

**A COLLABORATIVE BIOARCHAEOLOGY OF AFRICAN DIASPORA AND
ENSLAVEMENT IN COLONIAL CAÑETE, PERU”**

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ABSTRACT

In 2009, the Peruvian government apologized to its citizens of African descent for the exclusion enacted against them from the colonial period to the present. While this gesture initiated a long-awaited process of addressing the history of enslavement and its lasting impacts for Afro-descendant communities, it has yet to be translated into meaningful reform. Afro-Peruvian histories—including histories of captivity, exploitation, and racialized violence—continue to be largely absent in academic curricula and public discourse. Such silencing has direct implications on contemporary sociopolitics in Peru, as Afro-Peruvian communities continue to face structural inequalities and marginalization in their everyday lives.

This dissertation addresses these issues by considering how community-engaged archaeology can serve as both a tool to cultivate a closer understanding of histories of African enslavement in Peru, and a space where descendant communities can pursue a politics of belonging in contemporary scholarship and heritage discourse. As a case study, it focuses on research at Hacienda La Quebrada (1741-1849), a historic sugar plantation in the central coastal valley of Cañete, Peru. Through bioarchaeological, historical, and ethnographic work at the former plantation and in the communities that live around the site today, this project asks: What were the everyday conditions of living for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at La Quebrada, and how did these conditions shape their overall life-histories? How do members of the local descendant community and other Afro-Peruvian stakeholders in the region remember and relate to these histories? Finally, how can the findings of interdisciplinary archaeological research contribute to efforts to revalorize African diaspora histories and cultural heritage in Cañete today?

By addressing these questions, this dissertation demonstrates how community-engaged archaeology can work to confront the subalternization of African descendant communities in hegemonic narratives of history, heritage, and national identity. Its collaborative approach to studying the lived experiences of enslavement shows how archaeology can critically address histories of colonial violence while simultaneously reinforcing empowering narratives that foreground the contributions of African descended peoples to Peruvian society and culture. At the same time, by empowering communities to study and retell their pasts in accordance with their own worldviews, and by working together to commemorate these histories through public heritage work, this project ultimately contributes to larger efforts for recognition, inclusivity, and the pursuit of community rights in Peruvian archaeology.

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Elegua is the guardian of the crossroads
Elegua changes your life Elegua protects
passageways what enters and leaves
It is Elegua who bridges the human and the divine....
Elegua teaches us without him we would be lost.
(Sherman 2012:93)

Chapter 1: Introduction

In the Yoruba spiritual tradition, there exists a pantheon of deities known as *orishas* who serve as spiritual guides for all of humanity, directing them in how to build successful and fulfilling lives. According to the Nigerian scholar J. Omosade Awolalu (1979a,b), *orishas* may be divided into three often fluid and overlapping categories: primordial divinities, deified ancestors, and personified natural phenomena. Particularly powerful amongst these deities are the primordial divinities, who existed prior to the creation of humanity and continue to reside in the spiritual realm. The remainder of the pantheon are sacred beings who were the earth's first inhabitants, and now live alongside humankind (Awolalu 1979a,b).

Like many other aspects of West African cultures and spiritual traditions, the practices and beliefs associated with *orishas* were carried with the Africans who were taken as captives from their homelands and transplanted to colonies across the New World. In the new social, cultural, and religious context of the diaspora, the concept of *orisha* took on some new elements. While the fundamental concept remained intact, the devotional practices surrounding *orishas* and their role in society transformed as multicultural communities across the colonies began to develop their own syncretic traditions (Childs and Falola 2004; Murphy 2010).

Among these adaptations of Yoruba *orishas* is the figure of the Eleguá. In Latin America, and especially Brazil and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean, the Eleguá is a primordial divinity who determines the fate of all of humankind. He is simultaneously a guide and a guardian; as the deity of roads, he reveals pathways for people to discover their destinies, guiding them while also possessing the power to change their fate at his will. At the same time, as the protector of doorways, the Eleguá controls the boundary between the material world and the sacred realm of the ancestors and deities. It is thus critical for followers to maintain good relation to the Eleguá through devotional practices, because he influences decisions made throughout life and plays a critical role in shaping personal futures (Sherman 2012; Matute, personal communication).

Understanding the role and significance of the Eleguá, among other spiritual figures and sacred ancestors in African diasporic traditions, is important for introducing *El Proyecto de Investigación Arqueológica de La Quebrada* (La Quebrada Archaeology Project), the research project that is the basis for this dissertation. I was first introduced to the figure of the Eleguá during the second field season of my dissertation research in San Luis, a district located in the central coastal region of Cañete, Peru. One afternoon in January 2019, I gathered with other researchers from La Quebrada Archaeology Project for a meeting with our local and descendant community stakeholders. Among the groups present were the *Mesa de Trabajo para el desarrollo de la población afrodescendiente del distrito de San Luis*,¹ the project's closest collaborators in the local community; newly elected officials from the district of San Luis; and representatives from the Office Afro-Peruvian Affairs at the Peruvian Ministry of Culture (Fig. 1.1).

¹ The Afro-Peruvian Working Group of the District of San Luis; hereafter referred to by its colloquial name, 'Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana.'

Interspersed among the crowd of researchers and stakeholder representatives, there was a series of wooden tables bearing human skeletons and isolated crania. This sample of human skeletal remains was intended to serve as a demonstration of the materials that were recovered during the project’s archaeological excavations at the cemetery for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada, a historic (1741-1849) sugar plantation situated in the heart of San Luis. However, the remains also held an important symbolic meaning: as ancestors, they played an active role in the ceremonial aspect of the gathering, as the project members and collaborators asked for permission to study their sacred remains.

The central figure in this ceremony was a single skeletal individual, who occupied the center of the presentation space. This individual, an adult male around 30 to 34 years of age, had been the first intact skeleton to be identified during archaeological excavations in 2018. He was also, by chance—or, as several of the descendant community collaborators would suggest, fate—the first skeletal individual to be catalogued during the early stages of laboratory work in 2019. From this perspective, they argued, he was first individual to allow the research team to begin to understand the treatment of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada, both in life and in death.

“He is our Eleguá,” reflected Susana Matute, the director of the *Dirección de Políticas para el Desarrollo de la población Afro-descendiente*.² “He is our Eleguá ...and he will help us understand his history, and the history of his brothers and sisters”.

² The Office of Afro-Peruvian Affairs is a sector within the Ministry of Culture. Its mandate is to develop conservation strategies and social policies that work to preserve, promote, and diffuse the cultural traditions and sociopolitical interests of Peru’s Afro-descendent population.



Figure 1.1: Community stakeholders and officials gathered around the ‘Eleguá’ in a ceremony presenting the preliminary findings of the 2018 field season of La Quebrada Archaeology Project, and seeking the blessing of the ancestors for upcoming stages of archaeological analysis.

Photo: Claire Maass

Over the past three decades, there has been an epistemological and methodological shift in the archaeology of the African diaspora towards the more meaningful inclusion of diasporic communities, worldviews, and knowledge into research programs. Collaborative studies of African diaspora sites and ancestral remains have principally striven to address the power dynamics underlying—and at times perpetuated by—archaeological practice. However, from the perspective of descendant communities and other stakeholder groups, the more systematic incorporation of their interests and perspectives into the research process has had broader implications beyond the politics of academia. For many groups—and especially those who have endured historical violence, exploitation, and marginalization at the hands of colonial powers—the capacity to substantially participate in archaeological research can contribute to ongoing efforts to achieve recognition of their sacred spaces and histories. This recognition can also contribute to broader struggles for reconciliation, rehabilitation, or even reparations (McCarthy

1996; Franklin 1997; Balanzátegui 2018; Blakey 2020). Collaborative research practices thus create a space for communities to “reclai[m] their voices” (Franklin 2001:112) in order to combat the misrepresentation and marginalization of their histories in dominant constructions of the past.

For the La Quebrada Archaeology Project, the Eleguá has become a key symbolic figure in collaborative efforts to understand the history of African enslavement and diaspora in Peru, and its significance to Afro-Peruvian communities today. As Susana Matute explained during that meeting in 2019, this is a history that has cultural, emotional, and political importance for many people in Peru who claim African heritage. However, it is also a history that has long been under-recognized in the country, as Afro-Peruvian communities continue to be marginalized in official and academic narratives of the past, as well as contemporary governmental policies and sociopolitical dynamics.

According to many of the project’s descendant community stakeholders, the Eleguá personifies the journey to uncover this past, as well as archaeology’s role in the struggle for recognition of Afro-Peruvian history and heritage in San Luis. As a spiritual guide, he can reveal the histories of captive ancestors to project researchers and collaborators by guiding them in the excavation and analysis of sacred burial remains. In doing so, he opens pathways for attaining new knowledge about Afro-Peruvian pasts in the region, and for designing shared strategies for their long-term protection and commemoration (Santa Cruz, personal communication).

1.1. Invisibility, Exclusion, and Identity Politics in Peru

In Peru, African diaspora histories are influenced by intersecting forces of exclusion, invisibility, and stigmatization. As scholars in Afro-Peruvian studies (Gates 2011; Golash-Boza

2011; Greene 2012) have argued, the production of official narratives of Peruvian history, heritage, and national identity have discursively created Afro-descendants as historical communities located in the past, rather than diverse communities that continue to exist and contribute to Peruvian society in the present. This has occurred, on the one hand, through the underrepresentation of Afro-descendant histories in academic curricula and public discourse. Similar to the United States and other colonies across the Americas, slavery is “the institution that has inspired national amnesia” (Fabre and O’Meally 1994:15). While there are a few critical histories of African slavery and early Afro-Peruvian life (e.g., Bowser 1974; Blanchard 1992; Hünefeldt 1994; Aguirre 2005; O’Toole 2012; Arrelucea and Cosmalón 2015; McKinley 2016), these narratives have yet to be systematically integrated into state-approved academic curricula. The outcome is to effectively silence (Trouillot 1995) the lives, experiences, and histories Afro-descendants in popular understandings of Peru’s past, especially in the years following emancipation in 1854.

Today, institutional politics of nation-building continue to marginalize Peru’s Afro-descendant population. Afro-Peruvian studies scholars (Golash-Boza 2011; Greene 2012) have argued that the continued use of categories derived from the colonial *casta* system in census measurements effectively works to ‘imagine out’ Afro-descendants in the Peruvian population by demonstrating how they have been incorporated into the nation through processes of *mestizaje* (mixing). Similarly, they suggest that efforts to reframe Afro-Peruvian music and cuisine as national *croillo* traditions effectively work to obscure their blackness. In both cases, Afro-descendant peoples, their histories, and their traditions are brought into national identity discourse through a dynamic of hybridity, which has historically been “understood as racial mixture that usually leads to whitening” (Golash-Boza 2011:71).

These processes can have direct implications for Peru's African descendant communities today. Beyond contributing to everyday dynamics of stigmatization, discrimination, or anti-black racism,³ they also have the potential to shape more systemic patterns of structural inequality. In Peru, the governmental bodies that are set in place to serve the needs and interests of the country's diverse ethnic communities are based on historical and demographic data (Rahier 1999). The discursive processes by which Afro-descendant communities are marginalized or rendered invisible in the national historical imaginary can thus have tangible consequences: that is, if a community is critically under- or un-represented within the Peruvian imaginary, how can its actual needs and interests be addressed?

These concerns are especially poignant in the context of archaeological research and the protection of Afro-Peruvian cultural heritage. In recent decades, countries across Latin America have begun to more fully account for the multicultural character of their populations (Rahier 1999; Balanzátegui 2018). However, in many cases the scope of archaeological inquiry and heritage legislation has focused on pre-Hispanic sites. In Peru, this focus has implications for other heritage groups, including African, Chinese, and Japanese descendant communities (Singleton and de Souza 2009).

On the one hand, the commodification of cultural heritage for tourism means that local economies can be partially supported by community museums or archaeological sites. In Peru, many of the largest centers of self-identified African descendant populations are located in regions that have historical ties to institutions of enslavement. After emancipation, many formerly enslaved communities settled and rebuilt their lives in the areas surrounding plantations

³ The Peruvian Ministry of Culture has directed or collaborated in a wide range of studies documenting patterns of anti-black discrimination, inequality, and violence across multiple sectors of Peruvian society. An extensive repository of these studies can be found at their website "Alert Against Racism": <https://alertacontraelracismo.pe/index.php/articulos/discriminacion-etnico-racial-en-el-peru>

or resettled in Lima. As a result, many of the historical sites associated with African diaspora pasts are surrounded by communities that claim a heritage relationship to these sites. The failure to equally engage African diaspora sites in archaeological investigations and preservation efforts thus limits the capacity of self-identified descendant groups to participate in, and benefit from, a potent source of economic and infrastructural development. Notably, this exclusion can further contribute to the larger-scale dynamics of economic inequality amongst Peru's Afro-descendant populations (Ministry of Culture of Peru 2015).

On the other hand, since archaeology plays a critical role in the production of official narratives of national history and cultural heritage, communities that are not equally included as legitimate subjects of study are often written out of official accounts of the past (Trouillot 1995; Balanzátegui 2018). As Agustín Lao-Montes (2007:323) argues, “this condition of relative exclusion from hegemonic definitions of national self and history” directly contributes to the “devaluation of memory, a folklorization of culture, and submission to...regimes of racial domination.” Put more simply, histories of subalternization and racial discrimination shape the realities in which Afro-Peruvians live today. The ways in which scholars engage with and recount these histories have implications for dismantling these dynamics, and in doing so, striving towards a more inclusive future (Franklin 1997, 2001).

1.2. Community-Engaged Archaeology and the Struggle for Recognition

Recognizing that archaeology is widely valued in Peru as a principal method for cultivating historical knowledge and valorizing cultural heritage, this project is premised on the assertion that archaeology can offer a critical space for addressing concerns about the marginalization of African descendant communities in Peruvian academic and popular discourse.

As many of this project's local and official collaborators have emphasized over the course of the research program, the materiality of archaeological artifacts and landscapes make them powerful tools in projects for recognition. As products of empirical inquiry, they are imbued with ideas of scientific legitimacy, becoming evidence of presence within a historical past and a material present. At the same time, because of the economic role of archaeology in tourism, they attain status as a form of political capital, which can be leveraged to negotiate a space within Peru's tourist economy (Singleton and de Souza 2009). At the intersection of this scientific, economic, and political weight of archaeological materials is their legal protection under national heritage legislation, which can further serve to preserve Afro-Peruvian cultural sites and their associated histories (Balanzátegui 2018).

Beyond simply working to 'make visible' populations that have been traditionally marginalized in the Peruvian historical imaginary and sociopolitical discourse, archaeological research can also be transformed into an emancipatory space for interrogating the colonialist and racialized systems of power that underly these dynamics. Decolonizing scholars in Latin American historical archaeology (Gnecco 1999; Quijano 2000; Mignolo 2003, 2007; Haber 2016) have demonstrated that by moving beyond the bounds of the academy in order to include counter-hegemonic nonacademic thought, including traditional knowledge and objectives inspired by local social movements, researchers can confront the subalternization of diverse communities in academic research practice. At the same time, by empowering descendant communities to be actively involved in shaping all aspects of research, they can mitigate archaeology's role in potentially reinforcing the power dynamics of coloniality.

In contexts of African enslavement and racialized violence in particular, such reflexive and inclusive research paradigms can help work to confront the "non-existence, dominated

existence and dehumanization” (Walsh 2007:232) that has been the legacy of African enslavement in Peru. At the same time, by transcending tropes of violence and victimization to also commemorate resilience and community-building, they can also transform into a strategic tool for pursuing social healing and place-making for the future (Bilbao, personal communication).

1.3. Afro-Peruvian Archaeology and Cultural Heritage in San Luis de Cañete

This dissertation employs a multivocal, multidisciplinary, and community-engaged archaeological approach to the study of the history of African captivity in district of San Luis in the central coastal valley of Cañete, Peru, and its significance to descendant communities in the region today (Fig. 1.2). The project’s research focus is on the site of Hacienda La Quebrada, a sugar estate that was owned and operated by the Catholic order La Orden de la Buena Muerte (the order of ‘Good Death’) (Fig.1.3). From 1741 to 1849, Hacienda La Quebrada was one of the largest sugar producers in the region of Cañete. Moreover, it also held the largest number of captive African and Afro-descendant workers of any estate in the valley, and continued to exploit captive labor until only five years before emancipation in 1854 (Reyes Flores 1999; Morales Polar 2008).

Hacienda La Quebrada’s position as a central node of the African diaspora in the central coast of Peru has had direct and lasting impacts on the region today. The contemporary district of San Luis is officially recognized by the national government as a repository of Afro-Peruvian culture and living memory (see Chapter 7). It is also identified as one of the main population centers of Afro-descendants in Peru, similar to nearby coastal regions such as Chincha and Ica that share a deep colonial history of agricultural production. Thus, this area offers a timely

opportunity to develop an archaeological investigation into African diaspora histories in Peru, and to understand the significance of these pasts to diverse Afro-descendant communities that continue to live in the region through the present.

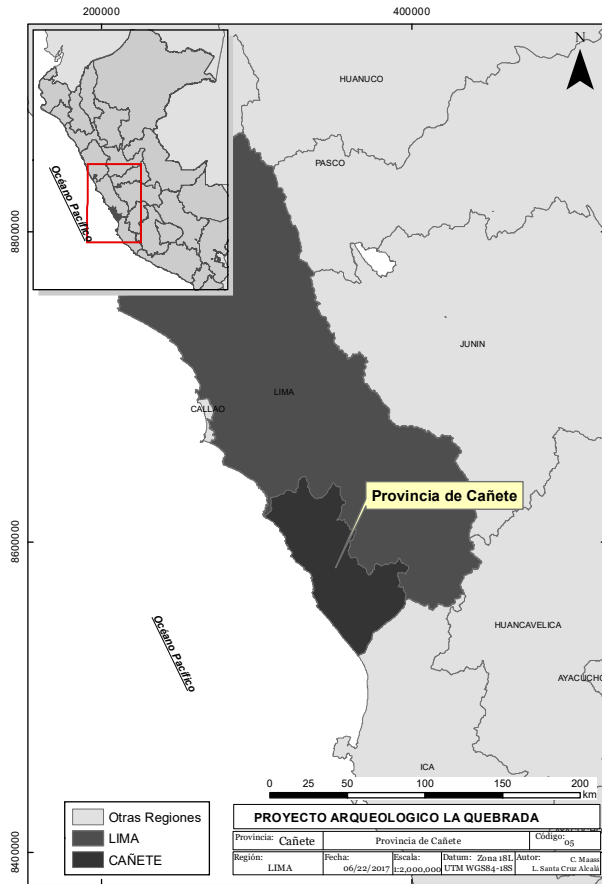


Figure 1.2: Location of Cañete in Peru.
Map courtesy of Gabriela Ore

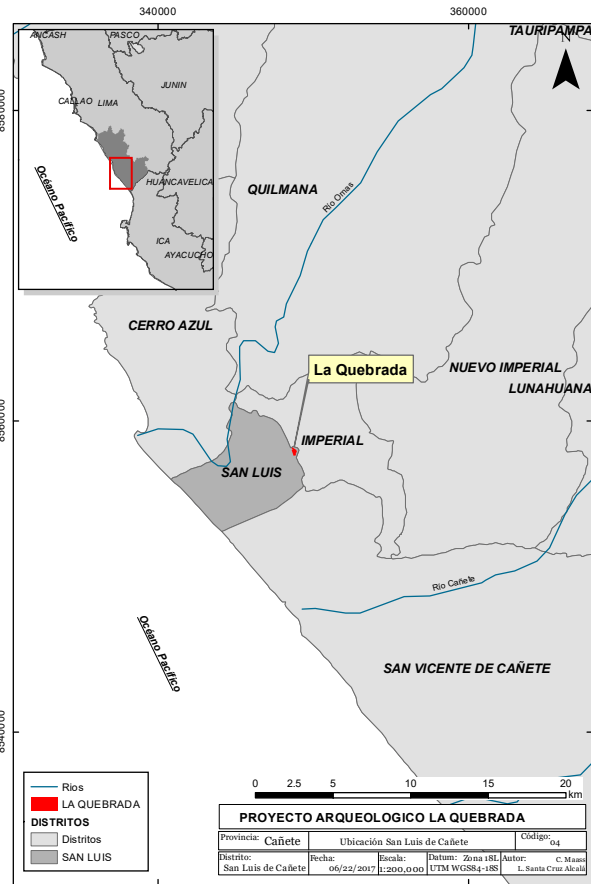


Figure 1.3: Location of San Luis and La Quebrada in Cañete.
Map Courtesy of Gabriela Ore

This dissertation project addresses three primary research questions, each of which considers the impacts of the history of African enslavement at Hacienda La Quebrada and its long-standing legacies for local and descendant communities in the contemporary San Luis district:

1. *What were the everyday conditions of living for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada, and how did these conditions shape their overall life-histories?*
2. *How do present-day local descendants and self-identified heritage communities remember and relate to these histories?*
3. *Finally, how can the project's research findings contribute to public understandings of Afro-descendant histories and cultural heritage in San Luis de Cañete today, and what strategies can be used to disseminate this information at the local and national level?*

The arguments put forward by and conclusions reached in this dissertation are based on four years of archaeological research, archival analysis, and ethnographic fieldwork with La Quebrada Archaeology Project, introduced earlier in this chapter. The research took place in collaboration with local and descendant community stakeholders in the town of La Quebrada and the broader San Luis district, and in partnership with the *Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana*, a grassroots organization that represents the African descendant community in San Luis.⁴ The project began in 2016 at the historic sugar estate Hacienda La Quebrada, which is located in the contemporary town of the same name. Archaeological interventions at the site developed in response to local and descendant community concerns over the destruction over the cemetery for the enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants associated with the estate, which is currently situated in the main plaza in front of the reconstructed chapel (Fig. 1.4).

⁴ The project's stakeholder groups and their roles and objectives in the research program will be presented in Chapter 4; a summary can be found in Table 4.1.



*Figure 1.4: La Quebrada Archaeology Project researchers Luis Santa Cruz and Claire Maass excavating a test unit in 2017.
Photo: Martin Alvarado*

Primary data collection consisted of archaeological fieldwork over two summers at the cemetery, and over a year of analysis of the recovered human skeletal remains and other associated material artifacts. Archaeological excavations produced approximately 18,000 elements and fragments of human skeletal remains, which represent an estimated minimum number of approximately 245 individuals. These bioarchaeological remains offered insights into the living conditions and life-histories of the enslaved community at Hacienda La Quebrada.

To supplement the archaeological and bioarchaeological data from Hacienda La Quebrada, I also conducted archival research in Lima. In consultation with records at the *Archivos Arzobispales de Lima* and the *Archivos del Convento de la Buenamuerte*, I identified primary historical documents about Hacienda La Quebrada, as well as the Africans and Afro-descendants who lived, labored, and perished in conditions of captivity at the estate. Notably,

these documents primarily reflected the Buena Muerte's perspectives towards their enslaved laborers, and the Viceroyalty's treatment of African descendant persons within colonial social, political, and legal infrastructures. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 6 of this dissertation, they also offered some insights into the first-hand perspectives of members of the enslaved community who confronted Buena Muerte administrators in order to fight for better conditions of living.

Finally, throughout the multiple stages of my dissertation research I performed semi-structured interviews and participant observation with both local residents in La Quebrada and self-identified Afro-descendants across the broader district of San Luis. This work aimed to gather intergenerational memories and oral histories about African descended peoples at Hacienda La Quebrada, as well as the historical, cultural, and political importance of the sacred burial space to stakeholders today. Through these discussions, it was also possible to identify the strategies that local Afro-descendants have for commemorating and protecting their material heritage, which are informed by their own cultural traditions and worldviews (Balanzátegui 2018).

1.4. Archaeology and the Enslaved Body

As will be addressed in Chapter 2, this dissertation employs theoretical frameworks from African diaspora archaeology—such as Black feminist thinking, Afro-Latin/American decolonizing perspectives, and community-engaged paradigms—in order to interpret its research findings and consider their possible significance. However, it is important to highlight that this dissertation is also grounded in a more fundamental body of theory and methods, which will be woven throughout the dissertation as a whole: the archaeology of the body.

African diaspora bioarchaeology has made important theoretical and methodological contributions to archaeological studies of the body. In the 1990s, interdisciplinary research at the African Burial Ground in New York City transformed the way that archaeologists approach the study of human skeletal remains, which has had implications for the field of bioarchaeology as a whole. The implementation of a 'biocultural' approach to the study of human skeletal remains enabled researchers to consider how social, political, and economic factors interacted with the physiology and health of Afro-descendant communities. Moreover, the incorporation of African diaspora scholarship created new interpretive frameworks for understanding how diasporic experiences, identities, and traditions might have become embodied in the material record (Blakey 2001a; Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001). These perspectives established new standards for how the body is treated and conceptualized in bioarchaeology. Importantly, instead of viewing skeletal remains as specimens for scientific analysis, scholars now pose them as ancestors who have social lives and importance in the present.

Drawing on existing scholarship in archaeological studies of the body, and African diaspora bioarchaeology in particular (for review, see Blakey 2001a), this dissertation project is grounded in three intersecting theoretical frameworks. The first is a biocultural approach to the study of archaeological skeletal remains. As mentioned above, the New York African Burial Ground Project was a critical turning point in bringing biocultural approaches to the forefront of bioarchaeological research (McCarthy 1996; Blakey 2001a, 2020; Mack and Blakey 2004). Biocultural approaches are characterized by the integration of biological data from the study of human skeletal remains with cultural and social historical information. Key to such an approach is the recognition of the fundamental interconnection of cultural and biological factors in shaping the human body and embodied experiences. From a bioarchaeological perspective, this entails

viewing patterns in demography, pathology, and other health outcomes not solely as a result of biological factors, but also the surrounding social, historical, and cultural context of an individual or group (Goodman and Armelagos 1998; Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001).

A biocultural approach to the study of the human skeletal remains contributes to this dissertation project's study of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada in two important ways. On the one hand, it frames the patterns observed in the skeletal record as biological reflections of broader social, sociopolitical, and historical conditions, which affected the enslaved community at both the individual and populational level. This allows for a more robust interpretation of the intersecting impacts of slavery and colonial life on enslaved persons, and the ways that they might have been experienced differently (or not) within the population at Hacienda La Quebrada. On the other hand, by taking into account the worldviews of African diaspora scholarship and descendant stakeholders, it permits the reconstruction of a social history of captivity at Hacienda La Quebrada that is more directly compatible with the interests and perspectives of diasporic communities themselves (Franklin 2001; Balanzátegui 2018).

The second theoretical framework employed in this dissertation is a life course perspective towards studying the experiences and impacts of captivity. Life course theory is a conceptual framework that views the individual as the sum of all of their previous life experiences. In sociology, researchers have used this approach to better understand how broader historical, socioeconomic, and institutional forces shape individual and collective experiences (Clausen 1985; Elder 1995; Sofaer 2006). Scholars in the biological and social sciences have drawn upon this theoretical foundation to consider how both biological and social experiences can impact the development of health and disease at any point in an individual's lifetime. Central to this application of life course theory is the notion that development follows an arc or

trajectory, which can change directions through an individual's lifetime as individuals adapt to different environmental influences.

This latter adaptation of life course theory is especially important in bioarchaeology because it allows researchers to consider how particular patterns in health outcomes may relate to a range of different influences that individuals have experienced through their lifetimes (Sofaer 2006; Agarwal 2016). Similar to the biocultural approach discussed above, life course perspectives in bioarchaeology view “the skeleton as a form of material culture crafted through lived experience” (Agarwal 2016:138). It specifically interrogates patterns in bone morphology as the product of cumulative and interrelated events, which can be considered from the level of the individual lifetime, to the level of a community over generations.

Once again, the life course perspective has two implications for the study of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada. The integration of biocultural and life course perspectives makes it possible to reposition the enslaved body—in all of its phases throughout the life course—as the product of both biological and social experiences. In doing so, such an approach allows for a more holistic impacts of colonialism and captivity on enslaved peoples throughout their lifetimes, and across different axes of social age. In particular, it can offer insight into how the changing status and roles of enslaved persons throughout their lifetimes influenced factors like growth, diet, activity, and stress. This is especially important for identifying the specific experiences of children who were born into captivity at Hacienda La Quebrada, and who were especially vulnerable to the conditions of colonial plantation life.

By better elucidating the biological and socio-cultural influences of captivity through individuals' lifetimes, the life course perspective can also transform human skeletal remains into potential sources of evidence of the resilience of enslaved individuals. As will be discussed in

Chapter 2, African diaspora archaeologists since the 1980s have striven to move beyond narratives of victimhood and subjugation to instead consider the ways in which Africans and Afro-descendants actively persisted and contested the conditions of captivity imposed upon them (Franklin 1997; Franklin and McKee 2004; Leone et al 2005). A life course approach can show how enslaved individuals who suffered trauma or other forms of physiological stress early in life might have endured and healed from these conditions (Agarwal 2016).

Finally, following rich discourse in anthropology of the body (Csordas 1994; Hamilakis et al 2002; Meskell and Joyce 2003; Joyce 2005; Sofaer 2006; Crossland 2015), this dissertation draws on theories of embodiment. Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, anthropological studies of the body have critically integrated phenomenology (ie. Merleau-Ponty 1962), feminist critiques (ie. de Beauvoir 1949; Butler 1990, 1993), and practice theory (ie. Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Giddens 1984) in order to develop a conceptual framework for considering the body as a medium through which individuals experience and interact with the world. This idea of the body as the basis for 'being-in-the-world' has proved useful, although not entirely uncontested (cf. Sofaer 2006), in archaeologies of the body that aim to establish a connection between the physical body that is the subject of analysis, and the person whose life-history they are trying to reconstruct. In bioarchaeology in particular, it has opened a door for researchers seeking to understand how individuals engaged with the world by grounding these experiences in the physicality of the human body (Joyce 2005; Buikstra et al 2012).

Bioarchaeological perspectives towards the body as a seat of experience have proved particularly powerful in contexts of colonization and captivity. As recent studies in African diaspora archaeology (La Roche and Blakey 1997; Mack and Blakey 2004) have critiqued, generalized narratives of the impacts of violence and subjugation risk further dehumanizing

affected persons by minimizing their experiences, and perhaps even reducing them to the general category of ‘victim’. In contrast, bioarchaeological paradigms that pose bodies and biological experiences as personally defined are more attentive to the particularities of individual experiences (Blakey 2001, 2020). By bringing such perspectives into this dissertation, it will ultimately be possible to reconstruct narratives of the conditions and impacts of enslavement that are not only more directly reflective of historical realities, but are also more constructive for local descendants’ efforts to confront legacies of historical trauma.

Together, these broader theoretical approaches to the study and presentation of bioarchaeological data will allow for a humanistic perspective towards the burial remains of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada. They will also help to shed light onto the lives and experiences of enslaved persons across multiple scales (e.g. individual, community) and axes of identity (e.g. skeletal sex, age), which is critical for affirming the diversity that existed within the former plantation’s enslaved community.

1.5. Introduction to Research Results

1.5.1. Archaeological and Historical Research at Hacienda La Quebrada (Question 1)

The results of bioarchaeological and historical research at Hacienda La Quebrada counter several presumptions about the nature of African slavery on rural sugar estates in colonial Peru (Bowser 1974; Aguirre 2005; for critique see Arrelucea 2009). Popular and historical accounts often cite that enslaved laborers on coastal sugar plantations, and rural agricultural estates more broadly, were predominately young and male. While there is nuance to this argument depending on the particular context (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2), its effect has been to perpetuate a popular understanding that plantation labor was predominantly performed by young adult men, thus

contributing to the invisibility of enslaved women, children, and elderly individuals in plantation contexts (Franklin 2001; Premo 2005; Arrelucea 2009; Battle-Baptiste 2011).

The data collected from this dissertation project's research at Hacienda La Quebrada paints a different picture of plantation life during the late colonial period. Demographic information from the analysis of human skeletal remains and archival census records reveals the presence of a population of enslaved African and Afro-descendant women at Hacienda La Quebrada, which increased through the late 18th and early 19th centuries to parallel the population of enslaved adult men (Chapter 6). Moreover, calculation of the estimated age-at-death of the human skeletal population from the site indicated that average overall age-at-death was actually younger for enslaved women than for enslaved men at the plantation. While previous studies across the colonial Americas and Caribbean have recorded similar patterns (for a summary, see Rankin-Hill et al 2001:132; summarized in Table 6.4), few have systematically explored the higher rates of enslaved women dying during young adulthood in comparison to enslaved men. As will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 6, the existence of this pattern across multiple geographic, temporal, and cultural contexts highlights the need to address the intersecting forms of violence, mistreatment, and stress endured by enslaved women, as well as their roles and status within systems of plantation slavery.

Another finding of research at the cemetery for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada was the recovery of a large population of subadult individuals (Chapter 5). Notably, 60 percent of recovered burial population was under three years old at the moment of their death, with a notable presence of prenatal and neonatal remains. The combined rates of subadult mortality and pathologies—including evidence of pre- and peri-mortem trauma likely resulting from interpersonal violence—indicate that childhood was an exceptionally vulnerable

moment in the life course of enslaved individuals. At the same time, however, the distinct treatment of infants and young children in burial rites suggest that they were also valued in the enslaved community, as they were adorned with medallions bearing Catholic saints and other religious iconography to protect them in their journey to the next life.

Together, these findings have important implications for historical understandings of childhood in contexts of plantation slavery. The role, status, and experiences of children born into captivity in colonial Peru is a topic that remains understudied in historical research. Similarly, even though archaeological studies of children have grown in recent years (see Beuchesne and Agarwal 2018), childhood is still relatively undertheorized in both bioarchaeology and African diaspora archaeology. This project demonstrates the utility of a life course approach in helping to reveal the distinct impacts of captivity and colonial life on subadult individuals. In doing so, its archaeological and historical research also offers insights into the social construction of age categories and their associated roles in contexts of plantation slavery in colonial Peru.

Overall, bioarchaeological and historical information collected from Hacienda La Quebrada begin to paint a picture of the harsh and often fatal conditions of living at the plantation during the late colonial period, particularly as a result of insufficient diets, limited access to medical care, and excessive physical demands and mistreatment. However, they also offer some insights into how enslaved persons worked beyond these imposed conditions to develop their own social networks and communities of care. In particular, the presence of newborns and infants in the burial record suggests the possibility for building families at Hacienda La Quebrada. The emergence of families within the conditions of enslavement is also traced in the historical record by multiple censuses from the late 18th to the early 19th centuries,

which register the names and civil status of the enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at the Buena Muerte's multiple rural landholdings—names that continue to persist in the local descendant community in San Luis and across the broader region of Cañete.

Importantly, such records help to put names to the enslaved persons who lived and died at the plantation, allowing for the rehumanization of individuals who were forced into a system of colonial violence that effectively worked to strip them of individual subjectivity and group identities. When combined with the first-hand accounts of enslaved men and women who regularly negotiated, contested, and even fled the conditions of captivity Hacienda La Quebrada, these documents help facilitate a perspective that moves beyond narratives of victimhood to also consider the ways “in which enslaved Africans and their descendants never ceased to pursue politics of belonging...and regeneration” (Brown 2009:1249) in Peruvian society.

1.5.2. Community Consultations and Ethnographic Work

Narratives celebrating community persistence in the context of conditions of captivity and colonialism are widely emphasized by self-identified Afro-descendants in La Quebrada and the broader district of San Luis (Chapter 7). During my ongoing discussions with descendant community stakeholders, it became apparent that even though many individuals wanted to learn more about the conditions endured by their ancestors, their own personal understanding of these histories were not defined by notions of victimization or loss. While many stakeholders believed that it is important to expose the dark history of slavery and its influence on dynamics of racial discrimination through the present day, they also insisted that the identities of the enslaved peoples were not, and should never be, defined by the condition of captivity that was imposed upon them.

Instead, what many of the project’s interlocutors chose to emphasize were stories of how enslaved peoples worked beyond, against, and in spite of these conditions in order to build a cohesive cultural community with its own unique traditions—traditions like the spiritual cult of the African saint Santa Efigenia, or local styles of music, dance, and gastronomy. Importantly, as will be discussed in Chapter 7, these traditions are the foundation of local ideas of what it means to be *afrodescendiente* (Afro-descendent) in San Luis today.

Drawing from these stakeholder ideas and interests, this dissertation project strives to reconstruct a balanced retelling of the history of African enslavement at Hacienda La Quebrada. On the one hand, it aims to offer detailed insights into the lives and experiences of the enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at the historic plantation—lives and experiences that were indubitably shaped by the particular conditions of captivity, as well as the restrictions and violence upon which the colonial system of plantation slavery was built. Making these histories visible is critical for confronting the national “amnesia” that shrouds the history of slavery in Peru, and which continues to influence the dynamics of exclusion, discrimination, and stigmatization that Afro-Peruvians face in the country today (Golash-Boza 2011; Greene 2012; Matute and Bilbao, personal communication).

On the other hand, this dissertation also works to balance these histories with the narratives that are predominant in the contemporary Afro-descendant community of San Luis. These narratives emphasize the perseverance and ingenuity of enslaved persons in building their own intimate lives, social worlds, and cultural traditions. Importantly, these are facets of historical life that self-identified Afro-descendants in the region continue to remember, and which they celebrate and pass on through their everyday practices.

1.6. Ethical Considerations and Project Justification

This project and the members who contribute to it is critically reflective about the ethics of disturbing the final resting place of individuals from the relatively recent past. The decision to pursue this type of excavation was in large part driven by the interests of members from the local and descendant communities. When Luis Santa Cruz and I first began meeting with community leaders about the possibility of developing an archaeological research project in the San Luis area, they took the initiative to tour us around various sites that they were interested in studying and preserving. The third of these sites was Hacienda La Quebrada. During our visit, they told us about the discovery of fragmented skeletal remains in the streets during the reconstruction of the town's chapel in 2007. Moreover, they explained that many members of the community had been interested in doing work to preserve the cemetery space, but did not have the resources at the time to pursue these goals. Thus, the decision to excavate a portion of the cemetery at La Quebrada has been a collaborative process that is equally driven by the interests of local and descendant communities, and the capacities and interests of the research team.

I have striven to maintain these collaborative relationships throughout the research process. Since the very beginning of archaeological fieldwork in 2016, the project has used public town halls, small group meetings, and informal discussions to clearly explain our research goals and methods. Additionally, we have also used these discussions as a space for the broader public to pose their own questions, concerns, and ideas about the project. During these ongoing exchanges, we learned that many local residents in La Quebrada were supportive of having a research project in their town. Over the years, many also became directly involved in the project in some way (e.g., assisting in prayer ceremonies; hosting meeting spaces; providing daily meals and rides for the crew; providing family histories and photos; or volunteering in the field)

(Fig.1.5). We also explicitly asked for feedback and consent for any removal, handling, or destructive analysis of ancestral remains, all of which have been supported thus far.



*Figure 1.5: Local schoolchildren and musicians helped to organize a multicultural ceremony prior to the first season of excavations in 2017.
Photo: Claire Maass*

From the perspectives of many of the people from La Quebrada and the broader district of San Luis that I interviewed throughout the past five years, this project is envisioned as part of a larger effort to preserve and promote the rich cultural heritage of this region of Cañete. Archaeological research of any sort is seen to be a powerful tool for expanding existing narratives of local history, for communicating these narratives to a broader audience through education and publication, and ultimately, for preserving historic sites that could be a source of tourism. Moreover, the osteological, archaeological, historical, and ethnographic information can help to shed light on a history that remains relatively understudied in the region, and can thus contribute to local efforts to recognize, preserve, and promote Afro-descendant cultural heritage.

Since the project first began in 2016, the long-term objective for our community partners has been to commemorate the archaeological remains with the creation of a new cemetery, memorial, or community museum. The recent construction of a cemetery for the indentured and free Japanese laborers who worked on several of the local estates following emancipation in 1854 has set a precedent for this form of repatriation, and many local descendants strongly believe that the enslaved African workers should similarly be accorded a respectful resting place.

As will be discussed in Chapter 7, more recent work at the former plantation site has focused primarily on realizing this goal. In 2021, project collaborators secured funding and land for a community museum in La Quebrada, which will focus on broader histories of Afro-Peruvian communities and culture in San Luis. While the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic has temporarily delayed the construction of the museum, we have been able to continue with this project by creating a virtual museum and website. Even though this new public heritage project was not originally planned as part of the proposed dissertation project, its central importance to local and descendant community goals makes it an essential part of the larger trajectory of multi-stage research in La Quebrada. As the final stage in the broader project for understanding and commemorating African diaspora pasts in Peru, it is important that this work be included in this dissertation.

1.7. Document Organization

Drawing on these broader objectives, this dissertation manuscript will be organized into two parts: Part One, “African Enslavement in Spanish Colonial Peru: Historical and Archaeological Contexts;” and Part Two, “Reconstructing the Lives and Legacies of Enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada.”

Part One will overview the historical and archaeological context of the project, with the intention of situating its intervention within existing scholarship in African diaspora archaeology and bioarchaeology. It will begin with Chapter 2, titled “African Diaspora Archaeology and Bioarchaeology in the Americas.” This chapter will provide a comprehensive overview of African diaspora archaeology in the Americas, showing how this field developed, where research has been focused, and what themes have emerged. Bearing in mind the specific objectives of this dissertation, the overview will focus on two key bodies of research: bioarchaeological studies and scholarship in Latin America and Peru. The final section of the chapter will then discuss theoretical frameworks from these bodies of research that most closely influence this dissertation’s study of African captivity in Peru during the colonial period. It will specifically situate this dissertation project at the intersection of three conceptual models: Black feminist archaeology, decolonizing theory from an Afro-Latin/American perspective, and collaborative paradigms in African diaspora research.

Chapter 3 (“African Slavery in Peru’s Coastal Sugar Economy during the Late Colonial Period”) will continue by providing a historical background on the African diaspora and enslavement in Peru during the colonial period. It will begin by offering a brief and general introduction to the emergence of African slavery in Peru in the 16th and 17th centuries. Then, it will shift to a more specific geographic and temporal focus in order to establish the context for the research performed for this dissertation project. It will center specifically on the role of captive African labor in the coastal sugar economy in the period prior to independence in 1821, with specific reference to a series of plantations owned by the religious group La Orden de la Buena Muerte in the valley of Cañete. This discussion will ultimately finish by presenting the example of Hacienda La Quebrada, which is the primary case study for this dissertation.

Finally, Chapter 4 (“Excavating Afro-Peruvian Histories at Hacienda La Quebrada”) will overview the archaeological, bioarchaeological, and historical research performed for this dissertation project. This chapter will present the project’s primary research questions and objectives, as well as the multiple methods that were employed to address them. Since the central focus of this dissertation project is on bioarchaeological research at the cemetery for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants, this presentation of research methods will pay particularly close attention to the scientific and ethical protocols for excavating, analyzing, and presenting data collected from human skeletal remains.

Together, these theoretical, historical, and methodological discussions will provide a framework for discussing the results of interdisciplinary and multi-stage research at Hacienda La Quebrada. The presentation of research findings and their interpretations will be the focus of Part Two of this dissertation.

Part Two will be divided into three chapters, which directly address the primary questions posed by this dissertation project, as well as themes raised by the project’s descendent community stakeholders. Chapter 5 (“Born into Captivity: Childhood at Hacienda La Quebrada”) and Chapter 6 (“Biocultural Perspectives Towards Community Health, Lifeways, and Resilience at Hacienda La Quebrada”) reconstruct a narrative of the lives and experiences of enslaved persons at Hacienda La Quebrada, drawing primarily on bioarchaeological and historical evidence. This narrative is divided into two chapters in order to more directly address two aspects of the life course: childhood and adulthood. While the two chapters will collectively work to piece together a larger narrative of the social history of captivity at Hacienda La Quebrada, they will also elucidate how the social and biological impacts of captivity changed throughout individuals’ lifetimes.

Finally, Chapter 7 (“Memory, Memorialization, and Place-Making: Commemorating Afro-Peruvian Pasts in San Luis de Cañete”) will conclude by discussing how these findings are being mobilized by present-day descendant communities in San Luis in order to achieve the recognition, protection, and commemoration of Afro-Peruvian histories in the region.

PART ONE
AFRICAN ENSLAVEMENT AND DIASPORA IN SPANISH COLONIAL PERU:
HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXTS

Chapter 2: African Diaspora Archaeology and Bioarchaeology in the Americas

2.1. Introduction

In her 2001 article “A Black Feminist Archaeology?”, Maria Franklin examines issues of representation in archaeological research and the sociopolitics of academic inquiry. While she is specifically concerned with the underrepresentation of Afro-descendant women in both the academy and the narratives of the past that it produces, Franklin raises larger questions about the relationship between power, history, and heritage discourse that have implications across historical archaeological scholarship (Franklin 2001).

For the past three decades, African diaspora archaeology has been shaped by discussions about the relationship between archaeological practice and Afro-descendant communities. Since the post-processual turn in the late 1980’s, scholars have called for introspection on how histories of colonialism, captivity, and anti-black racism have shaped the study of African Americans and their pasts (Franklin and McKee 2004; Leone et al 2005). For example, how have Afro-descendant peoples, histories, and spaces been represented in archaeological scholarship? Who has had the power to produce these narratives, and what is their relationship to the communities whose pasts they are studying? What are the implications of archaeological representations of the past for perceptions of Afro-descendant communities today?

Through a reflexive engagement with critical race theory, Black feminist thinking, and community-engaged research practices, African diaspora scholars have striven to address these questions. In doing so, they have worked to demonstrate the potential for archaeology to transform into an inclusive space for the recognition and empowerment of African diaspora communities (Franklin 2001; Leone et al 2005; Battle-Baptiste 2011).

This dissertation is situated at the intersection of these theoretical and sociopolitical concerns. Following scholars like Maria Franklin (2001), as well as Cheryl La Roche and Michael Blakey (1997), Daniela Catalina Balanzátegui Moreno (2018), Mark Leone (2005), and Whitney Battle-Baptiste (2011), it identifies archaeological sites as cultural spaces where identities are cultivated, performed, and commemorated through time. It also acknowledges that they can be political spaces where multiple understandings of identity, history, and heritage are asserted. In African diaspora contexts in particular, archaeological sites and their associated histories can become stages in a struggle for recognition for African descended peoples. As Franklin argues, “[t]hese sites of memory can link [communities] to [their] collective African and American heritage, imagined or not, and project [their] sense of longing to belong in a society where [their] citizenship is still in question” (Franklin 2001:115).

While referring to a specific U.S. context, this sentiment echoes across Latin American communities with shared histories of captivity, colonialism, and sociopolitical structures grounded in racialized notions of difference (Lao-Montes 2007; Walsh 2007; Haber 2016). In Peru, for example, colonial race politics have directly influenced the marginalization and anti-black racism that Afro-descendant populations face today (Ramirez Reyna 2006; Golash-Boza 2011). Moreover, because of historical practices of racial discrimination and exclusion, Afro-Peruvian tangible heritage continues to be endangered. Given the social, political, cultural, and spiritual significance of these sites to descendant communities, “the consequences of destruction of such sites are irreversible” (Balanzátegui 2018:43).

The goal of this chapter is to trace the history of the scholarship that has shaped these conversations about the importance of archaeology for the recognition of Afro-descendant peoples, places, and histories. To do so, it will overview the history of African diaspora

archaeology in the Americas, showing how this field developed, where research has been focused, and what themes have emerged. Bearing in mind the specific research questions and objectives of this dissertation project, outlined in Chapter 1, this review is organized into three sections: 1) African diaspora bioarchaeology in the Americas; 2) African diaspora archaeology in Latin America; and 3) critical theories from these bodies of scholarship that contribute to this dissertation's specific approach to African diaspora bioarchaeology in Peru.

The first section will present the origins and scope of African diaspora research in the Americas, with particular reference to bioarchaeological literature. This overview will be situated within the context of key historical, political, and intellectual developments, especially around the consolidation of the subfield of African diaspora bioarchaeology. It should be noted that much of this discussion will focus on studies in North America in the Caribbean; this trend reflects the geographical limitations of early African diaspora bioarchaeology through the late 20th century, and the later development of African diaspora archaeology in Latin America.

The second section will shift to consider the emergence of African diaspora archaeology in Latin America. Given that bioarchaeological approaches are still scarce in comparison to North American and Caribbean contexts, this discussion will expand to consider the development of African diaspora archaeology more broadly. It will specifically consider how political processes of nation-building and leftist ideologies in the social sciences have shaped the themes addressed by Afro-Latin American archaeologists (Funari and Orser 2014). To conclude, it will introduce key projects in Peru, setting the context for this dissertation project's contribution to African diaspora research in the region.

Building on these interventions, the final section will outline key conceptual frameworks that underpin this dissertation project's approach to studying the lives and life-histories of

enslaved persons at Hacienda La Quebrada in the late colonial period, and the significance of these histories to local descendant communities today. More specifically, it situates this project research at the intersection of three conceptual models: 1) Black feminist archaeology (Franklin 2001; Battle-Baptiste 2011); 2) decolonizing theory from an Afro-Latin American perspective (Lao-Montes 2007; Walsh 2007; Maldonado-Torres 2008; see also Haber 2016); and 3) collaborative paradigms in African diaspora research (Franklin 1997; La Roche and Blakey 1997; Balanzátegui 2018). Ultimately, this section concludes with an argument for why intersectional, decolonizing, and collaborative archaeology can help create a critical space of inclusiveness and empowerment for African descended peoples in histories of Peru's colonial past, and in the commemoration of these histories and cultural heritage today.

2.2. The Emergence of African Diaspora Bioarchaeology in the Americas

2.2.1. Physical Anthropology in the Early 20th Century

Bioarchaeological studies of African diaspora populations are rooted in a larger history of colonialism, capitalist exploitation, and racialized inequality in the Americas (Blakey 2001a, 2020). In North America in particular, 19th and early 20th century physical anthropology was characterized by efforts to classify human populations, ultimately creating a hierarchical ranking of racial groups. These studies were typically performed by Euro-American scholars, whose capacity to collect, analyze, and construct narratives about racialized Others was facilitated by their own position in a society steeped in inequalities borne out of a colonial past. Moreover, while their work was driven by a desire for natural explanations for perceived biological differences, this faith in scientific objectivism served to further justify relations of power that privileged Euro-Americans over other groups (Blakey 1996 [1987], 2020).

The origins of African diaspora bioarchaeology are a key chapter in this larger history of physical anthropological efforts to find biological or evolutionary explanations for social difference. Early 20th century studies of African diaspora populations were characterized by debates over differences between biological races. Building on methods established by Samuel Morton in the mid-1800s, scholars in the late 1920s and 1930s used variations in cranial features to argue for the existence of different racial categories. However, in spite of these shared methods, physical anthropologists often reached different conclusions about the meaning of their findings. For example, scholars such as Aleš Hrdlička (1927, 1928) and Earnest Hooton (1930) suggested evolutionary explanations for physiological differences, whereas others like T. Wingate Todd (1930) and William Montague Cobb (1936, 1939) pointed to environmental factors. In spite of these differences, the overarching effect of such debates was to naturalize the biological category of race in anthropological discourse (Blakey 1996 [1987], 2001a, 2020).

The idea of biological race as a natural and empirically observable phenomenon contributed to its growing importance as a method for classifying skeletal remains. Beginning in the 1930s, the first bioarchaeological excavations of African diaspora contexts began to emerge in the Americas. Led by scholars from Oxford University and the Smithsonian, analyses of skeletons collected from Barbados, St. Thomas, and Jamaica used craniometric methods to identify individuals of African descent (Buxton et al 1938; Steward 1939). As Michael Blakey (2001a:397) recognizes, cultural data such as cranial and dental modification contributed to making these classifications. However, little effort was made integrate broader contextual information, and the studies remained limited to physically describing the skeletal remains. The result of such studies was the continued use of skeletal analysis as a method for identifying and categorizing human skeletal remains, particularly according to biological notions of race.

2.2.2. Key Historical, Political, and Intellectual Influences

It was not until the 1970s that African diaspora bioarchaeology began to transform from a mode of analysis to an emerging field in its own right. The emergence of African diaspora bioarchaeology as a field within African diaspora research and historical archaeology was shaped by three parallel historical developments in the Americas, and in North America in particular.¹

The first major influence was the institution of the National Historic Preservation Act in the United States in 1966. As part of the original act, policies were established that required federal agencies to evaluate and resolve the adverse effects of their actions on historic properties. This included funding archaeological work to identify historic sites, and to evaluate sites that were encountered during federal construction projects. A key outcome of this legislation was an expansion in archaeological work through Cultural Resources Management programs, particularly in areas that were not previously sought out as subjects of study (Singleton 1995).

One of these areas was African American history and heritage. Expanding infrastructure projects regularly encountered historic sites and cemeteries with an African American presence, thus opening more opportunities for research on African diaspora populations. From this perspective, similar to previous studies dating to the 1930s, the first analyses to come out of the new legislation were largely still the result of accidental discoveries (Blakey 2001a; King 2010).

The growth of research projects in African diaspora bioarchaeology was further driven by social and political activism in the mid-1900s, especially the Civil Rights Movement in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s (Singleton 1995; Leone et al 2005), and Black social

¹ As noted previously in this chapter, bioarchaeological studies of the African diaspora in the Americas were predominately centered in North America in the Caribbean through the 1980s. The emergence of African diaspora archaeology in Latin America, its historical influences, and its divergences from Anglo-American scholarship will be addressed in section 2.3 (for review see Weik 2004; Van Buren 2010; Funari and Orser 2014).

movements in Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s (Weik 2004; Rahier 2012; Funari and Orser 2014). These movements had two important impacts on African diaspora bioarchaeology, and African diaspora studies more broadly. On the one hand, they challenged the existing frameworks for discussing Afro-descendant pasts, especially those grounded in racial determinism (Goodman and Armelagos 1998; Leone et al 2005; Blakey 2020). On the other hand, they contributed to the convergence of social leaders, young scholars, and public interest groups who were dedicated to studying African diaspora histories in the Americas.

The final influence on African diaspora bioarchaeology's expansion was directly related to the intellectual transformations and social activism of the mid-20th century. In the 1960s and 1970s, African American Studies departments and Black Studies programs multiplied across the United States. These departments and programs not only became centers for interdisciplinary studies of African American history and culture, but also became increasingly diasporic in scope, thus contributing to an emerging field of African diaspora studies that would influence bioarchaeological research in the coming years (Singleton 1995; Blakey 2001a).

2.2.3. Early Plantation Studies

In the broader field of African diaspora archaeology, the impacts of these historical, political, and intellectual developments converged in the study of plantation sites. A key influence on the emergence of plantation studies was the work of the scholar Sidney Mintz. An anthropologist perhaps best known for his work on labor, global capitalism, and the political economy of sugar (e.g., Mintz 1985), Mintz played a defining role in expanding anthropological and historical discussions about the multiple dynamics that shaped colonial plantation societies.

Particularly relevant to this dissertation project was his work on the role and status of labor regimes within plantation societies, and sugar plantations in particular. Through a comparative study of labor economies in Jamaica and Puerto Rico, Mintz dismantled the hypothesis that systems of slavery in Iberian colonies were more ‘benevolent’ than in north European colonies because of the influence of Catholic ethical principles. Instead, Mintz demonstrated that the treatment of enslaved peoples—and even the emergence of slavery itself as a primary form of labor—was more directly determined by multiple local factors, including a colony’s level of economic development, its connection to the metropolis, and the degree of labor exploitation required for production (Mintz 1959, 1960, 1977, 1985).

Another critical intervention was Mintz’s theorizing on African cultural identities within the colonial diaspora. Engaging debates ignited by scholars such as Melville Herskovits (1941) and Franklin Frazier (1966a, b), Mintz and his collaborator Richard Price contested the hypothesis that African American culture predominately consisted of African ‘survivals,’ or traditions and expressions carried from enslaved peoples’ original cultures. Instead, they contended that enslaved peoples more likely forged new social relationships within new colonial societies by focusing on common cultural, social, and political elements from their places of origin. By bringing together select shared traits, African diaspora communities were able to form new forms of mixed or ‘creole’ cultural beliefs and practices (Mintz and Price 1976).

