, and the rest of Hispaniola, during this period came from Spain, regardless of their freedom status (Landers 1999). This was due to the fact that Africans had to be Christians to be able to come to the colony (Deagan 2012, 3). This added step in the migration process makes it difficult to specify where in Africa these peoples came from, and brings to question how "African" their lifeways actually were. An additional element to ponder is the fact that most Africans during this period were house servants (Deive 1989, 20; Larrazabal 1975, 13), with some exceptions related to mining (discussed in more detail below). By 1510, Ladinos were considered better workers than the *Indios* by the colonial authority (Deive 1980, 31; Kulstad 2008, 179). They believed the work of one African was worth that of four Indians (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 211; Deive 1980, 31; Incháustegui 1955, 113; Kulstad 2008, 179). This was in large part due to the Africans' resistance to many European diseases (Kulstad 2008, 179; Rogoziński 2000).

5.4.3 African Libertos (1502-1516)

There is little information about Libertos on Hispaniola in the 16th century. Many of them arrived as free people from Spain (Guitar 1998, 199; Kulstad 2008, 179). Most held criado (servant) posts, with responsibilities similar to those of European/Spanish non-elites (Guitar 1998, 199; Kulstad 2008, 245). Liberto women probably also worked in European/Spanish households, but at a higher position than the enslaved women. African Liberto men were also present in the gold fields during this period (Guitar 1998, 125; Kulstad 2008, 179).

5.4.4 African Ladinos (1502-1516)

Only Ladino slaves were allowed to travel to the New World during this period (Deive 1980, 1989; Franco 1975; García 1906, 67; Isabel 1501; Kulstad 2008, 179; Marte 1981, 15; Larrazabal 1975, 13, 17; Rogoziński 2000, 51). The first group of Ladinos were brought by Ovando in 1502, and ran away as soon as they arrived (Moya Pons 2008, 65). However, to their reputation as good workers they continued to be exported after this first bad experience. As stated above, Ladinos already knew Spanish language, religion and culture because they had resided in Spain for at least a year (Deive 1989; Franco 1975; Kulstad 2008, 179), probably in Seville (Moya Pons 2008, 73). This guaranteed that these peoples knew Spanish culture and were Christians (Moya Pons 2008). There is some discrepancy as to what exactly these peoples were doing, as Moya Pons (2008, 65) claims that all were undertaking domestic labor, while others have placed them in mines, both copper and gold (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 211; Fox 1940, 23-24; Incháustegui 1955, 114; Kulstad 2008, 245; Larrazabal 1975, 13), and in construction (Deive 1989, 24; Larrazabal 1975, 13).

Due to their high prices, Ladino slaves were considered to be a luxury (Deive 1989, 20; Kulstad 2008, 179). Most African slaves could only be brought into Hispaniola by a select group of elite Spaniards (Kulstad 2008, 179; Landers 1999). Both men and women worked under the jornal system, which allowed slaves to live and work with relative independence of movement (Kulstad 2008, 165; Landers 1999, 16).

5.4.5 African Bozales (1502-1516)

Since only Ladinos could be imported legally to Hispaniola during this period, any Bozales present at Concepción would have been illegal. The restrictions in terms of who could have slaves, as well as limiting slavery to Ladinos, led to a flourishing illegal slave trade that lasted throughout the early colonial period (Kulstad 2008, 179; Marte 1981, 317-318; Vallejo 1519). It appears that most of these illegal enslaved peoples were Bozal men, who were brought straight from Africa to work in gold prospecting and mining (Kulstad 2008, 223; Landers 1999, 16). They were considered to be more docile than Ladinos (AGI, Patronato, 174; Guitar 1998, 361).

5.4.6 African Lifeways (1516-1564)

Starting in 1516, African lifeways on Hispaniola changed dramatically. It was first due to the Jeronymite plan to substitute economic production systems (from gold to sugar), which included a change from *Indio* to African labor (Moya-Pons 1978, 176). This was later complicated by the smallpox pandemic of 1517-1518 that depleted the Indian population(AGI, Patronato 172, R35; Guitar 1998, 248; Kulstad 2008, 62; Moya-Pons 1983, 29, 1997, 1998; Pichardo 1944).

This change in labor requirements altered African slavery on Hispaniola making it different from the eminently urban setting in Spain. Sugar production brought the establishment of plantations, and a change in laws regarding manumission, miscegenation and enslavement (Kulstad 2008, 228; Landers 1999, 11). Additionally, the Crown changed its slave importation policy during this period, preferring Bozal slaves to Ladinos (Deive 1989, 27; Kulstad 2008, 179; Torres-Saillant 2010, 8). This change in policy of importing only Bozal slaves started during the Jeronymite government (1516-1519) (Deive 1989, 26; Kulstad 2008, 179; Larrazabal 1975, 14, 21), and was made into law in 1526 (Deive 1989, 32; Kulstad 2008, 179; Larrazabal 1975, 100).

Bozales had not been acculturated in Spain previous to their arrival on Hispaniola, and spoke no Spanish (Deive 1989; Kulstad 2008, 179; Moya-Pons 1983, 34, 1997, 1998). It was believed that these slaves were better because they had not been contaminated by the “evils of civilization” (Guitar 1998, 196; Kulstad 2008, 179). A 1522 mandate created plantation workforces out of different African ethnic and language groups to avoid communication and possible revolts (Deive 1989, 35, 217). At the same time, they probably were cheaper than Ladinos (Rodriguez-Morel 2000, 106-107).

The slave trade was a complicated system which caused problems for the Crown and the colonial authorities (See discussion in Kulstad 2008, 184). This was partly due to the fact that the Spanish could not traffic in African slaves per the Treaty of Tordesillas (Deive 1995; Kulstad 2008, 184). To overcome these problems, the authorities on both sides of the Atlantic, starting in 1526, promoted the creation of a workforce born on Hispaniola (Kulstad 2008, 184; Moya-Pons 2008, 66). A Royal decree declared that at least 1/3 (later ½) of the Bozales imported must be women, while at the same time, married enslaved peoples could not be freed, and their children could not be free (Guitar 1998, 259; Kulstad 2008, 184; Moya-Pons 1978). This effort did not work, partly because it was not compatible with the labor requirements of the sugar production system (Guitar 1998, 280; Kulstad 2008, 228), and partly because once the Bozales became acculturated, they were sold to the Mainland (Kulstad 2008, 184; Larrazabal 1975, 37; Rogoziński 2000, 52).

5.4.7 African Libertos (1516-1564)

Just as in the earlier period, there is little information about Libertos living on Hispaniola at this time. Most of those in the colony must have been born to free parents, while some may have arrived as free people from Spain (Guitar 1998, 199; Kulstad 2008, 179).

5.4.8 African Ladinos (1516-1564)

Although Ladinos could no longer be imported legally to Hispaniola after 1526 (Deive 1989, 32; Larrazabal 1975, 100), they were still present on the island, many of them as children of enslaved peoples brought in the earlier periods. Later, most Bozales became Ladinos after learning Spanish, and becoming “Christian.” Historical records show that owners seemed to give higher posts to Ladinoized workers (Kulstad 2008, 179; Larrazabal 1975, 107), especially women in domestic labor (See Patronato 1995, 214).

After 1540, and into the 1560s, most of the enslaved peoples taken to the Mainland were the Ladinos which had been acculturated on Hispaniola (Kulstad 2008, 179; Larrazabal 1975, 37; Rogoziński 2000, 52). By 1555, historical records say many vecinos on Hispaniola preferred to sell slaves rather than work them, causing a shortage in workers (Kulstad 2008, 179; Larrazabal 1975, 40), as well as bordering on illegality.

It appears that Ladinos had more freedom of movement than Bozales, in large part due to their knowledge of Spanish culture, particularly the Spanish language. Efforts to curtail their movement was part of the 1528 and 1544 slave Ordenanzas (laws) (Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Documento Secreto 243, Legajo 3, No. 97a, ff24-33; Guitar 1998, 373; Larrazabal 1975, 110). It is important to note that these had rules strictly divided by gender, (Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Documento Secreto 243, Legajo 3, No. 97a, ff24-33; Guitar 1998, 373; Kulstad 2008, 233; Larrazabal 1975, 110).

Ladinos could not own taverns or wine (Kulstad 2008, 234; Larrazabal 1975, 110). They could not go into the countryside to buy produce or sell it without their masters’ permission (Larrazabal 1975, 110). Enslaved peoples were not allowed to carry weapons of any kind (Larrazabal 1975, 107). They were also banned from selling clothes (Larrazabal 1975, 110), as well as the wearing of certain types of silks and brocades (Moya-Pons 2008, 106).

Although slave ordenanzas included ways in which slaves could become free (Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Documento Secreto 243, Legajo 3, No. 97a, ff24-33; Deive 1980; Guitar 1998, 373; Kulstad 2008, 183; Landers 1990; Larrazabal 1975), conditions for freedom became increasingly more intricate with each revision of these regulations. Especially harsh were the 1526 provisions that said African enslaved peoples could not have free children (Guitar 1998, 259; Kulstad 2008, 183).

5.4.9 African Bozales (1516-1564)

Due to the need for a different type of worker in sugar production, the Crown changed its slave importation policy during this period, preferring Bozales to Ladinos (Deive 1989, 27). Most of the Bozales that came during this period were from Cape

Verde, Guinea and other Portuguese colonies (Deive 1989, 26; Larrazabal 1975, 14, 21). The different ethnic groups were identified by brands marking their place of origin (Larrazabal 1975, 74) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 165).

This change in policy of importing only Bozales started during the Jeronymite government (1516-1519) (Deive 1989, 26; Kulstad 2008, 219; Larrazabal 1975, 14, 21), and was made into law in 1526 (Deive 1989, 32; Kulstad 2008, 219; Larrazabal 1975, 100). Ironically, the first slave insurrection was led by Bozales from the Wolof tribe on Diego Columbus's sugar plantation in 1522. The Wolofs were not allowed into the colony after that time, partly because they were Muslim (Guitar 1998, 256; Kulstad 2008, 219; Oviedo in Rueda 1988, 122; Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 66).

Although most of the Bozales on the island were destined for the sugar industry, at Concepción most worked in the cattle and gold industries (Incháustegui 1955, 74; Kulstad 2008, 223, 232; Patronato 1995, 224). Throughout this time period, Bozales were bought from merchants who came into town during the fundición period at a cheaper price than if the vecinos bought them in Santo Domingo (Kulstad 2008, 179; Rodriguez-Morel 2000, 106-107).

5.5 Peoples Outside of Organized Society

As explained earlier in this chapter, as well as in Chapter 4, the European/ Spanish authorities of Hispaniola (and most of the Americas by 1564), organized people through urban models which incorporated assigned positions for them, both social and geographical (Graham 1998, 26). This was easier said than done, and quite a few people chose to live outside of these assigned societal models. However, due to the fact that these peoples were outside of society, documentary information about them is scarce (Dominguez and Funari 2015, 137). Some of these peoples joined together and formed critical masses at different moments, as was the case of the Roldán Rebellion, the Enriquillo uprising (and other associated *Indio* uprisings) and the Cimarron/Maroon movement. These will be discussed in more detail below.

5.5.1 Roldán Followers

As explored in more detail in Chapter 4, Francisco Roldán, Columbus's head servant, led a protest against the Columbus brothers and their supporters from 1496 to 1498 (Charlevoix 1730, 127; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 68; García 1906, 42; Guerrero 2016, 16). Up to one third of the Spanish on the island supported Roldán, especially those of the non-elite class (Cassá 1978, 35; Charlevoix 1730, 127; Kulstad 2008, 43). Their main complaint was that they were only paid workers with no stake in the feitoria enterprise (Sauer 1993, 112; Kulstad 2008, 35). After they returned to society, they were identified in censuses as Primeros Pobladores.

5.5.2 Resistant Indios

A great number of Indigenous revolts occurred in the Greater Antilles during the early years of European/Spanish settlement, but the Enriquillo revolt is perhaps the best recorded (AGI, Indif. Gen. 1624; Altman 2007, 587-588; Guitar 1998, 337). His life and actions have been extensively studied historically (see Altman 2007) and archaeologically (Coste 2017).

A more detailed review of his revolt is presented earlier in this document (See Chapter 4), and will not be discussed here, since Enriquillo did not actively attack European/Spanish settlements in the Concepción area (See also Kulstad 2008, 68). However, his rebellion inspired other *Indio* leaders to revolt, such as Ciguayo, who operated around Concepción (Guitar 1998, 269; Kulstad 2008, 68; Las Casas 1985, 127; Utrera 1973, 230). Ciguayo had 80 followers which roamed the area around Concepción, Santiago and Puerto Real in 1529 (Espinosa and Zuazo 1529; Guitar 1998, 269; Kulstad 2008, 68; Marte 1981, 347). He was captured the next year by a bounty hunter (Guitar 1998, 270; Kulstad 2008, 68; Utrera 1973, 230).

5.5.3 Cimarrones/Maroons

The Spanish word “Cimarrón” originally referred to the cattle or hogs which ran off into the mountains (Arrom and García-Arévalo 1986, 15-17; Kulstad 2008, 179; Price 1979, 1-2; Weik 2012), but it eventually came to signify enslaved peoples (African or Indigenous) who escaped from bondage and lived independently (Kulstad 2008, 179; Mintz 1974; Weik 1997, 81). The word was later corrupted to “Maroon” in English and French colonies (Kulstad 2008, 179; Mintz 1974; Weik 1997, 81).

Africans had been running away and rebelling since first arriving on the island (García 1906, 67; Kulstad 2008, 179). Rebellions in the 1530s, however, were the first organized efforts to create independent communities (AGI, Indif. General 1624; Guitar 1998, 338; Kulstad 2008, 75). Although *Cimarrón* activity was found all over the island, two areas of revolt are significant in this study: Bahoruco (in the southwestern part of the colony) and the La Vega Valley around Concepción (Informes 1546; Marte 1981, 301). *Cimarrón* activities of this period on the island were coordinated by a leader known as Lemba, who fought mainly in the Bahoruco area (AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 49; Guitar 1998, 396; Informes 1546; Marte 1981, 301). He was active from the 1530s to 1547 (Guitar 1998, 275). The area around Concepción, from the mid-1530s to 1546, was attacked by two of Lemba’s “lieutenants,” Diego de Ocampo and Diego de Guzmán (AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 49; Cerrato 1546; Guitar 1998, 277, 278, 396; Kulstad 2008, 75; Marte 1981, 413; Utrera 1973, 481-82). Little is known about Diego de Guzmán, but Diego de Ocampo became well known (AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 49; Guitar 1998, 399; Kulstad 2008, 75; Moya-Pons

1983, 36; Utrera 1973, 481-82). In 1549, there were reports of a Dieguillo de Ocampo who attacked the Concepción and Santiago area together with an unknown Indian leader (Guitar 1998, 279; Kulstad 2008, 75; Utrera 1973, 486). There is no report of his capture or death (Guitar 1998, 279; Kulstad 2008, 75).

5.6 Sociocultural and Biophysical Interactions at Concepción

In this second section of this Chapter the focus is on the sociocultural and biophysical interactions presented in the historical record. These were:

Sociocultural:

- Trade
- Tribute
- Labor
- Religious Education [Clergy as Educators]
- Armed resistance
- Passive resistance
- Mestizaje

Biophysical:

- Foodways
- Disease

5.6.1 Sociocultural Interactions

Although intangible, sociocultural interactions were the most prevalent of the three types (Sociocultural, biophysical and environmental) at Concepción. Of the different types mentioned above, and described in more detail below, the intercultural interactions in labor are the most evident archaeologically, especially due to the non-domestic nature/origin of the excavated materials. Mestizaje has been included in this classification, as opposed to placing it in biophysical interactions due to the sociocultural nature of social differentiation itself (Voss 2005, 462). Although biological “mixing” occurred between people of different geographic origins, it was not socially differentiated.

5.6.1.1 Trade with Indigenous people

As explained in more detail in Chapter 4, Spanish attempts to have a simple trade relationship with the Indigenous peoples of Hispaniola was limited to the La Isabela feitoría period and during the implementation of the palisades (1494-1500). On more careful inspection, the period was even shorter, as Christopher Columbus instituted a tribute system in 1495 (Charlevoix 1730, 282, 283; Moya-Pons 1978).

The feitoría system did not contemplate much interaction between peoples beyond trade (Aznar-Vallejo 1983; Pérez-Collados 1992, 116; Pérez de Tudela 1954, 317-318; Stevens-Arroyo 1993). It implied separate settlements and trade interactions between a select group of people on both sides - in this case, the elites of Maguá and Columbus (or his representatives). There is no historical evidence that any African person was involved in pure trade transactions at Concepción during this early period.

However, it is possible that some informal trade could have occurred between *Cimarrones*, *Resistant Indios* and permanent Concepción settlers after 1530 (Deive 1989,11; Weik 1997,86). Some of these transactions could have been conducted with money, and some could have been barter (Marte 1981; Patronato 1995).

5.6.1.2 Interactions in the Gold tribute at Concepción

Gold and/or Nitaíno laborers must have been plentiful in the Concepción area in 1495 (the first year of the Gold tribute) given that Guarionex, cacique of the nearby Indigenous settlement, was the only chief able to fulfill the gold tribute demands (Anghiera 1970, 21-122,142-149; Cassá 1978, 33; Kulstad 2008, 38; Moya-Pons 1978, 13). The inability to fulfill subsequent tribute payments resulted in the armed conflict (See Chapter 4 - the Battles of La Vega Real). As stated above, when trade did not yield enough gold, Columbus decided to institute an Indigenous gold tribute system (Charlevoix 1730, 110; Cassá 1978, 33; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 62; Wilson 1990b, 89). (See discussion in Chapter 4 - Section: Columbus Palisade Colonies).

5.6.1.3 Interactions in labor at Concepción

The idealized interaction between *Indios* and the lay Spaniard was to be merely labor-related, as is evidenced by the various forms of social organization the Spanish attempted during this period (Brewer-Carías 2007, 11). Initially, the activities in which *Indios* worked for the Spanish were detailed in the Repartimientos of 1510 and 1514. It is important to note that the Naborías worked in other areas besides gold production.

There is little other documentary evidence as to what activities Perpetual Naborias were assigned to do at Concepción. More in-depth research in the documentary sources, however, shows that perhaps Perpetual Naborias were assigned to substitute Naborías in the more brute force assignments, particularly in gold mining. This is also substantiated by the assignment of Naborías, rather than Perpetual Naborias, to work in other labor areas in the 1514 Repartimiento (health, food production, construction, smithing and tailoring) (Arranz-Márquez 1991).

Later labor interactions, particularly after 1542, are not so detailed in the documentary record. All of these assumed that the *Indios* would live away from the

Spanish and only men would be present within the Spanish town for work in gold mining, paying tribute, or the task specifically assigned to them in the Repartimiento.

There was an attempt to change the Indio-European/Spanish labor dynamic through the introduction of African enslaved peoples in 1516, although Africans had already been involved in some economic activities before that date. Since there was no large-scale sugar production at Concepción, the jornal work system was probably the one employed there. There is some documentary evidence that after 1540 and into 1560s, most of African enslaved peoples taken to the Mainland were acculturated on Hispaniola first (Kulstad 2008, 179; Larrazabal 1975, 37; Rogoziński 2000, 52). By 1555, historical records mention that many vecinos on the island preferred to sell slaves rather than work them, causing a shortage in workers (Larrazabal 1975, 40). It is unknown if this occurred at Concepción.

Additionally, while most of the workers involved in large-scale economic industries were men, many small-scale urban activities, especially clothing manufacture and street vending were undertaken by women (Deive 1980, 20; Landers 1999, 8; Larrazabal 1975, 13, 109). This gendered division of labor was particularly distinct amongst the African origin group and was reinforced during later years by the 1528 and 1544 Slave Ordenanzas which limited the movement of African enslaved men to prevent their escape (Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Documento Secreto 243, Legajo 3, No. 97a, ff24-33; Guitar 1998, 373; Kulstad 2008, 185; Larrazabal 1975, 110).

The next sub-section presents different economic activities in which the Indios, European/Spanish, and Africans interacted. Particular attention will be paid to the peoples involved in these activities, and whether they integrated with people in other groups, according to the historical record. Attention will also be paid on whether these interactions were forced or voluntary.

5.6.1.3.1 Gold industry

In spite of the importance of Concepción in the gold industry, little historical documentation has been found focusing particularly on this city (Moya-Pons 2016, 2017). It is possible to infer that, in the Concepción area, as in the rest of Hispaniola, most of the gold discovered was placer gold (Guitar 1998, 127; Kulstad 2008, 222; Moya-Pons 2016, 377; Sauer 1966, 198). Placer gold is found by panning rather than digging (for a discussion of the recovery and refinement of placer gold, see Craddock 1995, 110-11). According to Oviedo (1959, Ch. 8, Part 6), panning involved a mixed group of people, including Naboría men, enslaved men and women, and a Spanish miner as a leader (Deive 1989, 267; Guitar 1998, 150; Kulstad 2008, 223; Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). Non-elite Spaniards also worked as mining supervisors and overseers (Guitar 1998, 126; Kulstad 2008, 223). Often a group of European/Spanish neighbors shared workers which were organized into compañías, also known as

cofradías (Castro 1543; Guitar 1998, 150; Kulstad 2008, 132; Marte 1981, 401; Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6; Patronato 1995, 60).

The mining process involved several steps. The miners would stake out an area 18-20 steps in diameter, as dictated by Spanish law (Guitar 1998, 150; Kulstad 2008, 223; Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6; Oviedo in Moya-Pons 2016). These areas were often near bodies of water (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). African enslaved men and Naboría men cleared trees and rocks, and excavated a hands-width at a time (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). The resulting hole was washed out with water to reveal gold veins (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). The excavated soil was taken to the panniers, mostly African enslaved men and Perpetual Naboría women, on the banks of the nearby body of water (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). The soil was carried by Perpetual Naboría men in flattened gourds called bateas (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). As they sat in water up to their knees, the panniers poured the earth into bigger bateas and swirled the mud until gold appeared (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). This whole process was repeated until bedrock was reached in the staked-out plot (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6).

To maximize production, it was important that the process be on-going, and that all workers be occupied. Oviedo calculated an average work crew to have 50 workers: 10 panniers, 20 earth-carriers and 20 diggers (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). The mining camp also included Naboría women, who mostly cooked cassava bread (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). In order to be successful, mining camps had to move around while looking for gold, never staying in one spot more than a couple of months (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6) (See Kulstad 2008, 225).

Several factors contributed to the decrease in gold production at Concepción after the 1514 Repartimiento. One was the mass migration of those vecinos who did not receive Naboría workers in the 1514 Repartimiento (Kulstad 2008, 62; Moya-Pons 1983, 28, 2016, 1997, 1998). A second reason was the institution of Jeronymite program to promote sugar production by African slaves instead of gold mining (Cassá 1978, 58). Another was the fact that mining groups were attacked by *Cimarrones*, to steal either slaves or the gold produced. However, a careful reading of primary sources (Escobar et al. 1535; Marte 1981, 295, 368; Rodriguez-Morel 2000, 87) suggests that it was processed gold, rather than the mineral itself, that was scarce, due to the lack of a large, stable, labor force, able to undertake the mining work. In fact, gold production on Hispaniola peaked in 1519 and 1520 (Incháustegui 1955, 126; Moya-Pons 2016; Sued Badillo 2001), and Concepción continued to be the main northern foundry until the mid-1540s (Rodríguez-Morel 2000, 106) (See Kulstad 2008, 131).

After the gold went bust, migration to mainland settlements, and a lack of a large, stable workforce, changed activities at Concepción. Few people could afford to buy and maintain a slave (Castro 1543; Kulstad 2008, 179; Larrazabal 1975, 39; Marte 1981,

401), prompting them to turn to other revenue-making activities that did not require slave labor (Patronato 1995, 212; Rodríguez-Morel 2000, 106-107).

5.6.1.3.2 Indigenous slave raiding

According to the available historical documentation, particularly in the Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias (Las Casas 1945, 1992, 1994), the enslavement of Perpetual Naborías was a pretty straight forward subjugation of Indigenous peoples from outside of Hispaniola by European/Spanish peoples (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 209; Guitar 1998, 127). Slave raiding extended to all parts of the Circum-Caribbean (see above), but it seems that there was an effort to separate peoples from the same location, in a way similar to what was done with African enslaved peoples (Moya-Pons 2008). Again, as stated above, more attention has been paid to the place origin of the Perpetual Naborías (See Deive 1995), as opposed to where these laborers were taken. However, it has been possible to identify Perpetual Naboría servant women at Concepción in the 1532 Alvaro de Castro trial. These were identified as Lucayan [Bahamas] (Patronato 1995).

5.6.1.3.3 Sugar production

Sugar was first produced commercially in the New World in 1506 at Concepción (AGI, Patronato II, 170, Ramo 14; Cohen 1997b, 5; Concepción 1981, 1982; Lamb 1956, 135; Ortiz 1940, 1947; Oviedo in Rueda 1988). The first sugar produced was similar to molasses (Guitar 1998, 206), but by 1512, crude presses, originally used in the process of converting manioc into cassava bread, were used to make the product more crystalline (Ortiz 1940, 263; Guitar 1998, 206). The results must have been encouraging, because that same year, Concepción's Bishop, Suarez de Deza, proposed to change the colony's main mode of production from gold being mined by Naborías under the Repartimiento, to sugar being mined by African slaves (Moya-Pons 1978, 176) (See Kulstad 2008, 62).

Why would Bishop Deza suggest this change? First, as a Dominican priest, he supported Montesinos' questioning of the Naboría working conditions, and saw the need to find a way to save them from extinction (See Chapter 4, Kulstad 2008, 62). At the same time, the colony had to be supported economically and a viable alternative had to be offered to gold production. At that moment, sugar seemed the most promising. It had enjoyed high prices in Europe since 1510 (Moya-Pons 1974, 71), and Spain had previous experience with its production in the Canary Islands (Aznar-Vallejo 1983; Fabrellas 1952, 455-475; Guitar 1998, 194; Stevens-Acevedo 2017), including the use of an African labor force familiar with Spanish language and culture (Ladinos). Another important advantage of sugar production was the sedentary nature of the plantation, as

opposed to gold prospecting, which required the mining teams to ream the countryside. By being sedentary, sugar production allowed a slave owner to have better control over the possibility of escape.

Although sugar production was quite lucrative on the island's southern coast (Torres-Saillant 2010, 8), according to historical accounts, sugar was never grown at Concepción at a large-scale (Ortiz 1940, 1947, 1995). It has been argued that *Cimarrón* attacks played a role in the failure of Concepción's sugar industry (See Kulstad 2008, 76). *Cimarrón* attacks on the roads connecting Concepción to the coast made travel between cities unsafe, consequently making sugar marketing quite difficult (Guitar 1998, 262; Kulstad 2008, 76; Patronato 1995, 250). Others (e.g., Moya-Pons 1983, 37) do not see the attacks really affecting the sugar production. Either way, it does not appear that sugar production played an important role at Concepción. Consequently its labor methodology, namely plantation style slavery, was not implemented.

5.6.1.3.4 African plantation vs *Jornal* system of labor

African enslavement is the most extreme interactive subjugation present at Concepción. Two types of enslaved labor existed during this time period (Fábregas 2000, 81-82; Stevens-Acevedo 2017). One is the better-known plantation system where slaves lived on the plantation with limited mobility outside the property. The owners would provide housing, medical care, and food (Rodríguez-Morel 2012). This was usually related to large scale cash production, particularly sugar. The second system was the jornal. This system (used by African slaves and their owners in Seville during this period) allowed the slaves to live independently, in their own homes, in exchange for paying their masters a certain daily amount (Kulstad 2008, 165; Landers 1999, 16). The work could be assigned by the master or could be done around town independently (Deive 1989, 20; Kulstad 2008, 165; Landers 1999, 16). This system was advantageous for both parties, since slaves would be relatively independent and could have the possibility of buying their freedom, while the masters would earn money without having the responsibilities of food, shelter, clothes or medical care (Kulstad 2008, 165; Landers 1999, 16).

The texts of the 1528 and 1544 Slave Ordenanzas point towards the use of a variation of the *Jornal* system in urban contexts in the Americas (Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Documento Secreto 243, Legajo 3, No. 97a, ff24-33; Guitar 1998, 375). The main difference appears to have been that African slaves had to stay overnight in their masters' homes (Guitar 1998, 375). This assumes that they would have used material culture bought in the local market (including ceramics) not made in Africa, or by peoples of African descent (Jamieson 2004, 437). At the same time, given the freedom of mobility in the jornal system during the day, it would have been difficult to distinguish Ladinos from Libertos, and later from *Cimarrones* in public spaces.

5.6.1.3.5 Government administration

Although government employment at first glance may not seem like an economic activity, this sector employed a large portion of Concepción's European/Spanish urban population. This is in contrast to the non-Spanish inhabitants, most of whom were involved in manual labor in the large-scale economic industries described above (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 235). There is no documentary evidence of any Nitaínos involved in the Spanish colonial government.

Although Concepción was not the colony's capital, the government sector was as a large-scale urban job source for European men throughout the entire lifespan of the town. The specific functions of government workers and many of their names are known thanks to the vast documents of the Spanish bureaucracy (Benzo 2000; Kulstad 2008, Tables 6-6 and 6-7). Most importantly, these government officials received most of the Naborías assigned to work in gold mining. It is possible that government officials also had easier access to obtain African enslaved peoples, or it could be that there is more information about them because of their job.

Most government jobs were reserved for the Spanish elite. The few government jobs reserved for the Spanish non-elite included being constables, and different types of scribes (Benzo 2000; Kulstad 2008, 208, 213).

5.6.1.3.6 Cattle ranching

In the last thirty years of occupation (1530-1564), cattle ranching was listed as the main mode of production in the Concepción area (García 1906, 114; Inéditos América y Oceanía XXXVI, 1884, 257-263; Kulstad 2008, 232; Lamb 1956, 136-37). Cattle ranching for the production of hides, with meat as a by-product, was a more feasible mode of production at Concepción than sugar (Guitar 1998, 399; Cohen 1997b, 8; Marte 1981, 332-335; Moya-Pons 1978). Unlike sugar and gold production, cattle ranching required a smaller workforce (García 1906, 114; Kulstad 2008, 232), and hides, as a non-perishable product, were easier to transport and sell (Cohen 1997b, 8; Marte 1981, 332-335).

Historian Frank Moya-Pons (1983, 51) has suggested that cattle ranching was an industry of last resort, undertaken by those "who were unable to migrate," and had no access to enslaved peoples. He describes what appears to be a small-scale, unorganized enterprise based on the hunting of wild cattle and pigs living in the Hispaniola wilderness (Moya-Pons 1983, 51, 1997, 1998). However, other researchers (Candelario 2007; Cassá 1978, 63; Incháustegui 1955, 74), as well as a review of the Alvaro de Castro Trial (Patronato 1995, 17), seem to point to an organized, large-scale livestock industry. Cattle ranches, known as hatos, were owned by the Spanish elite, and were basically places where hides were processed, as mentioned in the 1532

Alvaro de Castro trial (Patronato 1995, 56). It has been suggested that by the mid-sixteenth century, cattle ranchers had as much influence on colonial politics as sugar producers (Incháustegui 1955, 74) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 232).

According to the Alvaro de Castro Trial (1532), African enslaved peoples worked in cattle ranching using the jornal system (Patronato 1995). There is no documentary evidence available at this time which can confirm if Indigenous peoples also worked in cattle ranching.

5.6.1.3.7 Commerce with the Spanish Empire

Despite Concepción's inland location, it was an important economic, religious and political center, and there was a great flow of goods and money from the Spanish empire. At first when little local production existed, and large amounts of money were available, the mercantile system was advantageous on both sides of the Atlantic (Teixeira et al. 2015; Escribano-Ruiz and Azcarate 2015; Pezzarossi 2015; Rodriguez-Alegria et al. 2015; Scarmelli and Scarmelli 2015; Voss 2015, 358). This was especially true during the gold boom period (1495-1514). However, only one merchant is identified at Concepción during that period - Rodrigo de Villadiego (Arranz-Márquez 1991).

At the same time, the northwestern European nations (France, England and The Netherlands) began to question the Spanish empire's exclusive mercantile commerce (Deagan 2002a, 28), and began to turn towards contraband trade as a way of both buying and selling essential items (Andrews 1978, 70; Deagan 1983, 19).

There is no record of contraband sellers at Concepción, but there is a record of other official merchants such as Juan Martin Callejas, Francisco Sanchez, and Alvaro de Castro (Benzo 2000; Patronato 1995). It appears they sold goods imported from outside the island. There were also non-Spanish merchants at Concepción during this period, such as Juan Martin de Trebejo, a Portuguese man who sold salt (Benzo 2000), and Italian Pero Diaz de Peravia (Benzo 2000; Patronato 1995). At this point, there is no historical evidence of non-Europeans engaged in commerce.

Documents from the Alvaro de Castro trial show that tools used for gold prospecting and for cattle herding and ranching were sold, as well as cloth and ready-made clothing, all made in Europe (Patronato 1995, 155, 212). All this merchandise could be bought on credit and paid in money, unrefined gold, or in clothing (Patronato 1995, 212) (See discussion in Kulstad 2008, 236).

5.6.1.3.8 Street vendors

Street vendors are described as those who sold small items which could include vegetables, water, charcoal, and livestock innards (Kulstad 2008, 236; Larrazabal 1975, 110). Many, if not most, of these vendors were of African origin (Deive 1989, 20;

Landers 1999, 8). Among the Bozal and Ladino populations, women had more freedom of mobility than men did (Kulstad 2008, 236; Larrazabal 1975, 110). Rules for mobility were set up by the different Slave Ordenanzas (laws) from 1528 and 1544. The 1528 Ordenanzas allowed African slave women to sell vegetables on the streets and plazas, but men could only sell these same wares, in small quantities, with their masters' permission (Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Documento Secreto 243, Legajo 3, No. 97a, ff24-33; Guitar 1998, 373; Kulstad 2008, 236; Larrazabal 1975, 110). By 1544, African enslaved men could only sell water and charcoal on the street (Larrazabal 1975, 110), with the rest of their work activities assigned to a specific location, such as the sale of livestock innards at the slaughterhouse (Kulstad 2008, 236; Larrazabal 1975, 110). Ladinos could not go to the countryside to buy produce or sell it without their masters' permission (Kulstad 2008, 236; Larrazabal 1975, 110). They were also banned from selling clothes (Kulstad 2008, 236; Larrazabal 1975, 110). This appears to be linked to the increase in *Cimarrón* activity in the 1530s and 1540s (Larrazabal 1975, 110). Little information is available about this activity at Concepción, beyond a mention of a woman selling beef in the Alvaro de Castro trial (Patronato 1995).

Currently there is little historical information about non-elite European/Spanish or Indigenous people selling on the streets, in Concepción or elsewhere on the island. At the same time, there is little information about who is consuming the goods being sold.

5.6.1.3.9 Construction industry

Most of the buildings constructed at Concepción before 1514 seem to have been made of perishable materials and were replaced by masonry buildings after 1520. Although Spanish architects were present on Hispaniola during this period, there is no direct evidence that they worked at Concepción. There is historical evidence pointing to the masonry Concepción forts being constructed by a "workers' brigade who knew about bricks, quicklime and plaster" that came from Spain (Palm 1952, 115) (See Kulstad 2008, 233).

Some Naborías were assigned to work in construction in the 1514 Repartimiento (Arranz- Márquez 1991; Milanich 2006, 153; Voss 2008, 870-71). After the 1520s, the menial construction workforce was probably composed of Bozales, given the changes which occurred in the overall island workforce (Rodríguez-Morel 2000, 91) (See Kulstad 2008, 233). Historical documents do not specify if Naborías and Bozales worked together in construction, particularly at Concepción.

5.6.1.3.10 Smithing activity

According to historical records, gold, copper and iron items were processed at Concepción (Guitar 1998, 210; Kulstad 2008, 208, 213). The 1514 Repartimiento

assigned Naborías to work with blacksmiths, silversmiths and locksmiths (Arranz-Márquez 1991). Currently, no historical documentation of African working at Concepción is available, but it is possible that this could be an area of integration after 1542.

5.6.1.3.11 Pottery production

Although the objective of this section is to identify the activities mentioned in the historical documents, it is important to include the fact that pottery production is not mentioned in the available historical records (Jamieson 2004, 444). It is particularly absent from the Repartimiento task assignments (Arranz-Márquez 1991). It is interesting that pottery production is not mentioned because pottery constitutes most of the artifacts found in the archaeological record (Jamieson 2004, 444). Given the gender division of labor in Spanish colonial society, it is quite possible that this was a women's and or nonelite activity.

5.6.1.3.12 Domestic labor

Domestic labor was undertaken by both free and enslaved peoples of all origins. However, given that there was a shortage of Spanish women in the Americas during the early colonial period (Boyd-Bowman 1976), there would have been less Spanish female servants.

