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

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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.