While this assertion became a new focus of debate within African diaspora anthropology and history, it also had a significant impact on the nascent field of African diaspora archaeology. Archaeologists believed that by examining material evidence, such as ceramics, mortuary objects, and consumption patterns, they could test the creolization hypothesis in former plantations contexts (see Orser 1990; Fennell 2011). The first of these major archaeological

studies of plantation life was performed by Charles Fairbanks in 1967 at the Kingsley Plantation in Florida. This study spurred a wave of archaeological investigations at plantations across North America and the Caribbean during the 1970s and 1980s. Influenced by concerns in social activism and archaeology with locating ‘subaltern’ peoples in the past, these studies were often directed towards examining questions of cultural identity and the conditions of plantation life (Blakey 2001b).²

In bioarchaeology, this interest in the conditions of enslavement and plantation life became manifest through a focus on studies related to the health, mortality and morbidity, and population demographics of enslaved communities. This thematic focus was driven by two intersecting influences. On the one hand, there was a growing historiography on African enslavement dating to the 1960s, which had generated new data about the demography, quality of life, and health of African diaspora populations from the Middle Passage to diverse New World contexts (e.g., Curtin 1969). On the other hand, the influences of Black consciousness movements generated critical debates about the need to address histories of captivity and bondage in the recent past.

The first major bioarchaeological study of the conditions and impacts of plantation slavery was conducted at the Newton Plantation in Barbados. While the overarching aim of archaeological, bioarchaeological, and historical research at the site was to identify markers of cultural identity, and thus to reconstruct a broader narrative of the dynamics of negotiating cultural traditions in a new colonial society, another important objective was to describe the skeletal biology of the 104 enslaved individuals encountered during excavations (Corruccini et al

² For a comprehensive review of material archaeological approaches to the study of plantation life, see Charles Orser’s (1990) article “Archaeological Approaches to New World Plantation Slavery”; Theresa Singleton’s (1995) Annual Review article “The Archaeology of Slavery in North America”; or the edited volume *Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life* (2009), edited by Theresa Singleton.

1982). Due to the poor preservation of the skeletal collection, analysis centered primarily on dental samples. High rates of conditions such as enamel hypoplasia, hypercementosis, and periodontal disease beginning as early as 13 to 14 years of age revealed the systematic physiological stresses endured by enslaved persons at the Newton Plantation, as exemplified by prolonged metabolic crisis during infancy and periodic hunger at later stages in life (Corruccini et al 1985, 1987a). The authors concluded that together with susceptibility to diseases such as congenital syphilis (Jacobi et al 1982) and environmental dangers like lead poisoning (Handler et al 1986; Corruccini et al 1987a), these conditions would have likely contributed to the high rates of infant mortality and female infertility suggested by the historical record.

Similar findings were cited by Ted Rathbun (1987) in his work at the Belleview Plantation in South Carolina. While Rathbun's sample was limited to 36 individuals, his explicit interest in health and disease led him to develop more nuanced insights into the biological impacts of captivity at the site. The study was especially interested in how physiological health was influenced by economic, social, and gender differences. The results of skeletal analysis revealed that "the synergistic effects of diet, labor demands, and living conditions...played a role in the high infection and mortality rates" (Rathbun 1987:248) amongst the enslaved adults at the plantation during the 19th century. However, while males exhibited high rates of osteoarthritis in their elbows and hips, likely due to heavy lifting and agricultural work, women were more affected in the shoulders and knees. Moreover, women also suffered higher rates of dental defects and infection (Rathbun 1987). These findings raised important questions about the distinct roles and experiences of men and women within the plantation, and thus the need to cease treating plantations as monolithic systems that affected all people in the same way.

Mohamad Khudabux (1991) took this observation a step further in his study of the health and quality of life of enslaved Africans at the Waterloo Plantation (1793-1861) in Surinam. Based on the study of 38 skeletal individuals, Khudabux found that 56 percent of the burial population presented evidence of treponemal infection, most of which appeared to be related to syphilis. According to historical records, “venereal syphilis was introduced to Africans by the frequent rape and abuse of women on slaving ships, and the widespread concubinage of female house servants, which spread contagion” (Blakey 2001b:38). Because the sex ratio at Waterloo Plantation was so low, with women accounting for less than half of the population, Khudabux argued that women were likely subject to sexual advances by both African and European men. By examining the sexual exploitation and violence that women endured in the male-dominated context of plantation slavery, Khudabux stimulated an important discussion about gendered differences in experiences of colonialism and captivity in the Americas.

2.2.4. Studies of Urban and Postbellum Contexts

This attention to gendered differences in experiences of enslavement paralleled a larger shift in the 1980s and 1990s towards addressing diversity within African diaspora communities. Influenced by feminist literature, critical theory, and the post-processual turn in archaeology, African diaspora researchers began to question how the intersection of class, race, ethnicity, and gender shaped individual experiences of oppression (Singleton 1995; Orser 1998; Weik 2004).

In bioarchaeology, this shift was marked by an expansion in the types of sites under study. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, bioarchaeologists increasingly moved beyond plantations to explore other historic contexts, especially urban sites and church cemeteries. Many of these projects were still engaged in discussions about the impacts of enslavement on Afro-

descendant populations. However, what set them apart from previous studies was their comparative approach, which drew upon pathological data from enslaved and free African diaspora communities in order to examine how life changed after emancipation (Martin 1987; Owsley et al 1987; Davidson 2002; Rathbun and Steckel 2002).

One of the first major comparative studies of urban African diaspora populations was performed by J.O. Kelley and J. Lawrence Angel (1987). Angel and Kelley used skeletal and dental data from 25 sites across Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas in order to track changes in the living conditions of enslaved and free Afro-descendants during the 18th to 20th centuries. Interestingly, they found that even though rates of occupational stress, trauma, and malnutrition decreased over time, women experienced a drop in biological fertility and length of life in the 19th century. This finding was notable because it suggested that men working in urban factories might have received preferential treatment due to their skilled labor—an interpretation that was further bolstered by evidence of low rates of osteoarthritis, trauma, and nutritional stress in male skeletal individuals. This project further contributed to the recognition that women and men often faced different pressures within contexts of coerced labor and social inequality. In doing so, it also drew attention to the reality that living conditions amongst Afro-descendant populations did not always unilaterally improve after emancipation (Angel and Kelly 1987).

J. Lawrence Angel further pursued this observation in his work at the First African Baptist Church in Philadelphia (Angel et al 1987). Beginning in the late 1980s and continuing with the research of Lesley Rankin-Hill in the 1990s, bioarchaeological work at the site strove to examine the health status and material lives of the African American congregation during a period of social, political, and economic change in 19th century Philadelphia (Angel et al 1987; Crist et al 1997; Rankin-Hill 1997). Ultimately, skeletal evidence of high infant and childhood

mortality, periodic episodes of malnutrition and infectious disease, and high rates of degenerative joint disease and muscle atrophy painted a picture of a population that was highly vulnerable to environmental stressors. Once again, this finding contested the assumption that conditions of life necessarily improved outside of captivity, by instead demonstrating that “urban dwelling was a stressful, unstable experience” (Rankin-Hill 1997:166).

Beyond demonstrating the stresses of inequality and racism in urban contexts, research at the First African Baptist Church was also important because it considered the strategies that African American communities used to confront these conditions. For example, Angel and colleagues (Angel et al 1997) reflected on how the low rates of physical trauma might have been suggestive of the church’s role as a source of protection for congregation members. That is, by providing a physical space to escape anti-black violence, as well as a social environment of community support, the First African Baptist Church likely played an important role in helping African Americans cope with the impacts of racism and inequality in a turbulent post-emancipation society (see also Cabak et al 1995).

Ultimately, these two trends in bioarchaeological research—the recognition of the continued difficulties of life after emancipation and the resilience of free African American communities—played an important role in the early development of the nascent field of African diaspora bioarchaeology. Beyond simply expanding the types of sites under study, such studies pushed researchers to consider new applications of skeletal analysis. In particular, they contributed to emerging themes in the broader field of African diaspora archaeology, which strove to move beyond narratives of captivity and victimhood to instead foreground the resistance, resilience, and agency of Afro-descendant communities (Singleton 1995; Orser 1998).

2.2.5. African Diaspora Studies after the Post-Processual Turn

As part of this conceptual shift, and following a larger epistemological trend with the post-processualist turn, African diaspora research in the late 1980s and early 1990s became more focused on questions about the production, contestation, and negotiation of racialized and racist power structures (Franklin 1997; Franklin and McKee 2004; Leone et al 2005).

A key theme in African diaspora bioarchaeology during this time was the critique of the continued use of race as an analytical concept. Scholars pointed out that modern ideas of race were entrenched in histories of European imperialism and New World colonialism, and therefore had historically served to justify the subjugation and inequality of Afro-descendant communities under Euro-American powers. Moreover, they noted that the construct of biological race had its own troubled history in physical anthropology, spanning from the invasive collection practices of medical schools and researchers in the early 1900s, to the eugenics and nationalist movements that culminated in World War II (Blakey 1996[1987]). Critics argued that by failing to address the influence of ideas of race, bioarchaeologists contributed to the continued justification of the biological construct of race. In doing so, they also risked naturalizing often-hierarchical categorizations of people grounded in Eurocentric norms, or even making data useful to racist agendas (Goodman and Armelagos 1998; Franklin and McKee 2004; Leone et al 2005; see also Blakey 2020).

These concerns were particularly manifest in the ‘debate’ (Blakey 2001a) between forensic and biocultural approaches in bioarchaeology. According to Michael Blakey (2001a,c), forensic analyses were characterized by a focus on describing physical features, with the objective of identifying physiological conditions or the identity of individuals. While forensics played an important role in identifying victims of recent historical trauma, African diaspora

scholars (e.g., La Roche and Blakey 1997; Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001) questioned its appropriateness to bioarchaeology. On the one hand, critics argued that the failure to adequately incorporate contextual information produced ahistorical narratives, which risked dehumanizing the subjects of study. On the other hand, they observed that forensic methods were often meant to be used for unidentified samples, whose descendants may not be known at the time of recovery; in contrast, African diaspora samples often had recognized stakeholders that claimed biological or cultural affiliation with the remains, and whose understandings of their own identities were directly linked to these remains and their associated histories.

As an alternative to forensic approaches, a growing group of scholars (Rankin-Hill 1997; Goodman and Armelagos 1998; Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001; Mack and Blakey 2004) proposed what they termed a 'biocultural' approach to the study of African diaspora populations. They suggested that a biocultural approach benefited from an explicit engagement with both social histories and contexts, as well as African descendant communities and scholars. Returning to Blakey (2001a:409), "[t]he biocultural approach combines cultural and social historical information with the demography and epidemiology of archaeological populations to verify, augment, or critique the socioeconomic conditions and processes experienced by past human communities." The result of such work would thus be "a biological reflection of the social history of a community of people articulated with broad political-economic forces" (Blakey 2001a:409).

Perhaps the most well-known example of a biocultural approach in African diaspora bioarchaeology during this period was the African Burial Ground Project in New York City. In 1991, construction of a federal building led to the discovery of a cemetery dating to the 17th and 18th centuries, which contained the skeletal remains of at least 408 Africans and Afro-

descendants. Given the site's importance as the largest and earliest African diaspora cemetery in the Americas discovered to date, it became a source of wide public interest. However, local Afro-descendant communities and scholars were increasingly vocal in opposition to the forensic approach taken by the contract firm, which continued to examine racial traits in lieu of a more comprehensive discussion of community culture and history (La Roche and Blakey 1997; Mack and Blakey 2004).

In response to these public critiques, direction of post-excavation analysis was transferred to a research team from Howard University. The research design developed by the new team utilized the full range of emerging methodologies in bioarchaeology, including molecular genetics, chemical isotope studies, and refined quantitative methods for skeletal recordation. These studies were implemented in collaboration with leading specialists from around the world, and further supplemented with diverse information from other disciplines, spanning from history and demographics, to art and ethnography (Blakey 2001a; Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001).

This innovative approach to the study of the African Burial Ground remains amassed new information about African slavery and early African American life in New York. One of the main contributions of the project's biocultural perspective was to elucidate how social, economic, and environmental conditions impacted enslaved peoples through different stages in their lifetimes. Paleodemographic data from 301 well-preserved skeletons revealed high mortality rates amongst enslaved persons in the first two years of life, and secondary peaks between the ages of 30 to 34 (for females) and 45 to 49 (for males). The high rate of subadult mortality, which amounted to 43.2 percent of the burial sample, reflected a broader trend suggesting the vulnerability of infants and children to the conditions of captivity and urban life (Rankin-Hill et al 2001). In particular, the systematic presence of dental pathologies such as

caries and enamel hypoplasia provided evidence of poor dietary regimens (Mack et al 2001). Meanwhile, the presence of periosteal lesions in 41 percent of subadults, the majority of which were active at the time of death, suggested that infants and children were not only at high risk of contracting infectious diseases, but they were also likely to succumb to these conditions (Null et al 2001).

Secondary mortality peaks in adulthood offered further insight into the cumulative effects of malnutrition and disease throughout enslaved persons' lifetimes. Researchers found that 40.8 percent of adults in the New York African Burial Ground sample presented evidence of at least two skeletal conditions related to generalized infection and nutritional inadequacy, including periosteal reactions, treponemal infection, and porotic hyperstosis (Null et al 2001). These conditions were then further compounded by new forms of physiological stress, as enslaved peoples came of age to begin working in the urban industrial economy. Patterns of moderate to severe osteoarthritis in the cervical spine and lower limbs of individuals as young as 15 to 24 years old revealed that forced physical labor began at a very young age. Notably, the impacts of these intersecting layers of mistreatment, exploitation, and violence were especially pronounced for enslaved women, who on average perished around five to ten years earlier than enslaved men, often during their reproductive years (Rankin-Hill et al 2001; Wilczak et al 2001).

Collectively, the New York African Burial Ground Project's comprehensive analysis of pathology, stress, and trauma in the skeletal record underscored the severe conditions endured by captive Africans and their descendants in the context of urban slavery. However, the project also went beyond this narrative in order to pursue new information about the history and heritage of the enslaved community, which could open positive new pathways for future studies of African diaspora populations. Driven by the interests of descendant community stakeholders, the

research team joined craniometric, genetic, and isotopic data with historical information in order to identify the potential geographic origins of the burial population. An important outcome of these analyses was to pinpoint the origins of the enslaved Africans to regions of West and Central Africa (Goodman et al 2001; Jackson et al 2001). This finding had profound implications for African diaspora scholarship, especially by providing new comparative data demonstrating the forced migration patterns of captive Africans across the Atlantic World, and the genetic diversity of populations within the African subcontinent (Blakey 2001a).

The findings of interdisciplinary research at the New York African Burial Ground had widespread implications for both historical understandings of urban slavery in colonial North America, as well as comparative bioarchaeological studies of African diaspora populations across the New World more broadly. The intersecting findings of genetic, isotopic, and historical studies shed light on the dynamic history of the slave trade in the Atlantic World, tracing the forced migration of captive persons from West Africa, across North American and Caribbean ports, and ultimately to New York. Additionally, the project's interdisciplinary studies of diet, disease, and mortality demonstrated how conditions transformed across this journey (Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001). Together with the skeletal evidence of excessive labor demands and violence for enslaved individuals, these findings demonstrated the dehumanizing treatment of African Americans both within and beyond conditions of captivity, overturning the mythology of the 'free north' and compelling scholars to critically reassess their understanding of the region's troubled past. At the same time, the project's biocultural approach "reveal[ed] the human complexity and contributions of Africans Americans" (Blakey 2001a:415), contributing to a more empowering understanding of African diaspora history in the Americas.

2.2.6. Community Engagement, Activism, and Ethics

While debates around forensic and biocultural approaches to African diaspora bioarchaeology were particularly concerned with the continued pursuit of race as an analytical concept (and, implicitly, a biological reality), they were also driven by critiques of the representation of Afro-descendant peoples as both subjects of study and stakeholders in contemporary research. These issues stimulated critical discussions in the field of African diaspora bioarchaeology about the ethical responsibilities of researchers towards interested publics, and the political impacts of scholarship for these communities.

For example, African American archaeologists such as Cheryl La Roche (1997), Michael Blakey (2001a), and Theresa Singleton (1995), together with other leading researchers like Charles Orser Jr. (1998) and Mark Leone (2005), argued that the ongoing and often under-questioned use of race in bioarchaeology was due to the field's failure to engage with Afro-descendant communities and scholars. Even with the growth of academic programs over the previous two decades, researchers rarely drew on African diaspora literature, let alone a body of African American scholarship that had developed parallel to anthropological research since the mid-19th century (La Roche and Blakey 1997; Mack and Blakey 2004; Escobar 2007).

This concern about the continued over-representation of Euro-American scholars and worldviews famously came to a head at the New York African Burial Ground, described above (La Roche and Blakey 1997; Mack and Blakey 2004). While the project's change in the direction was in part a result of discontentment around the original contract firm's approach to analyzing the burial remains, it also stemmed from concerns about its relationship with African American stakeholders. It is important to note that these critiques had little to do with the archaeologists' own self-identified ethnicities or belonging to a particular heritage group; rather, they were more

directly concerned with their perceived resistance to actively involving African American scholars and community members in the investigation. Under the new direction of the team from Howard University, the New York African Burial Project was ultimately transformed into a model for how to meaningfully integrate the ideas, interests, and worldviews of stakeholder communities into bioarchaeological research (McCarthy 1996; La Roche and Blakey 1997).

Importantly, the methodological debates raised at the New York African Burial Ground were reflective of a larger shift in archaeology in the 1990s towards a closer engagement with descendant communities and other stakeholder groups (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Atalay 2012; Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2016). In African diaspora archaeology, efforts to include African diaspora histories, worldviews, scholars, and communities have sought to address the inequalities that in many ways enabled the study of Afro-descendant skeletal remains to begin over 150 years ago. Sparked by African Burial Ground controversy and continuing on through sustained ethical debates about the extraction of data from ancestral remains, researchers have striven to confront research practices and discursive processes through which Afro-descendant peoples, “mistreated in life, [were] continuing to be mistreated beyond death” (La Roche and Blakey 1997:100).

These reflections have raised broader concerns about the ethics and politics of bioarchaeological research, which continue to be confronted as the field expands in scope and scale (Potter 2001). For example, to what degree should political interests and activist agendas shape research programs (Mullins 2007; La Salle 2010)? Who has the power to define these programs, and what is their responsibility to the peoples whose lives and histories are most directly impacted by the results (La Roche and Blakey 1997; Mack and Blakey 2004)? What are the ethical and political implications of publishing information about African diaspora histories

that differs from present-day descendants' understandings of their own pasts and identities (McCarthy 1996; McDavid 1997, 2002; Franklin 1997, 2001)?

As will be discussed later in this chapter (see Section 2.4.4), many of these questions are not unique to African diaspora research, but rather reflect concerns that are shared by other archaeologists working with traditionally marginalized groups. However, within African diaspora bioarchaeology in particular, such questions work to confront the origins of the field in colonial encounters steeped in racialized inequality, and its legacy for research practices and relationships through the present.

2.2.7. Conclusion

African diaspora bioarchaeology has influenced key developments in African diaspora research in the Americas throughout the past century (Blakey 2001). Early studies of plantation contexts introduced human skeletal remains as a powerful primary source for examining conditions of African captivity and early African American life. The idea that patterns of skeletal stress could be used as evidence of excessive physical labor and maltreatment opened new possibilities for understanding the impacts of enslavement at the scale of a single person or group (Corruccini et al 1982, 1985, 1987a, 1987b; Handler and Corruccini 1983; Rathbun 1987; Scurry 1991). This potential for developing micro-histories about captivity, colonialism, and post-emancipation life was further expanded through novel innovations in biochemical and molecular analyses, which allowed researchers to trace changes in African American experiences through the life course (Goodman et al 2001; Shuler 2005, 2009; Price et al 2006; Schroeder and Shuler 2006).

The evolution and refinement of bioarchaeological methods has also shaped dialogues about theory and ethics in African diaspora archaeology. Critiques raised against issues of race and racism in archaeological discourse forced the discipline to reevaluate the study of identity through material remains (La Roche 1997; Leone et al 2005). Similarly, tensions between researchers and stakeholder communities “help[ed] to expose the ‘myth of Euro-American entitlement’” (Blakey 2001a:415) by instead demonstrating that descendant communities have unique perspectives towards and interests in the study of their pasts, which can help archaeological research become more relevant and impactful in the present (Franklin 1997).

The New York African Burial Ground Project was a watershed moment in each of these regards. The project’s innovative methods and biocultural framework for the study human skeletal remains set new standards for African diaspora bioarchaeology, and archaeological studies of the body more broadly. Moreover, its intentioned strategies to work with and on behalf of African American communities empowered present-day descendants to tell their own stories. This established a new model for collaboration and accountability that has continued to shape African diaspora bioarchaeology for the past three decades (McCarthy 1996; La Roche and Blakey 1997; Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001; Blakey 2020).

The impacts of these developments have radiated beyond African diaspora research to also affect the fields of bioarchaeology and archaeology of the body more broadly. The use of skeletal analyses to learn about the origins and forced migration patterns of historical communities, as well as various aspects of their experiences and conditions of living through the life course, can help us to learn about human life in the past across diverse contexts. This work has been especially important for indigenous, Afro-descendant, and other traditionally

marginalized communities, whose perspectives and lived experiences have often been excluded from dominant narratives of the past.

However, such efforts to achieve greater diversity and representation in narratives of the past require that we expand research to more diverse areas of the world (Agorash 1996; Orser 1998, 2010; Ogundiran and Falola 2007; Funari and Orser 2014). This is especially the case for African diaspora bioarchaeology. To date, African diaspora bioarchaeology has continued to be dominated by studies from North America and the Caribbean. One area that is still underrepresented in contemporary scholarship is Latin America, and Spanish South America in particular (Funari and Orser 2014). It is to this field of research that this chapter turns next.

2.3. African Diaspora Archaeology in Latin America

2.3.1. Historical Archaeology in Latin America

African diaspora research has followed a distinct trajectory in Central and South America. Broadly speaking, archaeology in Latin America has tended to focus on late pre-hispanic cultures such as the Inca in the central Andes, and the Aztec and Maya in Central America (Benavides 2001; Jamieson 2005b; Charleton et al 2009; Fowler 2009; Martin et al 2012). Similar to archaeological scholarship in North America, studies of historical material culture were scattered in the in the first half of the 20th century, and were typically performed by architects or art historians as part of restoration projects (Hall and Silliman 2006). While historical archaeology projects began to emerge in the 1970s and 1980s, this research continued to be driven by culture-history approaches to material data, especially through efforts to define seriations of ceramic styles (Politis 2003; Politis and Gollan 2004; Zarankin and Salerno 2008). Moreover, a series of suppressive military dictatorships throughout the continent disrupted

academic research. As a result, Latin American historical archaeology developed later than in North America, only coming together as a subfield defined by its own objectives and theoretical approaches in the 1990s (Orser 2008; Martin et al 2012).

The development of African diaspora archaeology in Latin America was directly shaped by this broader trajectory of historical archaeological scholarship in the region. The scarcity of African diaspora projects through the mid-20th century was in part due to the continued concentration on pre-hispanic contexts (Funari 1997; Politis and Gollan 2004; Martin et al 2012; Benavides 2013). Meanwhile, since historical archaeology began to consolidate as a subfield in the 1980s, the focus on colonial architecture and monuments resulted in romanticized narratives of nation-building that often overlooked Afro-descendant histories and sites (Benavides 2013).

Two key developments influenced the integration of African diaspora contexts and communities as legitimate subjects of archaeological research. The first was a broader theoretical trend in Spanish colonial archaeology during the 1980s and 1990s. In preparation for the Columbian Quincentennial in 1992, there was a major growth in archaeological projects across North America and the Caribbean, as researchers sought to cultivate a closer understanding of the impacts of contact and colonization in the Americas. Led in most part by European-American scholars, these studies were particularly interested in the relationships between Spanish settlers and indigenous communities, and their influences on Hispanic-American traditions and identities (Deagan 1983, 1991, 1995; Ewen 1991; Deagan and Cruxent 2002).

Kathleen Deagan's work at St. Augustine in Florida (1983, 1985), and Greg Smith's (1995) subsequent research at Puerto Real were foundational in this regard. Although their studies were focused on processes of identity formation in the Spanish colonies, particularly through cultural contact and exchange between indigenous communities and Spanish settlers,

they were the first to consider the roles of African individuals and traditions in these processes. Through the study of ceramics collected in domestic contexts, they identified that intermarriage and the exchange of cultural traditions between African and indigenous women on the one hand, and male Spanish settlers on the other, generated new social, political, and ideological orders in the Spanish American colonies (Deagan 1983, 1991, 1995; Smith 1995).

While broader theoretical interests in the cultivation and transformation of colonial identities played an important role in integrating African diaspora materials, worldviews, and populations into Spanish colonial archaeology across the Americas, the particularities of the Latin American sociohistorical context led it to diverge in important ways from North American and Caribbeanist scholarship. This divergence was driven in part by a second key influence on the growth of African diaspora scholarship in Latin America: the development of social archaeology, especially in South America and Peru.

Led by Luis Lumbreras (1974), social archaeology emerged in the 1970s and 1980s as a response to the domination of the field by Euro-American scholars, ideas, and interests. While the conceptual and sociopolitical objectives of social archaeology varied across different national contexts (see Oyuela-Caycedo et al 1997; Benavides 2001; Jamieson 2005), it was more broadly characterized by three tenets: an interest in engaging Marxist theories of dialectical materialism in archaeology; a critical perspective towards the role of archaeology in contemporary identity politics and nationalist discourse; and the power dynamics underlying the practice of research (Benavides 2001). These objectives were all driven by a shared concern that the domination of the field by foreign scholars was perpetuating a colonialist relationship of extracting local knowledge and resources. Such research practices, social archaeologists argued, had “the...effect of alienating Latin Americans from their own history” (Benavides 2001:359).

In response, proponents of social archaeology called for a locally defined and politically aware mode of scholarship that was based in the multicultural histories, identities, and worldviews of Latin American populations. For many archaeologists across South America, and the central Andes in particular, this meant reevaluating the relationship between archaeology and indigenous peoples. As the archaeologist Hugo Benavides (2001:365) observed, nationalist policies and neocolonialist research practices contributed to “greater forms of domination for the indigenous communities” in South American countries. Part of social archaeology’s project to re-center the production of archaeological knowledge around local histories and worldviews would thus also require a closer engagement with indigenous peoples and their pasts.

It was this aspect of Latin American social archaeology that most directly contributed to the diversification of archaeological interest areas in the last decades of the 20th century. Importantly, this shift helped stimulate a broader movement in Latin American archaeology to expand existing scholarship in order to consider the histories and heritage of other traditionally marginalized groups—including Afro-descendant communities.

2.3.2. Key Themes and Approaches

Since the early 1990s, there has been an increase in archaeological studies focusing on the histories of Afro-descendant populations in Latin America. Building on broader trends in Spanish colonial archaeology in the Americas, as well as research interest areas in Latin American historical archaeology, these studies have tended to focus on themes such as identity construction, material consumption and production, migration and colonial life, and self-liberated communities (Funari and Salerno 2009).

As cited in the previous section, the first studies to engage with African diaspora materials emerged from efforts to understand the construction, consolidation, and negotiation of post-contact identities—including relationships between Spanish colonizers, indigenous societies, and Afro-descendant populations (Deagan 1983, 1991, 1995; Smith 1995). Debates about the relationship between archaeological materials and ideas of identity have been especially prominent in the study of ceramics. Since the 1990s, archaeological studies of ceramic assemblages have traditionally focused on debates about the ethnicity of the persons who made them, with researchers building arguments around specific attributes that might be considered African, indigenous, or Hispanic (Weik 2004). However, disentangling these influences is often complex in intercultural and interethnic New World contexts. For African diaspora materials in particular, the scarcity, fragmentation, or ephemerality of assemblages have presented challenges to establishing a clear argument for their production or use by African descended persons.

Greg Smith (1997) addressed these concerns in his work on the technologies of wine production at 17th century *bodegas* (wineries) in Moquegua, Peru. Even though he was able to identify documentary records citing the presence of Afro-descendant ceramicists at the estates, the lack of comparative collections from other Latin American contexts made it difficult to definitively discern African-influenced or African-made objects. As a result, Smith balanced his interpretations by suggesting the possible presence of Afro-descendants as part of a broader “range of actors and cultures that affected the archaeological record” (Weik 2004:35).

Krista Eschbach (2019) faced similar concerns in her recent research on intercultural contributions to ceramic technology in the Port of Veracruz, Mexico. Through macro- and microscopic analysis of ceramics collected from two Afro-mestizo neighborhoods, the Barrios de Minas and the Barrios de las Californias, Eschbach examined the blend of technologies and

social dynamics that influenced pottery production in the 17th and 18th centuries. Similar to Smith, she observed that recognizing the specific technological contributions of Africans and Afro-mestizos was often difficult in comparison to indigenous and Spanish influences, which have been more thoroughly studied and documented in archaeological research (Eschbach 2019).

Archaeological studies of ceramic technologies have demonstrated the need to develop more diverse methods for investigating African diaspora influences at historical sites, and to confront their ‘archaeological invisibility’ (Weik 2004; Weaver 2015; Eschbach 2019) in existing scholarship. Since the early 2000s, scholars have increasingly turned to other materials in order to disentangle the lives and experiences of African descended peoples at Spanish colonial sites. This methodological shift has been paralleled by a broadening of research questions. That is, rather than examining the relationship between archaeological materials and ideas of ethnic or cultural identity, researchers have instead considered how these materials might reflect Afro-descendants’ strategic navigations of social, political, and economic networks across colonial contexts (Sampeck 2018a).

For example, in his study of the fort of Omoa in Honduras, Russell Sheptak (2017) explored the intimate lives and material practices of different *castas* during the 17th to 18th centuries. Archaeological assemblages indicated that food and tobacco rations were similar between the Afro-descendant soldiers and the higher-status *pardo* (mixed African, European, and indigenous descent) merchants. Meanwhile, an in-depth study of three Afro-descendant individuals of diverse *castas* revealed the permeability of imposed colonial hierarchies at the fort, as individuals changed their designations in order to attain a more favorable status in the community. Taken together, these material and documentary findings illuminate the multiple

ways that Afro-descendant residents maneuvered the social, political, and economic systems at Omoa in order to better their everyday lives.

Archaeological research at the free black settlement of San Francisco de Paula in the Yucatan found parallel examples of Afro-descendants' diverse engagements in colonial and early Republican economies (Andrews 2017). In spite of the settlement's peripheral location, archaeological assemblages suggested that it's Afro-descendant residents cultivated access to the same goods as urban elites in the capital of Merida, and likely shared in the profitable logwood trade. According to Anthony Andrews (2017), these findings provided new evidence of how Afro-descendants at San Francisco de Paula may have strategically negotiated colonial social structures in order to build personal and economic freedoms.

Kathryn Sampeck's (2018b) recent investigations in what is now western El Salvador posed a somewhat differing perspective from these previous studies. In her archaeological and archival research in the Spanish town of Sonsonate, Sampeck found sharp contrasts between the assemblages of one mulatto neighborhood and other nearby communities. These distinctions suggest that some Afro-descendant communities in Sonsonate actually cultivated distinct material worlds from surrounding Spanish colonial society. Importantly, this study highlights how consumption and consumerism amongst free Afro-Latin American communities could be used not only to imagine new social possibilities, but also to establish a new sense of place within colonial societies.

Together, these projects and other similar studies of material production and consumption reveal the diversity in Afro-Latin American material practices across regional contexts. They have also begun to indicate patterns in Afro-Latin American social and economic livelihoods across the rural/urban divide. However, while researchers across Central (Erquicia 2017;

Gaitann-Amann 2017) and South (Schavelzon 2017) America have thoroughly engaged archival records treating the histories of Afro-descendant communities in urban contexts, there have been few archaeological studies in these spaces.

Similar to African diaspora research in North America and the Caribbean, discussed earlier in this chapter, archaeological investigations that have emerged in urban contexts have typically centered around cemetery sites. A pioneering study of urban Afro-descendant life was the project led by Vera Tiesler (Tiesler et al 2010; see also Price et al 2006) in the coastal city of Campeche, Mexico. Excavations in the city center in 2000 led to the discovery of the colonial church Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, including a cemetery with at least 180 individuals of European, indigenous, and African descent (Price et al 2006; Tiesler et al 2010). Isotopic analysis enabled researchers to trace the origins of ten Afro-descendant individuals to local areas near Campeche, as well as to parts of West Africa (Price et al 2006). Importantly, these studies played a key role in providing material evidence of the presence of African diaspora populations in colonial Mexico, as well as identifying their possible origins and conditions of living (Tiesler et al 2010).

Julie Wesp (2020) has built upon these interventions by examining bioarchaeological evidence of Afro-descendant populations in colonial Mexico City. Ongoing macroscopic and chemical analysis of human skeletal remains associated with the Hospital Real San Jose de los Naturales have revealed how social and political changes in the 16th to 18th centuries affected the living conditions of the city's Afro-descendant community. While the full findings of this research are forthcoming, they have the potential to expand our understanding of the positionality of African descended peoples within the emerging social, spiritual, and medical infrastructures of colonial Mexico City.

Collectively, these themes of identity, production and consumption, and the conditions of colonial life have all intersected in studies of self-liberated or ‘maroon’ communities. Studies of marronage represent a sizeable proportion of African diaspora archaeology in Latin America, and have especially centered around sites in Brazil (Allen 1995; Funari 1995; Orser 1994, 1996), Cuba (Garcia Arevalo 1986), the Dominican Republic, and Jamaica (Agorash 1990, 1993).

A pioneering project in marronage studies, and in African diaspora archaeology in Latin America more broadly, was Charles Orser (1994, 1996) and Pedro Paulo Funari’s (1995) work at the Palmares settlement in southeastern Brazil. Historical accounts of European colonists and archaeological studies of settlement patterns led Orser and Funari to suggest that Palmares was a community continuously at war with surrounding colonists. At the same time, studies of ceramics in domestic contexts across the site’s multiple villages indicated that the self-liberated community strategically participated in the interchange of materials and traditions with nearby settlers and indigenous peoples. These findings provided a framework for conceptualizing Palmares as an autonomous and socio-politically complex community that continuously “struggled for freedom and resisted oppression” (Orser and Funari 2001:67).

Another site that has been identified as an important symbol of self-liberation and resistance is Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, located outside of colonial Saint Augustine in Florida. Founded by more than 100 self-liberated Africans and Afro-descendants who escaped their British captors in South Carolina, Mose became a symbol of freedom for enslaved persons in the region, as well as a key ally for the Spanish military in La Florida (Deagan and MacMahon 1995). Similar to Palmares, Mose evolved into an independent community with a unique culture based in African traditions, with additional indigenous and European influences (Orser 1998).

Archaeological research at Palmares and Mose, among other maroon communities (see Orser and Funari 2001) played an important role in a larger shift in African diaspora archaeology in the Americas in the 1990s, discussed previously (see section 2.2.4 of this chapter). That is, they encouraged scholars to move away from a strict focus on contexts and conditions of enslavement, which risked equating Afro-descendant life and identity with the status of captivity (Orser 1998). Instead, by revealing the history of self-liberated communities, the archaeology of marronage and resistance played “an important role in fostering empowerment” (Orser and Funari 2001:69) for Afro-Latin American peoples, and laid the groundwork for later efforts to commemorate and celebrate Afro-Latin American heritage (Benavides 2008).

2.3.3. Current Debates and Future Directions

African diaspora archaeology in Latin America has continued to remain relatively scarce through the last decade in comparison to North American and Caribbean contexts. A key turning point in efforts to bring Latin American perspectives more fully into African diaspora research was the edited volume *Current Perspectives on the Archaeology of African Slavery in Latin America*, published in 2014 (Funari and Orser 2014). Contributors to this book addressed a number of themes that continue to be directly relevant to the fields of African diaspora archaeology and bioarchaeology across the Americas. For example, while acknowledging the critical influence of maroon studies, the authors raised theoretical concerns about moving beyond sites of resistance, to instead consider the ways in which Afro-descendant communities worked within and across existing social structures to achieve various types of personal freedom in their everyday lives (Fellows and Delle 2014; Fennell 2014). Moreover, echoing long-standing discussions in a global field of African diaspora archaeology (Agorash 1996), they highlighted

the need for a greater attention to scale—and inter- and trans-national perspectives in particular—for cultivating a more nuanced understanding of the diaspora (Funari and Orser 2014; Torres de Souza 2014).

At the same time, however, the volume revealed the continued limitations of African diaspora research in the region. On the one hand, several of the case studies employed methodologies that had already been widely critiqued in African diaspora scholarship (see Singleton 1995; Agorash 1996; Leone et al 2005), such as the search for ‘Africanisms’ in colonial ceramics (Suaza Español 2014), and the reliance on colonial archival documents with little engagement of material archaeological data (Ferreira and La Rosa 2014).

On the other hand, it reflected a broader concern in African diaspora research in the Americas, which has been raised at several points in this chapter. That is, the structure of the volume itself actually served as an example of the continued geographical limitations of African diaspora archaeology, including within Latin America itself. Of the six case studies, three were located in Brazil, one in Cuba, and the last in Jamaica. While studies since the mid-2000s have begun to emerge in Argentina (Schavelzon 2017), Colombia (Maria Angelica Suaza Espanol 2014), and Ecuador (Jamieson 2000, 2005; Balanzátegui 2018), such studies remain the exception in a field that continues to be dominated by Caribbeanist and Lusophone research.

In spite of these observations, the edited volume played a critical role in bringing together scholars interested in African diaspora research across Latin America, and in identifying new areas for development. Since its publication, scholars have striven to continue building international collaborations and dialogues. In 2017, the first forum on Afro-Latin American Archaeology was held at the Society for American Archaeology’s annual meeting in Vancouver, BC. This forum brought together students and researchers working in countries across Central

and South America, as well as parts of the Spanish Caribbean. Panelists discussed urgent themes and debates in Afro-Latin American research, including themes addressed in this chapter.³ These discussions resulted in the formal establishment of the Afro-Latin American Archaeology Interest Group within the Society for American Archaeology, and its first formal workshop in the fall of 2017 (Sampeck 2018a).

Since its first meeting, the Afro-Latin American Archaeology Interest Group has held discussions at the annual conferences of the Society for American Archaeology, the Society for Historical Archaeology, and the First Continental Conference on Afro-Latin American Studies at Harvard University in 2019. Together, these meetings have generated awareness of the existence of African diaspora archaeology in Latin America, both within the discipline of archaeology and in the academic community more broadly. The international and multilingual dialogues led by the interest group have worked to solidify Afro-Latin American Archaeology as a legitimate field with its own objectives, theoretical debates, and methodological interests.

2.3.4. Archaeology of the African Diaspora in Peru

While the recent advances in Afro-Latin American Archaeology have been critical to expanding the scope and scale of African diaspora research in the Americas, they have largely been limited to the North American archaeological community and academic organizations. In order for Afro-Latin American Archaeology to gain traction across Central and South America, researchers must continue to advocate, organize, and present in their respective nations. This will require expanding the number of researchers and investigations across Latin America.

³ For example, panelists discussed the importance of expanding the regional scope of African diaspora archaeology in Latin America, especially in Central America and the Andes; the desire to engage more diverse research topics, such as economies and trade, urban life, and the relationship between material landscapes and oral histories; and finally, the sociopolitics of archaeology in combating issues of invisibility and exclusion in popular discourse.

One area that Afro-Latin American archaeologists aim to continue to develop is the central Andes, and Peru in particular (Jamieson 2005; Benavides 2008; VanValkenburgh et al 2016). The underrepresentation of African diaspora research in Peruvian archaeology is in part reflective of the later development of historical archaeology as a field in the region (VanValkenburgh et al 2016). However, it is also symptomatic of a broader epistemological and sociopolitical concern, which is the invisibility and exclusion of Afro-Peruvian histories in popular and, to a degree, academic discourse (Golash-Boza 2011; Greene 2012).

As Brendan Weaver (2015:9) has noted, the invisibility of Afro-descendants in Peruvian archaeology “is not necessarily due to the types of sites archaeologists have chosen to excavate in Peru.” Indeed, Afro-Andean presence has been identified through archaeological excavations in both urban (e.g. Fhon 2010) and rural (e.g. Rice 1994, 1996, 1996b, 1997; Rice and Smith 1989; Smith 1997) contexts. Instead, this invisibility is more likely the result of two factors within the discipline of Peruvian archaeology. First, there continues to be a scarcity of projects that treat Afro-descendants as primary research subjects (VanValkenburgh et al 2016). And secondly, in the projects that do identify African presence at their sites, researchers might not have enough material or documentary evidence to fully interpret it. As a result, the influence of Africans and Afro-descendants can only be made through indirect arguments based on comparative data, or might be misinterpreted for Spanish or indigenous Andean traditions.

One of the first historical archaeology projects to address African diaspora histories in Peru was the Moquegua Bodegas Project (Rice 1994, 1996, 1996b, 1997; Rice and Smith 1989; Smith 1997). Directed by Prudence Rice in the 1980s, this interdisciplinary historical and archaeological investigation examined wine production in the southern coastal valley of Moquegua during the mid-16th to 19th centuries. Over the course of multiple field seasons,

researchers documented 130 colonial wine estates (*bodegas*) across the valley. Using architectural and ceramic data from a sample of these sites, they were able to develop a closer understanding of the development of vinicultural technology in the colonial Andes.

Importantly, these studies—and especially Smith’s later (1997) reevaluation of previous published data—suggested the possible influence of African stylistic traditions on the ceramic materials. However, due to limitations in their data and in existing typologies for historic Andean ceramics, they were ultimately not able to distinguish these African influences from Spanish and indigenous material practices. In spite of these limitations, the Moquegua Bodegas Project played an important role in calling critical attention to the presence of African diaspora peoples, materials, and influences in archaeological research in Peru.

While the intercultural and multiethnic nature of colonial settlements in the Andes might problematize archaeological efforts to discern African influences on material culture and landscapes, another possible factor in “Afro-Andean invisibility” (Weaver 2015:10) is the type of questions that have been posed by historical archaeological research. That is, African and Afro-descendant communities, their histories, and their material culture are less often treated as primary subjects of study in archaeological projects.

For example, while there have been a few comprehensive analyses of forced labor during the post-contact period, these studies have largely focused on the *encomienda* system of tribute labor, in which the Spanish Crown compelled indigenous communities to work on agricultural estates for several months of each year (for review see Van Buren 2010; Zarankin and Salerno 2008). Meanwhile, of the few projects that have been conducted on colonial landholdings with historically recognized ties to African captive labor, research questions have investigated

material technologies of production, rather than the lives of the enslaved African laborers who operated them (Rice 1994, 1996, 1996b, 1997; Rice and Smith 1989; Smith 1997).

A notable exception is the Haciendas of Nasca Archaeological Project, directed by Brendan Weaver and Miguel Fhon in the coastal valley of Nasca, Peru. Since 2012, Weaver and Fhon have integrated archaeological, archival, and ethnohistorical data in order to investigate the lives of enslaved African laborers on Jesuit wine estates during the late colonial period (Weaver 2015; Weaver et al 2019). By framing enslaved labor within a practice-based approach, the project has explored how captive Africans were able to negotiate their fates within the hacienda system. In particular, they observed that African laborers continued to express traditional cosmovisions through incisions on tools and architecture, and were also able to exercise a degree control over their own conditions of living by raising animals, cultivating gardens, and participating in local markets (Weaver 2015). From this perspective, the project has contributed to a larger body of archaeological literature in both the Spanish colonial Andes (Klaus and Tam 2009; VanValkenburgh 2012; Wernke 2013; Murphy and Klaus 2017) and African diaspora studies (Weik 1997, 2012; Orser and Funari 2001) that recognize that control over colonized laborers was rarely ever complete, but instead continually negotiated through local practice.

2.3.5. Conclusion

It is in this field of archaeological scholarship that this dissertation project situates itself. On the one hand, through bioarchaeological and historical research at Hacienda La Quebrada, it aims to address the invisibility (Weaver 2015) of African diaspora pasts in Peruvian historical archaeology. In particular, it aims to contribute to the expansion of African diaspora archaeology in the region by offering a new source of archaeological data: human skeletal remains. By

providing insight into the short- and long-term effects of surrounding social conditions, bioarchaeological approaches have the potential to add depth and diversity to our understanding of experiences of enslavement in Peru, and to thus broaden existing knowledge about the processes and legacies of the African diaspora in this part of the Spanish colonial world.

On the other hand, building upon the precedent set by the New York African Burial Ground Project, this project's emphasis on community-engaged approaches to the study of Afro-Peruvian histories moves beyond the 'making visible' (Spivak 1988) of Afro-Andean communities. By actively incorporating local Afro-descendant citizens and stakeholder organizations as key actors in defining the research program, interpreting its results, and developing strategies for commemoration, it aims to demonstrate how an archaeology of enslavement can be mobilized by stakeholder communities as a strategy for pursuing social healing and belonging.

2.4. Theoretical Approaches to Afro-Latin American Archaeology in Peru

2.4.1. Introduction

In the previous sections, I charted the history of African diaspora archaeology in the Americas, foregrounding topical (bioarchaeological) and regional (Latin America, and Peru in particular) interest areas. I discussed how the field initially developed, the regions and themes where research has been focused, and the disciplinary and sociopolitical contexts that shaped these trends. Through this overview, two key themes emerged as important shifts in archaeological thought and practice, which have come to characterize the field of African diaspora archaeology today. The first is the growing attention to the sociopolitics of archaeological research since late 1980s and 1990s (Blakey 1997; Franklin 1997; Franklin and

McKee 2004). Related to this critical consideration of the sociopolitics of archaeological research is a second trend that has emerged since the 1990s, towards a reflection on the relationship between researchers and descendant and stakeholder communities (McCarthy 1996; Franklin 1997; La Roche and Blakey 1997; Mack and Blakey 2004; Brighton 2011).

In bioarchaeology, the New York African Burial Ground controversy was a watershed moment in drawing attention to the potential impacts of archaeological research on descendant and stakeholder communities (La Roche and Blakey 1997; Mack and Blakey 2004). Meanwhile, the rise of social archaeology (Oyuela-Caycedo et al 1997; Benavides 2001; Jamieson 2005b) and, more recently, post- and de-colonial theory (Lao-Montes 2007; Walsh 2007; Haber 2016), have shaped a distinct dialogue around these issues in Latin American historical archaeology.

Building on these trends, this section highlights key theories from these bodies of literature that underpin this dissertation's approach to studying the lives and life-histories of enslaved persons at Hacienda La Quebrada, and the significance of these histories to descendant communities today. It focuses specifically on the influences of three⁴ theoretical frameworks: 1) Black feminist thinking (Franklin 2001; Battle-Baptiste 2011); 2) decolonizing theory from an Afro-Latin/American perspective (Lao-Montes 2007; Walsh 2007; Rahier 2012); and 3) community-engaged research paradigms in archaeology (Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001; Balanzátegui 2018). I explain how I integrate these ideas into an interpretive framework for the work performed through this dissertation project, and how they contributed towards the project's

⁴ As suggested in Chapter 1 (see Section 1.4.), theoretical approaches to the study of the body in archaeology are also an important foundation for this dissertation project. However, discussion of relevant bioarchaeological theory and method has been woven throughout this dissertation, and therefore these topics are not outlined here. The specific methodological approaches used by this project in its study of the enslaved body will be summarized in Chapter 4, which presents an overview of research materials and methodologies. Meanwhile, detailed overviews of relevant theoretical paradigms will be addressed in Chapters 5 and 6, which present the findings and interpretations of the bioarchaeological research performed for this dissertation project.

research objectives. Ultimately, I argue that the epistemological and methodological inclusivity of these approaches are well-suited to this dissertation project's efforts to mobilize archaeological scholarship as a strategic tool to confront the marginalization of Afro-Peruvian communities in historical discourse and contemporary heritage politics (Golash-Boza 2011; Greene 2012).

2.4.2. Black Feminist Thinking in African Diaspora Archaeology

The tenets of Black feminist theorizing can serve as guidelines for producing reflective, politically aware and emancipatory narratives of archaeological pasts where Black experiences are embodied. Any archaeologists concerned with the sociopolitics of the discipline should concern themselves with this literature (Franklin 2001:116).

Black feminist archaeology is both a set of methodological practices and an ethical and sociopolitical agenda (Battle-Baptiste 2011). Drawing on Black feminist (hooks 1981, 1984; Hull et al 1982; Smith 1983; Collins 1986, 1991) and womanist (Walker 1983) scholars, it is premised on two key observations. First, following the definition of intersectionality set forth by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), it recognizes that individuals, and Black women in particular, have multiple axes of identity, including race, gender, class, and sexuality, among others. And secondly, it argues that because of these intersectional identities, Black women are simultaneously subject to multiple intersecting vectors of oppression (Collins 1986, 1991).

In the 1980s and 1990s, Black feminist scholars observed that traditional interpretive approaches to the study of oppression tended to obscure these identities and experiences by focusing on one factor, such as class, race, or gender. For Black women in particular, this approach led to higher burdens of exclusion in struggles against racism, which foregrounded the experiences of Black men; and in feminist movements, where platforms were largely driven by

the interests of White women (Franklin 2001). To address these concerns, they argued for an intersectional approach that would account for multiple axes of oppression, marginalization and violence, and their complex interconnections (King 1988; Collins 1991; Brewer 1993). In doing so, this Black feminist framework could reconstruct a more realistic, inclusive, and empowering representation of African American histories and experiences.

In archaeology, Maria Franklin (2001) and Whitney Battle-Baptiste (2011) have called for a closer engagement of Black feminist perspectives as a way to account for both the multiple axes of difference and the intersecting vectors of oppression in African diaspora communities. Similar to Crenshaw (1989), they observe that archaeological studies that do not explicitly address the intersecting identities of Afro-descendants risk homogenizing diverse individual experiences. In her 2001 article “A Black Feminist Archaeology?”, Franklin offers her own dissertation research at the 18th century Rich Neck site in Virginia as an example . She notes that in her original analysis of the living quarters for the enslaved community, she had approached the emergence of Afro-Virginian identity formation through the lens of culture, race, and enslavement, but not gender and age. In doing so, the diversity of experiences and identities within this community was lost. As Franklin ultimately concludes:

Because my dissertation did not employ a Black feminist perspective, my interpretations of Rich Neck’s enslaved community conflated the experiences of the men, women, and children known to have lived there. Although it was not my intention, I nonetheless managed to erase Black women and children from this past (Franklin 2001:114).

Franklin’s reflection is especially pertinent to this dissertation project. As will be discussed in further detail in Chapters 5 and 6, excavations at the cemetery for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada have revealed the distinct experiences of individuals across axes of gender and age. On the one hand, the recovery of an estimated 13 subadults

ranging from newborns to children around four years old suggest the vulnerability of young individuals to the conditions of living at the plantation. The high numbers of newborns and infants under the age of 12 months old in particular may illuminate how the interplay of rates of female fertility and infant death shaped the larger demographic profile of the enslaved population at Hacienda La Quebrada. Historical records describing continued labor burdens for childbearing mothers, limited access to medical care both during and after childbirth, and the broader conditions of childbirth and childrearing in rural plantation society during the 18th and early 19th centuries help to contextualize these patterns, allowing a closer understanding of the intersecting influences of captivity and colonial life on subadults and women of childbearing age at Hacienda La Quebrada during the late colonial period.

On the other hand, in spite of the relatively close sex ratios in the bioarchaeological and archival records, the frequencies of death during early adulthood were nearly double for enslaved women than for enslaved men. Moreover, fewer women appear to have survived into late adulthood—of the estimated minimum of 36 adult females in the burial record, 90 percent perished by the end of their 40s. These patterns offer a counterpoint to popular narratives that emphasize the impacts of the harsh physical labor exploited from captive African workers, and especially adult men, as a central driver in younger overall age at death amongst enslaved African populations in the Americas. Instead, they demonstrate the need to more closely interrogate the unique conditions experienced by enslaved women, including the intersecting impacts of labor, childbearing and motherhood, and sexual violence (Camp 2002; Franklin 2001; Voss 2008b,c; Arrelucea 2009). They also indicate that the broader everyday conditions of life in colonial plantations posed unique risks across different stages in the life course, which need to be

taken into account in interpretations of skeletal data. Understanding these different experiences is made possible by employing the intersectional lens of a Black feminist theoretical framework.

While a Black feminist framework is most directly useful for addressing the experiences of enslaved women and children, it also has implications for the study of captive communities more broadly. Returning to Franklin (2001:109): “Black feminist scholarship is relevant...as it exists at the intersection where the analysis of multiple forms of oppression meets with the struggle for recognition and social justice for Black women to start, and for all subjugated groups in the end.” Here, Franklin refers to the utility of Black feminist archaeology as both a methodology and a sociopolitical agenda (see also Battle-Baptiste 2011:29). As suggested above, integrating an intersectional perspective into archaeological interpretations can shed light on how the multiple layers of racism, sexism, colonialism, and captivity affected enslaved persons. In doing so, it also highlights the diversity of African diaspora communities, identities, and experiences, which I hope will be demonstrated by this dissertation as a whole.

This orientation towards inclusivity is also a central to Black feminist archaeology as research practice. A key tenet of Black feminist archaeology is its critique of traditional research practices that fail to fully engage the perspectives, traditions, and worldviews of African descended peoples (Battle-Baptiste 2011). Through the incorporation of multiple forms of knowledge, including critical race theory and African diaspora literature, it strives to produce more reflexive narratives of the past. Moreover, by daylighting the sociopolitical impacts of archaeological scholarship on perceptions of Afro-descendant communities and their struggles for recognition, Black feminist frameworks draw attention to the critical need for reflection on the ethics and impacts of archaeological practice. As Franklin (2001:109) highlights, this

“critique has implications for all archaeologies that claim a critical space and which advocate a sociopolitical agenda of inclusiveness and empowerment for historically marginalized groups”.

Such concerns are especially relevant in the Peruvian context where Afro-descendant communities face exclusion in popular and, to a degree, academic discourse (Golash-Boza 2011; Greene 2012; Weaver 2015). In a landscape where the recognition of archaeological sites as national cultural patrimony plays so directly into both the national tourist economy and identity discourse, a Black feminist perspective offers a poignant framework for situating the potential impacts of this dissertation research.

2.4.3. Decolonizing Scholarship in Latin American Archaeology

The African Diaspora can be conceived as a project of decolonization and liberation embedded in the cultural practices, intellectual currents, social movements, and political actions of Afro-diasporic subjects (Lao Montes 2007:310).

Black feminist archaeology’s recognition of the inherent sociopolitical dynamics and impacts of archaeological practice, as well as its conviction in the potential emancipatory power of archaeological narratives, echoes recent theoretical developments in Latin American historical archaeology. Most relevant to this dissertation project are perspectives towards archaeology as embedded in, and often contributing to, dynamics of power—perspectives that closely echo the central ideas of decolonizing theory, especially from an Afro-Latin American perspective.

As both a conceptual framework and an explicit political orientation, decoloniality in Latin American archaeology derives from social archaeology, presented earlier in this chapter. By the 1990s, social archaeology had already begun to wane in Latin America, largely due to the growth of processualist perspectives derived from North American scholarship and anti-Marxist

crackdowns by military dictatorships in South America. It was at that time that three parallel but unrelated developments shaped the emergence of decolonizing theory in archaeological research.

First, in Brazil, Pedro Paulo Funari explored the conditions of archaeological practice in rural versus metropolitan contexts in Latin America. This work had the effect of repositioning South America as a producer of archaeological methods and theory, rather than a testing ground for North American and European scholars (Funari 1989, 1992). Secondly, Mamani Condori explored how Aymara epistemologies and ontologies could be applied to shape new perspectives towards archaeological studies of Bolivia's past (Condori 1989, 1992). And finally, similar to Condori, the anthropologist Luis Guillermo Vasco Uribe developed a research approach to studying the history of the Misak peoples in Colombia that drew on their own worldviews and ideologies (Vasco Uribe 1992, 2002). By re-centering archaeological theory around indigenous understandings of "the world, time, history, and being" (Haber 2016:472), these latter two studies were able to diversify traditional conceptions of national history, archaeology and identity, particularly from an indigenous perspective.

Collectively, these three developments sparked a shift in the conceptual, political, and methodological approaches to archaeological research in South America by reversing the colonialist orientations of traditional research to align it with the interests of stakeholder communities, and indigenous communities in particular. They also strove to reverse the directionality of power within scholarly projects and discourse by re-situating the South America as an epicenter in the production of archaeological knowledge (Haber 2016).