There is no historical record currently available confirming that non-elite Indigenous women worked as domestic servants in European/Spanish households at Concepción (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 245). This is not one of the tasks assigned in the Repartimientos. During Diego Columbus's first government (1510-1514) each of Concepción's inhabitants was allowed an African Ladino maid for domestic chores - if they could afford it (Deive 1989, 20; Kulstad 2008, 246; Larrazabal 1975, 13). Although there is documentary evidence that Liberto and/or Bozal women were employed in domestic service, the majority were Ladino (Deive 1989, 19; Kulstad 2008, 246; Landers 1999, 7). Historical records show that owners seemed to give higher posts to Ladino workers (Kulstad 2008, 183; Larrazabal 1975, 107), especially women in domestic labor (See Patronato 1995, 214).

At the current time there is no documentation of interaction between different peoples while they undertook domestic labor. There is also no information about whether there was a specific group that undertook a specific type of domestic labor.

5.6.1.3.13 Food production

Food production has been defined here as the harvesting of crops, the raising of farm animals, and the preparation of food, either locally grown or imported. Although some food products consumed at Concepción could have come from commercial crops

and commercial cattle ranching, for the most part it appears to have come from small scale crop production and domestic animal herding, as well as imported goods. Imported food items would have included raisins, wheat flour, vinegar, lentils, beans, almonds, olive oil, and wine (Kulstad 2008, 258; Moya-Pons 1978, 186).

Unlike for La Isabela, where manifest lists of imported food products brought by Columbus are available (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a), no historical record of imported food products consumed at Concepción exists. Additionally, current available historical documents do not record what was consumed in households. However, there is a record of how food was produced for gold prospectors and for cattle ranchers. Historical documents also record what Africans were eating, and that their diets varied according to their social status, and rural versus urban location (See Kulstad 2008, 260). This topic is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

Oviedo records that Naboría women cooked cassava bread in the mining camps (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). There is information about the steps to make cassava bread, including the use of griddles (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). The 1514 Repartimiento mentions Naborías being assigned to gardening and farming (Arranz-Márquez 1991). Historical documents also record the complaints of Spanish non-elites regarding local foods, referring to them as “roots and other distasteful delicacies” (Oviedo in Rueda 1988, 150) (See discussion Kulstad 2008, 258).

Since in cattle ranching, cattle were killed only for their hides, much of the meat was wasted (Deagan and Reitz 1995, Chapter 9; Kulstad 2008, 232; Marte 1981, 332-335; Moya-Pons 1983, 52, 1997, 1998). Some of the meat by-product was used to feed the workers living on the hatos (Cassá 1978, 63; Kulstad 2008, 233; Patronato 1995, 224), as well as those working in the gold and sugar industries (Moya-Pons 1983, 51, 1997, 1998). For example, Alvaro de Castro gave meat on credit to gold prospectors to be paid at smelting time (Patronato 1995, 265).

5.6.1.3.14 Clothing production

Clothing production was an important activity since it was an essential element of social distinction as per the sumptuary laws governing social relations at Concepción during this period (Álvarez-Ossorio 1998; Patronato 1995, 136. Historical records only give evidence of European/Spanish tailors, not of seamstresses (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Benzo 2000). A small number of Naborías were assigned to work with the tailors (Arranz-Márquez 1991).

A list of the clothes sold at Concepción is available as part of the Alvaro de Castro trial (Patronato 1995). These included a large amount of new and second-hand ready-made clothes, such as capes, corselets and pointed hoods (Patronato 1995, 155, 213, 221).

Since the use of clothing [the use of it in general (vs nakedness of pagan Indians) and the use of specific cloth for Christians was a marker of Christianity (Kulstad 2008, 267). Repartimiento holders and slave owners had to provide the clothes to their conscripted workers as a sign of their Christian indoctrination effort (Kulstad 2008, 267; Larrazabal 1975, 108). This clothing was similar to those worn by non-elites in Southern Spain, a loose shirt over pants and espadrilles (Kulstad 2008, 268; Suárez-Marill 1998).

5.6.1.3.15 Negras Ganadoras [Prostitution]

Given that gold production involved large numbers of single men, it is possible that a number of Bozal women at Concepción could have been Negras Ganadoras. The Negras Ganadoras were enslaved African women which were sent outside of the household as prostitutes by their masters (Moya-Pons 2008, 74). In 1535, Slave Ordenanzas tried to regulate the hours in which they worked, as well as limiting the clothing and jewels they could wear. It was alleged that many used their earnings to buy clothes and jewels comparable to those of Spanish women (Moya-Pons 2008, 74). It is also possible that these women received clothes and jewelry from their clients. More research should be conducted to confirm the presence of this activity at Concepción.

5.6.1.3.16 Clergy as educators

As stated above, the alliance between the Catholic Church and the Crown made religion the most important variable for assigning social acceptability (Deagan 2012, 3). This meant that the Crown had the responsibility of converting Indigenous peoples and ensuring Church precepts were properly followed (Deagan 2002a, 37). For the Spanish this meant teaching people how to be proper Christians, in both material and immaterial terms.

As discussed above, there was some debate on the methods to be used, but there was no question that Indios had to become Christian. The method used was the education of caciques' sons by the Franciscans and then they would teach Christianity to the Naborías and their families (AGI, Indif. Gen., Leg. 418, I F. 150v.; Marte 1981). This "trickle-down" method would eventually insure that the Indigenous people would be similar to Spanish serfs (Hanke 1935) and eventually could live in the pueblos Las Casas, Deza and the Dominican order championed (Charlevoix 1730, 282, 283; Moya-Pons 1978; Stone 2014, 136).

The education method relied heavily on the teaching of Spanish and the acceptance of Spanish lifeways. This was done through the use of several books, such as prayer and doctrine books, as well as grammar and vocabulary texts (Kulstad 2008, 123; Marte 1981, 150; Ovando 1502). Unlike later Christianization and education methodologies which created extensive bilingual (Spanish/Indigenous language)

dictionaries and translations of the Bible into native languages, there are no such “Taino language” texts (Guitar 1998).

This teaching/endocrination method appears to have been quickly successful, as evidenced by Enriquillo’s obvious knowledge and understanding of the Spanish legal system. He was able to advance his case through the proper channels in 1519 (Altman 2007). It seems to be an example of the teaching of habitus (Bourdieu 1990, 53) of European/Spanish lifeways through the recursive (Potter 1994) use of “Christian” religious artifacts (which at that time permeated all aspects of life).

More research is necessary into the ladinization process in the Old World (before 1516) and on Hispaniola (after 1516) to understand the role religion played in African lifeways at Concepción. However, historical records do emphasize the learning of Spanish as a marker of “Christianity” (Marte 1981).

Although all peoples were to be gathered together in Mass at the same time, historical documents point to segregation by class. That is, the higher classes would go to mass inside the masonry buildings while the lower classes and/or the conscripted peoples would attend mass in a wooden structure outside. Such was the case at Bartolomé de Las Casas’s endocrination as a priest at Concepción in 1510 (Charlevoix 1730, 240; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971).

5.6.1.4 Interactions in armed resistance

Historical records show various instances of armed resistance during our study period (1494-1564), perpetrated by all groups of peoples. Several of these movements were successful and influenced Spanish governmental policy on Hispaniola and in later colonies in the Americas. Most importantly, the successful movements had one important common element - the cooperation between one, or more, “origin” groups.

The first successful armed resistance was the one carried out by Francisco Roldán and his followers (1496-1498) (see Chapter 4 and above). Unlike other armed resistance movements, Roldán followers only functioned outside of society for about 3 years, and then successfully returned to organized society.

This insurrection was staged at the same time as several Indio attacks on the Spanish, particularly the three Battles of La Vega Real (Wilson 1990b, 74), where they had originally moved to (Guerrero 2016, 16). However, they did not live at Concepción very long, preferring to live in Xaragua during the actual rebellion (Guerrero 2016, 16). They lived in the same communities as the Indigenous peoples and learned many of their ways (Julián 2015).

The way Columbus dealt with Roldán and his followers set a dangerous precedent in the Americas (Julián 2015). He welcomed them back into society and even

gave them Indio workers and lands (Guerrero 2016, 16). He did this without consulting the Crown, creating a way for non-elites to have elite privileges. It showed many peoples, in all categories, that rebellion had the possibility of reward rather than punishment.

This was the underlying premise of the Enriquillo revolt, which hoped to get Indigenous rights in a similar way (Altman 2007). Enriquillo's followers not only included escaped Amerindian slaves, but also *Cimarrones* (AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 868, L1, f3v; Guitar 1998, 356; Moya Pons 2008, 77; Oviedo in Rueda 1988, 157; Rogoziński 2000, 52). This unity was possible thanks to the Church's mandate to teach Spanish language and culture to all in the colony in order to become Christian (Sáez 1994). Amerindians and Africans could live on the margins of society, occasionally raiding Spanish towns for their needs (Deive 1989, 11; Kulstad 2008, 183).

Despite this intensive interaction between Indios and Africans in his group, Enriquillo accepted becoming a *Cimarron* hunter as part of the deal (Moya Pons 2008, 78). Some have seen this as a betrayal by Enriquillo (Utrera 1973), while others see it as something he was forced to accept, but did not necessarily enforce (Moya Pons 2008, 78). Moya-Pons (2008) did not find many instances in which Enriquillo successfully captured escaped *Cimarrones*.

It is interesting to note that there was more *Cimarrón* activity than Indio rebellions at Concepción during this period. Here, most *Cimarrones* escaped from gold mines (Guitar 1998, 277). Concepción was the second largest area of *Cimarrón* activity on the island in the 1530s and 1540s, with uprisings led by Diego de Guzmán, Diego de Ocampo and Dieguillo de Ocampo (AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 49; Guitar 1998, 399; Informes 1546; Marte 1981, 301) (See Kulstad 2008, 75).

It was relatively easy for enslaved people to escape, partly due to the nature of gold production. Unlike plantation industries - like sugar - which required permanent lodging for enslaved peoples, gold prospecting involved traveling from and living in temporary quarters (See discussion in Kulstad 2008, 184).

Two types of *Cimarrón* activity have been identified throughout the circum-Caribbean: Petit Marronage and Grand Marronage. Petit Marronage refers to short term escapes, while Grand Marronage refers to the long term, or permanent, escapes, with the intent of living in autonomous communities (Kulstad 2008, 184; Price 1979, 3; Weik 1997, 81). On Hispaniola, Grand Marronage included armed rebellions (Guitar 1998, 340; Kulstad 2008, 184; Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 66; Rueda 1988, 122), and *Cimarrón* attacks on roads (Guitar 1998, 262; Kulstad 2008, 76; Patronato 1995, 250). This made travel between cities unsafe (Guitar 1998, 262; Kulstad 2008, 76; Patronato 1995, 250) and were thought by some historians to have impacted the sugar industry (Franco 1975). Spanish settlers moved in groups of 15-20 with armed guards for safety (Kulstad 2008, 76; Moya-Pons 1983, 36, 1997, 1998) and moving any product on the roads would have been cumbersome with this elaborate protection system. Sugar was

especially vulnerable, since it could spoil on the way (Kulstad 2008, 76; Julián 1997; Ratekin 1954).

Both Bozales and Ladinos ran away from official settlements (Guitar 1998, 235; Kulstad 2008, 184), often returning after a few days (Petit Marronage) (Kulstad 2008, 184; Price 1979, 3; Weik 1997, 81). The 1528 Slave Ordenanzas allowed for these occasional escapes, giving the escapee 15 to 20 days to return (Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Documento Secreto 243, Legajo 3, No. 97a, ff24-33; Guitar 1998, 373; Kulstad 2008, 183; Larrazabal 1975, 107). Ladinos were more apt to escape permanently and live in autonomous communities, often with escaped Indios (Deive 1989, 271; Kulstad 2008, 185; Weik 1997, 89). These communities were on the margins of colonial society, outside the scope of governmental control, but tied to it by European settlements through familial and friendship ties (Deive 1989, 11; Kulstad 2008, 184; Weik 1997, 86).

5.6.1.5 Interactions in passive resistance

There is evidence of less violent, more passive, resistance to the official hegemony at Concepción during our study period. There is historical evidence of individual passive resistance, such as breaking sumptuary laws; as well as more general passive resistance, such as carnival.

The 1532 Alvaro de Castro trial gives documental evidence for both types of passive evidence. It provides evidence of the La Vega Carnival (Patronato 1995) a general form of passive resistance where social norms are inverted (Boje 2001). This carnival is the oldest recorded one in the Americas, pointing to the fact that, although it was an important city, as a non-capital, it did not follow all the Crown rules (Las Casas in Rueda 1988, 523). More specific, individual, resistances include the buying and selling of clothes supposed to be only for upper classes (Patronato 1995, 136, 155, 213, 221). Although purple cloth was reserved for religious functions, there is evidence that Castro sold it to whomever could afford it (Patronato 1995, 136). There is no historical evidence of non-Spanish/European participation in these activities at this time.

Meanwhile, there was a more blatant passive resistance manifestation, namely the Resistant Indio and *Cimarrón* use, or lack of, clothing. It appears that when Indios ran away they reverted to not wearing clothes, as was common in the pre-contact period. This was the case of a Spanish speaking Indio caught in the Concepción area in 1543 (Rueda 1988, 225). *Cimarrones* around Concepción wore the skins of escaped bulls (Informes 1546; Larrazabal 1975, 142; Kulstad 2008, 269; Marte 1981, 301; Moya-Pons 1974, 83).

5.6.2 Biophysical Interactions

Two biophysical intercultural interactions which are highlighted in the historical documents are: intermixing (mestizaje) and disease. As explained in the Sociocultural interactions subsection above, although biological “mixing” (mestizaje) occurred between people of different geographic origins, it was not officially differentiated.

This is in part due to the fact that, as Guitar (2002) and Eltis (2000) have pointed out, “ethnicity” was conceptualized differently in the 16th century than it is today. This is especially true in regard to terms to be used for those people of mixed heritage (Guitar 2002, 8; Voss 2005, 462).

More research needs to be done to see how these mixed peoples were incorporated into society, and particularly at Concepción. Historical evidence of mixed families is found in the accounts about the Roldán followers/Primeros Pobladores (Benzo 2000; Deagan and Cruxent 2008b, 201). Later, in the 1514 Repartimiento, 10 out of the 19 married vecinos were married to Nitaino women (Benzo 2000). This move in social class seems to corroborate the theory that intermarriage between peoples altered their social position (Álvarez-Ossorio 1998, 268; Deagan 1996, 153; Jamieson 2004, 445).

However, it is important to note that, despite the advantages that intermarriage may have had, this was not always true for all types of interracial sexual unions.. Nor should it be assumed that all of it was consensual. In the case against Alvaro de Castro, one of the charges was the commitment of adultery, undertaken with a pious Spanish woman who was living at the Concepción Cathedral (Patronato 1995, 9) and with a Perpetual Naboria (Lucayan) woman (Patronato 1995, 136).

While intermixing increased the population, disease diminished it. Historical records document the arrival of smallpox to the island (AGI, Patronato 172, R35; Guitar 1998, 248; Kulstad 2008, 62; Moya-Pons 1983, 29, 1997, 1998; Pichardo 1944), but the information currently available does not specify what its effects on Concepción. A telling factor of diseases being common in Concepción is the assignment of various Naborías to barbers and physicians in the 1514 Repartimiento (Arranz-Márquez 1991). There is also evidence that a hospital was built at Concepción for the Indigenous people (Lamb 1956, 171; Las Casas II, 1927, 268; Palm 1950), but there is no account of the diseases treated. No accounts are currently available regarding how European/Spanish and African populations were treated.

5.7 Conclusions

This Chapter has attempted to study the sociocultural and biophysical intercultural interactions at Concepción that could have influenced the lifeways there during our period of study. The first step in this process was to socially identify the

“cultural groups” that are interacting. This was done by grouping people by geographic origin. Within these groups, further subcategories based on gender, enslaved/free, elite/non-elite, clergy/laity were presented. A section also discussed those who resisted these categories, such as the Roldán followers, the Resistant Indios and the Cimarrones.

It is important to remember that these categories are not intrisic/biophysical, but rather are socially determined. More specifically, it is important to note that the castas system had not yet been formally instituted, and Spanish authorities were at a loss about how to classify peoples during most of the 16th century (Rothchild 2015, 188). Research has found that factors that influenced social classification/differentiation included geographic origin, gender, position within the implemented labor systems, and sumptuary laws.

Tables 1-1, 1-2, 1-3, 1-4 combine all the different people categories presented above. The time period divisions chosen are based on dates which influenced Indio lifeways. These dates were chosen because events related to Indios affected the other two origin groups more often than the other way around.

The second half of the Chapter explored the sociocultural interactions and biophysical interactions recorded in historical documents related to activities which could have occurred at the site in non-domestic spaces. For this study, the European/Spanish gender bias in the recording of men’s activities (Rothchild 2015, 183) was useful, since non-domestic spaces are more associated to men (Rothchild 2015, 183). It particularly important to record the activities undertaken by enslaved peoples, since they were forced to use materials from other cultures in their everyday life (Jamieson 2004, 445), and had limited freedom of movement (Dominguez and Funari 2015, 136) on the landscape.

6 ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF ARTIFACTS, ARTIFACT USE, AND DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS

6.1 Introduction

One of the most distinctive characteristics of Spanish colonization of the Caribbean and the Americas was the highly organized spatial patterning it imposed on the landscape (Ballesteros 1983; Chueco-Goita and Torres-Balbas 1981; Crouch, Garr and Mundingo 1982; García-Fernández 1989; García-Zarza 1996; Hugo-Brunt 1972; Manucy 1985; Palm 1951; Rodríguez and Ibañez 1992; Stanislawki 1947; Willis 1984, 16; Zendegui 1977; Zucker 1959).This patterning is evident through the deposition of both architectural structures and smaller, more mobile artifacts.

This chapter will present an archaeological analysis of the artifacts and artifact distribution patterns at the two previously excavated areas of the Concepción site, namely the Fort campus and the Monasterio de San Francisco campus to identify those that could inform about intercultural interactions. As mentioned before, interaction can vary depending on the scale of analysis (Sluyter 2001, 423). For this reason, archaeological data about Concepción was analyzed at three levels for this dissertation: Site, Structure, and Artifacts.

The section focusing on artifacts will explore several of their aspects, mainly use, as opposed to provenance and chaine opératoire of their elaboration. In spite of the excavation biases (discussed in detail in Chapter 3), this study proposes that most objects were abandoned by their users and later recovered by the archaeologists in the place of their last use (Rice 2015), given the abrupt destruction of the site by the 1562 earthquake. It also proposes that the artifacts should only offer information about men's activity areas (clothing, ornamentation, tablewares, and architecture), given that these are in public, rather than domestic, areas (i.e. St. Augustine Pattern). To do this, a series of "Associations," or groups of artifacts, that consistently occur together throughout the site or an artifact that tends to occur by itself, will be identified and presented here for the first time (see Williams 1986, 292).

6.2 Archaeology at the Site Scale

Based on the historical data presented in Chapter 4, four settlement patterns should be present at the Concepción site landscape: one Indigenous, and three Spanish. The Indigenous site should present Chicoid characteristics, according to archaeological interpretations of Fray Ramón Pané's chronicle (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 115). The Spanish settlements should be related to the three settlement patterns the Spanish Crown imposed during the occupation period:

- Casa Fuerte (Medieval)
- Grid Town Plan
- Pueblos Tutelados

Historical documents record a first Concepción fort was built by the Rio Verde by Christopher Columbus in 1494 (Concepción 1981; Torres-Petitón 1988, 2009). Archaeological identification of this site has not been confirmed, although it is believed to be 2km north of the Concepción site (Coste 2013).

After the first battle of La Vega Real, the settlement was moved to the Concepción site. The occupation of the landscape at this time followed a Medieval settlement pattern related to “casa-fuertes.” Casa-fuertes were forts that could hold a town's Spanish people, weapons and supplies in the case of attack (Manucy 1997, 35-37; Kulstad 2008, 109). The rest of the time, the settlers lived outside of the fort in an unorganized spatial organization and physical layout (see Deagan and Cruxent 2002a). This settlement pattern was used at Concepción until Ovando’s imposition of the Grid Town Plan sometime between 1502 and 1509 (see Chapter 4). The first Franciscan monks came with Ovando in 1502, so between 1495 and 1502, there was no Monasterio de San Francisco at the Concepción site.

As is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, Ovando reorganized the settlements on Hispaniola according to the Grid Town Plan between 1502 and 1509. The Grid Town Plan, also known as La Traza in Mexico City, laid out cities and towns in a grid pattern, with the main plaza, surrounded by the Church, administration offices and military headquarters, and elite residences, forming the town’s physical and social center (Oviedo n.d. Bar. I, Quin. III, Dial. 6; Rodriguez-Alegria 2005,558; Voss 2008, 870). Additionally, a large number of settlers, with varied occupations, arrived with Ovando in 1502 (García 1906, 70). These included the Franciscan monks that built the first Monasterio de San Francisco on the outskirts of the Concepción site (Stone 2014, 127-128), and the upper-class Europeans who would live close to the main plaza (Charlton and Fournier 2011, 127).

The third expected settlement pattern, again according to historical documents, is related to the Jeronymite pueblos, or Pueblos Tutelados (see Chapter 4). This settlement pattern seems to be the precursor of the “2 Republics” model, seen later elsewhere in Spanish America, including St. Augustine, Florida (McEwan 2001, 635). The Spanish and Indios were to be divided into two settlements, or republics. The Spanish Republic functioned with its own internal hierarchy, while the Indio republic, which could be made up of multiple tribal entities, had its own hereditary leaders, lands and vassals, but subordinate to the Spanish Crown (McEwan 2001, 635). The Indios were to be Christian and follow Church mandates (McEwan 2001, 635). The eventual goal was to replace Indigenous institutions for Spanish ones and integrate Indios into Spanish society (McEwan 2001, 635).

Meanwhile, no colonial plans or maps of Concepción have been found (Kulstad 2008, 113; Pimentel 1998; Coste 2015). This is not uncommon for early Spanish colonial sites (Pérez-Montás 1984, 65) and underscores the need to use archaeological

data to map out the site (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 282). Various hypothetical models of the 16th century city's layout have been proposed by preservation architects over the years (Kulstad 2008, 114; Pérez-Montás 1984; Roca-Pezzoti 1984), many based on the location of existing monumental architecture. None were based on a systematic survey of the site until the University of Florida 1996-1998 Project (Cohen 1997b; Woods 1998; Deagan 1999). All these proposed layouts were examined in Kulstad (2008, 113), reaching the preliminary conclusion that the site continued to be laid out in a grid pattern until it was destroyed by the 1562 earthquake.

An attempt to discern these different models was undertaken through a review of the available archaeological information. A review of the excavation documents did not show evidence of an Indigenous settlement's associated static elements - postholes, hearths, hearthstones, etc. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that the excavations stopped at the "Spanish floor," that is, the floor of Spanish masonry buildings, for the purposes of making architectural restoration easier (Coste 2015; González 1979).

The next step was to try to discern the different settlement types through the plotting of the mobile artifacts in relation to the static buildings on the horizontal plane (landscape). The artifacts chosen, including Indigenous artifacts, are discussed in more detail below.

6.3 Archaeology at the Structural Scale

Although several structural clusters have been located within the Concepción site, only the Cathedral, the Monasterio de San Francisco, the Fort, and the Aljibe have been positively identified (Kulstad 2008, 118). Within the two excavated structures - the Fort and the Monasterio de San Francisco - little has been done to identify the internal layout, associated activity areas, and/or refuse deposits. Two notable attempts were made to try to identify areas and structural elements, Herschel Shepard's 1997 report on the Fort (Shepard 1997; Deagan 1999), and Gonzalez's pamphlet on the Monasterio de San Francisco (González n.d.). Both interpretations were based on correlations and comparisons with similar buildings part of the Iberian (Spain/Portugal) colonization process.

No attempt was ever made to study the architectural formation processes, that is, the construction and/or modification of structures on each campus. This is particularly true for structures made of perishable materials. An attempt to do this is presented later in this chapter.

It is important to distinguish two types of perishable structures that could have occurred at the Concepción site. The first type would be bohios, or traditional Indigenous house. The second type would be European-style wooden structures.

Bohíos were the traditional Indigenous houses. These structures were adopted and adapted by the newly arrived Spanish (Prieto 2010, 271). Historical accounts

mention that many non-elite inhabitants (Spaniards, Indigenous people and Africans) lived in bohíos in both the urban and rural areas (Patronato 1995, 134, 158, 224, 228). Often bohios were semi-permanent structures used while masonry structures were being constructed (Pimentel 1997). These structures are made of logs inserted into postholes dug into the ground, with beams tied to create a roof (Samson 2010). The roofs were covered with tied palm-thatches and palm slats could have served as walls, without windows and doors (Prieto 2010, 280). No nails were used in construction (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b). The floors were made of rammed earth (Prieto 2010, 281).

The second type of perishable structures that could be found at the site are European-style wooden structures. The main distinguishing factor of the structures in the archaeological record is their use of large amounts of nails (Woods 1999, 19). Some of these structures could have also had wooden floors on the ground and between stories (Coste 2016). These wooden floors could have had ceramic fills inside to act as humidifiers or noise reducers (Kulstad 2017; Lister and Lister 1981). The buildings could have been roofed with a mix or tejas (barrel roof tile) and ceramic fill (Coste 2016; Ortega and Fondeur 1982). In this document, wooden structures have been identified through the patterns in nail distribution.

There are several possible masonry construction methods that could have been used at the Concepción site. Unlike contemporary buildings at Santo Domingo built with limestone blocks, it appears most masonry buildings at the Concepción site were built with bricks, due to a lack of easily available limestone, coral and other stones, in that part of the island (Deagan and Cruxent 2000a, 285; Kulstad 2008, 120; Suárez-Marill 1998, 50; Ugarte 1981). There is also archaeological and architectural evidence that tapia construction was used on the walls of the Franciscan Monastery (Ugarte 1981). Tapia, or rammed earth construction, was made by ramming a layer of dry earth, often mixed with stones, fired clay, or lime aggregate for support, between two wooden form sections (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 99; Kulstad 2008, 124). Tapia composition varies. Preliminary composition analysis of the tapia at the Franciscan Monastery has determined that it contains fragmented pottery sherds as aggregates, along with dietary remains, glass, metals and even human skeletal remains (Kulstad 2008, 124; Ugarte 1981). Tapia flooring at the Monasterio and the fort was identified as the “Spanish floor” during the excavation of indoor areas by the Park crews (Abreu 2015; Coste 2016). A third construction technique, a haphazard imitation of a Roman technique in which amphorae (and in the New World - olive jars) served as internal support for building construction, particularly for vaulting (Goggin 1964, 257; Lister and Lister 1981, 75; Ortega and Fondeur 1978, 85) could have also been used.

6.3.1 Activity Areas on the Landscape

The first step in this analysis is plot the basic layout of the existing structural remains at each of the campuses. The Fort campus's layout is an adaptation of the image presented in the UF Project Final Report (Deagan 1999). This version of the layout is based on structural remains found during the UF Survey and the Shepard 1997 report (Fig. 6). The Monasterio de San Francisco Campus layout (Fig. 7) is an adaptation of a blueprint drawn by Arq. González circa 1982, and housed in the Bienes Culturales office in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. Due to difficulties with scanning a document of this size, a series of photographs were taken and reduced through photomontage.

Next, it was necessary to find which areas had been excavated by the Dirección de Parques in each campus (Fig. 5, 8). As discussed in Chapter 3, four grids were used at the Fort campus - (3) Ober (1892); (4) Goggin/USD (1952-1954); (5) Ortega (1976-1977); and (6) E-W/N-S Integers Grid (1983-1995). Three grids were used at the Monastery campus - (7) Alphabet letters (1979-1980); (8) Alphabet Letters with Numbers (1980); (9) E-W/N-S Integers Grid (1980-1982). It was possible to re-create grids #5 and #6 at the Fort, and Grid #9 at the Monastery, based on the field records (Bueno 1979; González 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982,1983, 1988, 1989; Pimentel 1978b, 1983, 1984; Vásquez 1991, 1992). Unfortunately, due to the use of the same nomenclature in E-W/N-S Integers Grids #6 (Fort) and #9 (Monastery), it was necessary to classify each discrete context by date to determine their campus of origin. Also, as can be seen in the Fort - Excavated Areas Map (Fig. 8), Grids #5 and #6 overlap, making it necessary to modify the quantities of artifacts found at these locations.

A series of artifacts and artifact groups were chosen to be plotted based on their use in activities known to be archaeologically recognizable in Spanish circum-Caribbean colonial sites. These artifacts were chosen from those excavated and stored by the Dirección Nacional de Parques from 1976 to 1995. As stated before, there are many excavation biases related to this collection, and it is often difficult to replicate others' excavation criteria. Fortunately, there are enough context and artifact classifications similarities to be able to create a classification based on use. It was also possible to choose artifacts and contexts which can be recognized archaeologically, namely activity areas related to architecture, tablewares, clothing, ornamentation, domestic organization, ceramics and foodways found elsewhere in the Spanish Americas (Deagan 2002a, 34).

Artifacts were plotted following two criteria: presence/absence (Table 6-1) or low/medium/large amounts (Table 2-3). The complete count of artifacts could not be used to create statistical analysis due to the fact that a large portion of the Monasterio de San Francisco artifacts are currently still housed at the Museo de las Casas Reales. Fig. 9 plots the artifacts at the Fort campus and Fig. 10 plots the artifacts at the Monasterio de

San Francisco campus. The following artifacts were plotted by presence: horseshoes, cupellation items, slag, decorated glass, clothing-related items, tools, weapons, human remains, ornamentation-related items, and bookclasps; and large amounts of the following: Majolica ceramics, decorated Indigenous ceramics, La Vega Red on White, La Vega Red Slipped, stoneware, nails, olive jars, griddles, and vials. At the Monasterio de San Francisco campus, the presence of certain artifacts (horseshoes, cupellation items, slag, colonial glass, clothing-related items, tools, weapons, and human remains) was plotted, while the medium and large amounts of others (Majolica ceramics, Indigenous ceramics, La Vega Red on White, La Vega Red Slipped, Stoneware, nails, olive jars, griddles, and faunal remains) were plotted instead. It is important to remember that these artifacts do not constitute the complete number of artifacts used at the site, given that perishable artifacts have not survived the passage of time. More information about the selected artifacts is presented below.

Given that the city of Concepción was destroyed by the 1562 earthquake, the assumption is that a great number of artifacts should have been left in their primary use area and be unearthed there. However, some items may have simply been used and discarded in trash pits during the site's 16th century occupation. These middens will be discussed with their associated structures below.

It is important to remember at this point, a big difference between historical and prehistoric sites, namely the use of large quantities of fill - a mixture of soil, refuse, artifacts, and even faunal remains - in historic sites (Deetz 1977, 22). This can be misleading because some of this fill, and the artifacts it contains, may be from miles away (Deetz 1977, 22). Attempts at differentiating primary use deposition from fill (Kulstad 2013a) has suggested two methods: cross-mending of ceramic vessels (Coste 2016; Kulstad 2013a); and the observation of ubiquitousness spatially across the site (Coste 2016; Duval 2017). The second method has been chosen for this research.

A third concern is post-depositional artifact movement related to looting, domestic and agricultural activities, occurring from the site's abandonment in 1564 to present day. Domestic activities, particularly trash deposition, was observed as a continuing activity (Woods 2004).

The final step was to identify artifact distribution areas of interest in the plotted maps. This included possible perishable/non-perishable structures, middens, fill, interior/exterior areas, burials, and those related to activity areas (food preparation, food consumption, hospital, religion, military). It is important to identify all these different areas first, before describing the artifacts themselves, because artifacts found at use-locations give more information than those found in discard (midden) locations. At the same time, the spatial relationship between all of these types of areas also gives information about lifeways and deathways at the site (Siegel and Roe 1986, 111-112). These will be described in more detail in the next section.

6.3.1.1 Specific building context analysis

Fig. 9 and 10 show the plotting of all artifacts in context at the Fort and Monasterio de San Francisco campuses, respectively. This section will analyze the concentration and spatial relations between artifacts at each of these contexts for the purpose of identifying possible perishable/non-perishable structures, middens, fill, interior/exterior areas, burials, and those related to activity areas (food preparation, food consumption, hospital, religion, military).

The identification of these areas will be done through comparing areas of interest to patterns previously identified in other Spanish-American sites. The process starts with middens (refuse pits), identified as being found behind a structure which faces a street (Deagan 1981, 632; Jamieson 2004, 432), giving possible location of front doors, as well as inner and outside areas. At the same time, there is a close relationship between nails, wooden structures and Spanish artifacts (Williams 1986), allowing for the possible identification of wooden buildings on the site. Meanwhile, indoor and outdoor areas in masonry buildings are identifiable by the smaller number of artifacts in interior areas. All of these area of interest identifications will be presented in more detail below.

6.3.1.1.1 Monasterio de San Francisco campus

The Monasterio de San Francisco campus, is found approximately 1000m southwest from the fort campus (Cohen 1997b). It is located proximately halfway between the Santo Cerro and the Fort campus (Fig. 4). Franciscan monasteries were often located on the edges of Spanish colonial towns, located far from the central plaza (Deagan 1995a, 427). This was confirmed during the University of Florida 1996-1998 Project's survey (Deagan 1999).

Historical documents record the construction of two monastery structures. The first monastery structure, from perishable materials, was built sometime between 1502 and 1509, during Ovando's governorship (1502-1509) (Deagan 1999, 10; Kulstad 2008, 123; Palm 1955a, 22-23). This building is said to have been replaced by a masonry structure, sometime between 1525 and 1528 (Deagan 1999,10; Kulstad 2008, 123; Palm 1955a, 22-23).

Little information is available about possible uses of this site after 1564, but there is recorded evidence of manioc cultivation to the west of masonry structures before the Dirección Nacional de Parques excavations and beans to the east in the 1980s (González 1989), and corn in the present day (Coste 2015).

The first attempt at archaeological excavations at this site appear to be those conducted by Arch. González between 1977 and 1989. Gonzalez excavated the area within the campus containing masonry ruins (Fig. 5, 8), approximately 2/3 of the campus. He divided the excavated areas into "construction" (orange) and "trash" (green)

areas. A relatively large section of the campus was used as an excavated backfill dump (brown).

González identified burial areas, one outside the northern wall and one to the west (González n.d.). According to ex-members of his work crew, several bodies are also buried at the altar of the church, found in the northeast part of the structure (Abreu 2015; Coste 2017; Pimentel 1997) (Fig. 11).

González made a blueprint of the structural remains he unearthed, ostensibly for the purpose of restoring and rebuilding the complete monastery. This blueprint identifies places within the Monasterio, basing most of these locations on Franciscan monastery distributions elsewhere in Spain and Latin America (Coste 2017). These are (Fig. 10):

- Burials/cemetery
- Gatehouse
- Outer Parlour: [Locutorio Grande] Place where monks conducted business with those outside the monastery
- Inner parlour: located off the cloister next to Chapel house in east and used for conversation of members
- Sacristy: Room for keeping vestments
- Presbytery: Sanctuary - space around the altar. May include choir area.
- Bathroom
- Sacristan's cell: Sacristan is the officer in charge of the sacristy, the church and its contents
- Exit to the orchard
- Rectory Hall: The rectory is the place of residence of one or more priests
- Cloister: Covered walk, open gallery or open arcade running along walls of a building
- Pantry [bodega]
- Dining hall for the sick
- Anterefectory: place to say grace before and after meals
- Dining hall
- Place for washing
- Storage area

- Chapter House: [Sala Capitular] Building or room that is part of a cathedral, monastery in which larger meetings are held.

In this research, the following areas of interest were identified:

- Burials (Church/Monasterio) (Fig. 11)
- Large concentrations of nails (Fig. 12)
- Refuse areas (Fig. 5)
- Possible activity areas (Fig. 11, 13)

The data related to these areas will be presented below in relation to the following structural areas (Table 6-2):

- Church
- Convent
- Cemeteries
- Large trash pit area in the southwest (Basurero)

6.3.1.1.1.1 Monasterio de San Francisco church

The area occupied by the Church at the Monasterio de San Francisco campus is delimited in Fig. 10. It is identified by the general lack of artifacts in the area, as compared to those considered to be in outside areas (Silliman 2010, 47). Its large number of artifacts in the outside areas of the northeast corner confirms a doorway to the west. This is due to the fact that refuse areas are typically found behind structures facing the street (Deagan 1981, 632). It also confirms the González's placement of the sacristy, typically found on the east side, opposite a western door (Deagan 1981).

Few nails were found in this area, meaning that it was probably constructed of masonry. There is also evidence of several large clay extraction pits along the northern edge of the area (González 1982) (Fig. 10). This is considered evidence of the use of clay to make tapia floor and walls (Ramírez 2016). The lack of nails in the inside areas points to a one-story structure.

Due to the excavation biases, it is difficult to pinpoint exactly when this structure was constructed. However, it does seem that it was one of the earlier structures. This is due to the lack of nails within its occupation area. Nails appear to have been recycled for the construction of wooden parts of the adjoining Convent. For these same reasons, it is also difficult to prove that an earlier wooden structure could have occupied this area earlier.

6.3.1.1.1.2 Burials

A total of nine sets of human remains were found, in context, at the Monasterio de San Francisco campus. All appear to have been formally buried, as opposed to possible casualties of the 1562 earthquake.

Three areas are identified as containing burials within the Monasterio de San Francisco campus. The first is the one identified by González as the Indigenous cemetery, found to the north of the Church. The second is found close to western Gatehouse, extends down the Convent's western wall, and includes a burial in the structure's courtyard (#9), and one under the southwestern wall foundation (#8). The last burial is in the sacristy, on the eastern side of the Church. There were more burials found during the Dirección Nacional de Parque excavations, but these did not have proper context. Therefore, they will not be included in this research. The chosen burials are identified by number in Fig. 11.

These burials were identified based on burial position (fetal vs articulated) and context within the structure. Two are possible European/Spanish remains (#3, 4). Three are possibly Indigenous (#1, 2, 8). Four bodies were unidentified.

It is difficult to know when these remains were buried, given the excavation biases. However, the presence of Majolica and La Vega Red Slipped in all of the burial units points to a use of these spaces by Europeans/Spanish. There is evidence of nails in 5 units, Indigenous ceramics in 3 units, griddles in 2 units, olive jar in 6 units, La Vega Red on White in 3 units, faunal remains in 5 units, clothing items in 2 units, a bell in one unit, colonial glass in 2 units, and slag in one unit. The burials did not contain horseshoes, cupellation items, tools, weapons, ornamentation-related items, bookclasps, vials or Stonewares.

6.3.1.1.1.3 Convent

The area occupied by the Convent at the Monasterio de San Francisco campus is delimited in Fig. 10. It is identified by the structural ruins shown in the Gonzalez blueprint. It directly abuts the Church's south side, although no masonry ruins or nails related to this dividing wall have been identified in context. Four distinct artifact area clusters have been identified archaeologically. These are the western side, the courtyard, the eastern side, and the southern section.

Unlike the Church, the Convent has a great variety of artifacts in indoor areas. This is due to their relation to nails, which is evidence of a European-style wooden elements. Nails are found in all units except the middle of the courtyard. There are also nails found in units extending off the southwest corner, and the northeast corner. These wooden elements may be wooden roofing beams, or wooden floors. Some of the ceramic artifacts found in these inside areas could have been used as roofing filling

(see Kulstad 2013a; Lister and Lister 1981). Olive jar sherds are found, in different amounts, in all units limiting the areas covered by the nails. It is possible that these olive jars may have been used as archway support, imitating the Roman technique later used in Santo Domingo. The location of glass remains may point to the existence of some type of window glass (stained or pane) in wooden walls. There is little overlap between glass and La Vega Red on White. Griddles are only found in outside areas. The low amounts of Majolica and La Vega Red Slipped in the courtyard seem to indicate its use as a garden.

The southern area shows a structure that has an interior section, evidenced by the lack of artifacts. However, there appears to be some missing walls, making it difficult to identify the structures's use.

The eastern outside area of the Convent appears to be a large midden. It contains more griddle and Indigenous sherds than the western side, which has more glass remains (Fig. 13). The western side has five excavated burials, and the northeastern corner around the altar (presbytery) has unexcavated burials. It appears that the southwestern corner was the last constructed since there is evidence there of stoneware sherds. It is possible that this could have been a clay extraction pit used for the construction of the Convent.

6.3.1.1.1.4 *Basurero* (Large Southeast Trash Pit area)

To the south of the masonry structure is a large trash pit, denominated a *Basurero* by González (Fig. 5). He believed this to be a trash pit rather than fill because there is no apparent structural element here, and material was loosely packed (González 1983).

However, a reexamination of the excavation data gives a different interpretation of the area. There is evidence of a fire and an early style Majolica, Cuerda Seca (1490-1550) was found. Few nails were found here, but it does appear that there may have been a building there which either burned or collapsed. The loose material found there contains La Vega Red on White, griddle fragments, a few Indigenous sherds, glass sherds, stoneware, bells, and buckles.

6.3.1.1.2 Fort campus

The Fort campus found is believed to be close to the central area of the colonial city, given that it is found northwest of the cathedral (Woods 1999). The Dirección Nacional de Parques 1976-1994 excavations uncovered a group of structural remains linked to the southeastern edge of the Fort. During the University of Florida project, Architect Hershel Shepard suggested a possible Fort layout which did not include these

structures. However, these structures were incorporated into the site's masonry remain layout proposed by the University of Florida in their final report.

Historical documents record four Concepción forts (Table 6-3). One was built in 1494 close to the Rio Verde and lasted one year (Concepción 1981; Torres-Petitón 1988, 2009). Three were built at the Concepción site. The first fort onsite, built in 1495, appears to have been built by Bartolomé Colón, and was known as Bartolomé's Fort (Marte 1981). Ovando commissioned a fort in 1509, but construction did not begin until 1512 (Marte 1981, 68, 86, 90). The third fort remained in good condition until 1543, when city officials requested its repair (Marte 1981, 400), but there is no historical evidence confirming its completion. Although there is evidence of looting and archaeological attempts at the Fort campus (See Chapter 3), it was not used for agricultural activities until after the early 1900s, when the Coste family moved there (Coste 2016; Chapter 3). See Chapter 3 for a review of archaeological work done at the site, and Kulstad (2008).

After plotting the artifacts on the University of Florida masonry remain layout, certain artifact disposal patterns were noticed. For example, the almost complete ubiquitous presence of faunal remains, Majolica, La Vega Red Slipped, La Vega Red on White, and decorated Indigenous sherds at this campus points to a fill being spread on the campus at some time during its colonial occupation. Cupellation items and slag are fairly ubiquitous around the campus, unlike in the Monasterio de San Francisco campus where these are scarce. Only one set of unprovenanced human remains were found at the campus. European artifacts related to nails do not align with the existing masonry structures, suggesting separate wooden structures with possible different uses.

Artifact clusters helped identify the following areas of interest (Table 6-3) (Fig. 9):

- Large concentration of nails (Fig. 14)
- Masonry construction areas (clay extraction pits / arcilla holes) (Fig. 15)
- Wooden structure #1
- Masonry Fort
- Wooden structure #2
- East of Fort (Mess Hall)
- Area around Tower #2
- House #1
- House #2

6.3.1.1.2.1 Wooden structure #1

This structural area was identified by a concentration of artifacts related to a medium level deposition of nails (Fig. 14). This structure abuts the middle of the western wall of the masonry fort ruins. The medium number of nails suggests a one level structure. The floor does not appear to have been covered with wood. The northeast

corner overlaps with the area covered by the masonry fort ruins, but the rest of the structural area does not appear to have been occupied by another structure.

The largest amounts of La Vega Red on White, and the largest amounts of griddles of the Fort campus are found in this structural area. It has the second highest number of decorated Indigenous artifacts (after House #1). Not all griddles were found with high amounts of ceramics in the Indigenous style, however. Cupellation item sherds are relatively ubiquitous in this area, pointing to their use as fill.

The earliest datable Spanish ceramic (Montelupo Polychrome Majolica: 1500-1575) was found at the northwestern edge. A scabbard was found on the outer edge of the overlapping western fort wall. A sword was found in a midden inside a clay extraction pit (discussed in further detail in masonry fort section). Two hoes were found in the southern section of the selected area. La Vega Red Slipped was only found in the northern part of the structural area. Certain artifacts were absent in the area: decorated glass, clothing items.

The middens related to this structure seem to be found in clay extraction pits mined to construct the masonry fort walls (Fig. 15). The two midden contents were similar, except for one having horseshoes, buckles and high amounts of decorated Indigenous ceramics; while the other had stoneware, no horseshoes or buckles and low amounts of decorated Indigenous ceramics.

6.3.1.1.2.2 Masonry fort

The masonry fort ruins currently found at the Concepción site were evaluated by Historical Architect Hershel Shepard in 1997 (Shepard 1997). According to Shepard, the fort was built as a rectangular masonry structure with the long axis oriented north to south. It had two circular masonry towers, one located at the northwest corner and the other at the southeast corner (Shepard 1997, 2). Architect Gonzalez believed a square tower was located in the northeast corner (Abreu 2015).

A review of historical data points to two possible construction dates - 1512 and circa 1543. As stated before, no historical evidence has been found so far to confirm or refute the 1543 construction, but it may be possible to do so archaeologically.

A review of the artifact plotting shows low amounts of artifacts in the areas considered to be inside. This is a pattern similar to the one found at the Masonry Church at the Monasterio de San Francisco campus. This inside area is divided into thirds. The northern half is a possible plaza/horse staging area? where few artifacts are found. The middle third is covered with large concentration of artifacts connected to Wooden Structure #1 and Wooden Structure #2. The southern third of the building is the area covered by building ruins, which has not been as intensively excavated as the rest of the internal structural area.

The next step was to plot the clay extraction pits identified in the archaeological record (Fig 16). Pits #3 and #4 appear to be related to the construction of the western wall. Pits #5 and #6 appear to be related to the construction of the eastern wall. Pits #1, #2, and Pit #7 are not found next to walls and could either be related to the construction of the fort's northern and southern towers, or related to an reduction or expansion of the masonry fort's size.

The presence of stoneware (found in greater quantities after 1550) in the area next to the southeastern tower seems to point to a reduction of the fort's structure around that time. This makes it plausible to assume that the 1512 fort was larger (east to west) than the 1543 remodeled version.

The absence of olive jar sherds around the structure also points to a different construction method than the one used in at the Monasterio de San Francisco. This could also be related to a different construction period.

6.3.1.1.2.3 Wooden structure #2

This structural area was identified by a concentration of artifacts related to large amounts of nails on the eastern side of the Fort campus (Fig. 14). This area abuts the middle to southeastern corner of the eastern wall of the masonry fort ruins. The large amount of nails points to a possible two-level structure, or one with a wooden floor. The southwestern corner of this structure is covered by the southeastern corner overlap of the masonry fort ruins. The central part of Wooden Structure #2 has a tapia floor, which has been suggested to be a plaza de armas (Pimentel 1997) or a stable (Polanco 2015).

Due to the identification of various other structures occupying the same space as this structural area (Tower #2, Mess Hall and House 1), and the excavation biases related to the Dirección Nacional de Parques' excavation, it is difficult to identify which artifacts were used in relation to Wooden Structure #2. It is the area in the campus with the largest concentration of nails. The earliest datable Spanish ceramic sherds (Montelupo Polychrome Majolica: 1500-1575) were found between the two wells in the eastern section.

The midden areas are located on the eastern side. These middens are not found in clay extraction pits, so they are found in what would be the backyard, as suggested in Deagan 1981. This implies that this structure could have faced west.

6.3.1.1.2.4 Fort midden area

This structural area was studied in an attempt to identify food preparation areas and food consumption areas. Decorated glass was identified as material correlate for tablewares, and griddles were identified as material correlates for cookwares (Fig. 16).

At the Monasterio de San Francisco campus, and in the rest of the Fort campus, griddles and decorated glass deposition patterns did not overlap. However, in this area, decorated glass and griddles were found in the same spatial units. This overlap area is more tightly delimited by a correlation to an area with a pattern of medium amounts of nails. This deposition pattern suggests that this area was covered in fill, mixing these two artifact types; or that it could be a kitchen where tablewares and cookwares were stored.

Although it is possible that this overlap could be a consequence of the deposition of fill, this overlap is not replicated elsewhere. Additionally, this is the only area at the campus where ornamentation items (beads and a manilla-bracelet) are found. It seems more likely that this would be a kitchen area storing tablewares and cookwares.

The midden related to this area was found inside clay excavation pit #7 (Fig. 15). The midden had large amounts of Majolica, large amounts of decorated Indigenous wares, large amounts of La Vega Red Slipped, large amounts of La Vega Red on White, horseshoes, clothing items, large amounts of nails, decorated glass, medium amounts of vials, bookclasps, and low amounts of griddles. Interestingly, it did not have stoneware.

The southern half of this area was also occupied by Wooden Structure #2 and Southeastern Tower structure. This sharing of space makes it difficult to identify which artifacts are related to which structures. The scissors and straight pins found in this section, close to the western masonry wall, are an example.

6.3.1.1.2.5 Southeastern Tower structure

This structural area was identified by the large amount and variety of artifacts surrounding the outside (eastern side) of the Fort's southeastern tower (Fig. 9). Due to the identification of various other structures occupying the same space as this structural area (Wooden Structure #2 and Kitchen), and the excavation biases related to the Dirección Nacional de Parques' excavation, it is difficult to identify the artifacts related to this structure. The large number of artifacts found here, particularly ceramics, could suggest an area covered by fill, but the context data of other artifacts point to other types of deposition.

It is difficult to determine which are the middens related to this structure, although clay extraction pits #3, 4 and 7 abut this structural area (Fig. 15). It is unlikely, however, that clay excavation pit #7, located in the middle of this area, continued to function in that capacity during the occupation of this structure. This is exemplified by its lack of stoneware, found elsewhere in the area. If extraction pits #3 and 4 served as middens for this structure, it would not necessarily mean that the entrance of the structure faced east. The medium amount of nails points to a one level structure.

Several non-ceramic artifacts were found in these middens: a metal pot, a punch tool, two knives, scissors, a scythe blade, and straight pins. This area holds the largest amount of glass vials on the campus. These vials were previously plotted in Kulstad 2008, 132, along with several other artifacts believed to be related to hospitals (Kulstad 2008, Chapter 5). This led to the proposal that this could be the location of a masonry hospital onsite. This proposal will be revisited in the Chapter 7.

6.3.1.1.2.6 House #1

This structural area is the northernmost masonry foundation cluster found at the northeastern edge of the Fort campus (Fig. 9). The area appears to have been previously occupied by the eastern half of Wooden Structure #2. There is a large concentration of nails related to this structure, but it appears to be more related to Wooden Structure #2 than to this structure (House #1). However, it may be possible that this could have been a two-story structure, with ceramic fill in the flooring. Although this structure is made of masonry, no clay extraction pits were identified.

Although this appears to be one structural cluster, there appears to be distinct changes between the eastern and western sides in terms of artifact quantity. The larger number of artifacts on the eastern edge suggest that this was the location of the middens. This would mean that the front of the structure faced west.

The widest variety of artifacts found at the site were also unearthed in the eastern side of this structure. This includes tools such as two axes, an awl, a scythe, a chisel, and a hoe. This also includes clothing items such as two scissors, and two buckles. In terms of weaponry, chain mail, scabbard points, a sword, and a pike were found. A trigger and a dagger were found in the easternmost well. A large fork, a small fork and four knives were also found. Olive jar is also mostly found in the highest quantity at the eastern edge of this structure.

At the same time, glass and griddles are divided at the site following a north/ south pattern, with glass found in the northern section and griddles in the south. Stoneware is only found inside the easternmost well. There are low quantities of La Vega Red on White and cupellation item sherds overall.

6.3.1.1.2.7 House #2

This structural area is the southernmost masonry foundation cluster found at the northeastern edge of the Fort campus (Fig. 9). This area occupied by this structure is not shared with other structures found at the Fort campus. There are medium amounts of nails associated with this structure, indicating only one story.

There is no evidence of a clay extraction pit for the construction of this structure. This means the middens at the southeastern corner are behind the structure, and the frontal part of the structure faces the well.

The well contained medium amounts of decorated Indigenous artifacts, slag, decorated glass, stoneware fragments, horseshoes, large quantities of Majolica sherds, and medium amounts of La Vega Red Slipped. The westernmost midden contained bells, medium amounts of decorated Indigenous sherds, horseshoes, medium amounts of La Vega Red on White sherds, and large amounts of Majolica sherds. The easternmost midden contained bells, large amounts of La Vega Red Slipped sherds, large amounts of La Vega Red on White sherds, an ax, slag, large amounts of decorated Indigenous sherds, stoneware, decorated glass, large amounts of Majolica sherds, horseshoes and large amounts of nails.

Outside of the middens and wells, only the areas closest to the middens have large concentrations of artifacts. There are few decorated Indigenous artifacts except in the well and in the middens. There are no bookclasps or griddles in this structural cluster. There are also small amounts of cupellation item sherds and slag present.

6.4 Specific Artifact and Artifact Group Descriptions

Three artifact variables were to be analyzed - presence/absence of particular artifacts, relative percentages between artifacts, and artifact context on the horizontal plane (landscape). However, excavation biases made some of these difficult to undertake at this time. First, due to artificial stratigraphic layers, it was impossible to determine specific time period ranges within the Concepción site. For this reason, the whole site will be treated as one time period, as opposed to the two time periods identified in the historical record (see Kulstad 2008). Second, due to the unknown number of artifacts found at the Monasterio de San Francisco site as a consequence of their transportation to the Museo de las Casas Reales, it was not possible to assertain relative percentages between artifacts.

As stated above, a series of artifacts and artifact groups were chosen to be plotted based on their use in activities known to be archaeologically recognizable in Spanish circum-Caribbean colonial sites in activity areas related to architecture, tablewares, clothing, ornamentation, domestic organization, ceramics and foodways (Deagan 2002a, 34; Ewen 2000; McEwan 1991a, 1991b). It must be remembered that many of these artifacts did not come only from Spain, but also from other parts of the Habsburg empire (Arciniegas 1991 [1941]; Lettany 2018). Only those artifacts with context data were plotted, meaning that a portion of the artifacts stored at the site were not included in this analysis. A list of the selected artifacts and the plotting criteria used for each is found in Table 2-3.

The next section will give a more detailed description of the selected artifacts, as well as a short biography of each. More specifically, it will present the objects intended use, its actual use, and its final use (Rice 2015, 417) (See Chapter 2).

6.4.1 Spanish Colonial Nails

A large number of nails and nail fragments are recorded at the Concepción site. Only medium and large amounts of nails were plotted at the Fort campus (Fig. 14). Small, medium and large amounts of nails were plotted at the Monasterio de San Francisco campus (Fig. 12).

Spanish colonial nails' intended use has been studied by Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 251-255; Lyon 1979; South et al. 1988, 33–47. South et al. (1988) proposed a Spanish colonial nail typology which was used to classify the nails at La Isabela (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 251-255) and at Puerto Real (Deagan 1995b). According to this classification tool, a nail's specific function can be determined by head shape and length (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 251-255). These uses were for joining pieces of wood, adding trimming, and sometimes for flooring. A different sub-set of nails were for decoration (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 251-255).

Unfortunately, nails at the La Vega Site have only been quantified, and their specific physical characteristics have not been recorded. However, their context can give us their actual use. From context we see that their primary actual use closely follows their intended use, namely for joining walls and roofing beams, and quite probably flooring boards, at both the Fort and Monasterio de San Francisco campuses.

However, there is evidence of a possible secondary use at the Monasterio de San Francisco, specifically the recycling of the nails used to put together the wooden and thatched Church (1502?-1528?) for the construction of the Convent. This recycling is evident through the lack of nails in the units related to the Church's masonry foundations. This is also confirmed by a correlation of high amounts of olive jar fragments with low amounts of nails (Fig. 10). This points to the construction of arches in the Roman ceramics recycling style (Kulstad 2013a; Lister and Lister 1981).

The nails' final use, or excavation context, is for the most part, related to their place of use, namely as part of a constructed structure. However, small amounts of nails have been found in some middens, both at the Fort and at the Monasterio de San Francisco. This points to the relatively low value and ubiquitousness of nails, meaning these were manufactured locally. Nails were also found in the same spatial units as six of the burials at the Monasterio de San Francisco. These nails were undoubtedly intrusive and point to a recycling of burial areas as parts of wooden structural units.

6.4.2 Bells

In spite of their frequent mention in historical accounts, bells are not found in abundance in most archaeological sites in the Circum-Caribbean (Deagan 2002a, 138), with Concepción being an exception (Deagan 2017). The Concepción site has one of the Americas' largest collections of hawk's bells and rumbler bells of the early Spanish colonial period (Deagan 2002a, 138).

Bells' intended use in Spanish colonial sites has been studied by Deagan (2002a, 138). There are two main general bell categories based on use: church bells, and bells for personal use. This research focuses on closed bells for personal use, also known as rumbler bells (Deagan 2002a, 138).

Rumbler bells had several intended uses in 16th century Europe, according to historical records. These included use as trade goods, clothing ornaments, horse harness decorations, bird locators (hawks' bells), and amulets for children (Deagan 2002a, 138). There is also evidence that golden bells were used as trimming on high priest robes to drive away spirits (Deagan 2002a, 140), and the very scarce (archaeologically) petaloid rumbler bell was also used for clothing decoration in the late Medieval period (Deagan 2002a, 148). There is also historical evidence of bells being used as musical instruments (Peguero 1975, 94).

However, upon the institution of the gold tribute system in 1495 (See Chapter 4), hawk's bells acquired a different use on Hispaniola. These bells were to be filled with gold every three months by all men over 14 years old (Cassá 1978, 33; Charlevoix 1730, 110; Wilson 1990a). These bells became an integral part of the gold production sequence.

The rumbler bells found at the Concepción site appear to be cast ones of German origin (Deagan 2002a, 148). Two types of rumbler bells have been found - spherical and petaloid. Unfortunately, the existing archaeological records do not specify the kinds of rumbler bells found in each particular excavation context. This makes it difficult to match the bells stored in the museum/deposit with the correct context. Indeed, most of the bells in the collection are unprovenanced, but a review of the archaeological records provided eight excavation contexts, four in the Fort campus and four at the Monasterio de San Francisco campus. Twelve bells were found at the Fort campus (Fig. 17). Ten were found in the midden of House #2, one inside House #1, and one by the square tower of the Masonry fort. Five bells were found at the Monasterio de San Francisco campus. Two were found at the southwestern corner, one in burial #6, and 2 in the Basurero area. Fig. 18 shows these contexts, numbered for better referral.

Starting at the Fort campus, Bell #1 was found next to the Fort's square tower. It is in the same context as cupellation item sherds, slag, La Vega Red Slipped sherds, and Majolica ceramics. This context could imply its use in the tribute/gold industry.

Bell #2, was found next to a well in House #1. Its location could imply use on a horse harness or on clothing, falling off in the process of carrying water. Other objects in the same context, such as slag, a horseshoe, Majolica sherds, decorated Indigenous ceramic sherds, La Vega Red Slipped sherds, and La Vega Red on White ceramics, and the lack of cupellation item sherds, seem to confirm this use.

Bell #3 was found in the southeastern corner of House #2. It is found in context with Majolica sherds, decorated Indigenous ceramic sherds, La Vega Red Slipped sherds, and La Vega Red on White ceramics, but no horseshoes, or cupellation item sherds. It is difficult to ascertain its use, since this appears to be a midden context.

Bell context #4 contained nine bells. These were found in context with Majolica sherds, decorated Indigenous ceramic sherds, La Vega Red Slipped sherds, La Vega Red on White ceramics, horseshoes, and cupellation item sherds. Given the large amount and variety of artifacts found in this context, there is little doubt that this is a midden, and it is difficult to ascertain the use of these bells.

Continuing to the Monasterio de San Francisco campus, Bell #5 is found in burial context #6. This context also contains colonial glass, La Vega Red Slipped sherds, Majolica sherds and faunal remains. Given this location and context, this bell was probably a clothing item related to the buried remains.

Bell #6 was recovered at the southwest corner of the site, relatively away from the walls. It was found together with Majolica sherds, Indigenous ceramic sherds, La Vega Red Slipped sherds, nails, faunal remains, stoneware and colonial glass. Given this large variety of artifacts, this appears to be a midden, and therefore it is difficult to ascertain the use of this bell.

Bells #7 and #8 are found in the Basurero section of the Monasterio de San Francisco campus, an area already identified as being a large-scale trash pit. These two contexts both contain faunal remains, horseshoes, La Vega Red on White ceramics, La Vega Red Slipped sherds, clothing items, olive jar sherds, and Majolica sherds. Neither unit has Indigenous ceramic sherds, slag, or cupellation items. Bell context #7 has nails, but #8 does not. At the same time, bell context #8 has colonial glass, while #7 does not. Given their location in a trash pit area, it is difficult to know what these bells were used for.

To finalize the biography of bell use at the Concepción site, it is important to note the role of post-depositional looting of these artifacts. Looted bells have been one of the most popular items offered by looters in the general Concepción site, which covers a 1km2 approximate radius (Coste 2015). Frederick Ober was offered a large number of bells during his 1891 and 1893 expeditions (Ober 1893). Bells are also part of a collection donated by a local landowner to the Heritage site in the early 1980s (González 1981).

6.4.3 Bookhardware

Bookhardware are those hinges, straps or clasps, used on 15th and 16th century books to close them (Deagan 2002a, 308). Although there is evidence that bookhardware was found at both the Monasterio de San Francisco (Deagan 2002a, 308) and Fort campuses (Deagan 1999), only 11 of them have exact proveniences. All of these were found on the Fort campus (Fig. 19).

By 1550, bookhardware was replaced by fabric ties (Deagan 2002a, 308). It is sometimes difficult to distinguish these artifacts from buckles used on furniture and saddles, but bookhardware usually has a loop on the back (Deagan 2002a, 309; Ernst 2017).

The fact that this bookhardware was not found at the Monasterio campus shows that books were not only used in a religious and/or educational context. The bookhardware distribution seems to be more related to Wooden Structure #1 (3) and Wooden Structure #2 (4), than other artifacts. Two bookhardware were found inside of the masonry fort structure. The last bookhardware is found in the inside area of House #2. There is no bookhardware in House #1.

Nothing points to this bookhardware being used for another purpose beyond their intended use, that is, for the closing of books. Discerning what these books could have been is difficult. They would not have been religious. They could have possibly been for the recording of military and/or economic matters. Another possibility is, should the area around the southeastern tower be related to a hospital, that the some of the Wooden Structure #2 bookhardware may belong to medical books.

6.4.4 Griddles

Griddles are a flattened Indigenous cookware made of stone or clay (Coste 2016). There are several types of griddles found both on Hispaniola and in other parts of the circum-Caribbean. The ones found on Hispaniola can be very thick, 2-5 cm, with rounded rims (Smith 1995). They are common elements in precolonial assemblages on Hispaniola (Smith 1995), but can also be found in post-contact sites, such as at La Isabela and Puerto Real (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 37; Smith 1995). They were used to cook casabe, a flattened bread made of manioc flour (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6), and possibly other foods, such as Sweet potatoes (Ipomoea batatas) or corn (Zea mays) (Ciofalo et al. 2018).

Griddles fragments were found both at the Monasterio de San Francisco and at the Fort campuses. Large amounts of griddles were plotted at the Fort campus (Fig. 16), as well as low, mid and high amounts of griddle fragments at the Monasterio campus (Fig. 13). There is not enough information at this time to determine which type

of griddles were found at which context. It is known, however, that more stone griddles were found at the Fort campus than at the Monasterio campus.

The largest amounts of griddles at the Fort campus site are found within Wooden Structure #2 (Fig. 16). These griddles are closely related to La Vega Red on White sherds. Meanwhile, in the Fort Midden Area, griddles and decorated glass are found in several of the same contexts. Griddles are found in the southern half of House #1, and none are found in House #2.

At the Monasterio campus (Fig. 13), griddles are more closely related to Indigenous sherds, particularly in the eastern part of the Convent. Large amounts of griddles are found in the burial area and in the unit found in the sacristy. However, this appears to be intrusion caused by the digging of the burials (Caba 2018). There is little overlap with colonial glass.

At both campuses, griddles seemed to have some correlation with faunal remains. There does not seem to be a direct relation to mayolica ceramics sherds. There is no evidence at this point of griddles being recycled as building materials. This makes griddles a good material correlate for Indigenous cookwares (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 37). However, the griddle deposition does not always overlap with other Indigenous ceramics, meaning that it is possible that griddles were used by other cultural groups.

6.4.5 Cupellation items

This section pertains to a group of similar artifacts, made of calcareous material and conical shaped, found at the Concepción site. These were originally identified as limestone plugs for sugar molds (Abreu 1998; Coste 2016), but during the current research into sugar production, they have been reclassified as belonging to metallurgical production. It has been determined that these artifacts are related to the cupellation process, a further refining step beyond smelting. At this point in time these items are considered to be cupels, crucibles or scorifiers, or even the residue produced at the bottom of a metal crucible.

Given that investigations on cupellation at the Concepción site are not germane to the focus of this chapter, namely the description of specific artifacts, this will not be expanded upon here. However, it must be noted here that cupellation is related to the refining of noble metals (gold and silver) from base metals (lead, copper, zinc, arsenic, antimony or bismuth) (Martinón-Torres and Rehren 2009). This implies a more complicated metallurgical activity, since cupellation is more closely related to silver extraction (Martinón-Torres and Rehren 2009). There were two types of cupellation, large and small scale, both using the same equipment (Martinón-Torres and Rehren 2009).

The presence of these artifacts evidences that cupellation did occur at Concepción, not just smelting. This is important because, due to the excavation biases, both the smelting forges and the cupellation hearths were not identified during the Dirección Nacional de Parques excavation.

Only one cupellation item was found at the Monasterio de San Francisco campus (Fig. 10), and the rest were found at the Fort campus (Fig. 9). Most of the artifacts were clustered around all of the Masonry fort's corners and the area identified as Wooden Structure #1. A few cupellation items were found in inside areas of House #1 and House #2.

Although it is possible that cupellation could have been undertaken within Wooden Structure #1, the distribution of these items close to masonry foundations seems to point to their use in fill during the construction of the masonry. The foundry remains have been identified to the southwest of the Fort (Coste 2014) and would have been a good source of items to add to the fill during the construction of the 1512 or 1543 Masonry fort.

The small amounts of cupellation items found at House #1 and House #2 seem to suggest the possibility that small-scale cupellation may have occurred at Concepción. This is an avenue for later study.

6.4.6 Metal Slag

In metal processing, slag is the stony waste matter separated from metals during the smelting or refining of ore (Martinón-Torres and Rehren 2009). Large amounts of slag, of differing sizes, was found at both the Monasterio de San Francisco and Fort campuses. Historical documents record that gold, copper and iron were processed at Concepción (Guitar 1998, 210; Kulstad 2008, 223). From the section above, we see there is evidence of silver cupellation at the Concepción site as well.

No one has studied the slag in sufficient detail to determine the metals each came from, so all types have been counted together as one group. Also, as stated in the previous section, due to the excavation biases, both the smelting forges and the cupellation hearths were not identified during the Dirección Nacional de Parques excavation.

The metallic slag was plotted by presence or absence in particular units. At the Monasterio de San Francisco Campus, slag was found along the southern edge of the Convent. Meanwhile, at the Fort site, it was virtually ubiquitous.

This distribution points to slag being part of a construction fill, in a similar way to the use of cupellation items. This also corroborates the idea that smelting and/or cupellation was not undertaken at either of these campuses.

6.4.7 Horseshoes

A large number of horseshoes were found at the Concepción site, both at the Monasterio de San Francisco and Fort campuses (Figs. 10 and 11). These were plotted according to presence or absence at a particular unit. This is due to the fact that horseshoes were quantified at the Fort campus, but not at the Monasterio campus.

Horses were highly valued during this period, and owning one was a symbol of belonging to the upper class (Álvarez-Ossorio 1998; Río Moreno 1992). All horses were shod with U-shaped horseshoes, which were consistent in size and shape (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a). Attempts have been made to date horseshoes according to size (Deagan 1987).

There is evidence that horseshoes were made at La Isabela (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a) by Spanish blacksmiths. It may be possible that horseshoes could have also been made at Concepción, given that 2 blacksmiths are mentioned in the Repartimiento documents (Arranz-Marquez 1991).

Horseshoes are fairly ubiquitous at the Fort campus, although it is possible that not all of the horseshoes came from the 16th century. The Fort campus has been used to keep community horses for many years, and even to this day (Abreu 2015). At the Monasterio campus, horseshoes are concentrated at the courtyard and at the eastern Basurero area.

Finally, it appears that horseshoes were found more at places that they were lost by horses, as opposed to places where they were made. It is possible that the horseshoes in the eastern Basurero area, combined with the bells also found there, could mark the location of a stable.

6.4.8 Human Remains

As stated above, nine sets of human remains were found, in context, at the Monasterio de San Francisco. All appear to have been formally buried. One set of human remains was found west of the northwest Masonry fort tower at the Fort campus, but this burial is not properly provenienced.

No formal physical anthropological analyses have been carried out on these remains, and they are classified according to whether they are buried in a flexed or extended position. Traditionally, Indigenous peoples of the area were believed to be buried in the flexed position, which Europeans were buried in the traditional Christian position, that is, laid out face-up with hands crossed on the chest (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 283). However, this classification system may not be completely accurate, as there is evidence that at least one Christian India (Alvaro de Castro's Lucayan concubine) may be buried at the Monasterio campus (Patronato 1995, 151). Given that Christian Indios at El Chorro de Maita in northeastern Cuba are buried in extended

position (Valcárcel-Rojas 2012), it would necessitate further analysis to identify the remains.

Based on burial position and context related to location within the Monasterio campus (Fig. 11), remains #1,2,8 appear to be Indigenous. Remains #1 and 2 are found at what was identified as the Indigenous cemetery during the Dirección Nacional de Parques excavations, north of the Church. Remains #8, in a flexed position, are found under the southwestern corner's wall. This would imply that the Convent was built over an existing, precontact cemetery. Remains #3 and 4 are identified as Spanish due to their burial in Spanish niches, but these warrant further study, in spite of #4 being in the sacristy. Remains # 5, 6, 7 are outside of the Convent walls, although Remains #6 may also be in a Spanish niche, considering the bells and glass found in the same context. Remains #9 could also be pre-contact Indigenous, based on the large number of artifacts found in the same context, and its position in the courtyard.

Unfortunately, all of these remains have not received conservation treatment and have slowly deteriorated. Photographs of these remains are available in Museo del Hombre reports. It is believed that more human remains may be found around the altar of the Church, and at the "Indigenous cemetery" (Coste 2016).

6.4.9 Faunal Remains

Although the faunal remains at the Concepción site have not been formally studied, the amounts are relatively quantifiable. It is known that at the Fort campus faunal bone densities ranged from twenty to eight hundred grams of bone per square excavated meter (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 144). For this study, relative amounts, low/medium/high were calculated for each of the campuses. Medium and high amounts of faunal remains were plotted for the Monasterio campus (Fig. 10). However, after the plotting the medium and high amounts of faunal remains at the Fort campus showed their ubiquitousness, they were not included in the general artifact plot.

According to historical accounts, several European barn animal remains should be found at the Concepción site as a whole, namely cows, pigs, chickens, sheep and goats (as well as horses) (Anghiera I, 67; Deagan and Reitz 1995; Lamb 1956, 45). Historical accounts also record the rise of the cattle ranching industry at Concepción after the failure of the sugar industry (Kulstad 2008, 232). However, given the assigned activities of both locations - religious and military - archaeological evidence of these animals should be limited more to foodways, rather than industry.

This is far from true. As stated above, high concentrations of faunal remains are found at both of these campuses. At the Monasterio campus (Fig. 10), most of the faunal remains are found along the outside walls of the complete structure and concentrate in higher quantities in the Basurero area. There are no records of faunal remains at the Indigenous cemetery, or in the courtyard. At the Fort campus, also as

stated above, the faunal remains are ubiquitous, proposing that they were also part of a fill spread on the site.

In fact, all of the faunal remains at both sites appear to have been deposited as fill, rather than as kitchen middens. This possibility is compounded by the fact that all this area could have been used as a trash pit by illegal traders in cattle hides during the 17th century (Coste 2015).

6.4.10 Colonial Glass

Several types of European glass dating to the period, of study were found at both campuses. These types were divided into Decorated glass and Plain glass at the Fort campus, but were lumped together as “Colonial glass” at the Monasterio campus. Decorated glass artifacts are mostly objects with decorations, either in latticinio or in color. Plain glass includes plate (window) glass, and colorless artifacts with little volume. All glass was plotted according to their presence/absence within a particular unit at the Monasterio campus (Fig. 13), but only the Decorated Glass was plotted at the Fort campus (Fig. 16).

Given that Decorated glass can be used as a material correlate for tablewares, it can suggest elite European food consumption areas, these artifacts were targeted in this investigation. Their relation to griddles, serving as a material correlate for Indigenous cooking wares, may give insight into European/Spanish and Indios relations. This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

From 1495 to 1564, at Concepción there were two possible sources of glass, one was the Catalonian glass industry, and the other was the Venetian glass industry. Although there was a Spanish/Catalonian glass industry during this occupation period, there is evidence that, due to increasing demands at later New World colonial settlements, there was a need to import Venetian glass to Spain, and from there export it to the New World (Deagan 2002a, 27). Since Concepción was such an early settlement, it may be possible that Spanish/Catalonian glass were still present.

The Decorated glass found at the Fort campus (Fig. 16) has been identified as possibly being Venetian laticinnio glass (Deagan 1999). However, a review of Spanish glass related to the period of study suggests that Catalonia glass could have also been present.

From 1300 to 1700, European glassmakers produced glass for daily use. Luxury glassmaking was revived in the Renaissance, particularly in Venice, and on nearby Murano island. Colorless and colored glass was crafted there by mid-15th century (Corning Glass Museum 2018d).