Led by these scholars, as well as others such as Cristobal Gnecco (1999), Alejandro Haber (2016), Walter Mignolo (2003, 2007), and Anibal Quijano (2000), decolonizing theory has expanded to become a dominant trend within South American historical archaeology.

According to Haber (2016:471), decolonizing thought in the region can be defined by through three intersecting perspectives: “(a) a critical approach to the ways archaeology contributes to coloniality, (b) a criticism of the mechanisms by which coloniality informs archaeology, and (c) a varied exposure of archaeology to subaltern...knowledge.”

In recent years, Afro-Latin American researchers have called for a further qualification of decolonizing frameworks. Noting that there are differences in the way that diverse subaltern communities were the “objects of power and subjects of agency” (Escobar 2007:193) in Spanish colonial contexts, they have encouraged scholars to account for the particular experiences, identities, and worldviews of African descended peoples (Escobar 2007; Lao-Montes 2007; Walsh 2007). Importantly, similar to Black feminist archaeologists, Afro-Latin American researchers have noted that, while well intentioned, decolonizing scholarship has tended to focus on indigenous communities. They argue that this has contributed to a double subalternization of Afro-Latin American communities within archaeological scholarship, as African diaspora studies continue to focus largely on Anglo contexts, and Latin American projects center around Hispano-American and indigenous pasts (Lao-Montes 2007). This double subalternization ultimately contributes to the “condition of relative exclusion” (Lao-Montes 2007:323) of Afro-descendant peoples from national memory, history, and definitions of identity.

Decolonizing theories from an Afro-Latin American perspective aim to unsettle dominant discourse by highlighting the diversity of colonial subjects, and the intersecting impacts of colonialism, racism, and racialized oppression on Afro-descendant communities in particular. Building on decolonizing and feminist—especially Women of Color and Third World Women—critiques, Afro-Latin American decolonial frameworks re-center historical narratives around Afro-Latin American subjects and knowledge (see Lao-Montes 2007:315-317).

Reconceptualizing the past through an African diaspora lens allows for more inclusive narratives of local, national, and transnational histories. At the same time, given that understandings of the past inform contemporary politics of community-making, such perspectives also have implications for present-day struggles for recognition and social justice (Balanzátegui 2018).

Concerns regarding the subalternization of Afro-descendant histories, experiences, and knowledge in both narratives of the past and contemporary research practice are important considerations for this dissertation research project. As cited previously, Afro-descendant communities have largely been marginalized within narratives of Peruvian history, cultural heritage, and national identity. Within academic research, this has been mirrored by a tendency of archaeological—and to a degree, historical—projects to focus on the perspectives of Spanish colonizers and indigenous communities (see VanValkenburgh et al 2016). Meanwhile, within African diaspora archaeology, perspectives from Peru have been largely absent (Weaver 2015). Peru's Afro-descendant community is thus especially emblematic of the multiple layers of subalternization cited in Afro-Latin American decolonizing critiques.

Situating this dissertation within a larger dialogue about how Afro-descendant perspectives can be mobilized as decolonizing practice makes it possible to see these multiple vectors of silencing and exclusion. As a result, it becomes possible to evaluate how to gather, interpret, and represent this project's archaeological, bioarchaeological, and historical data in a way that does not further perpetuate the subalternization of Afro-Peruvian perspectives.

One way this project aims to address these concerns is to move beyond the bounds of the academy in order to include counter-hegemonic nonacademic thought, including traditional knowledge and objectives inspired by local social movements. This dissertation project has striven to realize these objectives by grounding itself in a collaborative framework that is shaped

by the worldviews, interests, and knowledge of Afro-descendant community stakeholders in both La Quebrada and the broader district of San Luis. By working with descendant stakeholders to reflect on the histories of enslavement at Hacienda La Quebrada, this project follows calls by Afro-Latin American decolonizing scholars to mobilize ‘other’ narratives of the past as a strategic tool to confront the “non-existence, dominated existence and dehumanization” (Walsh 2007:232) that has been the legacy of colonialism and African captivity in Peru.

2.4.4. Bridging Theory and Practice through Community-Engaged Research

This dissertation takes the conceptual frameworks and sociopolitical objectives of Black feminist and Afro-Latin American decolonizing theories, and bridges them through community-engaged methods. As suggested above, both of these theories are driven in part by concerns about representation and power in academic research, and in the narratives that it produces. From the perspective of Black feminist archaeologists, confronting the marginalization of Afro-descended peoples—and women in particular—necessitates “strategies of inclusion and responsibility” (Franklin 2001:116) in research methods. Similarly, Afro-Latin American decolonizing critiques call for researchers to “bring forward and relate histories, struggles, experiences, and knowledges” (Walsh 2007:231) of African diaspora communities in order to address the subalternization of Afro-Latin American peoples in public and academic discourse.

The methods and sociopolitical objectives of community-engaged scholarship are well positioned to address these concerns. Engagement can encompass a spectrum of methods, spanning from the still largely researcher-driven public archaeology, to more fully participatory Community-Based Participatory Research (Colwell and Ferguson 2008). Where a project falls on this spectrum often depends on the local realities of the research area. However, what unifies

these approaches is their commitment to meaningfully incorporate communities—however defined in a particular context—based on their capacities, interests, and objectives (Atalay 2012).

As suggested earlier in this chapter, questions about researchers' relationships with and responsibilities to stakeholder communities have been increasingly important in African diaspora bioarchaeology over the past three decades. The growth of community-engaged practices has been part of broader intellectual trend in the discipline of archaeology, led in large part by indigenous and African American scholars (for review see Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2016). Pointing to the legacies of colonialism and racism in archaeology, they argue that researchers' failure to work with the peoples whose pasts they are studying has direct impacts on present-day communities—impacts that can span from the destruction of sacred remains, to the perpetuation of negative stereotypes (La Roche and Blakey 1997; Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2016).

This push towards more collaborative research strategies has led to fundamental changes in how human skeletal remains are conceptualized in archaeological discourse. Rather than viewing skeletal remains as specimens for scientific research, scholars now pose them as ancestors who have social lives and importance in the present. Importantly, this reframing of human skeletal remains has been built into legal (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, 1990) and ethical (Vermillion Accord on Human Remains, 1989) standards for bioarchaeological research, thus directly shaping future methodological and theoretical directions in the discipline (Ferguson 2009, Fforde 2014; McAnany and Rowe 2015).

Another important outcome of the shift towards community-engaged methods has been to demonstrate the potential of archaeology to help descendant communities confront histories of violence and resulting social tensions in the present. In her research at the Levi Jordan Plantation in Texas, Carol McDavid (1997, 2002) observed that the history of slavery and racism associated

with the estate had generated tensions between the local descendants of enslaved Africans on the one hand, and white slaveholding families on the other. These tensions had a direct impact on how residents perceived the plantation and its history, resulting in conflicting ideas for how it ought to be presented in archaeological and museum work (McDavid 2002).

To navigate this charged social landscape, McDavid suggested that the research team expand its methods for interpretation and preservation to intentionally address the interests of both descendant groups. “There is a great deal of continuity between past and present power relationships” (McDavid 1997:116) she observed, and therefore any representation that favored one point of view over the other would only further deepen the divisions in the local community. Instead, by encouraging both groups to work together and share power in the interpretation of the site, the project ultimately created a space for residents to learn about each other’s histories, and to begin to build bonds of shared interest and reconciliation (McDavid 1997).

Beyond providing a platform for dialogue and reconciliation, community-engaged research can also offer opportunities for communities—and especially traditionally marginalized groups—to achieve social, political, and historical recognition. In addition to the New York African Burial Ground Project, another important example of the commemorative power of collaborative research is the Garden of Memory Project. The Garden of Memory Project began in 2015 as part of ongoing efforts to revitalize an 18th to 20th century Afro-Ecuadorian cemetery located in the Chota-Mira Valley in northern Ecuador (Balanzátegui 2018). In collaboration with local Afro-Ecuadorian communities and organizations, the project cleaned and mapped the cemetery space, and ultimately petitioned to have it recognized as national cultural patrimony. These petitions opened critical dialogues about the need to confront exclusionary definitions of Ecuadorian identity and heritage, which have traditionally centered around indigenous and

Hispanic pasts while perpetuating negative stereotypes about African descended peoples (Walsh 2007). At the same time, they demonstrated how collaborative archaeology can be “a powerful instrument to advocate for respect” (Balanzátegui 2018:62) towards Ecuador’s Afro-descendant communities, their traditional knowledge, and their ancestral spaces.

2.4.5. Conclusion

The approaches taken by this dissertation project, which will be addressed at greater length in the discussion of research methods in Chapter 4, follow the examples set by existing collaborative studies of African diaspora sites. It is especially influenced by and in conversation with research at African diaspora cemeteries, such as the New York African Burial Ground and Garden of Memory projects (La Roche and Blakey 1997; McCarthy 2008; Balanzátegui 2018). Importantly, these studies have exemplified how collaborative research can serve as a positive and effective strategy to decolonize Afro-Latin/American knowledge, histories, and heritage.

On the one hand, by foregrounding local and descendant communities’ own strategies for preserving cemetery spaces, these projects offer an alternative approach to the standard practices for defining, studying, and conserving Afro-descendant cultural heritage. In doing so, they reaffirm that descendant communities have the traditional and academic knowledge to preserve their own cultural heritage sites, and that engaging this knowledge contributes to more sustainable stewardship over the long term (Lao-Montes 2007; Walsh 2007; Haber 2016).

On the other hand, such research models also suggest the commemorative potential of archaeology in struggles for the recognition of Afro-descendant tangible and intangible heritage. This recognition can be especially important in places such as Peru, where society has yet to come to terms with histories of enslavement and colonial race politics, and their implications for

dynamics of racism, discrimination, and inequality today (Santa Cruz, personal communication). By helping to make visible histories of racialized violence and captivity, while also commemorating histories of resilience and community-building, archaeological studies of Afro-Peruvian sites can be transformed into paths “of healing and identity construction for descendant communities” (Balanzátegui 2018:55).

Building on these interventions, this dissertation acts from the belief that archaeological projects can serve as a platform to voice the silenced histories of Afro-descendant populations. It recognizes that the entanglement of archaeology within institutional power dynamics means that archaeological research may serve to ‘validate’ or ‘give legitimacy’ to spaces and histories whose existence have been known to descendant communities for a long time. However, it also believes that creating a collaborative and intercultural space of dialogue can help to unsettle these power dynamics. By asserting that the strategies used to investigate, preserve, and commemorate cemetery sites are directly reflective of African diaspora worldviews, interests, and spiritual beliefs, “[c]ollaborative archaeology constitutes a powerful instrument to advocate for respect and recognition of Afro-[descendant] heritage” (Balanzátegui 2018:62).

Chapter 3: African Slavery in Peru's Coastal Sugar Economy during the Late Colonial Period

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the history of African slavery in Peru from the early 16th century to emancipation in 1854. The trajectory of the African diaspora in Peru and its social, cultural, and economic impacts in the region varied across time and space. As previous historical studies (Bowser 1974; Blanchard 1992; Hünefeldt 1994; Aguirre 2005; Arrelucea and Cosmalón 2015) have effectively demonstrated, there were considerable differences in the structural conditions of slavery in coastal and sierra regions, as well as across the urban/rural divide. At the same time, the independence movement in the early 19th century wrought far-reaching transformations in Peruvian society, contributing to a re-ordering of systems of coerced labor from the colonial to the republican period.

Comprehensive studies of the history of the African diaspora and slavery in Peru have been written by both Peruvian (Flores Galindo 1984; Aguirre 2005; Arrelucea 2009; Arrelucea and Cosmalón 2015) and Euro-American (Lockhart 1968; Bowser 1974; Blanchard 1992; Hünefeldt 1994; Bryant et al 2012) scholars. While this chapter will offer a general introduction to the early diaspora and Afro-descendant presence in the region, it will not go into a detailed discussion of this larger history. Instead, its objective will be to review historical developments that are most directly relevant to the topics addressed in this dissertation. The chapter will thus be organized into three parts, which are increasingly narrow in scope: 1) a brief overview of the emergence of African slavery in Peru during the 16th and 17th centuries; 2) the role of African slavery in Peru's coastal sugar economy from the 17th to 19th centuries, with a particular focus on

plantations owned by the religious group La Orden de la Buena Muerte; and 3) an introduction to the case of Hacienda La Quebrada, a sugar plantation operated by the order in the central coastal valley of Cañete, Peru from 1741 to 1849. Together, these sections will provide a background for the archaeological, bioarchaeological, and historical research performed for this dissertation project, which will be presented in the remaining chapters of this dissertation.

3.2. African Slavery in Peru: A General Overview

3.2.1. The Beginnings of African Slavery in Peru

From the 16th to the 19th centuries, approximately 12 million people were forcibly displaced from Africa and brought as captive laborers to European colonies across the Americas (Curtin 1969; Landers and Robinson 2006). While nearly three-quarters of these individuals would rebuild their lives in the Caribbean, U.S. South, and Brazil, the majority of the earliest diaspora communities were centered in Spanish territories across the continental Americas and Caribbean. In fact, enslaved Africans were part of the first Spanish expeditions that arrived in Hispaniola in the 1490s, and many also accompanied the explorations that voyaged into the continental mainland in the subsequent decades. Moreover, with the passage of the *asiento* by the Spanish Crown in 1543, and the temporary union between Portugal and Spain in the late 1500s, Spain came to play a key role in expanding the transatlantic slave trade throughout the New World (Landers and Robinson 2006; Klein and Vinson III 2007).

One node in this transnational network was the region of what is now Peru. As in other Spanish colonies across the Atlantic, the first captive Africans arrived in Peru with the earliest explorations into continental South America, in this case led by Francisco Pizarro in 1524 (Bowser 1974). References to enslaved Africans are scarce in early records of Spain's

colonization in the region, as chroniclers focused on the exploits of the Spaniards and the resources they observed during their expeditions, especially rumors of silver and other riches. However, a handful of notable cases (see Bowser 1974:5) suggest that captive Africans and Afro-descendants, mostly men, were brought by the Spanish to provide domestic work and other services, with some even assisting in military campaigns waged against local indigenous peoples.

The presence of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants in Peru was limited through the early years of Spanish conquest and settlement, which culminated in the creation of the Viceroyalty of Peru as Spain's second American territory in 1542. According to the historian Frederick Bowser (1974), the Afro-descendant population in the Viceroyalty of Peru was estimated to be only around 3,000 by the mid-1550s; notably, nearly half of this population was concentrated in Lima, the capital of the viceroyalty and its largest urban center.

Historians have attributed to limited presence of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants in early colonial Peru to several likely factors. Perhaps the most influential was the presence of a large indigenous population, which the Spaniards believed would provide a cheaper and more reliable source of labor than imported captive African workers (Bowser 1974; Aguirre 2005; Arrelucea and Cosmalón 2015). Returning to Bowser (1974:11-12): "In Peru the Spanish had conquered an aboriginal population that was large and accustomed over centuries to the requisition of...labor by a central authority," and which had already acclimated to working in the diverse environmental conditions of the central Andes.¹ In contrast, an enslaved African workforce would be more costly and its benefits less predictable, as Spanish colonists could not

¹ Here, Bowser is referring to the system of mandatory labor tribute (*mit'a*) that was established under Inca rule. In the Inca empire, all subjects who were physically capable were required to dedicate a set number of days each year towards performing labor for the state. This work was often used for public works projects, such as cultivating agricultural fields, constructing roads and bridges, and producing other essential goods and infrastructure (D'Altroy 2015).

anticipate how foreign laborers would respond to the often drastically changing Andean climate. Building on these observations, Spanish labor strategies in the early decades of colonization typically sought to minimize the importation of enslaved Africans, instead focusing on adapting existing systems of indigenous labor tribute to suit their own economic interests.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the Spanish Crown's primary economic interests in Peru revolved around the mining industry. As early as the 1530's, the fame of Peruvian riches had spread widely across the Spanish Empire, driving both official and private investment in the development of Peru's silver mines. This growth came at a catastrophic cost for the region's indigenous peoples. Since the 1980's, there have been ongoing debates over the extent of colonization's impact on indigenous populations in Peru, as well as the size of the indigenous population at the time of Spanish contact. As demographers and historians (see Cook 1982; Dobyns 1993; Ramírez 1998) have noted, instability and conflict through the first thirty years of the colonial regime resulted in incomplete census records in Peru during the pre-Toledo period. Moreover, the impacts of colonization on indigenous populations varied by region, and it is likely that estimates of decline in some regions might actually be reflective of communities who fled to other parts of Peru to evade Spanish colonizers. However, while their estimates may vary, statistical demographic studies all indicate that indigenous populations declined throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, as a result of combined factors such as labor demands, European diseases, resettlement, and general mistreatment (Bowser 1974; O'Toole 2012).

The decline in the indigenous population and the Spanish Crown's efforts to more closely regulate economic production sparked critical debates about how to organize labor in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Social reformists and leaders in the Catholic Church became increasingly vocal in opposition to the unfettered exploitation of indigenous labor, and the maltreatment of

indigenous peoples more broadly. While the specific justifications for these critiques varied on spiritual, economic, and humanistic grounds, they converged in a wave of public protestations that could no longer be disregarded by the Spanish Crown. An important tipping point was the publication of *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (1992[1542]), an account written by the Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas detailing the atrocities committed against indigenous peoples in Spain's colonies across the New World. The presentation of this account to Prince Philip II and the Council of the Indies ultimately contributed to the creation of the New Laws (1542), a series of mandates intended to control the system of indigenous slavery in the Spanish colonies (Andrien 2001).

While pressures and regulations were mounting to curb the exploitation of indigenous laborers, domestic production in the Viceroyalty of Peru was steadily expanding, driving the need for an even larger workforce. These changes compelled the Spanish Crown to reform its strategies towards labor regimes in the Viceroyalty of Peru. The existing system of vassalage (*encomienda*) that had been adapted from existing pre-hispanic systems of labor tribute was proving to be unsupportable as the primary source of labor in the colony, especially after the imposition of the controversial New Laws. Therefore, in the 1570s, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569-1580) proposed a new plan proposing that free Afro-descendants and mulattos (peoples of mixed African and Spanish ancestry) be compelled to work as well, although potentially for a small wage (Bowser 1974).

While Toledo was wary of importing captive Africans to Peru, fearing that it would lead to a large Afro-descendant population in the region, he conceded that there was a shortage of laborers to support the viceroyalty's economic aspirations, especially in mining and agriculture. Sensing a change in official attitudes towards Afro-descendant labor, merchants along the

Peruvian coast began to increase their demand for captive Africans. This precipitated a critical shift in both private and official strategies for forced labor in the Viceroyalty of Peru, from a reliance on indigenous workers to the exploitation of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants. Thus, by the 1580's, African slavery became "one of the keys to the economic development of Peru" (Bowser 1974:25), igniting a system of bondage and exploitation that would bring approximately 100,000 Africans to Peru over the course of the next two and a half centuries.

3.2.2. Origins and Roles of Enslaved Africans in Early Colonial Society

During the 16th and early 17th centuries, most of the captive Africans destined for Peru, and the Spanish Americas more broadly, originated from ports along the west coast of Africa. A major market for Portuguese and Spanish traders was a region between the Senegal and Niger Rivers known as the *Rios de Guinea*. While a small percentage of captives were imported to Peru from other parts of the Spanish colonies, the Iberian peninsula, and other markets in sub-Saharan Africa, historical accounts indicate a marked preference for West African captives from the regions of Senegambia and Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Mozambique, Angola, and to a lesser degree, the Congo (Lockhart 1968; Curtin 1969; Arrelucea and Cosmalón 2015). In his study of African slavery in early colonial Peru, the historian James Lockhart (1968) found that from 1548 to 1560, around 80 percent of enslaved persons in Lima and Arequipa were recorded as first-generation captive Africans (*bozales*), and that three-quarters of these *bozales* had been identified as 'Guineans' (Table 3.1.)

Table 3.1: Geographic Origins of Enslaved Africans in Peru, 1548-1560

(Adapted from Curtin 1969)

16th-Century Nomenclature	Number	Percentage
Senegambia and Guinea-Bissau	154	74.4
Other Areas of West Africa	32	15.5
Central and Southern Africa	21	10.1
Total	207	100

As the demand for enslaved African labor grew through the 17th century, and illicit trade with Portuguese merchants became more widespread in Spain's American colonies, the population of captive workers destined for Peru became more diverse in origin. While there was still a widespread preference for 'Guinean' laborers, the importation of captives expanded to include the broader expanse of the West African coast. This included not only Guinea and Senegal, but also the Canary Islands, Cape Verde, the Gold Coast, Mauritania, Sierra Leone, and São Tomé (Arrelucea and Cosmalón 2015).

While the origins of captive Africans shifted over the course of the 17th century, the trajectory of their forced migration to Peru was largely uniform throughout the early colonial period. Spanish and Portuguese merchant ships carrying captive Africans destined for Spain's colonies in Central and South America typically passed through one of two principal entrepôts: Cartagena and Panama. Upon arrival at these ports, the captive Africans who survived the perilous Middle Passage were sold to traders from diverse parts of Spain's American colonies. While the demand for enslaved labor was no doubt as great in regions such as Hispaniola and Venezuela, the desire for Peruvian silver gave merchants from Peru a strong advantage in the Cartagena and Panama markets. As a result, these ports became key conduits for the trafficking of enslaved Africans to the Viceroyalty of Peru (Bowser 1974; Aguirre 2005).

Slaving ships destined for Peru typically entered through the port of Callao in Lima, where captive Africans were sold to local settlers or to merchants for trade to other parts of the

Viceroyalty of Peru. Accounts differ on the average price of captive Africans and Afro-descendants in early colonial Peru. While historical registers (see Bowser 1974; Aguirre 2005; Luna 2017) suggest that enslaved persons arriving to Callao were commonly purchased for 300 to 400 pesos, this range could vary depending on the individual's age, sex, skillsets, and origins (i.e., first-generation *bozales* versus *ladrinos* born in the Spanish colonies). Moreover, merchants also took into account several other physical and moral characteristics, or what the Spanish called *tachas*, of the captives they sought to sell or purchase. These features included physical infirmities, which included anything from missing digits, superficial sores, and existing injuries, to sexual impotence and mental instabilities; as well as 'moral defects' such as histories of drunkenness, thievery, or attempted escape (Tardieu 2002; Aguirre 2005).

The widely held perception that *ladinos* who were born in the Spanish colonies were more likely to abscond or rebel against any imposed discipline led to a continued demand for African-born captive workers throughout the colonial period (Bowser 1974; Aguirre 2005). However, in practicality, decisions about the purchase of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants were also highly dependent on the particular type of labor that settlers demanded. From the 17th to 19th centuries, there were two primary markets for enslaved African and Afro-descendant laborers in Peru. The first were urban markets, especially in large cities like Lima Arequipa, and to a lesser degree, Cuzco. There was a vibrant diversity in the enslaved population in urban contexts, which paralleled the variability in the work demanded of it. For example, women of African descent were often hired as domestic laborers, cooks, laundresses, and maids (Hünefeldt 1994; Arrelucea 2009; McKinley 2016). Meanwhile, adult men of various ages worked as metalworkers, carpenters, shipyard workers, and artisans in an assortment of

workshops (*talleres*). Both men and women also served in charitable institutions, churches, and hospitals, or were sent by slaveholders to work contract jobs as day laborers (Aguirre 2005).

Outside of domestic and artisanal labor in Peru's major cities, the second largest market for captive Africans and Afro-descendants was for agricultural work, particularly in plantations lining the Peruvian coast. There were three nuclei of agricultural production in colonial Peru. In the north, sizeable sugar and other multi-crop estates (*haciendas*) formed in the valleys of Chicama, Jequetepeque, Santa, and Zaña as early as the 17th century (Aguirre 2005). Meanwhile, the valleys of Cañete, Condor, Ica, Nazca, and Pisco along the central coast, as well as the regions of Arequipa and Moquegua to the south, all tended to serve as centers for the production of sugar, wine, and brandy. As will be discussed in more detail below (see Section 3.3), the agricultural estates directly south of Lima tended to be larger in size and scale of production than their northern and southern counterparts, and thus became key population centers for African and Afro-descendant laborers (Cushner 1980; Davies 1984).

Differences in the labor economies of colonial cities and rural plantations contributed to demographic differences in Afro-descendant populations across these contexts during the 16th and 17th centuries. On the one hand, as suggested previously, both men and women of different ages played a central role in the urban economies of early colonial Peru. Enslaved women performing domestic work often continued to work for the same families or institutions throughout their lifetimes. Similarly, enslaved men could continue to work in artisanal and industrial jobs through later adulthood, as they developed specialized skills or shifted to less physically demanding tasks (Bowser 1974). Importantly, urban labor markets also offered possibilities for upward mobility and the cultivation of independent businesses or services, creating opportunities for enslaved men and women to achieve varying degrees of economic

independence. These conditions contributed to a diverse population of enslaved Afro-descendant men and women working in varying conditions of servitude in Peru's cities, especially the capital of Lima (Aguirre 2005; Arrelucea and Cosmalón 2015).²

In contrast, enslaved Afro-descendant populations in rural Peru were overwhelmingly young and male through the 16th and 17th centuries, as landowners strove to build large workforces to perform rigorous physical labor on agricultural estates (Aguirre 2005). An exception to this trend were the properties managed by the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), particularly along the southern coast of Peru. According to historians (Cushner 1980; Davies 1984), Jesuit administrators typically maintained a more equal balance of Afro-descendant men and women on their estates, as they sought to sustain their workforce by promoting reproduction within the enslaved population.

This strategy of prioritizing self-sustainability through the regeneration of existing workforces became more common across most of Peru's coastal estates by the 18th century, as the importation of first-generation captives from Africa declined. As a result, a more diverse population of Afro-descendant men, women, and children born into conditions of captivity would eventually emerge in rural Peru by the late colonial period. The growing diversity (e.g., skeletal sex, age, and geographic origins) of enslaved populations in coastal plantations during the late colonial period will be a prominent theme in Part Two of this dissertation. Beyond the theoretical concerns presented in Chapter 2, attention to this diversity is especially pertinent to the case of Hacienda La Quebrada, where there is historical and bioarchaeological evidence of the presence of enslaved women, and children of various ages and probable origins.

² For a more detailed history of African and Afro-descendant populations in Peru's cities during the colonial and republican periods, see Hünefeldt 1994 and McKinley 2016.

3.2.3. Race, Status, and the Colonial Casta System

There were aspects of colonial life that transcended the particularities of urban and rural contexts to build some commonalities in the conditions of African slavery across early colonial Peru. One feature of colonial society that was particularly influential was the *sistema de castas*, or the casta system. The casta system was derived from the ideological notion of *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood), which argued that a person's moral character was directly tied to their ancestry and could be passed down across generations. This preoccupation with purity, which stemmed from conflicts with Muslim and Jewish populations in the Iberian Peninsula during the *Reconquista*, became more explicitly racialized in the multiethnic context of Spanish America. In colonies such as Peru, the casta system operated as a socio-juridical system intended to organize subjects based on constructed categories of race. Building from three main groups—European, indigenous, and African—it ultimately strove to measure the racial purity of individuals, identify degrees of intermixing (*mestizaje*), and ultimately, rank them (O'Toole 2012).

As a system of both racial classification and social stratification, the casta system had a profound impact on the everyday lives of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants in colonial Peru. The conflation of ideas of morality and character with constructed categories of race sanctioned legal, political, and ideological structures maintaining the 'superiority' of Spanish settlers, especially those with direct ties to the Iberian Peninsula. The association of power and privilege with whiteness directly contributed to the stigmatization of African descended peoples, which justified their exploitation, limited social mobility, restricted legal rights, and overall treatment in colonial society (Aguirre 2005; Arrelucea and Cosmalón 2015). Notably, this stigmatization and its associated patterns of exclusion have shaped attitudes towards blackness that continue to impact Afro-Peruvians today (Golash-Boza 2011; Greene 2012).

The casta system also affected enslaved African and Afro-descendants by defining their status and rights within colonial society. As the lowest rank in the socio-juridical order, *esclavo/as negro/as* (Black slaves) had limited opportunities for upward social mobility. However, given that casta categories were constructed and thus difficult to differentiate in everyday practice, African descended peoples were able to find avenues to negotiate their place within colonial society. For example, historical records cite instances of enslaved African and Afro-descendant women using relationships with men of a higher casta ranking in order to improve their status and quality of life, as well as that of their children (Hünefeldt 1994; McKinley 2016). Meanwhile, enslaved *ladrinos* at times emphasized their birth within the colonies, and thus familiarity with Spanish customs and social mores, to argue for their legal rights in the Spanish colonial court system (Cosmalón 2017). While freepersons of African descent had greater flexibility to negotiate their roles and rights within the casta system, these examples indicate the perseverance of enslaved persons in negotiating ambiguities in the imposed order in order to improve their economic conditions and imagine new social worlds.

3.2.4. Conclusion

Collectively, these economic interests, social attitudes, and institutions of control on behalf of the Spanish Crown all intersected to shape the everyday experiences of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants in Peru during the early colonial period. As indicated throughout this section, the economic and social systems that structured the conditions of slavery varied across different geographic regions in Peru. At the same time, attitudes towards systems of forced labor—as well as their associated mechanisms of regulation and control—evolved throughout the colonial period. Comparative studies in African slavery (Bryant et al 2012; Funari

and Orser 2014; Marshall 2015) have demonstrated that attempting to generalize narratives of captivity across broad regional, temporal, or cultural contexts risks masking the internal diversity of the diaspora. Moreover, as argued in Chapter 2, such perspectives often fail to account for the specific hardships and acts of resilience of enslaved persons themselves, especially doubly marginalized groups such as enslaved women (Franklin 2001; Battle-Baptiste 2011).

Bearing in mind these observations, the remaining overview of the historical conditions of African slavery in colonial Peru will address circumscribed regional, temporal, and socio-economic contexts that are most closely relevant to this dissertation project. In particular, it will present the history of African slavery in Peru's colonial sugar economy, focusing on the central coast during the 18th to mid-19th centuries. On the one hand, this temporal scope will make it possible to identify the particular conditions and institutions of control that shaped quotidian life for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants in the period that is the focus of this dissertation project. On the other hand, the topical and regional focus will help to reveal the specific social, economic, and environmental landscapes that enslaved persons negotiated in their everyday lives. These perspectives will be important for contextualizing this dissertation project's research objectives and methodologies, which will be presented in the next chapter.

3.3. African Slavery in Peru's Coastal Sugar Economy

3.3.1. The Emergence of the Sugar Industry in Colonial Peru (1569-1821)

As discussed in the previous section, one of the primary centers of African slavery in colonial Peru was in the agricultural estates lining the Pacific Coast. Outside of mining (silver, copper, and oil), perhaps the largest generator of Peruvian wealth during the colonial period was the cultivation of sugar. The origins of Peru's sugar industry trace back to latter half of the 16th

century. In the wake of the depopulation of indigenous communities across the central Andes, Spanish settlers began to occupy coastal river valleys in increasing numbers. Supported by Viceroy Francisco Toledo's indigenous resettlement and labor organization program (1569), landowners established large estates to cultivate foodstuffs and grow livestock to support budding Spanish settlements. However, unlike other agricultural products, the production of sugar required substantial capital investment to establish the expansive infrastructure necessary for cultivation and refinement. This led to the emergence of expansive plantations that, while never fully monocultural, directed the vast majority of their resources, labor, and land to the production of sugar (Klaren 2005; Dargent Chamot 2017).

In the central coast of Peru, such as the valleys of Cañete, Ica, Nazca, and Pisco, the establishment of the sugar industry was influenced by both environmental and economic factors. On the one hand, the dry climate, alluvial soils, and access to water provided adequate conditions for the cultivation of sugar cane (Cushner 1980). The region's proximity to the capital of Lima also facilitated easier transportation of raw goods and finished products between rural haciendas and urban markets, making this an ideal space for maximizing the financial potential of sugar production. On the other hand, there was already a growing market for sugar in both Spain and its American colonies. Sugar, like wine, was an Old-World necessity, and the rapid expansion Spain's international influence meant that there were considerable economic opportunities for the sale of this staple item in diverse markets (Klaren 2005; Dargent Chamot 2017).

While historians have identified the existence of a sugar mill in the region of Nazca as early as 1546 (Keith 1976:75), the growth of the sugar industry along the central coast can be more closely dated to the 17th century. Among the largest and most profitable estates were those run by the Jesuits, who were "widely known for their efficiency and entrepreneurial skills"

(Klaren 2005:35; see also Cushner 1980, Davies 1984). However, skyrocketing sugar prices in the second half of the 17th century—and with it, the profitability of production—led to the expansion of secular and religious estates throughout the central coast. By the end of the 18th century, historians estimate that the central coast accounted for approximately half of the total of sugar production in the Viceroyalty of Peru (Aguirre 2005) (Table. 3.2)

Table 3.2: Annual Sugar Production in Peru at the End of the 18th Century

(Adapted from Aguirre 2005)

Region	Amount (in Kilograms)
Central Coast and Sur Chico	4,025,000
South Coast (Camaná, Tambo)	805
Abancay	411,700
North Coast: Zaña-Lambayeque	184,000
North Coast: Trujillo	149,500
Cuzco and the Sierra	278,300
<i>Total</i>	<i>5,853,500</i>

3.3.2. The Estates of the Orden de La Buena Muerte in Cañete

One center of sugar production in the central coast of Peru during this period was the valley of Cañete, located approximately 150 km south of Lima. To date, there are few historical studies of the sugar industry or the role of African slavery in Cañete during the late colonial period (Reyes Flores 1999; Morales Polar 2008; Bautista Sandoval 2011). For this dissertation, an especially important source of historical data is a series of articles and books published by the Peruvian historian Pablo Luna (2002, 2009, 2017). These publications offer the first systematic study of archival documents associated with agricultural estates in Cañete, and their use through the colonial and early Republican periods.³ Importantly, they detail the properties of the Orden

³ Documentary records from historic landholdings in Cañete, similar to other colonial sites across Peru, are scattered across diverse repositories. This dispersal is due, on the one hand, to the continued purchase and sale of estates over time. In the case of plantations like Hacienda La Quebrada, ownership by both religious and private secular

de la Buena Muerte in Cañete, providing a history of the purchase of the estates in the 18th century, their economic growth through the early 19th century, and their eventual decline and sale during the early Republican period. This dissertation project draws on this historical foundation in its presentation of the history of sugar production in the central coast during the late colonial period, and further builds on it by bringing in archival evidence to more directly examine the role of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants in this history.

According to Luna (2017) and other existing historical studies of agricultural production in colonial Cañete (e.g., Reyes Flores 1999; Morales Polar 2008), an important element in the success of the sugar industry in Cañete was the presence of the port of Cerro Azul. Situated at the northern tip of the valley, Cerro Azul provided a convenient conduit for ships carrying goods to markets in Lima, where they could either be sold for domestic consumption or traded to inland settlements. Moreover, its central location was ideal for shipping products down the coast to southern Peru and Chile. This capacity to support trade with multiple markets, and especially to rapidly transport products to and from Lima, stimulated the expansion of the sugar industry across the Cañete valley through the 18th and 19th centuries (Luna 2017).

At the heart of Cañete's sugar economy was a series of estates owned by La Orden de La Buena Muerte, or the 'Order of Good Death'.⁴ Founded in 1582 by the Italian priest San Camilo

overseers has resulted in the spread of documentary records across archives maintained by the Catholic Church (Archivos Arzobispaes de Lima), specific religious orders (Archivos del Convento de la Buenamuerte), and public institutions (Archivo General de la Nación). On the other hand, the Agrarian Reforms in the second half of the 20th century also caused some documents to be relocated to more specific archives (Archivo del Fuero Agrario). These specific archives have proven considerably more difficult to access. At the time that this dissertation was being prepared, the historian Pablo Luna had still not been permitted entry into the Archivo del Fuero Agrario (personal communication, 2017), and I was not able to access the Archivos del Convento de la Buenamuerte until 2019. For this reason, collaboration with historians like Pablo Luna in sharing both primary data and secondary sources has been an important strategy for reconstructing the history of Hacienda La Quebrada, as well as the history of sugar production at the Buena Muerte's rural estates more broadly.

⁴ Historical accounts cite multiple possible terms for referring to the order; the *Orden de la Buena Muerte* or the *Buena Muerte* are amongst the most widely cited and will be used throughout this dissertation. Other common references, such as *los religiosos agonizantes*, *los religiosos cruciferos*, and *los camilos* appear to be more modern adaptations, and are more typically found in popular vernacular (Luna 2017:17).

de Lelis (1550-1614), the order of the Buena Muerte was “specifically an order that assist[ed] in the transition to the other life, that help[ed] others to achieve a ‘good death’” (Luna 2002:147). The order’s focus on public health was grounded in the Middle Age Christian belief that disease was a form of castigation for moral sin, and that repentance prior to Judgment must therefore attend to a person’s soul as well as its ‘physical container’ (Bautista Sandoval 2011).

This divine mission to oversee the physical and spiritual well-being of poor and underserved populations led the order across Western Europe, as well as Spain’s colonies in the Americas. By 1709, the Buena Muerte had established hospitals, hospices, and churches in the vicinity of Lima (Luna 2002; Morales Polar 2008; Bautista Sandoval 2011). However, in order to fund the construction of these institutions, as well as to support medical treatment programs, the Buena Muerte relied on substantial investments in the colonial economy.

As the historian Pablo Luna (2017:51-2) observes, it is rather difficult to know at what point the Buena Muerte decided to dedicate their strategy for generating financial income to a large-scale investment in the cultivation of sugar. However, from the 1740s to the 1770s, the order’s efforts to expand its role in the colonial economy were almost exclusively directed towards the acquisition of sugar estates and associated rentable lands, particularly in the valley of Cañete. The crowned jewels of the Buena Muerte’s rural properties, and the generators of the vast majority of the order’s income during the late colonial period, were the agricultural complexes of La Quebrada-El Chilcal and Casablanca-Cerro Azul.

As will be discussed in further detail below, Hacienda La Quebrada was purchased in January 1741 from the lay priest Antonio de Salazar. The original estate was only 670 hectares in area at the time of its original purchase and appears to have been utilized for smaller-scale

agricultural production.⁵ However, through the following three decades, the Buena Muerte continued to accumulate smaller plots of nearby land, which they aimed to either incorporate into the estate or rent to nearby residents and waged laborers. By the time the order purchased El Chilcal to the south in 1777, the total complex had expanded to include of 835 hectares of rich agricultural land situated in the heart of the fertile Cañete river valley.⁶

The second major series of properties that the Buena Muerte attained in Cañete was the Casablanca-Cerro Azul complex. Similar to La Quebrada, the main property of Casablanca itself was purchased as an active agricultural estate in 1762, and was continually expanded until the purchase of a small coastal property in Cerro Azul at the end of the decade.⁷ The piecemeal purchase of the lands constituting Casablanca-Cerro Azul complex was a critical step in the Buena Muerte's efforts to establish their role in the coastal sugar economy. On the one hand, the presence of existing infrastructure at Casablanca facilitated a faster transition into the large-scale cultivation of sugar, which enabled the order to continue to invest in bringing its other properties to productive capacity (Reyes Flores 1999). On the other hand, the aggregation of the estimated 1015 hectares that formed the Casablanca-Cerro Azul complex enabled the Buena Muerte to connect their inland properties to the port of Cerro Azul (Luna 2017; Fig. 3.1.)

Within the complexes of La Quebrada-El Chilcal and Casablanca-Cerro Azul, the primary centers of production were the estates of Hacienda La Quebrada and Casablanca, respectively. Available documentary records suggest that Hacienda La Quebrada and Casablanca were in varying states of disrepair at the time of their acquisition by the Buena Muerte, requiring an extensive investment of time, labor, and capital by the order from the 1740s to 1760s.⁸

⁵ ACBM: Leg. 1.

⁶ ACBM Doc. Num. 2069; see also Luna 2017.

⁷ ACBM Doc. Num. 1310, 1311, 1312, 1313, 1715, 2410.

⁸ ACBM Doc. Num. 1625; see also Luna 2017:63-64.

However, inventories maintained by the orders' administrators indicate that by the 1780s, the Buena Muerte had already implemented an extensive infrastructure for sugar production and secondary agriculture. This included various workhouses for processing cane and extracting the juice (molasses), and two types of fields (active and fallow) for cultivation.⁹

The period from 1777 to 1784 was a critical period of infrastructural expansion at Hacienda La Quebrada and Casablanca, which stimulated growth in the production of sugar. From the 1790s to 1817, just before the end of Spanish imperial rule in Peru, sugar production

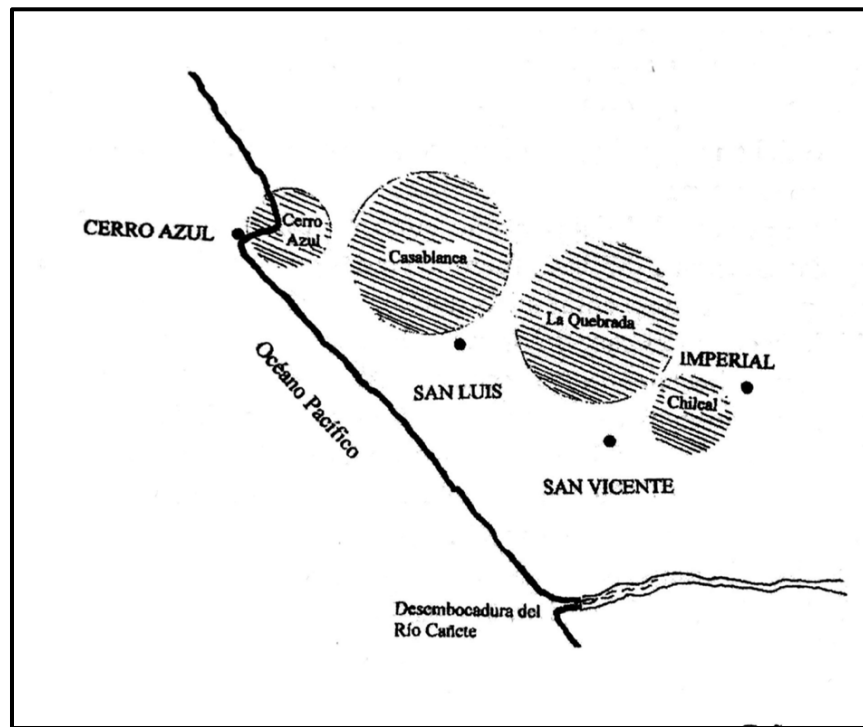


Figure 3.1: Location of the complexes of Casablanca-Cerro Azul and La Quebrada-El Chilcal.
Source: Luna 2017:62.

continuously expanded at both estates. In the decade of 1791 to 1800, Hacienda La Quebrada and Casablanca saw a combined average increase of more than 115,000 kg of sugar product each

⁹ ACBM. Libros de Contabilidad. Libro tercero. *Exyto de esta hacienda San Juan Capistrano, ano de 1777, siendo administrador el p. Juan Manuel de Noriega...*, 158 fols. See also Luna 2017:58, 64.

year. Meanwhile, accounting records from the first two decades of the 19th century—and especially the period from 1812 to 1817—cite that at the peak of production, Hacienda La Quebrada alone produced between 26 and 29 packages of refined sugar product (loaves or *panes*) per day.¹⁰ As a result of this steady growth, sugar from Cañete came to account for nearly 90 percent of the Buena Muerte’s total income, and converted them into one of the largest producers in the coastal sugar industry.

3.3.3. Forced Labor at the Buena Muerte’s Cañete Estates

Sustaining this growth in the size and scale of production at Hacienda La Quebrada and Casablanca required an extensive network of administrators, laborers, and transportation agents. According to historical records, the Buena Muerte sent members from their convent in Lima to oversee their various provincial properties. These administrators were responsible for the everyday management of the estates, and made annual visits to the order’s convent in Lima to present their inventories and reports. At Hacienda La Quebrada alone, there were 15 separate administrators from 1742 to 1798, each of whom served for a period of 2 to 5 years.¹¹

The Buena Muerte’s administrators presided over large and stratified workforces, which performed all aspects of production, maintenance, and other domestic tasks at each estate. During the first few years of the Buena Muerte’s tenure at Casablanca and Hacienda La Quebrada, much of this labor was provided by indigenous families, who lived on rented plots of nearby land and worked for a fixed wage. However, as the estates began to expand in size and scale of production through the 1770s, Buena Muerte administrators began to shift towards captive labor. Between 1781 and 1792 alone, 30 to 50 enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants

¹⁰ ACBM. Libros de Contabilidad. Libro Quinto.

¹¹ ACBM. Libros de contabilidad. Libro Primero.

were incorporated into the estates annually. By 1813, 823 of the estimated 2,640 *esclavos negros* (Black slaves) in the valley of Cañete lived at Casablanca and Hacienda La Quebrada (Reyes Flores 1999:119; Morales Polar 2008; Bautista Sandoval 2011) (Table. 3.3).

Table 3.3. Enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at the Haciendas of Cañete¹²

Hacienda	1774	1813
Hualcará	247	438
Montalván	152	361
Santa Barbara	144	266
La Guaca	177	276
Arona	192	487
La Quebrada	319	464
Casablanca	277	348
<i>Total</i>	<i>1,508</i>	<i>2,640</i>

In spite of existing historical records citing that enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants constituted around 70 percent of the population of Cañete by 1813, and that 99 percent of these persons lived and worked on rural plantations, very little is known about the enslaved community itself (Morales Polar 2008:166). As this chapter has suggested, histories of labor and economic production in colonial Peru were inextricably intertwined. In the coastal sugar industry, a critical piece of this history was the role of captive African labor, especially in the period prior to independence in 1821. Histories of sugar production in southern Peru (Cushner 1980; Davies 1984) have shown the integral role of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants in the growth of the sugar economy—and the colonial economy more broadly—in the 17th and 18th centuries. Similar research is necessary in Cañete, among other parts of the central coast, if we

¹² Source: Adapted from Morales Polar 2008, based on AAL 1774, Visitas, Padron de esclavos Leg. 17/Tomo XXII; and AAL 1813, Documentos sobre Padrones, Padron de esclavos, Leg. 5/Tomo XIII. Morales Polar and other sources (Reyes Flores 1999) place the number of enslaved persons at Hacienda La Quebrada at 475; however, my study of the original archival documents found that this estimate overcounted the enslaved females by 11. The total estimates presented in this table have been adjusted to account for this difference.

are to more fully understand the development and long-term impacts of the sugar industry in the region.

This project can contribute to existing studies of the history of the sugar economy in colonial Cañete, and of labor and production at the Buena Muerte's estates in particular (Reyes Flores 1999; Morales Polar 2008; Luna 2017). Through bioarchaeological, archaeological, and historical research, it offers new information about enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at one of the largest sugar producers and slaveholders in Cañete during the late 18th and early 19th centuries: Hacienda La Quebrada.

3.4. Enslaved African and Afro-Descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada (1741-1849)

3.4.1. Background

As mentioned in the previous section, Hacienda La Quebrada was purchased by the Buena Muerte in 1741 as part of a larger series of investments to support the order's churches, convents, and hospitals in the capital of Lima (Luna 2017). According to archival records, the estate was purchased from the lay priest Antonio de Salazar in the final months of his life. The established price of the hacienda at the time of purchase was estimated to be around 50,000 pesos; however, the majority of this was paid in the years following Salazar's death, particularly through the creation of funds for his sisters, and donations to various convents and hospices in Lima.¹³ In the end, liquid payment for Hacienda La Quebrada only amounted to 8,940 pesos, which accounted for the land itself, existing hacienda infrastructure, and associated livestock.

The picture painted by the Buena Muerte's reports on the condition of Hacienda La Quebrada at the time of its purchase is one of an underutilized, and possibly even unkempt,

¹³ AAL. Leg. 1.

agricultural property, with a limited labor force of local waged workers (*indios*) and a handful of enslaved Africans (*esclavos negros*, or *gente*). According to the historian Pablo Luna (2017:64):

From this documentation one gets the general idea that at the time of their purchase, [Hacienda La Quebrada and Casablanca] were in activity but in a difficult and defective state of economic exploitation, lacking farm implements and slaves, with [the] irrigation canals in poor condition and without channel[s], with rough or semi-abandoned land, and without having been properly worked in the years prior to [their] purchase by the Buenamuerte (translation by author).

Given these conditions, and also considering the Hacienda La Quebrada was the first property purchased by the Buena Muerte in Cañete, the order's first years of administering the estate were predominately focused on repairs and construction (Luna 2017:63). Unlike Casablanca, Hacienda La Quebrada thus remained relatively small in its first two decades of operation, as the order continued to expand its investment in other estates and rentable lands in the region.

Transforming Hacienda La Quebrada into a functioning hub of sugar and secondary agricultural production required alterations to the estate's landscape. In addition to the essential infrastructure for sugar production, which will be discussed in more detail below, the Buena Muerte constructed ancillary buildings to support other aspects of labor and everyday life. The core of the hacienda landscape consisted of diverse buildings for storing and distributing food, provisions for workers, and other necessary supplies; an infirmary for tending to the enslaved African and Afro-descendant population; private houses and gardens for the Buena Muerte's rotating administrators; and finally, a small chapel and cemetery.¹⁴

¹⁴ Unfortunately, there are no existing maps of Hacienda La Quebrada in the archival record; the only sources that we have to begin to visualize the estate's layout are descriptions in historical documents, features observed in the archaeological record, and oral histories provided by local residents. A discussion of these sources will be provided in Chapter 4, and their interpretation will be integrated throughout the presentation of research results in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

Surrounding the plantation nucleus, there was an expanse of fields for grazing livestock and the cultivation of diverse agricultural products. Although largely dedicated to sugar production, Hacienda La Quebrada—like the Buena Muerte’s other rural landholdings in Cañete—was never a strictly monocultural estate. Besides sugarcane, Hacienda La Quebrada also grew staple crops such as alfalfa, wheat, and corn, as well as livestock such as cows, sheep, and horses. Many of these agricultural and animal products were traded at local markets to supplement the income from sugar. However, they also contributed to the diets of the estate’s inhabitants. Together with the small plots of land allocated to the enslaved laborers, as well as the rich gardens surrounding the administrators’ lodgings, these landscapes helped to make Hacienda La Quebrada a relatively self-sustainable economic unit through the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Luna 2009, 2017; Rojas, personal communication).

3.4.2. Slavery and Sugar Production During the Late Colonial Period (1741 – 1821)

Historical knowledge of the everyday functioning of Hacienda La Quebrada in the second half of the 18th century and the early years of the 19th century derives mostly from a series of inventories and reports presented by the Buena Muerte’s administrators at the estate, dating from 1777 to 1798.¹⁵ Importantly, these extensive records describe the various tasks associated with sugar production at Hacienda La Quebrada and their spaces within the local landscape.

The heart of sugar production at Hacienda La Quebrada were the mills for grinding sugar cane, which were cultivated from two sets of active and fallow fields surrounding the plantation

¹⁵ ACBM. Libros de Contabilidad. Libro Primero: “Libro de Caja en Donde se sienta el gasto y consume de esta hacienda de San Juan de Capistrano de los padres de la Buenamuerte de Lima...”; Libro Segundo: “Libro en que apuntan el gasto ordinario y extraordinario de todos los días del mes en esta hacienda de San Juan Capistrano...”; Libro Tercero: “Exyto de esta hacienda de San Juan Capistrano, año de 1777, siendo administrador el p. Juan Manuel Noriega...”; Libro Quinto: “Libro de tempras de azúcar de la hacienda. La Quebrada...”; and Libro Sexto: “Año 1794. Cuaderno que contiene la remesa de azúcar de las haciendas del valle de Canete...”.

center. In addition to mills, there were also diverse workshops or *oficinas* for the various steps of making the *panes* of final sugar product for exportation, as well as alcohol and other sugar-based goods for local consumption. These workshops included the *Casa de Paylas*, where liquids extracted from the cane were prepared; the *Casa de Purga*, where the liquids were filtered; the *Casa del Sol*, where product was dried and moulded into *panes*; and finally, the storehouses for holding the products until they could be transported for sale.¹⁶

As emphasized by previous studies of the sugar industry in colonial Peru (Cushner 1980; Davies 1984), sugar production was a multifaceted and highly regulated process. According to archival records, the cycle of production at Hacienda La Quebrada typically began in the middle of July or early August and extended until late April or early May of the following year. The months of May, June, and the first half of July were intended to serve as a period of rest for the estate's enslaved workers and locally contracted craftsmen. In reality, however, much of this time was spent cleaning aqueducts, repairing equipment, and performing other maintenance tasks in preparation for the upcoming cultivation cycle.¹⁷

The cycle of sugar production at Hacienda La Quebrada required intensive physical labor in order to complete a progression of tasks. Essential activities included plowing and clearing fields; planting seeds for harvest; milling, boiling, and claying the harvested sugar cane; and loading the *panes* and other refined products into storage facilities for later distribution to local and regional markets (Bowser 1974; Cushner 1980; Morales Polar 2008). As discussed previously, beginning in the mid-18th century, and especially in the 1780s, the Buena Muerte invested in a population of enslaved African and Afro-descendant laborers to perform these tasks. Registries of the enslaved population at Hacienda La Quebrada across nearly 50 years

¹⁶ ACBM, Libros de Contabilidad. Libro Tercero..

¹⁷ ACBM. Libros de Contabilidad. Libro Quinto; AAL, Leg. VIII: 11

document the presence of Africans and Afro-descendants at the estate at the peak of its economic production, which is summarized in the table below (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4. Enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada¹⁸

	1774	1813	1815	1823
Men	186	165	210	160
Male Children	22	69		20
Women	100	155	228	183
Female Children	11	75		34
Total	319	464	438	397

Within the enslaved population, the allocation of labor roles and their associated status was based on multiple factors, including gender, age, *casta*, origins (e.g., *bozales* versus *ladrinos*), experience or specialization, and disciplinary history (Aguirre 2005). At the bottom of the hierarchy were the enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants who performed the bulk of the manual labor associated with cultivating sugar cane and other agricultural products on the estate. As the Buena Muerte first began to shift towards the importation of captive African and Afro-descendant laborers in the mid-18th century, much of this manual labor in Hacienda La Quebrada’s agricultural fields was likely performed by adult men, typically between the ages of 19 and 50. However, as the enslaved population at the plantation began to grow through natural reproduction through the late 18th and early 19th centuries, these workforces became more diverse, incorporating adolescents and women. As will be addressed in Chapter 6, enslaved

¹⁸ Based on four registries: AAL 1774. Visitas Pastorales. *Canete autos de certification para que el cura Manual Angel de la Quintana presenta los libros de cofradias de inventarios y el padron general de espanoles y esclavos que trabajan en las haciendas*. Exp. 22/Leg. 12. ; AAL 1813. Documentos sobre Padrones, Padron de esclavos, Leg. Exp. 25/Leg. 12. ; AAL 1823. *Cuentas presentadas por el padre Jose Cairo, prefecto de la religion de la Buenamuerte, relativas a la administracion de las haciendas Casablanca y La Quebrada*. Exp. 8/Leg. 60; and ACB Doc No.1959, summarized by Pablo Luna (personal communication).

women in particular appear to have played multiples roles in Hacienda La Quebrada's fields and gardens, among other tasks.

Enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants working in the agricultural fields were managed by an overseer, or *caporal*. At Hacienda La Quebrada, *caporales* were typically other enslaved Afro-descendants from the estate, although it is possible that the Buena Muerte may have at times contracted freepersons or *mulattos* from nearby towns. Notably, the direct oversight of a captive workforce by another person of African descent often contributed to tensions within the enslaved community, especially since the *caporal* was responsible for enforcing discipline and physical punishments doled out by the hacienda's salaried stewards (*mayordomos*).¹⁹

The organization and control of Hacienda La Quebrada's captive workforce was distinct for the various tasks associated with refining the cultivated sugar product. Unlike manual agricultural labor, the process of producing *panes*, alcohol, or other sugar-based products required highly specialized skills and knowledge. As a result, only a small subset of Hacienda La Quebrada's enslaved population worked inside the mills and workshops, where they were overseen by waged craftsmen contracted from outside of the estate. There does not seem to have been a direct or consistent correlation between enslaved workers' ages, genders, or origins and their potential to fulfill the different positions within the mills and workshops. In fact, existing studies of sugar production in colonial Peru indicate that experience was likely a greater priority for plantation administrators (Bowser 1974; Cushner 1980). In the case of Hacienda La Quebrada, historical records suggest that the Buena Muerte sent experts (*maestros azucareros*) to train enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants in the skills of sugar processing and refinement;

¹⁹ AAL. Legajo VII:9. Testimonies of enslaved men and women who fled Hacienda La Quebrada to the Convent of the Buena Muerte in Lima in 1809 detail the excessive punishments doled out by the *mayordomos*, as well as *caporales* who were charged with enacting their orders.

moreover, it is also possible that they sought to purchase enslaved laborers who already had these skills in order to supplement their existing workforce.