The colorless, rock crystal-like glass, was known as cristallo (Corning Glass Museum 2018d). Thin glasses in simple, elegant shapes were also produced, decorated with colored horizontal rings or molded stems (Corning Glass Museum 2018d). Blown

vessels were produced with canes or rods of colorless or colored glass, known as laticinnio (Corning Glass Museum 2018d; Deagan 1987). Although strict laws governed the sharing of Venetian glassmaking technical knowledge and the exportation of raw materials, glass craftsmen moved from Venice to other parts of Europe, and blended their knowledge with local forms and decorations (Corning Glass Museum 2018d).

It appears that this may have been the case with Catalonian glass (Riu de Martin 2008, 592).This glass is similar to Venetian, but has an amber tint resulting from the method used to decolorize the glass (Corning Glass Museum 2018b). Most of their designs were based on utilitarian typologies but were highly sophisticated and fragile. They are mostly found in goblet and dessert stand forms (Corning Glass Museum 2018b). These forms were also replicated in ceramic and silver wares (Corning Glass Museum 2018b).

There is historical evidence that plate (window) glass was being manufactured in Barcelona in 1461 (Riu de Martin 2008, 597). It is highly possible that this type of glass was used at the Monasterio campus, given that it was mainly used in churches and palaces (Riu de Martin 2008, 597).

Although there is Colonial glass in all the identified middens, there is also evidence that these artifacts may have been in their place of use or storage at the time of the earthquake. It may be possible, then to ascertain whether glass is decorative or plate at the Monasterio campus through their provenience location.

At the Fort site, Decorated glass was found in the Fort Midden Area, together with griddles (This is discussed in the Kitchen section above and will be interpreted in the next chapter). Decorated glass was also found in the northern, inside areas of House #1, including the wells. Decorated glass was also found in the midden and inside areas of House #2. Decorated glass was not found in many of the units identified as Wooden Structure #1. There was little overlap of Decorated glass with La Vega Red on White, Indigenous stoneware, and olive jar ceramic sherds throughout the Fort campus. It was closely related to cupellation items, Majolica and La Vega Red Slipped sherds.

At the Monasterio campus, Colonial glass was found both in inside and outside areas (Fig. 13). Most of the glass found in outside areas is in the western side of the Convent and in the Basurero area. It is possible that the glass found in the southwestern corner of the Convent was plate glass, given the preponderance of related nails. It is also possible that the glass found in the units contiguous to human remains #6 could also be plate windows, perhaps suggesting a small chapel. I will assume all other Colonial glass sherds (with the exception of green vials, which are related to hospitals) represent Decorated glass, i.e. elite European tablewares. These are clustered in the southern part of the Convent. Overall, there is little overlap between the Colonial glass and Indigenous, and La Vega Red on White ceramic sherds. Unlike at the Fort campus, there is no overlap with griddles, except at the Basurero area.

There was some overlap with stoneware, and great overlap with Majolica and La Vega Red Slipped sherds.

Although Colonial glass was found with human remains #6 and 8, there is no absolute evidence of glass being intentionally buried with the body. There is no evidence at either of the campuses of glass being used in any other way besides its intended purpose.

Interestingly, there is little evidence that Colonial glass was looted. This may be due in part to the prevalence of Plain glass, which can be difficult to distinguish from more modern glasswares.

6.4.11 Glass Vials

Although glass vials technically belong in the Colonial glass category, they have been separated here due to their possible material correlate with the health industry at the Concepción site, i.e. the location of the city's hospital. This was attempted earlier (Kulstad 2008, 132), plotting not only glass vials, but also fragments of Caparra Blue Majolica sherds (discussed below). A reexamination of the excavation records and historical sources, however, make it difficult to use these glass vials in this manner.

First, vials were found at both the Monasterio and Fort campuses. However, only the vials at the Fort campus had recorded excavation contexts. Second, it appears that glass vials could also be used to carry ink when attached to the side of writing desks (Deagan 2002a, 305).

The vials are mostly found in the area around the southeastern tower, although there are vials in one location of Wooden Structure #1, and in the inside areas of House #1 and House #2 (Fig. 19). To determine whether the vials were used for medicine or for ink, their deposition patterns were plotted together with bookhardware (Fig. 19). The resulting pattern coincides in the Kitchen and Southeastern tower areas. There is also little evidence that these items were recycled, unless medicine vials could have been recycled as ink carriers.

Unlike other Colonial glass, vials are not found in middens, with the exception of the one in clay extraction pit #7 (Fig. 15). This suggests that vials were found in their place of use in the archaeological record.

6.4.12 Ceramics

Ceramics are the most commonly recovered artifacts in the Spanish colonial record (Ness 2015, 310). A wide range of ceramics can be found at these archaeological sites, and these can be classified in many ways, including by form, place of origin, use, paste, glaze, surface decoration, etc.

The classification method used in this research is a simplified version of the Historical Period (1492-1850) Ceramic Type Classification method used for the Florida Museum of Natural History's on-line type collections (FLMNH-HA 2019c). Ceramic types in historical archaeology refer to a group of ceramics that share a consistent, specific and unique combination of tangible attributes (paste type, surface decoration, glaze, etc.). The defined types incorporate information about origin, dates of production, function and/or use.

Ceramics are classified according to three main attributes, in order of application:

- Paste type
- Surface Treatment
- Decoration

Paste Type refers to the sherd's clay characteristics. There are four main types: Coarse earthenware, Stoneware, Refined earthenware, and Porcelain (FLMNH-HA 2019c). In this research, the focus will be on Coarse earthenwares and stoneware:

- Coarse Earthenware is paste fired at temperatures of 900-1200° C. It is the most porous, softest and least compact of all paste types. It often contains tempering material. This paste can be from cream through dark red in color. It can have a wide variety of surface treatments and decorations.

- Stoneware is paste fired at temperatures of 1200-1350° C. It is hard and very compact (but not not quite vitreous). In texture it is non-porous, and granite-like. It is most often gray, sometimes cream or white. It is usually salt-glazed.

The second step deals with Surface Treatment, i.e., the way the vessel's surface is treated, covered or glazed (FLMNH-HA 200?c). There are several types of surface treatment, but the following were the most common in the artifacts studied:

- Surface displacement, penetration or addition (Punctates, incising, applique etc.)
- Smoothing or scraping
- Polishing and burnishing
- Painting and pigmentation
- Slip decorating
- Glazing
- Lead glaze
- Tin enamel
- Salt glaze

The last step is the identification of *Decoration*. These are defined as the methods, colors and motifs used to decorate the vessel, such as specific design motifs, colors, inlays and iconographic elements (FLMNH-HA 2019c). This must be done after

the identification of *paste type* and *surface treatment* because the same decoration can be found in vessels of different paste types and surface treatments.

The European ceramic sherds found at the Monasterio and at the Fort campuses were classified according to this system. The corresponding ceramic types are presented below, with the life history of each type at each campus.

However, one obstacle to using this classification was that it does not include Caribbean ceramics manufactured before and after the contact period. For the classification of these ceramics, the Digital Archive of Comparative Slavery Cataloguing Manuals were used, as well as the Florida Museum of Natural History-Historical Archaeology attribute order (paste type, surface treatment, decoration).

To be able to pair archaeological areas with historical data, ceramic descriptions have been organized by temporality. The terminology use and attributes will be described in the following sections:

- Native American Ceramics in Prehistoric Decorative Style
- European Wares
  - Early Glazed Types
    - Early Majolica (Coarse earthenwares)
    - Early other Glazed wares
  - Late Glazed Types
    - Late Majolica
    - Stoneware
- Iberian Unglazed Coarse Earthenware
  - Early wares (1500-1570)
  - Late wares (1550-1570)
- Caribbean Coarse Earthenwares
  - Caribbean Loza Común
  - Caribbean Colonowares
    - Indo-Hispano Ware
    - Afro-Hispano Ware
  - UID Caribbean Coarse Earthenwares

Finally, it must be noted that this classification only provides these ceramic vessels' intended use. Although most of these ceramics were indeed used in the intended way, for the most part they are found in depositions related to construction or fill. As stated earlier, and will be expanded more in Chapter 7, recycled European ceramics were an important ingredient of tapia construction (Kulstad 2013a; Lister and Lister 1981). Here, as explored in Kulstad 2013a, it does appear that certain Caribbean wares may have also been recycled as construction materials. For this reason, a study of site ceramics can only give us a limited view of lifeways and deathways.

6.4.12.1 Native American ceramics in Prehistoric Decorative style

As explained above, the excavation of Indigenous ceramics was not a goal of the Dirección Nacional de Parques excavations (See Chapter 3). Since excavations were to stop at the Spanish (masonry) floors of nonperishable structures, it was thought unlikely that they would encounter Indigenous ceramics. This was not the case, and a relatively large amount of Indigenous ceramics were unearthed, both at the Monasterio and Fort campuses. Priority was given to European ceramics during classification, and all Indigenous pottery was placed in a single category. This category was determined by decorative features, with no implied cultural norms, or expressions of identity, as suggested by the Caribbean Cultural Historical school (see Keegan and Hofman 2017, 21; Meggers 1996; Rouse 1939).

Another reason behind this lumping is the fact that it is uncertain when these ceramics were made. It is not known how much longer after colonization Indigenous peoples continued to manufacture pottery in their ancestral manner. Consequently, it would not be accurate to use the DAACS term for these ceramics - Native American (Prehistoric) Ceramics for these ceramics. Rather, the term, Native American Ceramics in Prehistoric Decorative Style will be used to refer to ceramic/pottery which may resemble the decoration of what has been denominated Chican Ostionoid and Meillacan Ostionoid pottery (Rouse 1992), and/or Chicoid and Mellacoid pottery (Ulloa-Hung 2014) elsewhere (See Table 6-4 for a comparison of diagnostic traits). It is important to note that this category does not include griddles, which have a distinctly different deposition pattern (see above).

The majority of the sherds of this type found at Concepción are not decorated, and these undecorated sherds can be easily confused with later locally made ceramics, and even amongst each other, if decoration is the main classifying attribute. This problem has been recognized elsewhere in the Americas, often challenging what is “Native” (Silliman 2010, 32, 45).

Due to this bias, an attempt was made to separate Indigenous artifacts into Decorated and Undecorated, since the decorated would certainly fall into the Prehistoric Decorative Style. It was possible to do this at the Fort campus, but not at the Monasterio campus. The artifacts were plotted by relative amounts, with the medium and large amounts of Decorated Indigenous artifacts plotted at the Fort campus (Fig. 16), and medium and large amounts of general Indigenous ceramics plotted at the Monasterio campus (Fig. 13).

The largest amounts of Decorated Indigenous ceramics at the Fort campus were all found in middens inside of clay excavation pits. When the medium amounts are added, the artifacts appear to have been used for filling in the Fort Midden Area and in House #1. The remains seem to circle the outside of Wooden Structure #1, and no Decorated Indigenous sherds were found in the inside areas of House #2.

At the Monasterio campus, the Indigenous artifacts are found mostly outside of the masonry structure areas (Fig. 13). However, they overlap with the nail distribution pattern, particularly on the eastern side of the Convent. This suggests their possible use in an open-air kitchen. Indigenous ceramics were also found with human remains #1, 2 and 9 (Fig. 11). It is uncertain whether this was deliberate or an intrusion.

Finally, there seems a marked difference in the deposition patterns found at each campus. Interestingly, it is the decorated Indigenous sherds that appear to be used as fill at the Fort campus, while the more general Indigenous categorization used at the Monasterio campus suggest deposition based on use.

6.4.12.2 European wares

European wares at the Concepción site belong to two paste types: Coarse earthenwares and stonewares. Part of the coarse earthenwares are glazed, while some are not. All stonewares are glazed. It is also possible to date the production range of all of these ceramics, allowing them to be used as temporality markers (see Deagan 1987; FLMNH-HA 2019b).

Specific European wares found at the La Vega site will be presented below. These have been first divided by whether they are glazed or unglazed. Although this goes against the classification continuum described above, it is a fast way to divide Old World vs. New World ceramics, given that glazing was unknown in the Caribbean precontact period. The next step is to divide glazed ceramics by paste types: coarse earthenwares and stonewares. This was followed by a division of glaze types within the coarse earthenwares: tin enameled (Majolica) vs. lead glazed. All glazed wares were then classified by temporality. Unglazed European wares, also known as Iberian Unglazed Coarse Earthenware, were also divided by early and late styles. This resulted in the following division:

- EARLY Glazed Types (1490s-1560s)
  - EARLY Majolica (tin enameled)
  - EARLY Lead Glazed Wares
- LATE Glazed Types (1550-1560s)
  - LATE Majolica
  - LATE Lead Glazed Wares
  - LATE Stoneware
- EARLY Unglazed Types [Iberian Unglazed Coarse Earthenware] (1490s-1560s)
- LATE Unglazed Types (1550-1560s)

Majolica has a soft chalky paste, with little temper, and is light cream to buff, sometimes pink, in color. They are covered with tin enamel glaze, and have a great variety of decoration styles. It is one of the most studied ceramic types, and have elaborate typologies (see, for example, Deagan 1987; Goggin 1968; Lister and Lister

1987). However, as compared to the Majolicas found in Spain, the assemblage at the Concepción site is fairly restricted both in decorative variety and vessel form (Coste and Ramirez 2016). It appears that tableware forms (platos and escudillas) are the most common, although certain other Majolica forms are present as well, as detailed below.

For this research, Majolicas were classified as a single group, and plotted to ascertain areas with definite European/Spanish occupation. However, it was possible to find examples of certain Majolica types which can give additional data regarding lifeways at the site. Detailed ceramic type descriptions are found in the FLMNH Digital Type collection (200?b, 200?d). The following types will be referenced regarding their use in understanding intercultural dynamics:

- EARLY Majolicas
  - Columbia Plain (1490-1650)
  - Caparra Blue (1490-1600)
  - Cuerda Seca (1490-1550)
  - Isabela Polychrome (1490-1580)
  - Montelupo Polychrome (1500-1575)
  - Yayal Blue on White (1490-1625)

- LATE Majolicas
  - Columbia Plain (1490-1650)
  - Caparra Blue (1490-1600)
  - Isabela Polychrome (1490-1580)
  - Montelupo Polychrome (1500-1575)
  - Yayal Blue on White (1490-1625)
  - Ligurian Blue on Blue (1550-1600)
  - Seville Blue on Blue (1550-1630)
  - La Vega Blue on White (1525-1575)
  - Santo Domingo Blue on White (1550-1630)

Out of all the Majolica types present at the Concepción site, Columbia Plain is the most prevalent, found both in the early and late period. Its paste and background enamel characteristics occur in other Majolicas highlighted here (Yayal Blue on White, Santo Domingo Blue on White, Isabela Polychrome, La Vega Blue on White), both in the early and late periods. In Spain it is known as Loza Blanca (Ness 2015, 325).

Other Majolicas that occur during the early and late periods are Caparra Blue, Isabela Polychrome, Montelupo Polychrome, and Yayal Blue on White. Cuerda Seca Majolica alone occurs only in the early period. This is important because the only recorded sample was found at the Basurero area at the Monasterio campus, meaning that this trash pit may be related to an early settlement, or to a wealthy settlement, since Cuerda Seca was a luxury ware (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a).

All early Majolicas were mostly found in tableware forms, except for Caparra Blue. Caparra Blue is known for consistently being in the albarelo, or pharmacy jar, form (FLMH-HA 2019a). However, a Caparra Blue inkwell was found at the Concepción site, by the northern fort wall (Deagan 2002a, 306). This means that not all Caparra Blue sherds were used in the health industry at the Concepción site, as proposed in Kulstad (2008, 132). For this reason, this Majolica type was not plotted separately from the rest of the Majolicas.

The late Majolicas (Ligurian Blue on Blue, Seville Blue on Blue, and La Vega Blue on White) were also found mostly in tableware forms (FLMNH Digital Type). Santo Domingo Blue on White forms were more utilitarian and heavier bodied (FLMNH-HA 2019e).

The Majolicas' deposition in both the Monasterio and the Fort campuses was widespread (Fig. 9 and 10). This could be either because this category includes too many types, or that Majolicas, as material correlates of Spanish occupation, confirmed that both of these campuses were mostly occupied by European/Spanish. Another possibility is that Majolicas were being recycled used as construction fill.

Although *lead-glazed coarse earthenwares* are the second most common European wares, they have not been as studied as the Majolicas. They continued to be made in the same manner through the 20th century, which does not make them particularly useful for dating (FLMNH Digital Type). Also, these wares are made into vessels used from food preparing to bathing (Ness 2015: 320), not making them useful for identifying particular activities. For this reason, these artifacts were not plotted.

Although not abundant, the stonewares at the Concepción site give important clues into the ways of life. Although the classifications used did not specify which types are present in each unit, two types were seen during the organization of the deposit: Brown Rhenish (Cologne) (1550-1700?) (Deagan 1999), and Rhenish Blue and Gray (1575?-1775) stoneware (Ernst 2017). Both of these types are associated with areas of high economic levels at Puerto Real (Williams 1995, 129). Also, both types were used to produce drinking vessels, i.e. a type of tableware. Rhenish Blue and Gray stoneware was also used for chamber pots (FLMNH-HA 2019f).

The use of these stonewares in household activities, as well as their late production date, can help give a chronology of construction at the Fort campus. As stated above, the Fort itself held few artifacts since it did not contain permanent living areas. However, the distribution of stoneware in units abutting the outer walls of the current Masonry Fort suggests that these areas were either inhabited, and/or were middens, after the introduction of stonewares (Fig. 9).

At the Monasterio campus, most of the stonewares are found in the southwestern corner. This suggests that this may be the last area constructed at the site (Fig. 10).

Iberian Unglazed Coarse Earthenware, have coarse, mineral tempered, and incompletely compacted paste (FLMNH-HA 2019g). Like lead glazed coarse

earthenwares, Iberian unglazed coarse earthenwares have been little studied in the Caribbean. Their main defining characteristic is that they were produced in Spain. Three early types have been identified at the Concepción site: Feldspar Inlaid Redware (1500-1600), Spanish Storage Star (1500-1800) and Early Style Olive Jar (1500-1570). In the later period, all of these styles were still present, plus two more: Orange Micaceous (1550-1650) and Middle Style Olive Jar (1560?-1800). All of these types were recognized to be found in the site's assemblage, but only Olive Jars were recorded regularly in classification forms. No distinction was made between Early and Middle Style Olive Jars because it was believed that no Middle Style Olive Jars had been dated to the period of study. Again, this style (Middle) was observed during the organization of the site's deposit.

As shown in Table 6-1, there is a wider deposition pattern of Olive jars at the Monasterio campus than at the Fort campus. Olive jars at the Monasterio campus are found in units abutting the outside masonry walls of the Church and the Convent (Fig. 10). As stated above in the nail section, the units with the highest number of olive jar sherds have the lowest number of nails. This points to the use olive jars as a construction element substituting a previous wooden structure.

Meanwhile, Olive jar as a construction element is less prevalent at the Fort campus (Fig. 9). There are no Olive jar fragments around the Masonry fort, or the area around its southeastern corner. There are some fragments present at the other structures, but House #1 has the largest amount. It is possible that this structure was had several archways supported internally by olive jars.

6.4.12.3 Caribbean Coarse Earthenwares

This category groups coarse earthenware ceramics produced in the Caribbean after European contact. The ceramics in this category are made with local clays and tempers, but can exhibit a variety of forms (Aultman et al. 2014; Deagan and Cruxent 2002a; FLMNH-HA 2019g). Various divisions of this category have been suggested, from considering all of these vessels to be colonoware (Aultman et al. 2014, 43; Deetz 1977, 237; Ferguson 1980; Hauser 2013, 53; Roland and Ashley 2000, 36; Smith 1986); dividing by European vs. non-European vessel forms (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a; Smith 1995), to dividing by producers of the ceramics (Smith 1995). All of these divisions are based on form at this point, given that there has been no definitive description of their paste types (Ting et al. 2018).

For the purposes of this research, Caribbean Coarse Earthenwares were divided into vessels made with local clays in Iberian forms, tentatively named *Caribbean Loza Común* (sensu Deagan and Cruxent 2002a) and those in non-European forms, denominated here as Colonoware. A series of ceramic groupings made from local clays

are included here under *UID Caribbean Coarse Earthenwares*, since their forms have not been identified.

Caribbean Loza Común coarse earthenwares have been identified informally in the La Vega Vieja Park site deposit during its organization but were not recorded in the classification records. Amongst these, two types are of special interest - platos (tableware plates) (Deagan 1999), and sugar molds (industrial ware) (Ortega and Fondeur 1978, 127). A misclassification of cupellation items as sugar molds, in both the Dirección Nacional de Parques and the UF 1996-1998 classifications, gave a mistaken distribution of sugar industry activity at the Fort campus (Fig. 20).

Caribbean Colonowares have been identified as ceramic types with attributes borrowing from two very distinct pottery and cultural traditions - European, Indigenous, and/or African (Aultman et al. 2014, 43; Deagan 2002b; Roland and Ashley 2000, 55). Given the great variability in all these traditions, there can be a great variability in paste and/or styles (Roland and Ashley 2000, 55).

Colonoware was originally called Colono-Indian ware by Ivor Noel Hume, and it referred to the wares the Indigenous people traded with the English settlers in Chesapeake, Virginia (Noel-Hume 1970; Roland and Ashley 2000, 36). More research into those wares pointed to African slaves as those who produced these wares, not Indigenous peoples (Deetz 1977; Polhemus 1977; Roland and Ashley 2000, 36). Since then, many have considered colonowares attributes to be predominantly more African (Deetz 1977).

However, given the early colonial occupation period at the Concepción site, it is very possible that some of the colonowares present onsite may be combination of any two of these traditions, or even all three. However, only the following colonoware types have been identified on Hispaniola during the period of study:

- *Indo-Hispano*: Ceramics with Indigenous and Spanish attributes
- *Indo-African*: Ceramics with Indigenous and African attributes

Indo-Hispano colonowares, with Indigenous and Spanish attributes, were the first to be identified at the Concepción site. The specific wares were first identified by Elpidio Ortega (Ortega and Fondeur 1978). These vessel fragments are mostly hand built (although some are wheel built), with circum-Caribbean Indigenous manufacturing and decorative traits, as well as European and Unidentified Native American forms (Deagan 2002b). In this research, we will refer to these wares as *La Vega Red on White* (sensu Deagan 2002b). Identified as *Cerámica Transculturada* in the classification documents. Ortega described 11 styles for this ware, but he believed these were all made by the same potters because they were all grog tempered (Ortega and Fondeur 1979, 266). These were later diminished to three, based on decorative style (Deagan 2002b):

- Solid red slip
- Red slip designs painted over a white slip ground

- Incised designs on a white and/or red slip ground

Conversely, while classifying the sherds in the 1980s, Gonzalez divided the La Vega Red on White into two types (Coste 2015). More specifically, he divided them into decorated and painted sherds vs. those that are only red slipped. These red-slipped wares (*La Vega Red Slipped*) are discussed in more detail below.

Ortega and Fondeur (1978) believed these wares were part of a pottery-making industry, using local Indio potters (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 294). However, other archaeologists have suggested that the potters could have been brought by the Spanish from Central America or Curaçao (Deagan 2002b; García-Arévalo 1978, 116-117).

La Vega Red on White sherds are rarely found outside of the Concepción site, except in some early sixteenth-century Spanish sites in the Dominican Republic, such as the Ozama Fort, the Casa del Cordón, the home of Nicolas de Ovando (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 294), the Callejón de los Curas area (Duval 2016), and Diego Columbus's house (Coste 2015). Similar sherds have also been reported at Cotuí, in central Dominican Republic (Duval 2013; Ernst 2015; Ting et al. 2018), and at Playa Grande in northern Dominican Republic (Valcárcel Rojas 2017).

Large amounts of La Vega Red on White were plotted at the Fort campus (Fig. 16), while medium and large amounts of sherds were plotted at the Monasterio campus (Fig. 13). At the Monasterio site, La Vega Red on White wares are mostly found on the eastern side, rarely overlapping with glass, Indigenous ceramics, or griddles. At the Fort campus, these ceramics were found in the highest numbers in the Wooden Structure #1 area, most closely related to large amounts of griddles (Fig. 16).

Indo-African colonowares were informally identified in the Concepción archaeological record during the deposit organization but were not systematically recorded. At Puerto Real, Smith (1995, 339) identified an *Indo-African* type he named Christophe Plain after identifying manufacturing techniques that did not match European or Indigenous traditions. He suggested the main attributes were related to the African pottery tradition, since these wares appeared to be related to demographic replacement of Perpetual Naborias by African slaves in the first half of the 16th century (Card 2013a, 7; Deagan 1996, 147; Smith 1995, 335). These wares are considered colonowares because these do not seem to have been produced to suit European tastes in forms and were used for cooking at Puerto Real (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 296).

Smith (1995, 349) identified the following attributes for the identification of *Christophe Plain colonowares*:

- Low-fired cooking pottery
- Sherd interior, exterior and core usually black
- Thick walled (7-18.5 mm)

- Undecorated, sometimes hand-molded lugs near mouth
- Paste: coarse to pebbly, containing abundant quarzite inclusions (up to 6 mm diameter)
- Uneven surface, usually with horizontal striations, grooves, and pockmarks
- Sooting is very common
- Forms: unrestricted bowl; collared olla; small mouthed jar

In practice, it is difficult to distinguish between Iberian unglazed coarse earthenwares, Caribbean Loza Común, and Caribbean Colonowares in archaeological assemblages. This is in large part due to the lack of standard ceramic type attributes. Despite this, a variety of Unidentified Caribbean Coarse Earthenwares have been identified as possibly being produced and used on Hispaniola during the period of study. Some have been identified by paste color and denominated Black Wares and Red Wares (Ting et al. 2018), at Cotui, in the Dominican Republic. Others have been identified by surface treatment, particularly red-slipped wares, found at Concepción (Coste 2015), and in Puerto Real (Smith 1995).

Given the pro-European excavation biases (see Chapter 3) at the Concepción site, only one additional Caribbean Coarse Earthenware category was identified - *La Vega Red-Slipped* (identified as *Engobe Rojo* in the classification records). This ceramic type was originally included as part of the *La Vega Red on White* type by Ortega and Fondeur (1978), but as the assemblage classification progressed, these ceramics appeared to be a separate type (Coste 2015). This division in the classification was between sherds with a solid red slip, and those with white slip (incised and unincised) (Coste 2015).

The paste of *La Vega Red-Slipped* sherds was found not to be similar to Native American Ceramics in Prehistoric Decorative Style or Christophe Plain ceramic sherds, when studied in the FLMNH comparative collection in 2017. From Ortega and Fondeur (1979, 266) we know the paste is grog tempered. However, there is still a need to confirm *La Vega Red-Slipped* vessel forms, and consequently, its use(s).

La Vega Red Slipped wares have the second largest distribution pattern at the site, after Majolicas. Concentrations of large amounts of artifacts were plotted at the Fort campus (Fig. 9, 16), while medium and large amounts of these sherds were plotted at the Monasterio campus (Fig. 10, 13). As with Majolicas, these wares seem to have been recycled as construction material. In the Monasterio campus, these wares were found all around the masonry areas, and throughout the southwestern corner area. It maybe that these ceramics were part of the roofing fill. They were also present in every burial unit. At the Fort campus, these wares are mostly concentrated in the Fort Midden

Area and in the eastern (midden?) area of House #1. In House #2 they are only found in the midden areas.

It is possible, as Ortega and Fondeur (1979) suggested when they believed these wares to be part of the La Vega Red on White wares, that the manufacture of these was part of a pottery-making industry using local Indio potters (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 294). However, attempts to find this exact pottery in contemporary circum-Caribbean assemblages stored at the Florida Museum of Natural History was unsuccessful. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

6.4.13 Religious Items

No religious items are found in the La Vega Vieja Park site deposit, nor are they mentioned in the excavation record. This would seem unusual, given that the Monasterio campus was dedicated to religious activities, if we did not have the oral testimony of those involved in the excavations. According to Abreu (1998) and Coste (2015), religious artifacts were found, but these were immediately taken to the La Vega Cathedral for safekeeping. These artifacts, including the oldest bishop's seal in the Americas (Deagan 2002a, 81), are now on display at the Museo Sacro in La Vega (Abreu 2016).

Indeed, it is quite common for religious artifacts to be found infrequently and in low numbers in archaeological sites (Deagan 2002a, 38). Not only because they may be stored separately during the excavation process, but also because they may have not entered the archaeological record in the same proportion as other objects, meaning that people were more careful not to lose them (Deagan 2002a, 38, 41).

6.4.14 Weaponry

Unlike religious items, weapons were found at the Fort campus (Fig. 9), confirming its space's use for defense. The following items have been included in the weaponry category: a dagger, a stake, swords (2), scabbards (4), and chain mail. Unlike what was expected, most of these items were found in House #1. Two scabbards were found in the masonry fort area, and a sword in the area of Wooden Structure #1. No weapons were found in House #2, or at the Monasterio campus.

6.4.15 Tools

Although tools were found both at the Fort and Monasterio campuses, only those from the Fort have recorded contexts (Fig. 9). All of these tools are made of metal and are of European style. The following tools were included in this category: axes (4), awl, punch, chisel, and hoes (3). In the area around the southeastern tower, a scythe and a

punch were found. House #1 had 2 axes a scythe, and awl, a hoe, and a chisel. House #2 had two axes. Wooden Structure #1 had two hoes.

6.4.16 Clothing Items

The following artifacts were identified in the archaeological assemblage and were grouped together in the category *clothing items*: Aglets, buckles, scissors, straight pins, and buckles. Aglets are rolled copper alloy tubes used at the end of laces to fasten clothes (Deagan 2002a, 174). Most of the buckles used during the period of study were related to military activities (Deagan 2002a, 181) - probably for the fastening of weaponry. It must be noted that the shoes used by the European/Spanish during this period did not have buckles (Deagan 2002a,181). Copper alloy straight pins were used for tailoring and for fastening clothing (Deagan 2002a, 193). Scissors were used for various tasks, including tailoring, mentioned as a trade in the Repartimiento (Arranz-Marquez 1991; Kulstad 2008, 208, 213). Most of these items are related to men's activities (Deagan 2002a, 34).

These items were plotted individually on both campus maps (Fig. 9 and 10). At the Fort campus (Fig. 9), most clothing items were found in House #1, although most were found in the easternmost well (aglets, straight pins, 2 buckles). Two pairs of scissors were found in the southern part of House #1, while two buckles were found in the southern half. Two buckles were found in the middens of House #2, and a pair of scissors in the midden of the structure next to the southeastern tower.

Eight buckles were found at the Monasterio campus (Fig. 10), in spite of their principal use in military related clothing. Five buckles were found in the *Basurero* area, one in Burial #5 (Fig. 10), one in the southeast, and another in the eastern orchard area. Straight pins were found in the orchard area, and in Burial # 9 (Fig. 11). On the far western side, pins and scissors were found in neighboring units (Fig. 10).

6.4.17 Ornamentation Items

Ornamentation Items are those nonperishable artifacts which trimmed European-style clothes in the 16th century (Deagan 2002a: 176). It is different from clothing items in that these items lean more towards the definition of personal jewelry, or adornments used by the non-elites (Deagan 2002a, 106). Often these items have been identified to feminine use, such as bracelets, although beads can be ambiguous (Voss 2008, 886).

Although several different ornamentation items are found in the Concepción archaeological assemblage, only a manilla bracelet, and five beads have a recorded context. These were all found at the Fort campus, only in the Fort Midden Area (Fig. 9). Manillas are glass bracelets which may have been associated to young or adolescent girls (Deagan 2002a, 135). Three beads of different types were found in the Kitchen

midden: Chevron, Nueva Cádiz and Nueva Cádiz Twisted. Another Chevron bead and another Nueva Cádiz bead were also found in the Fort Midden Area. Nueva Cádiz and Chevron beads are made of various layers of glass (Corning Museum of Glass 2018c). Nueva Cádiz beads only have 3 layers, a dark blue core, a white layer in the middle, and a bright blue exterior layer (Corning Museum of Glass 2018c). Chevron beads are multilayered forming an interior star-shaped design (Corning Museum of Glass 2018a). Chevrons began to be produced around 1500 (Corning Museum of Glass 2018a).

6.5 Associations

Associations here have been defined as:

- Groups of artifacts that consistently occur (or do not occur) together
- An artifact group that tends to occur by itself

The following associations were identified at the Concepción site:

- ASSOCIATION 1: Spanish colonial tableware and nails used for wooden construction are found together in the same units. Masonry construction units have few artifacts in the inside areas (Fig. 9 and 10).
- ASSOCIATION 2: There is a negative relation between olive jars and nails at the Monasterio campus. In places with large amounts of olive jar sherds, there are few nails (Fig. 10).
- ASSOCIATION 3: Refuse from non-domestic masonry buildings was found in not only in middens in the backyard (Deagan 1981; Jamieson 2004, 432), but also in clay extraction pits, wells, and fill areas (Fig. 5, 9, 10 and 15).
- ASSOCIATION 4: Burials identified as Indigenous have a variety of related artifacts in the same unit. Burials identified as Spanish have less artifacts (sensu McEwan 2001). Burial #6 is a possible exception (Fig. 14).
- ASSOCIATION 5: Spanish ceramics and La Vega Red Slipped were recycled as construction materials (Fig. 9 and 10).
- ASSOCIATION 6: La Vega Red Slipped sherds are always found with Majolica sherds (Fig. 9 and 10).
- ASSOCIATION 7: Glass and La Vega Red on White have a mostly negative association (Fig. 13 and 16).
- ASSOCIATION 8: Glass and La Vega Red Slipped have a positive association (Fig. 13 and 16).

- ASSOCIATION 9: Griddles and Indigenous artifacts do not always appear together in the same units (Fig. 13 and 16).
- ASSOCIATION 10: Large amounts of griddles and large amounts of La Vega Red on White have a positive association at the Fort campus. It is a negative association at the Monasterio campus (Fig. 13 and 16).

6.6 Results

This chapter has presented an analysis of the artifact use and artifact use distribution patterns at the Fort campus and the Monasterio de San Francisco campus, the two previously excavated areas of the Concepción site. A set of artifacts were selected to be plotted based on historical data, and on those that had complete recorded context data. Possible structures/activity areas were identified at each campus, as well as the Associations (artifact groupings). Comparison between the Fort and Monasterio de San Francisco campuses was more focused on the differences in artifact distributions found at each site. Unfortunately, as explained above, exact percentage differences between artifacts is unknown given the transfer of part of the Monasterio de San Francisco excavated material to the Museo de las Casas Reales in Santo Domingo. However, it was possible to compare relative quantities and interpret these with regards to particular activities.

This analysis was possible thanks to the compilation of existing excavation records, the reconstruction of the deposit organization done through the University of Florida 1996-1998 project, and communication with the community field workers involved in the original dig.

Four structures/activity areas were identified at the Monasterio de San Francisco Campus: the Church, the burials, the convent, and the *Basurero* (large southeast trash pit area) (Fig. 10). Eight structures/activity areas were identified at the Fort Campus: Wooden structure #1, Masonry Fort (1512); Masonry Fort (1543), Wooden structure #2, Fort Midden area, southeastern Tower Structure, House #1 and House #2 (Fig. 9).

The layout of structures at the Fort campus suggests a change from a more Medieval layout (Wooden Structures #1, 2), to a Grid Plan Town structure (Masonry Fort -1512, Fort Midden Area, southeastern Tower Structure, House #1 and House #2 (Fig. 9). There is no evidence of a layout change related to the 1543 Fort, which would have been contemporary with the Pueblo Tutelado plans. Interestingly, the fort appears to have functioned as a Casa Fuerte throughout this period, given the low number of artifacts found in its inside areas.

Through this research, it has been possible to determine that the presence or absence of particular artifacts can inform on lifeways and deathways at a more site-wide scale. The deposition pattern of the artifact, and its context, can help confirm where these activities took place at a structural level. For example, the presence of large

amounts of cupellation items at the Fort campus (Fig. 9) suggests that metal smelting and cupellation took place at Concepción, but its distribution pattern suggests their use as a construction element, not that smelting actually occurred there.

This research also reconstructed the life histories of the selected artifacts, in an effort to determine their various uses. This was mainly done through the identification of those artifacts that were, or were not, used as construction material; as well as through the identification of non-midden contexts. It was possible to identify some possible use-areas for non-ceramic materials, as well as for griddles. These areas, and how they relate to intercultural relations, will be discussed in the next chapter.

7 INTERPRETATION AND COMPARISON

7.1 Introduction

After presenting and re-examining the historical, archaeological, architectural, and oral history data available about Concepción in the previous chapters, this chapter will focus on re-interpreting the intercultural interactions that occurred there during our period of study (1494-1564). More specifically, it seeks to answer the main question: What environmental, sociocultural, and biophysical intercultural interactions that occurred at Concepción in the early colonial period, contributed in the formation of today's multicultural Dominican society? This is due to the fact that lifeways and deathways in Spanish-American colonial cities of the 16th century were structured by these different types of interaction (Ewen 1991; Deagan 1995a, 1996, 2004, 622), occurring simultaneously. Historical and archaeological evidence points to particularly intense interactions at Concepción, owing in large part to its condition as a mining town, where the quest for wealth often united disparate peoples (DeFrance 2003, 99; Kulstad 2008, 158).

Often, in archaeological research of this period, only one type of interaction has been highlighted for study, such as the biophysical interaction of intermarriage (Deagan 1996, 153), the sociocultural interaction of labor (Voss 2008), or the environmental interactions related to settlement patterns like the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan (Palm 1974; Pérez-Montás 1984). At the same time, research is limited to a single scale, often the artifact level, losing the nuances of the Structural and Site scales of analysis.

This research, however, takes a step back and acknowledges the existence of all three types of interactions at Concepción, albeit with different levels of influence. All of these interactions will be identified, and how they all are entangled in a Dominican Merengue (sensu Ortiz 1940, 1947; Rothchild 2015, 184), independent yet reciprocal (Sluyter 2001, 421). Special attention will be paid to the intercultural interactions which helped reach the eventual goal of integrating Indios (and those of African descent) into Spanish society through the following of religious and governmental mandates (McEwan 2001, 635).

Additionally, as explored in Chapter 2, this counterpoint also includes an interplay between the conceptual and the practice/material (Sluyter 2001; Vargas-Arenas 1990), also known as a "play of tropes" (Fernández 1991). Conceptual processes identify the "ideal," intended process that exists in the mind (Sluyter 2001, 425). These are often manifested in the colonial-administrative policies (Fernández 1991). The practice/ material processes deal with what was done (Sluyter 2001; Vargas-Arenas 1990). This includes not only the material record, but the associated actions related to these processes. Special attention will be paid to the moments of conflict between these two

processes, which should offer evidence of resistance and agency of non-Spanish groups.

Conceptually, the “ideal” colonial interactions included domination (Deagan 2011, 55; Rothchild 2015, 183), as well as classification structures created to explain where different individuals are located in relation to power. This was justified as necessary to convert all to Catholicism and the proper, “Spanish,” life (Deagan 2011, 43, 55). Also, colonial authorities were concerned with controlling men and their activities at the economic, political, and material scale. Concern for women and their activities came later, with the implementation of the Castas System in the 17th century (Rothchild 2015, 183). The most important mechanism to control populations was through physical separation. Originally instituted to protect Indigenous groups from perceived abuse (see Las Casas below), it later became the most overt form of control (Rothchild 2015, 188). Various social and environmental hierarchies were instituted, including settlement patterns, labor assignment, and sumptuary laws. These control mechanisms will be discussed in more detail below.

Conversely, material and practice processes were not so easily discerned. As stated in Chapter 2, primary documents only focus on overt, public and exotic behaviors, rather than the more mundane aspects of nonelite and non-Spanish lives (Graham 1998, 28-29; Liebmann and Murphy 2011b, 5); and excavation biases can often confuse interpretation. However, in spite of this, it has been possible to discern all three types of intercultural interactions at Concepción.

The rest of the chapter has been divided into two scales of interpretation: macro and micro. The macroscale interpretation is based on findings at a Site and Structure Scale, most eminent in environmental interactions, but with sociocultural and biophysical manifestations at a lesser degree. The microscale interpretation focuses on artifacts themselves, and the interplay between their intended and actual uses as reflected in their deposition in the landscape.

7.2 Macro Level Interpretation (Site and Structure Scale)

In this section, macro level interpretation has put together Site and Structure Scale because both of these scales rely heavily on the provenience patterning on the landscape. This was also done because, although there are differences in interactions at the Site and Structure Scale when it comes to environmental interactions, this difference is not so evident when dealing with sociocultural and biophysical interactions.

Environmental interactions will be discussed first, and will include subsections dividing the two scales. The section dealing with sociocultural interactions will focus on resistance, and the biophysical section will focus on intermixing, foodways, disease and deathways.

7.2.1 Environmental Interactions at Concepción

7.2.1.1 Site scale

Within the 16th century Spanish colonization model, the spatial and material reconfigurations of the environment were the most obvious and overt manifestations of the Crown's attempt to control intercultural interactions. In fact, one of the most distinctive characteristics of Spanish colonization of the Caribbean and the Americas was the highly organized spatial patterning it imposed on the landscape (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 85; Williams 1995, 115). This distribution was supposed to help in the conversion of all peoples into the ideal "Spanish" subject, faithfully Catholic, pure in blood, and cognizant of his social position (Deagan 2011, 43; Kulstad 2008, 2013b) (See discussion in Chapter 5).

Sauer (1966), a cultural geographer, conducted one of the first and most detailed analysis of how Caribbean peoples and landscapes were molded to fit Spanish colonial models (See Chapters 4 and 5). This was later adapted and expanded on by Sluyter (2001). In the Dominican Republic, Spanish settlement patterns, particularly their urban arrangement, has been an area mostly studied by preservation architects (González 1984; Pérez-Montás 1984, 1998; Prieto and Gautier 1992; Roca-Pezzoti 1984).

The separation of peoples through urbanization made it easier to evangelize and maintain Catholic precepts (Brewer-Carías 2007, 57). For various reasons (discussed at length in Chapter 4), four different urbanization models were instituted in the Concepción area:

- Palisade [*Empalizada*]
- Medieval *Casa Fuerte*
- Ibero-American Grid Town Plan
- Pueblo Tutelado

7.2.1.1.1 Precontact Indigenous settlements in the area occupied by Concepción (AD 800 - 1494)

However, before discussing the European urban settlement models, it is useful to give a short overview of the possible precontact Indigenous settlements that could have existed in the area occupied by Concepción. This section is mostly speculative and inductive, based on the small amount of information about precontact Indigenous peoples in the site area. Additionally, little evidence of an Indigenous settlement's associated static elements - mounds, postholes, hearths, hearthstones, etc., were recovered during the 1976-1995 excavations, due to the fact that excavations at Concepción stopped when the floor of Spanish masonry buildings was reached (Coste 2015).

This has made it difficult to compare Indigenous occupation of the landscape here with those undertaken by the NEXUS1492 project in northern Hispaniola (Herrera-

Malatesta 2016; Hofman and Hoogland 2015, 61–74; Hofman et al. 2008; Sonneman et al. 2016, 2; Ulloa-Hung 2014; Ulloa-Hung and Herrera-Malatesta 2015). More importantly, different excavation techniques, classification systems, and research scales of analysis were used by each project, further complicating comparison.

Three potential areas of precontact Indigenous settlement in the Concepción were identified in this investigation: The first Concepción fort, which lasted one year, was close to the Rio Verde, between 1-5 km north of the Concepción site. The second occupation, at the Concepción site, lasted until 1564. A third is the Rio Verde Mellacoid site, located approximately 2km northwest of the Concepción site.

Little can be said about the Rio Verde Mellacoid site. As stated in Chapter 3, the only pertinent information is that the cultural material gathered during two surveys (1971, 1977) was radiocarbon dated to be from AD 778 to AD 1148 (Veloz-Maggiolo et al. 1981), making it previous to Chicoid intrusions into the area (Caba 2018). In January 2014, a prospection undertaken by a group of NEXUS1492 researchers (Herrera-Malatesta, Keenhen, Kulstad, Ulloa-Hung, and Joffre), together with the corresponding archaeologist from the Ministry of Culture of the Dominican Republic (Coste), seemed to point to a small area of occupation, with little connection to the Concepción site.

The area of the first Concepción fort (occupied from 1494-1495) was not prospected as part of this research, given that the site is outside the geographical parameters of all the archaeological interventions compiled here (See Chapter 3). However, historical documents do seem to point towards a possible Chicoid settlement is its vicinity, given the Battles of La Vega timeline (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 146) (see Chapter 4).

At the Monasterio de San Francisco, there is a juxtaposition of a wall over a flexed body burial at the Monasterio de San Francisco (Fig. 11) heavily suggesting the existence of a precontact Indigenous occupation in this area. The lack of similar proof at the Fort campus could either be due to the fact that the precontact Indigenous settlement was relatively small and more centered in the Monasterio de San Francisco area, or simply be a consequence of the “Spanish floor” excavation bias imposed by the preservation architects during the 1976-1995 excavations.

7.2.1.1.2 European settlement layouts of Concepción

The way European settlement was laid out at Concepción changed four times during our period of study (1494-1495). In spite of this, certain conceptual elements of spatial division stayed the same throughout the period. The first constant was the conceptual division between urban and rural areas. The second was the belief in the need for a different type of settlement for inland locations. The third constant was the disregard for possible disasters (hurricanes and earthquakes, mainly) in the layout organization.

7.2.1.1.3 Palisade [empalizada] (1494-1495)

As explained in Chapter 4, Columbus set up various fortresses along the Cibao Valley to protect areas with gold deposits (Guerrero 2016: 15; Mira-Caballos 2010, 444). The following have been identified, in different combinations, by different authors: Santo Tomas de Jánico, Magdalena, Santiago, Santa Catalina, Esperanza, Concepción and Bonao (Guerrero 2016, 15; Mira-Caballos 2010, 450; Peguero and de los Santos 1983). The Concepción fort was established on December 8th, 1494 (Concepción 1981), and moved to the site of Concepción around April 1495, after the first Battle of the Vega Real (Concepción 1981).

According to colonial documents, these first forts' main function was defense (Mira-Caballos 2010, 444). However, close examination of official chronicles (Columbus 1947; Las Casas 1985; Ulloa Hung and Sonnemann 2017, 14) show them to be little more than temporary, rather small, wooden palisades, built without a plan (Mira-Caballos 2010, 443, 450).

The Concepción palisade is believed to have been built in the Rio Verde area, approximately 1-5 km from Concepción (Coste 2015; Pimentel 1998). Since the site has not been identified archaeologically, it will not be discussed at length here. However, it is not expected to be made of masonry, since the Santo Tomás fort, which occupied the same time period, was made of non-masonry materials (Ulloa and Sonnemann 2017, 24).

7.2.1.1.4 Medieval Casa Fuerte (1495-1512)

The next type of Spanish settlement layout was identified at La Isabela, when the documentary and archaeological records related to settlement layouts did not coincide (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 86). Various authors had interpreted Guillermo Coma's description of a city with defined streets (Coma in Gil and Varela 1984, 199), and Las Casas' description of squares, streets and stone buildings (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 86), as proof that settlement followed the Ibero-American grid town plan, known elsewhere in Latin America (Puig-Ortíz 1973; Dobal 1988, 59; García-Zarza 1996, 73–74; Solana 1986, 13; Varela 1987, 738). A more careful review of La Isabela's layout seems to show that buildings followed geographical features, such as the ravines and the seashore (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 86). Town walls were discovered surrounding Columbus's house (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 89).

Deagan and Cruxent (2002a, 86) proposed that this showed evidence of the settlement being a medieval "casa fuerte" [house-fort]. Casa-fuertes were places of refuge, and could also contain the town's Spanish people, weapons and supplies (Manucy 1997, 35-37). The rest of the time, the settlers lived outside of the fort in an unorganized spatial organization and physical layout (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 89).

No colonial maps of Concepción have been found, but this is not uncommon (Kulstad 2008, 113; Pérez-Montás 1984, 65; Pimentel 1998; Coste 2015). However, the discrepancy between the wooden and masonry structures at the Fort campus may indicate that a wooden casa-fuerte settlement may have also been found at Concepción. This settlement pattern appears to have been used at Concepción until the imposition of the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan sometime between 1502 and the construction of the fort in 1512 (see Chapter 4). Since the first Franciscan monks at Concepción came with Ovando in 1502, there does not appear to have been a monastery related to the casa-fuerte layout.

7.2.1.1.5 Ibero-American Grid Town Plan (1502-1516)

According to historical documents, the Spanish Crown was concerned with creating a urban model which guaranteed their possession over the land they conquered, both in Spain and in the Americas. The need to rapidly populate their possessions in the New World was solved through the creation of a standardized settlement model (Brewer-Carías 2007, 53). This model had two versions, one for coastal settlements and the other for inland settlements, although most of the cities founded in the Caribbean during this period were on the coast (Altman 2017, 24). This model was based on the pre-Renaissance and Renaissance ideas which had circulated in the Spanish court during the reign of Isabel and Ferdinand, and later, Charles V and Philip II (Pérez-Montás 2001, 195). The model appears to have been useful, since it allowed Spain to colonize Spanish America in about eighty years (1493-1573).

The Ibero-American Grid Town Plan was based on the Partidas of King Alonso X of Castile. These stated that streets must be straight, and in a grid pattern (Pérez-Montás 2001, 104). This model was also influenced by the Vitruvian principles that had governed Greek and Roman city construction (Brewer-Carías 2007, 32, 35-40; Pérez-Montás 1998). When it was taken to the Americas, the city was adapted to the geographical conditions present at each site, following ideas presented by Renaissance man, León Battista Alberti (Brewer-Carías 2007, 40-43; Pérez-Montás 2001, 195).

Ovando reorganized the settlements on Hispaniola according to the Grid Town Plan between 1502 and 1509. The Ibero-American Grid Town Plan, also known as La Traza in Mexico City, laid out cities and towns in a grid pattern, starting with a central plaza with streets intersecting at right angles to form an orderly, rectangular defined space (See Kulstad 2008, 113). The main plaza would be surrounded by the Church, administration offices and military headquarters, and elite residences, forming the town's physical and social center (Charlton and Fournier 2011, 127; Rodríguez-Alegría 2005, 558; Voss 2008, 870). Franciscan monasteries would be found on the outskirts of the town (Deagan 1999). (For more on the grid-town plan see Ballesteros 1983; Chueco-Goita and Torres-Balbas 1981; Crouch, Garr and Mundingo 1982; García-

Fernández 1989; García-Zarza 1996; Hugo-Brunt 1972; Manucy 1985; Palm 1951; Rodríguez and Ibañez 1992; Willis 1984, 16; Zendegui 1977; Zucker 1959).

One of the main functional reasons for the use of this model was the ease with which expansion and ordinary city growth could be achieved (Brewer-Carías 2007, 52). In other words, streets and other urban areas could be added to a city more easily if this was organized in a rectilinear, rather than in an organic, manner. The Ibero-American Grid Town Plan also organizes the rural areas surrounding the sites into peonías and caballerías, which are different sizes of farming plots, as well as tierras comunales [communal land] (Brewer-Carias 2007). Further instructions modifying these original construction laws were given to different Conquistadors in different years - 1513, 1521, 1523 (Brewer-Carías 2007, 45). The final, definitive instructions appeared in 1573, soon after the last new territories were conquered. After this date, the laws were used to regulate the construction of new city areas, as opposed to new cities per se (Brewer-Carías 2007, 45).

Ovando did not implement the grid town plan in all of these settlements simultaneously. It is believed he applied his model to Santo Domingo first, and then expanded from there (Kulstad 2008, 111; Pérez-Montás 1984, 66, 1988). Santo Domingo, as capital city, would have been subject to these regulations first.

Several hypothetical models of Concepción's layout have been proposed by preservation architects over the years (Kulstad 2008, 97; Pérez-Montas 1984; Roca-Pezzoti 1984), many based on the location of existing monumental architecture. None were based on a systematic survey of the site until the University of Florida 1996-1998 Project (Cohen 1997b; Woods 1998; Deagan 1999). This investigation suggested that Concepción was laid out on a grid, similar to the one found during the University of Florida's investigation at Puerto Real (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 284-296). At both sites masonry building foundations followed cardinal (compass) orientation (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 284-296). The identification of possible streets at Concepción (Kulstad 2008, 2013c), offers the preliminary conclusion that the Concepción site continues to be laid out in a grid pattern. The Florida Survey also showed that Concepción, at its largest, covered an area of more that 1 km2, bigger than the Santo Domingo, and Santa Fe de Granada of the same period (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 284-296).

Concepción does not appear to have been subject to an adaptation of the grid town plan undertaken at port cities, such as Santo Domingo, to defend themselves from other European powers (Altman 2017, 24). The 1996-1998 University of Florida did not find a wall around the city, in spite of surveying an area of more than 1 km2 (Deagan 1999; Woods 1998).

7.2.1.1.6 Pueblos Tutelados (1516-1519)

The next settlement model instituted by the Crown's Jeronymite representatives on Hispaniola were the *Pueblos Tutelados* (see Chapter 4). These settlements were precursors of the "Two Republics" model, seen later elsewhere in Spanish America (McEwan 2001, 635). In the "Republics" model, the Spanish and Indios would be divided into two settlements, or republics. The Spanish Republic functioned with its own internal hierarchy, while the Indio Republic, which could be made up of multiple tribal entities, had its own hereditary leaders, lands and vassals, but subordinate to the Spanish Crown (McEwan 2001, 635). The Indios were to be Christian and follow Church mandates (McEwan 2001, 635). The eventual goal was to replace Indigenous institutions for Spanish ones and integrate Indios into Spanish society (McEwan 2001, 635).

The Pueblos Tutelados were conceived as first step in this process. Instead of requiring Naborias to live close to the holders of the Repartimiento, Indigenous people from Hispaniola would live in these free Indian towns. These towns' population would be limited to 300 people each. A Spanish-educated cacique and a priest would govern the settlement (Charlevoix 1730, 282, 283; Moya-Pons 1978; Stone 2014, 136). Each family would receive a plot of land (Charlevoix 1730, 282, 283; Moya-Pons 1978). The villages would also have their own church and hospital (Charlevoix 1730, 283; Hanke 1935).

The concept behind these Pueblos came from the belief that Indigenous peoples were dying due to abuses they received from Europeans (Rothchild 2015, 188). The idea for their institution came from Las Casas, which had been pushing the idea for separation in the Spanish Courts (Mira-Caballos 2010, 344), and also heavily influenced the Laws of Burgos, which regulated the Repartimiento (AGI, Indif. Gen. 419, L4, f83; Stone 2014, 124-125). The Laws of Burgos also required that all the sons of caciques on the island, older than 13, be taught religion, reading and writing (in Spanish) by the Franciscans (AGI, Indif. Gen. 419, L4, f83; Stone 2014, 124-125).

Historical documents say that the first Pueblos Tutelados were established in the Cibao area (Guitar 1998, 176; Hanke 1935, 38-39; Mira-Caballos 2010, 362; Stone 2014, 138), but do not give names or locations. There is also little information about the Pueblos in other parts of Hispaniola (Hanke 1935, 38-39; Mira-Caballos 2010, 362). Historians have considered that the Jeronymites were never able to successfully implement their program, owing both to political factors and to epidemic disease (Guitar 1998, 176; Kulstad 2008, 62; Moya-Pons 1983, 29, 1997, 1998). A smallpox epidemic struck Hispaniola between December 1518 and January 1519, killing about two thirds of the Indigenous population of the island, according to historical sources (AGI, Patronato 172, R35; Guitar 1998, 248; Kulstad 2008, 62; Moya-Pons 1983, 29, 1997, 1998; Pichardo 1944). Given the new circumstances, the Jeronymites kept the Repartimiento

and the Naborias continued to live in the same settlements as their masters (Charlevoix 1730, 287, 288; Guitar 1998, 176).

A re-examination of the information gathered by 1996-1998 University of Florida Survey (Deagan 1999; Woods 1998, 1999) did not show conclusive evidence of a separate Indigenous pueblo in the area. However, further historical research has unearthed that a school for cacique sons was established at the Concepción's Franciscan Monastery in 1517 (Stone 2014, 127-128). A previous school had been founded at Verapaz in 1513 (Stone 2014, 124), and later one in Santo Domingo in 1523 (Stone 2014, 127-128). The establishment of this school at Concepción may have been the reason for the construction of the masonry buildings at the Monasterio campus (discussed in more detail below).

7.2.1.2 Building scale

This scale of analysis is mostly based on archaeological analysis of building structures and artifact distributions at the Fort and Monasterio de San Francisco campuses at Concepción. Archaeological interpretation of these spaces is relatively unique, given their non-domestic use.

Unlike with settlement layouts, the Crown did not have specific policies for the construction of particular buildings during this time period, with the exception of Cathedrals (Brewer-Carias 2007). This allowed for some adaptation of building structures to environmental conditions, particularly hurricanes (Lamb 1956, 56; Mira-Caballos 2010, 452; Oviedo I, 1855, 161-168). Comparisons with similar buildings of the same time period in Spain have permitted the possible identification of building areas (González 1983; Shepard 1997).

Four distinct structures have been identified archaeologically to have existed at the Monasterio de San Francisco campus: a wooden church, a masonry church, a wooden convent, and a masonry convent. Seven structural areas have been identified at the Fort campus: Wooden structure #1, Wooden structure #2, Masonry Fort (1512), Masonry Fort (1543), Southeastern Tower Structure, House #1, and House #2. The findings in these buildings will be interpreted below (see also Chapter 6).

7.2.1.2.1 Monasterio campus

The Monasterio de San Francisco campus, is found approximately 1000m southwest from the fort campus (Cohen 1997b). It is located proximately halfway between the Santo Cerro and the Fort campus (Woods 1997) (See Fig. 4). Franciscan monasteries were often located on the peripheries of Spanish colonial towns (Deagan 1995a, 427; Kulstad 2008, 124, 2013c), such as in Concepción (Palm 1952; Pérez-Montás 1984), Santo Domingo (Council 1975; Pérez-Montás 1984), St. Augustine

(Hoffman 1994), Sevilla Nueva, Jamaica (Godwin 1946, 156), and in various locations in Mexico (Kubler 1948).

As stated above, four structures have been identified at the Monasterio de San Francisco campus: a wooden church, a masonry church, a wooden convent, and a masonry convent. According to historical information, the wooden church and wooden convent were commissioned by Gov. Ovando between 1502 and 1509 (Cohen 1997b, 6; Kulstad 2008, 124, 2013c; Lamb 1956). The masonry church and masonry monastery were constructed between 1525 and 1528 (Deagan 1999,10; Palm 1955a, 22-23). The masonry foundations overlap with the nail concentrations delimiting the location of the earlier wooden buildings. This means that only two functional areas - a church and a monastery - have been identified on this campus.

Historians have suggested that the first Franciscan churches built on the island were small, in an effort to withstand hurricanes (Mira-Caballos 2010, 458; Ugarte 1981). It must be remembered that a big hurricane struck soon after Franciscans' arrival in 1502 (see Chapter 4). The Monasterio's church is aligned east to west, with the altar in the east, consistent with Catholic liturgical precepts (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 86). This alignment is also found at the La Isabela church (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 86), and the Santo Domingo Cathedral (Pérez-Montás 1998). However, this is not the case of the first Franciscan church in Santo Domingo (Capilla de la Tercera Orden), where the altar is found in the west (Coste 2015).

During excavation, González identified the spaces inside the site's Monastery based on Franciscan monastery distributions in Spain (Coste 2017). A review of the artifacts found in the different areas shows more concordance than expected, particularly in the dining halls. There were less similarities than expected with the Santo Domingo Franciscan Monastery, including its 16th century areas (Coste 2015). Additionally, the other Franciscan monastery adapted for the education of the sons of caciques - Verapaz - has not been found archaeologically. Other Franciscan monasteries in the circum-Caribbean, such as the one in St. Augustine, have not been excavated in the same degree as the Concepción's, and cannot be compared accurately at this scale (Deagan 2017).

7.2.1.2.2 Fort campus

Seven structural areas have been identified at the Fort campus: Wooden structure #1, Wooden structure #2, Masonry Fort (1512), Masonry Fort (1543), Southeastern Tower Structure, House #1, and House #2. It is possible to tentatively recreate a timeline of the construction of the different structures. First, Wooden Structures #1 and #2 belong to the Medieval-Casa Fuerte settlement pattern (1495-1512). They appear to have been the inside of a wooden *Casa Fuerte*.

The next structure to be built seems to be the 1512 masonry Fort. Then, the structure next to the southeastern tower (Southeastern Tower Structure). This appears to have been a masonry structure built when the 1512 Fort started to deteriorate, because it covers part of the area occupied by the 1543 Fort's southeastern tower. It is possible that this structure may have had tapia floors and wooden walls. This structure may have been razed for the 1543 remodelation/construction of the Fort. House #1 occupies part of the same space previously used by Wooden Structure #2, and the widest range of artifacts were found there. It may have also been the last structure built at the Fort campus. House #2 appears to have been built almost completely from nonperishable items, as few nails were found there. Its similar alignment to House #1 may indicate the existence of a rectilinear street or alleyway between both structures. A more complete description of each of these structures is found in Chapter 6.

This chapter section will focus on the three main community functions identified at this campus:

- Defense: Casa-fuerte (Wooden Structures #1 and #2); 1512 Fort; and 1543 Fort
- Healthcare: Hospital (Southeastern Tower Structure; House #2)
- Commerce: Store (House #1)
-

7.2.1.2.2.1 Defense at the Fort campus

Unlike other colonial buildings, forts were often rebuilt. This was true not only in Spanish colonies, but in Dutch (Haviser 2001) and English colonies as well (South 1978). The reasons for this vary. Sometimes it was due to the importance of defense to Spanish authorities (Mira-Caballos 2010, 390), but sometimes it could be simply to justify soldiers' salaries (South 1977).

Historical documents record four Concepción forts (Table 6-3). One was built in 1494 close to the Rio Verde and lasted one year (See Palisade above). Three were built at the Concepción site. The first fort onsite, built in 1495, appears to have been built by Bartolomé Colon, and was known as Bartolomé's Fort (Marte 1981). Ovando commissioned a new fort in 1509, but it was not begun until 1512 (Marte 1981, 68, 86, 90); Ferdinand 1511. This third fort remained in good condition until 1543, when city officials asked that it be repaired (Marte 1981, 400; Vadillo 1543).

Bartolomé's fort was part of the Medieval Casa-Fuerte settlement layout pattern, which includes Wooden Structures #1 and #2. Two interpretative options exist. The first is that both structures could have formed the "casa-fuerte," and had some as yet unidentified wall around them for defense. Wooden Structure #1 would house the common soldiers, while Wooden Structure #2 would house the officers, a division suggested by Gonzalez during excavations (Abreu 2015). A second interpretation would be that Wooden Structure #1 would comprise the fort remains, and Wooden Structure #2 be the home of a prominent citizen - a relationship found in Santo Domingo between the Fort and the Rodrigo de Bastidas house.

The masonry fort ruins currently found at the Concepción site were evaluated by Historical Architect Hershel Shepard in 1997 (Shepard 1997). According to Shepard, the fort was built as a rectangular masonry structure with the long axis oriented north to south. It had two circular masonry towers, one located at the northwest corner and the other at the southeast corner (Shepard 1997, 2). Architect Gonzalez believed a square tower was located in the northeast corner (Abreu 2015).

The 1512 Fort was probably built more to store and control the gold and silver produced in the northern part of the island than for settlers' defense, as was done by the Spanish in other parts of the Americas (Mira-Caballos 2017), and the Portuguese in Africa (DeCorse 2010, 211). This is evidenced by the thick walls of the remaining northwest tower.

Although it is not recorded historically, archaeologically there is evidence of reconstruction/repair of the Fort. It is uncertain why the fort was rebuilt/repaired circa 1543. Two conflicting historical accounts exist. The first is that a new fort was originally requested in 1537 due to disrepair (Mira-Caballos 2010, 400). Moneys were made available for fort defense in 1540, and this Concepción fort construction was started (Mira-Caballos 2010, 390). A second account records an earthquake on the island in 1543 (Palm 1955b). Although no record has been found of the earthquake affecting Concepción, it is possible this affected the building.

The area covered by the 1543 Fort seems to be smaller than the one covered by the 1512 fort. This was discerned through the plotting of the clay extraction pits identified in the archaeological record (Fig 16). Pits #3 and #4 appear to be related to the construction of the western wall. Pits #5 and #6 appear to be related to the construction of the eastern wall. Pits #1, #2, and Pit #7 are not found next to walls and could either be related to the construction of the fort's northern and southern towers, or related to a reduction or expansion of the masonry fort's size.

The presence of stoneware (found in greater quantities after 1550) in the area next to the southeastern tower seems to point to a reduction of the fort's structure around that time. This makes it plausible to assume that the 1512 fort was larger (east to west) than the 1543 remodeled version.

It is difficult to compare the Concepción's masonry fort to others in the circum-Caribbean, particularly those found in port cities. Forts in port cities continued to be mainly for defense against invading forces, while forts in inland gold production areas served as storehouses (Altman 2017; Mira-Caballos 2017). This fort's function is more similar to the Portuguese trading fort of El Mina than the Torre del Homenaje in Santo Domingo.

7.2.1.2.2.1 Healthcare at the Fort campus

The creation of hospitals was part of the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan that Ovando was instructed to implement (Lamb 1956, 132; Ortega and Fondeur 1982, 533; Simancas, Consejo Real, Procesos, Leg. 97, fol. 7). The Concepción Hospital was founded in 1508, along with a second one in Buenaventura, close to the present-day Bonao (Mira-Caballos 2010, 521). Palm (1950, 34) believed both of these hospitals were made out of wood. A third hospital, Nicolas de Bari, was built out of masonry in Santo Domingo (Altman 2017, 16-17; Ortega and Fondeur 1982, 534).

A large number and variety of health-related artifacts were found at the Fort campus including medicine vials, a scalpel, and fragments of pharmacy jars (Deagan and Kulstad 1998). This prompted an attempt to identify the location of the hospital within the delimited area (Kulstad 2008, 2013c). A re-examination of proveniences in this study has offered two potential locations - the area next to the southeastern fort tower, and the House #2 structure.

A wooden building could have occupied the area next to the southeastern tower of the 1512 Fort. This could be especially possible if this second tower was only built for the 1543 Fort, i.e. the 1512 Fort only had the one (northwestern) tower. This structural area was identified as a possible location because it is the provenience of most of the glass vials in the collection.

The second option is that House #2 could have been the hospital. This is a weaker option, since this is a masonry structure. However, a scapel and glass vials were found in the interior area.

7.2.1.2.2.3 Commerce at the Fort campus

The Ibero-American Grid Town Plan implemented by Ovando also included the construction of a Casa de Contratación branch in Santo Domingo (Altman 2017, 16-17). This office, housed in what is now known as the Casas Reales, was in charge of regulating commerce between Spain and Hispaniola. Although the material assemblage at Concepción holds vast amounts of European artifacts imported from Europe, no historical or archaeological evidence of a Casa de Contratación branch at Concepción has been found.

However, there is historical evidence of various storeowners selling imported goods in the town, particularly in the 1532 Proceso de Alvaro Castro (Patronato 1995). It is possible that House #1 could have been a store. The widest variety of artifacts found at the site were unearthed in the eastern side of this structure. This includes tools such as two axes, an awl, a scythe, a chisel, and a hoe. Also clothing items such as two scissors, and two buckles. In terms of weaponry, chain mail, scabbard points, a sword, and a pike were found. A trigger and a dagger were found in the easternmost well. A

large fork, a small fork and four knives were also found. Olive jar is also mostly found in the highest quantity at the eastern edge of this structure. Other items found were glass, griddles, stoneware, low quantities of La Vega Red on White and cupellation item sherds.

7.2.2 Sociocultural Interactions

Although several important intercultural social interactions occurred at Concepción during this period of study, the most overt interactions were linked to the separation policies implemented through the settlement patterns. For this reason, this section will focus on colonial control policies which promoted these intercultural separations, namely hidalgüismo and sumptuary laws, and the resistance against them. Although these interactions were primarily conceptual, it is possible to discern their spatial location and organization through the interpretation of certain artifact distributions on the landscape.

Conceptually, colonial interactions included domination (Deagan 2011, 55; Rothchild 2015, 183), as well as control policies to institute the related classification structures. During this period, colonial authorities were concerned with controlling men and their activities at the economic, political, material scale. As stated above, the most overt mechanism to control populations was through separation (Rothchild 2015, 188), most prominently expressed by where a person spent the night. As will be elaborated on below, the first system of control was through a system related to labor and chivalry. This system failed because it was too successful, allowing people to earn enough to buy their freedom and/or purchase items reserved for the upper classes. A second system of sumptuary laws, linked to religious piety, was instituted next. This failed due to lack of enforcement. By the end of occupation of the Concepción site a satisfactory control method had not been found. It was not until the 1580s that a new method of control, limiting women and their activities, particularly intermarriage between ethnic groups, was found to be relatively effective (Guitar 2002, 8). This Castas system was never implemented at Concepción while it occupied the Concepción site. This fact will be kept in mind while presenting the interpretations below.

This section will also present how various members of society, not just Indigenous peoples resisted to these domination policies. Various forms of resistance will be analyzed, based on interactions with both peoples and the landscape.

7.2.2.1 Hidalgüismo, labor, and social hierarchy

Unlike other societal models which only contemplated sporadic interactions between foreign and native populations (as with the inherently economic feitoría system of the Portuguese in Africa, or the trading posts used in North America), the Castilla-

León Reconquista model contemplated intense interactions between populations with the purpose of evangelizing them, and guaranteeing their place in Heaven. The way to do this was through following an intricate moral code of ethics (Moya-Pons 1983, 13, 1997, 1998), based on honesty, good upbringing and clean bloodlines (Arranz-Márquez 1991, 172). As stated before, hidalgüismo, was an important element of this code (Elliott 1963, 38; Vicens-Vives 1969, 349), and included a disdain for manual labor (Moya-Pons 1983, 12, 1997, 1998). (See Chapter 4, Section: Medieval Casa Fuerte - La Isabela Feitoría). The more labor a person was required to perform, the lower the individual's position in the social hierarchy. This meant enslaved and conscripted (by the Repartimiento) peoples, undertaking forced labor, were at the bottom rung of the social ladder, while the nobility, both Indigenous and Castilian, did not labor at all, and were positioned at the top. This was particularly true of upper class women (Moya-Pons 1983, 13, 1997, 1998; Rothchild 2015, 183). (see Chapter 5, and discussion in Kulstad 2008, Chapter 9).

Certain professions offered a chance at upward mobility, such as being in the clergy, in the military, or in government administration (Jamieson 2004, 445; Lockhart and Schwartz 1983, 5). Professions which required education, such as lawyers and doctors, also created chances to gain upper class privileges (Lockhart and Schwartz 1983, 5).

Table 7-1: Labor Divisions by Gender, Geography and Freedom - presents the identified labor occupations divided by gender, the location where they are undertaken (rural or urban), and whether the work was done by enslaved, conscripted (under the Repartimiento), or free peoples. Several aspects of intercultural interaction in labor at Concepción can be observed. (see Chapter 5 for a more detailed description of the different labor groups and occupations).

First, it is obvious that men performed a wider range of labor occupations than women. However, a greater proportion of women workers were free, as opposed to most working men being enslaved. Most of the free working men appear to have been Libertas, although this may be due to the lack of information about Free Indians after 1542. It is important to note that upper class women, both European and Nitainas, were not required to work.

A wider variety of labor occupations are found in the urban area, as opposed to the rural areas. Rural labor in the Concepción area was undertaken in the following occupations: gold industry, cash crop farming and cattle ranching. This labor was undertaken by large numbers of people, mostly enslaved and conscripted, from various origins. In the urban area, only domestic labor and construction show the same laborer diversity found in the rural areas.

Although labor occupations only undertaken by Europeans - government administration, religion (clergy), and the military (at least at the beginning) - seem to coincide with the upper classes within the hidalgüismo code, another European-only

labor occupation which is present does not. This activity is commerce of goods from outside of the island, including slaves. The importance of this distinction will be discussed in more detail below.

Due in large part to the success of the mining industry, people in Concepción (and the rest of Hispaniola) had access to great wealth, up until about the 1520s. Goods brought from outside of the island were bought by the person who could afford it, not necessarily the one assigned by class. The most common complaints related to this were the use of upper class accruements by the non-elite wives (of all ethnic groups) of working men (Ribeiro 2003, 12–16), and thus equating them to putting them in the special category of non-working elite women. It became necessary to implement a control system which would cover all persons in the colony, not just those who were part of the labor market.

7.2.2.2 Sumptuary laws at Concepción

The new societal control policy instituted on Hispaniola consisted of a series of sumptuary laws which attempted to regulate consumption through the restriction of the use of certain clothing, food and luxury items according to social rank (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 188; Ribeiro 2003, 12–16). During the Habsburg rule, piety was linked to lack of excess, effectively linking high expenditure to sin (Ramírez 2016).

In 1509, Maria de Toledo, Gov. Diego Colón's wife, was the first to institute Sumptuary laws on Hispaniola (Acosta-Corniel 2013, 37; Moya-Pons 1978, 110; Suárez-Marill 1998, 15). The 1532 Proceso a Alvaro de Castro lists various sumptuary laws broken by the Dean of the Concepción Cathedral. Of special importance is the limitation in the sale of purple cloth, only to be used by the clergy, showing that sumptuary laws also separated laity and clergy (Patronato 1995).

Sumptuary laws were also included in the African Slave Ordenanzas of 1528, 1535, and 1544, specifically aimed at controlling African slave expenditures (Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Documento Secreto 243, Legajo 3, No. 97a, ff24-33; Guitar 1998, 373; Larrazabal 1975, 110; Moya Pons 2008, 74). African Bozal women were limited in the clothing and jewels they could wear (Moya Pons 2008, 74). Ladinos were baned from owning taverns and drinking wine (Larrazabal 1975, 110). African slaves were not allowed to carry, or own, weapons (Kulstad 2008, 183; Larrazabal 1975, 107).