3.4.3. Economic Decline in the Late Colonial and Early Republican Era (1821 – 1847)

Enslaved African and Afro-descendant labor was the foundation of sugar production at Hacienda La Quebrada for the majority of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Hacienda La Quebrada experienced continued growth in its size and scale of production, as well as in its associated labor force, through the early 1800s.²⁰ However, a critical turning point in this trend was the spread of the independence movement across the Viceroyalty of Peru (1811-1824). In 1820, an estimated 2,000 Spanish and royalist soldiers camped at the Buena Muerte's various landholdings in Cañete, including Hacienda La Quebrada, appropriating agricultural products to support themselves and recruiting enslaved laborers.²¹ Only months later, the estate endured a second occupation, this time by pro-independence militias who similarly redirected much of the hacienda's resources and workforce towards their own needs (Luna 2017).

This wave of military occupations impacted economic productivity at Hacienda La Quebrada, as well as the everyday roles and experiences of its enslaved population. An administrative report from December of 1823 cited that while there were 633 enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants throughout the entire complex of La Quebrada-El Chilcal, there were only 41 males deemed sufficiently young (that is, under 44 years old) and physically fit enough to perform agricultural labor—just over six percent of the entire enslaved population. The remainder of the enslaved population, the report claimed, had either suffered some sort of injury

²⁰ AAL. Leg. V:2. See also Luna 2017:94-95.

²¹ AAL. Leg. IX:65.

or accident as a result of the war, or were not at an appropriate working age. Moreover, many enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants—and especially those who had specialized skills or had served in the military efforts—refused to return to the lowest rungs of manual labor, instead seeking new opportunities in the emerging Republican society.²²

With its infrastructure for agricultural production in a state of disarray and its workforce waning, Hacienda La Quebrada suffered a critical decline in the cultivation and sale of sugar in the early decades of the Republican era. These economic changes were paralleled by internal feuds within the Orden de la Buena Muerte in Lima, which compounded the existing instabilities in the management of its rural estates (Luna 2017). Ultimately, these factors contributed to the gradual withdrawal of the Buena Muerte from the sugar industry in Cañete, and the piecemeal sale of its properties. In 1849, the Buena Muerte ceded ownership of Hacienda La Quebrada to the English businessman Enrique Swayne; by January 27, 1851, Swayne had purchased all of the order's plantations in Cañete, bringing to a close the Buena Muerte's influence in the region.²³

3.5. From History to Archaeology: Burial Grounds at Hacienda La Quebrada (1748-1817)

Historical records give us glimpse into the origins and roles of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants in Peru's coastal sugar economy during the colonial period. Administrative ledgers detail the purchase and sale of *esclavo/as negro/as*, piecing together an image of the network of the slave trade along the central coast and its connections to markets in Africa and other parts of the Spanish Americas. Records left by plantation owners such as the priests of the Orden de la Buena Muerte document the various tasks performed by enslaved workers in the production of sugar, and the spaces and statuses that they occupied within the plantation system.

²² AAL. Leg. VIII:60. See also Luna 2017, p. 290-291.

²³ ACBM. Doc. Num. 1715, 2141.

And finally, legislative records by both colonial administrators and social reformers, and less commonly, testimonies of enslaved persons of African descent, reveal the severe punishments, accidents, and abuses endured by enslaved persons within colonial society.

While these records are invaluable for helping to understand the presence of early African and Afro-descendant communities in colonial Peru, there are critical gaps that remain to be filled. Importantly, the majority of this historical archive was produced by Spanish colonizers, and thus represent their own particular worldviews and interests. Apart from the testimony of enslaved persons, which was still guided and transcribed by a colonial representative (e.g., priests, plantation administrators, court representatives, etc.), we have very little insight into the first-hand perspectives of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants themselves.²⁴

This is particularly the case for Hacienda La Quebrada. The documents produced by the Buena Muerte's administrators were predominantly concerned with the economic status of the estate, which was a critical source of income for the religious group as a whole. The enslaved population was framed as an economic investment and part of the infrastructure of sugar production, and thus typically referred to in inventories or similar registries. As a result, available documentary records from Hacienda La Quebrada do not provide much information about the lives of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants within the everyday functioning of the estate, and especially the roles of enslaved women and children.

Archaeology can help to begin filling in these gaps. As suggested in Chapter 2, the material evidence collected through archaeological research can provide new information about

²⁴ As will be addressed in Chapter 6, there are two important sets of documentary sources compiled by the Buena Muerte that provide insights into the lived experiences, concerns, and interests of the enslaved population at Hacienda La Quebrada. The first was a questionnaire carried out by the solicitor Santiago González in 1800 (ACBM. Doc. Num. 2497); and the second, a series of testimonies provided by enslaved men and women to Buena Muerte administrators in an organized protest in 1809 (AAL Leg. VII:9).

the more personal, daily aspects of life in contexts of captivity (Singleton 1995; Agorash 1996; Orser 1998; Blakey 2001; Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001; Leone et al 2005). A particularly powerful source of data is the assemblage of material and skeletal remains associated with burial contexts. As tangible records of an individual's biological history and crystallizations of surrounding social conditions, skeletal remains offer insight into the experiences of individuals throughout their lifetimes. In particular, patterns of trauma, disease, and repeated physiological stress can indicate broader conditions of health amongst these individuals (Martin et al 2014). Meanwhile, the ritual practices associated with death and dying introduce further physical changes to the body, which may be suggestive of how a person was situated within a particular nexus of social relations (Hallam 1999). Therefore, the skeletal record provides a unique opportunity to explore how enslaved persons' lives unfolded in a social framework that was both historically specific and locally situated, and which became materialized in the body.

For this dissertation project, archaeological research is based on the excavation and analysis of burial remains from the cemetery for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada. According to archival records, the cemetery was created by Buena Muerte administrators in 1748 explicitly for the estate's enslaved population.²⁵ While the precise date of the implementation of the cemetery space is unknown, a series of letters exchanged between Father Martín Andrez Pérez, the prefect at Hacienda La Quebrada, and Don Andrés Munive, counselor and vicar of the archbishopric of Lima, indicate that the creation of a cemetery "for all of the *esclavos* at [the] hacienda" was approved on April 4, 1748.²⁶ The cemetery remained in use until around December 12, 1817, when concerns related to the over-

²⁵ ACBM. Doc. Num. 2904; see also Luna Obregon 2005:34. Translated by author.

²⁶ ACBM. Doc. Num. 0791. Translated by author.

crowding of corpses and an overall lack of space led administrators to close the cemetery and seek new land to bury its enslaved population.²⁷

Unfortunately, documentation about the use of the cemetery is fragmented and incomplete. Moreover, the disturbance of the cemetery space by contemporary construction projects severely limits the possibility of reconstructing a precise estimate of the number of individuals interred there, and the lack of burial markers make it impossible to personally identify each individual. Nevertheless, as will be discussed in the following chapter, the recovered burial remains can provide new data about the enslaved African and Afro-descendant population at Hacienda La Quebrada. When combined with other archaeological, historical, and ethnographic information, this data can help us to piece together new perspectives towards the lived experiences and life-histories of the enslaved community during the late colonial period.

²⁷ Ibid.

Chapter 4: Excavating Afro-Peruvian Histories at Hacienda La Quebrada

4.1. Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to overview the methods used to gather and analyze the multiple lines of evidence that are the basis for this dissertation’s arguments, and to demonstrate how these methods relate to the theoretical perspectives and research questions outlined in previous chapters. This dissertation is based on four years of interdisciplinary and multi-stage research, detailed in Table 4.1. This consisted of four central components: 1) archaeological survey and excavations at the cemetery for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada; 2) laboratory analysis of the recovered archaeological materials, with a directed focus on human skeletal remains; 3) historical research of archival and secondary sources; and 4) ethnographic fieldwork with local and descendant stakeholders in the district of San Luis. By weaving together these multiple lines of evidence, this dissertation ultimately aims to reconstruct a narrative of histories of enslavement at Hacienda La Quebrada, and how present-day descendant stakeholders remember and relate to these pasts.

Table 4.1: Project Schedule Overview

Time Period	Activity	Location
August-September 2016	Community Consultations and Site Selection	San Luis District, Peru
September 2016-June 2017	Preliminary Historical Research	Stanford University, USA; Lima, Peru
June-August 2017	Phase I-II Fieldwork	La Quebrada, Peru
June-September 2018	Archival Research	Lima, Peru
October-December 2018	Phase III Fieldwork	La Quebrada, Peru
January 2019-February 2020	Laboratory Analysis	Quilmaná, Peru
August 2016-Present	Community Interviews	San Luis District, Peru
October 2019-Present	Dissertation Writing	Stanford University, USA

4.2. Community Consultations and Site Selection

Before entering into a detailed discussion of these four research methodologies, it is important to review how this project began, especially in relation to stakeholder communities and interests. The project that is the basis for this dissertation, La Quebrada Archaeology Project, emerged out of the confluence of researcher interests and capacities, and the interests and objectives of local communities within the district of San Luis. La Quebrada Archaeology Project was formed in 2016 as a collaboration between residents in La Quebrada and the district of San Luis, local Afro-Peruvian social organizations (*Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana*; *Cofradía Santa Efigenia*), district officials, and archaeologists (Claire Maass and José Luis Santa Cruz Alcalá, co-directors). As the project continued to develop in the subsequent years, additional stakeholders and participants became involved; today, the project also works in close partnership with the Office of Afro-Peruvian Affairs at the Peruvian Ministry of Culture and the national organization *Centro de Desarrollo Étnico* (CEDET).

A formative moment in the development of La Quebrada Archaeology Project was my introduction to Luis Santa Cruz, an archaeologist and cultural heritage specialist who was born in Cañete and has dedicated his professional career to the study and preservation of cultural patrimony in the region. He also self-identifies as Afro-descendant, and frequently emphasizes his heritage as a key factor in driving his interest in social activism and research in Cañete's Afro-descendant communities (Santa Cruz, personal communication).

In August of 2016, Luis and I met in Lima after being introduced by a mutual friend in the Peruvian archaeology community. Luis and I shared a common interest in Afro-Latin American archaeology, and during this meeting, we discussed the possibilities of developing an archaeological project related to African diaspora histories in Peru. Through his previous

archaeological projects in Cañete, as well as his active involvement in social organizing and politics—including as a member of the *Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana*—Luis was a widely known member of the San Luis community. It was because of these connections and our shared research interests that we decided to pursue the possibility of developing a research project in Cañete.

Later that month, Luis arranged meetings with local officials and representatives of the *Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana* in San Luis (Fig. 4.1.). During these consultations, Luis and I presented our interests and capacities as researchers. As a Cañete native who was actively involved in the local Afro-descendant community, Luis discussed his desire to continue to promote Afro-Peruvian history and cultural heritage in the district. Meanwhile, I explained that I was also interested in contributing to research in the region, and suggested ways that I could possibly help to build on these efforts. For example, in my capacity as a graduate student from the United States, I could pursue different funding opportunities for research and conservation; meanwhile, as a bioarchaeologist and historical archaeologist, I could contribute a specific set of specialized skills towards designing and implementing a research program.



Figure 4.1: La Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana de San Luis.
Photo courtesy of Luis Santa Cruz, featured left.

After briefly introducing ourselves, we began to brainstorm potential project ideas as a group. Ultimately, three possibilities were raised as potential sites for conducting an archaeological investigation: the haciendas of Santa Barbara, Casablanca, and La Quebrada, all of which were sugar estates dating from the mid-18th to 19th centuries (Morales Polar 2008; Luna 2017). We spent the remainder of our visit traveling to each site, guided by local officials and several representatives from the *Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana*. During each site visit, Luis and I made a preliminary assessment of the state of preservation of each property and presented some ideas about what would be needed in order to perform archaeological and conservation work.

Our final site visit was to Hacienda La Quebrada, which is located approximately 10 km from the center of San Luis. As discussed in Chapter 3, the contemporary town of La Quebrada was built in the footprint of the original hacienda landscape: the center of the hacienda complex is now the main plaza of the present-day town, and local residents continue to cultivate agricultural products and graze their livestock in the surrounding fields.

As we walked around the plaza, we were approached by several residents, who were curious about the formal visit from the *Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana*, the district *alcalde* (mayor) and several of his *regidores* (aldermen), the town mayor of La Quebrada, and a pair of archaeologists, including a foreign researcher. As we began to explain our interests in collaborating to build an archaeological project in the area, some residents began to offer their own suggestions for places and materials to investigate. Notably, most of these suggestions seemed to revolve around one topic in particular: *los huesos en la calle* (the bones in the streets). According to the residents that we spoke with, there were human skeletal remains in the soils throughout the main plaza, especially in the area directly in front of the chapel (Fig. 4.2). Families living in the houses lining the plaza recounted how they had found *esqueletos*

(skeletons) during home renovations; construction workers pointed to where they had encountered human skeletal remains while installing water pipes under the streets; and the caretaker of the chapel described all of the *muertos* (dead persons) that were uncovered when the chapel was rebuilt after a devastating earthquake in 2007.

When telling us about all of the human skeletal remains that had been found through years of infrastructure projects, construction work, and home renovations, most people described the remains in a similar way: ‘*Son de los negros de la antigua hacienda*’, or ‘*son del cementerio de esclavos negros*’ (They are from the *negros* from the old hacienda; they are from the cemetery for the Black slaves).



*Figure 4.2: Capilla La Quebrada was built in the footprint of the original hacienda chapel, which collapsed in 2007. Photo taken from the main plaza, with the eastern side of Calle Progreso featured in the foreground.
Photo: Claire Maass*

Intrigued by this widely held perception of the human skeletal remains, Luis and I looked to find more local residents and *Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana* members who could share further information, memories, or experiences related to the site. Over the course of several visits to La Quebrada in August and September of 2016, Luis and I visited the homes of local residents who lived near the plaza, as well as construction workers who had participated in infrastructure projects and the rebuilding of the chapel. During these visits, we asked interlocutors about their recollections of finding human skeletal remains, and invited them to share any family histories, personal memories, or other knowledge that they might have about the colonial cemetery. Through our conversations, Luis and I hoped to gain a sense of the scope of the impacted area (How far from the chapel were people encountering human skeletal remains?); its overall state of conservation (Were there disturbed human skeletal remains throughout the plaza? Or is it possible that there were areas that construction workers and homeowners had left intact?); and the condition of the human remains themselves (Were they observed in individual burials? Were they associated with other archaeological materials? How would the residents and workers describe the conservation of the bones?). These questions were important to identify whether community members in La Quebrada had identified a potential archeological site, and also provided details about the organization and characteristics of this space that could help us to determine what measures would be necessary to conserve it and potentially intervene through archaeological excavations.

Another key objective of our community consultations was to learn about local knowledge and memories associated with this space. As noted previously, many of the residents that we encountered during that first visit to La Quebrada suggested that the human skeletal remains under the main plaza were associated with enslaved Africans from the hacienda—in

fact, they were said to be part of the ‘slave cemetery’ at the historic estate. Luis and I were interested to learn how local residents had come to identify the human skeletal remains as part of a cemetery, and to begin to garner a closer familiarity with the local histories, knowledge, and memories that could help to guide strategies for their study and conservation.

During these community consultations, Luis and I were introduced to a local Afro-Peruvian artist and *Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana* member, Jaime (“Jairo”) Rojas Angulo (Fig. 4.3). Jairo uses diverse artistic mediums to represent Afro-Peruvian persons, cultural traditions, and histories. A distinct feature of Jairo’s work is his use of visual art to reconstruct narratives of the lives of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada. His paintings and drawings are often presented in a series, which depict micro-histories of an individual or group. For example, one of the series that he showed to us during our first meeting in 2016 depicted the journey of an enslaved African man who endured the Middle Passage to be sold as a captive laborer at Hacienda La Quebrada, where he worked in the cultivation of sugar cane. While re-imagined through an artistic lens, such narratives are grounded in thorough research into historical sources—including documentary records, local folk stories, and intergenerational memories—that Jairo has accumulated throughout his career (Rojas, personal communication).

Now an integral member of the La Quebrada Archaeology Project, Jairo was critical to my first efforts to develop an understanding of the history of Hacienda La Quebrada. In a second meeting in mid-August 2016, I talked with Jairo for over two hours about his knowledge and recollections of the plantation, its enslaved population, and the cemetery where they were laid to rest. During our discussion, Jairo shared his notes on historical documents that he had collected from local libraries, independent publishers, and family memorabilia. These accounts were foundational to the project's later strategies for identifying primary and secondary historical sources in Lima, which will be discussed in more detail below (see Section 4.4). Moreover, Jairo's extensive knowledge of Hacienda La Quebrada, its history, and the enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants who built their lives there would be essential in shaping the research questions and methods of the archaeological project over the subsequent years.

*Figure 4.3: Jaime "Jairo" Rojas Angulo at a community outreach event for La Quebrada Archaeology Project in 2018. The project banner features one of his drawings, depicting the burial of an enslaved person at Hacienda La Quebrada.
Photo: Claire Maass*



4.3. Defining the Project Scope and Objectives

Through ongoing consultations with local officials and members of the *Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana*, the early investigative framework for an archaeological project began to come together. Bringing together our diverse capacities, interests, and objectives, project researchers and stakeholders decided to direct our work towards recovery excavations at the cemetery for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada. A general presentation of each collaborator’s objectives and roles, as articulated at the onset of the research project in 2016, are summarized in the table below:

Table 4.2: Summary of Community Stakeholder and Researcher Objectives

Project member or partner	Role	Objectives and research interests	Proposed contribution to the research program
Luis Santa Cruz	Archaeologist and cultural heritage management specialist	Contribute to the investigation, dissemination, and preservation of Afro-descendant history and culture in Cañete, especially through cultural heritage work	Use specialized training to help formulate the archaeological research program; work with local officials and the Ministry of Culture to develop plans for long-term commemoration
Claire Maass	Bioarchaeologist and historical archaeologist	Work with local and descendant communities to study histories of African diaspora and enslavement in Peru	Use specialized training to help formulate and oversee the archaeological research program; perform analyses of the identified human skeletal remains; pursue funding opportunities available in the United States
<i>Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana</i>	Social organization / community stakeholders	Advance the interests and needs of the Afro-descendant community in San Luis through social, political, economic, and cultural projects	Help to build awareness of the research project and encourage community participation; contribute to research design and overall objectives of the project
Local officials in the district of San Luis and town of La Quebrada	Government stakeholders	Identify cultural patrimony in the area that needs to be preserved, and which could serve as a source of tourism	Facilitate the legal permissions to perform research; help organize public meetings and events to share research progress; help provide logistical and infrastructural support for research and conservation
Local residents and descendant communities	Community stakeholders	Vary individually	Contribute questions, concerns, and objectives that will help shape the research program

Through a series of meetings in 2016 and 2017, we defined the objectives of a multi-stage archaeological research project at Hacienda La Quebrada. The primary initiative behind the project was to identify the cemetery for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at the plantation. This would be achieved on two levels: first, through the study of historical sources about Hacienda La Quebrada and the cemetery itself; and second, through archaeological intervention at the site. Importantly, collecting multiple lines of evidence demonstrating the presence of the cemetery was essential for seeking recognition and protection under national cultural heritage legislation.

In addition to confirming the presence of the cemetery, we also proposed to perform archaeological excavations in order to recover a sample of the burial remains in one of the most vulnerable areas of the cemetery, which would then be analyzed by research specialists. Through the analysis of these archaeological and bioarchaeological materials, we hoped to gather new information about the enslaved population at Hacienda La Quebrada, as well as strategies for the long-term preservation and memorialization of their burial remains.

These objectives were ultimately crystallized into a series of research questions, which would frame our strategies for data collection and interpretation. After ongoing consultations our community partners throughout 2016 and 2017, and taking into account the larger social objectives of the project members and local stakeholders summarized in the table above, we ultimately formulated the following questions:

1. *What were the everyday conditions of living for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at La Quebrada, and how did these conditions shape their overall life-histories?*
2. *How do present-day local descendants and self-identified heritage communities remember and relate to these histories?*
3. *Finally, how can the project's research findings contribute to public understanding of Afro-descendant histories and cultural heritage in San Luis de Cañete today, and what*

strategies can be used to disseminate this information at the local and national level?

By addressing these questions, we ultimately hoped to cultivate a closer understanding of the lives and experiences of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada, and the region of Cañete more broadly, during the late colonial period. Moreover, by developing public strategies for sharing and commemorating these histories, we strove to transform the community-engaged project into a platform for realizing long-term goals of recognition and place-making within San Luis's Afro-descendant community.

In order to address these three primary research questions and larger social objectives, the investigation was divided into multiple components, each of which utilized its own methodologies: historical research of available archival and secondary sources; archaeological survey and excavation; analysis of the recovered human skeletal remains and associated burial materials; and ethnographic fieldwork and community outreach with stakeholders in San Luis. In the remaining sections of this chapter, I will address each of these research components in turn, detailing the specialized data sets and analytical methods involved, and their overall contribution to this dissertation research project.

4.4. Historical Research

In 2016 and 2017, I performed preliminary historical research in both the United States (Stanford University) and Lima, which enabled me to identify documents that could corroborate local accounts of the unmarked cemetery for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada. Particularly important for this first stage of research were two volumes published by Peruvian historians about La Quebrada: *Efigenia, la negra santa: Culto religioso de*

los descendientes africanos en el valle de Cañete, published by Julio Luna Obregón in 2005; and *El transito de la Buenamuerte por Lima: Auge y declive de una orden religiosa azucarera, siglos XVIII y XIX*, released by Pablo Luna in 2017. These sources offered a critical foundation for building a research investigation because they provided references to archival sources citing the construction and use of the cemetery space, as well as broader histories of the hacienda itself. While the authors observed that the original archival records did not include a map of the former plantation, they argued that the records nonetheless provided detailed information describing the location of the cemetery directly east of the chapel (Luna Obregón 2005:36; for further discussion, refer back to Chapter 3 Section 3.5). Importantly, these historical accounts also coincided with what local residents had told Luis and I about the cemetery site during our first site visit in 2016, and thus provided an initial framework for developing strategies for later archaeological survey and excavation.

Building on this preliminary historical research of secondary sources, I began to more systematically explore primary documents in archives in Lima, including the original sources cited by Luna (2017) and Luna Obregón (2005). In order to collect more detailed information about the cemetery site, as well as broader contextual information about the conditions of enslavement at Hacienda La Quebrada, I conducted archival research at the *Archivos Arzobispales de Lima* in the summer of 2018. The primary objective of this research was to gather historical information that could be used to address the first research question posed by this project: that is, what were the everyday conditions of living for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at La Quebrada, and how did they shape their overall life-histories?

In pursuit of this question, I examined documents such as administrative correspondences, ledgers, and production schedules. As demonstrated by previous historical

archaeological studies of enslavement (e.g., Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Weaver 2015, among others), such documents can provide insight into the material landscapes that enslaved persons engaged with, and the scope of their activities within them. This contextual information can facilitate a closer interpretation of the patterns observed in the skeletal record. Moreover, taking into account the partiality—in terms of both incompleteness and bias—of colonial archiving, critically reading such documents can shed light on the social attitudes that also shaped the experiences of enslaved persons.

In addition to administrative documents left by the Orden de la Buena Muerte, I also sought out records that could more directly reflect the experiences and perspectives of the enslaved community itself. In particular, I examined the testimonies 26 enslaved men and women who marched from La Quebrada to the convent of the Buena Muerte in Lima in order to protest their treatment, and to demand better conditions of living.¹ Although one must be critically aware of the pressures (both physical and emotional) and power dynamics that influenced the production of such transcripts, they can nonetheless offer an opportunity to piece together the processes by which imposed tactics of colonial control and local strategies of negotiation and resistance intersected in everyday relations at Hacienda La Quebrada. Together with the administrative records, then, these observations can provide additional lines of evidence to contribute to a more comprehensive narrative of conditions and experiences of enslavement at Hacienda La Quebrada during the colonial period.

4.5. Site Survey and Mapping Hacienda La Quebrada (Phase 1, Summer 2017)

¹ AAL 1809: Leg. VII:9.

After confirming the presence and general location of the cemetery through community consultation and historical research, I proposed a plan for preliminary archaeological research to local stakeholders and the Peruvian Ministry of Culture, which was approved in the summer of 2017 (Resolución Directoral N° 229-2017/DGPA/VMPCIC/MC). This first field season of archaeological research at Hacienda La Quebrada consisted of two parts: non-invasive pedestrian survey, and test excavations.

The first phase of archaeological survey had the goal of identifying and registering the material remains of Hacienda La Quebrada. While efforts were especially focused on the cemetery area in front of the contemporary chapel, the survey was also extended to include all of the visible architectural remains of the hacienda within the political boundaries of the present-day town of La Quebrada. At a logistical level, this strategy was necessary for gathering abundant evidence to present to the Peruvian Ministry of Culture in order to have Hacienda La Quebrada and the cemetery site recognized, registered, and protected under national cultural heritage legislation. Additionally, for the purposes of this dissertation project, it also provided further information about the material landscapes that enslaved persons navigated and engaged with in their everyday lives, and the ways in which local and descendant communities continue to interact with these spaces through the present day.

In June and July of 2017, I worked with three Peruvian archaeology students to perform Phase I survey in La Quebrada. The survey began in the urban center of La Quebrada, which radiates around the main plaza; systematically expanded to the surrounding agricultural fields; and ultimately ended at the town limits, as delimited by the *Autopista La Quebrada* to the north and east, *Acequia Maria Angola* to the west, and the urban center of San Benito to the south (Fig.

4.4; refer back to Fig. 1.3 for location of La Quebrada within the broader San Luis district).²

During pedestrian survey, the project team built a registry of architectural elements and cultural material remains associated with the historic hacienda, which were recorded as features (*hallazgos*) with unique designated feature numbers. For each feature, the inventory provided the following information: the materials it was composed of and possible construction methods; its dimensions in meters; its geographic location using georeferenced GPS points; and a detailed discussion of visual observations with accompanying photographs and sketches (Proyecto de Investigación Arqueológica La Quebrada 2018; see Appendix A). Additionally, we also collected written notes from our conversations with local landowners. For example, we asked residents about their own insights into the possible function of the feature in the historic hacienda, the history of its use and reuse through the present, and any other valuable details about its construction and social history.

By collecting these data on each feature, it was possible to construct a general map of the cultural remains present in the contemporary landscape. Given the absence of any original map of Hacienda La Quebrada in the archival record, this process of survey and mapping played an important role in providing material evidence of the presence and spatial organization of Hacienda La Quebrada, including the cemetery site. When combined with descriptive accounts of the landscape in oral histories and historical documents, these findings contributed to developing a closer understanding of the physical and material landscapes in which enslaved persons lived, worked, and developed their own social worlds.

² Due to resources and time, and also based on evidence from historical research and community consultation, survey focused on the areas to the north and east of the center of La Quebrada; the agricultural fields to the south have been historically associated with San Benito and its preceding haciendas.



Figure 4.4: Google Earth image indicating the political boundaries of La Quebrada in red; the area covered by survey in green; and the main plaza by a green ways point. Source: Google Earth

4.6. Test Excavations in the Cemetery Site (Phase 2, Summer 2017)

After performing survey and mapping in the broader context of La Quebrada, the second component of the first of archaeological field season consisted of Phase II test excavations, which focused on the cemetery area itself. The objective of Phase II test excavations was twofold: 1) to identify archaeological evidence of burials, and to begin to characterize their organization and state of preservation; and 2) to identify the spatial area of the cemetery and delimit, to the extent possible, its probable boundaries.

The presence of contemporary houses surrounding the main plaza limited the potential area for archaeological intervention. Testing thus focused along the main avenue (*Calle Progreso*) lining the plaza. For these excavations, I worked with local stakeholders to develop a systematic method of intentional sampling, which consisted of nine test units of 1 x 0.5 m, and

three of 2 x 1 m (Fig. 4.5).³ In consultation with residents and construction workers, the larger 2 x 1 m units were placed strategically in areas deemed most likely to encounter cemetery remains (Fig. 4.6). Meanwhile, the smaller 1 x 0.5 m units were placed at uniform intervals across *Calle Progreso*, in order to begin to identify the northern and southern boundaries of the cemetery site, based on positive (presence of burial remains) or negative (absence of burial remains) units (Proyecto de Investigación Arqueológica La Quebrada 2018; see Appendix B).

Through these test excavations, it was possible to identify the approximate boundaries of the cemetery, which covered an area of 37 x 6 m.⁴ Additionally, evidence of both commingled and preserved remains—particularly in the area directly east of the chapel entrance—provided important information about the likely organization and state of preservation of the cemetery context. On the one hand, the recovery of 664 human bone fragments from depths of 3 to 95 cm beneath the ground surface in Units 6 and 9 confirmed a nearby area of the cemetery had indeed been disturbed during recent construction efforts. However, at the same time, the presence of intact burials beneath this disturbed stratum of construction fill indicated that the remainder of the cemetery likely remained preserved.

These patterns coincided with the accounts provided by local construction workers during initial consultations in 2016. According to the workers, construction machinery pulled out human skeletal remains from the westernmost burials directly in front of the chapel, which are now located under the cement sidewalk along the chapel's entrance. These remains and other rubble

³ As can be observed in Figure 4.5, two units (Unit 9 and Unit 11) were expanded an additional 1 x 0.5 m during the course of excavations in order to evaluate the possible presence of intact burials. The presence of intact burials was confirmed in Unit 9; in fact, Unit 9 contained the largest quantity of human skeletal material of any units excavated during Phase II testing. In contrast, the stratigraphic changes that were believed to be possible burial shafts in Unit 11 were identified as trenches from the installation of modern water piping.

⁴ Based on oral histories and available documentary records (ACBM 1748; see also Luna Obregón 2005), it is highly probable the cemetery extended further east; however, the presence of a new public park and urban buildings prevented testing in this zone.

from the colonial chapel were discarded to the east, contributing to the formation of what is now the dirt road of *Calle Progreso*. The burials under this layer of construction fill were left intact.

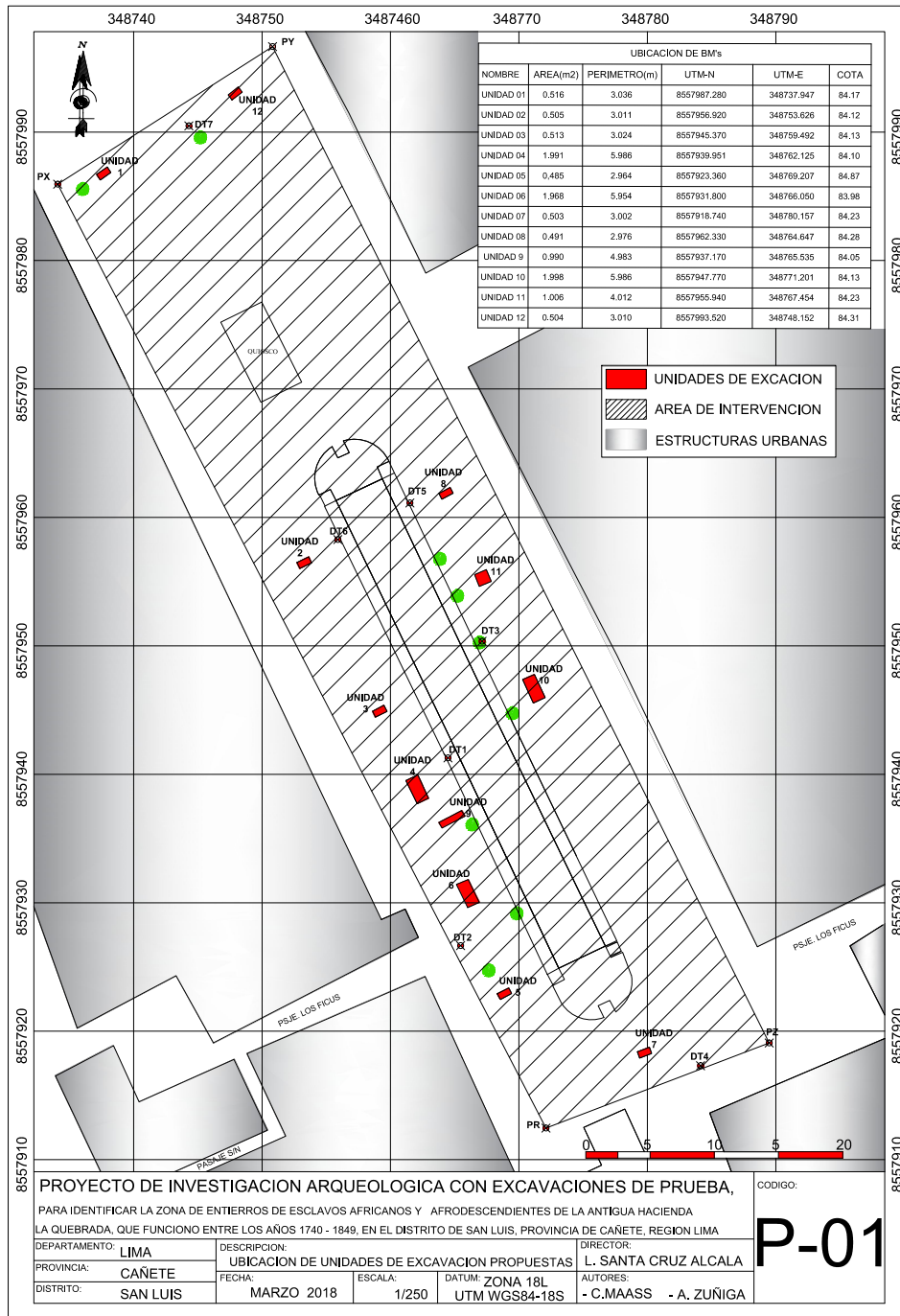


Figure 4.5: Plan indicating the test units from Phase II excavations in 2017. Test units are indicated in red, with the remainder of Calle Progreso in white and the new public park outlined in black in the center; urban buildings are shaded in grey, with the chapel located to the left.
 Map courtesy of Alex Zuñiga

Importantly, then, these Phase II test excavations provided critical information about the location, preservation, and organization of the burial contexts at the cemetery for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada. Together with the information collected through community consultation and historical research, these observations directly informed methodologies for subsequent Phase III excavations in 2018.



*Figure 4.6: Claire Maass excavating one of the 2 x 1 m units (Unidad 10) in the eastern side of Calle Progreso during Phase II fieldwork in 2017.
Photo: Martin Alvarado*

4.7. Excavations in Area (Phase 3, Autumn 2018)

4.7.1. Area of Intervention

Phase III excavations focused on a 4 x 15 m polygon located in the area of *Calle Progreso* directly east of the entrance of the contemporary chapel of La Quebrada, and surrounding the Units 9 and 6 from Phase II excavations in 2017 (Fig. 4.7). The coordinates of the four corners of the polygon were identified utilizing a Total Station, and with the assistance

of geospatial specialists. These points were processed in AutoCAD as georeferenced points, which were presented by the project and approved by the Ministry of Culture through Directive Resolution No. 425-2018 / DGPA / VMPCIC / MC.

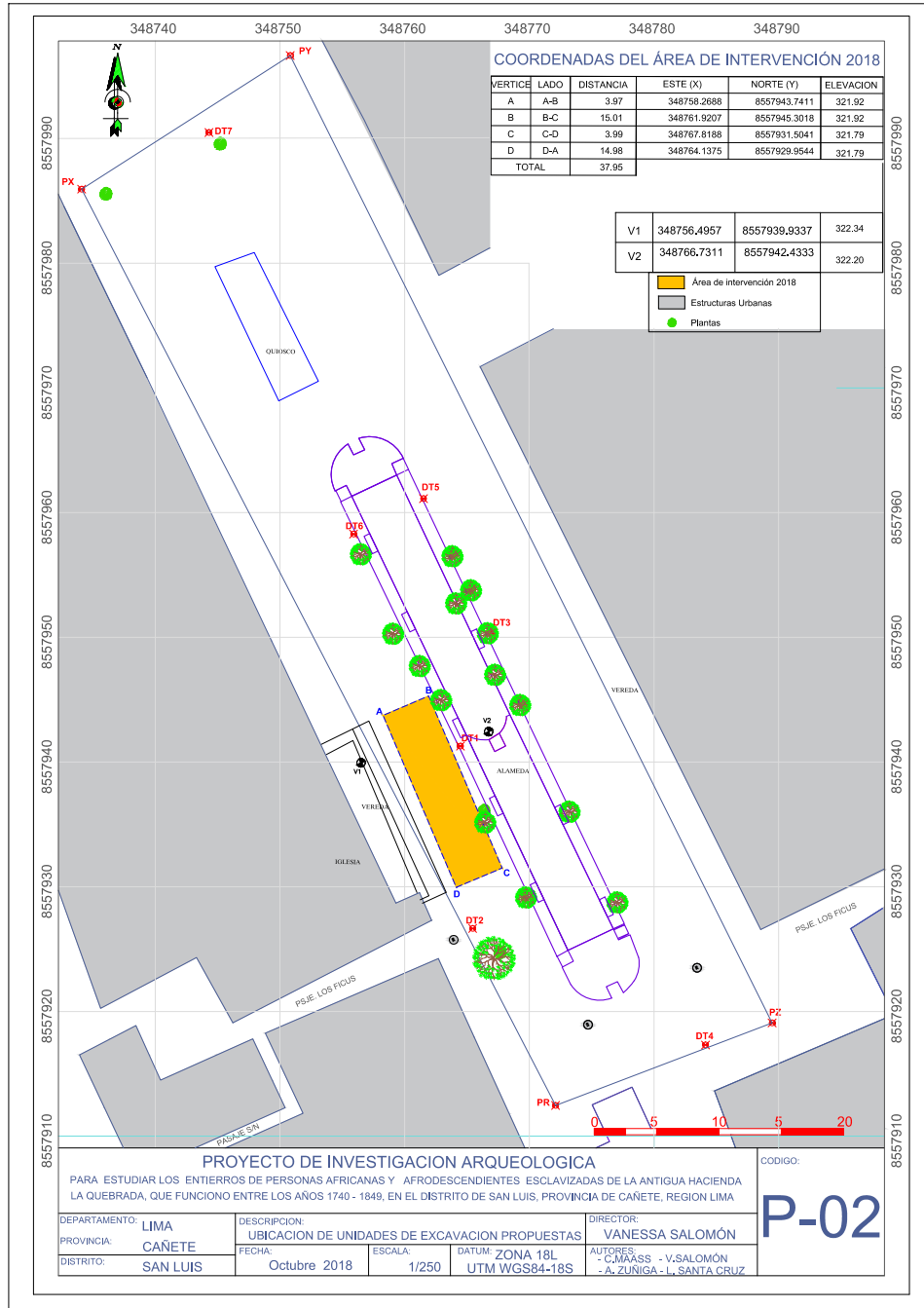


Figure 4.7: Plan of excavation area during Phase III in 2018. Excavation area is demarcated in yellow. Map courtesy of Alex Zuñiga.

For methodological purposes, the area of intervention was divided into three segments (*segmentos*) of 4 x 5 m each, which were each assigned a code in Arabic numbers ascending from north to south (i.e., *Segmento 1*, *Segmento 2* and *Segmento 3*; see Fig. 4.8). The justification for this division was twofold. First, by working in 4 x 5 m segments, the archaeological team was able to excavate more systematically and efficiently. The archaeological team was divided into three groups, each of which was responsible for excavating, registering (i.e., photos, drawings, excavation forms, and field notes), and collecting archaeological materials in their designated segment. Maintaining this division of the area thus made it possible to more closely oversee the collection and registration of archaeological data, especially by holding specific members of the crew accountable for a defined area of the research site.

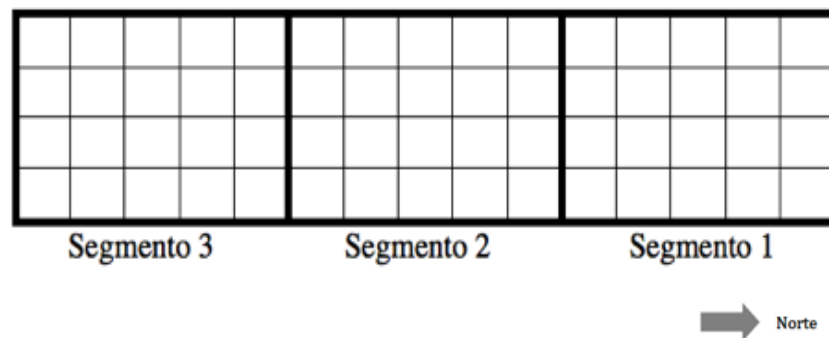


Figure 4.8: Illustration of division of excavation area into segments.

The second justification for this division was based on logistical concerns about maintaining access to the chapel entrance. As mentioned previously, the excavation area was located directly in front of the entrance to the contemporary chapel. During public meetings in La Quebrada in the weeks leading up to the 2018 field season, some members of the church community raised questions about how the archaeological excavations would impact movement

in and out of the chapel, especially during funerals or other processions. In response to these concerns, I decided to both a) establish a clear walking path to the church, which would be separated by a construction fence and kept clear of any archaeological equipment or backfill; and b) open the excavation area incrementally in segments.

In practice, this meant that instead of opening the entire excavation area at once, excavations of the superficial stratum of modern road surface (*Capa Superficial*), which contained minimal of archaeological material, would begin in the central *Segmento 2* and then advance outwards to *Segmento 3* and *Segmento 1*. This would allow residents to adjust to the excavations during the first few days of fieldwork. Additionally, it meant that only two segments (*Segmento 2* and *Segmento 3*, located farthest from the chapel entrance) would be open by mid-October when the town would be holding a major saint's day procession at the chapel. After this celebration, the final northernmost segment (*Segmento 1*) could be opened and the entire excavation area exposed. This would allow the team to continue excavations systematically across the excavation area, especially as we entered into depths beyond 40 cm where there was an increased density of osteological material and, eventually, intact burial contexts.

Finally, for recording purposes, the 4 x 15 m excavation area was further subdivided into a grid of 2 x 2 m quadrants (*cuadriculas*) (Fig. 4.9). Each quadrant received a code consisting of an Arabic numeral ascending from north to south and a letter, with western quadrants designated as A and eastern quadrants as B (e.g., *Cuadriculas 1A, 1B; Cuadriculas 2A, 2B*; and so on until *Cuadriculas 8A* and *8B*). The objective of this subdivision was to permit greater detail and accuracy when registering the provenience of all recovered archaeological materials and observed cultural features; that is, instead of simply identifying that an archaeological feature or material was identified in *Segmento 2*, we could specify within *Segmento 2* (e.g., *Segmento 2,*

Cuadrícula 5B). This higher level of precision in recording context would be important for performing spatial analyses of the distribution and organization of the burial contexts and their associated material remains during later stages of data analysis.

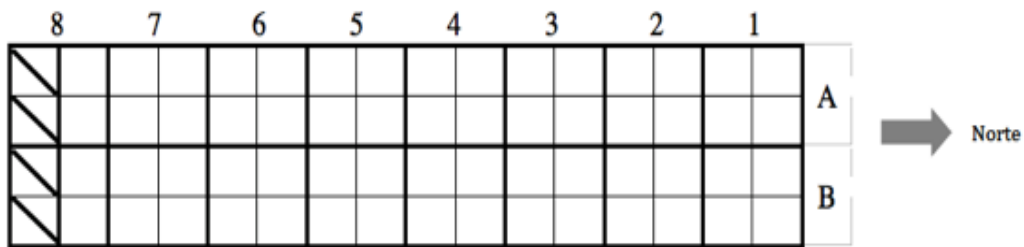


Figure 4. 9: Illustration of subdivision of excavation area into 2 x 2 m quadrants for recording the provenience of recovered materials and location of observed features.

4.7.2. Excavations and Recovery of Materials

Phase III excavations were designed to account for the presence of both intact burials in the majority of the research area, and disturbed construction backfill that had been deposited on top of the intact burials, as observed in Phase II test excavations.

Before beginning excavations, the archaeological team made drawings, took photos, and recorded elevations at the ground surface of each segment. This information was compiled into the project's excavation records for each segment, which were recorded by the excavators responsible for each segment and ultimately reviewed by me in my capacity as field director.

Within each segment, we excavated the first stratum (*Capa Superficial*) of the modern road surface of *Calle Progreso* using trowels and shovels; when necessary, small picks were also used to penetrate the compact road surface and remove large fragments of debris. Once this superficial layer of modern dirt road was removed, we continued into the second stratum (*Capa I*) of disturbed construction fill using trowels, specialized osteological tools, and brushes of

varying sizes. Due to the depth of this stratum, for recording purposes *Capa 2* was subdivided into arbitrary 10 cm levels (*niveles*), which were calculated from the surface elevation (e.g., *Capa 1 Nivel 20-30; Capa 1 Nivel 30-40; Capa 1 Nivel 40-50...*). All recovered materials were thus registered not only according to the spatial area in which they were identified in the excavation unit (segment and quadrant), but also the depth (stratum and level). This additional detail in the registration allowed for more precise provenience of all recovered materials, which was especially critical due to the density and extensive commingling of osteological materials as we descended beyond depths of 60 cm beneath the ground surface.

Following established methods for excavating, documenting, and recovering commingled human skeletal remains (Adams and Byrd 2014), archaeological excavations in the disturbed fill of *Capa 1* advanced systematically across each segment in order to expose human skeletal remains situated at approximately the same depth. In this way, it was able to identify elements or fragments that were potentially associated, and thus document and recover them together in order to work towards a more precise calculation of likely minimum number of individuals during later laboratory analysis (see Section 4.8.2). All archaeological materials recovered from the *Capa 1* were placed in plastic bags according to their segment, quadrant, and level, and separated by material type.

Standard practices for bagging and transporting human skeletal remains were based on observations from previous Phase II excavations. When reopening the bags of archaeological materials for cleaning in 2017, I noted that human skeletal remains that had been wrapped in acid-free tissue paper on-site had developed mold and that, in many cases, the paper had begun to disintegrate. This made it both difficult to remove the tissue paper and posed a risk to the preservation of the skeletal materials. Therefore, in 2018 we did not wrap the human skeletal

remains in acid-free tissue paper at the excavation site, but instead placed them directly into their designated plastic bags.

There were only two exceptions to this approach. The first was in the case of the subadult skeletal remains, which were wrapped in acid-free tissue paper and placed in separate bags in order to prevent fragmentation. Due to the smaller surface areas of subadult remains, the tissue paper did not mold or disintegrate in the period between excavations and laboratory cleaning, and therefore posed no adverse impact on the short-term conservation of the remains. Secondly, a unique strategy was adopted for the collection of highly fragile and fragmented crania in the construction fill (*Capa 1*), which were difficult to safely transport across the uneven roads to the field laboratory. Each cranium was assigned a number in the field (*Craneo #* for unmatched crania in the commingled sample) and collected *in bloc* with the surrounding soils using heavy duty plastic containers (Fig. 4.10). This strategy allowed the research team to safely transport all recovered crania back to the field laboratory at the end of each day, where they could later be



*Figure 4.10: Excavation process of two highly fragmented and fragile crania in the disturbed Capa 1.
Photo: PIALQ 2018*

carefully extracted and properly stored in cardboard boxes that had been specially lined to accommodate each individual cranium.

Finally, strategies for excavating and recording in the final, undisturbed stratum (*Capa 2*) were adjusted to account for the presence of intact and undisturbed burials. Following methods established by Peter Kaulicke (1997), each burial was assigned its own funerary context number (*Contexto Funerario*). Detailed photos, drawings, and written notes were taken for each burial and compiled in comprehensive Burial Record forms. Due to the absence of coffins or other funerary vessels, as well as the absence of any clear stratigraphic marker of burial shafts, measurements of depth (in cm) were recorded across various points in the axial and appendicular skeleton, including the cranium. Finally, the skeletal remains were collected in separate bags according to the side and element (e.g., elements of the left hand; right hand; left arm; right arm; vertebrae; etc.), and associated burial materials, if present, were bagged separately by material type (Proyecto de Investigación Arqueológica La Quebrada 2018, 2019; see Appendix C).

4.7.3. Artifact Processing

All recovered archaeological materials were taken to the project's field laboratory in the town of Quilmaná, Cañete, located approximately 16 km from the excavation site in La Quebrada. Upon arrival at the laboratory, the materials were placed in heavy duty cardboard boxes, where they were stored until they could be cleaned, inventoried and analyzed.

From January to March 2019, I worked with student volunteers from the Universidad Mayor Nacional de San Marcos to perform superficial cleaning of the materials collected during excavations. To remove any adhering soils or other organic materials from the archaeological materials, we utilized brushes of varying size and thickness, as well as specialized osteological

tools such as small spatulas and picks. The types of instruments used varied depending on the category of archaeological material, which included: human bone, animal bone, textile, ceramics, shell, botanical remains, metal, nacre, and glass. Due to their delicate state of preservation, the textile fragments and nacre objects were not mechanically cleaned, but instead stored until they could be assessed by conservation specialists.

After cleaning, each archaeological material was assigned a unique catalog number (*Número de Catálogo*) and entered into the project's inventory database. For each material, observations were recorded regarding the excavation context (*Segmento, Cuadricula, Capa, Nivel*; and, when relevant, *Contexto Funerario*); the name of the excavator and date of excavation; the name of the volunteer who catalogued and analyzed the item and the date of lab processing; and descriptive information about the item, which varied according the material type (Proyecto de Investigación Arqueológica La Quebrada 2018, 2019). Once cleaned and catalogued, the materials were placed into new bags, which were labeled with both the original field reference information and new data from lab processing (i.e., the number of materials in each bag, their total weight in grams, and the range of catalog numbers), as per the requirements of the Peruvian Ministry of Culture.

4.8. Analysis of the Recovered Human Skeletal Remains (2019-2020)

The interpretations reached and arguments made in this dissertation are in large part based on the analysis of the human skeletal remains collected during Phase II and Phase III excavations, which I conducted over ten non-consecutive months (January – September 2019 and February 2020) at the project's laboratory in Quilmaná. The objective of this analysis was to gather information that could be used to address the project's first research question, considering

the lives and living conditions of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada during the period that the cemetery was in use. To do so, my analysis focused on the collection of multiple forms of quantitative and qualitative data, including skeletal data on age-at-death and skeletal sex to reconstruct demographic profiles, evidence for physiological stress and trauma, and skeletal and dental indicators of the synergistic effects of infectious disease and nutritional stress.

4.8.1. Inventory of Recovered Skeletal Remains

The first step in skeletal analyses was to create an inventory of all complete and fragmented skeletal elements collected from Phase II and III excavations at Hacienda La Quebrada. This inventory was conducted according to protocols cited in *Standards for Data Collection from Human Remains* (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994), which is a widely utilized resource in assessments of archaeological populations.

I compiled a skeletal inventory of every observable bone and tooth using an Excel database, which I recorded according to their side (when identifiable) and preservation scores.

The preservation scores were recorded as follows:

- 1 = greater than 75% present = complete
- 2 = 25-50% present = partial
- 3 = less than 25% present = poor

For long bones, metacarpals, metatarsals, and phalanges, I also indicated which aspect of the bone was present: the proximal epiphysis (PE), proximal third of the shaft (P3), middle third (M3), distal third (D3), distal epiphysis (DE), or a range of these aspects (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994). The preservation of vertebrae, scapulae, os coxae, sacra, tarsals, carpals, and crania were recorded separately.

4.8.2. Demographics of the Burial Population

The first step in bioarchaeological analysis was to build an age-at-death and skeletal sex profile of the total skeletal sample, which was necessary for establishing demographic information about the burial population. This demographic profile would be the baseline for all later comparative assessments of bone pathology observed in the recovered assemblage. Importantly, it would permit considerations of how the diverse impacts of enslavement—such as physical conditions and biological effects, nutrition and foodways, and forced migration patterns—varied not only between the enslaved population at Hacienda La Quebrada and other comparative sites, but also within this same population across categories of age and skeletal sex.

Sex Determination: Following established methods (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Schaefer et al 2009), I evaluated skeletal sex only in skeletal individuals identified as 15 to 19 years of age and older; there are currently no widely accepted standards for estimating sex in younger subadults. For intact or complete individuals, my estimations of probable skeletal sex were based primarily on observations in the morphology of features of the os coxa (subpubic angle; ventral arch; preauricular sulcus) and cranium (mastoid process, supraorbital margins, nuchal crest, supraorbital ridges and mental eminence), with additional consideration of the morphology (i.e., ‘gracility’ or ‘robusticity’ relative to the morphological range in this assemblage) of postcranial long bones.

Assessing skeletal sex was more complex in human skeletal remains collected from the commingled context of construction fill, or *Capa 1*. When possible, I made preliminary estimates of any isolated os coxae, crania, and long bones, because these elements are critical for calculating the likely minimum number of individuals, discussed in the next subsection. I should

note here that estimations of skeletal sex based on the relative length and robusticity of postcranial elements are not always conclusive, especially as the range of morphological variation can differ across populations, and even within them as a result of diverse environmental, biocultural, and social factors (Knudson and Stojanowski 2008; Agarwal 2012). However, morphological data is largely accepted within the bioarchaeological community as a preliminary step to begin to infer possible skeletal sex in adult remains. Therefore, based on my close observations of the morphological range present in this skeletal sample, when possible, I strove to identify complete elements, mostly complete elements (completeness scores of 1 or 2), or elements presenting characteristic features (e.g., fragments of the os coxa, sacrum, and cranium) of adult skeletal fragments as probable male, probable female, or indeterminate skeletal sex (Agarwal 2012).

Age Determination: In contrast to the identification of skeletal sex in human skeletal remains, evaluations of age-at-death can be performed using a greater variety of analytical methods and skeletal elements. For my analysis of the assemblage from Hacienda La Quebrada, I integrated multiple sets of skeletal data. For subadult remains, this included observations of epiphyseal and primary ossification center formation and fusion; metrics of long bone diaphyseal length and iliac width; and patterns of tooth formation and eruption (Schaefer et al 2009). Meanwhile, for adult remains, I assessed age-related degenerative changes on the pubic symphysis (Brooks and Suchey 1990; Todd 1920, 1921) and auricular surfaces (Meindl et al. 1985) of the os coxae, cranial sutures (Meindl and Lovejoy 1985), and dental attrition (Scott 1979). I also considered osteoarthritic changes for vertebrae and articular surfaces of various long bones, as well as patterns in enamel wear; however, these assessments also had to take into account other factors such as mechanical stress and dietary intake, respectively, and thus were

not used independently as conclusive indicators of skeletal age (Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001; Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Scott and Irish 2017).

Precision in evaluating estimated age-at-death depended greatly on the state of preservation of each skeletal individual or isolated element in the commingled context. On the one hand, in the case of individual burials that were complete and/or presented characteristic features (i.e., a cranium with dentition, os coxae, and/or long bones, in the case of subadult remains), it was possible to identify more narrow age-at-death estimates within a range of years or—for subadults—months. In the commingled context of *Capa 1*, isolated crania, os coxae, and subadult remains could also be evaluated to a similar level of precision.

In contrast, for all other commingled adult skeletal remains or incomplete fragments, it was often not feasible to arrive at a similarly precise calculation of skeletal age-at-death. Instead, building on strategies posed by Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994) and Schaefer et al (2009), I estimated, whenever possible, a broader likely age range. These ranges were defined by the following analytical categories:

Table 4.3: Breakdown of Age Categories and Ranges for Human Skeletal Remains
Age Categories, as defined in Standards

Category	Age Range
Prenatal	<0
Neonatal	Birth
Newborn	≤ 9 months
Infant	0 – 3 years
Child	3 – 12 years
Adolescent	12 – 20 years
Young Adult	20 – 35 years
Middle Adult	35 – 50 years
Old Adult	> 50 years

As demonstrated in Table 4.3, the age categories for subadults were still relatively narrowly defined, due to the rapid morphological changes experienced by the human skeleton during development from birth through adolescence (Schaefer et al 2009). Meanwhile, the broader age ranges presented for adult skeletal remains were based on assessments of the metrics and robusticity of each skeletal element in comparison to the observed morphological range in this sample. As a result, age-at-death estimates in the adult remains were subject to more subjective interpretation; however, in order to minimize inter-observer error, I consulted other bioarchaeology students and physical anthropologists on the project team.