There are no comparable ordenanzas regulating Naboria or Nitaino behavior. It could be assumed that the teaching of sumptuary laws was part of the teaching of the "ways of our faith" to caciques' sons through the Laws of Burgos. After all, the idea was for the young men to learn "Spanishness," and then later teach their people how to act in the same manner (AGI, Indif. Gen. 419, L4, f83; Stone 2014, 124-125). It would be safe to assume that this would involve using "Spanish" material culture recursively, that is, as a means to teach certain desired aspects of "Spanish" culture (Potter 1992, 121).

This idea of recursivity would also apply to recreating the physical separation of the Ibero-American Grid Plan as a mental construct (Bourdieu 1990, 53).

7.2.2.3 Resistance to societal control policies

Traditionally, archaeological research on colonial resistance on Hispaniola has focused finding and identifying the settlements occupied by those in conflict with the colonial authority, both Indio and Cimarrón (Arrom and García-Arévalo 1986; Deagan 2011, 48; Vega 1979; Weik 2012). However, these settlements have proved difficult to find, as was their purpose when occupied in the 16th century (Deagan 2011, 48; Singleton 1998, 179).

However, in keeping with the idea of a Dominican Merengue/Cuban Counterpoint - a relationship between voices and/or instruments that is, at once, harmonically interdependent, and independent in rhythm and contour (Ortiz 1940,1947) - this research has taken a different approach to the identification of resistance. As stated earlier, the lack of concordance of actual artifact use can be a sign of macro and microscale resistance/agency by the non-elite and non-dominant. “Resistance” here implies various types of noncompliance to Crown mandates, including not conforming to settlement patterns, Hidalgüismo codes, limpieza de sangre. mestizaje and/or Sumptuary Laws. Resistance and control can also coexist at different moments and spaces (Hodder 2004, 32; Jamieson 2004, 434; Liebmann and Murphy 2011b, 5).

Using this approach, three types of resistance have been identified and are presented below:

- Disregard of assigned space
- Disregard for sumptuary laws
- Disregard for limpieza de sangre codes/Mestizaje

7.2.2.3.1 Disregard of assigned space

As examined in Chapter 4, the Crown colonial authorities implemented various settlement layouts to guarantee separation between different social groups, the most important of which was the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan (See Chapter 4, Section: Ovando’s Implantation of the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan). The plan consisted of a settlement organized around a central plaza, or square. The main streets would extend from this plaza in a square grid pattern (Oviedo n.d. Bar. I, Quin. III, Dial. 6; Pérez-Montás 2001, 104). The lots closest to this main plaza would be reserved for government buildings, commerce, and the highest status families (Lamb 1956, 84; Pérez-Montás 2001, 104; Oviedo n.d. Bar. I, Quin. III, Dial. 6). Class status was determined by distance of homes from the main square (Lamb 1956, 84; Oviedo n.d. Bar. I, Quin. III, Dial. 6).

Conceptually, in this urban settlement pattern, everyone occupied a particular place within this landscape, particularly at night. Enslaved domestic servants slept on their master's properties (Jamieson 2004; Patronato 1995), while free servants lived separately, but within the city limits (Patronato 1995).

In practice, however, individuals, alone or in groups, resisted these mandates. More information is available about group resistances than individual actions, particularly in the historical record. The resistance of four groups had great influence on Concepción: the Roldán rebellion, the Enriquillo revolt, the Ciguayo revolt, and the Diego Ocampo Cimarrón attacks (These are discussed at length in Chapter 4). Each of these is notable in its own way, and influenced subsequent intercultural interactions at Concepción, on Hispaniola, and in subsequent colonial settlements elsewhere in the Americas.

The Roldán Rebellion is notable because nonelite Spaniards chose to leave La Isabela and live in Indigenous communities, as opposed to staying in the city and performing their duties for their master. Their mistreatment of Indigenous people became the justification of the official separation mandate (Morner 1967). However, when this group was reincorporated into society, they became opponents of separation policies, and particularly of the Pueblos Tutelados. The existence and relatively large amounts of Indigenous artifacts and colonowares at Concepción, in areas were the objects found should be mostly European, shows Roldán followers' influence on local lifeways.

The Enriquillo revolt was also influential at Concepción, even if it did not actually occur onsite. This revolt, like the Roldán rebellion, was undertaken by an unexpected group, namely the Nitaino young men. These young men had learned how to be "Spanish," and used this knowledge to their advantage in their resistance. Unfortunately, little information is currently available about whether Concepción's Nitainos supported or opposed Enriquillo, making it difficult to ascertain whether some of the areas around the fort could have housed Nitainos.

The other two movements - the Ciguayo revolt and the Cimarrón attacks - are both traditionally identified as "resistance groups." The Ciguayo group was mostly made up of escaped Naborias, while escaped Bozal and Ladinos made up the Cimarrón movement. These groups disregard for assigned space also involved a disregard for their condition as enslaved and conscripted peoples. It is also known that they continued to interact with those still enslaved and conscripted, prompting Slave Ordenanzas which further limited the movements of enslaved peoples (Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Documento Secreto 243, Legajo 3, No. 97a, ff24-33; Deive 1989, 264; Guitar 1998, 373).

In this study, rather than finding the areas where these rebels escaped to, we have focused on the spaces they have escaped from. We have focused on their presence/absence in urban areas, rather than trying to identify their settlements in the

rural landscape. Given that both of the studied spaces were, conceptually, supposed to have been occupied mostly by Spanish men, any discrepant artifacts can give a clue into these resistances. However, the current lack of data on African-derived material culture on Hispaniola makes it difficult to discern the degree of Naboria and African enslaved peoples' escape from Concepción's urban spaces archaeologically.

7.2.2.3.2 Disregard for sumptuary laws

The disregard for Sumptuary laws has perhaps had the greatest influence on modern human behavior of these three types of resistance. The freedom for anyone to purchase any item, without limitation, has become a fixture in our modern way of life (Fournier 2005, 174; Jamieson 2004, 434). As an economic, religious and political center, Concepción had merchants and commerce creating flow of goods and money. This was especially true during the two fundiciones seasons, when many miners were present.

As seen in Table 7-1, commerce was one of the labor occupations which only involved Europeans, but it did not consider it to be an upper class profession. This would become a double-edged sword, since the acquisition of the material culture which externally manifested the upper class position needed to be purchased. What would stop a nonelite merchant from purchasing these external markers for himself and his family, or selling them to others like himself?

This sale of prestige material culture must have occurred on Hispaniola from the start, as evidenced by the archaeological assemblage at La Isabela (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a: 188) and the implementation of Sumptuary Laws in 1509 (Acosta-Corniel 2013). The penalty of being expelled from the colony for two years for breaking these laws (Moya-Pons 1978, 110), did not stop those who wished to dress like the elite and had money made in mining to spend (Suárez-Marill 1998, 15). Purchases included clothes, jewelry, weapons and horse equipage (Río Moreno 1992; Suárez-Marill 1998, 15). Although there were more complaints about women using these prestige wares (Jamieson 2004, 445; Moya-Pons 2008, 74; Rothchild 2015, 189), there are also records of men breaking sumptuary laws (Patronato 1995; Rothchild 2015, 192). It is important to remember that this type of resistance, or disregard, would not be considered extreme for groups which had already resisted against their assigned spatial use within the colonial plan (see above).

The extent of this type of resistance to authority is exemplified by the accusations against Dean Alvaro de Castro in 1532 (Patronato 1995). As the main clergyman in charge of the Concepción's Cathedral and the main representative of the Inquisition (Patronato 1995, 96) he should have been a pious follower of the Sumptuary Laws. Instead, he was accused of selling African slaves illegally (Patronato 1995, 136) - themselves a luxury item (Deive 1989, 20). He sold meat to miners and then fined them

for eating meat on Fridays (Patronato 1995, 56, 120). He hired a tailor to sew and sell garments made from cloth assigned to religious purposes (Patronato 1995, 155), as well as selling second-hand, ready-made clothes, including capes, corselets and pointed hoods (Patronato 1995, 155, 213, 221). These clothes later became the base for the traditional Limping Devil costumes worn in present-day Carnival at La Vega.

With regards to the Concepción archaeological record, as with similar warm weather sites, clothing is not found in the archaeological record (Deagan and Kulstad 1998). However, various artifacts and luxury items related to sumptuary laws can still be identified. These include olive jars in which luxury foods were transported, rumbler bells, pins, belt buckles, pins, aglets, and scissors (Deagan 1999; Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 188).

7.2.2.3.3 Disregard for *limpieza de sangre* codes / mestizaje

The final type of resistance, mestizaje, was present on Hispaniola nine months after the first European arrival but was not formally acknowledged conceptually by the authorities until the 1580s (Guitar 1998, 411; Voss 2005, 462). Mestizaje, the mixing of peoples from different origin groups, broke the Castilian rules of limpieza de sangre, which stressed the need for keep clean bloodlines and Christianity (Arranz-Márquez 1991, 172; Kulstad 2008, 51; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971, 266).

As discussed in Chapter 5, the need to implement the casta system appears to have been a consequence of this disregard for the limpieza de sangre social differentiation codes. It is important to remember that the castas system was not instituted in the Spanish colonies until the 1580s (Guitar 1998). The censuses undertaken before that time did not include categories for mixed-blood peoples (Guitar 1998, 411), yet there is little doubt that they existed. A notable example of one such person elsewhere in the Americas was Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, son of a Spanish encomendero and a royal Inca mother (Garcilaso de la Vega 1982). More problematic would be the children of a free person and an enslaved or conscripted one. Examples of these would be the children of Cimarrones with enslaved women, free Indians and enslaved Africans, or even the children of the slave women hired out as prostitutes.

Unfortunately, given that the two excavated campuses were assigned to activities which were mostly undertaken by Spanish men, it would be difficult to use the archaeological relationships found here as a base for studies on mestizaje. This is particularly true for the information found at the Monasterio de San Francisco since, although there could have been some mestizaje related to it, this would not have been the norm.

7.2.3 Biophysical Interactions

Four main biophysical interactions were identified at Concepción: mestizaje, dietary needs, disease, and death. Since mestizaje was not officially recognized during this time period, and DNA studies are beyond the scope of this research, this interaction type will not be discussed here. Additionally, there has been a movement to find other, more appropriate metaphors of long-term social and cultural change (Potter 1992, 125).

The other three types of biophysical interactions: Dietary needs, disease, and death - affect everyone equally. All were regulated by colonial domination policies. This section will deal with the foodways, disease/healthcare, and deathway interactions at Concepción, and how they are manifested archaeologically.

7.2.3.1 Foodways

In this section foodways have been defined as dietary remains, cookware traces, cookware and tableware artifacts. The foodways sequence follows the following steps: acquisition or procurement, preparation, commensality and discard. It is important to note that the following section will be mostly based on extrapolated information, since a systematic analysis of the dietary remains of Concepción's archaeological assemblage has not been undertaken. Information will come from research undertaken at La Isabela, on northern Hispaniola (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a; 2002b); Puerto Real and En Bas Saline, also on the north coast of Hispaniola (Deagan 1995a, 1995b; 1996, 144); St. Augustine, Florida (Deagan 1983), and in 16th century contexts in Seville, Spain (McEwan 1998; Reitz and McEwan 1995).

Dietary remains are difficult to study archaeologically because of their perishable nature,, and/or inappropriate recovery methods do not capture them. Often the only evidence of these are faunal remains, and traces on cookware (use-wear, lipids, starch grains, etc.). It is often necessary to rely on historical data to identify and interpret these cultural manifestations in colonial sites. There are large amounts of faunal remains currently stored at the La Vega Vieja Archaeological Park. A preliminary review of both the remains and the archaeological records points to a preponderance of European domestic animal remains, mostly bovine and porcine, with some chicken, unidentified fish, and crab.

The assemblage also contains examples of various kinds of wares related to food production and food importation. The existence of cassava griddles points to the consumption of cassava bread. There is large amounts of olive jar sherds (Deagan 1999) evidence of the importation of all types of European foods (Avery 1995; Fernández-Navarrete II, 1825, 163-164).

Foodways played an important part in colonial urban interactions on Hispaniola. Access to particular foods related to the Iberian diet were reserved for those with the

monetary resources to import them from Europe. Imported food items at Concepción would have included raisins, wheat flour, vinegar, lentils, beans, almonds, olive oil, and wine (Moya-Pons 1978, 186). This was due to the fact that wheat, grapes, and sheep could not be grown on Hispaniola (Deagan 1996, 148). Concepción's inland location must have increased the costs of these items. Europeans who could not afford these imported items (such as the nonelites) had to reluctantly eat local foods, referring to them as "roots and other distasteful delicacies" (Anghiera 1970, 180; Guitar 1998, 101; Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). It is unknown whether Nitaino tastes could have influenced the food eaten by the upper classes. It is also unknown whether African Libertos enjoyed eating local foods.

Interestingly, Repartimiento holders and slave owners had to provide food for their male workers, so history records the foodways provided to Naborias, Perpetual Naborias, African Ladinos and Bozales (Oviedo in Rueda 1988, 212) records that gold workers ate cassava bread in the field. It appears these were made by Naboria women, under instructions from the Repartimiento holder. No record is made of what protein may have been consumed. It is important to note that the Naborias did have a chance to occasionally return to their home communities during the gold production cycle (which the Perpetual Naborias did not) and eat similar foods to those consumed precontact (Deagan 2004, 603). Not known if food was provided to women.

Later, with the introduction of sugar plantations on the island in the 1520s, the consumption of meat was stressed for slave worker endurance (Larrazabal 1975). Sugar mill owners had to provide their slaves with a diet of cassava bread, corn, peppers and abundant meat (Kulstad 2008, 161; Larrazabal 1975, 107). Abundant beef became available with the advent of the hide/tanning industry in 1520s Moya-Pons 1983, 1997, 1998; Patronato 1995, 56). It is important to note a distinction between Bozal and Ladino food in historical records, specifically mentioning that Bozales used coconut oil for their food (Deive 1989, 266). It would be safe to assume that Ladinos used olive oil, showing a preference for more Spanish style food.

A study of foodway acquisition and procurement at Concepción reinforces the effort to impose the settlement layouts related to the Castilla-León urban model. There is little evidence, both historical and archaeological, that food was produced within the city area itself. There is historical evidence of cattle ranching, a source of beef, close to the city (Moya-Pons 1978). However, evidences of the closest root crop farms are in En Bas Saline, near Puerto Real (Deagan 2004, 603). Although these Puerto Real farms would have fallen under Concepción's political jurisdiction, there must have been closer crop farms to this heavily populated city.

One influencing factor in procurement may have been that, with the exception of colonial officials, Nitaínos, nonelite Europeans, and African Libertos, most people living at Concepción were provided food by their owners/holders. As stated above, Naborias, Perpetual Naborias, African Ladinos and Bozales were to be provided with a basic diet

of native grown foods, probably not much different to that provided to sugar mill workers - cassava bread, corn, peppers, leftover meat (Larrazabal 1975, 107). However, it is possible that those enslaved peoples working under the jornal system could have supplemented their diets with other foods, like fruit, either bought or found in the natural environment.

As stated above, large amounts of olive jar sherds at the site show an effort to acquire European foods. Although some of these foods were prohibited to lower classes by sumptuary laws, and must have been quite expensive, the wealth from mining was obviously enough to overcome the difficulties of bringing these goods in over land, on a journey of several days. The process undoubtedly helped link these foods, and the tablewares used to consume these same foods, to high power of acquisition.

Due to the fact that both the Fort and Monasterio de San Francisco campuses contain public structures, it is difficult to know how food was prepared here. More information is available about food preparation in domestic, rather than non-domestic, spaces in the Spanish colonial Caribbean. Archaeological studies at St. Augustine domestic areas (Deagan 1983), and Puerto Real domestic areas (Reitz and McEwan 1995) point to kitchen activities being associated to non-European women in domestic spaces (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 284-296). Related to this is the fact that most of the people using these spaces were provided their food, given their enslavement or conscription in the Repartimiento. It is conceivable that food would have been cooked in large quantities, in large kitchens. Such large kitchens could have existed in the Fort area around Wooden Structure #1 and/or the SE corner of House #1 (Fig. 9). At the Monasterio de San Francisco, the kitchens could have been on the eastern side of the Monastery, close to the exit to the orchards (Fig. 10). It is unlikely that European foods would have been cooked at the Fort area kitchens, but some of these foods could have been cooked at the Monastery, especially for the upper class clergy.

It is possible that Naboria women would have cooked the cassava bread on griddles, as recorded during gold mining (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). Perhaps the meat could have been cooked by African women, since they did have knowledge of domesticated animals before their arrival in the Caribbean (Voss 2008, 873). Historical documents record that beef was eaten boiled fresh, or in a type of sun-dried jerky (Patronato 1995, 56).

The next step is the identification of the tablewares upon which these foods were eaten, as well as the possible commensality spaces. Once again, the fact that enslaved and conscripted peoples, were provided standard food ware, based on native foods, can give insight into possible tablewares. More specifically, provided food would have been served in perishable containers made out of gourds, as was common in the area until the introduction of plastic in the 20th century (Abreu 2015; Porter 1846). Additionally, these enslaved peoples, in urban areas such as the Fort and the

Monasterio de San Francisco, would have mostly worked in construction, and would have eaten at the place of work, that is, at a nonpermanent, moveable, space.

At the same time, the military and the clergy have assigned commensality spaces. González identified two dining spaces at the Monastery (Dining Hall, dining hall for the sick) (Fig. 10). In the Spanish military tradition there are often barracks, which do include a mess hall (Mira-Caballos 2017). An overlapping area of Wooden Structure #2 and House #1 could have been a mess hall at some point, given the presence of the only well-defined tableware, namely Decorated glass.

Artifacts related to foodways - such as faunal remains, ceramic cookwares and tablewares, as well as glassware and metal utensils - were discarded in two areas, namely kitchen refuse deposits and construction fill, particularly the faunal remains. The refuse deposits and the construction fill were identified using patterns previously observed in other Spanish-American sites, in which refuse is believed to have been thrown in household backyards to avoid garbage smells in the homes (Deagan 1981, 632; Jamieson 2004, 432). The relation between these refuse pits/middens and structural remains is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. Although the disposal in small pits seems consistent with dietary discards in domestic structures, the use of faunal remains in fill seems to be related to nondomestic areas. This was particularly true at the Fort campus, where faunal remains in the fill were quite ubiquitous.

7.2.3.2 Diseases and health care

In recent times, it is believed that diseases contributed as much, or even more, to the destruction of Indigenous lifeways in the New World, and particularly in the Caribbean, than did armed conflict (Diamond 2005, 210). Although several different waves of illnesses have been identified historically since 1492 (AGI, Patronato 172, R35; Guitar 1998, 248; Moya-Pons and Flores-Paz 2013), none seems to have had a greater effect on intercultural interactions at Concepción than the smallpox epidemic which struck from December 1518 and January 1519. It is believed to have killed close to a third of the Indigenous population of the island (AGI, Patronato 172, R35; Guitar 1998, 248; Mann et al. 2005; Moya-Pons 1983, 29, 1997, 1998; Pichardo 1944). It did not only affect Hispaniola, but historical evidence traces this epidemic in Cuba and Mexico in 1520 and going overland to the Incan Empire by 1526 (Diamond 2005, 210). Historical records mention that the disease came to the Americas through an African slave brought to either Hispaniola (Moya-Pons 1983, 29, 1997, 1998) or Cuba (Diamond 2005, 210); but Jared Diamond (2005, 207, 210) has suggested that the disease could have been spread to humans from cattle.

The first consequence of this disease was that, due to the sharp decrease in population, the Jeronymites were never able to successfully implement their Pueblo Tutelado program (Guitar 1998, 176; Kulstad 2008, 66; Moya-Pons 1983, 29, 1997,

1998). This led to a maintenance of the status quo and a continuation of the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan and the Repartimiento system (Charlevoix 1730, 287, 288). The second consequence was the perceived need to bring in African workers to substitute the Naborias stricken with smallpox (Crosby 1972, 47, 75; Kulstad 2008, 118; Purdy 1988, 640-41). It appears that this perceived need also fueled the plan to substitute gold for sugar as the main export of the colony (Moya-Pons 1978, 176).

In spite of the consequences of this disease, there is not much more additional mention of this disease in the historical records. A hospital is mentioned to have been built at Concepción, but no information has been found as to its location, or who the patients where (Lamb 1956, 171; Las Casas II, 1927, 268; Palm 1950). The archaeological record, however, does show that disease was a major concern, given the variety and amounts of health-related objects found at the site (see Chapter 6). Health-related artifacts were also found at La Isabela (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 152) and at Puerto Real (Deagan 1995b), proving that disease was not limited to those involved in gold mining.

7.2.3.3 Deathways

Although death is common to all humans, burial location at Concepción was not regulated. As discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, nine sets of human remains were found at the Monasterio de San Francisco. These all appear to have been formally buried. One set of unprovenienced human remains was found west of the northwest Masonry fort tower at the Fort campus. The burial at the Fort may have been a result of the 1562 earthquake.

During excavation it was believed that Indigenous peoples were buried in the flexed position, while Europeans were buried in the traditional Christian position, that is, laid out face-up with hands crossed on the chest (Abreu 2015; Coste 2015). However, given that Christianized Indios at El Chorro de Maita in northeastern Cuba are buried in extended position (Valcárcel-Rojas 2012), the difference in burial style may not necessarily indicate an ethnic separation. At St. Augustine, Bonnie McEwan (2001) suggested identifying the ethnic origin of the remains through the variety and quantity of artifacts with which they were buried. However, due to the excavation biases, it was difficult to determine which artifacts were buried with the remains, and which may have been above the floor during the earthquake collapse.

A final intercultural interaction revealed by the burials relate to Human Remains #8, found in a flexed position, under the corner of the Monastery's southwestern wall (Fig. 11). This implies that the Convent was built over an existing, precontact Indigenous buried bodies. Given that the masonry building was constructed from 1525-1528, it is unlikely that the construction over Indigenous remains was fortuitous. It may be one of

the earliest examples of the visual imposition of Christian churches over Indigenous religious sites (For examples in Mexico see Matos-Moctezuma 1993).

7.3 Micro-Scale Interpretation (Artifact Scale)

In this section an attempt will be made to ascertain activity and interaction areas based more on the interplay between an artifact's intended use and its actual use. Patterning on the landscape will be secondary.

For this exercise hawksbells will be used, given that their use is well identified in the literature. Also, these items are relatively plentiful at the Concepción site, as opposed to in other Circum-Caribbean sites.

7.3.1 Bells

It has been possible to discern probable uses of the different rumbler bells found at the Concepción site and plotted for this research (See discussion in Chapter 6, Section: Bells). As expected in the colonial context (Silliman 2010, 49), bell use at the Fort and the Franciscan monastery does not appear to be related to their original purpose, that is, as hawk locators. Their uses vary, depending on their contexts (Cobb and DePratter 2012, 456; Deagan 2002a, 138; Silliman 2010, 29). The plotted bells appear to have had one of three uses at the Fort and at the Monasterio de San Francisco: for the carrying of gold tribute, for clothing decoration, or for horse harness decoration.

In spite of missing temporal data, it was possible to discern that these bells were used in the colony's early period, heavily linked to the rich gold boom. Although only Fort Context #1 had a bell, metal slag and cupellation item fragments together in the same context, the rest of the bells were in middens, meaning that they had been discarded before the destruction of the city in 1562. The presence of expensive decorated glass in the same contexts also points to their use during the gold boom period. This does not mean, however, that all the bells were used to carry gold tribute. The presence of horseshoes and belt buckles suggests their use as clothing and/or horse harness decoration, that is, as sumptuary items. This would have also been common in the rich gold boom period.

The location of the contexts with bells in the landscape, as well as the other artifacts found in the same spatial context, suggest that the bells were used by Europeans, or at least persons following European traditions. More specifically, there are proportionally less Indigenous sherds found with bells in the same context, as compared to amounts of European artifacts and colonowares.

Most important, there appears to be differences in use between the Fort and the Monasterio de San Francisco. The presence of cupellation item fragments and metal

slag in three out of the four discrete contexts at the Fort suggest a use of bells in the tribute/gold industry. Conversely, at the Monasterio de San Francisco, the bell contexts did not contain metal slag or cupellation item fragments, but rather horseshoes and other clothing items, indicating their use as sumptuary items.

As with other artifacts in colonial contexts (Silliman 2010, 49), bells were used for different purposes, depending on where they were found within the site, as well as the other artifacts found in the same discrete context. Although only three of the proposed uses for the bells - as carriers for the gold tribute payment, clothing decoration, and horse harness decoration - are applicable in these excavated areas (Fort and Monasterio de San Francisco), it is quite possible that bells found in other areas of the archaeological site could have had other additional uses. Stated more plainly, artifact context is essential to understand artifact use.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to present an interpretation of the interplay between environmental, sociocultural, and biophysical intercultural interactions at Concepción from 1494 to 1564. This has been done in an effort to answer the question “What environmental, sociocultural, and biophysical intercultural interactions that occurred at Concepción in the early colonial period, contributed in the formation of today’s multicultural Dominican society?”

Additionally, it has explored the interplay between the conceptual and the practice/material (Sluyter 2001; Vargas-Arenas 1990). Special attention was paid to the moments of conflict between these two processes, which offered evidence of resistance and agency against the colonial domination policies present in all three types of interactions.

During this period of study, colonial authorities were concerned with controlling men and their activities at the economic, political, and material scale. The most overt population control mechanism was physical separation. Various social and environmental hierarchies were instituted, including settlement patterns, labor assignment, and sumptuary laws.

The data used for these interpretations came from previous chapters, and from extrapolation and comparison to similar sites around the Caribbean of a similar time period. However, due to Concepción’s inland location, and the early time period, comparisons to other sites have been tentative, and more investigations must be undertaken.

Although all three types of interactions were present at Concepción, they did not equally influence the material assemblages of the Fort and Monasterio de San Francisco campuses. This interpretation points to a stronger influence from sociocultural interactions (sumptuary laws and resistance to them, for example) at these sites, than

those played by biophysical interactions (i.e. casta classifications). Meanwhile, there seems to be a greater influence of environmental interactions on the Fort campus than on the Monasterio de San Francisco campus, in great part due to the Fort's campus position close to the central section of the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan.

8 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

8.1 Summary

This dissertation has attempted to better understand colonial intercultural interactions by analyzing the previously excavated, but unanalyzed, archaeological material stored at the Concepción archaeological site. It is important to examine the events which occurred at Concepción during this crucial period. It must be remembered that from 1492 to 1509 - 17 years - Spanish colonization was focused solely on Hispaniola (Deagan 1996: 136), and Santo Domingo and Concepción were the largest settlements on the island at that time.

This research has focused on the use of all artifacts (not just ceramics) in nondomestic areas, as opposed to the chaine opératoire of artifact manufacture (Pestle et al. 2013, 4). This was due to an interest in identifying how much information about the site's lifeways can be obtained from such material. The present research was more focused on problem solving, rather than chronology or typology approach, which was partly impossible to do due to the excavation biases. More specifically, the research attempted to answer the following questions:

- What environmental, sociocultural, and biophysical intercultural interactions that occurred at Concepción in the early colonial period, contributed in the formation of today's multicultural Dominican society?
- How is this evidenced in the various avenues of inquiry (ethnological, historical, archaeological, architectural, etc.) available?
- What are the Grand Narratives related to Concepción?
- Can a Small Narrative present a decolonized version of what occurred at Concepción?

This research has used a Processual-Plus Approach, which combines Postprocessual theory and a processual methodology (Berman 2014, 4). More specifically, the processual Spatial Distribution Analysis approach was combined with Post-Processual concerns dealing with gender and labor. The data used came from various avenues of inquiry, including historical records, architectural data, excavation data, and the archaeological assemblage recovered during the 1976-1995, and 1996-1998 excavations at the Concepción site. It is important to note that the distribution of various artifacts, not only ceramics, were prioritized in this study. More specific detail about this is found in Chapter 2.

Previous archaeological interventions at Concepción were compiled in Chapter 3 in chronological order. It attempted to recreate archaeological documents as much as possible, emphasizing the excavations undertaken in from 1976 to 1995.

Meanwhile, Chapter 4 presented a chronology of military, political and diplomatic events which affected intercultural interactions at Concepción from 1494 to 1564. The chapter was divided according to the pertinent environmental/landscape interactions, prioritizing the different types of settlement patterns.

Chapter 5 focused on biophysical and sociocultural intercultural interactions, as well as social classification at Concepción. It also discussed the labor activities where interactions could have occurred.

Chapter 6 presented how artifact distribution patterns helped identify structures on the macro level, and artifact use at a micro level at the Fort campus and the Monasterio de San Francisco campus, the two previously excavated areas of the Concepción site. A set of artifacts were picked to be plotted based on historical data, and on those that had complete recorded context data. Possible structures/activity areas were identified at each campus, as well as the Associations (artifact groupings).

Four major structures/activity areas were identified at the Monasterio de San Francisco Campus: the church, the burials, the convent, and the basurero (large southeast trash pit area) (Fig. 10). Eight structures/activity areas were identified at the Fort Campus: Wooden structure #1, Masonry Fort (1512); Masonry Fort (1543), Wooden structure #2, Fort Midden area, southeastern Tower Structure, House #1 and House #2 (Fig. 9).

The layout of structures at the Fort campus suggests a change from a more Medieval layout (Wooden Structures #1, 2), to a Grid Plan Town structure (Masonry Fort -1512, Fort Midden Area, southeastern Tower Structure, House #1 and House #2) (Fig. 9). There is no evidence of a layout change related to the 1543 Fort, which would have been a result of the Pueblo Tutelado plans. Interestingly, it does appear that the masonry forts both functioned as a Casa Fuerte, given the low number of artifacts found in its inside areas.

Through this research, it has been possible to determine that the presence or absence of particular artifacts can inform on lifeways, deathways and interactions at a more site-wide scale. Both the deposition pattern of the artifact, and its context, can help confirm where these activities took place at a structural level. For example, the presence of large amounts of cupellation items at the Fort campus (Fig. 9) suggests that metal smelting and cupellation took place at Concepción, but its distribution pattern suggests their use as a construction element, and cupellation itself took place elsewhere.

The life histories of the selected artifacts were reconstructed, in an effort to determine their various uses. This was mainly done through the identification of those artifacts that were, or were not, used as construction material; as well as through the identification of non-midden contexts. It was possible to identify some possible use-areas for non-ceramic materials, such as glass and clothing elements, as well as for griddles.

Chapter 7 presented an inductive interpretation of intercultural interactions at Concepción, in spite of excavation biases, and incomplete documentary sources. All three types of intercultural interactions, environmental, sociocultural, and biophysical, were identified, as well as the importance of the interplay between them. Additionally, it explored the interplay between the conceptual and the practice/material (Sluyter 2001; Vargas-Arenas 1990). Special attention was paid to the moments of conflict between these two processes, which offered evidence of resistance and agency against the colonial domination policies. The data used for these interpretations came from previous chapters, and from extrapolation and comparison to similar sites around the Caribbean of a similar time period. However, due to Concepción's inland location, and the early time period, comparisons to other sites have been tentative, and more investigations must be undertaken.

This interpretation shows that, during this period of study, colonial authorities were concerned with controlling men and their activities at the economic, political, material scale. The most overt population control mechanism was physical separation. Various social and environmental hierarchies were instituted, including settlement patterns, labor assignment, and sumptuary laws.

Although all three types of interactions were present at Concepción, they did not equally influence the material assemblages of the Fort and Monasterio de San Francisco campuses. This interpretation points to a stronger influence from sociocultural interactions (sumptuary laws and resistance to them, for example) at these sites, than those played by biophysical interactions (i.e. casta classifications). Meanwhile, there seems to be a greater influence of environmental interactions on the Fort campus than on the Monasterio de San Francisco campus, in great part due to the Fort's campus position close to the central section of the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan.

8.2 Decolonial Analysis of Grand Narratives

As stated before, in postmodern and critical theory, Grand Narratives aim to legitimize a particular historical meaning, often with the purpose of accruing political power, and controlling perceptions of the world (Lyotard 1984; Voss 2015, 354, 356). They eclipse all other possible narrations pertaining to a particular place and/or time, and are often mistaken as reality (Voss 2015, 353, 354). Chapter 1 presents two Grand Narratives related to the interpretation of intercultural interactions at Concepción from 1494 to 1564, one coming from history (Hell on Hispaniola) and the other from archaeology (Grand Narrative of Benign Culture Change).

The Hell in Hispaniola Grand Narrative describes the early Spanish colonial period on Hispaniola as brutal, a time during which the Spanish were only concerned with mining gold, resulting in the extinction of Indigenous peoples due to hard work in the gold mines and European disease. Consequently, African slaves were brought in as

substitute labor. The Battle of the Santo Cerro, believed to have occurred in the Concepción area, plays a small, but important, role in this narrative, particularly in Dominican textbooks of the period (García 1906). This narrative recounts how the Spanish defeated the local Indigenous peoples thanks to the help of the Virgen de las Mercedes (Charlevoix 1730, 399; Didiez-Burgos 1971, 29; García 1906, 34; Kulstad 2008, 40; Rueda 1988, 78). The Spanish claimed this event was the start of the Spanish way of life not only at Concepción, but in all of Hispaniola (Guitar 2002; Kulstad 2008).

Meanwhile, the Grand Narrative of Benign Culture Change (Voss 2015, 356) stems from the use of other disciplines, such as archaeology, to interpret early New World colonial sites, given the subjective discourse used in written texts (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 4; Jamieson 2004, 433; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 243; Kulstad 2008, 16; Rangassamy 2013, 15; Sauer 1966, 29). Archaeology presents a more tangible representation of past societies through the deposition patterns of the material assemblage left in the ground (Deagan 1996, 154; Deetz 1977; Gonzalez-Ruibal 2015, viii; Harris 1974, 4; Jamieson 2004, 433; South 1977). These patterns serve as material correlates (Deagan 1981; Deagan 1983) for activities and cultural processes undertaken within a particular landscape, by the community's inhabitants of a particular community (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 4; Kulstad 2008, 17; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Scott 1994, 3; Singleton 1998). However, this meta narrative highlights non-violent cultural and genetic mixing, often forgetting the unequal power relationships that are part of colonialism dynamics (Voss 2015, 354).

An analysis of these two Grand Narratives based on the findings of this investigation, shows that neither is totally absolute nor totally untrue. However, rather than being an "either/or" matter, this is more of an exercise in complementation. Since Grand Narratives are, for the most part, interpretations based on only one source, they only present part of the story. To more accurately recreate lifeways and deathways in the early colonial period, it is necessary to use various avenues of information/inquiry (Deagan 1982, 32), as proposed by Decoloniality.

As stated above, Decoloniality focuses on the complexity and ambiguity of colonial lifeways (González-Tennant 2014, 44; Liebman 2008, 5, 2013, 3; Silliman 2010, 49; Voss 2008, 861). This does not imply a rejection of the status quo, but rather an acknowledgement that artifacts and interactions may be functioning at more than one level at a time (Potter 1992, 126; Silliman 2010, 39). Fernando Ortiz (1940, 1947) explained this interaction as a counterpoint, a relationship between voices and/or instruments that is, at once, harmonically interdependent, and independent in rhythm and contour. This is related to the way in which Dominican social studies teachers describe Dominican culture - it is a merengue song played by several instruments at once - drums (representing Africa), accordion (representing Europe), and guira (representing Indigenous peoples). If one is missing, it is not a merengue (sensu Moya-Pons 2008, 325; Mieses-Burgos 2000[1943]; Ortiz 1940, 1947) (See Chapter 7).

Additionally, Decoloniality within Historical Archaeology advocates for the prioritization of the voice of the colonized (Liebmann and Murphy 2011a; Mignolo 1999, 239). Too often, within the coloniality of power, interactions occur between people who travel and arrive, and others who are stationary and receive, with priority given to the travelers (Mignolo 1999, 239). This priority can reach a point where the "stationary receivers" (and their culture) are objects of discussion, and yet they themselves are not invited to participate in the debate (Mignolo 1999, 241).

Also, as explored in Chapter 2, this counterpoint includes an interplay between the conceptual and the practice/material (Sluyter 2001; Vargas-Arenas 1990), also known as a "play of tropes" (Fernández 1991). Conceptual processes identify the "ideal," intended process that exists in the mind (Sluyter 2001, 425). These are often manifested in the colonial-administrative policies (Silliman 2010, 42). The practice/material processes deal with what was done (Sluyter 2001; Vargas-Arenas 1990). This includes not only the material record, but the associated actions related to these processes. The moments of conflict between these two processes give evidence of resistance and agency of non-Spanish groups.

Conceptually, the "ideal" colonial interactions included domination (Deagan 2011, 55; Rothchild 2015, 183), as well as classification structures created to explain where different individuals are located in relation to power. This was justified as necessary to convert all to Catholicism and the proper, "Spanish," life (Deagan 2011, 43, 55). Also, colonial authorities were concerned with controlling men and their activities at the economic, political, material scale. Concern for women and their activities came later, with the implementation of the Castas System in the 17th century (Rothchild 2015, 183).

Ideally, for a more complete view of lifeways at a particular site and particular place using the Historical Archaeology approach, not only are various avenues of inquiry needed, but also various scales of inquiry. One scale of inquiry deals with primary data from various disciplines, while the next level examines Grand Narratives, usually based on the interpretation secondary data. In this dissertation, this process seems to point to show that, at a larger scale (Site and Building), as well as when studying the artifacts themselves, there seems to be more concordance with intended use. Meanwhile, at an Artifact Distribution Pattern Scale, there is more evidence of actual use, thanks to the identification of activity areas. Stated more plainly, artifact context is essential to understand artifact use, and more readily identify resistance and agency.

8.3 A Small Narrative about the colonization of Concepción and Modern Dominican Society

It is appropriate, then, after analyzing the data obtained from the various avenues of inquiry used in this dissertation, particularly the archaeological, to propose a Small

Narrative about Concepción. As stated before, Small Narrative discourses cover shorter time periods and are more site-specific (Carvajal-López 2016a: 23). This Small Narrative will attempt to link the data produced within this dissertation to La Vega's modern-day carnival celebrations. This narrative will present an alternative, decolonized, view of Concepción's colonial period. To do this, we will attempt to connect the bells found in the archaeological record with the bells used in modern-day Carnival costumes.

The Hell on Hispaniola Narrative (historical) believes that bells were used by Indigenous peoples to carry the gold tribute to the Spanish for smelting at Concepción after their great defeat at the Santo Cerro. The bells' large presence in the archaeological record is believed to be evidence of the importance of the gold industry, and of the large amount of Indigenous peoples enslaved within the tribute system.

However, this research, based on various avenues of inquiry, has found that the historical record also has evidence of the use of rumbler bells in activities more related to Spanish lifeways, such as on horse harnesses and as possible musical instruments. More importantly, there seems to be a strong connection to the use of bells as clothing decoration (See discussion in Chapter 6). The different artifact distribution patterns present a difference between the intended and actual use of bells at the site, creating a music-like interdependence between these mininarratives (See previous section discussion on merengue/counterpoint).

Meanwhile, the La Vega Carnival is believed to be the oldest in the New World (Valdez 1995). Its costumes, pageantry, and its recreation of rebellion against authority, remain an important part of popular carnival celebrations in the Dominican Republic today (Orbe 2017; Tejeda 2018; Valdez 1995). The Proceso de Alvaro de Castro, a lawsuit undertaken in 1532, provides what may be the first evidence of the La Vega Carnival, which at the time included horse racing (Patronato 1995: 213). The horses probably wore harnesses covered in bells for these special occasions. Big carnival celebrations are still held in the city's new location every Sunday in February (Museo del Carnaval Vegano 2018; Tejada 2018).

The main character represented in the celebrations are the Diablos Cojuelos [Limping Devils], which wear intricate masks, elaborate body suits, and capes edged with bells (Castillo 2017; Museo del Carnaval Vegano 2018; Orbe 2017; Tejada 2018) (Fig. 21-24). It is interesting to note that the Diablo outfit includes capes, corselets and pointed hoods, the items of clothing identified with elite vecinos and sold illegally by Alvaro de Castro to nonelites in his 1532 trial (Patronato 1995). It is important to note that wearing clothes in this style in the 16th century would have violated the sumptuary laws.

In the Carnival tradition, power is inverted (Silliman 2010, 50), and the invisible becomes visible, and the secondary becomes primary. Inversion within this narrative implies the use of the material/practice elements as the main base of the story, with the

conceptual data filling the gaps. Ambiguity is highlighted, as opposed to suppressed (Silliman 2010, 49).

The proposed Small Narrative about colonial Concepción would embrace this ambiguity. Concepción is not the place of the first submission of Indigenous peoples to invaders, but rather the place of constant remembrance of the resistance against these invaders. The use of bells on the modern-day costumes is not a linear tradition, but rather represents resistance/disregard for the dominant rules and codes. The ambiguous distribution of bells in the archaeological landscape shows the disregard for the assigned space imposed by the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan (and its implicit division between peoples). The Diablos Cojuelos's use of capes edged with bells, mocks the 16th century sumptuary laws regarding clothes. The mixing of all peoples in the revelry subverts class divisions.

This research has shown that a more detailed re-examination of data related to the Concepción archaeological site can offer a more nuanced, decolonized, perspective of lifeways and deathways during the early colonial period of the Dominican Republic, and all of the Caribbean.

8.4 Future Research

The investigations undertaken for this dissertation are just the tip of the iceberg. More research in various avenues of inquiry must be undertaken to better understand lifeways at Concepción during its occupation of the Concepción site. Particularly, it is important to focus on three investigative processes: excavation, artifact classification, and historical research.

In terms of excavation, the Monasterio de San Francisco and Fort campuses are only two areas of the Concepción site. It must be remembered that the site is more than 1 km2. There is a need to excavate the rest of the site using strict scientific methodology as done at La Isabela and Puerto Real to create a more accurate view of the early 16th century colonial period on Hispaniola (see Deagan 1999; Woods 1998). Of particular interest is the excavation of the Cathedral area, immediately next to the Fort. Other areas of interest, yet to be identified within the site, include domestic/ habitation areas for both Europeans and non-Europeans .

Artifact classification is another area of future research, given that artifacts at the site have been classified using broad categories, as opposed to the more fine-grained categories used at La Isabela (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 2002b), or Puerto Real (Deagan 1995). Of particular concern for this research is the fact that majolica ceramics need to be classified to a more detailed level (See FLMNH Ceramic Typology Classification) to be able to identify different use-areas related to their intended and real use. This would be done using the Florida Museum of Natural History classification system to be able to compare to other Circum-Caribbean/Spanish colonial sites. Research should also be done to identify prestige wares to learn more about class and/

or social mobility (Jamieson 2004, 445). Non-European ceramics from the site and their classification are currently being studied by Marlieke Ernst, a PhD student from Leiden University.

The stored faunal remains need to be analyzed. This should be done by an expert in European banyard animals since most of these remains have been identified as such earlier (Deagan 1999; Woods 1998). Unfortunately, due to excavation biases, small sized remains, often corresponding to local species, are scarce (See Chapter 3). It would be useful to identify whether these remains are related to foodways, or cattle ranching for hides.

Finally, it is necessary to conduct a more in-depth investigation of historical sources at the Archivo de Indias in Spain. Currently, this research is focusing only on the city of Santo Domingo. Special consideration should be given to those subjects that are of interest to anthropologists/archaeologists, such as cultural adaptation, ethnicity, and household level activity) (Deagan and Scardaville 1985, 34-35). Research about "invisible" peoples, particularly the enslaved, should also be considered.

8.5 Final Consideration

In short, this dissertation has attempted to present an aspect of lifeways at Concepción during the study period (1494-1564).. Its purpose is to inspire future historical, archaeological and architectural researchers to go beyond what is presented here, confirm or refute this research, and perhaps propose other narratives that better fit the data. Concepción played a large role in the Spanish colonization continuum and its importance must be revealed to the public those beyond the archaeological site's immediate area, and beyond the Dominican Republic.

APPENDIX A: TABLES

Table 1-1. Colonial Social System (1494-1499)

RULING CLASS	SERVANT CLASS	REPARTIMIENTO INDIANS	OUTSIDE OF SOCIETY
Columbus family	European non-elite	Naborías	Roldán followers
Nitaínos			
Clergy			
Castilian elite			

Table 1-2. Colonial Social System (1500-1508)

RULING CLASS	SERVANT CLASS	REPARTIMIENTO INDIANS	SLAVE CLASS	OUTSIDE OF SOCIETY
Vecinos	European non-elite	Naborías	Domestic Ladino Africans	Escaped Indians
Colonial officials	African libertos			Escaped Africans
First Settlers				
Nitaínos				
Clergy				

Table 1-3. Colonial Social System (1508-1542)

RULING CLASS	SERVANT CLASS	REPARTIMIENTO INDIANS	SLAVE CLASS	OUTSIDE OF SOCIETY
Vecinos	European non-elite	Naborías	Ladino African enslaved peoples	Enriquillo followers
Colonial officials	African libertos		Perpetual Naborías	Cimarrones
Nitaínos			Bozal African enslaved peoples	
Clergy				
First Settlers				

Table 1-4. Colonial Social System (1542-1564)

ELITE CLASS	NON-ELITE CLASS	SLAVE CLASS	OUTSIDE OF SOCIETY
Vecinos	European non-elite	Ladino African enslaved peoples	0.002
Colonial officials	Free Indians	Perpetual Naborías	Cimarrones
Clergy	African Libertos	Bozal African enslaved peoples	
First Settlers			

Table 2-1. Research Taxonomy

Taxonomy	Description
Epistemology	Historical Archaeology: The study of European colonization starting in the 15th century
Theoretical Framework	• Processual-Plus Approach: The research of post-processual topics using processual methodology. • Decoloniality: Proposes “delinking” Latin American discourse from the sources of colonial power.
Research Objectives	• Overarching Objective: Determine the environmental, sociocultural, and biophysical intercultural interactions that occurred at Concepción de la Vega in the early colonial period, contributed in the formation of today’s multicultural Dominican society. • Organization and classification of archaeological material and documents generated during previous excavations at the Concepción de la Vega site. • Identify new avenues of inquiry that can be used to interpret the intercultural interactions (ethnological, historical, archaeological, architectural, etc.). • Identify the Grand Narratives related to Concepción de la Vega. • Present a Small Narrative about the Carnival tradition ast Concepción de la Vega based on a decolonized interpretation of this research’s data.
Methodology	Qualitative study: Allows for the inductive interpretation of data, in spite of excavation biases and incomplete documentation.
Sampling	Purposeful Homogeneous Sampling: (excavation) of all identified building foundations in both campuses, following various horizontal grids.
Samples	• Approx. 8,000 m2 excavated area • Approx. 280,000 artifacts
Data Collection	• Primary Data • Secondary Data
Data Analysis	• Macroscale • Microscale

Table 2-2. List of Artifacts Found at the Concepción de la Vega Site Deposit

General Artifact Types	Artifact Types
EUROPEAN CERAMICS	• Majolica • Cologne Stoneware • Unglazed Olive Jar
INDIGENOUS CERAMICS	• Indigenous decorated • Indigenous plain
EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLD/ DOMESTIC ITEMS	• Forks • Table Knifes • Metal pot fragments • Syringe
GLASS	• Decorated glass • Glass vials
MILITARY ITEMS	• Chain mail • Scabbard tip • sword pommel
CLOTHING ITEMS	• Buckle • Needle • Straight pin • Scissors
EUROPEAN ORNAMENTATION ITEMS	• Glass bead • Glass bracelet
PERSONAL ITEMS	• Bells • Bookhardware
EUROPEAN TOOLS	• Awl • Ax • Chisel • Wedge
INDIGENOUS TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS	• Griddle (ceramic) • Griddle (stone) • Indigenous Ax

Table 2-3. Plotted Artifacts from the La Vega Vieja Site

Plotted Fort Artifacts	Plotting Criteria	Plotted Monasterio de San Francisco Artifacts	Plotting Criteria
Majolicas	low/med/large	Majolicas	low/med/large
Indigenous Decorated Ceramics	low/med/large	Indigenous Ceramics	low/med/large
La Vega Red on White Ceramics	low/med/large	La Vega Red on White Ceramics	low/med/large
La Vega Red Slipped Ceramics	low/med/large	La Vega Red Slipped Ceramics	low/med/large
Stoneware	low/med/large	Stoneware	low/med/large
Horseshoes	presence/absence	Horseshoes	presence/absence
Cupellation items	presence/absence	Cupellation items	presence/absence
Slag	presence/absence	Slag	presence/absence
Nails	low/med/large	Nails	low/med/large
Olive Jars	low/med/large	Olive Jars	low/med/large
Griddles	low/med/large	Griddles	low/med/large
Clothing items	presence/absence	Clothing items	presence/absence
Tools	presence/absence	Tools	presence/absence
Weapons	presence/absence	Weapons	presence/absence
Human remains	presence/absence	Human remains	presence/absence
Decorated Glass	presence/absence	Colonial Glass	presence/absence
Vials	low/med/large	Faunal remains	low/med/large
Ornamentation	presence/absence		
Bookclasps	presence/absence		

Table 3-1. Grids used at La Vega Vieja Site

Date	Grid Names
1892	Ober 1893
1952-1953	University of Florida/Universidad de Santo Domingo Project
Sept.-Dec. 1976	Spiral Grid
Dec. 19, 1976-June 1977	Ortega Grid
Aug. 1979-Feb. 1980	Alphabet Grid
Feb. 1980-May 1980	Alphabet Integer Grid
May 1980-Dec. 1982	MSF: E-W/N-S Integers Grid implemented
March 1983-April 1985	Fort: E-W/N-S Integers Grid implemented
1996-1998	UF Survey Grid implemented

Table 4-1. Colonial Government Chronology (1492-1564)

Periods	Spain	Hispaniola	Church on Hispaniola
1492-1500	Isabela (Queen of Castile)	Christopher Columbus	Bishopric of Seville
1500-1502	Isabela (Queen of Castile)	Bobadilla	Bishopric of Seville
1502-1504	Isabela (Queen of Castile)	Ovando	Bishopric of Seville
1504-1506	Juana and Philip	Ovando	Bishopric of Seville
1506-1509	Juana (Ferdinand as regent)	Ovando	Bishopric of Seville
1509-1511	Juana (Ferdinand as regent)	Diego Columbus	Bishopric of Seville
1511-1514	Juana (Ferdinand as regent)	D. Columbus/Real Audiencia	Garcia de Padilla (SD) Xuarez de Deza (LV)
1515-1516	Juana (Ferdinand as regent)	Real Audiencia (Interim)	Geraldini (SD) Xuarez de Deza (LV)
1516-1517	Juana (Cisneros as regent)	Jeronymite Friars	Geraldini (SD) Xuarez de Deza (LV)
1517-1519	Juana (Charles V as regent)	Jeronymite Friars	Geraldini (SD) Xuarez de Deza (LV)
1519-1520	Juana (Charles V as regent)	Figueroa/Real Audiencia	Geraldini (SD) Xuarez de Deza (LV)
1520-1523	Juana (Charles V as regent)	D. Columbus/Real Audiencia	Geraldini (SD) Xuarez de Deza (LV)
1523-1524	Juana (Charles V as regent)	D. Columbus/Real Audiencia	Geraldini (SD) Luis de Figueroa (LV)
1524-1526	Juana (Charles V as regent)	Real Audiencia (Interim)	Luis de Figueroa (LV)
1526-1528	Juana (Charles V as regent)	Real Audiencia (Interim)	Luis de Figueroa (LV & SD)
1528-1531	Juana (Charles V as regent)	R. Fuenleal/Real Audiencia	R.de Fuenleal(LV & SD)
1531-1533	Juana (Charles V as regent)	Real Audiencia (Interim)	-
1533-1543	Juana (Charles V as regent)	Fuenmayor/Real Audiencia	Fuenmayor (LV & SD)
1543-1545	Juana (Charles V as regent)	L. de Cerrato/Real Audiencia	Fuenmayor (SD-unified)
1545-1548	Juana (Charles V as regent)	L. de Cerrato/Real Audiencia	Fuenmayor (SD)

Table 4-1. Continued

Periods	Spain	Hispaniola	Church on Hispaniola
1549-1554	Juana (Charles V as regent)	Maldonado/Real Audiencia	Fuenmayor (SD)
1554-1555	Juana (Charles V as regent)	Maldonado/Real Audiencia	-
1555-1559	Philip II	Maldonado/Real Audiencia	-
1559-1560	Philip II	Cepeda/ Real Audiencia	-
1561-1562	Philip II	A.de Herrera/ Real Audiencia	

SD=Santo Domingo
LV=Concepción de la Vega
Data summarized from Guitar 1998:70;
Incháustegui 1955: 28-29, 89-90;
Fernández-Alvarez 2000: 261; Saez 1987. 6.5")

Table 6-1. Presence/Absence in Excavation Units and Number of Units Where Found

Item	Monasterio de San Francisco # of excavation units	Fort # of excavation units
Nails	75	202
Bells	4	4
Colonial glass	25	??
Decorated glass	??	123
Vials	??	12
Bookclasps	?	9
Chains	2	1
Cupellation item sherds	1	59
Slag	15	109
Horseshoes	17	111
Griddles	11	44
Faunal Remains	57	199
Human Remains	8	1
Native American (prehistoric) ceramics	47	??
Native American (prehistoric) decorated ceramic sherds	??	189
Majolica ceramic sherds	111	287
La Vega Red on White ceramic sherds	36	191
La Vega Red Slipped ceramic sherds	73	232
Stoneware ceramic sherds	5	21
Olive Jar	97	37
Tools	??	10
Weapons	??	7
Ornamentation	??	3
Clothing items	10	4

Table 6-2. Monasterio de San Francisco Campus - Areas of Interest

Areas of Interest	Material	Dates	Archaeologically Identified
Church	wood and thatch	1502?-1528?	no
Church	masonry	1528?-1562?	yes
Convent	masonry	1528?-1562?	yes
SW Basurero	various artifacts	1502?-1528?	tentative
Northern Cemetery	various artifacts w/human remains	1502?-1981	yes
Western Cemetery	various artifacts w/human remains	1502?-1981	yes

Table 6-3. Fort Campus - Areas of Interest

Areas of Interest	Material	Dates	Archaeologically Identified
Fort #1 (Rio Verde)	wood and thatch; nails?	1494-1495	no
Wooden Structure #1	Wood and nails	unknown	yes
Wooden Structure #2	Wood and nails	before Southeastern Tower structure and House #1	yes
Hospital	Wood and nails	1509?-1562?	no
Bartolome's Fort #2	wood and thatch; nails?	1495-1512	no
Fort #3	Masonry	1512-1543?	tentative
Fort #4	Masonry	1543?-1562	tentative
Mess Hall	Wood and nails	before Southeastern Tower structure	yes
Southeastern Tower structure area	Wood and nails	after Wooden Structure #2 and Mess Hall?	yes
House #1	Masonry	after Wooden Structure #2	yes
House #2	Masonry	unknown	yes

Table 6-4. Mellacoid and Chicoid Ceramic Attributes

Attributes	Mellacoid	Chicoid
Walls	Relatively thin walls (3-7 mm)	Thick, soft (7-9 mm)
Surface	Hard surface that is smoothed, but not highly polished	Highly polished (especially Boca Chica style)
Vessel shapes	Hemispherical bowls and boat shapes	• Wide range of vessel shapes, including effigies and white-slipped bottles. • Jars (potizas) are common, especially in eastern DR.
Paste	• Fort Liberté: Paste has reddish tint (either from clay itself, or an additive). • West of Fort Liberté: grey to black paste (more reducing firing environment?).	Grey to brown
Rims	Vessels have rounded rims, with the outward folding of the final coil creating a fillet rim.	Flaring rims are more common.
Shoulder	Vessels typically turn inward at the shoulder. Occasionally there is a ridge of clay along shoulder.	
Decoration location	Limited to panel between shoulder and rim	

Table 6-4. Continued

Attributes	Mellacoid	Chicoid
Decoration motifs	• Sigmoid and other appliqué (ribbons often with cross-cutting incisions, hand-paw motif, C-shapes, etc.). • Punctations on body and lip. -Adornos that rise above rim on opposite sides of vessel. • Most distinctive designs are narrow (1-2 mm) incised lines that leave ridge of clay along edge of incision. • Crosshatching, oblique parallel lines, alternating inclined units, and straight lines that never end in a dot are common.	• In some cases with punctations where the vessel flares outward. • Incisions typically are broad lines (4-5 mm) with smoothed and rounded edges. They are shallower and widely spaced and occur in circular, oval and rectangular panels. Straight and curved lines typically end in a dot.
Punctations	Punctations on body and lip.	• In some cases with punctations where the vessel flares outward. • Straight and curved lines typically end in a dot.
Appliqué	Some lugs or adornos are anthropomorphic. Constructed through appliqué of facial features.	No appliqué
Appliqué	Some lugs or adornos are anthropomorphic. Constructed through appliqué of facial features.	No appliqué
Handles	Strap handles are present	Large, decorated strap handles are present
Adornos/lugs	• Adornos that rise above rim on opposite sides of vessel. • Some lugs or adornos are anthropomorphic. Constructed through appliqué of facial features.	Lugs are large and modeled, giving the appearance of sculpture.

Table 7-1. Labor Divisions by Gender, Geography and Freedom

Activity	Free Male	Enslaved Male	Free Female	Enslaved Female	Rural	Urban
INACTIVE			EE N			EE N
GOLD INDUSTRY	EN EE LI	N LA B	LI	N LA B	• Miners • Overseers • Panners • Cooking	Silversmiths
CASH CROPS	E LI	LA B N P	N LA B		• Overseer • Cutters • Cooking?	
INDIG. SLAVE RAIDING	E					• Raiders • Funders
AFRICAN ENSLAVERS	E					Sellers
GOV. ADMIN.	S					S
CATTLE RANCHING	EN LI I	LA B P			Herders	
COMMERCE W/ SPANISH EMPIRE	E					E
INTERNAL COMMERCE	LI E	LA B	LI	LA B		• Vegetable wares • Water and charcoal • Clothing • Weapons Tavern food • European Tableware • Tools
CONST. INDUSTRY	E LI	N LA B	LI	N LA B		• Worker • Overseer • Cooking
SMITHING ACTIVITY	E	N				E N
POTTERY PROD.	LI		E	N		LI E N

Table 7-1. Continued

Activity	Free Male	Enslaved Male	Free Female	Enslaved Female	Rural	Urban
DOMESTIC LABOR	EN LI	N P LA B	EN LI	N P LA B		EN N LI LA B
CLOTHING PROD.	E (European style clothes)			N LA (Cotton)		• European style clothes • Cotton cloth
RELIGIOUS SERVICES	E					E
PROSTITUTION			I L	N P LA B		Women
HEALTH WORKERS	E I	N		L		Health
MILITARY	E I LI					Military

B=Bozal
E= European
EE=European Elite
EN-European Nonelite
I= Free Indians
LA=Ladino
LI=Liberto
N=Naborías
P=Perpetual Naborías
S=Spanish

APPENDIX B: FIGURES

Figure 1. Santo Cerro Church

Top: Current image of Santo Cerro Church from the southwest. *Bottom*: Sacred Hole of the cross planted by Columbus during the Battle of the Santo Cerro. The Sacred Hole is next to the northeast exit door of the Church. Text: Sacred Hole of the Cross - In this same place, according to old tradition, Christopher Columbus, on the day of March 25, 1495, planted a high cross here made from Nispero [Manilkara zapota] wood. “The cross is a symbol of faith.” Santo Cerro [Holy Hill] Holy Year 1975.

Figure 2. Current view of the Fort campus

Figure 3. Current view of the Monasterio de San Francisco campus

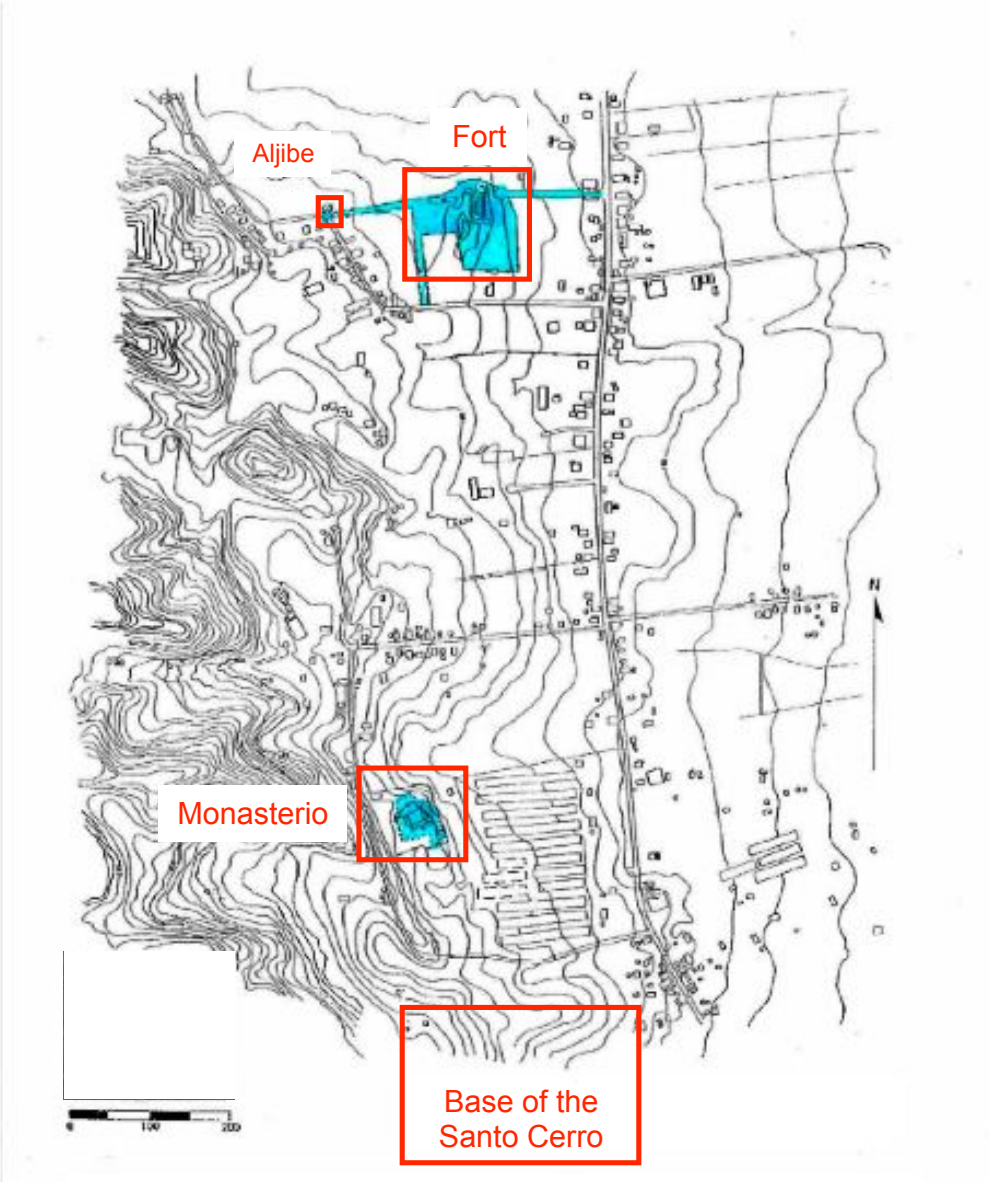


Figure 4. Topographic contour map

Topographic contour map showing the 3 parts of the Concepción de la Vega Park. [Based on Deagan, K., 1999. Cultural and Historical Resources at the Parques Nacionales Concepción de la Vega and La Isabela. Final Report (Figure 5).]

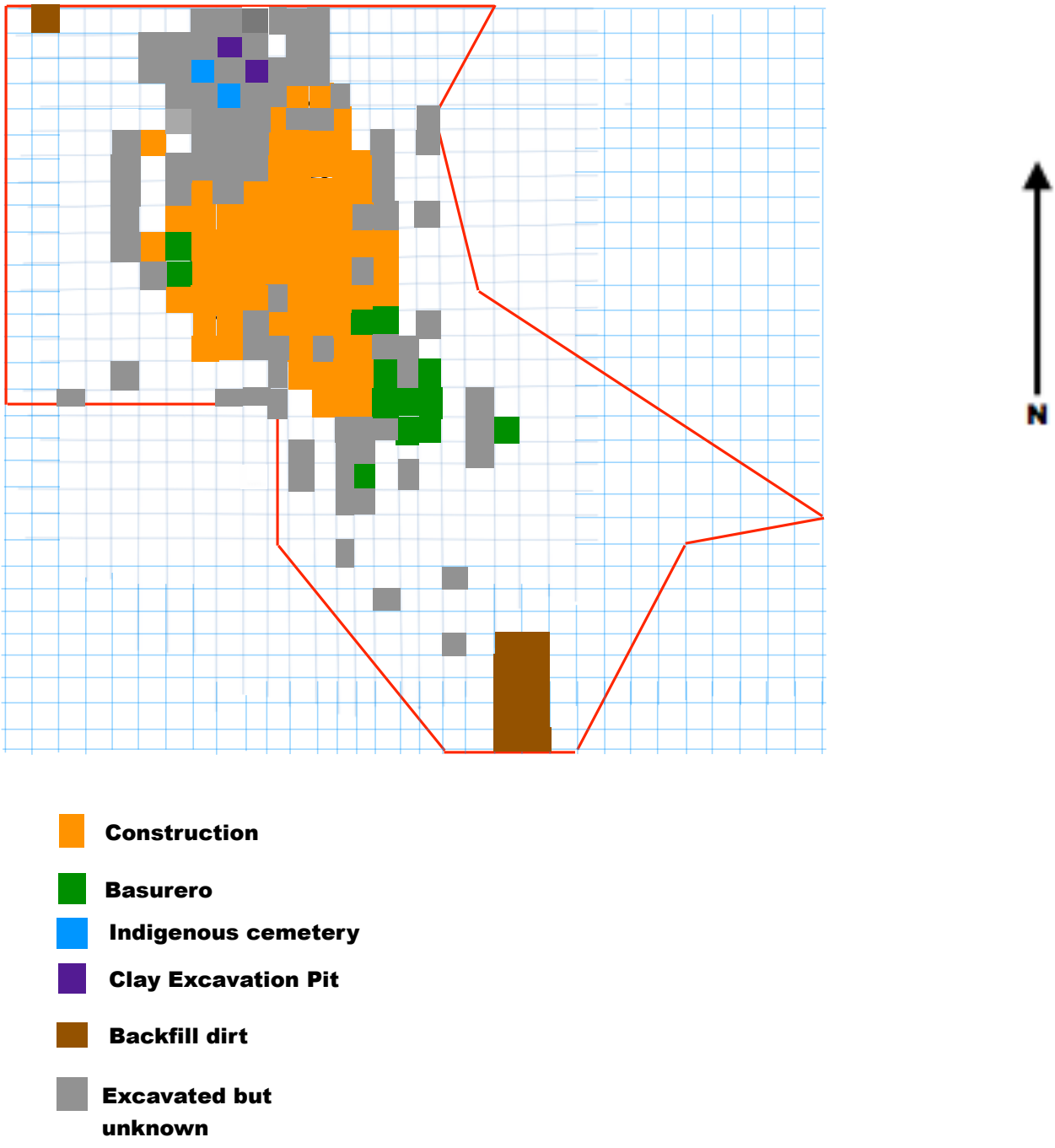


Figure 5. Monasterio de San Francisco campus - Excavated Areas

[Based on González, J., 1983. Blueprint of Monasterio de San Francisco.]

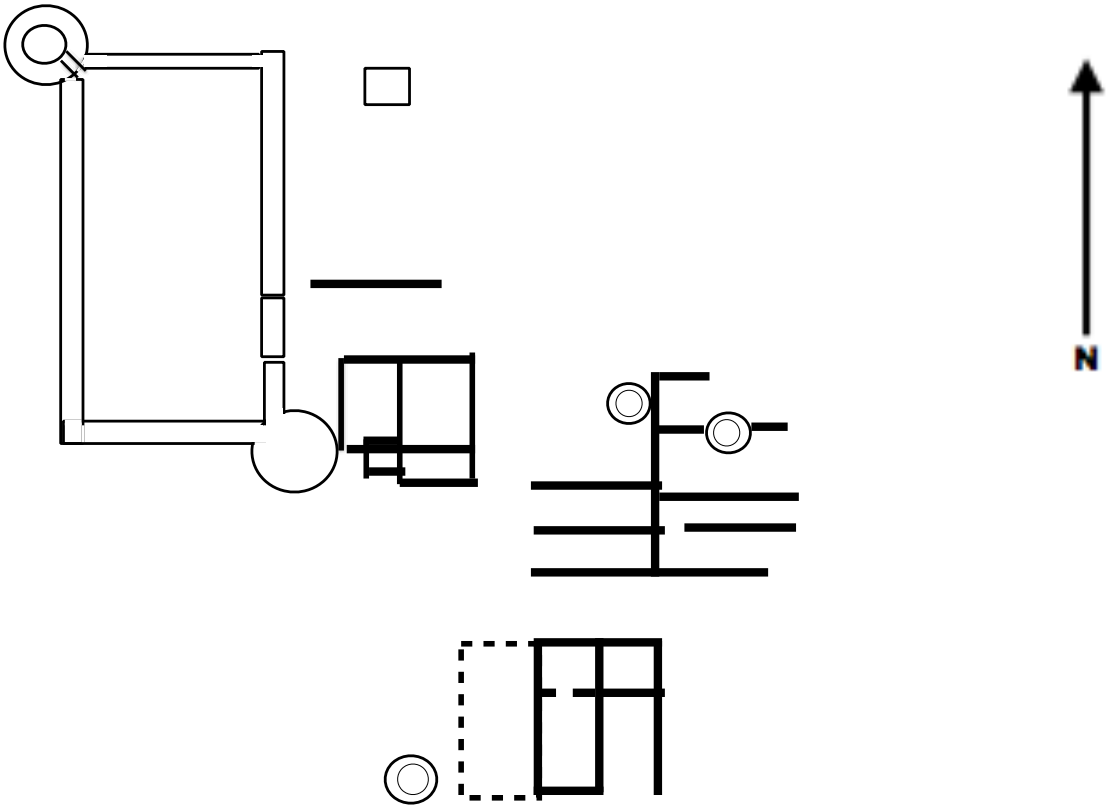


Figure 6. Fort Campus.

[Based on Woods, A., 1999. Report on fieldwork at Concepción de la Vega, Dominican Republic: 1996 through 1998.].

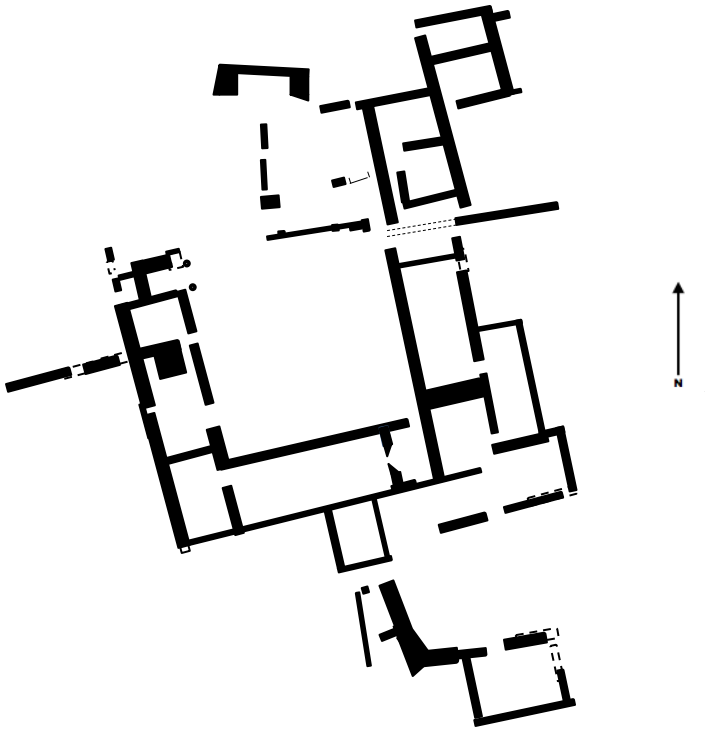


Figure 7. Monasterio de San Francisco Campus.

[Based on González, J., 1983. Blueprint of Monasterio de San Francisco.]