A Note on Bioarchaeological Categories and Social Identity _____ When discussing bioarchaeological approaches to the identification of skeletal sex and age-at-death, it is important to acknowledge that the categories and terminology employed in standard bioarchaeological methods may not correspond to the social identities of individuals themselves. Categories of social identity, such as age, sex, and gender, as well as ethnicity and sexuality, are socially constructed concepts (Fausto-Sterling 1993; Geller 2009; Hollimon 2011; Sofaer 2011). As historical bioarchaeologists, we often have to navigate at least two different constructions of social identity categories in the past. The first is in historical records, which often ascribed gendered, racialized, and age identities to individuals based on their perceived appearance—a dynamic that is especially important to bear in mind when working with traditionally marginalized groups such as enslaved peoples of African descent, who often did not have the capacity to leave their own documentary records (Blakey 2020). As a result, ascribed categories of identity may more closely reflect the social ideologies of the colonial archiver, rather than the lived reality and self-identification of the historical subject themselves.

The second is in bioarchaeological methodologies. Critical interventions since the 1990s by scholars such as Ann Fausto-Sterling (1993), Sandra Hollimon (2011), and Pamela Geller (2009) have elucidated the problems underlying ideas of sex, gender, and identity in bioarchaeology. Drawing on feminist theory, they warn against the application of universal, (hetero)normative, and binary notions of sex and gender in bioarchaeological research. Bioarchaeological studies of age and aging have built on these critiques, arguing that social ideas of age often vary across different cultural and historical contexts (see Knudson and Stojanowski 2008). Importantly, these interventions demonstrate how the classifications and descriptors used in bioarchaeological research are themselves constructs, which are informed by Western scientific understandings of biological development. Similar to the issues underlying historical labelling practices, assigned categories of skeletal sex and age are more closely representative of bioarchaeological methods than they are of the potential social identities of past individuals.

This dissertation aims to address these concerns in two ways. First, it takes great care to be critically reflective about the terminology used to discuss any aspect of social identity. While recognizing the problems underlying naming practices mentioned above, I use the original terminology in bioarchaeological methods and archival documents in order to avoid ascribing some subjective notion of social identity to these raw data. When discussing bioarchaeological data, this means closely adhering to the standard terms used in bioarchaeology (e.g., probable or assigned skeletal sex; age categories as defined in *Standards*, presented in Table 4.3 above). Meanwhile, the presentation of information from archival research uses the precise terminology used in the original historical record. It is important to note that Spanish colonial practices of archiving often adhered to gender binaries that did not account for the presence of nonbinary, gender nonconforming, or gender fluid peoples. Bioarchaeological analysis of skeletal remains

can allow a space for exploring the presence of these other social identities, either through the presence of individuals who cannot be clearly assigned male or female skeletal sex, or through patterns of physiological stress that may suggest the performed roles and activities of an individual through their lifetime.

Secondly, any interpretations of how these identities were conceptualized or performed in the historical past will rely on contextual sociohistorical information, such as mortuary patterns, legal and administrative policies, and archival records. For example, Chapter 5 explores the construction of concepts of childhood at Hacienda La Quebrada during the late colonial period. Careful biocultural analysis reveals how individuals who were identified as adolescents based on their skeletal morphology were actually treated as adults within plantation society, as they began to more fully take on labor roles and received similar mortuary treatments as skeletal adults between the ages of 20 and over 50 in the burial record.

Minimum Number of Individuals: Finally, after compiling a basic registry of the number of human skeletal individuals and isolated elements, as well as their estimated skeletal sex and age-at-death, I calculated the likely minimum number of individuals (MNI) represented by the recovered skeletal assemblage. As recent bioarchaeological scholarship (Adams and Konigsberg 2004; Konigsberg and Adams 2014) has observed, calculations of MNI in commingled remains often lead to an underestimation of the true burial population. Researchers have striven to develop more analytically rigorous statistical formulas to address these concerns. However, to date, many of these formulas have tended to be used with smaller-scale and more well-preserved samples (Konigsberg and Adams 2014). In cases like Hacienda La Quebrada, where there is a large commingled sample (over 18,000 skeletal elements and fragments) that has been impacted by multiple post-depositional changes, such as disarticulation, scattering, and

mechanical alteration, these novel quantification techniques are not feasible. In my analysis of the Hacienda La Quebrada assemblage, extensive fragmentation, dispersal, and in some cases, disintegration of the skeletal remains restricted my capacity to perform confident visual pair testing of more than a small percentage of the recovered sample.

Based on these observations, my calculation of the MNI represented by the skeletal assemblage from Hacienda La Quebrada returned to more standard quantification methods (White 1953; see also Adams and Konigsberg 2004, Konigsberg and Adams 2014). First, I counted the number of intact and complete individuals associated with the burial contexts, which were recorded separately and not included in the later statistical quantification. Next, for the commingled remains, I followed MNI quantification methods summarized by Lyle Konigsberg and Bradley Adams (2004). I evaluated the number of elements and, when possible, pairs of bones, which were identified and classified visually by the method of ‘visual pair testing’. This visual pair testing was based on skeletal factors such as sex and age, and morphological (e.g., robusticity, general symmetry, and epiphyseal shape) and taxonomic (e.g. degree of weathering, coloration, and post-depositional damage) indicators.

As Adams and Konigsberg (2004) note, not all skeletal elements can contribute to a confident estimate of MNI. For example, elements such as phalanges and vertebrae are often too small and do not present clear morphological traits that can be used to make a sex and age determination. For my analyses, then, I focused on the femur, tibia, humerus, radius, ulna and os coxa bones, due to their morphology, survivability in the archaeological record, and capacity to provide more reliable skeletal data (e.g., skeletal sex and estimated age-at-death) (Adams and Konigsberg 2004).

After identifying the number of different elements and/or pairs, I calculated the minimum number of individuals using the following formula:

$$L + R - P,$$

where L signifies Left element, R signifies Right element, and P signifies the number of bone pairs. The resulting calculation was added to the number of intact and complete burials in order to arrive at a final estimate of MNI represented by the skeletal sample.

4.8.3. Biological Responses to Conditions of Enslavement

In order to infer the physical conditions of enslaved labor at Hacienda La Quebrada and their biological effects (Research Question 1), I focused particularly on indicators of physiological stress. Stress, or “physiological disruption resulting from impoverished environmental circumstances” (Larsen et al 2001:86; see also Goodman et al 1988), is central to bioarchaeological studies of health and well-being in historical populations. While the category of stress is often employed to encompass a range of physiological conditions, researchers working in contexts of enslavement and colonization have tended to define stress in relation to three general phenomena: mechanical stress related to physical activity; developmental stress resulting from environmental pressures (e.g., malnutrition and disease); and pathological stress associated with disease and infection.

Mechanical Stress: First-hand accounts of enslaved men and women at Hacienda La Quebrada describe the rigor of cultivating sugar and the accidents associated with refining it, suggesting that the dangers of everyday labor could have led to high rates of skeletal changes

associated with physical activity.⁵ To identify possible evidence of such conditions in the skeletal record, I centered particularly on patterns of trauma and mechanical stress.

I described and scored trauma in the skeletal collection according to standards established by Ortner (2003, 2008), and summarized by Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994). More specifically, I first distinguished ante- and perimortem trauma in order to identify accidental or violent incidents that occurred before or near the time of death, rather than changes that occurred postmortem as a result of the burial process, post-depositional events, or archaeological intervention. For each case of antemortem and perimortem trauma, I recorded its location on the bone; its shape; the coloration, surface texture, and dimensions of its margins; and its likely point of impact (Walker 1989, 1991, 2001; Torres-Rouff and Costa Junqueira 2006; Tung 2007; Verano 2007; Ubelaker and Montaperto 2013; Redfern 2016). When combined with historical information from archival and secondary sources, these patterns can facilitate interpretations of the possible causes of examples of trauma in the bioarchaeological record.

Meanwhile, the presence of osteoarthritis and hypertrophy of tendinous and ligamentous attachment sites in the human skeleton can offer insight into repeated physical activity, and thus have implications for the study of workload and lifestyle more broadly. Osteoarthritis, or degenerative joint disease, has been associated with the cumulative effects of mechanical stress, and may be compounded by age-related degeneration of bone (Wilczak 1998; Knusen 2000; Boyde 2003). It is characterized by bone growth on the margins of joints (osteophytes or ‘lipping’), the loss of bone on joint surfaces (porosity), or both. In some cases, the complete loss of cartilage between the joint surfaces can lead to eburnation, or the polishing of the joint surfaces from continued, direct bone-to-bone contact. Drawing on these definitions, my analysis

⁵ AAL 1809: Leg. VII:9.

thus focused on the following characteristics: lipping on the margins of articular facets, including possible fusion of distinct elements; porosity on the articular surface; and eburnation. I recorded these features following a standard scoring system (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994) for noting location, spread, and severity. This quantitative (i.e., score) and qualitative (i.e., description) information was then compiled into a database that I created in 2017 for all of La Quebrada Archaeology Project's osteological and dental materials.

Finally, I also examined structural variations in non-articular regions of the skeletal surface, and on the long bones in particular, in order to further examine patterns of mechanical activity. While recent scholarship has also used measurements of cortical thickness at various locations throughout the bone shaft in order to assess compressive, bending, and torsional strength (see Ruff 2000), due to the sometimes-fragmented nature of the skeletal collection at Hacienda La Quebrada, my analysis focused more closely on musculoskeletal stress markers (MSMs) and enthesopathies. Musculoskeletal stress markers are bony developments at the site of tendinous and ligamentous attachments, and can include robust enlargement or the formation of distinct ridges at attachment sites, or more extreme stress lesions such as furrows or pits (enthesopathies) (Hawkey 1988; Hawkey and Merbs 1995). Bioarchaeologists since the 1990s have increasingly turned to the analysis of enthesopathies as a method to study activity-related stress, particularly by working to connect patterns of enthesal changes to activities involving specific muscles or muscle groups (for recent debates on the interpretations enthesal lesions, see Henderson and Alves Cardoso 2013). For this analysis, I recorded the presence and location of enthesopathies and then compared them to published literature about muscular origins and insertions in order to infer the movements and behaviors that likely contributed to their development.

Developmental Stress: Extreme periods of physiological stress associated with environmental and nutritional factors can leave tangible markers on the human skeleton as it is developing. Two common indicators used by bioarchaeologists to assess physiological stress during early development are porotic hyperostosis in the cranial vault, and enamel hypoplasia in adult dentition. While porotic hyperostosis is often associated with anemia, and especially iron deficiency anemia, it may also be linked to nutritional disorders such as scurvy and rickets (Null et al 2001; Ortner 2003). For my analysis of patterns of porotic hyperostosis in the La Quebrada skeletal sample, I strove to make a differential diagnosis of the precise likely cause in as many cases as possible; however, when the human skeletal remains were too fragmented, poorly preserved, or decontextualized to permit such diagnoses, I recorded such patterns as a more general indicator of metabolic dysfunction due to nutritional stress. In the project's database, I scored porotic hyperostosis based on presence or absence, with additional descriptions of spread, severity, and whether or not the lesion was healed or unhealed (per Buikstra and Uberlaker 1994).

Another condition that is frequently used in bioarchaeological research as an index of systematic metabolic stress during developmental years is enamel hypoplasia. Enamel hypoplasia is a disruption in the development of the dental enamel as a result of generalized or systemic stress, typically associated with factors such as infection, low birth weight, insufficient calcium, carbohydrates, or protein, or even trauma (Goodman et al 1988). Disruptions in the development of the enamel crown result in differential thickness in the enamel, which typically present as a transverse groove or series of pits. Importantly, dental enamel hypoplasia may occur as the permanent dental enamel develops between birth and the sixteenth year of life, and thus

can provide a general indicator of stress during infancy and early childhood (Corruccini et al 1982; Handler and Corruccini 1983).

Once again following established methods (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Scott and Irish 2017), my observations of enamel hypoplasia recorded information about the tooth affected, number of teeth affected per individual, and number of lines per tooth. I also used a digital caliper to take measurements (in millimeters) of the location and width of each enamel hypoplastic lesion in order to estimate the possible age at which the stress episode occurred, and its probable duration. This was assessed by measuring the distance from the dental cervix to the beginning and end of each lesion, from which a midpoint was calculated. I then entered this measurement within standardized regression equations (see Goodman and Rose 1990:98) in order to estimate the probable age at which the stress event occurred.

Pathological Stress: Finally, I determined patterns of generalized infectious disease through the study of periostitic lesions on bone surfaces. While periostitis can be the result of direct bone infection or trauma, researchers have suggested that “most periostitis is associated with an infectious agent” (Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2009:174). To more closely assess possible bacterial infection, I also recorded the presence of osteomyelitis, or abnormal and prolific bone formation. Once again, I relied on established standards (Ortner 2003) and coding systems (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994) for recording observations of periostitis and osteomyelitis in individual bones. Generally speaking, such observations included location on the bone; measurement of bone surface affected; the type of lesion; its severity; and additional notes of unique features.

4.8.4. Diet and Foodways

Fundamental to understanding the general health of enslaved persons at Hacienda La Quebrada is the food that they ate, and their access to adequate sources of nutrition in the stressful physical environment of plantation slavery. While a more direct study of the composition of enslaved persons' diets would be made possible by isotopic analyses,⁶ general information about foodways and practices can be gathered through combined historical and macro-bioarchaeological studies. For this study in particular, I approached preliminary questions of nutritional health and dietary regimens through the observation of dental pathologies such as caries, abscesses, and premortem tooth loss.

Dental caries is disease process that results in the demineralization of enamel and dentine in individual teeth, which produces lesions that are often observable to the naked eye. In bioarchaeological studies, researchers have demonstrated that this process is linked to the consumption of dietary carbohydrates, especially sugars or, in the Americas, corn (DeNiro and Epstein 1978; van der Merwe 1982, 1989; DeNiro 1987; Norr 1990; Dale and Norr 2006; Knudson et al 2015, 2017). Therefore, carious lesions can serve as an index of the general food types being consumed by individuals in the past, and thus help to reconstruct a broader picture of nutritional health and diet.

To examine evidence of caries in the dental collection at Hacienda La Quebrada, I studied patterns of lesions on the enamel surface of each individual tooth. Such lesions could range from mild staining or opacities, to visible pits and even total crown disintegration (Larsen et al 2001). For each observed lesion, I recorded its location (which tooth, and location on the

⁶ Due to time and resources, I did not perform isotopic analysis as part of this dissertation research project. However, I have received permission from local stakeholders on behalf of La Quebrada Archaeology Project to export a select sample of dentition to the United States for isotopic and aDNA research (see Chapter 8 Section 8.3.3). I plan to pursue stable isotope analyses (carbon, nitrogen, and oxygen) of this sample in a future stage of the investigation.

crown and/or root); qualitative observations about its characteristics and severity; and the frequency per tooth and individual (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Scott and Irish 2017).

4.8.5. Data Processing and Reporting

Upon returning to Stanford University to write my dissertation in 2020, I used the quantitative data compiled in my skeletal and dental databases to assess trends between age and sex groups, and throughout the sample population as a whole. Together with the qualitative descriptions recorded during lab analysis, as well as the historical information discussed previously in this chapter, these statistical data form the foundation for the interpretations and arguments made in Part Two of this dissertation.

4.8.6. Ethical Considerations

When addressing the interpretation of bioarchaeological data, it is critical to address ethical concerns associated with the study of human skeletal remains, especially those associated with colonized and traditionally marginalized communities. As discussed in Chapter 2, a particularly important ethical concern in interpreting data collected from the study of human skeletal remains of African and Afro-descendant populations is the potential to inadvertently reinforce racializing theories of the body. Modern ideas of race are entrenched in histories of European imperialism and New World colonialism, and therefore have historically served to justify the subjugation and inequality of Afro-descendant populations under Euro-American powers. Moreover, the construct of biological race has its own troubled history in physical anthropology, spanning from the invasive collection practices of medical schools and academic

researchers in the early 1900s, to the eugenics and race-based nationalist movements that culminated in World War II (Blakey 1996[1987], 2020).

Bioarchaeological research since the 1980s has systematically critiqued the pursuit of race in analyses of human skeletal remains, and has effectively debunked the notion of race as a biologically observable category. However, the continued use of craniometrics and programs such as FORDISC in some bioarchaeological and forensics research programs has reignited critiques about the perpetuation of outdated research methods that correlate skeletal morphology to social ideas of race (for example, see Jantz and Freid 2009; for critique, see Smay and Armelagos 2000). Additionally, more recent developments in genomics, including the analysis of ancient DNA in archaeological remains, has led to renewed concerns about the naturalization of race in anthropological and bioarchaeological research (Fullwiley 2008, 2014; Montoya 2010; Kahn 2012; see also Reich 2018). In African diaspora bioarchaeology in particular, scholars fear that a conflation of geographic origins or cultural heritage with ideas of race may reinforce racializing theories of the body, and in doing so, make data useful to racist agendas (Goodman and Armelagos 1998; Franklin and McKee 2004; Leone et al 2005).

This dissertation project has worked to address these concerns in both the analysis of the human skeletal remains, and in the interpretation of the collected qualitative and quantitative data. First, I address concerns about the re-inscription of social constructs of race onto the body by explicitly explaining why I do not use skeletal features to identify the skeletal remains as African descendant.⁷ In Chapter 3, I explained how historical records indicate that the cemetery was constructed explicitly for Hacienda La Quebrada's enslaved population and that these same

⁷ The only instances in which I utilize osteological data to suggest the possible geographic origins of individuals interred in the cemetery site is in relation to examples of cultural dental modification (see Chapter 8, Section 8.3.3). Importantly, I frame these features as preliminary indicators of possible geographic origins and cultural affiliations, rather than markers of ethnic identity.

records identify the enslaved laborers as being of African descent. This discussion will also be revisited in Chapter 8, where I present additional archival data offering insights into the likely geographic origins and migration patterns of the enslaved population. Importantly, these interpretations ultimately result in a discussion of the possible geographic origins and heritage of the enslaved population, rather any notion of ‘race’ or ethnic identity—a distinction that I have repeatedly emphasized throughout my discussion of the project results in academic presentations and discussions with community stakeholders.

Secondly, this dissertation as a whole situates its final interpretations in a larger discussion about the history of the idea of ‘race’ in African diaspora bioarchaeology, with particular attention to its implications for contributing to anti-black racism and the justification of racialized inequalities (Blakey 2001a, 2020; Franklin and McKee 2004; Leone et a 2005). This discussion is directly addressed in Chapters 1, 3, and 7, where I confront how the history of the *casta* system in colonial Peru has shaped dynamics of racial inequality and discrimination in Peru today, and consider the significance of this project’s findings in relation to these phenomena.

4.9. Interviews and Participant Observation with Stakeholders (2017-2020)

The final set of information that informed this dissertation project was ethnographic information, which I collected in consultation and collaboration with self-identified Afro-descendant stakeholders in the district of San Luis. Throughout the course of this research project, I conducted semi-structured interviews, collected oral histories, and performed participant observation at various social events, all of which occurred with the approval of the Stanford University Institutional Review Board (IRB). I completed the Human Subjects

Research Protections Curriculum, developed a human subjects research plan, and created a project information flyer, consent forms, and example questions for guiding interviews. These plans and materials were compiled under IRB Protocol #41785, which was approved by the Chair on the Panel on Non-Medical Human Subjects at Stanford University.

The collection of oral histories began during initial community consultations in 2016 and site survey in 2017, when I talked to residents to learn about their perspectives towards the archaeological research project and inquired as to any information that they might have about the cemetery site. These questions opened up broader discussions in which residents shared intergenerational memories and local histories about Hacienda La Quebrada and its enslaved population, as well as their own personal ideas, emotions, or relationships with respect to these pasts today (see Chapter 7). As the project's network of community stakeholders continued to expand after the first phase of archaeological research in 2017, I broadened my research strategies to perform semi-structured interviews with self-identified Afro-descendants in the San Luis district more broadly, and other Afro-descendant social and political organizers who were involved in the project. Many of these informants were members of the *Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana* or from the Offices of Afroperuvian Affairs at the Peruvian Ministry of Culture (Fig. 4.11).



*Figure 4.11. Jaime "Jairo" Rojas providing on-site consultation during excavations. Jairo was one of many members of the local and descendant community who played an active role in methods design and on-site interpretations.
Photo: Claire Maass*

In total, I conducted interviews or held directed discussions with thirteen local residents and self-identified Afro-descendants in San Luis. However, I was also able to gain the perspectives of many more individuals through public town hall meetings (Fig. 4.12) in La Quebrada and private meetings with the project's stakeholders (particularly the *Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana*; *Culto de Santa Efigenia*; the Offices of Afroperuvian Affairs; and CEDET). Additionally, Luis Santa Cruz and one of our local collaborators videotaped interviews with five members of the *Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana*, which are part of a documentary that La Quebrada Project is creating about Afro-descendant history, heritage, and archaeology in San Luis. Apart from these documentary interviews and the public town hall meetings, I did not use video to record my engagements with local and descendant stakeholders. This was largely at the

request of my interlocutors who—for varying reasons—preferred not to be recorded, but still permitted me to take detailed written notes of our conversations.

Through these multiple engagements with members of the local and descendant community, I was able to cultivate a closer awareness of project stakeholders' own understandings of the history of African enslavement in San Luis, and its personal, social, spiritual, and cultural significance in the area today. Additionally, similar to previous community-engaged research projects in African diaspora cemetery sites (Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001; Balanzátegui 2018), these engagements also revealed descendant stakeholders' own strategies and objectives for the preservation of their cultural heritage. These knowledges, strategies, and perspectives directly informed the development of the research project and the interpretation of its findings, which will be the focus of the remainder of this dissertation.



Figure 4.12: Claire Maass and Luis Santa Cruz in a public town hall meeting during community consultations in 2017.

Photo: PIALQ 2017

PART TWO
RECONSTRUCTING THE LIVES AND LEGACIES OF ENSLAVED AFRICANS AND
AFRO-DESCENDANTS AT HACIENDA LA QUEBRADA

Chapter 5: Born into Captivity: Childhood at Hacienda La Quebrada

5.1. Introduction

Interdisciplinary research at the cemetery for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada offers insights into social and environmental conditions of captivity in Cañete's sugar economy during the late colonial period, and the manifold impacts that they had on the plantation's enslaved population. Following recent developments in African diaspora archaeology (Franklin 2001; Battle-Baptiste 2011) and bioarchaeology (Agarwal 2016), the next two chapters of this dissertation present the findings of archaeological, bioarchaeological, and historical analyses of the impacts of captivity on enslaved persons (Research Question 1) in two parts: childhood and later adult life.

This organization is informed by both theoretical and methodological considerations. As discussed in Chapter 2, the more widespread influence of Black feminist frameworks in African diaspora archaeology has effectively demonstrated that slavery was not a monolithic institution that affected all individuals in the same way; rather, the conditions of captivity and colonial life had varied impacts on individuals across intersecting axes of age, gender, race, and class. By integrating an intersectional theoretical perspective with a life course approach to the study of human skeletal remains, it will be possible to disentangle the diverse embodied experiences of enslaved men, women, and children living in conditions of captivity at Hacienda La Quebrada.

A second important consideration was the presence of subadult individuals in the burial record. As will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, archaeological interventions at the cemetery for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada resulted in the recovery of an estimated minimum of 158 subadult skeletal individuals, spanning from

infants to adolescents approximately 20 years of age. Notably, these subadult individuals represented over half of the total collected skeletal sample. This finding offers an opportunity to cultivate a closer historical understanding of the lives and experiences of enslaved children of African descent, who remain relatively understudied both in historical research on slavery and colonialism in Peru (Premo 2005) and in the field of bioarchaeology more broadly (Lewis 2007; Halcrow and Tales 2008; Thompson et al 2014; Beauchesne and Agarwal 2018).

Bearing in mind these observations, this chapter begins Part II's presentation of research findings by first exploring the embodied experiences and social worlds of enslaved children at Hacienda La Quebrada. The study of children and childhood has implications for understanding the broader history of slavery at the plantation site. From a biological perspective, patterns of disease and death amongst subadult individuals have direct impacts on the demographic stability of the enslaved population as a whole (Rankin-Hill 2001 et al; Lewis 2007). Early childhood experiences can also have physical, psychological, emotional, and social implications that endure through later in individuals' lifetimes, shaping both their own personal identities and the ways in which they engage their social worlds (King 2011). By examining the conditions and experiences of childhood, this chapter thus establishes a foundation for more closely interpreting patterns in the physiological health of enslaved adult men and women at Hacienda La Quebrada, and their motivations for working beyond imposed conditions of captivity to cultivate their own communities of care and push for institutional change (Chapter 6).

5.2. Theoretical Background

5.2.1. A Child-Centered Study of Captivity?

In *Child Slavery Before and After Emancipation: An Argument for Child-Centered Slave Studies*, Anna Mae Duane (2017) points to an interesting conundrum in the historiography of childhood and slavery. That is, even though “[children] have long been central to defining slavery itself,” they “are often excluded from the calculus of who counts as a slave” (Duane 2017:5). According to Duane, the ‘imagined child’ whose personhood is defined by their relationship to the autonomous adult has often been used to define and justify enslavement:

“The very concepts that undergird slavery—infantilization, paternalism, and guardianship—all invoke such an imagined child to make their arguments. In each case, power is given to those who can ‘prove’ that they are not childlike, and are thus deserving of rights” (Duane 2017:4).

And yet, in spite of the rhetorical association between ideas of childhood and slavery—which date from ancient Greece, to Western European imperialism and the transatlantic slave trade—the two are infrequently joined in historical inquiry.

It is precisely because of these complex interconnections that child-centered studies can offer critical insights into the ideologies that have historically been employed to justify captivity, and the ways in which they shaped the social worlds of enslaved persons. In her study of the colonial politics of childhood in Peru, for instance, Bianca Premo (2005) found that traditional discourse on slavery and Bourbon policies towards children were steeped in a similar ideological notion of patriarchal authority. By framing the ideal relationship between enslaver/enslaved and children/elders according to a generational family model, legal customs during this period essentially naturalized the subordination of enslaved persons and youths. This dynamic had a particularly complex impact on enslaved children, who—due to their intersectional legal (non-autonomous minors), racial (*negros/as*), and socioeconomic (*esclavo/as*) status—were subjected to multiple axes of control in colonial society.

Wilma King (2011) arrived at a similar conclusion in her study of enslaved children in the southern United States during the 19th century. Like Premo, King suggested that exposure to the simultaneous control of parents, enslavers, authorities, and elders in the community contributed to the marked precarity of enslaved children in early American society. These conditions of precarity not only structured the ways in which enslaved children engaged with their surrounding communities, but also directly shaped their personal, social, and psychological development. Born into conditions of captivity, children were forced to confront adult situations from an early age, including being forced into coerced labor; inability to access proper foods and resources needed to survive; subjection to arbitrary authority and punishment; and experiencing separation from loved ones (King 2011: xxi). Exposure to such conditions, King concluded, led children to “grow old before their time” (King 2011:xxii), effectively robbing enslaved youth of their childhood as they took on the experiences and roles of adults.

5.2.2. Children and Childhood in African Diaspora Bioarchaeology

As a growing body of scholarship in African diaspora bioarchaeology has demonstrated, such conditions also had direct implications for the biological well-being of enslaved children. Foundational research at the Newton Plantation in Barbados found that evidence of enamel hypoplasia indicating moderate nutritional stress impacted children from a very early age, especially around three to four years old (Corruccini et al. 1982). More recent research has suggested that these early studies likely underrepresent the historical realities of highly stressed individuals in Caribbean sugar plantations, adding that excessive rates of hypercementosis and periodontal disease beginning at 13 to 14 years of age suggests that enslaved laborers likely endured periodic episodes of starvation (Shuler 2005). Together with historical and

bioarchaeological evidence of infectious disease in the Newton population (Corriccini et al. 1989; Shuler 2011), these patterns revealed that childhood development in captivity was likely characterized by systemic dietary stress and vulnerability to disease, which contributed to high rates of subadult mortality described in documentary record (Corruccini et al. 1985, 1987; Handler et al. 1986; Shuler 2005, 2011).

Similar findings were identified during excavations at Site 38CH778, a cemetery for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants associated with a plantation in South Carolina (Rathbun 1987). While researchers observed that dental disease resulting from nutritional stress was systematic during early childhood between the ages of two and four, they also noted that the rates of these conditions varied across skeletal sex. 92 percent of the adult males presented clearly identifiable hypoplastic lesions associated with this age range; meanwhile, this rate was only about 50 percent for females. This variance in the occurrence of enamel hypoplasia, which was mirrored by differences in rates of osteoarthritis and mortality in adulthood, led researchers to suggest that there might have existed gendered differences in the treatment of enslaved persons at the plantation, and that these disparities emerged during childhood (Rathbun 1987).

Research at the New York African Burial Ground further demonstrated the particular susceptibility of infants and children to the conditions of captivity (Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001; Barrett and Blakey 2011). Similar to previous studies, scholars identified high rates of subadult mortality (43.2 mortality) in the burial population, which was paralleled by extensive evidence of dental pathologies such as enamel hypoplasia suggesting poor dietary regimens, especially between the ages of 3.5 and 6.5 (Blakey et al 2001; Mack et al 2001; Barrett and Blakey 2011). Importantly, a biocultural and life course approach to the study of the African Burial Ground population revealed that health outcomes and patterns in levels of stress were

likely influenced by the fluctuating social and legal status of children within European systems of colonial slavery (Barrett and Blakey 2011; Barrett 2014). These findings highlight the importance of a child-centered approach in the bioarchaeology of captivity, particularly for elucidating the status, labor roles, and treatment of enslaved children, and the ways in which they shaped their embodied experiences within colonial society.

In more recent years, the proliferation of bioarchaeological investigations across North America (Barrett 2014), the Caribbean (Crain 2005; Laffoon et al. 2013, 2018; Fricke et al. 2020) and Latin America (Price et al 2006; Pereira 2007; Crespo and Muñoz Guevara 2009; Tiesler et al 2010; Smith-Guzmán et al. 2020; Wesp 2020) has revealed a diversity in the life trajectories and conditions of captive peoples as a result of economic, sociopolitical, and cultural factors. However, in spite of these differences, the fundamental pattern indicating the disproportionate impacts of conditions of captivity, colonialism, and early American life on the health outcomes of enslaved youth still persists. This trend calls attention to the need for a more comprehensive investigation into the perils of childhood in captivity, especially as children were developing biologically, psychologically, and socially.

5.3. Case Study at Hacienda La Quebrada

5.3.1. Research Objectives

This chapter responds to theoretical and epistemological concerns by presenting new information about children and childhood in captivity at Hacienda La Quebrada. To achieve this aim, it employs a biocultural approach to pursue two principal objectives. First, it integrates historical and bioarchaeological data to consider the biological impacts of captivity at Hacienda La Quebrada on enslaved children. Patterns in subadult mortality and skeletal indicators of

nutritional insufficiency, developmental stress, and generalized infectious disease can serve as an index of the physical well-being of enslaved children and the availability of the resources that their quality of life depended on (Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001; Perry 2006). By situating these data within a biocultural framework, this chapter considers what the patterns observed in skeletal record might suggest about the broader social, economic, and environmental conditions of plantation life, and how they shaped the embodied experiences of enslaved persons during early development (Blakey 2001; Agarwal 2016).

Building on these analyses, it then draws on patterns in the mortuary record to consider social ideas of childhood at Hacienda La Quebrada. As a growing body of bioarchaeological scholarship (see Baxter 2008; Inglis and Halcrow 2018) has argued, notions of childhood are culturally constructed in specific socio-historical contexts. Patterns in health outcomes and burial treatment across different periods in the life course can offer insights into social ideas of age in the past, and shed light on when individuals were considered to be fully independent actors in the plantation community. Importantly, these perspectives have implications for understanding the potential roles and status of children at Hacienda La Quebrada, and their treatment by the enslavers, parents, and other members of the enslaved population.

5.3.2. Materials and Methods

The interpretations presented in this chapter are based on the findings of Phase II and Phase III excavations at the cemetery for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada (see Chapter 4 sections 4.6, 4.7), and the subsequent analysis of recovered human skeletal remains and associated funerary goods (Chapter 4 Section 4.8).



Figure 5.1: Close-up of commingled remains in Capa 1. Local collaborators identified these remains as likely dug up and redeposited by workers during reconstruction of the town's chapel.

Photo: PIALQ 2018

Phase III excavations at the cemetery site resulted in the identification of three distinct contexts presenting evidence of archaeological human skeletal remains. As discussed in the previous chapter, the first stratum of construction fill (*Capa 1*), which extended to approximately 70 cm beneath the ground surface, contained a dense concentration of commingled skeletal elements in varying states of preservation (Fig. 5.1).

Beneath this stratum in *Capa 2*, there were two contexts presenting intact and undisturbed burials. The majority of the excavation area consisted of individual burials from depths of 70 to 120 cm (base of excavations) beneath the surface, which were oriented in an east-west orientation facing the chapel, and the individuals interred supine with their arms crossed over their pelvis or chest (Fig. 5.2). Apart from this orientation, there was no clear organization of the burials within the cemetery space; rather, the burials were typically overlapping or layered one

on top of the other, with only a thin (2 to 6 cm) layer of soil to separate them (Fig. 5.3)¹.

Importantly, these patterns followed descriptions in the archival records, which indicated that the cemetery was a limited space of allocated land that was continuously used over time, resulting in the overcrowding that ultimately led to its closure.²



*Figure 5.2: Individual adult burial in situ.
Photo: PIALQ 2018*



*Figure 5.3: At least three (3) adult burials in process
of excavation.
Photo: PIALQ 2018*

¹ A more detailed discussion of the individual intact burials and *Contextos Funerarios*, the majority of which contained adult skeletal individuals, will be addressed in Chapter 6.

² ACBM. Doc. Num. 0791

Finally, an approximately 2 x 2 m area in *Segmento 2* consisted of a deposit of densely commingled subadult remains, extending from 70 to 100 cm beneath the surface. Based on stratigraphic patterns indicating that both this deposit and individual burials in *Segmento 3* had similar minimum depths of 70 cm beneath the surface (*Nivel 70-80*), it is highly probable that this commingled internment was contemporaneous with the remainder of the cemetery site. Apart from their separate internment in the southern area of the unit (i.e., southern subquadrants of *Cuadriculas 6A-6B*, northern subquadrants of *Cuadriculas 7A-7B*), there was no clear organization of these subadult burials (Fig. 5.4, 5.5).



*Figure 5.4: View of commingled subadult skeletal remains in process of excavation in Cuadriculas 7A and 7B.
Photo: PIALQ 2018*

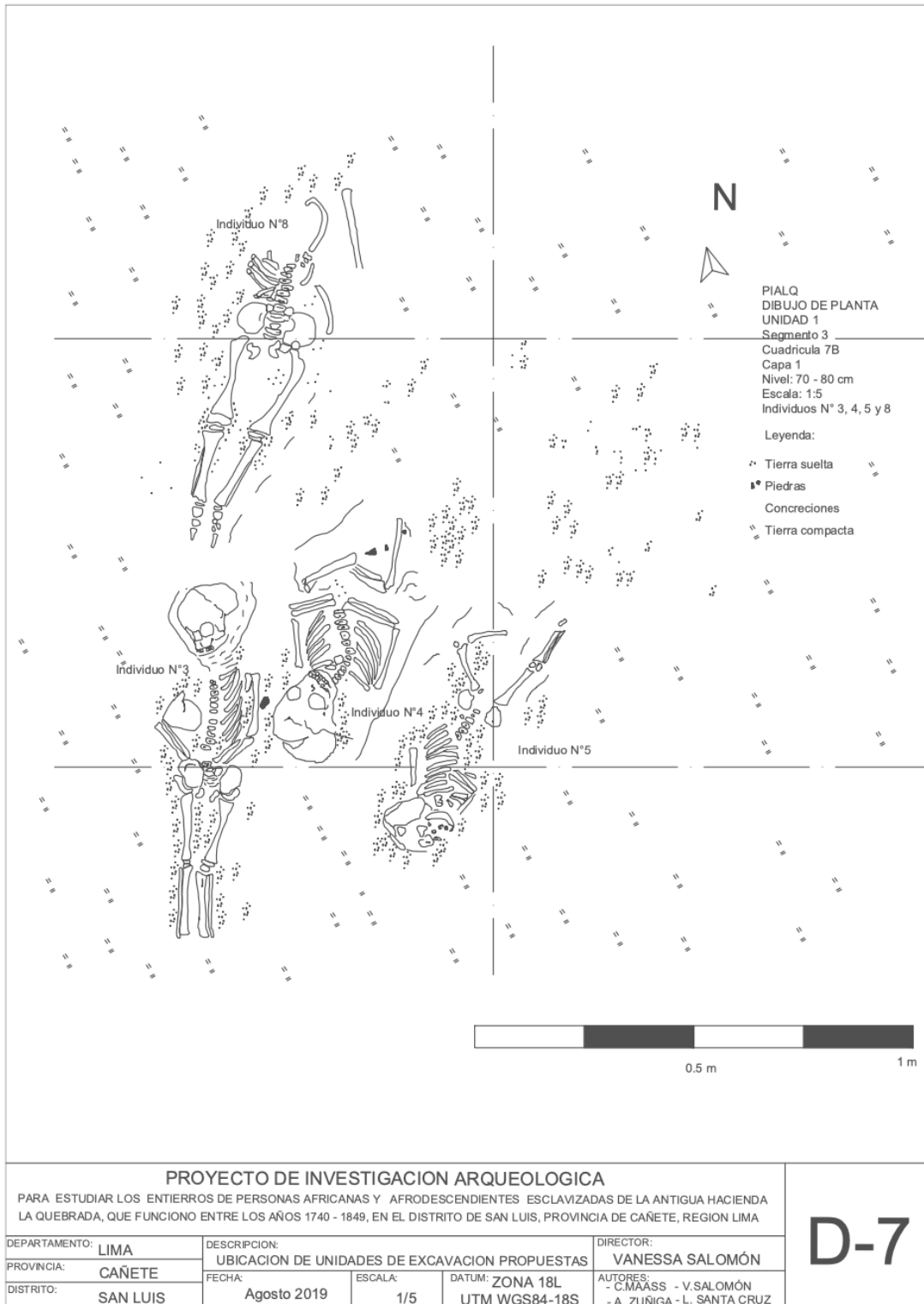


Figure 5.5: Digitized drawing of commingled subadult skeletal remains.
Image courtesy of Alex Zuñiga.

Archaeological excavations in the 15 x 4 m area, including the two previously excavated test units (Units 6 and 9) from Phase II excavations, ultimately produced over 18,000 elements and fragments of human skeletal remains in varying states of conservation. Through careful on-site collection strategies and laboratory processing methods, and following established methods (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Adams and Konigsberg 2004), it was possible to identify an estimated minimum of approximately 245 skeletal individuals, accounting for both intact burials and commingled remains. This sample included 10 prenatal skeletal individuals; 158 subadults ranging from newborns to 20 years old; 36 adult females and probable females; 38 adult males and probable males; and 3 adults of indeterminate skeletal sex (Table 5.1).

Using this skeletal sample as a foundation, and following recent theoretical advances in the bioarchaeology of children and childhood, this chapter integrates biocultural and life course perspectives to examine the impacts of captivity on children at Hacienda La Quebrada. As noted above, a biocultural approach permits analyses to move beyond a strict biological definition of age, to instead consider social notions of childhood within the particular context of slavery and colonial life in Peru during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Importantly, these latter conceptualizations would affect the roles, practices, and treatment of enslaved children, which would be materialized in the individual skeleton and its associated burial record.

Meanwhile, a life course perspective addresses theoretical concerns by breaking down the conceptual division between childhood and adulthood. Instead of limiting the frame of analysis to infant and adolescent skeletal remains, this study also examines patterns of healed pathological lesions and indicators of developmental stress in adult individuals, which it considers as reflections of experiences from earlier stages in the individual life course. In doing

so, it resituates adult individuals as ‘survivors’ of childhood, confronting the othering of children in bioarchaeological narratives (Beauchesne and Agarwal 2018).

Table 5.1. Overall Age-At-Death Profile at Hacienda La Quebrada

Subadult Individuals		
Age Category	Age	Number
Prenatal	<0	10
Newborns and Infants	0-1	78
	1-2	16
	2-3	18
	1-4	13
Children	3-4	5
	4-6	10
	6-12	10
Adolescents	12-15	3
	15-20	5
<i>Total Prenatal Individuals: 10</i>		
<i>Total Subadults: 158</i>		
Adult Individuals		
Young Adult Males	20-35	9
Young Adult Females	20-35	17
Young Adult Skeletal Sex Not Determined	20-35	3
Middle Adult Males	35-50	16
Middle Adult Females	35-50	16
Middle Adult Skeletal Sex Not Determined	35-50	0
Old Adult Males	>50	13
Old Adult Females	>50	2
Old Adult Skeletal Sex Not Determined	>50	0
Adult Female	20-50	1
<i>Total Adults: 77</i>		
TOTAL: 245		

5.4. Enslaved Children and Childhood at Hacienda La Quebrada

5.4.1. Demographic and Paleodemographic Data

Bioarchaeological and historical research at Hacienda La Quebrada countered several presumptions about the nature of African slavery on sugar estates in colonial Peru. Popular and historical accounts often cite that enslaved laborers on rural agricultural estates were predominately young and male (Bowser 1974; Aguirre 2005). While there is nuance to this argument depending on the particular context, its effect has been to perpetuate a popular understanding that plantation labor was predominantly performed by young adult men, thus contributing to the invisibility of enslaved children (and women) in plantation contexts.

This study painted a different picture of rural plantation life at Hacienda La Quebrada during the late colonial period. Demographic information from archival census records revealed the presence of enslaved Afro-descendant children at the plantation, which increased through the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Table 5.2). In 1774, Buena Muerte administrators recorded a total 319 enslaved persons at the plantation, including 33 enslaved children or *párvulos/as*, who accounted for around 10 percent of the population. By 1813, number of enslaved children had risen to 144, or 31 percent of the population of the enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at the plantation.

Table 5.2. Enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada: Historical Demographic Data³

	1774	1813	1815	1823
Men	186	165	210	160
Male Children	22	69		20
Women	100	155	228	183
Female Children	11	75		34
Total	319	464	438	397

³ Based on three registries: AAL 1774. Visitas Pastorales. *Canete autos de certification para que el cura Manual Angel de la Quintana presenta los libras de cofradias de inventarios y el padron general de espanoles y esclavos que trabajan en las haciendas*. Exp. 22/Leg. 12. ; AAL 1813. Documentos sobre Padrones, Padron de esclavos, Leg. Exp. 25/Leg. 12. ; AAL 1823. *Cuentas presentadas por el padre Jose Cairo, prefecto de la religion de la Buenamuerte, relativas a la administracion de las haciendas Casablanca y La Quebrada*. Exp. 8/Leg. 60.

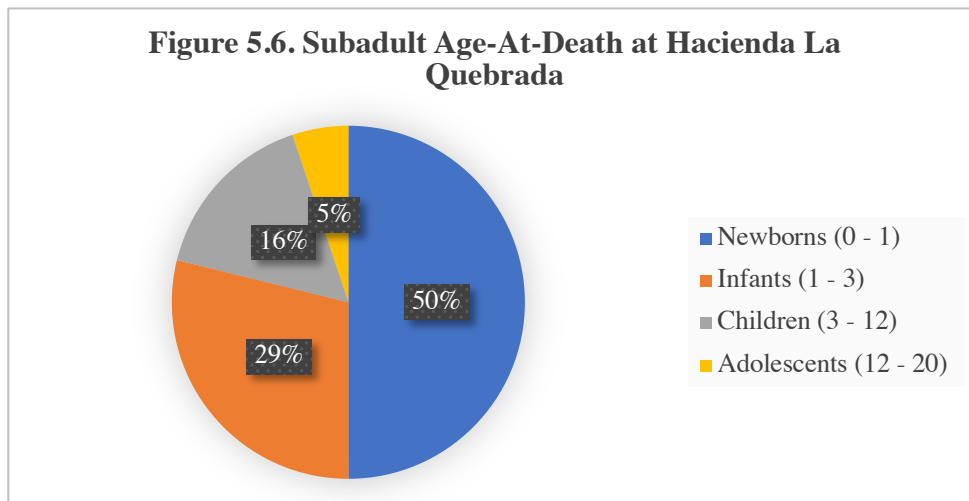
Paleodemographic data from the study of human skeletal remains offered further insights into the presence of enslaved children at Hacienda La Quebrada. Excavations resulted in the recovery of an estimated 158 subadults under the age of 20 years old, which accounted for over half of the collected skeletal sample (refer back to Table 5.1). It should be noted that this is likely an overestimation as a result of sampling; in consultation with the project's community stakeholders, recovery excavations ultimately occurred in an area of the cemetery that had a high density of infant and child burials. Based on the census records dating to the period that the cemetery was in use, as well as comparisons to other bioarchaeological (see Rankin-Hill et al 2001) and historical (King 2011; Duane 2017) studies, it is more probable that children accounted for between 20 and 40 percent of the enslaved community at Hacienda La Quebrada, with the value increasing within this range through the late 18th and early 19th centuries as the enslaved population continued to naturally reproduce.

Calculations of the age-at-death of subadults indicated that the greatest number of subadult individuals in the recovered burial sample perished during the first 12 months of life (n=78, or 33.2 percent of all subadult and adult individuals; refer back to Table 5.1). Within the subadult population, this accounted for 49.4 percent of all subadult deaths, likely contributing to the younger average subadult age-at-death of around two years old (Table 5.3; Figure 5.6). Some scholars (Lewis 2007) have critiqued the interpretative power of subadult mortality in bioarchaeology, arguing that it more closely reflects methodologies for aging skeletal remains than the actual profile of historical populations. However, bioarchaeological studies of African diaspora populations in the United States (Angel et al 1987; Owsley et al 1987; Rathbun 1987), Caribbean (Handler and Corruccini 1986), and South America (Khudabux 1991) have

documented similar patterns indicating the particular vulnerability of infants to the environmental conditions of captivity and colonial life.

Table 5.3. Subadult Age-At-Death at Hacienda La Quebrada⁴

Age Group	Age Range	Number	% of Subadults	% of Total
Newborns and Infants	0-1	78	49.4	33.2
	1-2	16	10.1	6.8
	2-3	18	11.4	7.7
	1-4	13	8.2	5.5
Children	3-4	5	3.2	2.1
	4-6	10	6.3	4.3
	6-12	10	6.3	4.3
Adolescents	12-15	3	1.9	1.3
	15-20	5	3.2	2.1



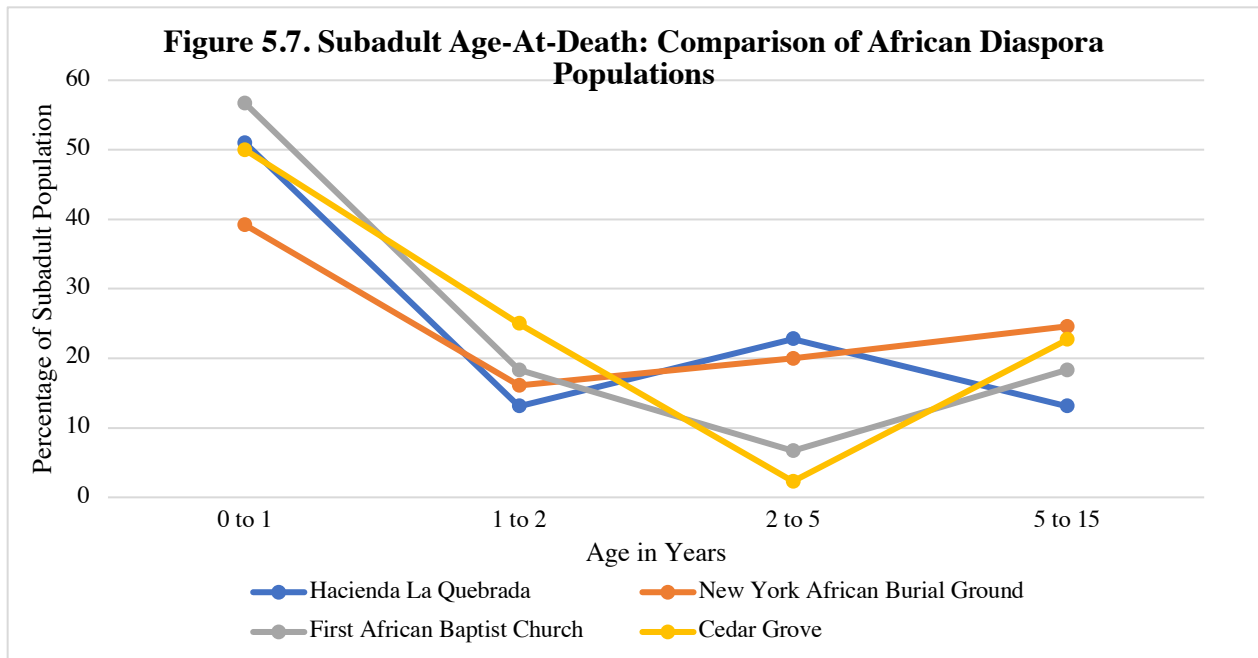
For children born into captivity at Hacienda La Quebrada, those who survived the perilous first year of life often faced another period of stress in early childhood. Calculations of subadult mortality in the skeletal sample indicated a second mortality peak around the ages of

⁴ Calculations of subadult mortality, average age-at-death, and overall mortality rates in the burial population do not include prenatal remains (n=10).

two to five years old. Notably, this paralleled trends in other bioarchaeological studies of enslaved African and Afro-descendant populations, such as the African Burial Ground in New York (Rankin-Hill et al 2001); in contrast, subadults in free African American communities such as Cedar Grove (Rose 1985) and the First African Baptist Church (Kelley and Angel 1987; Rankin-Hill 1997) did not share this secondary peak (Table 5.4 and Figure 5.7)⁵.

Table 5.4. Comparative Subadult Age-At-Death by Age Group
(Adapted from Rankin-Hill et al 2001)

Age	Hacienda La Quebrada		NYABG		FABC		Cedar Grove	
	Number of Deaths	% of Subadults Ages 0-15	Number of Deaths	% of Subadults Ages 0-15	Number of Deaths	% of Subadults Ages 0-15	Number of Deaths	% of Subadults Ages 0-15
0-1	78	51.0	51	39.2	34	56.7	22	50.0
1-2	16	10.5	21	16.1	11	18.3	11	25.0
2-5	31	20.2	26	20.0	4	6.7	1	2.3
1-3	8	5.2	-	-	-	-	-	-
5-15	20	13.1	32	24.6	11	18.3	10	22.7



⁵ Calculations only account for neonatal remains to individuals approximately 15 years of age, for which data is available from the comparative sites.

5.4.2. Early Life at Hacienda La Quebrada: Evidence of Diet, Disease, and Infection

At Hacienda La Quebrada, this secondary peak coincided with evidence of the synergistic effects of metabolic stress and generalized infectious disease, as suggested by evidence of enamel hypoplasia and porotic hyperostosis in subadult and adult remains. For the purpose of this study, hypoplastic lesions were evaluated in 96 subadult and adult individuals presenting intact canines and incisors. While this limited sample could result in the under-reporting of actual rates by excluding loose and unmatched dentition, it allowed for a more confident analysis of contextualized samples that could also be associated with individuals of identifiable skeletal sex and age.

From this sample, 14 out of 96 individuals (14.6 percent) exhibited at least one linear enamel hypoplasia. Interestingly, analysis of enamel hypoplasia indicated that around 50 percent of metabolic stress events occurred between the ages of two and four. Early bioarchaeological studies of African diaspora populations, such as the research conducted at the Newton Plantation in Barbados (Corruccini et al 1985), have attributed the high frequency of hypoplasia between the ages of three and four to practices of weaning. However, more recent studies in African diaspora bioarchaeology have critiqued this assertion, instead suggesting that more likely reflects multiple intersecting factors, such as infectious disease, insufficient diet, and low birth weight (Blakey et al 1994; Blakey et al 2001b; Mack et al 2001). As a whole, then, these patterns contribute to the interpretation that the period from around two to four “was a vulnerable and stressful age for children who survived early infancy and who died as adults” (Blakey et al 2001b:153).

Of the 283 crania and cranial elements recovered during excavations, only 111 (80 subadults, 19 adult males and probable males, 10 adult females and probable females, and two

individuals of indeterminate skeletal sex) were complete enough to evaluate for evidence of porotic hyperostosis. Within this sample, it was possible to identify a total of 20 cases of active and healed lesions: one healed lesion in a middle adult male, and 19 active and healed lesions in subadult individuals under the age of 20. For the affected subadults, prevalence of porotic hyperostosis in the orbits (cribra orbitalia) were generally higher than for the cranial vault, with cribra orbitalia accounting for 14 of the 19 observed cases (73.7 percent). Notably, 47.4 percent (9/19) of the total cases of porotic hyperostosis and cribra orbitalia observed in subadults were associated with individuals in the range of two to four years old—these nine cases also accounted for 37.5 percent of the total observable subadults in this age group, once again providing another possible indicator into the generalized stresses endured by enslaved peoples during this vulnerable age.

Meanwhile, assessment periosteal lesions observed in the individuals from Hacienda La Quebrada presented numerous cases of bony response to general infectious disease. Due to the presence of both intact and disturbed commingled contexts in the excavated area, it was not possible to identify the precise number of skeletal individuals affected; therefore, for this study, rates of periostitis are presented according to the total elements affected, and the total known individuals affected.

Within the commingled skeletal sample recovered from Hacienda La Quebrada, a total of 6,655 subadult skeletal elements identified as under the age of 20 were able to be assessed for evidence of periosteal lesions, and 65 of these subadult elements presented clear evidence of healed or active periosteal lesions (1 percent). 34 of these affected subadult individuals were under the age of 12 months, which represented 52.3 percent (34/65) of all subadult elements with periostitis and 11 percent (34/310) of the total number of commingled elements presenting

evidence of this pathology (Table 5.5). When compared to commingled elements associated with subadults under the age of 12 months that did not present evidence of periostitis, however, these rates remained relatively low (1.5 percent, or 34 out of 2,111 assessed).

Table 5.5. Frequencies of Periostitis in Commingled Subadult Remains

Age	Total	% of Total Subadult Elements with Periostitis
0-1	34	52.3
1-2	6	9.2
2-3	5	7.7
3-4	1	1.5
1-4	4	6.2
4-6	3	4.6
6-12	7	10.8
12-15	1	1.5
15-20	4	6.2
TOTAL	65	100

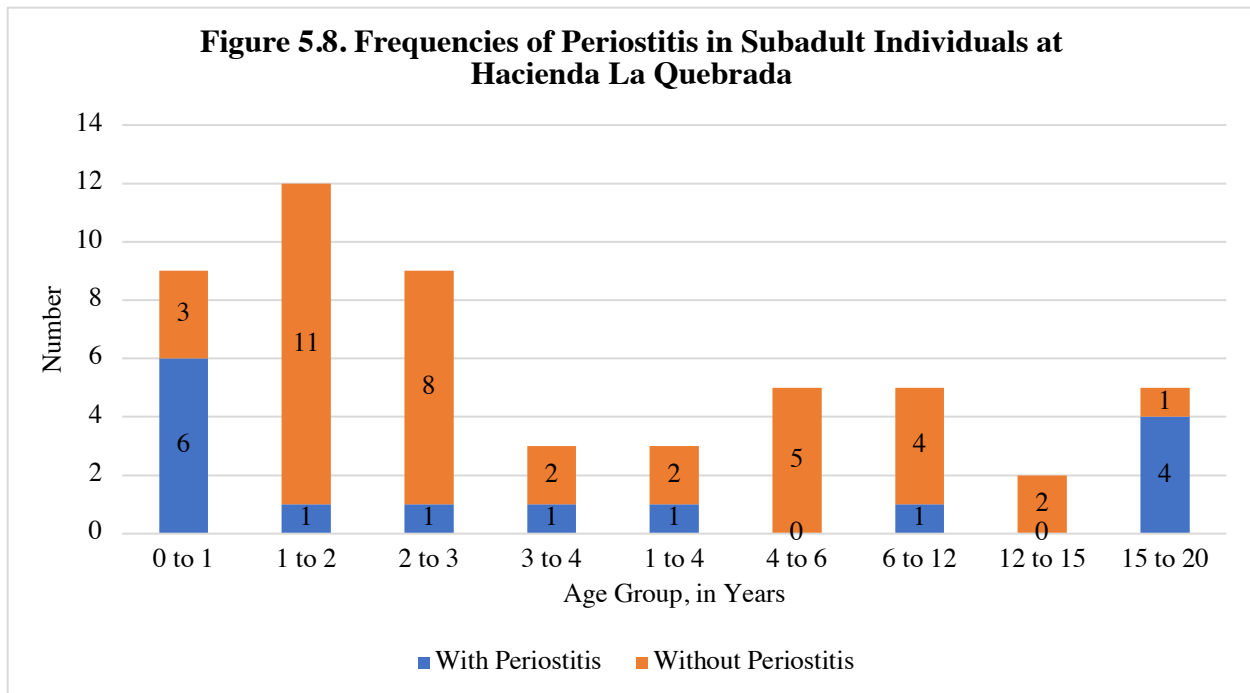
These relatively low rates of observed periostitis (i.e., less than two percent) in the commingled sample could be reflective of multiple factors, including the state of preservation of said skeletal sample. The analysis of intact subadult individuals can help to provide additional insights into potential rates of generalized infections and disease in subadult individuals. Within the collected sample of intact individual subadults, a total of 2,625 elements were able to be assessed for patterns of periostitis, which corresponded to 53 skeletal individuals. Among these subadult individuals, 15 (28.3 percent) presented at least one active periosteal lesion (Table 5.6). Once again, newborns and infants under 12 months presented the highest number of infected loci, with an average of 7.8 lesions per individual. Newborns and infants under the age of 12

months also presented among the highest frequencies of periostitis within their age group, along with adolescents between the ages of 15 and 20. Of the nine newborns and infants that were assessed for the pathology, six out of nine presented at least one active lesion (66.7 percent); meanwhile, of the five examined adolescents, four out of five presented clear evidence of healed lesions (80 percent) (Figure 5.8).

Table 5.6. Frequencies of Periostitis in Subadult Individuals at Hacienda La Quebrada

Age	Individuals with Evidence of Periostitis	Number of Elements Affected
0-1	1	15
	1	7
	1	8
	1	3
	1	5
	1	9
1-2	1	3
2-3	1	2
3-4	1	1
1-4	1	1
4-6	0	0
6-12	1	8
12-15	0	0
15-20	1F?	2
	1M?	1
	1	2
	1F?	2
TOTAL	15	69

As researchers observed in the analysis of generalized infection in the New York African Burial Ground population, evidence of active periostitis in infants and children is likely reflective of the particular vulnerability of young individuals, who “were prone to dying during their first active infection” (Null et al 2001:175). It is also worth noting that this vulnerable population,



who were still biologically developing and building immune responses, might have succumbed to severe infections before they left any markers on the skeleton, thus contributing to a lower rate of observed cases in the bioarchaeological record (Lewis 2004). This follows a broader trend within the burial subadult population at Hacienda La Quebrada: that is, the parallel patterns of declining rates of mortality and indicators of generalized infection, disease, and malnutrition after the first few years of life all suggest that after enduring the difficult conditions of infancy and weaning, older children typically did not see another wave of stresses until early adulthood.

5.4.3. Burial Treatment and Social Attitudes Towards Enslaved Children

Recent studies of childhood have supplemented skeletal data with mortuary evidence to consider culturally constructed ideas of childhood in the past, including the individual identities that may have been embodied by young individuals (Joyce 2000; Sofaer Derevenski 2000;

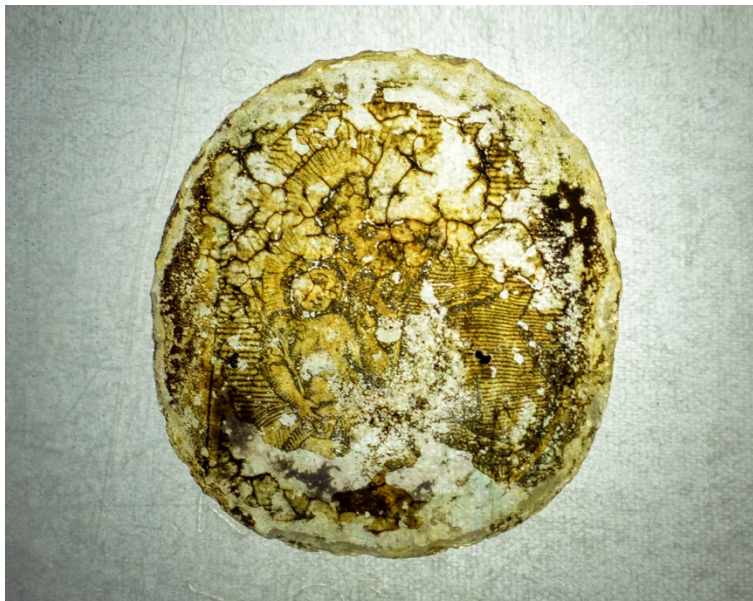
McCafferty and McCafferty 2006; Perry 2006; Storey and McAnany 2006). As Jane Eva Baxter (2008) observes in her review of archaeological approaches to childhood, this requires decoupling biological definitions informed by Western scientific epistemologies from “cultural meanings that are placed on individuals’ bodies” (2008:164). Instead, researchers must develop more nuanced approaches to the study of mortuary remains, by critically interrogating differences in burial treatment and ritual across different stages of life (Perry 2006).

At Hacienda La Quebrada, a notable finding was the marked difference in the burials of infants and young children compared to those of adolescents and adults. As mentioned previously, two distinct types of burial contexts were identified during excavations at the cemetery site: individual burials of skeletal individuals extended supine facing the chapel entrance, and a deposit of densely commingled remains. Analysis of the recovered skeletal remains revealed a distinct pattern in the ages of the individuals associated with each context. That is, adolescent and adult individuals identified as over 10 to 12 years old were buried individually; meanwhile, the commingled deposit contained subadult individuals under the age of nine, the vast majority of whom were infants under the age of three.

These differences in the mortuary treatment of infants and young children on the one hand, and adolescents and adults on the other, was also paralleled by differences in the materials associated with each burial context. Fragments of textile were observed with the remains of adolescent and adult individuals, in some cases adhering to skeletal elements. The poor preservation of these fragments, which had fully disintegrated and could only be collected in minute samples (1 to 3 g per individual) inhibited in-depth analysis. However, oral histories in the local descendant community suggest that enslaved persons were wrapped in square or

rectangular textile shrouds, which were used to lower individuals into the burial shaft (see Chapter 6, Section 6.2.1).

In contrast, no evidence of textiles was identified with the commingled deposit of infants and young children. However, the burials of infants and young children presented the greatest evidence of burial goods. Two nacre medallions were recovered from the commingled deposit, as well as multiple additional fragments in the surrounding soils. One of the medallions presented imagery stamped on one surface, which specialists have identified as Saint Anthony of Padua holding the baby Jesus (Fig. 5.9). In the late colonial Catholic tradition, Saint Anthony of Padua was deemed a patron of the poor and the sick—causes that paralleled the fundamental mission of the Order of the Buena Muerte (Bautista Sandoval 2011).



*Figure 5.9. Nacre medallion recovered from subadult burial depicting Saint Anthony of Padua holding the baby Jesus.
Photo: Samuel Lancho*

5.5. Discussion

5.5.1. Precarity and ‘Stolen Childhoods’ at Hacienda La Quebrada

Ideas of childhood in colonial Peru were informed by multiple social, economic, and juridical factors. For enslaved Afro-descendant children, these ideas were embedded in a broader discourse about the ‘proper’ treatment of enslaved persons, particularly with regards to education, spiritual guidance, labor, and punishment (Premo 2005). Policies crafted both in the Viceroyalty of Peru and by the Crown in Madrid, such as Charles IV’s Instruction on Slavery (1789), established clear edicts emphasizing the responsibilities of both enslavers and enslaved parents for seeing to the physical and moral well-being of prepubescent children. While these ideal models were intended to both protect enslaved children as minors and cultivate them into productive Christian subjects, they also had problematic effects that actually jeopardized the well-being of enslaved youth. Tensions over who was responsible for enslaved children opened possibilities for neglect as enslavers refused to provide proper resources to children, claiming it was the responsibility of parents (Premo 2005). At the same time, subjection to the control of parents, adults in the enslaved community, enslavers, and colonial authorities resulted in children facing multiple intersecting forces of domination, discipline, and control.

These tensions were particularly pronounced in the specific case of Hacienda La Quebrada. While the Orden de la Buena Muerte was explicitly founded upon the Christian ethical mission to provide for the sick and poor—a mission that carried the order to the colonial capital of Lima, where it continues to serve underprivileged communities today—its investment in the exploitative sugar economy as a means to support its caregiving projects contradicted this foundational objective (Reyes Flores 1999; Tardieu 2002, 2005; Morales Polar 2008; Luna 2017). As bioarchaeological evidence from Hacienda La Quebrada reveals, the reliance upon

enslaved labor in the Buena Muerte's rural sugar plantations directly contributed to the poor health of enslaved Africans and their descendants.

This study demonstrates how these multiple ideological complexities and contradictions contributed to the precarity (Butler 2004) of children within conditions of captivity, especially for infants who were largely dependent on the care of parents or non-parent guardians. High rates of infant mortality and deaths in the first three years of life indicate the particular vulnerability of infants to conditions of captivity and colonial life at the plantation. As Bush (2010) observes, infancy was a critical moment in the lives of enslaved persons in the African diaspora. The health of enslaved mothers directly influenced their capacity to carry to term and care for their newborn infants, especially in the critical moments of childbirth and breastfeeding (Lewis 2007). Consequently, the capacity of an infant to endure the critical first two to three years of life depended on the mother's ability to access proper nutrition, resources, and medical care.

Testimonies of enslaved men and women at Hacienda La Quebrada indicate that access to proper nutrition was a systematic concern at the plantation. Not only were the provisions insufficient, but they also lacked meat and other essential sources of protein, instead consisting primarily of beans and *sango*, a sweet paste based in corn flour, sugar, and spices.⁶ While enslaved families worked to supplement these foods by cultivating their own gardens (Luna 2017), bioarchaeological evidence suggests that access to sufficient diets remained a critical issue. Reliance on high-carbohydrate foods such as *sango* in particular is supported by evidence of caries, dental abscesses, and premortem tooth loss in the adult dentition (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.3). This lack of proper nutrition likely had biological implications on the ability of enslaved mothers to carry to term, as well as the health status of newborn infants—an

⁶ AAL 1809: Leg. VII:9; ACBM. Doc. 2393

interpretation that is supported by the presence of both prenatal remains (n=10) and subadults under 12 months in the burial record (Lewis 2007:81).

For infants who were able to survive the critical moment of childbirth, evidence of the synergistic effects of generalized infectious disease and metabolic stress suggest that they struggled to adapt to the environmental conditions at Hacienda La Quebrada. In early years of life, infants and young children were still subject to the care of parents, enslavers, and adults in the plantation community. While colonial policies stipulated the responsibilities of enslavers in providing their captive workers with the proper resources that they needed to survive, in practice, neglect was widespread in rural agricultural estates (Aguirre 2005; Arrelucea and Aguilar 2015). Hacienda La Quebrada does not appear to have been an exception. Complaints registered by enslaved persons to Buena Muerte's priests cite a systemic failure to provide for the needs and well-being of the enslaved community, including childcare and provisions of bread for children, access to medical treatment, and sufficient rations of food and clothing.⁷ These social conditions not only threatened the life outcomes of enslaved individuals of all ages, but also posed burdens for families as they worked to care for young children who were not yet biologically and socially developed enough to support themselves.

Beyond basic concerns about accessing the resources that their health and lives depended on, enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada also faced constant overwork and threats of physical castigation. Testimonies of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants collected by Buena Muerte priests detail the widespread and excessive abuse endured at the hands of plantation overseers. One young woman, for example, described how her 50-year-old father was frequently punished for being too slow or weak to complete his labor

⁷ Ibid.

tasks; in one case, he was given at least 50 lashes, well in excess of the restrictions urged by Spanish legal customs during this period.⁸

Findings from the analysis of skeletal trauma suggest that children might have been exposed to similar risks of abuse and neglect. While only four of the estimated 158 subadults (2.5 percent) presented evidence of skeletal trauma, a notable finding was that three of these observed cases appeared to be the result of forms of interpersonal violence. One case involved an adolescent approximately 15 to 21 years old, who appeared to have suffered a strike to the left side of their jaw. The misalignment of the healed bone contributed to the loss of all left mandibular dentition except for the third molar, suggesting that they likely suffered this traumatic event earlier in their childhood, only to survive a few years longer into adolescence. A second instance involved an 18- to 24-month-old who presented evidence of round, blunt force trauma on the posterior of the skull. The coloration and lack of healing in the fracture suggest that it most likely occurred around the time of death; moreover, its shape and location (posterior of the right parietal) were characteristic of intentionally inflicted trauma, rather than an accidental fracture (Walker 1997). These patterns suggest that the infant was likely struck by a hard, blunt object from the side or behind, which contributed to their premature death.

While Spanish colonial authorities' ideal model for the 'proper treatment' of enslaved persons established in no uncertain terms the duties of enslavers to shelter prepubescent youth from discipline and neglect, these historical and bioarchaeological findings suggest that such mandates were at times ignored in daily practice. It is not possible with the available information to determine the precise context in which such an act of violence occurred, or whom was its perpetrator; indeed, historical studies indicate that enslaved children often faced multiple axes of

⁸ AAL 1809: Leg. VII:9; for further discussion, see Chapter 6.

discipline by enslavers, parents, and colonial authorities (Premo 2005). However, what these findings can begin to reveal is the fact that young children—although framed as wards to be treated with “special care” (Premo 2005:227)—were in actuality equally vulnerable to abuse and punishment, even by the very guardians who were charged with seeing to their well-being.

5.5.2. Coming of Age: Socialization and the Construction of Childhood

After passing through the critical ages of infancy, enslaved children at Hacienda La Quebrada emerged as subjects who were increasingly incorporated as active participants in the community. Patterns in bioarchaeological, mortuary, and historical evidence begin to suggest that childhood at Hacienda La Quebrada was marked by multiple stages of social development. The first appears to have occurred around three to five years old, as children passed a dangerous life period marked by high risk of death. According to Baxter (2008), milestones in biological development “are often...emphasized in ideological and social constructions of identity categories” (Baxter 2008:164). As perhaps most tragically expressed in Toni Morrison’s novel *Beloved*, the conditions of childbearing and childrearing within conditions of captivity were harrowing, as newborns often perished during or shortly after childbirth, or mothers were forced to return back to work shortly after birth and young infants were left with non-parent caretakers (Bush 2010). Because of the tragic frequencies of infant deaths, some parents even refrained from naming their children, instead waiting through the critical first few months or even years until the risks to survival seemed to have largely passed (King 2011).

It is possible that similar social dynamics were at play at Hacienda La Quebrada. The burial of newborns and infants under the age of three in a common deposit stands in marked contrast to adolescents, who were afforded their own proper burial spaces and were given similar

burial treatment to adults in the enslaved community. Whether associated with a relatively confined historical event—for example, an epidemic or some form of natural disaster—or used more continuously over an extended period of time, this clearly distinct burial practice provides some insights into attitudes towards the youngest members of the plantation population. Facing the common occurrence of the death of newborns and young infants, parents and priests at Hacienda La Quebrada may have made the difficult decision to dispense with more elaborate burial rituals, instead baptizing the young children before interring them in simple ceremonial event (Cushner 1975).

For enslaved children who survived the high risks of mortality in the first three to five years of life, the remainder of early childhood and adolescence was marked by relatively lower risk of death. Instead, it was a period marked by cognitive and physiological growth, which permitted a lessening reliance upon enslaved parents and community members (Premo 2005; Lewis 2007; King 2011). This period of biological and cognitive development was also a critical moment in the socialization of enslaved children, especially through the inculcation of social, religious, and cultural values. Returning to Premo (2005:214), “in keeping with the importance Bourbon kings assigned to education as the key to an orderly state,” enslavers were obligated to educate enslaved workers, and were “required to instruct [them] in Christian doctrine.” Indoctrination in Christian values was particularly important as a central mission of the Buena Muerte, and typically began at an early age.

This was emphasized by presence of medallions bearing religious iconography, and of Saint Anthony of Padua in particular, with subadult burials at the cemetery site. Consultations with local residents in the contemporary town of La Quebrada, which remains a devoutly Catholic region, specifically emphasize the relationship of Saint Anthony of Padua to young

children. While the legacy of Saint Anthony in the particular context of Hacienda La Quebrada has been especially associated with medical care for the sick and poor, local accounts also note that many of the miracles that he performed were for children. Consequently, the finding of religious objects bearing his image can be interpreted as mirroring a historical tradition of placing children under his care, thus further underscoring the notion that young children, while increasingly developing individual social roles and identities, were still fundamentally perceived as wards that needed to be protected and cared for (Premo 2005).

Enslaved men and women at Hacienda La Quebrada also worked beyond the reaches of the Buena Muerte overseers to develop their own cultural, spiritual, and social values, which they cultivated in their own families and communities. Today, the musical traditions, cuisine, and syncretic spiritual traditions cultivated by enslaved African descendant communities in the 18th and 19th centuries continue to be the core of local cultural traditions, having been passed down through families for generations (Arrelucea and Aguilar 2015). Enslaved children born into captivity at the plantation were vital to carrying on these traditions, passing them onto the new generations of children as they continued through adulthood.

Another shift in experiences of childhood at Hacienda La Quebrada seems to have occurred when children passed from being considered *párvulos/as* to simply *esclavos/as*, suggesting another step in their integration into plantation society and social advancement towards adulthood. Archival records do not specify the age range that constitutes a *párvulo/a*, or whether these categories differed according to gender. Moreover, recording practices were not consistent across different years, nor across the various estates managed by the Buena Muerte in Cañete, making it difficult to assess age categories. Historians (Chocano et al 2020) have suggested that the category of *párvulo/a* was used during the 18th century to describe young

children, typically under the age of 4. However, other studies of African slavery in late colonial Peru (Aguirre 2005; Premo 2005; Arrelucea and Aguilar 2015) indicate that prepubescent youths up to 14 to 17 years old were also to be treated and cared for as minors, particularly following the ordinance of Charles IV's Instruction on Slavery in 1789.

Given these historical complexities, this changing administrative designation did not necessarily signify that children became viewed as fully 'adult' in the plantation community. The social reality was likely more nuanced. In her study of cultural and legal constructions of ideas of childhood in eighteenth century Lima, for example, Premo (2005) found that while enslaved children could take on economic tasks and social roles from a young age, they were still "treated...first and foremost as children" (Premo 2005:12). This is also manifest in the infrastructures that were established to control the treatment of enslaved persons during the late colonial period, which restricted the age at which children could be fully incorporated into the plantation system to after 14 to 17 years old (Bowser 1974; Aguirre 2005; Arrelucea Barrantes and Aguilar Cosmalón 2015).

Regardless of these legal and ideological frameworks, the period of adolescence between 10 and 20 years old appears to have been a significant transition in the roles and status of enslaved peoples within the plantation community. As early as 10 to 12 years old, enslaved adolescents were given the same mortuary treatment as adults at the plantation. While infants and children were buried collectively, adolescents and adults were permitted their own burial space, indexing their identities as complete individuals. The rites associated with these burials were also more elaborate, as individuals were wrapped in textiles and interred according to the customs of the late colonial Catholic tradition (Larsen 1993; McEwan 2001; Tiesler et al. 2010).

To date, no historical records have been identified indicating the specific ages at which enslaved children were compelled to take on roles in full-time manual labor at Hacienda La Quebrada, or the division of these tasks across gender. As historians of African slavery in Peru have indicated (Bowser 1974; Aguirre 2005; Premo 2005; Arrelucea and Aguirre 2015), attitudes towards child labor varied over time, as well as across rural and urban contexts. Additionally, individual overseers and enslavers did not necessarily comply with official standards in everyday practice. A more extensive child-centered study of Lima's historical records would thus be necessary in order to uncover the specific roles of enslaved children at the Buena Muerte's Cañete estates, and in the rural coastal sugar economy more broadly—an endeavor that is complicated by the relative underrepresentation and invisibility of youth, and especially enslaved youth, in the colonial archive (Premo 2005; for planned future research on childhood, see Chapter 8, Section 8.3.3).

However, osteological evidence from archaeological interventions at Hacienda La Quebrada can begin to offer a first glance into patterns of forced physical labor at the plantation site during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. As noted in the previous chapter (see Section 4.8), degenerative changes of the joints (osteoarthritis) and hypertrophic bone development at ligament and tendon attachment sites (musculoskeletal stress markers, or enthesopathies) can serve as indicators of the cumulative effects of continuous, repeated physical activity or labor on the individual skeleton. While methodological limitations inhibit the analysis of skeletal indicators of work in developing subadults, seminal research at the New York African Burial Ground site has suggested that the presence of skeletal changes in individuals as young as 15 to 24 years old is likely indicative of repeated physical labor from a young age (Wilczak et al 2001). In the burial population at Hacienda La Quebrada, the presence of clearly evident

enthesopathies in individuals in this age range was rare; moreover, as will be discussed in the next chapter, rates were also relatively low in the young adult population.

However, evidence of clearly present osteoarthritis among individuals between the ages of 15 and 25 suggest that some enslaved peoples did begin to perform repeated physical labor from a young age. Of the five intact skeletal individuals aged 15 to 20, two of them presented evidence of osteoarthritis (40 percent); notably, both were identified as probable females (2/3 or 66.7 percent of female individuals in this age group). Meanwhile, among the total of 3,104 commingled skeletal elements examined for that pathology, 978 presented clear evidence for osteoarthritis, and among the 103 elements from the 15 to 25 year old age group, 21 exhibited porosity and lipping (suggesting osteoarthritis) on the joint surfaces (20.4 percent). These rates of cumulative skeletal changes related to repeated physical activity begin to suggest that while many enslaved people may have not performed sustained manual labor until later in adulthood, some were incorporated into physical activities around the plantation as early as late adolescence.⁹

While some enslaved children may not have been fully treated as adults in terms of their labor roles, there still appears to have been a shift in their social roles and identities as they entered adolescence. At Hacienda La Quebrada, archaeological and historical data suggest that this transformation might have taken place as early as 10 to 12 years old. Beginning at this age, enslaved children were given the same mortuary treatment as adults at the plantation. While younger children, particularly those under the age of three, were buried collectively in a common

⁹ Compared, for example, to the New York African Burial Ground, where both clearly present enthesopathies and osteoarthritis began to emerge in enslaved individuals of both sexes as young as 15 to 24 years old; in fact, 45 percent of individuals in this age group were affected by moderate to severe degenerative changes in the lumbar vertebrae (Wilczak et al 2001:202). A further discussion of historical and osteological evidence for physical labor amongst Hacienda La Quebrada's enslaved adult population will be addressed in Chapter 6.

deposit, adolescents, teens, and adults were permitted their own burial space, indexing their identities as complete individuals. The rites associated with these burials were also relatively more elaborated, as individuals were wrapped in textiles and interred according to the customs of the late colonial Catholic tradition (Larsen 1993; McEwan 2001; Tiesler et al 2010).

5.5. Conclusion

Historical, archaeological, and bioarchaeological research at Hacienda La Quebrada begin to paint a picture of the harsh and often fatal conditions of captivity at the estate during the late colonial period, particularly as a result of insufficient diets, limited access to essential resources, and physical mistreatment. By moving beyond a generalized study of the enslaved African and Afro-descendant population, a child-centered study reveals how such conditions disproportionately impacted enslaved children, especially in the very early moments of life.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the particular susceptibility of children to stress, disease, and risk of death had implications at both the individual and populational level. Individuals who endured early life stresses that were severe enough to leave a marker in the skeletal record, such as physical trauma, periods of malnutrition, or a severe disease event, may have faced long-term health effects that impacted them later in life (Beauchesne and Agarwal 2018). Such impacts would be simultaneously biological and social, shaping both an individual's capacity to respond to environmental and physiological stressors as well as their potential to fulfill certain roles in the plantation community. Understanding skeletal health at different moments in early development is thus essential to understanding patterns of adult morbidity and mortality, and can also offer insights into how embodied behaviors and differentials in skeletal health developed through the life course (Agarwal 2016).

The interconnections between skeletal health and mortuary treatment across different age groups can also begin to reveal the emergence of social identities amongst enslaved persons and the ways in which they were perceived in the enslaved community. High rates of mortality and generalized physiological stressors amongst subadults under the ages of two is in part reflective of the vulnerability of infants who are developing biologically and immunologically (Lewis 2007). However, variable risk through childhood more broadly can also be interpreted through questions of cultural aging within the particular context of captivity at Hacienda La Quebrada in the late colonial period, and the emergence of social identities and associated roles amongst enslaved persons through this process.

The findings of bioarchaeological research at Hacienda La Quebrada suggest that the premature death of newborns and infants was likely a tragically common occurrence. While family members, loved ones, or other members of the plantation community mourned the loss of their young children, bestowing them with spiritual offerings to protect them in their journey to the next life, newborns and infants were ultimately not afforded the same individual burial treatment as older members in the community. This could be reflective of the fact that deaths at this age were all too common, and that they had not yet had the time to develop and embody individual social identities as members of the enslaved community. However, it is also important to take into consideration that enslaved parents facing the sudden loss of a child, and perhaps not for the first time, did not have the capacity to give their child with the burial that they would have ideally wanted. These personal perspectives are crucial for bioarchaeologists if we are to move beyond functionalist interpretations of burial patterns to instead consider their context in real-world, humanized experiences, especially who were forcibly coerced into systems of unfree labor.

Young children who survived the dangers of birth and infancy began a process of integration into plantation life from a young age, seemingly achieving status as independent social agents as early as adolescence. Research at the New York African Burial Ground (Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001) and at Site 38CH778 in South Carolina (Rathbun 1987) indicate that adolescence also marked a transitioning point in the lives of enslaved individuals as they more fully took on labor roles and associated socioeconomic status in their respective societies. This social transition was reflected in the accumulation of skeletal changes related to generalized infectious disease and physical activity. Moreover, the presence of differences in skeletal health and mortality rates in young adult women suggests that the emergence of gender roles and inequalities likely began as early as this period. While adolescents and young adults at Hacienda La Quebrada do not present similarly high evidence of skeletal pathologies, historical records indicate that adolescence was a central turning point in ideologies about slavery and associated status and rights (Premo 2005).

A life course and biocultural perspective towards the bioarchaeological study of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada makes it possible to reposition patterns in the osteological record as the sum of previous social and biological experiences in an individual's lifetime (Agarwal 2016). As researchers in the fields of Developmental Origins of Health and Disease (DOHaD) have shown, early life adversity and environmental events, in association with genetic predisposition, can directly influence disease risk later in life (Barker and Osmond 1986; Barker et al 2002; Barker 2012; Mays et al 2017). Researchers have especially focused on how conditions during pregnancy (e.g., poor nutrition, disease, exposure to external risk factors, etc.) may shape adaptations during fetal development that could affect an

individual's capacity to adapt to their postnatal environment, which in turn could result in disease and poor conditions of health through later in life.

While the DOHaD framework allows for analyses to establish correlations between early life stress and adult illness and mortality, it often emphasizes biological factors at the expense of broader social and cultural considerations. As this chapter has demonstrated, addressing broader social, cultural, and economic conditions is critical for developing a more holistic understanding of the multiple determinants impacting early childhood development and maternal health. This is especially important for studies of enslavement, where structural dynamics of inequality played a fundamental role in shaping access to resources and medical care.

The next chapter builds on this intervention by exploring patterns of disease and mortality in adult individuals at Hacienda La Quebrada. By situating these patterns in a broader life course approach, this chapter will reflect on how social and biological experiences during early life continued to shape the health outcomes of enslaved peoples through later in their lifetimes. In doing so, it will complete the broader picture of the lived experiences of enslaved peoples of African descent at Hacienda La Quebrada, both at the level of individual life-histories, and at the level of the broader enslaved community.

Chapter 6: Biocultural Perspectives Towards Community Health, Lifeways, and Resilience at Hacienda La Quebrada

6.1. Introduction

In the final days of March 1809, some 38 enslaved men and women fled conditions of captivity at Hacienda La Quebrada.¹ Traveling on foot and horseback, they made the nearly 150-kilometer trek to the capital of Lima, arriving during Holy Week celebrations. As leaders in the Catholic Church were preparing masses and the devout were flocking to the city's churches for prayer, the group came knocking at the doors of the Convent of the Orden de la Buena Muerte, nestled in the heart of the city.

They had come to seek justice and change. For nearly 70 years, the Buena Muerte had been the owners of Hacienda La Quebrada and had overseen the management of the estate and its enslaved workforce. The men and women who marched to the convent argued that, in accordance with both Spanish imperial regulations and Christian moral obligations, the Buena Muerte were responsible for their proper treatment and well-being. Citing meager food rations, sparse provisions of clothing and other essential goods, and uncurbed physical abuse, they pleaded that the Buena Muerte take action to address the negligence of the plantation's current *mayordomos* (stewards). "All [of the slaves] were in unanimous agreement to demand that the Fathers give them a [new] supervisor for the hacienda La Quebrada," argued 40-year-old Pedro Chevez, one of the enslaved men who was later accused of being a leader of the group. Drawing on the Catholic Church's own rhetorical framing of the relationship of enslavers to their laborers,

¹ AAL. Legajo VII:9.

they pleaded for an overseer “who would treat them with the benevolence of a father to his children.”²

Instead, the enslaved wards of the Buena Muerte were imprisoned. Accused of being *cimarrones* (fugitives) and agitators who were creating a scandal that would incite uprisings across the order’s vast rural landholdings, they were detained in the convent’s *panadería* (bakery) and held for interrogation. Over the course of nearly a week, Buena Muerte administrators collected the testimonies of 16 men and 10 women, intent on identifying leaders who could be punished as an example to the rest of the enslaved workforces at Hacienda La Quebrada and its neighboring plantations.

While the testimonies were overwhelmingly uniform in their specific grievances and demands, one in particular stood out: the testimony of Francisca Obiaga, a young 28-year-old woman. When asked about her motives for fleeing Hacienda La Quebrada, she too referenced general maltreatment and abuse. However, she went on to make a more specific plea: a plea in defense of her 50-year-old father. In the recorded transcript of her testimony, Francisca states her two primary reasons for joining the “revolution” (*revolución*) to abscond from Hacienda La Quebrada and march to the capital:

She said...for the much punishment that the stewards give to the slaves; that with the face of the shovel [the steward] gave 50 lashings to the father of the declarant Luis Obiaga, an elderly man who, being old and lame, was slow in some things, [that the steward] came to beat the daughter, and that he alternated the lashes with as many kicks...³

Francisca Obiaga’s account offers a rare glimpse into the lived experiences of enslaved women at Hacienda La Quebrada, and in rural plantations in Peru more broadly, during the late

² Ibid. See also Reyes Flores 1999:125.

³ Ibid. Translation and transcription by author.

colonial period. By suggesting that she herself might have also faced physical abuse on behalf of her elderly father, Francisca reveals the additional violence often endured by enslaved women as a result of their intersectional gender, race, and class identities. However, her case also demonstrates how enslaved women fought beyond these conditions in order to achieve and defend their own personal freedoms, as well as those of their loved ones. In spite of not being able to read or write, Francisca made the journey to Lima to fight for her father and the rest of the enslaved community at Hacienda La Quebrada, even if it meant suffering further castigation, capture, imprisonment, or even death.

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Over the past three decades, there has been a growing body of research examining the history of African slavery in colonial Peru (Blanchard 1992; Aguirre 2005; Arrelucea and Cosmalón 2015). These studies have contributed new information about the origins, roles, and status of enslaved peoples of African descent in colonial society, especially in the urban capital of Lima. They have also demonstrated the active role that enslaved people, like Francisca Obiaga, played in shaping early Afro-Peruvian life by elevating their communities and fighting for change. More recently, research by predominantly female historians (Hünefeldt 1994; Premo 2005; Arrelucea 2009) has expanded on this work by investigating the specific histories of enslaved women and children in Peruvian history, helping to give voice to colonial actors whose unique experiences and social agency are often underrepresented in narratives of the past.

In spite of these advances, the history of African slavery and its legacies in Peru remain largely understudied in existing academic discourse. The analysis of archival records and secondary historical accounts certainly provides critical perspectives into social attitudes towards enslaved peoples of African descent in colonial society, as well as their treatment and status

within the socioeconomic and legal infrastructures of the time. Additionally, evidence of litigation by captive and freed peoples of African descent in the colonial courts reveals the various ways that Black Peruvians mobilized their political knowledge to advocate for economic freedoms and personal rights (McKinley 2016).

However, there exists a more intimate narrative of African and Afro-descendant pasts that cannot be fully gleaned from the colonial archive: the lived, embodied experiences of enslavement and colonial life. As archaeologists of colonialism have observed (see Voss 2015), archival records are subjective documents produced by specific dynamics of power. Decisions about whose stories are told, what details are salient, and how they should be interpreted or given meaning are all closely dependent on the positionality of the writer. Even when striving for objectivity, conscious or unconscious biases in worldview may influence record-keeping practices. Meanwhile, the very capacity of an individual to record these narratives is itself permitted by their position within sociopolitical systems of power, where the voice of the colonizer is often privileged over that of the colonized (Trouillot 1995). Thus, even though the official records left behind by Buena Muerte administrators—including the recorded testimonies of enslaved laborers—may provide useful insights into the institution of slavery at the order's plantations, they represent just one perspective towards a lived historical reality filled by many diverse actors and experiences.

Archaeological and bioarchaeological research at Hacienda La Quebrada helps to fill in these gaps, allowing for a more detailed picture of life in captivity from the perspectives of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants themselves. Building on the discussion of childhood development presented in Chapter 5, this chapter continues by examining the lives and experiences of enslaved individuals through later adult life. As noted in the previous chapter, the

conditions of captivity and colonial life had far-reaching impacts on enslaved peoples of African descent, which typically began from a young age. For individuals who survived through the critical years of infancy and early childhood, these experiences would continue to shape them biologically, socially, and psychologically through later stages in life.

Following a similar narrative structure as Chapter 5, this chapter presents the findings of interdisciplinary archaeological, bioarchaeological, and historical investigations into the lives of enslaved men and women at Hacienda Quebrada in three parts. First, it begins by discussing the results of archaeological interventions at the cemetery site, this time with a focus on the organization and preservation of burial contexts associated with individuals identified as skeletal adults. It then presents bioarchaeological data from the analysis of recovered human skeletal remains, including paleodemography, skeletal and dental pathology, and evidence of trauma and skeletal indicators of work. By integrating these data with information from archival records, secondary historical sources, and intergenerational memories from members of the local descendant community, the chapter ultimately concludes with a discussion of the biocultural impacts of life in captivity for enslaved men and women at Hacienda La Quebrada, as well as their broader implications for understanding the legacy of transatlantic slavery in Peru through the present day.

6.2. Materials and Methods

6.2.1. Description of Burial Contexts

As discussed in Chapter 5, one of the most notable features of the cemetery for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants was the distinct burial patterns for subadult and adult individuals, particularly surrounding the transition from late childhood to adolescence. Phase III excavations

at the cemetery site identified two distinct contexts presenting evidence of non-subadult (i.e., skeletal individuals whose age-at-death was evaluated to be between 20 and over 50 years of age) human skeletal remains. The first was in the disturbed stratum of construction fill (*Capa 1*), which extended throughout the excavation unit to a depth of approximately 70 cm beneath the ground surface and contained a dense concentration of commingled skeletal elements in varying states of preservation.

The second context consisted of intact individual burials beginning at approximately 70 cm beneath the surface in *Capa 2*. The majority of the intact burials appeared to follow traditional Catholic practices of the period, in which non-European persons were interred outside of the chapel in an extended and supine position facing east to west, with the arms crossed over the chest or pelvic region (Larsen 1993; McEwan 2001; Tiesler et al 2010). However, while the overall burial patterns at Hacienda La Quebrada presented these essential characteristics of other early modern Catholic burials in the Spanish American colonies, they also exhibited differences that may be attributed to the particular status of enslaved African and Afro-descendant persons within this specific sociohistorical context. Apart from an east-west orientation, there was no clear organization of the burials within the cemetery space; rather, the burials were partially overlapping or layered one on top of the other, with no burial markers and only a small layer of soil to separate each individual. Additionally, individuals often presented evidence of a curved spinal column and/or raised shoulders, suggesting that they had been accommodated to fit within a space that was just large enough for an individual body (Fig. 6.1). As suggested in the previous

chapter, these patterns corroborate archival accounts indicating that the cemetery was a limited space that was continuously used over time.⁴



*Figure 6.1. Partial and fragmented skeletal remains of an adult individual in Segmento 1 presenting evidence of raised shoulders and a curved vertebral column, likely from interment in a narrow burial shaft.
Photo: PIALQ 2018*

The vast majority of the individual burials identified during excavations were in very poor states of preservation. This pattern was a result of two often coinciding factors. On the one hand, excavations in the easternmost quadrants of *Segmento 2* and *Segmento 3* identified evidence of a construction trench for installing water pipes, which local residents and construction workers suggest has been re-used for multiple projects over the past two to three decades. As a result of these interventions, the majority of the burials in the easternmost quadrants (*Cuadriculas 4B - 8B*) were incomplete, with only elements of the lower appendicular skeleton left intact (Fig. 6.2).

⁴ ACBM. Doc. Num. 0791



*Figure 6.2: Lower appendicular skeleton of an individual in Segmento 2, exhibiting disturbances resulting from postmortem interventions along the eastern wall of the excavation unit.
Photo: PIALQ 2018*

On the other hand, the humidity of the soil throughout the excavation unit, and especially in *Segmento 1*, caused diagenetic alterations that resulted in the degeneration of osteological remains. The severity of these changes increased as excavations continued in depth, especially beyond 1 m beneath the ground surface. For individuals buried at depths beyond 1 m, it was only possible to identify and recover more robust elements such as crania, long bones, and some vertebral bodies (Fig. 6.3). After continued conversations with descendant community stakeholders, it was decided that respect for these ancestral remains must be prioritized over recovery efforts, since archaeological intervention would likely cause even further irreparable

damage. Based on this decision, excavations in *Segmento 1* did not continue beyond a depth of approximately 120 cm beneath the surface and one of the most poorly preserved skeletal individuals (*Contexto Funerario #5*) was left in situ. Project members gathered as much qualitative data as possible and took extensive photographic records prior to reburial, which were then used for further analysis in the lab.



*Figure 6.3: Contexto Funerario #5 (left) and #1 (right), presenting evidence of severe deterioration as a result of postmortem diagenetic changes.
Photo: PIALQ 2018*

Post-depositional changes resulting from the poor preservation of the cemetery site and its associated remains also had acute impacts on the preservation of non-osteological archaeological materials recovered from burial contexts. Burial goods were scarce in the cemetery site. In a few cases, it was possible to identify fragments of textile adhering to skeletal

remains, which had fully disintegrated and could only be recovered in minute samples (1 to 3 g per individual). While the limited quantity and poor preservation of these textile samples limited robust analysis, local oral histories suggest that they were likely associated with burial shrouds, which were used to wrap individuals and lower them into them into the burial shaft (Fig. 6.4).



Figure 6.4: Representation of a burial ceremony for an enslaved man at Hacienda La Quebrada.
Illustrated by Jairo "Jaime" Rojas Angulo (2018).

Archaeological excavations in the moderately more arid soils of *Segmento 2* and *Segmento 3* presented greater evidence of non-osteological materials than *Segmento 1*. In addition to the nacre medallions associated with subadult burials (see Chapter 5, Section 5.4.3), the burials of two adult individuals also contained metal objects. *Individuo #28*, a male approximately 30 to 35 years old, was recovered with a metal coin resting on his left os coxa, suggesting that it had been placed on his hip under or near his folded hands (Fig. 6.5). Notably, this appears to be the only clear instance of an adult individual interred with a possible burial

offering. The only other observed case of an object associated with an adult individual was a metal pin, which local collaborators suggest may have been used to fasten the textile wrapping around the individual's body prior to interment (Fig. 6.6). However, the generally poor preservation of the osteological and non-osteological materials in the cemetery site limits a more conclusive interpretation of these findings.



*Figure 6.5: Zoomed image of two adult burials, one (right) with a possible burial offering of a metal coin (Individuo #28).
Photo: PIALQ 2018*



*Figure 6.6: Metal pin recovered from an adult burial context.
Photo: Samuel Lancho*

Ultimately, Phase III excavations identified 29 individual adolescent and adult burials, 28 of which were recovered for subsequent bioarchaeological analysis. While there was evidence of intact burials extending into the northern, western, and eastern walls of the excavation unit, no future seasons of archaeological interventions are currently planned at the cemetery site. After consulting with local and descendant community stakeholders, it was determined that the most urgent objective of registering the cemetery site at the national Ministry of Culture and ensuring its protection under national heritage legislation has been successfully accomplished. Future

stages of research at the cemetery site will prioritize analyses of the existing collection of bioarchaeological and archaeological remains, with a particular emphasis on ancient DNA studies and the conservation of non-osteological materials for the new site museum.

6.2.2. Biocultural Impacts of Captivity and Colonial Life

Building on Chapter 5's examination of biological health and well-being during childhood development, this chapter evaluates the cumulative biocultural impacts of plantation slavery through later adulthood. As 'survivors' of childhood (Beauchesne and Agarwal 2018), enslaved adults carried the effects of childhood experiences such as trauma, illness, and malnourishment into their later lives, where they often experienced additional cumulative stresses. From a biological perspective, both sustained physiological stress and stress events during formative years can leave markers on the human skeleton, potentially influencing an individual's physical capacities and behaviors through later in life. These experiences also have the potential to cause long-term psychological and emotional consequences, which could shape the ways that enslaved individuals forged their individual identities and engaged their social worlds (King 2011).

This chapter thus represents a second critical piece in a larger narrative of the embodied experiences of captivity and colonial life across the enslaved population of Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada. While the particular focus of this chapter is on later stages of adult life, it does not pose adult experiences and identity as essentially distinct from those associated with childhood. Extending on the life course perspective presented in Chapter 5, this discussion instead works from the premise that patterns observed in adult skeletal individuals are the sum of previous social and biological experiences (Agarwal 2016).

In addition to considering the embodied experiences of captivity across different stages of life and their cumulative biological impacts on enslaved individuals, this chapter also examines broader patterns in community health across axes of identity. To do so, it employs a biocultural and intersectional approach to the analysis of human skeletal remains. At an analytical level, a biocultural perspective frames patterns observed in the skeletal record as biological reflections of broader social, cultural, and historical conditions, which affected the enslaved community at both the individual and community level (Rankin-Hill 1997; Goodman and Armelagos 1998; Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001; Mack and Blakey 2004). This allows for a more robust interpretation of the intersecting impacts of slavery and colonial life on enslaved persons, and the ways that they might have been experienced differently within the enslaved population.

A biocultural approach is also essential to the decolonizing project of humanizing narratives of African slavery and colonial social systems grounded in racialized inequality, exploitation, and subjugation. For descendant stakeholders and other heritage groups in San Luis, the stories that enslaved ancestors share through their mortuary remains are not only a way to bear witness to histories of anti-black violence in Peru's past, including slavery and colonialism; they are also a testament to the resilience of African descended peoples and communities. Contemporary scholarship in African diaspora archaeology (Franklin 1997, 2001; La Roche and Blakey 1997; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Blakey 2020) and the histories of transatlantic slavery (Camp 2002) echo this view. As the historian Stephanie Camp (2002:540) observes, “[f]or people...who have experienced oppression through the body, the body becomes an important site not only of suffering but also (and therefore) of resistance, enjoyment, and potentially, transcendence.” By giving attention to the social, biological, and cultural significance of the enslaved body in the

colonial landscape, a biocultural approach can work towards addressing these social and theoretical objectives.

Intersectionality theory builds on these interventions by further illuminating differences in the treatment, roles, and embodied experiences of enslaved peoples across different aspects of identity. This is particularly critical for addressing the lives of enslaved women of African descent, who are often underrepresented in bioarchaeological studies of slavery and colonialism. While Black feminist scholarship has had a growing impact on the analysis of archaeological objects and landscapes (Battle-Baptiste 2011; Flewellen 2020, in review), intersectionality is only recently becoming more explicitly used as an analytical framework for the study of bioarchaeological remains (DeWitte and Yaussy 2021). However, intersectional perspectives are vital for studies of slavery where the uses and experiences of the body are the central focus of research. As Camp (2002:240) argues, this is because “it was women’s actual and imagined reproductive labor and their unique forms of bodily suffering (notably sexual exploitation) that most distinguished their lives from men’s.”

Together, these broader theoretical approaches to the study and presentation of bioarchaeological data will allow for a humanistic perspective towards the burial remains of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada. They will also help to shed light onto the lives and experiences of enslaved persons across multiple scales and axes of identity, which is critical for affirming the diversity that existed within the estate’s enslaved community. From this perspective, it is also possible to contribute to community goals of understanding the intimate histories of enslavement at Hacienda Quebrada, while also situating them in relation to political struggles both in the colonial period and today.

6.3. Enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada

6.3.1. Demographic and Paleodemographic Data

Paleodemographic information from the skeletal sample at Hacienda La Quebrada is based on two sets of skeletal data: first, commingled remains from the disturbed construction fill; and secondly, individual burial contexts. Using established methods for assessing commingled skeletal remains (Adams and Byrd 2014), it was possible to combine these two sets of data to identify an estimated minimum of approximately 77 adult skeletal individuals, including 36 adult females and probable females; 38 adult males and probable males; and 3 adults of indeterminate skeletal sex (Table 6.1). It should be noted that adult skeletal individuals are likely underrepresented in this burial population. As noted in the previous chapter, in consultation with community stakeholders, excavations occurred in an area of the cemetery that held an unanticipated concentration of subadult skeletal remains. Moreover, the densely commingled and incomplete nature of many skeletal elements in the disturbed stratum of construction fill limited the possibilities for making a confident identification of probable skeletal age and/or sex.

Table 6.1. Estimated MNI of Adult Individuals at Hacienda La Quebrada, Based on Commingled Remains and Individual Burials

Age		Estimated Skeletal Sex		
Age Category	Age in Years	Male	Female	Not Determined
Young Adult	20-35	9	17	3
Middle Adult	35-50	16	16	0
Old Adult	>50	13	2	0
Adult	20-50	-	1	-
Total		38	36	3
		77		

In spite of these limitations, it was still possible to make advances in assessing various aspects of paleodemography in the burial population at Hacienda La Quebrada. The analysis of

skeletal remains where age and skeletal sex could be evaluated revealed a relatively balanced sex ratio of probable males and females. The presence of enslaved women in the burial record was reinforced by demographic information from archival registries. Documents from three assessments undertaken by Buena Muerte administrators during the period that the cemetery was in use reveal a population of enslaved Afro-descendant women at Hacienda La Quebrada, which increased through the late 18th and early 19th centuries to surpass the number of enslaved adult men (Table 6.2).

The shifting sex ratio over time is likely reflective of multiple social, biological, and economic factors. For example, historical records indicate an increase in the number of married and widowed women between 1774 and 1813, paralleled by growth in the number of enslaved children. While the plantation administrators continued to purchase enslaved workers throughout this period, typically young adult males, these patterns suggest natural population growth at Hacienda La Quebrada, as members of the enslaved community began to build families and have children.

Table 6.2. Enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada⁵

	1774	1813	1815	1823 (*after cemetery closure)
Men	186	165	210	160
Male Children	22	69		20
Women	100	155	228	183
Female Children	11	75		34
Total	319	464	438	397

⁵ Based on three registries: AAL 1774. Visitas Pastorales. *Canete autos de certification para que el cura Manuel Angel de la Quintana presenta los libros de cofradias de inventarios y el padron general de espanoles y esclavos que trabajan en las haciendas*. Exp. 22/Leg. 12. ; AAL 1813. Documentos sobre Padrones, Padron de esclavos, Leg. Exp. 25/Leg. 12. ; AAL 1823. *Cuentas presentadas por el padre Jose Cairo, prefecto de la religion de la Buenamuerte, relativas a la administracion de las haciendas Casablanca y La Quebrada*. Exp. 8/Leg. 60.

In addition to the natural growth of the enslaved population, another factor that likely influenced the growing ratios of enslaved women was the upheaval caused by the independence movement, especially between 1817 and 1821. Groups of enslaved men from Hacienda La Quebrada, like other estates in Peru, joined the military efforts, often with the hope of gaining their freedom once the conflict ended. This contributed to a sharp decline in the number of enslaved men at the plantation, and particularly young men of working age.⁶

Notably absent in these records are the enslaved women at Hacienda La Quebrada during this period of tumultuous change. The changes in everyday life at the plantation during military conflict likely had a tangible impact on enslaved women, as the absence of male partners, family members, and workers in the labor force increased labor burdens, as well as the demands of social and familial roles within the community. Moreover, multiple waves of occupations by both Spanish military forces and pro-independence militias in 1821 drastically changed socioeconomic dynamics at the estate, as soldiers took on personal servants and redirected production towards their own needs (Luna 2017). As existing archaeological studies of colonialism and military conflict have effectively demonstrated, these types of interventions often have a direct and pronounced impact on women, putting them at further risk of exploitation, abuse, and sexual violence (see Voss 2008b,c).

This vulnerability of enslaved women is also suggested by paleodemographic patterns in the osteological record. While the sex ratio in the burial sample presented an approximately equivalent number of male and female individuals, the calculation of age-at-death revealed differences in the age structure of these groups. Notably, there were more females than males who had died in young adulthood; it was nearly double for enslaved women than for enslaved

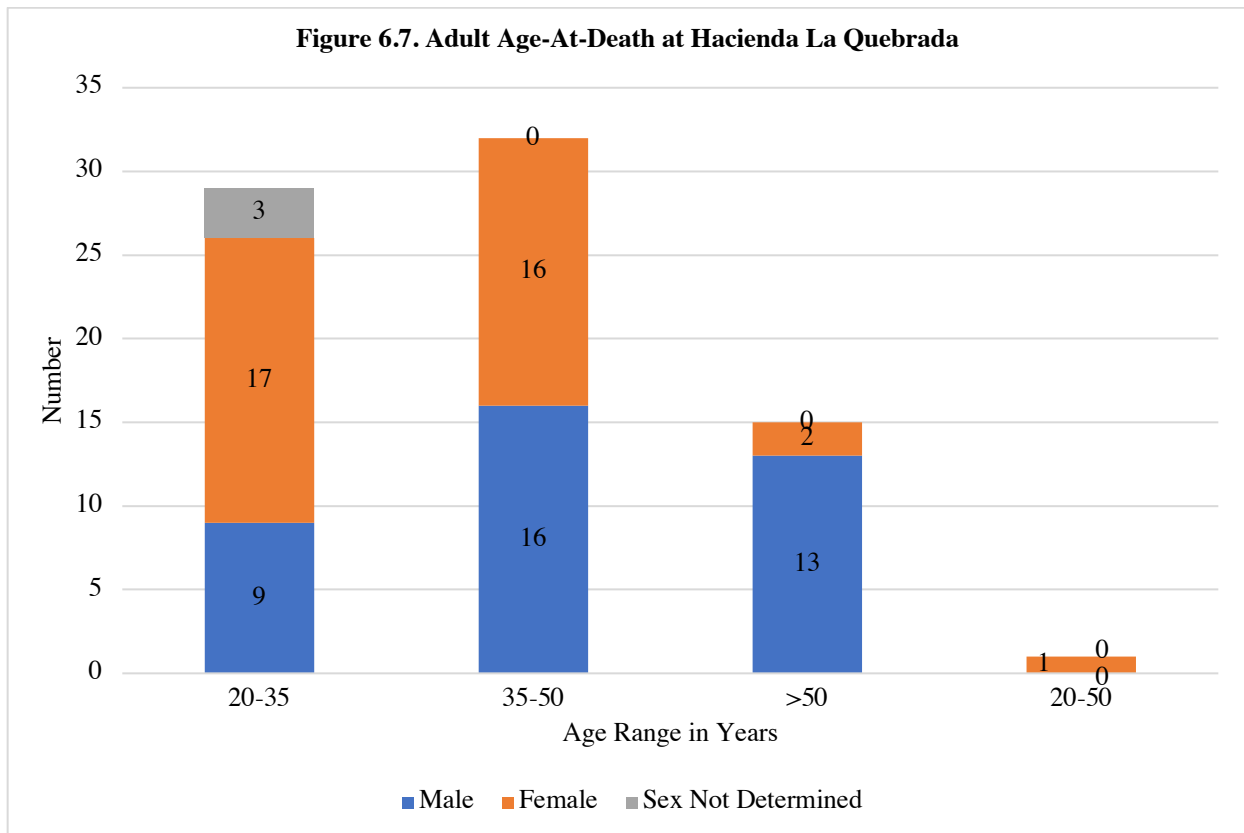
⁶ AAL. Leg.VIII:60.

men. Moreover, fewer women appear to have survived into late adulthood, with nearly 90 percent of the enslaved women in this mortuary population perishing by the end of their forties (Table 6.3, Figure 6.7).

Table 6.3. Adult Age-At-Death at Hacienda La Quebrada

Age Category	Age Range	Number	% of Sex Group	% of Adults	% of Total
Young Adult Male	20-35	9	23.7	11.7	3.7
Young Adult Female	20-35	17	47.2	22.1	6.9
Young Adult Unsexed	20-35	3	-	3.9	1.2
Middle Adult Male	35-50	16	42.1	20.1	6.5
Middle Adult Female	35-50	16	44.4	20.7	6.5
Old Adult Male	>50	13	34.2	16.9	5.3
Old Adult Female	>50	2	5.6	2.6	0.8
Adult Female	20-50	1	2.8	1.3	0.4

Figure 6.7. Adult Age-At-Death at Hacienda La Quebrada



The presence of a greater number of young adult females than young adult males in the mortuary record at Hacienda La Quebrada parallels findings in African diaspora populations across the Americas (Table 6.4). The presence of this trend across temporal, regional, and socioeconomic contexts has implications for historical understandings of the African diaspora and early African American life, especially within contexts of captivity. ‘Trauma bumps’ in mortality are often expected for males between the ages of 15 and 25, as a result of interpersonal violence, accidents, labor, and high-risk behaviors (Rankin-Hill et al 2001). This assumption parallels narratives about the character of plantation slavery, which emphasize the role of young adult males in labor, and the high risks, abuses, and trauma associated with plantation life (Bowser 1974).

And yet, bioarchaeological research across African diaspora populations indicate that females often perished at a younger age than males, who survived into later adulthood. At Hacienda La Quebrada, there are various possible interpretations of this phenomenon. When taking into account the parallel patterns of high mortality rates amongst newborns and infants under 12 months old, one possible suggestion could include the possible risks associated with childbirth. As scholars from the New York African Burial Ground argue, “[i]n general, females entering their reproductive years have higher biological risks than males,” even “under non-stressful socioeconomic and environmental circumstances” (Rankin-Hill et al 2001:121).

Table 6.4. Adult Average Age-at-Death for African American Skeletal Populations

(Adapted from Rankin-Hill et al 2001:134)

Site	Mean Age or Age Range at Death		
	Men	Women	Total
<i>Hacienda La Quebrada</i>	39.8	29.3	36.7
<i>Newton Plantation, Barbados</i>	---	---	29.3
<i>Waterloo Plantation, Suriname</i>	---	---	40
<i>New York African Burial Ground</i>	38	35.9	36.9
<i>St. Peter Street Cemetery, Louisiana</i>	40-49	20-24	---
<i>Catoctin Furnace, Maryland</i>	41.7	35.2	38.4
<i>First African Baptist Church Cemetery</i>	44.8	38.9	41.3
<i>38CH778, South Carolina</i>	35	40	37.5
<i>Cedar Grove, Arkansas</i>	41.2	37.7	39.5

As Black feminist archaeologists and Afro-Peruvian scholars have indicated, these existing stresses were compounded for enslaved women of African descent. Studies of medical care in colonial Peru indicate that childbirth posed risks for both women and their children, even for non-Black, higher *casta* women in the capital of Lima. Conditions were even more complex for enslaved women of African descent on rural plantations. While Hacienda La Quebrada had an infirmary, medical treatment was provided on an ad hoc basis, and local histories suggest that enslaved persons often had to try to manage their own health, balancing the interventions imposed by overseers and visiting doctors with their own medicinal and spiritual practices (Arrelucea 2009). Importantly, much of this work was performed by female healers, whose traditional knowledge has been carried through descendant communities through the present day.