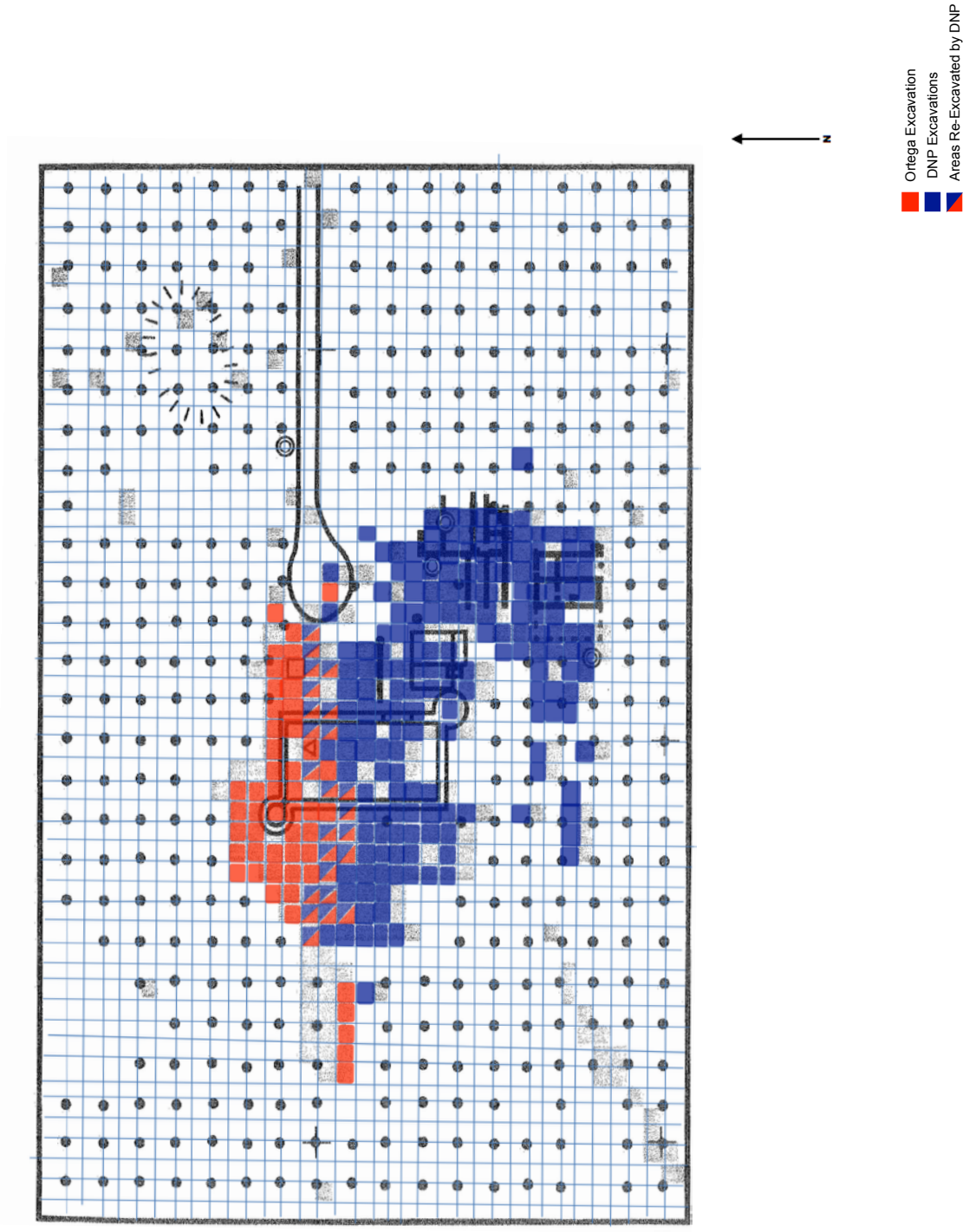


Figure 8. Fort campus - Excavated areas.

[Based on Woods, A., 1999. Report on fieldwork at Concepción de la Vega, Dominican Republic: 1996 through 1998.]

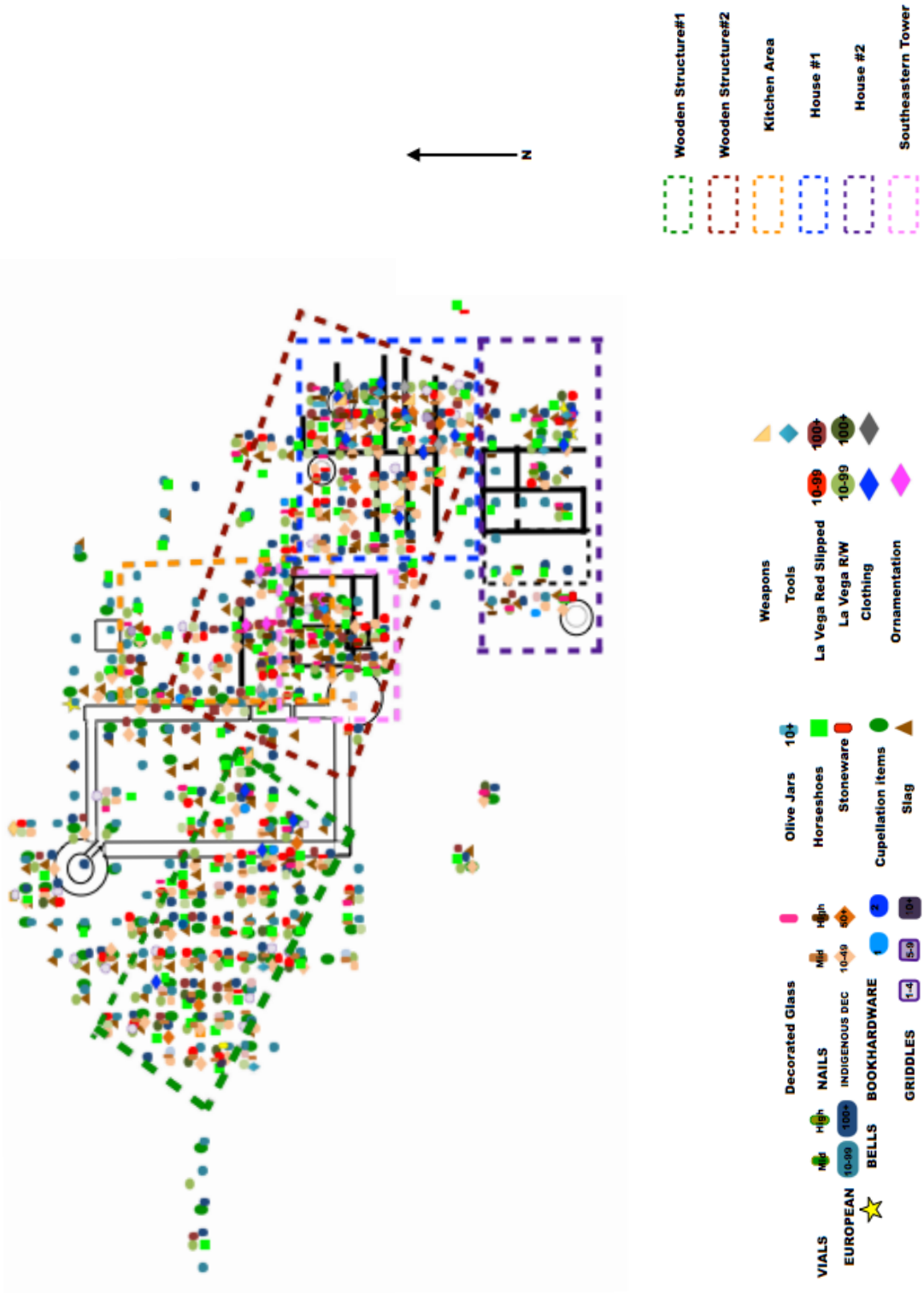


Figure 9. Fort Campus - Plotted Artifacts

Figure 10. Monasterio de San Francisco Campus - Plotted Artifacts

Figure 11. Human Remains - San Francisco Campus

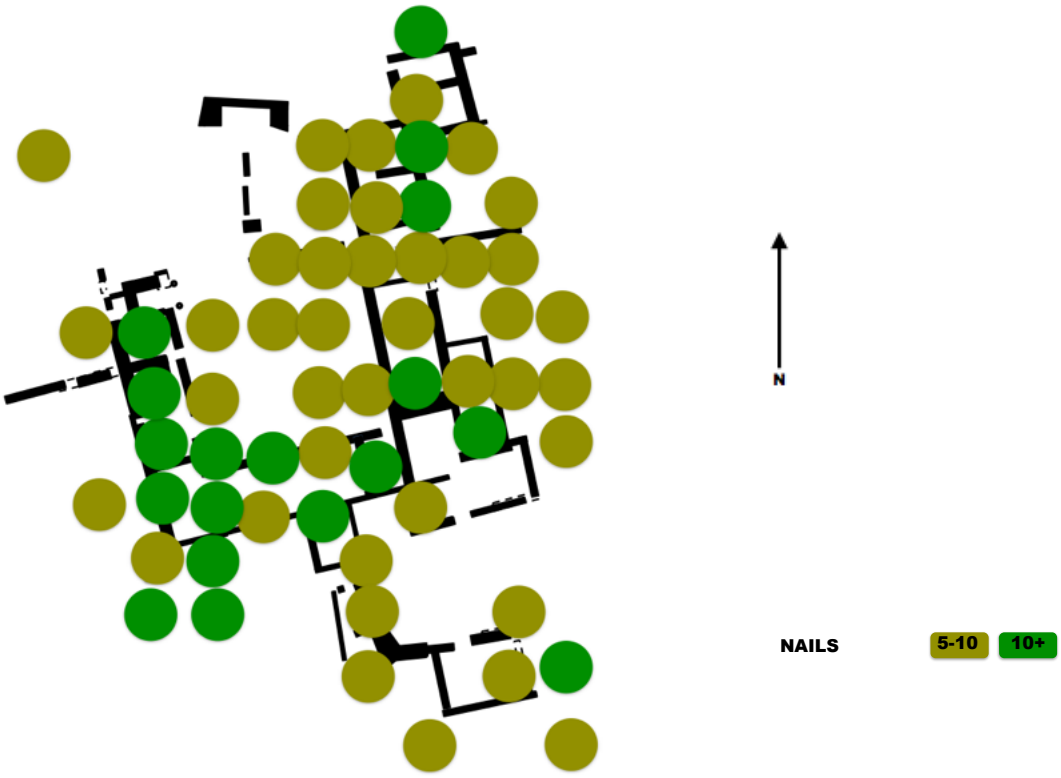


Figure 12. Monasterio de San Francisco Campus - Nail Distribution

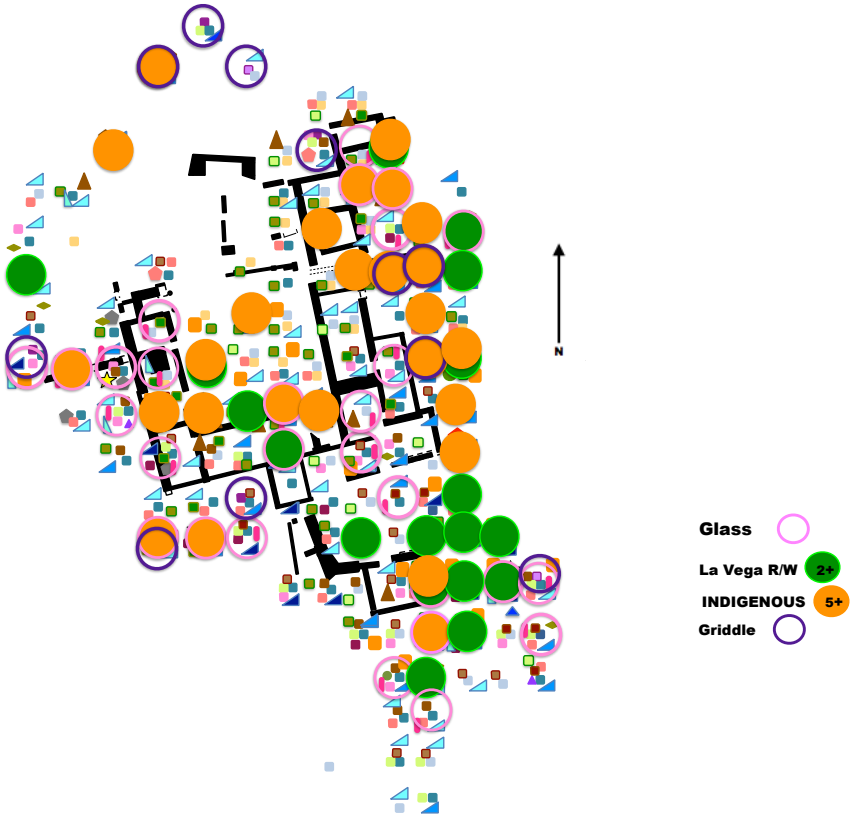


Figure 13. Monasterio de San Francisco - Glass, Griddles, Indigenous, La Vega Red on White

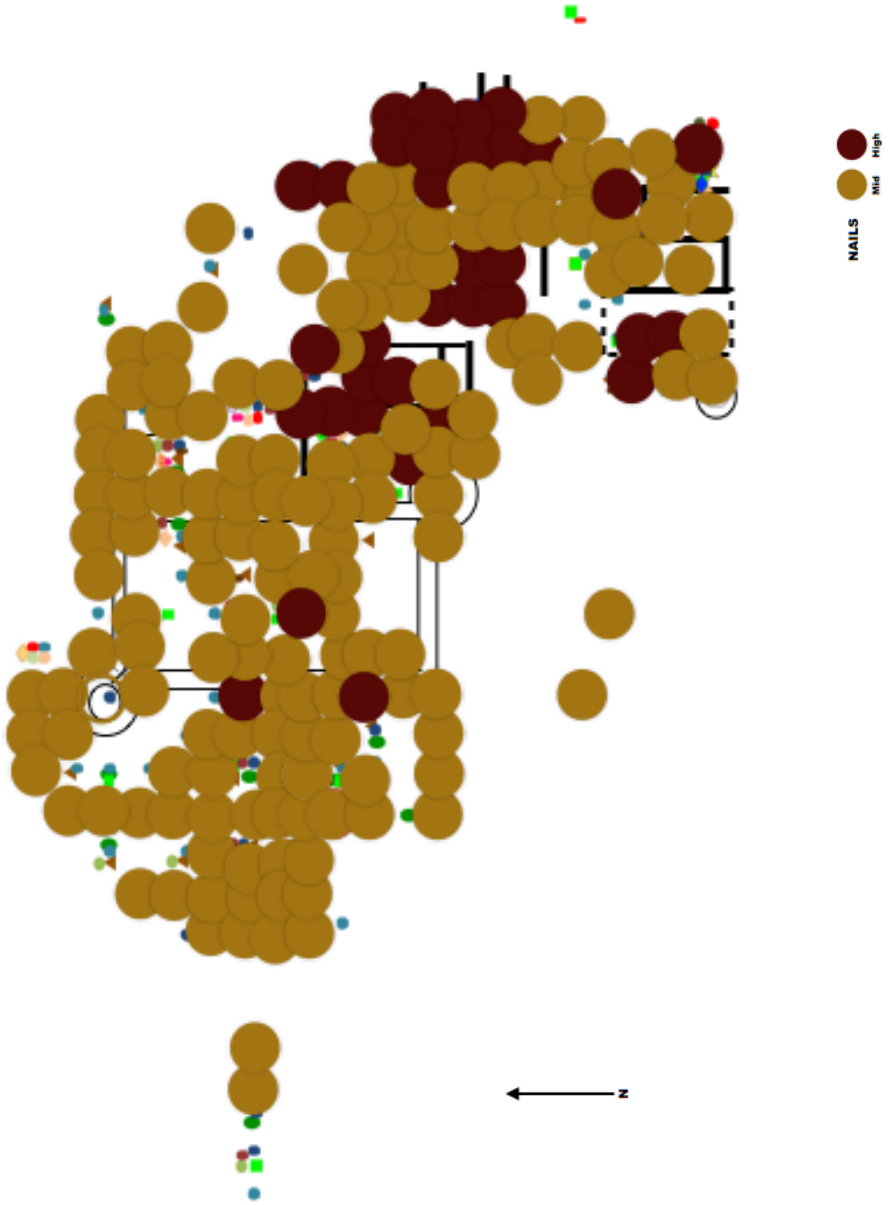


Figure 14. Fort Campus - Nail Distribution

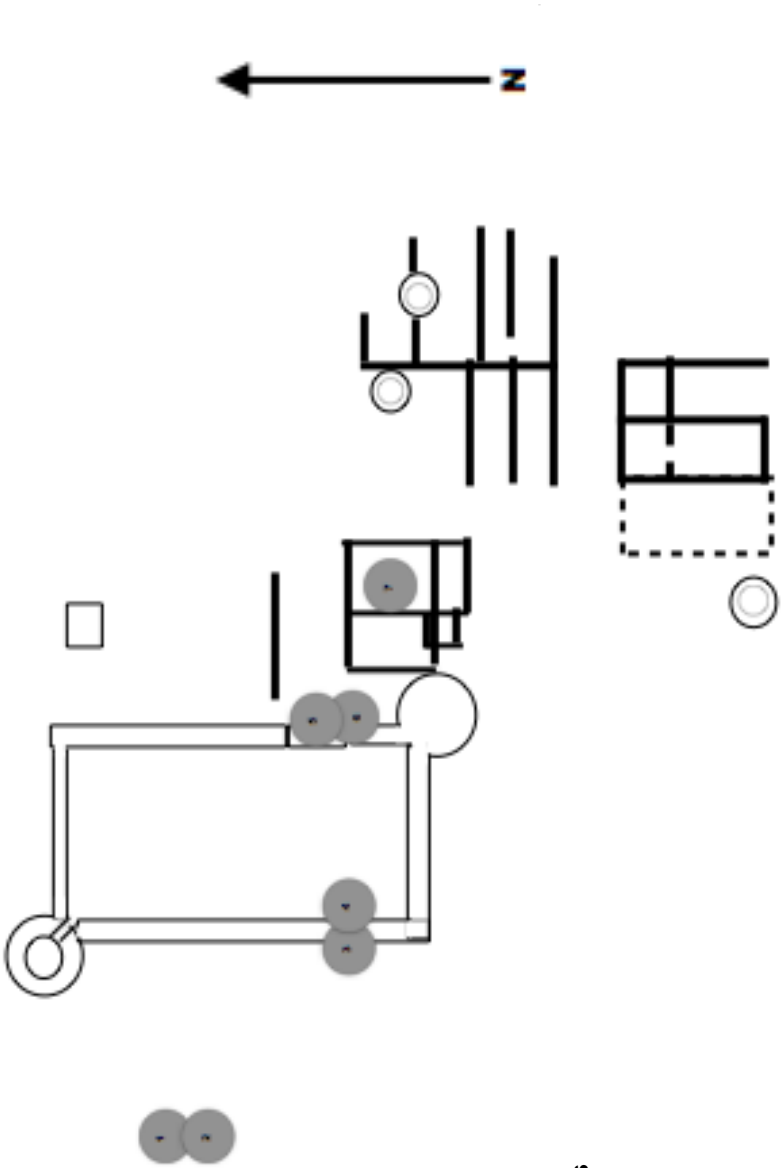


Figure 15. Fort Clay Excavation Pits

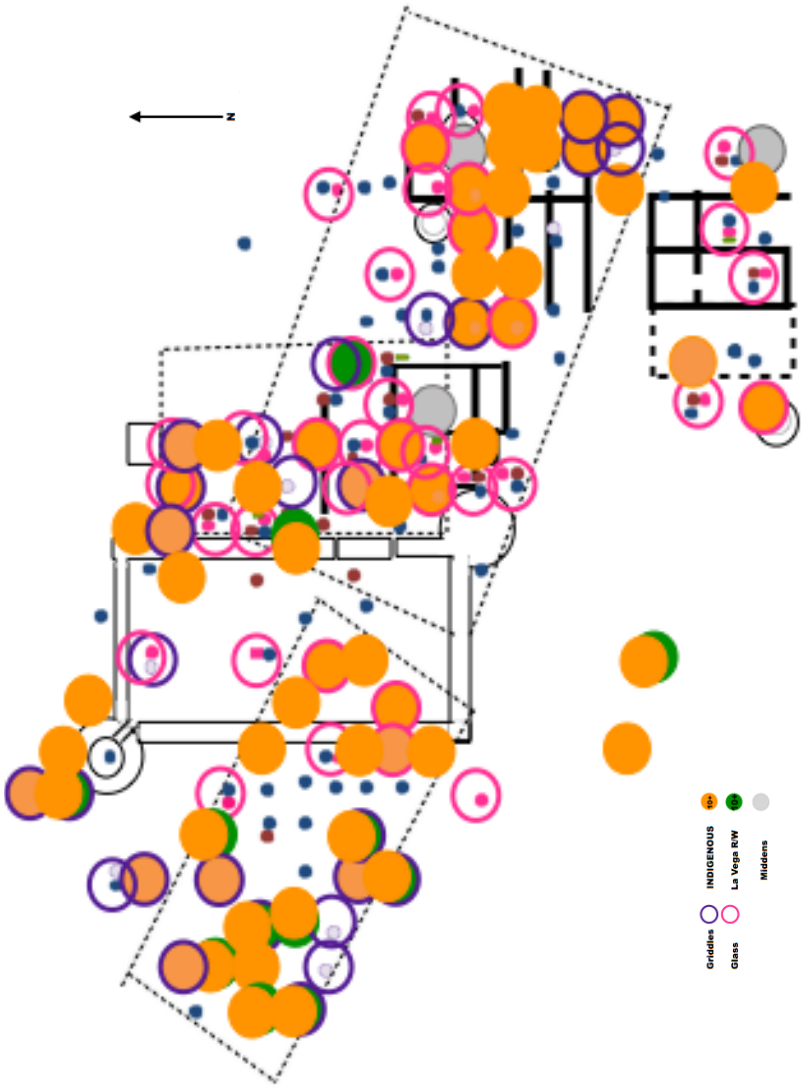


Figure 16. Fort Campus - Glass, Griddles, Indigenous, La Vega Red on White

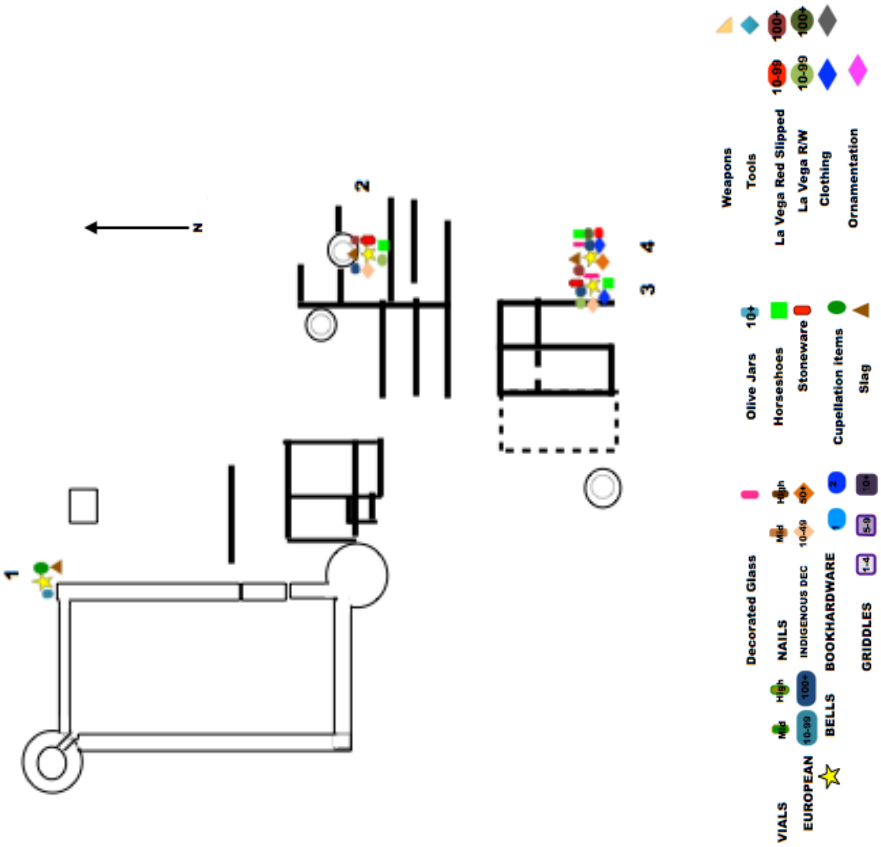


Figure 17. Fort Campus - Bells

Figure 18. Monasterio de San Francisco Campus - Bells

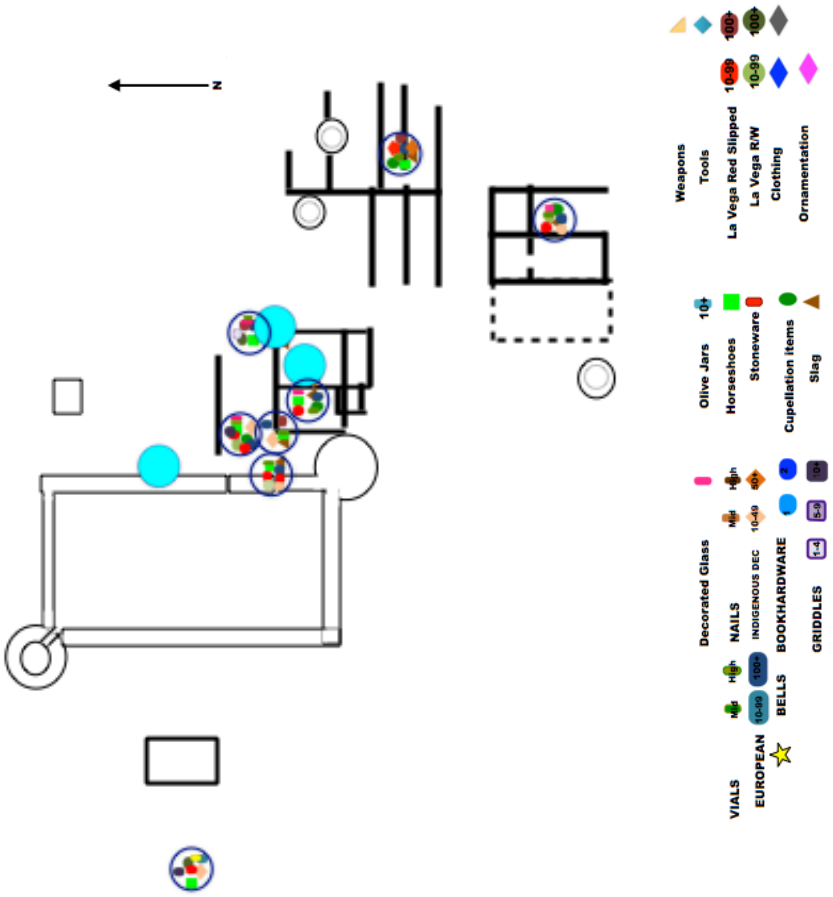


Figure 19. Fort - Bookhardware and Glass Vials

Figure 20. Cupellation molds

Figure 21-24. Diablo Cojuelo costume

Clockwise: (Fig. 21) Diablo Cojuelo Costume Design by Cesareo Castillo - La Vega 2017. (Fig. 22) Putting on the Diablo Cojuelo costume. Bell detail in foreground. C. Castillo Workshop. La Vega 2017. (Fig. 23) Medieval/Renaissance details of the Diablo Cojuelo costume - puffed sleeves, cape, hood, bells. C.Castillo Workshop 2017. (Fig. 24) Example of complete La Vega Costume. Casa de Teatro Exhibit. 2015.

SUMMARY

This dissertation attempted to examine the intercultural interactions at the Concepción de la Vega archaeological site during its occupation from 1494 through 1564, using a Decolonial approach. Situated in present-day Dominican Republic (Hispaniola island), this site was one of the earliest and most affluent Caribbean colonial history. The Decolonial approach used here critically analyzed and reinterpreted primary data about Concepción from the point of view of those colonized, particularly non-elite, Indigenous and African descent peoples.

This was done through the analysis of previously excavated, but unanalyzed, archaeological material stored at the Concepción archaeological site. This research has focused on the use of all artifacts (not just ceramics) in nondomestic areas, as opposed to the chaine opératoire of artifact manufacture. The present research was more focused on problem solving, rather than on building a chronology or typology , which was partly impossible to do due to the excavation biases.

More specifically, the research attempted to answer the following questions:

- What environmental, sociocultural, and biophysical intercultural interactions that occurred at Concepción in the early colonial period, contributed in the formation of today's multicultural Dominican society?
- How is this evidenced in the various avenues of inquiry (ethnological, historical, archaeological, architectural, etc.) available?
- What are the Grand Narratives related to Concepción?
- Can a Small Narrative present a decolonized version of what occurred at Concepción?

The main results of the investigation were based on an inductive interpretation of the intercultural interactions at Concepción which was achieved in spite of the archaeological excavation biases, and the incomplete documentary sources. This interpretation helped analyze both the Grand Narratives related to Concepción, and the types of interactions encountered.

Two Grand Narratives were identified as relating to Concepción, namely the Hell in Hispaniola and the Benign Culture Change metanarratives, the first coming from history, and the second from archaeology. Since Grand Narratives are, for the most part, interpretations based on only one source, they only present part of the story. To more accurately recreate lifeways and deathways in the early colonial period, it is necessary to use various avenues of information/ inquiry to more accurately identify intercultural interactions.

All three types of intercultural interactions, environmental, sociocultural, and biophysical, were identified, as well as an interplay between them. Another interaction explored was the interplay between the conceptual and the material, where moments of conflict between these two processes offered evidence of resistance and agency.

Although all three types of interactions were present at Concepción, they did not equally influence the material assemblages of the Fort and Monasterio de San Francisco campuses. This interpretation points to a stronger influence from sociocultural interactions (sumptuary laws and resistance to them, for example) at these sites, than those played by biophysical interactions (i.e. casta classifications). Meanwhile, there seems to be a greater influence of environmental interactions on the Fort campus than on the Monasterio de San Francisco campus, in great part due to the Fort's campus position close to the central section of the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan.

Most importantly, this research has shown that a more detailed re-examination of data related to the Concepción archaeological site can offer a more nuanced, decolonized, perspective of lifeways, deathways and cultural interactions during the early colonial period of the Dominican Republic, and all of the Caribbean.

SAMENVATTING

Dit proefschrift is het resultaat van mijn onderzoek met een decoloniale benadering naar de interculturele interacties op de archeologische vindplaats Concepción de la Vega tijdens de bezetting van 1494 tot 1564.

Gelegen in de huidige Dominicaanse Republiek (op het eiland Hispaniola), deze plaats was een van de vroegste en meest rijke in de Caribische koloniale geschiedenis. De hier gebruikte decoloniale benadering analyseerde en herinterpreteerde de primaire data over Concepción vanuit het oogpunt van diegenen gekoloniseerd waren, in het bijzonder het gewone volk van Inheemse of Afrikaanse afkomst.

Dit werd gedaan door de analyse van eerder opgegraven, maar nog niet eerder geanalyseerd, archeologisch materiaal dat was opgeslagen op de archeologische site van Concepción. Dit onderzoek richtte zich op het gebruik van alle artefacten (niet alleen aardewerk) in de niet-residentiële gebieden, in tegenstelling tot de chaine opératoire van artefactproductie. Het huidige onderzoek was meer gericht op het oplossen van problemen dan op het bouwen van een chronologie of typologie, wat gedeeltelijk onmogelijk was vanwege de opgravingsmethoden die in het verleden gebruikt zijn op deze plaats.

Meer specifiek probeerde het onderzoek de volgende vragen te beantwoorden:

- Welke ecologische, socioculturele en biofysische interculturele interacties die plaatsvonden in Concepción in de vroege koloniale periode, droegen bij aan de vorming van de hedendaagse multiculturele Dominicaanse samenleving? r
- Hoe komt dit tot uiting in de verschillende wijzen van onderzoek (etnologisch, historisch, archeologisch, architectonisch, etc.) die beschikbaar zijn?
- Wat zijn de grote verhaallijnen met betrekking tot Concepción?
- Kan een klein verhaal een gedecoloniseerde versie vertegenwoordigen van wat er in Concepción plaatsvond?

De belangrijkste resultaten van het onderzoek waren gebaseerd op een inductieve interpretatie van de interculturele interacties in Concepción die tot stand kwam ondanks de problematiek van eerdere archeologische opgravingen en de onvolledigheid van historische bronnen. Deze interpretatie hielp bij het analyseren van zowel de grote verhaallijnen verbonden aan Concepción, als de soorten interacties die we tegenkwamen.

Twee grote verhaallijnen werden geïdentificeerd met Concepción, namelijk metageschiedenissen van de Hel van Hispaniola en de goedaardige cultuurverandering, de eerste is afkomstig uit de geschiedenis en de tweede is afkomstig uit de archeologie. Omdat de grote verhaallijnen voor het grootste deel interpretaties zijn op basis van slechts een enkele bron, presenteren ze slechts een

deel van het verhaal. Om het dagelijks leven en het leven na de dood in de vroege koloniale periode nauwkeuriger na te duiden, is het noodzakelijk om verschillende wijzen van onderzoek te gebruiken om de beter inzicht te krijgen in de interculturele interacties.

Alle drie soorten interculturele interacties, milieu, sociaal-cultureel en biofysisch, werden geïdentificeerd, evenals een wisselwerking tussen hen. Een andere interactie die werd onderzocht, was het samenspel tussen het conceptuele en het materiële, waarbij momenten van conflict tussen deze twee processen bewijs toonden van weerstand en keuzevrijheid.

Hoewel alle drie soorten interacties aanwezig waren bij Concepción, hadden ze niet dezelfde invloed op de materiële assemblages van de campussen van het Fort en van het Klooster van San Francisco. Deze interpretatie wijst op deze locaties op een sterkere invloed van socioculturele interacties (bijvoorbeeld de wetten die de consumptie proberen te regulerenen de weerstand hiertegen,), dan die gespeeld door biofysische interacties (dat wil zeggen casta classificaties). Ondertussen lijkt er een grotere invloed van omgevingsinteracties op de Fort-campus te zijn dan op de campus van het Klooster van San Francisco, grotendeels vanwege de nabijheid van het Fort bij het centrale gedeelte van het rechthoekige Ibero-Amerikaanse stratenplan.

Het belangrijkste is dat dit onderzoek heeft aangetoond dat een meer gedetailleerd heronderzoek van de reeds aanwezige gegevens van de archeologische vindplaats Concepción een meer genuanceerd en gedecoloniseerd beeld kan bieden van het dagelijks leven, het leven na de dood en van de culturele interacties tijdens de vroege koloniale periode van de Dominicaanse Republiek, en van het gehele Caribisch gebied.

RESUMEN

Esta tesis examina las interacciones interculturales en el sitio arqueológico de Concepción de la Vega durante su ocupación de 1494 a 1564, utilizando un enfoque decolonial. Ubicado en la actual República Dominicana (isla de La Española), este sitio fue uno de los primeros y más ricos de la historia colonial caribeña. El enfoque decolonial utilizado aquí analiza críticamente y reinterpreta los datos primarios sobre Concepción desde el punto de vista de los pueblos colonizados, en particular los de la no-élite, los indígenas y los afrodescendientes.

Esto se hizo a través del análisis de material arqueológico previamente excavado, pero no analizado, almacenado en el sitio arqueológico de Concepción. Esta investigación se centra en el uso de todos los artefactos (no solo de cerámica) encontrados en las áreas no domésticas, a diferencia del chaine opératoire, el cual se enfoca en la manufactura de los artefactos. La presente investigación se enfonca más en la resolución de problemas, y menos en la elaboración de una cronología o tipología, q en parte imposible de realizar debido a los sesgos de excavación.

Específicamente, la investigación intentó responder las siguientes preguntas:

- ¿Qué interacciones interculturales ambientales, socioculturales y biofísicas que tuvieron lugar en Concepción en el período colonial temprano contribuyeron a la formación de la sociedad dominicana multicultural de hoy?
- ¿Cómo se evidencia esto en las diversas corrientes de investigación (etnológicas, históricas, arqueológicas, arquitectónicas, etc.) disponibles?
- ¿Cuáles son las metanarrativas relacionadas con Concepción?.
- ¿Puede una pequeña metanarrativa presentar una versión descolonizada de lo que ocurrió en Concepción?

Los principales resultados de la investigación se basaron en una interpretación inductiva de las interacciones interculturales en Concepción. Esta interpretación se obtuvo a pesar de los sesgos en las excavaciones arqueológicas y las fuentes documentales incompletas. Esto ha ayudado a analizar tanto las metanarrativas relacionadas con Concepción, como los tipos de interacciones encontradas.

Se identificaron dos metanarrativas relacionadas con Concepción, a saber, el Hell in Hispaniola [Infierno en La Española] y la Metanarrativa sobre el Cambio Benévolo de Cultura, la primera proveniente de la historia y la segunda de la arqueología. Dado que las metanarrativas son, en mayor parte, interpretaciones basadas en una sola corriente de información, solo presentan una parte de la historia. Para recrear con mayor precisión las vidas en el período colonial temprano es

necesario utilizar varias corrientes de información para identificar con mayor precisión las interacciones interculturales.

Se encontraron también evidencias de los tres tipos de interacciones interculturales (ambiental, sociocultural y biofísica), así como interacción entre ellas. Otra clase de interacción explorada fue la que existe entre lo conceptual y lo material,y los conflictos entre estos dos procesos ofrecieron evidencia de resistencia y de agencia.

Si bien los tres tipos de interacciones estuvieron presentes en Concepción, no influyeron de la misma manera igualmente en los conjuntos de materiales de los campus de la fortaleza y del monasterio de San Francisco. La evidencia apunta a una influencia más fuerte de las interacciones socioculturales (leyes suntuarias y resistencia a ellas, por ejemplo) en estos sitios, que las interacciones biofísicas (por ej., las clasificaciones de casta). Al mismo tiempo, parece que hubo mayor influencia de las interacciones ambientales en el campus de la fortaleza que en el campus de monasterio de San Francisco, en gran parte debido a la ubicación más cercana de la Fortaleza al centro de la ciudad cuadriculada.

Lo más importante es que esta investigación ha demostrado que un examen más detallado de los datos relacionados al sitio arqueológico de Concepción pudo ofrecer una visión más matizada y descolonizada de la vida e interacciones culturales durante el período colonial temprano de la República Dominicana, y de todo del Caribe.

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