It is important to note that while the risks of childbearing and childbirth in rural plantation society may have played a partial role in shaping the age-at-death profile of enslaved women, it was not a sole determining factor. As archaeological (e.g., Franklin 2001; Battle-Baptiste 2011) and historical (Camp 2002; Arrelucea 2009) studies throughout the historical diaspora have demonstrated, enslaved women of African descent often faced multiple

intersecting layers of violence and exploitation as a result of the perceived gender, racial, and class identities. These perceived identities not only informed the labor roles that were often expected of enslaved women by their enslavers and within their own social communities, but also structured the socioeconomic opportunities that they were given and the resources that they had access to. Such structural conditions could have a profound impact on their health and well-being, perhaps even determining their capacity to live full lives or increasing their risk of death. Thus, when considering why fewer women survived into later adulthood than enslaved men, it is important to critically evaluate the multitude of social, cultural, and biological factors that shaped the lived experiences of enslaved women at Hacienda La Quebrada.

6.3.2. Evidence of Non-Specific Physiological Stressors

Further insights into the younger overall age at death for enslaved women may be sought in the synergistic effects of nutritional stress, disease, and infection in the osteological record. For the purposes of this discussion, patterns in periosteal lesions representing non-specific physiological stressors are addressed in three parts: trends in rates of periostitis in commingled skeletal elements; the presence and distribution of affected elements in complete skeletal individuals; and broader patterns in the combined commingled and individual burial samples. This will allow for a closer analysis of conditions of generalized infection and disease at the individual level, while also taking into account potential broader trends within a larger and potentially more representative sample of the skeletal population.

Among the 5,764 skeletal elements from individuals 20 to over 50 years old in the commingled sample that could be evaluated for evidence of periostitis, 350 exhibited clearly present evidence of active or healed lesions (6.1 percent). Of this sample, 119 of the skeletal

elements presenting periosteal lesions were identified as probable females, 141 as probable males, and 90 as individuals of indeterminate sex. These elements accounted for 34 percent, 40.3 percent, and 25.7 percent of the total number of adult commingled elements exhibiting evidence of periostitis, respectively. Notably, the majority of the commingled elements of indeterminate skeletal sex were fragmented or small elements with few morphological characteristics that could be used to evaluate probable skeletal sex (e.g., phalanges, carpals and metacarpals, tarsals and metatarsals, ribs, etc.).

One observable pattern in this commingled sample was the similar distribution of periosteal lesions by skeletal sex. While all groups demonstrated increasing frequencies of periostitis with age, the observed rates of periostitis within each age category was often higher among probable female skeletal elements than in adult males or individuals of indeterminate skeletal sex (see Table 6.5). However, the differences in the rates observed between male and female elements was only significant in the middle adult age group ($p = 0.0016$); calculated p -values for young adults ($p = 0.2776$) and old adults ($p = 0.276$) revealed that there was no significant difference across skeletal sex in these age groups.

Table 6.5. Frequencies of Periostitis in Commingled Adult Skeletal Remains

Age Category	Age in Years	Male	% of Age Group	Female	% of Age Group	Sex Not Determined	% of Age Group
Young Adult	20-35	13/579	2.2	33/997	3.3	16/1163	1.4
Middle Adult	35-50	53/1007	5.3	54/565	9.6	19/715	2.7
Advanced Adult	>50	51/265	19.2	50/175	28.6	14/123	11.4
Adult	20-50	2/24	8.3	4/23	17.4	41/128	32
Total		119/1875		141/1760		90/2129	

The occurrence of periosteal lesions in intact skeletal individuals broadly parallels the patterns observed in the commingled sample. Among 19 intact skeletal individuals aged 20 to over 50 years old recovered from Hacienda La Quebrada, 9 (42.3 percent) exhibited at least one periosteal lesion (Table 6.6). While the number of adult male individuals with periostitis (n=6) was greater than the number of affected female individuals with periostitis (n=3), this difference was not significant ($p = 1$). However, females presented the highest total number of lesions, including the highest frequency in a single individual ($n = 14$).

Table 6.6. Frequencies of Periostitis in Intact Adult Skeletal Individuals

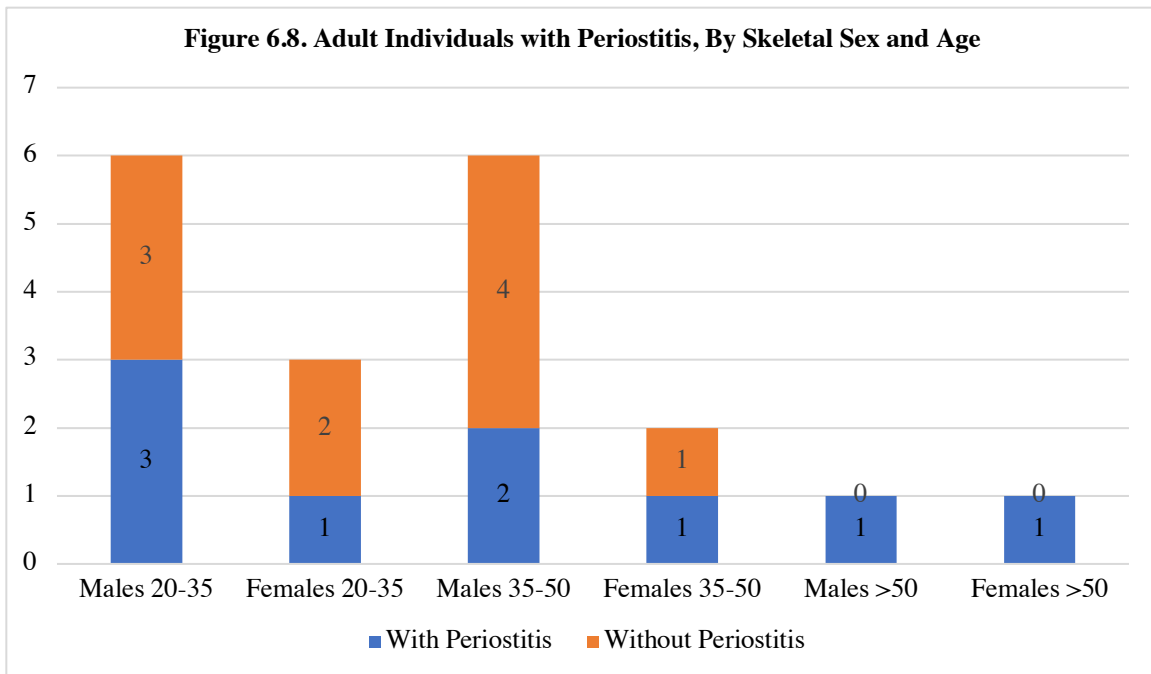
Age Category	Age in Years	Male	Female
Young Adult	20-35	Individual #28 (3) Individuo #50 (3) Individuo #27 (6)	Individuo #40 (1)
Middle Adult	35-50	Individuo #49 (3) Individuo #51 (2)	Individuo #39 (5)
Old Adult	>50	Individuo #58 (5)	Individuo #53 (14)
Total individuals affected		6	3
Total number of lesions		22	20

As suggested by the data presented above, rates of observable periosteal lesions in adult skeletal remains were relatively low compared to the total collected sample of osteological remains. This is in part reflective of the state of conservation of the human skeletal remains in both the disturbed construction fill and the deeper intact stratum. However, patterns in the occurrence and distribution of skeletal indicators of generalized infectious disease can still help to shed light on patterns observed in paleodemographic data, particularly across intersecting categories of skeletal age and sex (Figure 6.8). For example, the general pattern of higher

prevalence of healed periosteal lesions in middle aged adults of both sexes may be reflective of individuals who survived disease events, trauma, or the broader conditions of early biological development to survive into later adulthood.

Interestingly, all but one of the intact adult individuals exhibiting evidence of periostitis experienced localized infections in the elements of the lower appendicular skeleton, especially the tibiae, fibulae, tarsals, and metatarsals. While there was no evidence of skeletal trauma associated with these pathologies, it is possible that some of these individuals suffered infections or inflammatory responses associated with injury, which may not have resulted in fractures but nevertheless were severe enough to leave a bony mark on the skeleton. Only one individual, a young adult male 30 to 34 years old (Individuo #27), appears to have likely suffered from additional infections related to a traumatic injury. Two of the six periosteal reactions observed in this individual were associated with two fractured metacarpals in his right hand, both of which healed misaligned and at an angle.

One notable exception to this broader trend of localized infection was an old female over 50 years of age (Individuo #54), who presented evidence of diffuse periosteal reaction throughout the elements of her left and right legs and left foot. The presence of periostitis throughout the majority of her lower appendicular skeleton suggests that she likely endured a more systematic infection. However, all of the observed patterns of periostitis were identified as woven or remodeled lamellar bone, suggesting that they were healed or in the process of healing. This finding may suggest that she had been experiencing or recovering from a severe infection or disease event for a period of time before her death. Though perhaps not the causal factor, when combined with her generally poor state of physical health and elderly age, it is possible that this condition may have ultimately contributed to her death.



6.3.3. Odontological Indicators of Disease and Nutritional Stress

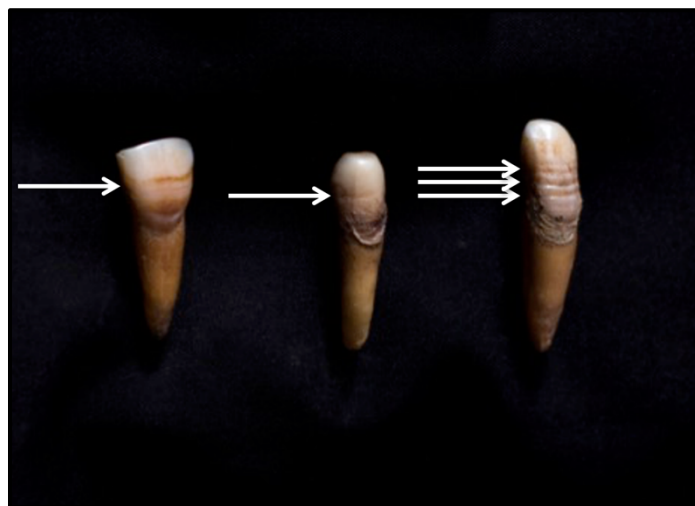
In order to further understand the living conditions of enslaved peoples at Hacienda La Quebrada, this study also considered evidence of dental caries, dental abscesses, and tooth loss in subadult and adult dentition. As previous studies of African diaspora populations have effectively demonstrated (see Mack et al 2001), the relative presence or absence of these pathological conditions can provide additional indicators of biological well-being, as well as preliminary insights into the types of foods that were commonly eaten and their biological effects on enslaved individuals. Moreover, dentition is often more well-preserved in archaeological contexts in comparison to other elements of the human skeleton, making it a useful proxy for interpreting general biological health and nutrition when more complete or observable osteological samples are not available (Handler and Corruccini 1983).

In the particular case of Hacienda La Quebrada, the analysis and interpretation of pathology in the dentition was limited by the thoroughly commingled nature of the skeletal sample in the first stratum of construction fill, as well as the poor preservation of individual remains in the underlying intact burial contexts. When excavating intact individuals or commingled crania, extreme care was taken to identify dentition in the nearby soils, which were then associated during lab analysis. After accounting for dentition that could be matched to intact crania or fragments of mandibulae and maxillae, a total of 560 remaining deciduous and adult teeth were collected.

The analyses presented in this chapter focus predominately on dental pathology in dentition with known contexts of skeletal individuals or crania, and especially those with assessable skeletal sex and age-at-death. Efforts to match each of the 560 isolated teeth with their corresponding crania, mandibulae, or maxillae would necessitate extensive time and research support, which extended beyond the scope of permitted research for the 2018 to 2019 field season. The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic further delayed this work, as travel and permissions for in-person archaeological research were temporarily suspended for the 2020 and 2021 academic years. However, plans for further laboratory studies in collaboration with Peruvian research specialists are currently being developed for late 2021 or early 2022, pending approvals from granting agencies and the Peruvian Ministry of Culture.

In spite of these limitations, this project's analysis of dental pathologies still offers some insights into generalized patterns of diet and disease in the enslaved population at Hacienda La Quebrada. As discussed in more detail in the previous chapter, evidence of enamel hypoplasia suggests that some enslaved individuals endured multiple moments of developmental stress during early childhood, particularly between the ages of two and five (Fig. 6.9). In the recovered

skeletal assemblage from Hacienda La Quebrada 69 adults had at least one anterior tooth present that could be evaluated for evidence of enamel hypoplasia, including 39 males, 25 females, and five individuals of indeterminate skeletal sex. Among these individuals, 13 exhibited at least one hypoplastic line (18.8 percent). Eight out of 39 adult males and probable males presented clear evidence of lesions (20.5 percent), in comparison to five out of 25 observed adult females and probable females (25 percent); meanwhile, none (0/5) of the remaining adults of indeterminate skeletal sex exhibited evidence of this pathology. While rates of hypoplastic lesions were higher in males, there did not appear to be a clear pattern across age groups ($p= 0.96$, not significant). Rather, it seems that both enslaved men and women suffered multiple events of severe nutritional stress during early development, which is consistent with the broader osteological and historical evidence of the systematic stresses associated with early life at Hacienda La Quebrada.



*Figure 6.9: Evidence of enamel hypoplasia.
Photo: Samuel Lancho and Claire Maas*

Meanwhile, dental pathologies—including caries, abscesses, and premortem tooth loss—provided additional information about the nutritional health of enslaved peoples through later

adulthood. In the skeletal sample from Hacienda La Quebrada, 192 crania were able to be assessed for dental pathologies, including 69 adult individuals between the ages of 20 and over 50. Of this sample, 26 adult individuals presented evidence of at least one carious lesion (37.7 percent), amounting to a total of 46 total lesions. While caries were present in both premolars (n=17) and molars (n=28), the molars were the most commonly affected (60.9 percent of the total carious lesions observed). Some caries were so severe that the entire tooth either fully degenerated down to the roots or caused inflammation and infection of the surrounding alveolar bone. Additionally, of the 69 adult crania where it was possible to observe intact dentition, nine showed clear evidence of at least one dental abscess, and 26 suffered from premortem tooth loss. The fact that some of these abscesses were active at the time of death suggests the scarcity of sufficient medical care available to enslaved peoples at Hacienda La Quebrada during the 18th and early 19th centuries.

Overall, there was a higher frequency of both caries and abscesses in adult males at Hacienda La Quebrada than in adult females (see Table 6.8). However, statistical analyses revealed this difference to be not significant ($p = .0179$ for caries; $p = 1$ for abscesses). Meanwhile, although both adult males and adult females experienced premortem tooth loss, most cases were identified in old adult individuals (eight out of 12 analyzed old adult males, six out of nine old adult females), suggesting that these patterns were more likely associated with the natural process of aging (refer back to Table 6.8; see also Fig. 6.10).



Figure 6.10: Example of tooth loss with alveolar resorption in an old adult female from 2017 test excavations.
Photo: Martin Alvarado.

Table 6.8 Evidence of Dental Pathologies in Adults at Hacienda La Quebrada

Adult Individuals with Caries (at least 1)				
Age Category	Age in Years	Male	Female	Not Determined
Young Adult	20-35	10/21	4/12	0/3
Middle Adult	35-50	4/6	0/4	1/2
Old Adult	>50	6/12	1/9	0/0
Total		20/39	5/25	1/5
Adult Individuals with Premortem Tooth Loss (at least 1)				
Age Category	Age in Years	Male	Female	Not Determined
Young Adult	20-35	4/21	1/12	0/3
Middle Adult	35-50	4/6	3/4	0/2
Old Adult	>50	8/12	6/9	0/0
Total		16/39	10/25	0/5
Adult Individuals with Abscesses (at least 1)				
Age Category	Age in Years	Male	Female	Not Determined
Young Adult	20-35	3/21	0/12	0/3
Middle Adult	35-50	1/6	0/4	0/2
Old Adult	>50	4/12	1/9	0/0
Total		8/39	1/25	0/5

6.3.4. Skeletal Indicators of Work: Osteoarthritis

In addition to evaluating the synergistic relationship between infectious disease and insufficient nutrition and their impacts on the biological health of the enslaved community at

Hacienda La Quebrada, this study also considered evidence of mechanical stress resulting from physical labor or trauma. Skeletal indicators of work-related stress are particularly important for bioarchaeological studies of enslaved populations because “physical labor was the principal purpose for which Africans were enslaved” (Wilczak et al 2001:199). As bioarchaeological studies of African diaspora populations across the Americas have effectively demonstrated, the exploitation of enslaved people’s bodies for different forms of physical labor often had extensive and cumulative impacts on their biological well-being. Additionally, work-related injuries, trauma, or other forms of severe skeletal change could have long-term impacts on mobility, potentially limiting the activities that enslaved peoples could perform and their freedom of movement. The study of different forms of mechanical stress is this critical to shed light on the impacts of a system of plantation slavery that functioned through the exploitation of enslaved peoples and their bodies, as well as to understand the subjective, embodied experiences of enslaved peoples who endured these conditions.

Evidence of Osteoarthritis: By Commingled and Intact Contexts

As discussed in the previous chapter, enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants were often forced to work from an early age at Hacienda La Quebrada. For this analysis, I build on patterns in older adolescents to examine incidence rates of mechanical stress markers in individuals over 15 years of age. In the commingled sample, a total of 3,104 elements with an estimated skeletal age-at-death of 15 to over 50 years old were complete enough to be assessed for osteoarthritis in at least one articular facet. Within this sample, 103 were identified as subadult individuals between the ages of 15 and 20 (refer back to Chapter 5), as well as 1,567 as adult males or probable adult males, and 1,428 as adult females or probable adult females.

Among the 3,104 commingled skeletal elements that were able to be evaluated for osteoarthritis, 957 presented evidence of lipping or porosity (30.8 percent). 509 of the skeletal elements with this pathology were associated with adult males or probable males, which amounted to 32.5 percent of the overall male sample (509/1567) analyzed for osteoarthritis and 53.2 percent of the total number elements exhibiting evidence of osteoarthritis (509/957). Meanwhile, 448 of the 1,428 female skeletal elements exhibited lipping or porosities suggesting osteoarthritis. This accounted for 31.4 percent of all adult female skeletal elements between the ages of 20 and 50 that were analyzed, and 46.8 percent of the observed cases of osteoarthritis in total sample of commingled adult remains (Figs. 6.11 to 6.13).

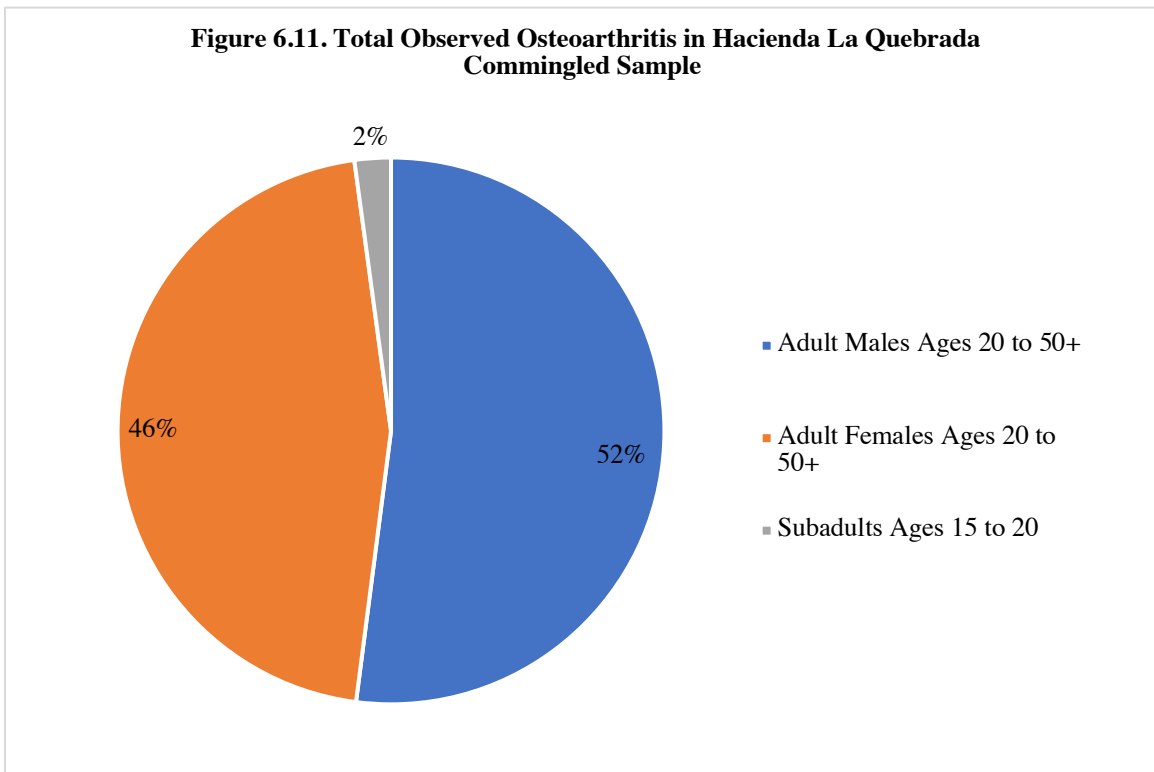


Figure 6.12. Osteoarthritis in Adult Commingled Remains: Males

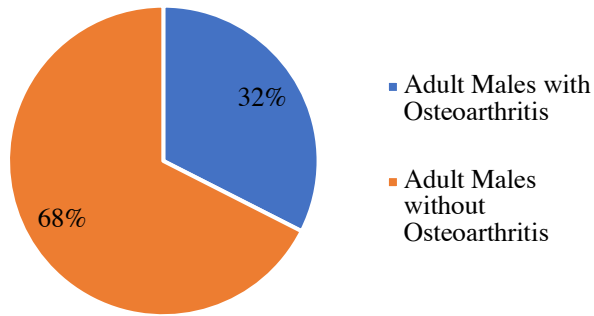
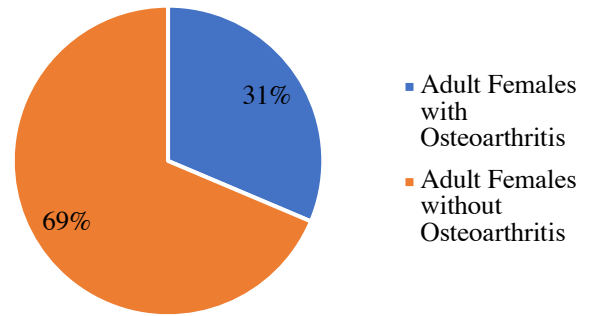


Figure 6.13. Osteoarthritis in Adult Commingled Remains: Females



For individual burials, it was possible to evaluate a total of 589 skeletal elements in males and females over the age of 15. These elements corresponded to 24 skeletal individuals, including five subadults between the ages of 15 and 20 (refer back to Chapter 5), and 13 adult males and 6 adult females from 20 to over 50 years old (Table 6.9.). Among the adult individuals over the age of 20, 11 males and five females exhibited porosity and lipping (suggesting osteoarthritis) on the joint surfaces, often affecting multiple articular facets.

Table 6.9. Osteoarthritis in Intact Individuals at Hacienda La Quebrada

Age Category	Age in Years	Male	% of Age Group	Female	% of Age Group	Sex Not Determined	% of Age Group
Adolescent	15-20	0/1	0	2/3	66.7	0/1	0
Young Adult	20-35	5/6	83.3	2/3	66.7	-	-
Middle Adult	35-50	5/6	83.3	2/2	100	-	-
Advanced Adult	>50	1/1	100	1/1	100	-	-
Total		% of Total Males: 78.6%		% of Total Females: 77.8%		% of Total Individuals of Indeterminate Skeletal Sex: 0%	

Evidence of Osteoarthritis: By Skeletal Element

Patterns in the severity and distribution of osteoarthritis, pressure facets, and hypertrophy of tendinous and ligamentous attachment sites provide information about the possible forms of labor or other physical activities performed by the enslaved community on a regular basis. Overall, incidence rates for osteoarthritis were higher in the elements of the hands and feet relative to other regions of the body. This is likely an overrepresentation due to the state of preservation of the overall skeletal sample; that is, smaller elements were more likely to be intact in the commingled excavation context, and thus present observable articular facets for assessing osteoarthritis and related degenerative changes.

While fragmentation and poor preservation limited analysis in recovered long bones, it was still possible to observe some general patterns in the burial population. In skeletal elements associated with both commingled and intact contexts that were complete enough to assess, there was a higher frequency of osteoarthritis in the upper limbs than in the lower limbs for both skeletal sexes (Tables 6.10 and 6.11). The one exception to this trend was the high incidence levels in the elements of the foot, mentioned above. Both males and females exhibited the highest upper-limb incidence of osteoarthritis in the elements of shoulder, followed by the elbow. While rates of osteoarthritis were generally higher in males, the shoulder joint showed the greatest overall sex difference, particularly in middle and old adults.

Table 6.10. Distribution of Osteoarthritis in the Lower Limb

(Adapted from Wilczak et al 2001)

Age in Years	Males		Females	
	No. Elements Affected	%	No. Elements Affected	%
Hip				
15-20	0	0	0	0
20-35	2	0.37	2	0.44
35-50	8	1.48	7	1.53
>50	12	2.22	4	0.88
Knee				
15-20	0	0	0	0
20-35	3	0.56	3	0.66
35-50	9	1.67	11	2.41
>50	4	0.74	6	1.31
Ankle				
15-20	0	0	1	0.22
20-35	1	0.19	2	0.44
35-50	5	0.93	12	2.63
>50	3	0.56	3	0.66
Foot				
15-20	0	0	3	0.66
20-35	22	4.07	23	5.03
35-50	92	17.04	63	13.79
>50	60	11.11	68	14.88

Table 6.11. Distribution of Osteoarthritis in the Upper Limb

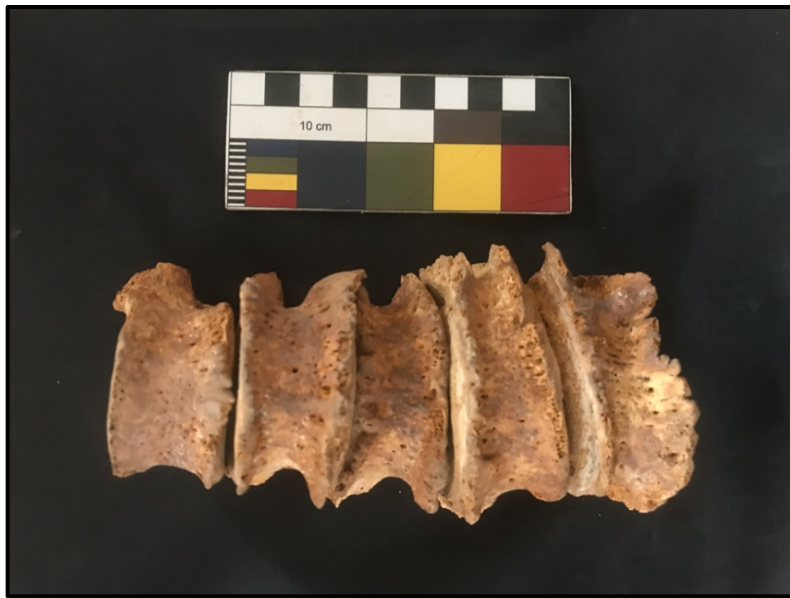
(Adapted from Wilczak et al 2001)

Age in Years	Males		Females	
	No. Elements Affected	%	No. Elements Affected	%
Shoulder				
15-20	0	0	0	0
20-35	4	0.74	5	1.09
35-50	26	4.8	16	3.50
>50	12	2.22	5	1.09
Elbow				
15-20	0	0	0	0
20-35	11	2.04	2	0.44
35-50	24	4.44	21	4.60
>50	15	2.78	9	1.97
Wrist				
15-20	0	0	3	0.66
20-35	5	0.93	2	0.44
35-50	14	2.59	9	1.97
>50	10	1.85	10	2.19
Hand				
15-20	0	0	3	0.66
20-35	13	2.41	8	1.75
35-50	50	9.26	49	10.72
>50	21	3.89	20	4.38

In the elements of the lower limb and vertebral column, there was a more marked distinction in patterns of osteoarthritis between male and female individuals. Females generally presented higher rates of osteoarthritis in the elements of the knees and ankle than did males, regardless of age. Females also exhibited consistently higher frequencies of osteoarthritis in the upper to middle back—that is, in the cervical and thoracic vertebrae—than adult males, including in the young adult age category (Table. 6.12). Meanwhile, males presented relatively higher rates of moderate to severe osteoarthritis in the lower back in comparison to adult females, with frequencies of osteoarthritis in the lumbar vertebrae in middle and old adult individuals reaching nearly seven times those observed in adult females (Fig. 6.14).

Table 6.12. Distribution of Osteoarthritis in Vertebrae

Distribution of Osteoarthritis in Vertebrae: Commingled by Element												
Age in Years	Cervical				Thoracic				Lumbar			
	Males	%	Females	%	Males	%	Females	%	Males	%	Females	%
15-20	0	0	4	0.88	0	0	7	1.53	0	0	1	0.22
20-35	6	1.11	10	2.19	10	1.85	15	3.28	7	1.30	1	0.22
35-50	10	1.85	8	1.75	10	1.85	14	3.06	31	5.74	4	0.88
>50	4	0.74	11	2.41	6	1.11	8	1.75	30	5.56	4	0.88



*Figure 6.14: Evidence of moderate to severe osteoarthritis in the lumbar vertebrae of a probable adult male.
Photo: PIALQ 2018*

The general trend for both appendicular joints and the vertebral column was toward increased frequencies of affected elements with age. The highest rates of moderate to severe degenerative changes were predominately found in middle to old adult individuals. While middle aged adults represent the most cases of osteoarthritis overall, the underrepresentation of observed cases in old adults could be reflective of broader demographic trends within this population; that is many enslaved peoples at Hacienda La Quebrada, and especially women, did not survive into later adulthood, or were potentially sold to another enslaver once they reached an age when they could no longer perform their required duties at the plantation.

While normal weight-bearing and degeneration related to age likely contributed to the patterns observed in the skeletal sample at Hacienda La Quebrada, it was not the sole causal factor. Differences in the distribution of osteoarthritis across categories of age and sex suggest that there likely existed some distinctions in the activities regularly performed by enslaved men

and women. Moreover, evidence of moderate osteoarthritis in the youngest group of adults indicates that enslaved peoples endured additional stressors that were severe enough to begin to leave marks in the skeletal record, and that these conditions began at a young age. Notably, all of the observed cases of osteoarthritis in young adults were identified in females, which parallels broader bioarchaeological and historical evidence indicating the additional forms of labor and stress that enslaved women faced in colonial plantation society.

6.3.5. Skeletal Indicators of Work: Musculoskeletal Stress Markers

Evidence of MSMs: By Commingled and Intact Contexts

Evidence of musculoskeletal stress markers (MSMs) further support these interpretations. While frequencies of MSMs were relatively low in comparison to rates of osteoarthritis in the skeletal population at Hacienda La Quebrada, they mirrored similar patterns of distribution both within the individual body and across assigned skeletal sex. In the total sample of commingled elements aged 15 to over 50 years old, 3,398 were able to be evaluated for evidence of MSM and enthesopathies. Among these elements, five subadults between the ages of 15 and 20 exhibited evidence of MSM development, as well as 54 males and 26 females between the ages of 20 and over 50 years old (Table 6.13).

Table 6.13. Musculoskeletal Stress Markers, by Skeletal Age and Sex: Commingled Sample

Age in Years	Male	% of Observed Males in Age Group	Female	% of Observed Females in Age Group
15-20	0/2	0	0/3	0
20-35	9/308	2.9	7/992	0.7
35-50	21/1042	2.0	13/575	2.3
>50	23/294	7.8	6/182	3.3
Total	53/1646		26/1752	

Once again, males were generally more affected than females, accounting for 53 of the 79 total observed insertions in the commingled sample (67.1 percent). Notably, this difference in the overall frequencies of MSMs in male elements in comparison to female elements was significant, with a calculated p-value of 0.0009. The number of adult males exhibiting evidence of MSMs also increased with age, with old adults presenting the highest rates of attachments in the observed male elements. These data suggest that MSM development was likely a result of accumulated stresses over time, and that these stresses began from young adulthood for male individuals at the plantation. In contrast, the highest frequencies of MSMs in the commingled female remains were observed in the middle adult age group, which accounted for half of the total observed cases across all female age groups (13/26 or 50%).

Among the intact burials, a total of 780 skeletal elements in 14 male individuals and 288 elements in 7 female individuals between the ages of 15 and over 50 years old were evaluated for MSMs. Three out of the 14 observed males exhibited evidence of MSM development (21.4%), in comparison to two out of the seven females (28.6 percent) (Figure 6.15). All of the observed males presenting evidence of MSMs were old adults over the age of 50. Meanwhile, the female individuals exhibiting evidence of clearly present enthesal changes included one old adult female over the age of 50, as well as an adolescent 15 to 20 years old.

Evidence of MSMs: By Skeletal Element

Similar to patterns in the development of osteoarthritis, the frequencies of stress lesions were also highest in the shoulders and arms of both enslaved males and females (Table 6.14; Fig. 6.15). In the upper limbs, the deltoid, biceps brachii, and the coracoclavicular ligament were among the most common MSMs observed in this sample. As scholars at the New York African

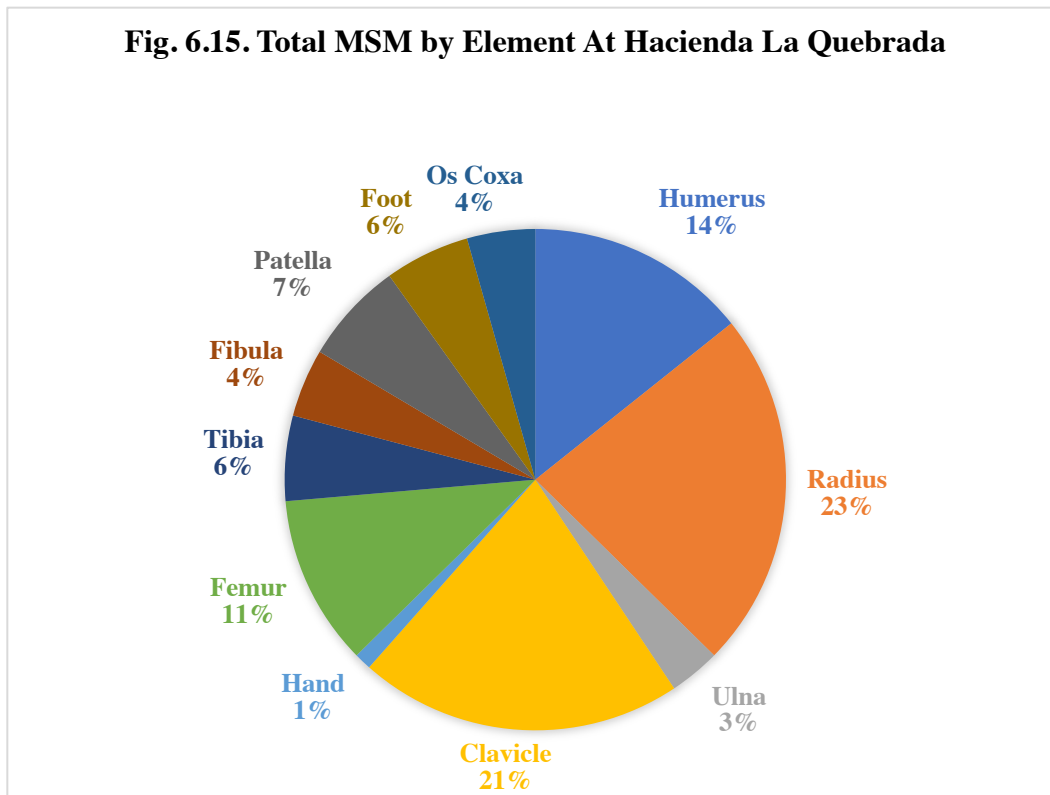
Burial Ground have observed, MSMs in the deltoid may suggest activities that include circumductory motions or loading and lifting weight on the shoulder. Further indicators of stress in the shoulder were also apparent for the coracoclavicular ligament, which limits the movement of the scapula. This pattern of stress is associated with activities that involve flexion and extension of the arm towards the chest, typically with the elbow bent. These findings parallel the patterns of osteoarthritis in the shoulder and elbow, and are consistent with forms of labor involving heavy lifting and carrying loads on the back or shoulders (Wilczak et al 2001).

Stress at the linea aspera attachment of the femur also points to heavy labor. The linea aspera provides attachments for the adductors magnus, brevis, and longus, as well as the short head of the biceps femoris. The adductors and the biceps femoris are active in movements such as flexing and extending the thigh, squatting, or climbing. It is possible that these actions contributed to the MSMs observed in at least some of the enslaved men and women at Hacienda La Quebrada. While there exists a great range of activities that could produce the patterns observed in the skeletal population, these patterns are generally consistent with the diverse forms of physical labor associated with plantation slavery.

Table 6.14. Frequency of Musculoskeletal Stress Markers by Element
(Adopted from Wilczak et al 2001)

Rank	Male Element	Number	% of MSM in Males	Rank	Female Element	Number	% of MSM in Females
1	Radius	14	22.6	1	Radius	7	24.1
2	Clavicle	13	21	2	Clavicle	6	20.7
3	Humerus	8	12.9	3	Humerus	5	17.2
4	Femur	8	12.9	4	Patella	4	13.8
5	Foot	5	8.1	5	Tibia	3	10.3
6	Os Coxa	4	6.5	6	Femur	2	6.9
7	Ulna	3	4.8		Fibula	2	6.9
8	Tibia	2	3.2				
	Fibula	2	3.2				
	Patella	2	3.2				
9	Hand	1	1.6				

Fig. 6.15. Total MSM by Element At Hacienda La Quebrada



6.3.6. Trauma

Evidence of trauma from interpersonal violence or accidental injury was relatively infrequent in the burial population at Hacienda La Quebrada. Similar to other patterns of physiological stress, rates of trauma were moderately higher in males than females, with a total of 28 fractures identified in adult males, 21 in adult females, and 14 in individuals of unidentifiable skeletal sex (Table 6.15). Fractures in the hands and feet were common relative to other elements in both males and females. However, while males presented relatively similar distributions of fractures across the upper and lower limbs and the axial skeleton, there was a marked increase in the frequency of lower limb fractures amongst adult females ($n=7$, or 33.3

percent). This pattern parallels broader evidence of physiological stress associated with the lower limbs in females in the burial population, especially the knees, lower leg, and ankles.

Table 6.15 Number of Fractures by Skeletal Region in Adults

(Adapted from Wilczak et al 2001)

	Males				Females				Sex Not Determined			
	Pre-mortem	Peri-mortem	Ambig. Peri-mortem	%	Pre-mortem	Peri-mortem	Ambig. Peri-mortem	%	Pre-mortem	Peri-mortem	Ambig. Peri-mortem	%
Skull	2	-	-	3.2	2	-	1	4.8	-	-	-	0
Axial	6	-	-	9.5	2	-	-	3.2	6	-	-	9.5
Upper Limb	5	-	-	7.9	3	-	-	4.8	-	-	-	0
Lower Limb	5	-	-	7.9	7	-	-	11.1	3	-	-	4.8
Hands and Feet	10	-	-	15.9	6	-	-	9.5	5	-	-	7.9

The vast majority of fractures observed in the skeletal sample were healed pre-mortem fractures. Only two fractures were identified as perimortem or ambiguous perimortem. As discussed in Chapter 5, one cranial fracture with active periosteal lesions was identified in an 18- to 24-month-old infant, which likely contributed to their premature death. The second case was in an adult female aged 40 to 50 years old. Evidence of a round fracture with dark staining and beveled edges on the left aspect of her frontal bone suggests that the fracture was the result of interpersonal violence rather than accidental injury.

There were at least four instances of healed blunt force trauma identified in crania of enslaved persons at Hacienda La Quebrada: one in an old adult female over 50 years old, two in a 20- to 35-year-old male, and one in a 40- to 50-year-old male. The majority of these fractures were located on the parietals or the lateral aspect of the frontal bone, suggesting that the individuals suffered from a swinging blow to the side of their skull. Additionally, one young adult female approximately 15 to 21 years old appears to have suffered a strike to the left side of her jaw, causing her to lose all of the dentition on that side except for her third molar and her

mandible to heal misaligned. Even though there was no evidence of parry fractures in the skeletal record, the presence of cranial fractures across different categories of age and sex suggests that enslaved men, women, and even children were vulnerable to experiences of interpersonal violence at Hacienda La Quebrada.

6.4. Discussion

6.4.1. Life and Labor in Conditions of Captivity

By bringing together biocultural information from the analysis of bioarchaeological remains and historical records from colonial archives, it is possible to cultivate a more intimate understanding of the lived experiences of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada, and the conditions that ultimately motivated many of them risk the perilous journey to Lima to defend their rights to more humane treatment and conditions of living. Similar to other contexts of enslavement and colonial violence, the life expectancy for enslaved peoples at Hacienda La Quebrada was relatively short. Some enslaved men and women passed the majority of their adult lives at the plantation, building families and continuing to labor in various tasks until they were eventually laid to rest in the cemetery. However, many individuals, and especially women, perished tragically young, enduring the difficult years of early childhood development only to succumb to the conditions of enslavement and colonial life as young adults.

This observation parallels the findings of similar studies of enslaved and free Afro-descendant populations in other parts of the Americas and Caribbean (for review see Blakey 2001a,b). According to such studies, evidence of young enslaved populations reflects the particular conditions of transatlantic slavery, which typically sought young individuals in a fit physical state to perform diverse forms of manual labor. Once enslaved workers became unable

to fulfill essential tasks, they might be sold or neglected by overseers, contributing to lower representation of old adult individuals in the burial record. These sociohistorical dynamics were also compounded by biological factors stemming from influences such as environment, ecology, and disease exposure. From this viewpoint, bioarchaeological evidence of young adult mortality might also be associated with newly arrived captives who were not successful in adapting to a new environment, enslaved peoples who entered young adulthood biologically compromised from stressors endured during early development, or some combination of these factors (Blakey et al 2001a; Rankin-Hill et al 2001). At Hacienda La Quebrada, it seems likely that several of these historical and biological factors contributed to patterns in adult mortality.

Evidence of generalized infectious disease, dental pathology, and mechanical stress help to paint a more detailed picture of the conditions of living that contributed to the relatively young average age at death at Hacienda La Quebrada. Patterns in osteoarthritis and musculoskeletal stress markers (MSMs) demonstrate the effects of regular, excessive manual labor on the bodies of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at the plantation. While enslaved men were generally more impacted than women, the presence of these skeletal changes across both sexes suggests that both men and women held labor roles at the plantation, and that some of this labor likely began as early as adolescence.

It is interesting that men and women shared similarities in the general patterns of mechanical stress, but with some clear differences. Although both men and women were particularly stressed in the shoulders, the rates and severity of osteoarthritis and MSMs in this region was typically higher in men. Men also presented additional evidence of stress in the elbow, lower back, and upper legs, in some cases emerging as early as young adulthood. These patterns are reflective of more heavy forms of manual labor rather than skilled crafts, which may

be associated with the arduous tasks associated with sugar cultivation. Both labor in the fields and processing in the plantation's refineries required carrying heavy loads, including bundles of cut cane, *panes* (loaves) of refined product, and various tools and instruments (Luna 2017; Fig. 6.16).



Figure 6.16: Illustration of enslaved laborers cultivating sugar cane at Hacienda La Quebrada.
Image by Jairo "Jaime" Rojas Angulo (2021)

Enslaved women were similarly affected in the shoulders, suggesting that they too performed load-bearing activities, including agricultural work. However, unlike most enslaved men, they also presented notable evidence of osteoarthritis and MSMs in the upper back and lower legs. These patterns were paralleled by frequencies of trauma and periosteal lesions in the lower legs, especially in the tibiae, fibulae, and elements of the ankles and feet. The higher

incidence of mechanical stress in these areas suggest that some enslaved women performed additional or separate tasks that required frequent kneeling and bending their necks.

Previous bioarchaeological studies of African diaspora populations in both South Carolina (Rathbun 1987) and New York City (Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001) have found similar osteological patterns suggesting differences in the types of labor performed by enslaved men and women. Interestingly, these studies included contexts of both urban and rural plantation slavery, once again emphasizing the difficulty of tracing patterns of osteoarthritis back to any specific activity. Scholars from the New York City African Burial Ground developed various hypotheses to explain these sexual differences in skeletal indicators of work:

At both South Carolina and our New York City sample, males were more frequently affected by osteoarthritis of the elbow and females at the knee. Although the exact physical stresses and labor varied between these two populations, these similarities may be a signature of broad occupational stresses, with males lifting and carrying more and female stress at the knee associated with bending and kneeling in household labor tasks (Wilczak et al 2001:221).

Similarly, they add, differences in regional stresses in the neck and back may suggest different kinds of carrying or loading, perhaps signaling that “females were bending the neck while performing some types of craft work and/or household work” (Wilczak et al 2001:221).

It is important to note that these interpretations risk relegating women to the domestic sphere. The conflation of female agents with domesticity has been widely critiqued in feminist scholarship, both in African diaspora literature and in archaeology more broadly. However, in striving to understand the possible labor dynamics that contributed to divergent patterns of mechanical stress at Hacienda La Quebrada, this study aims to achieve precisely the opposite effect. By identifying the additional or separate roles played by enslaved women, including within the home place (Battle-Baptiste 2011), this study aims to revalorize the labor of women within the system of plantation slavery. Importantly, these efforts are critical to the project’s

broader objective to contribute decolonizing and intersectional perspectives towards the history of the African diaspora in Peru, especially “by creating a space for the visible representation of Black women as active participants in the creation of culture, knowledge, and power” (Franklin 2001:111).

Historical records and oral histories passed down through generations of African descendants in San Luis suggest that women played multi-faceted roles in the plantation community. In addition to performing labor in the fields alongside enslaved men and older children, enslaved women on rural plantations such as Hacienda La Quebrada often performed additional domestic services for overseers. As the historian Maribel Arrelucea Barrantes observes, even elderly women and women in advanced stages of pregnancy were compelled to continue performing domestic work, including tasks such as cooking, cleaning the *casa hacienda* (“Big House”), working as healers for the enslaved community, or gathering and storing various fruits and vegetables from the agricultural fields. In addition to these forms of forced labor, enslaved women with families also held responsibility for maintaining their own households and caring for their children and families (Arrelucea 2004, 2009).

Without material data from the archaeological excavations in the living quarters of enslaved laborers at Hacienda La Quebrada, it is difficult to reach more specific interpretations of the private activities of enslaved peoples, and how factors such as gender and age might have patterned household labor and social dynamics. Historical and archaeological studies of enslaved African and Afro-descendants at sites such as the Rich Neck Plantation in Virginia (Franklin 1997, 2001), Andrew Jackson’s Hermitage Plantation (Battle-Baptiste 2011), and the Jesuit estate Hacienda of San Joseph in Nasca, Peru (Weaver 2015) indicate that enslaved peoples, and especially women, were engaged in diverse activities within their households and communities.

This included developing cottage industries for exchange within local markets, maintaining outdoor spaces for household-related activities and social gatherings, and cultivating, preparing, and distributing food within the enslaved community, especially for the elderly and infirm.

Historical descriptions of the distribution of diverse forms of labor and quotidian activities in the plantation landscape can help to contextualize the patterns of physiological stress observed in the skeletal remains recovered from the cemetery for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada. Like other rural plantation estates in colonial Peru, “all of [the] work was performed by men and women, children and adults, without distinction” (Arrelucea 2004:248, translated by author), resulting in the similar general pattern of stress associated with heavy manual labor. In addition to the common tasks associated with agricultural work, some women likely also held other responsibilities for a more diverse array to tasks associated with domestic labor and household activities. From this perspective, it is possible to address the more systematic mechanical stress endured by enslaved men who may have provided the core of the plantation workforce of field laborers and craft specialists, while also recognizing the multiple roles of enslaved women.

6.4.2. Exploitation, Abuse, and the Structural Violence of Plantation Slavery

It is also possible to begin disentangling nuances in the layered experiences of enslavement and colonial life by taking a closer look at patterns of trauma in the skeletal record. When considering the biocultural implications of traumatic injury in the skeletal record, it is important to contextualize it in relation to two key phenomena: violent acts related to interpersonal conflict, and structural violence connected to the broader social conditions of life in captivity during the colonial period.

Structural violence expands the notion of violence beyond direct forms of individual conflict, abuse, or harm to include indirect forces that result in detrimental health effects or unequal life chances for an individual or group, often as result of their perceived identity or status within a society. More specifically, structural violence often manifests in the unequal distribution of resources, wealth, and other basic services, which in turn cause health disparities among underprivileged groups (Galtung 1969). Researchers such as Didier Fassin (2003) and Paul Farmer (2003) have examined the impacts of racialized socioeconomic disparities on modern health crises, such as the AIDS/HIV epidemics in Haiti and South Africa. This research has critically interrogated how the legacies of European colonization, slavery, and institutionalized racism have produced systematic disparities in vulnerability to the disease and limitations in access to the resources necessary to combat it.

Archaeologists and bioarchaeologists have expanded on this concept to explore how institutionalized social inequalities and other power disparities may have influenced disparities in biological health and well-being in past human populations. As Kenneth Nystrom (2014:766) writes, “[t]he extension of structural violence into archaeological contexts is predicated on a relatively simple premise: socially derived disparities in access to and control over resources can have physiological consequences that can result in skeletal manifestations.” Bioarchaeological studies of African diaspora populations have resoundingly substantiated this claim. As discussed in Chapter 2, bioarchaeological studies of enslaved and free populations in the Americas have demonstrated how structural inequalities based on race—including systems of forced labor—directly influenced the life outcomes of peoples of African descent. In the bioarchaeological record, this was manifest in evidence of systemic physiological stress, diet and dental health, and activity patterns (for review, see Blakey 2001a).

At Hacienda La Quebrada, we can similarly see how the broader structural conditions of colonialism and the system of transatlantic slavery impacted the lived, embodied experiences of enslaved peoples of African descent. As discussed in the previous sections, the intersecting racial (*negro/as*) and socioeconomic (*esclavo/as*) identities of enslaved peoples structured their treatment in colonial Peruvian society, as well as their access to the resources that their lives depended upon. Within the plantation landscape, the combined physical exploitation of enslaved labor and restricted access to proper nutrition and health care directly influenced health outcomes within the enslaved population, contributing to patterns disease, infection, and mechanical stress observed in the skeletal record.

Like broader indicators of physiological stress and ill health, the presence of skeletal trauma in the bioarchaeological record illuminates the structural violence that defined the system of colonial plantation slavery, which relied on the exploitation, discipline, and control of enslaved peoples' bodies. While both men and women presented evidence of premortem fractures, enslaved men generally experienced higher rates of healed fractures that were likely associated with accidental trauma. Meanwhile, women were particularly affected in the elements of the lower limbs, especially the femora tibiae, fibulae, and phalanges of the foot. These patterns provide further insights into the potential labor roles fulfilled by captive men and women at the plantation, and the elevated risks affiliated with performing intense physical labor on a regular basis.

A particularly powerful indicator of the conditions endured by enslaved men and women of African descent at Hacienda La Quebrada was the direct evidence of fractures resulting from interpersonal violence. It is worth noting here that interpersonal violence can itself also be a manifestation of broader conditions of structural inequality and difference. That is, the structural

vulnerability of enslaved peoples “based on race and the embodiment of social inequality politics” (Nystrom 2014:769) in the colonial *casta* hierarchy and the system of transatlantic slavery may have put them at greater risk of direct acts of abuse or violence. From this perspective, interpersonal violence is a symptom of a broader set of social norms that not only contributed to the neglect of enslaved peoples, but also created the social conditions that made it permissible for direct acts of bodily harm to be enacted against them.

Notably, there were no clear examples of parry fractures in this skeletal sample; rather, all instances of fractures associated with interpersonal violence were blunt-force trauma identified in individual crania. Taken together, the absence of parry fractures or other trauma indicative of self-defense and the repeated evidence of rounded blows to the skull may be reflective of intentional acts of violence, in which enslaved peoples had limited capacity to defend themselves.

The presence of blunt force trauma across men, women, and children at Hacienda La Quebrada provides an important indicator of the abuses endured by enslaved peoples, regardless of sex or age. Archival records further support this interpretation, providing detailed accounts of the excessive castigation that enslaved peoples faced at the hands of the Buena Muerte’s stewards at Hacienda La Quebrada. For example, many of the testimonies of the men and women who fled to the convent of the Buena Muerte in Lima in 1809 attested that enslaved laborers were subjected to “*mucho maltrato*” (much mistreatment) or “*mucho castigo*” (much castigation) by the *mayordomos*. In several instances, they recalled receiving over 25 lashes with a whip or stick, well in excess of the maximum 12 lashes established by the Spanish Crown (Royal Crown of Spain 1789, in Aguirre 2005). One young man, Juan Montalvo, was beaten so violently with that he was left bleeding in the mouth. His companion Cornelio Fonseca witnessed

the horrific event, adding that his injuries were so severe that he had be brought to the infirmary for treatment.⁷

Additional documents from the years leading up to the 1809 protest reveal that such examples of excessive physical castigation were symptomatic of a larger environment of neglect and abuse of power by plantation overseers, which became increasingly grievous from the 1780s through the 1810s. In 1798, a former *procurador* (legal advocate or representative) at the hacienda, Santiago Gonzalez, presented priests and administrators at the Buena Muerte's convent in Lima with a list of *quejos* (grievances) from members of the enslaved community at Hacienda La Quebrada. Later recognized as a defender of the enslaved peoples and ousted from the religious order, Gonzalez presented their claims against the failure of the plantation's stewards to fulfill their basic duties, as established by both the Spanish Crown and the Buena Muerte's own moral Christian duty (Aguirre 2005; Morales Polar 2008). In addition to protestations against physical punishment and lashings, the enslaved community also sought restitution of more basic conditions that had previously been afforded them in earlier years of captive labor at the plantation. Among the pleas that he listed were for higher rations of meat, *sango*, and beans; sufficient cotton clothing according to individual need; that labor be limited before church and allocated by age; a bakery to provide bread for children; and for the re-opening of the infirmary at the nearby Hacienda Casablanca.⁸

These accounts are important because they begin to elucidate the social and environmental conditions that shaped the lived experiences of enslaved peoples at Hacienda La Quebrada. While the Buena Muerte made some concessions to the demands of its enslaved

⁷ AAL. Legajo VII:9.

⁸ CBM. Doc. 2393

workforce, it appears that they were largely restricted to adjustments to basic social services and schedules for daily activities. For example, by 1800, members of the enslaved community attested to better care for children, a greater allowance for spiritual activities and attendance, and a later start to the workday (7:00 am – 4:00 pm, instead of the initial 3:00 am call to work).⁹ However, the principal concerns about excessive abuse and maltreatment remained unresolved, leaving the enslaved community with no other recourse but to go to Lima to appeal to the superior authorities of the Buena Muerte themselves.

In spite of the drastic measures taken by the enslaved community to advocate for the treatment and conditions of living that they were legally entitled under Spanish colonial legislation, few additional changes were taken to reform the grave abuses of power at Hacienda La Quebrada. In the weeks following the revolution, a subdelegate was sent to Cañete to report on activities at its landholdings in the region, with a particular concern for the possibility of additional uprisings amongst its diverse workforces. After reading his observations from Hacienda La Quebrada, administrators in Lima began to acknowledge that issues of unjust punishment were of notable concern. However, the current viceroy Antonio Virto concluded that it would be impossible to present this information to the order's leaders, because they would never permit a discussion of excessive abuse or punishment. Instead, he determined that any perceived instigators be taken to prison, without any of the other enslaved laborers seeing or knowing. Like in many other critical moments of social protest in Latin American history, the colonial authorities hoped that they could quell threats to power and calls for justice by forcing their most visible proponents to disappear.

⁹ ACBM Doc. 2497; see also Luna 2017.

It is not clear from the record itself what Antonio Virto was referring to when he suggested that the Buena Muerte priests would never be open to discussing issues of excessive punishment or abuse. Was this reflective of efforts to maintain a division between the economic enterprise of the order and its ecclesiastical practices? An infrastructure of responsibilities and power devised to allow the religious figures at the heart of the order to maintain some escape from culpability, both from litigation in the ecclesiastical courts and their own moral failures as agents of God? That is, ‘out of sight, out of mind’?

The politics of the early modern Catholic Church’s involvement in the transatlantic slave trade in Peru is not the central focus of this dissertation, although I have written and presented extensively on the topic. Instead, by reframing these historical events from a subaltern perspective, this discussion is more closely interested in considering the Buena Muerte’s struggles to maintain control and the tensions that played into their decision-making strategies as social forces that deeply shaped the lived realities of enslaved peoples at Hacienda La Quebrada. The continued protestations against unbridled abuse and the decision not to intervene add critical context to the evidence of physical trauma in the bioarchaeological record, suggesting that not only were enslaved men, women, and children exposed to constant risk of physical threat, but that they also had little recourse for preventing and healing from these acts of violence.

6.4.3. Health, Healing, and the Politics of Care

Underlying these more overt manifestations of physical exploitation and intentional violence lay a more systematic interplay of biological, environmental, and socioeconomic forces that shaped the lifeways of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada. The capacity of enslaved men and women to persist through the original dangers of childhood in

order to build their own intimate lives and communities was influenced by the possibility of accessing the resources that their lives depended on. As discussed above, the records collected from members of the enslaved community through the 1790s revealed that concerns about lack of adequate clothing, food rations, and medical treatment was widespread across the enslaved community, and continued to become amplified until the revolt of 1809.¹⁰

Bioarchaeological indicators of disease, diet, and nutritional inadequacy contribute additional data evidencing these conditions and their biological impacts on the individual lives and community health of enslaved peoples at the plantation. Although diagnosis of specific treponemal infections such as syphilis or yaws was not possible at Hacienda La Quebrada (for comparison, see Khudabux 1991; Null et al 2001), the frequency of periosteal lesions in the osteological record suggest that generalized infectious disease was a source of stress for some enslaved peoples at Hacienda La Quebrada. The rates of generalized infectious processes observed in this study were generally similar across adult men and women, with both groups expressing increased indicators of healed lesions with age. These patterns reinforce the multiple lines of demographic and paleopathological evidence indicating that this was a population that was exposed to various intersecting forms of stress factors that directly impacted their biological well-being. For enslaved peoples who were able to recover from disease events and/or nutritional stresses during early childhood development, these experiences would continue to influence their physical bodies and quality of life through later in life.

When intersecting categories of age and sex are taken into account, it becomes evident that young women were often disproportionately affected, presenting the highest rates of periostitis in both the young adult age group and the broader female population as a whole. It is

¹⁰ AAL Legajo VII:9 and ACBM Doc. 2497.

certainly plausible that enslaved men who suffered from severe disease events or infections succumbed to these conditions before they had a chance to leave any visible mark on the skeleton, contributing to the lower rates observed in the bioarchaeological record. However, the fact that this pattern coincides with multiple other lines of bioarchaeological evidence indexing the biocultural impacts of enslavement and colonial life on young women suggests these findings have some grounding in historical reality.

When considering the possible factors contributing to stresses on young adult women, as well as general trends of infection, disease, and mortality in the enslaved population more broadly, there are two important sociohistorical elements to take into account. The first is the local environment that enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants inhabited at Hacienda La Quebrada. As mentioned above, the historical accounts of enslaved laborers at the plantation testify to generally poor conditions of living, typically as a result of insufficient nutrition, overwork, and physical mistreatment. The small barracks (*galpones*) inhabited by enslaved laborers also raised additional health concerns. Similar to other rural plantations in colonial Peru (Cushner 1975; Weaver 2015), enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada lived in enclosed adobe structures outside of the plantation nucleus, with quarters for adolescents and unmarried adults separated by sex, as well as larger spaces for families (Luna 2017). These confined and simply constructed living spaces generated increased risk to the spread of disease, as enslaved laborers were exposed to close contact with infected individuals and the radically changing temperatures of the arid coastal climate.

The second element consists of the access to medical treatment and resources necessary to recuperate from health crises. In addition to food, shelter, and other material necessities, health care was one of the staple provisions for enslaved African and Afro-descendant laborers at Hacienda La Quebrada. The administrators at the Buena Muerte's rural agricultural estates had a vested interest in maintaining the health and energy of their enslaved laborers, who were vital to the production that was a principal source of the order's total economic income. According to historical records, the Buena Muerte maintained an infirmary at Hacienda La Quebrada and the nearby plantation Casablanca, where local doctors were "on call" to handle routine injuries and ailments. However, plantation infirmaries commonly lacked the resources and practitioners necessary to provide anything beyond basic care, and thus typically offered low-quality, low-cost medical treatment (Bowser 1974; Cushner 1980; Cahill 1995; Van Deusen 1999; Warren 2010; Jouve Martín 2014) (Fig. 6.17).



*Figure 6.17: Representation of an enslaved laborer being tended to at Hacienda La Quebrada's infirmary.
Image by Jaime "Jairo" Rojas Angulo (2021)*

Although the infirmary provided the resources to treat common medical conditions at the plantation, more extensive procedures typically required more expensive and longer-term treatment in Lima. In such cases, the commonly held view of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants as expendable commodities often led to cost-benefit decisions about whether to invest in costly medical treatments or to sell, abandon, or forgo treatment for that laborer. This consideration was particularly common for the elderly, chronically ill, differently abled, or individuals who were otherwise unable to physically work (Bowser 1974; Cushner 1980; Aguirre 2005; Medina 2005).

This practice has precedent in several historical accounts (Van Deusen 1999; Medina 2005; de Sandoval 2008[1627]). In fact, the few direct historical references to Buena Muerte priests working in late 18th and early 19th century medical institutions suggest that their most common role was not to provide life-saving treatment for patients, but rather to simply offer spiritual services such as baptisms and confessions (Cahill 1995; Van Deusen 1999; Tardieu 2002, 2005; Warren 2010; Jouve Martín 2014).

Archival records also indicate that some enslaved laborers were sent to other plantation infirmaries or to hospitals in Lima as a result of injury or illness. However, these records must be interpreted with caution. In the 18th and early 19th century Peru, it was a common practice for enslavers to abandon or ‘donate’ ill and elderly slaves to hospitals, which were popularly perceived as places where individuals were sent to die (Cahill 1995; Van Deusen 1999; Warren 2010). This notion is perhaps best exemplified by the mortality rates at San Bartolomé, the hospital established for African slaves and freepersons, and one of the Buena Muerte’s central sources of investment during the late colonial period. Between 1782 and 1787, the 16.17 percent of the 9,448 patients that the hospital attended to ultimately perished as a result of their

conditions — more than double the mortality rate at the hospital for local indigenous populations (Cahill 1995). According to the historian David Cahill, these mortality rates were largely reflective of the perception of San Bartolomé as a place where masters ““dumped”” their “ill and/or elderly slaves...when past their use” (Cahill 1995:136; see also Van Deusen 1999, Warren 2010). From this perspective, bringing enslaved laborers to hospitals was not always necessarily an act of seeking medical care, but rather a way to opt out of incurring costs for treatments that could not be performed at the plantation’s infirmary.

The politics of medical care and provisioning resources for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants in colonial Peru provides a useful sociohistorical framework for contextualizing patterns of generalized infectious disease observed in the bioarchaeological population at Hacienda La Quebrada. Conditions of pervasive neglect and insufficient provisions of essential resources exacerbated the physical stresses of exploitative labor. These intersecting forces likely contributed to the increased vulnerability of enslaved peoples to disease or infection. In the bioarchaeological record, these conditions are manifest in the evidence of periosteal lesions across the enslaved adult population, regardless of age or sex. Meanwhile, active lesions and high mortality rates among younger individuals suggests that some individuals who experienced these forms of stress during critical stages of development were unable to build the biological resilience to effectively recover from these ailments.

The socioeconomic constraints underlying the provisioning of medical treatment further compounded these stress factors. Facing variable and potentially uncertain access to health care, enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants did not always have the ability to get the resources that they needed to recuperate from injury or illness. Historical records indicate that decisions related to medical treatment was likely affected by age and physical fitness, typically defined in

relation to economic standards established within the slave market (*tachas*). However, bioarchaeological evidence from this investigation raises questions about possible inequalities based on gender as well. High mortality rates and physiological stress amongst young adult women are consistent with historical accounts of the multiple, intersecting vectors of oppression endured by enslaved women (Franklin 2001; Arrelucea 2009; Battle-Baptiste 2011). Is it possible that these additional burdens of physical mistreatment and exploitation were also paralleled by additional barriers to medical care? While the experiences of enslaved women are largely underrepresented in the archival record, bioarchaeological insights into the biological health and life outcomes of enslaved women at Hacienda La Quebrada offers a new perspective towards this precarious positionality of enslaved women within colonial institutions of care.

6.4.4. Enslaved Foodways and Self-Provisioning as a Strategy of Community Care

Closely intertwined with the osteological indicators of infectious disease is the evidence of nutritional inadequacy in the dental record. Overall rates of dental pathology at Hacienda La Quebrada provide additional evidence of poor dietary regimens, living conditions, and health care, which appear to have characterized the general quality of life for some enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at the plantation. The rates of dental pathologies such as enamel hypoplasia, caries, abscesses, and premortem tooth loss were lower in the burial population relative to other skeletal indicators of stress. This could be reflective of underrepresentation of undisturbed dentition in the recovered sample. However, it is worthwhile noting that of the observable dentition in both individual burials and intact crania, most individuals presented multiple incidences of pathology associated with childhood development, adulthood nutrition, or both. Moreover, evidence of abscesses, tooth loss, and extreme wear as early as young adulthood

suggest that even if poor dental health was not widespread within the enslaved population, the individuals who did develop dental pathologies likely experienced severe cases.

General evidence of caries and tooth loss, often across multiple teeth, corroborates historical accounts citing the preponderance of sugary and high-carb foods in enslaved peoples' diets at Hacienda La Quebrada. One of the staple foods in the provisions from Buena Muerte administrators was *sango*, a sweet paste based in corn flour, sugar, and spices. Local histories from members of the descendant community in San Luis also cite that enslaved communities supplemented their provisions with crops such as *yuca* and *camote*, starchy tuberous roots that are both rich in carbohydrates.

Extreme tooth decay and premature tooth loss would have been a source of pain and discomfort for enslaved individuals, potentially even decreasing their ability to consume certain foods like meats and chewy fibers. The limited ability to masticate could result in a shift in diet to softer or liquid-based foods, such the beans (*frijoles*) provisioned by plantation overseers or soups created using available cooked meats and vegetables. These constraints could directly impact the capacity of affected individuals to attain the proper levels of nutrition, and especially protein, necessary to sustain the fitness and energy required of a lifestyle of regular physical labor.

These findings raise provocative questions about the strategies and motives behind the emergence of Afro-Peruvian culinary traditions in the region of San Luis. Many of the dishes that are typical of local Afro-Peruvian (*criollo*) cuisine are traced back to the history of slavery in the region, drawing on staples from such as beans, meat, *sango*, and sugar that were common in plantation provisions. For example, the local dish Tuca combines discarded pieces of meat and entrails with spices to create a thick, stew-like sauce, which is served with rice, beans, and yuca.

The use discarded pieces of meat, or *menudencias*, is also common in a variety of other *criollo* recipes, particularly stews and soups.

Local histories in San Luis often trace emergence of Afro-Peruvian cuisine to a combination of several factors, including local ecology, accessibility to market goods, the incorporation of indigenous and Spanish techniques, and influences from diverse African cultural traditions (Huapaya and Santa Cruz, personal communication). Underlying these practices was a dynamic interplay of necessity and ingenuity, as enslaved communities utilized the resources available to them to cultivate flavorful recipes that also fulfilled their basic dietary needs. Patterns of dental pathology amongst enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants adds another possible dimension to this notion of necessity. High rates of painful dental abscesses and tooth loss would likely make softer foods desirable amongst affected individuals, especially those whose conditions severely limited their capacity to chew solid foods. The blend of soups, stews, and meat- or bean- based sauces that are now the foundation of traditional *criollo* cuisine in San Luis accommodate such dietary needs. From this perspective, the development of these local traditions could offer a powerful example of the determination and creative power of enslaved peoples to confront the confinements of life in bondage by forging strategies that uplift the greatest number of members in their communities.

As discussed previously, the extensive commingling of skeletal remains in the burial area resulted in the fragmentation of many of the recovered crania and post-mortem loss of dentition in both intact and commingled cranial elements, which contributed to the limited size of the available sample for assessing dental pathologies. Moreover, dental pathologies such as caries only offer a preliminary perspective into the biological effects of foods commonly eaten, and alone cannot provide conclusive evidence of the foodways of enslaved peoples. However, future

isotopic analyses can provide more detailed insights into the diets of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada (see Chapter 8 Section 8.3.3.). Together with oral histories passed down by members of the local descendant community, these data can permit a closer investigation of how enslaved peoples worked beyond the allocated rations to develop their own foodways, and potentially illuminate differences in dietary practices across categories of age and skeletal sex.

6.5. Conclusion

Bioarchaeological and historical information from investigations at Hacienda La Quebrada begin to paint a picture of the social lives and embodied experiences of enslaved men and women during the late colonial period. Interdisciplinary evidence of nutritional inadequacy, exposure to infectious disease, and excessive physical exploitation and abuse indicate the generally poor conditions of living within conditions of captivity at the plantation. Combined with the existing stressors of colonial life, these conditions contributed to a “cycle of exertion, deprivation, increased susceptibility...and early adulthood death” (Blakey et al 2001:269) in the enslaved population.

An intersectional lens permits a more detailed perspective into these trends. While adult males presented higher overall patterns of work-related stress and accidental trauma, additional indicators of osteoarthritis in the upper neck and lower legs of adult women signal that enslaved women likely took on additional labor roles at the plantation. Historical records shed further light on this dynamic, detailing the diverse responsibilities of enslaved women in domestic work, maintaining households, and engaging in commerce beyond the plantation.

In recent decades, archaeological and historical research throughout the Atlantic World has brought to light the additional labor proportioned by enslaved women in plantation societies and their subjection to multiple layers of stigmatization and violence. As Black, female, and enslaved, “slave women alone experienced sexual exploitation, childbearing and motherhood, and the slaveholders’ sexism, each structuring her work and everyday existence” (Franklin 2001:113). At Hacienda La Quebrada, the human impacts of these dynamics are rendered visible in the bioarchaeological record, especially through evidence of higher mortality and infectious disease among women in their reproductive years.

While it is important to shed light on the intersecting layers of violence and oppression endured by enslaved persons, and of women in particular, it is equally critical to highlight how they worked beyond these imposed conditions to develop their own community identities intimate lives. The first-hand testimonies of enslaved men and women such as Cornelio Fonseca and Francisca Obiaga, mentioned previously in this chapter, provide a window into the ways that enslaved peoples fought to achieve and defend their own personal freedoms, as well as those of their friends and loved ones. Similarly, interdisciplinary evidence of the emergence of alternative medicinal practices and culinary traditions reveal everyday acts of negotiation and persistence, which ultimately became the foundations of Afro-Peruvian cultural identity for future generations. When addressing the life-histories of enslaved women in particular, such perspectives offer a means to contest stereotypes of passivity, by reasserting enslaved women as agents who actively and publicly worked towards the betterment of their communities.

Meanwhile, the number of subadults identified in the burial record, together with registries from the late 18th and early 19th centuries, trace the emergence of families amongst the enslaved community at Hacienda La Quebrada. Importantly, these records allow us to put names

to the enslaved men, women, and children who lived and died at the plantation, creating the opportunity to build a space for their visible representation as active participants in narratives of the past. “[P]roblematizing long-lasting historical narratives in which enslaved men, women, and children have been portrayed as nameless victims,” such records work to “emphasize the humanity of enslaved individuals and perpetuate their memory” for generations to come (Araujo 2021:53).

This dual narrative of the history of slavery at Hacienda La Quebrada—one which addresses the violence and exploitation endured by enslaved peoples, but also asserts their resilience, self-reliance, and power—is central to this investigation’s larger project of decolonizing African diaspora histories in Peru. It is also directly informed by the specific interests and modalities of memory among members of the local descendant community, for whom the legacy of slavery is simultaneously a source of collective trauma and shared cultural identity. This intersection between histories of enslavement and colonial violence, on the one hand, and present-day dynamics of identity construction and place-making on the other is essential to understanding larger theoretical, epistemological, and social implications of this project. These critical interconnections between history, memory, and contemporary communities will be the focus of the next and final chapter of this dissertation.

Chapter 7

Memory, Memorialization, and Place-Making: Commemorating Afro-Peruvian Pasts in San Luis de Cañete

“There is no place you or I can go, to think about or not think about, to summon the presences of, or recollect the absences of slaves; nothing that reminds us of the ones who made the journey and of those who did not make it. There is no suitable memorial or plaque or wreath or wall or park or skyscraper lobby. There’s no 300-foot tower. There’s no small bench by the road. There is not even a tree scored, an initial that I can visit or you can visit in Charleston or Savannah or New York or Providence, or better still, on the banks of the Mississippi. And because such a place doesn’t exist (that I know of), the book had to. But I didn’t know that before or while I wrote it. I can see now what I was doing on the last page. I was finishing the story, transfiguring and disseminating the haunting with which the book begins. Yes, I was doing that; but I was also doing something more. I think I was pleading for that wall or that bench or that tower or that tree when I wrote the final words.”

— **Toni Morrison, *Beloved* (1987)**

7.1. Introduction

The journeys of the enslaved men, women, and children who lived and perished in conditions of captivity at Hacienda La Quebrada were as diverse as the identities and experiences of the community they comprised. Some individual lifeways, like the diaspora itself, were marked by displacement and dispersal. Taken as captives from Africa or traded from markets across Spain’s American colonies, enslaved peoples were uprooted from their communities and carried vast distances away from their homes and loved ones. With uprooting, however, came rebuilding. Over time, enslaved men and women created their own home places (Battle-Baptiste 2011) within the plantation landscape, where they cultivated intimate relationships, friendships, and social communities. The Obiaga family, introduced in Chapter 6, are an example of the formation of families that gave life to new generations of African descendant communities at Hacienda La Quebrada. Too many of these lives were cut tragically short, with their journeys

ending just as they began: within conditions of captivity in the enclosures of the plantation landscape. Other journeys, however, saw young children grow to have families of their own, who in turn explored new futures within and beyond the realm of plantation slavery. These resilient communities would ultimately carry on the generations of African heritage that is celebrated in San Luis today.

As Toni Morrison and other writers, artists, and scholars across the Atlantic diaspora have asserted, the journeys of enslaved peoples did not end with emancipation, or even with their own mortality. Their contributions continue to live on through multi-generational processes of storytelling, cultural production, community-making, and political organizing (Lao-Montes 2007). Meanwhile, the discovery or threatened destruction of burial grounds in places like Hacienda La Quebrada has meant that the remains of some enslaved peoples have continued to live new afterlives in research programs centuries after being laid to rest.

This final chapter examines these continued journeys of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada. While the previous two chapters have centered on the lives and experiences of the enslaved community during the colonial past, this chapter shifts to consider how their histories and ancestral remains are being engaged with in the present. It centers specifically on new paths towards commemoration, exploring how various stakeholders in the descendant community are mobilizing research findings for new projects to recognize, memorialize, and give voice to human histories of enslavement.

To address these objectives, the chapter begins by reviewing some of the sociopolitical and ethical arguments surrounding the commemoration of histories of transatlantic slavery. Bringing together literature from cultural heritage studies, archaeology, and mortuary studies, it works to demonstrate the multiple ways that material spaces associated with enslavement

continue to bear importance through the present day. These arguments are fundamentally intertwined with broader discussions throughout this dissertation about the role of archaeology in contributing to broader struggles for recognition and place-making in African diaspora communities, especially in Peru. In many ways, then, this chapter presents the final realization of these sociopolitical goals, using as an example the particular case of San Luis.

The second part of this chapter then discusses how these various efforts to recognize, memorialize, and give voice to African diaspora histories in San Luis have come to fruition. It traces the multiple forms of community engagement that were incorporated into bioarchaeological and historical research at Hacienda La Quebrada, which ultimately provided insights into diverse stakeholders' aims and aspirations for multi-stage research at the former plantation site. This discussion necessarily confronts the complexity of working with diverse publics, including officials, organizations, descendant communities, and other heritage groups. Each of these groups is multi-scalar and internally diverse, and thus has multiple different relationships to the cemetery for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants and its history. Building on a larger discussion of community-based methodology presented in Chapter 4, this section describes how navigating these diverse perspectives ultimately shaped strategies for memorializing African diaspora histories in San Luis, as well as their influence on identifying the specific themes and narratives that are being centered in new heritage work.

Finally, the last section of this chapter presents the ongoing work to commemorate African diaspora histories and cultural heritage in San Luis, and examines the role of this project's interdisciplinary research at Hacienda La Quebrada in helping to contribute to these initiatives. These discussions ultimately aim to respond to the remaining research questions posed by this dissertation project: that is, what is the significance of histories of African

enslavement to descendant communities and other stakeholder groups today, and how can we (researchers and project stakeholders) work together to preserve and commemorate these histories? By addressing these questions, this chapter ultimately aims to demonstrate how community-engaged research as decolonizing praxis can work to build more inclusive narratives of Peruvian history that re-center the voices, experiences, and contributions of its African descended citizens, both in the past and in the present.

7.2. Reconciling with the Legacies of Transatlantic Slavery

7.2.1. Social Mobilization and Projects of Memorialization

In the wake of the violent killings that took the lives of Eric Garner, Michael Brown, Tamir Rice, Freddie Gray, Philando Castile, and more recently, George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and Rayshard Brooks, among countless others, activists and ordinary citizens have demanded a fundamental societal reckoning with anti-black racism and its many manifestations in nations across the globe. Rooted in a deeper history of exploitation, prejudice, and violence against peoples racialized as Black that traces back to the transatlantic slave trade, these events have shed critical light on how racism and constructed ideas of racialized difference often target the bodies of peoples of African descent, regardless of age, gender, or sexuality.

The amplifying wave of Black Lives Matter protests across former colonial societies in subsequent years has brought critical attention to the legacies of slavery and historical inequality and their ongoing implications in shaping the embodied experiences of African descendant communities through the present day. As part of these social movements, activists and scholars have reignited crucial debates about power, representation, and the narratives that societies tell themselves and future generations about their national pasts. How do we address the fact that

many of our democratic nations were built upon the forced physical labor of peoples of African descent? How are the voices, experiences, and contributions of these African descended peoples represented in official narratives of the past? How do we memorialize such pasts in a way that renders visible the horrors of slavery and other forms of racialized violence, while also celebrating histories of resilience, resistance, and community-building? These questions suggest the need for a critical reckoning within both public heritage work and institutions of historical knowledge production, including the field of archaeology.

Many of these discussions have centered around museums and memorials addressing the history of transatlantic slavery and its legacies. In her recent book *Slavery in the Age of Public Memory: Engaging the Past*, Ana Lucia Araujo (2021) tackles these issues, exploring how social activism in Black communities has generated transformations in the representation of histories of enslavement in museums, memorials, and heritage sites across Europe and the Americas. Initiatives such as the #sayhername movement on social media have inspired exhibitions listing the names of individuals compelled to live in conditions of captivity, helping to re-humanize historical accounts by giving identities to peoples who faced the dehumanizing system of labor markets that ascribed value to individuals based on physical traits rather than embracing them as people with their own identities, social lives, and worldviews. Meanwhile, revisions to tours at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello estate and to plaques on statues of colonial merchants across Europe have striven to elucidate the imbrication of oft-celebrated national figures in the purchase and exploitation of enslaved peoples (Araujo 2021).

Critical reflections about the study and representation of histories of transatlantic slavery have also generated important debates in the field of archaeology. As addressed in Chapter 2, many of these ethical and sociopolitical debates have been at the core of the discipline since the

post-processual turn, famously coming to a head at the cemetery for Africans and African Americans in New York City (La Roche and Blakey 1997; Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001; Mack and Blakey 2004). Intervening in the destruction of sacred burial grounds from New York to Rio de Janeiro (Pereira 2007), African American archaeologists and communities have “pa[id] homage to their ancestors in a process that brings to light the subterranean tentacles of white supremacy as a system that dehumanized enslaved individuals,” which ultimately “prevent[ed] them from having a marked burial ground and condemning them to oblivion” (Araujo 2021:183). The production of memorials and museums at these burial grounds have served to re-humanize and honor enslaved ancestors. They also create visible spaces where contemporary communities can gather to remember, mourn, heal, and educate one another, ensuring that the lives and voices of enslaved peoples are never again condemned to invisibility.

As these studies demonstrate, histories of transatlantic slavery and early African American life cannot be separated from their lasting impacts through the present day. Bridging the historical past and the lived present are processes of memory, which are dynamic, subjective, and fundamentally intertwined in relations of power. Processes of cultural and collective memory can be essential to individual projects of identity formation and political projects of place-making (Araujo 2021; see also Cubitt 2007; Erll 2011). For African descended communities who have suffered from captivity, displacement, inequality, and other forms of historical violence, intergenerational memories can become a primary vessel for preserving community knowledge in the face of colonialist projects that effectively worked to stifle or strip them of their worldviews. At the same time, exclusion from hegemonic narratives of national history can directly harm the community well-being of traditionally marginalized communities,

and especially children, who find themselves excluded from normative narratives of identity (Schaepe et al 2017).

7.2.2. African Descendant Communities and the Fight for Recognition in Peru

As discussed in greater depth in Chapters 1 and 2, these concerns are particularly salient in Peru. On the one hand, a failure to systematically grapple with the history of transatlantic slavery and colonial ideologies of race have contributed to continued marginalization and discrimination among African descendant populations through the present day (Gates 2011; Golash-Boza 2011; Greene 2012). Afro-Peruvian scholars, activists, and educators are ceaselessly working to tackle these issues in both their own communities and on the national stage. Sustained advocacy work by the Offices of Afro-Peruvian Affairs have led to the recognition of communities with rich African diaspora histories and traditions, such as Zaña in the north coast of Peru, as national sites of memory. Working in parallel with other national organizations such as the *Centro de Desarrollo Étnico* (CEDET), it has also compiled extensive documentation about issues of importance to African descended communities, such as racism, public health, youth development and education, and population demographics.¹ However, sustained interventions across public institutions and discourse are necessary in order to produce meaningful change at a societal level. Part of this work requires addressing the history of transatlantic slavery and its legacies through public dialogue and education at all levels of Peruvian society.

¹ To view the collections of reports and studies compiled by the Offices of Afro-Peruvian Affairs and CEDET, visit their websites:

Offices of Afro-Peruvian Affairs: <https://poblacionafroperuana.cultura.pe/direccion-de-politicas-para-poblacion-afroperuana>

CEDET: <http://cedetperu.org>

On the other hand, the underrepresentation of African diaspora histories in public and academic discourse further perpetuates dynamics of silencing (Trouillot 1995) in which the contributions of African descended peoples to national culture and society are not fully recognized. A growing body of scholarship in Afro-Peruvian studies (e.g., Bowser 1974; Blanchard 1992; Hünefeldt 1994; Arrelucea 2004, 2009; Aguirre 2005; Premo 2005; O'Toole 2012; Arrelucea and Cosmalón 2015; McKinley 2016) and efforts by social organizations at both the local and national level have led the important work of illuminating the contributions of African descended peoples to Peruvian history.



Figure 7.1: Advertisement for the third annual interdisciplinary conference in Afro-Peruvian studies.
Image: Ministry of Culture of Peru

For example, interdisciplinary conferences in celebration of *Mes de la cultura afroperuana* (Afro-Peruvian Culture Month) each June demonstrate the important roles that African descended communities have played in national history (Fig. 7.1). As companions of the first Spanish *conquistadores*, laborers in the colonial economy, freedom fighters in struggle for independence, and enterprisers in the new Republic, peoples of African descent have been integral to the project nation-building. Meanwhile, year-round activities in local communities

foreground the multiple contributions of African descended peoples to contemporary Peruvian culture. Many of these celebrations commemorate spiritual and cultural traditions that were carried by enslaved African ancestors to Peru generations ago, and which continue to be at the heart of Afro-Peruvian culture and identity across the country today (Fig. 7.2, 7.3, 7.4).

In spite of these important advances, there is still much more work to do in order to systematically incorporate the voices and contributions of African descendant peoples into hegemonic narratives of Peruvian history. Cultural heritage offers a powerful space for pursuing this project of visibility and inclusivity. Situated at the intersection of knowledge production, identity construction, public education, and political recognition, heritage work provides a critical space for re-shaping perceptions towards African descended peoples both in the past and present (Franklin 2001). Importantly, by empowering descendant communities and scholars to directly define these narratives, it becomes possible to confront the legacies of oppression and exclusion, while also permitting important work of healing, community-building, and affirmation (Franklin 1997, 2001; Balanzátegui 2018; Atalay 2019; Blakey 2020).



*Figure 7.2: Annual 'Festival Negro' in San Luis.
Photo: Municipality of San Luis*



*Figure 7.3: 'Festival Negro' celebrations in San Luis, 2019.
Photo: Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana*



*Figure 7.4: 'Festival Negro' celebrations in San Luis, 2019.
Photo: Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana*

7.2.3. Commemorating African Diaspora Pasts at Hacienda La Quebrada

Building on the critical interventions of African diaspora archaeologists and heritage scholars, this project argues that archaeological studies of transatlantic slavery—and of the ancestral remains of African descended populations in particular—must necessarily attend to issues of how this history is represented and commemorated in the present. This assertion stems from, on the one hand, the sociopolitical interventions of scholars in African diaspora bioarchaeology. As foundational studies at the New York African Burial Ground (Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001), Pretos Novos cemetery in Brazil (Pereira 2007), and the Garden of Memory Project in Ecuador (Balanzátegui 2018) have emphasized, projects engaging with the spiritually sacred and culturally significant ancestral remains of enslaved ancestors often have an even greater obligation than non-osteological studies to honor the lives of enslaved peoples whose final resting places have been irreversibly disturbed.

This assertion is largely framed in response to the dark history of exploitation, experimentation, and other forms of violence against the burial remains of African and African descended peoples in archaeology over the past century (Blakey 2020; refer back to Chapter 2). At the same time, however, it is also based in the recognition that burial grounds and their associated remains continue to have profound significance to communities of African descent today. As scholars at both the New York African Burial Ground and Garden of Memory Project have argued, the burial remains and spaces of African descended peoples can hold multiple forms meaning to Black communities, including spiritually, emotionally, symbolically, or historically (Balanzátegui 2018:50). Importantly, the communities of scholars and citizens who may feel historically and emotionally connected to burial remains are not limited to local

descendant groups. As Maria Franklin stresses, “historical and archaeological research affects *all* black Americans” (Franklin 1997:40, original emphasis).

On the other hand, this project’s dual focus on archaeology and contemporary heritage work also responds to the specific interests and objectives of its local stakeholders, both within and beyond the self-identified descendant community. Since the very first community consultations in 2016, local residents, officials, and members of the descendant community have expressed their hopes that archaeological interventions would result in the creation some kind of museum or memorial space. For some, these interests were driven by interests in expanding local tourism; as mentioned at the beginning of this dissertation, archaeological sites and associated museums play a critical role in the national tourist economy, and thus are popularly viewed as opportunities for elevating the visibility of a locality on the national stage (and with it, access to investment of funding and resources). However, for other social organizers, scholars, elders in the descendant community, these commemorative efforts will help to give visibility to the lives and contributions of African descended peoples, both within San Luis and in Peruvian history more broadly.

7.3. Representing Histories of African Enslavement and Diaspora in San Luis

7.3.1. Research Objectives

This chapter responds to epistemological and sociopolitical concerns by examining some of the strategies that are currently being developed both to represent histories of African enslavement in San Luis, and to memorialize their associated material spaces through public heritage initiatives. In doing so, it ultimately aims to address the final two principal research questions established at the onset of this dissertation: That is, how do present-day descendants

and other heritage communities remember and relate to histories of African enslavement? How can this project's research findings contribute to these understandings of Afro-descendant histories and cultural heritage, and what strategies can be used to commemorate and share these narratives?

The intergenerational memories and local histories contributed by the project's interlocutors in San Luis have been woven throughout this dissertation; indeed, this knowledge played an important role in interpreting the archaeological and bioarchaeological research presented in the previous two chapters. However, this chapter engages these local memories and knowledge as subjects of study in their own right. Building on Araujo's (2021) notion of cultural and collective memory as a mutually constituting dynamic between the historical past and its representation in the present, this discussion aims to elucidate how research findings are now re-shaping ideas of community identity in the present. Understanding how new archaeological, bioarchaeological, and historical information about African enslavement at Hacienda La Quebrada is being incorporated into local forms of identity construction provides a useful strategy for framing the importance of research findings to contemporary stakeholders today (Research Question 2).

The final part of this chapter expands on this intervention by examining how research findings are being memorialized in San Luis (Research Question 3). As a community-engaged project, La Quebrada Archaeology Project has prioritized the objectives of members of the local descendant community and other heritage groups for the long-term conservation and commemoration of their cultural patrimony. At the same time, sustained public outreach efforts such as public town hall meetings, activities at local schools, and presentations by members of the research team have striven to maintain complete transparency throughout the research

process, while also ensuring that the knowledge produced by interdisciplinary interventions directly go back to the local community. These initiatives have expanded into a new project to commemorate African diaspora history and cultural heritage in San Luis, including the archaeological remains from Hacienda La Quebrada. This chapter presents efforts that are currently being developed to address this objective, including advocacy work and a new museum project.

7.3.2. Research Methods: Ethnographic Work and Community Engagement

To understand diverse stakeholders' perspectives towards histories of enslavement and ideas for how they should be commemorated, I have conducted four years of ethnographic and community work in La Quebrada and the broader district of San Luis. As described in Chapter 4, this project has developed multiple strategies for incorporating the concerns, ideas, and interests of local and descendant stakeholders into the overall research program. The discussion presented in this chapter draws on several of these strategies, including semi-structured interviews, oral histories, and participant observation at various group gatherings and meetings.

Participant observation and the collection of oral histories began during the first stages of community consultations and site surveys in 2016 and 2017. Many of these early months of developing the research project consisted of group listening sessions or personal conversations with various residents in La Quebrada and members of the descendant community across San Luis. This was an intentional and important step for allowing various people to become acquainted with me; while many residents and organizers already knew Luis Santa Cruz and other local leaders involved in the project, I was new and unfamiliar face. Spending time in La Quebrada and San Luis during religious events, social gatherings, and weekend visits allowed for

a process of familiarization and shared learning, which gradually grew into relationships of mutual trust.

Pedestrian surveys and mapping of the remains of the former plantation provided an additional opportunity to meet local residents in La Quebrada, especially elderly residents who less frequently attended public events or the town hall meetings regularly organized by the research project. As members of the research team and I walked through the streets of the town, several residents welcomed us into their homes to share stories about La Quebrada and its history. Many showed us material vestiges of the former plantation, including photos, family records, or even original colonial structures that had been incorporated into their current homes. Some workers in the community even joined us in our field surveys, guiding us through neighborhoods and fields while explaining how they had been used through past generations.

As the project's network of community stakeholders continued to expand after the first phase of archaeological research in 2017, I broadened my research strategies to perform semi-structured interviews with self-identified Afro-descendants in the San Luis district more broadly, as well as other Afro-descendant scholars and organizers who were involved in the project. Many of these informants were members of the *Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana* or from the Offices of Afro-Peruvian Affairs at the Ministry of Culture. These dialogues centered around four primary goals: 1) Establishing relationships of mutual collaboration and trust, which was critical to ensuring the ethical development of the research program as well as its success in addressing descendant community interests; 2) Listening and learning about the questions that descendant community members were most interested in addressing through archaeological research at the cemetery site; 3) Creating a space for community members to bring their own assets and knowledge into the research program; and 4) Bringing together these different ideas

and capacities in order to design the project, including long-term strategies for dissemination and commemoration.

In total, I conducted interviews or held directed discussions with thirteen local residents and self-identified descendants in San Luis. However, I was also able to gain the perspectives of many more individuals through public town hall meetings in La Quebrada and private meetings with the project's stakeholders (e.g., *Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana*; *Culto de Santa Efigenia*; the Offices of Afroperuvian Affairs; CEDET). Additionally, Luis Santa Cruz and one of our local collaborators videotaped interviews with five members of *La Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana*, which are part of a documentary that La Quebrada Project has created about Afro-descendant history, heritage, and archaeology in San Luis (Santa Cruz and Lancho 2019).

Through these various conversations and interactions, I was able to cultivate a closer awareness of diverse peoples' own understandings of the history of Hacienda La Quebrada and the broader legacies of African diaspora cultural heritage in San Luis, as well as their own personal ideas, emotions, or relationships with respect to these pasts today (Research Question 2). Additionally, similar to previous community-engaged research projects in African diaspora cemetery sites (La Roche and Blakey 1997; Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001; Mack and Blakey 2004; Balanzátegui 2018), they also revealed different stakeholders' strategies and objectives for the preservation of their cultural heritage (Research Question 3).

7.3.3. A Note on Navigating Differences and Seeking Consensus

Importantly, these engagements also elucidated the diversity of identities and interests across different project stakeholders. In La Quebrada and the broader district of San Luis, there is a notable division of political and economic power between indigenous and African

descendant communities. While the Afro-descendant community does not represent majority of the population, it is more prominent in local and regional politics. Organizations such as the *Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana* and *Culto de Santa Efigenia* work closely with the local government and heritage officials to organize important social events throughout the year. They therefore hold special social and political capital in the community. Even though the local government and businesses are largely run residents who may not identify as Afro-descendant, the importance of Afro-descendant social organizations in drawing national political recognition, tourism, and nongovernmental funding has tended to lead to the privileging of descendant stakeholder interests.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the majority stakeholder community in this research project consisted of local government and heritage officials; Afro-descendant social, religious, and political organizations; and the larger Afro-descendant community (see Table 4.2.). However, it is important to recognize that these various groups may have different specific interests in the research project and are themselves internally diverse. There also exists a less publicly active indigenous residential community in La Quebrada and San Luis, who may have their own interests and perspectives towards the project. While centering the descendant communities who claim a historical, heritage, or ancestral relationship to the burial ground was a key priority of this research project, I also valued the importance of meaningfully engaging other groups who are interested in this work.

For this project, I developed additional strategies for navigating differences and changes in opinions towards the research program. First, recognizing the differences in social and political power between African and indigenous descendant communities, project researchers and I expanded our outreach program to include more public meetings that directly target non-

descendant residents and groups. One strategy that we used to try to create more opportunities for the residents in the local community to become involved in the research project was to move our town hall meetings to the evening, at a time when more people are home from work and typically socializing in the central plaza. In particular, we found that holding our meetings directly after evening mass led to larger attendance, especially by agricultural workers, families with children, and leaders in the church community.

From a methodological standpoint, there were also other research practices that proved useful for empowering diverse peoples to become involved in the project and then to engage across their differences to build a productive dialogue. One particularly effective lens through which to think about this was through the concept of building consensus (Chataway 1997). According to Cynthia Chataway, “the principle of consensus” means “that agreement between [the project researchers] and at least one person” in each group is “a prerequisite for engaging in the research at all, and for moving from one stage of research to another” (Chataway 1997:752). In this particular context, building consensus meant determining whether individuals or groups would like to participate in the project, defining how they would like to contribute, and identifying their concerns and suggestions for moving forward.

In order to create a safe space for different community stakeholders to express their perspectives and to determine the degree to which they would like to be involved, it was important to ensure my and other project members’ neutrality with respect to different interested parties (Chataway 1997). Once again, attending diverse activities and spending extended time in San Luis and La Quebrada was an important step for allowing communities to build trust in project researchers. Throughout the investigation, I attended masses and social events, ate at a vast array of local restaurants, celebrated multiple local and national holidays, and generally

spent as much of my free time as possible getting to know residents in San Luis. I was intentional about engaging in diverse activities: just as I attended the annual festivities for the African saint *Santa Efigenia*, I also celebrated the holiday of the local patron saint *La Virgen del Transito*. Meanwhile, being attentive to the politics of power in Peru, initial consultation meetings engaged multiple religious, political, and social groups. This included officials from the local, district, and regional governments; leaders from the local chapel in La Quebrada, priests from the regional parish in the city of Imperial, priests at the Convent of the Buena Muerte in Lima, and the president of the *Culto de Santa Efigenia*; different branches of the local and regional police; as well as representatives from the *Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana* in San Luis and the Ministry of Culture in Lima. By being transparent and deliberate in communicating the project's interest in being inclusive of diverse perspectives, it was possible to build the trust and confidence of multiple stakeholder groups.

After building these crucial bonds, a second important step was to begin to discuss the specifics about whether, how, and to what degree each person or group would like to be involved in the project, as well as their particular interests in its outcome. Public town hall meetings and small group meetings with the various organizations presented above made it possible to listen to the visions that various stakeholders held for the research project, as well as to learn about the assets and knowledge that they could bring to it. Sustained communication, even during the off season of archaeological fieldwork, was essential for to empowering communities to feel that their unique perspectives were always being heard, while also allowing the project to gradually identify common themes that could be used to address the greatest number of interests.

This broader strategy of identifying shared interests while also recognizing the diversity within the overall group ultimately made it possible to identify specific objectives and ideas for

commemorating local histories at Hacienda La Quebrada. While personal conflicts or crossed wires occasionally arose, constant communication and multi-faceted efforts of public engagement allowed these concerns to be quickly addressed. The fact that the majority of these issues were relatively minor (e.g., political candidates asking for equal roles in public events, administrative snafus in the donation of museum land, clarifications about legal processes for custody and repatriation of archaeological materials) seems to be a testament to the effectiveness of prioritizing consistent communication, transparency, and willingness to listen and adapt throughout all stages of research.

7.4. Discussion

7.4.1. The Legacies of the African Diaspora in San Luis

Afro-Peruvian studies scholars (Golash-Boza 2011; Greene 2012) have demonstrated the complex relationship between histories of the African diaspora and contemporary ideas of Afro-Peruvian identity. In the particular context of San Luis, ideas of what it means to be African descendant today vary. For some residents, identity is more closely tied to ideas of blackness, with historical connections to Africa and the diaspora holding little significance. Others pose African heritage—conceived as either cultural ties or ancestral relations—as central to understanding what it means to be Afro-descendant. However, many find themselves somewhere in between these two views, blending notions of racial identity and ancestral heritage to more closely mirror their own lived realities and worldviews. As one member of *La Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana* explained, her identity as *afroperuana* (Afro-Peruvian) came from her family heritage as descendants of Africans. This family heritage was fundamentally intertwined with her

own perception of her racialized identity—that she is also *afroperuana* “because my grandparents, my father, my mother, have all been Black.”

Beneath the diversity of individual understandings of what it means to be Afro-descendant in San Luis, a common underlying thread is a sense of deep cultural affiliation with the historic diaspora. Many of the dances, culinary practices, and syncretic spiritual traditions generated by African descendant communities in the 18th and 19th centuries continue to be the core of Afro-Peruvian culture in the region today (Fig. 7.5). Meanwhile, local music, storytelling, and other forms of oral expression such as *décimas*² continue to memorialize the lives of enslaved peoples, who themselves built a rich culture of oral expression during their long days toiling in the fields of rural plantations. In his acclaimed *décima* “Black Rhythms of Peru,” the singer and songwriter Nicomedes Santa Cruz (1925-1992) encapsulates the deeply intertwined and often conflicting emotions that fuel the passion of Afro-Peruvian artistic expression—including pain, suffering, and violence, but also perseverance, pride, and celebration of transnational African identity and culture:

“The old Blacks died
But amidst the dry sugarcane
Their *zamacueca*³ is heard
And their *panalivio*⁴ from afar
And one can hear the *festejo*⁵
That they sung in their youth
From *Cañete* to Timbuktuu
From *Chancay* to Mozambique
Carrying within their vibrant sounds
Black Rhythms of Peru.”

² A ten-line stanza of poetry that is often given in song form.

³ A Peruvian dance blending Spanish and Andean rhythms that traces back to the colonial period.

⁴ A lament genre of Afro-Peruvian music, which often addresses themes related to slavery and oppression.

⁵ A traditional form of Afro-Peruvian dance that is most commonly celebrated in African descendant communities along Peru’s coast.



Figure 7.5: Commemoration ceremony held in La Quebrada prior to first season of excavations at the cemetery site in 2017. The ceremony exemplified the blend of African traditions in contemporary religious practices, including the dedication to the African saint Efigenia (featured left) and hymns using Afro-Peruvian instruments such as the cajón (center).

Photo: Claire Maass

In interviews with local artists, musicians, and cooks specializing in Afro-Peruvian cuisine, nearly every interlocutor similarly traced their art forms back to the traditions of the historic diaspora. Pride in being *afrodescendiente*, *afroperuana*, or *afroperuano*, as well as in being from San Luis, derives in notable part from being able to link current cultural practices back to the ancestors who first came from Africa in conditions of captivity. As one musician reflected, “being *afroperuano* is something that is very alive within me. It is an identification that I have...with the African culture, which is my lineage, practically.” When looking back on his extensive career as a singer and percussionist, one of his greatest sources of pride was being able to carry on the musical traditions passed down by influential Afro-Peruvian artists in his own

childhood, and to see how they have been embraced at his performances in Peru as well as abroad.

The legacies of the African diaspora have also left a material record in San Luis through the presence of tangible cultural heritage. The landscape of San Luis itself is lined by colonial plantation sites, which residents continue to engage with in everyday life (Fig. 7.6, 7.7). In the town of La Quebrada, for example, the multi-generational occupation of the former plantation has left many residents with a deep historical understanding of its past. In many of my interviews and informal conversations throughout this project, residents welcomed me into their homes to show me remains of the old hacienda, which they described in association with specific facets of its original functions—including everything from an infirmary and holding cells for enslaved workers, to the “Big House” and private gardens of the plantation overseers. They also guided me beyond urban center to show how current agricultural fields have been divided along the same plots that had once been used for grazing livestock, corralling horses, and cultivating sugarcane.

*Figure 7.6: Residents say that this home in La Quebrada is situated in what was originally the holding cell for enslaved workers at the former plantation.
Photo: Claire Maass*





Figure 7.7: The inside walls of one resident's home reveals how generations of residents in La Quebrada have continually rebuilt upon the original plantation structures.

Photo: Claire Maass

These interactions were critical because they emphasized the vast expanse of local knowledge about African diaspora histories in San Luis. Revalorizing traditional knowledge and storytelling as valid sources of information is vital not only to the larger project of decolonizing archaeological scholarship, but also to pursue a more robust form of research inquiry that is inclusive of the communities who have in-depth understanding of the places and pasts that archaeologists are studying. At the same time, they also elucidate how past and present become melded in the contemporary landscape, as residents continue to build their lives in the very same spaces where their own ancestors may have lived, worked, and built their own communities. Physical interaction with these spaces in everyday life and the memories that they produce are central to present-day politics of identity construction—far from being some abstract, distant

past, the social history of Hacienda La Quebrada is very much relevant to personal and community experience through the present day.

It is because of this continued engagement with the remains of Hacienda La Quebrada that many local stakeholders feel a sense of connection to, and personally identify with, its history. For residents of African descent, this connection is deepened by claims of ancestral or heritage ties to the enslaved Africans and African descendants who labored at the plantation. Cultivating a closer historical understanding of the history of African diaspora pasts, including the legacies of colonial-period slavery, is thus central to multiple projects informing identity and cultural heritage in San Luis.

Establishing this connection between the historical narratives and contemporary identity politics is important for contextualizing the significance of interdisciplinary research at Hacienda La Quebrada. As discussed earlier this chapter, the production of individual, cultural, or collective identities is a continuous process that is often rooted in the narratives that people tell themselves about their relationship to a certain past—whether it be in relationship to a certain space, culture, community (imagined or not), or series of shared experiences that have been woven together through generations. These processes are especially vital to ideas of the African diaspora and diasporic identity. As Tiffany Ruby Patterson and Robin Kelley (2000) argue, the African diaspora is not only a global historical field, but also a process and condition that is constantly being made and remade through the everyday practices of African diaspora peoples—practices that include cultural, historical, and intellectual production. Decolonizing scholars have added to this definition the concept of diaspora as a project of affinity, community-building, and identification (Lao-Montes 2007). Understanding how new information about past African descendant ancestors can shape (or reshape) contemporary communities' perceptions of their

own identities and projects of place-making is therefore an essential step in considering the broader social impacts of research at Hacienda La Quebrada (Research Question 2).

7.4.2. Archaeology and the Struggle for Recognition

As the first bioarchaeological study of an African diaspora population in Peru, collaborative research at Hacienda La Quebrada has provided new material evidence that both reaffirms and expands upon local knowledge about enslaved African and African descendant ancestors. Archaeological excavations at the cemetery site resulted in the recovery of an estimated minimum of approximately 245 men, women, and children of diverse ages. Through the analysis of their burial remains and associated historical data, it has been possible to uncover details about the more intimate histories of enslaved peoples at the plantation—what they ate, where they came from, the types of labor they performed, how old they were when they perished, and the spiritual traditions that accompanied their burial remains (Maass 2021a,b, in review; Proyecto de Investigación Arqueológica La Quebrada 2018, 2019). These findings have humanized the history of captivity at the estate, and in doing so, helped to facilitate efforts by local descendants to cultivate a closer understanding of and relationship to these pasts.

Interdisciplinary and collaborative research at Hacienda La Quebrada has also provided new information about African diaspora pasts in the region of San Luis, which can contribute to broader scholarly efforts to produce knowledge about this understudied aspect of Peru's history. However, while re-centering the lives and experiences of African descendant peoples is critical to pursuing greater inclusivity in Peruvian historical discourse, it is just the first step. As decolonizing (Gnecco 1999; Mignolo 2003, 2007; Quijano 2000; Escobar 2007; Walsh 2007; Haber 2016) and African diaspora (La Roche and Blakey 1997; Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001;

Lao-Montes 2007; Balanzátegui 2018) scholarship has effectively demonstrated, the struggle for recognition must move beyond addressing issues of representation in narratives of the past to also attend to how they are operationalized in the present. This entails critically reflecting on whose pasts are treated as valid subjects of research, and then commemorated and shared with the broader public.

The collaborative research program at Hacienda La Quebrada has taken a multi-faceted approach towards addressing these concerns. As mentioned previously, the first essential step has been to use the data from archaeological, bioarchaeological, and historical research to compile a report so that the cemetery site could be registered by the Peruvian Ministry of Culture (Proyecto de Investigación Arqueológica La Quebrada 2018). This process has had important implications for the preservation of cemetery space. Once officially listed in the national records, the site became subject to heritage legislation that works to prevent the destruction of national cultural patrimony. While responsibility for enforcing these regulations in everyday practice is largely in the hands of local officials, this designation puts in place an essential legal framework for preventing further disturbances to the ancestral remains.

Official recognition by the Ministry of Culture—and by association, the national government—has also had symbolic value to communities in San Luis. To many of the members of the local descendant community that I spoke with, having their cultural spaces recognized by state actors contributes to a sense of validation and pride. It also helps to address concerns amongst some elders in the African descendant community that the failure to systematically recognize, maintain, and share information about Afro-Peruvian culture and history could lead to further marginalization in national discourse. As one woman emphasized, “it is important to revalorize [Afro-Peruvian culture] because it is already practically disappearing.” It is

disappearing, she added, “because people do not have understanding, they do not have a way to identify themselves.” From this perspective, Afro-Peruvian culture, historical knowledge, and identity are fundamentally intertwined: ensuring and empowering the preservation of one directly shapes the fate of the others. While they are sustained and celebrated in San Luis, visibility at the national level is critical to the larger, longer-term project of attaining representation in Peruvian society and identity discourse.

For organizers in the *La Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana*, this national attention has also opened opportunities to push for further recognition of Afro-Peruvian culture in San Luis. In addition to having their cultural sites protected under national heritage legislation, organizers also strive to achieve recognition of intangible Afro-Peruvian heritage and its contributions to Peruvian cultural traditions today. It was to this end that in 2018, project researchers and collaborators worked to compile a report for the Ministry of Culture documenting the rich history and heritage of African descendant communities in San Luis. While based largely on the findings of archaeological and historical research, including at Hacienda La Quebrada, the report also integrated local histories and information compiled from specialists in diverse local Afro-Peruvian cultural traditions. These efforts ultimately resulted in the designation of San Luis as a national “*Repositorio vivo de la memoria colectiva de la población afroperuana*” (Site of Collective Memory of the Afro-Peruvian Population) by the Peruvian Ministry of Culture in 2019, making San Luis the second region to be officially recognized as a center of African diaspora history and heritage in Peru (Fig. 7.8).



Figure 7.8: Ceremony for the recognition of San Luis as a Repositorio vivo de la memoria colectiva de la población afroperuana in January, 2019.
Photo: Andina

7.4.3. Commemorating Afro-Peruvian Stories through Public Heritage Work

This designation has spurred new advocacy efforts by local and national descendant community stakeholders working in San Luis. Moving beyond the project for recognition, many members of the interdisciplinary research team, *La Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana*, and the Offices of Afro-Peruvian Affairs have seized this visibility to fight for resources and reforms that can contribute to more sustainable projects to visibilize Afro-descendant peoples in public discourse. Many of these efforts have centered around new public heritage efforts for the long-term commemoration of African diaspora cultural heritage in San Luis.

Sustained dialogues between local residents, descendant communities, social organizations, national agencies, and various researchers have created new opportunities for long-term heritage initiatives that were not imaginable at the beginning of La Quebrada Archaeology Project. When the project first began in 2016, one of the most frequent comments in public town halls and stakeholder meetings was the hope that archaeological research would bring more tourism to the region. Residents and officials saw the attention that other archaeological sites in the region brought to local towns—especially those associated with the Ministry of Culture’s Qhapaq Ñan, or Inca road, project. They believed that archaeological research was not only a way to demonstrate the rich cultural history of San Luis, but also a possibility establishing their own place in Peru’s lucrative tourism industry.

After nearly five years of work at the site, this goal is finally within reach. In partnership with cultural heritage specialists, communication and community relations consultants, educators, and web designers, La Quebrada Archaeology Project has recently begun a parallel public heritage program in San Luis. This project extends previous interdisciplinary research by working to create a museum at the archaeological site of Hacienda La Quebrada. While the museum space will be located at former plantation site, it will not be strictly a site museum. Instead, building on the interests voiced by diverse descendant community stakeholders, it will celebrate Afro-Peruvian history and culture throughout the broader region of San Luis.

The museum project began in earnest in 2018, when leaders from the local agricultural union expressed interest in donating a plot of land adjacent to the cemetery site for the construction of exhibition spaces. After extended discussions between local officials, the Ministry of Culture, and residents in the town of La Quebrada, the transfer of the deed to the land was ultimately completed in 2021. The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic has unfortunately

delayed plans to initiate construction at the site; while the project has received partial funding from the Colombian national organization *La Fundación Activos Culturales Afro* (ACUA), the devastating impacts of the public health crisis in the region has limited the possibility for in-person work for the foreseeable future.

Recognizing the major historical, social, and cultural significance of 2021 as the Bicentenary of Peru's Independence, project collaborators have striven to continue to advance the project using alternative methods. With grants from the Peruvian Ministry of Culture and the United States Embassy in Peru, and in collaboration with the national organization CEDET, project collaborators have begun creating a virtual museum and associated website. The virtual museum, *Museo Virtual de la Cultura Afroperuana: San Luis De Cañete* (Virtual Museum of Afro-Peruvian Culture: San Luis de Cañete, or MUAFRO San Luis), carries the same exhibition spaces and community workshops that will one day be available in the physical museum into an online format. Importantly, the virtual site is designed to function on both desktops and mobile phones, with the intention of making it accessible to more diverse publics (Fig. 7.9).

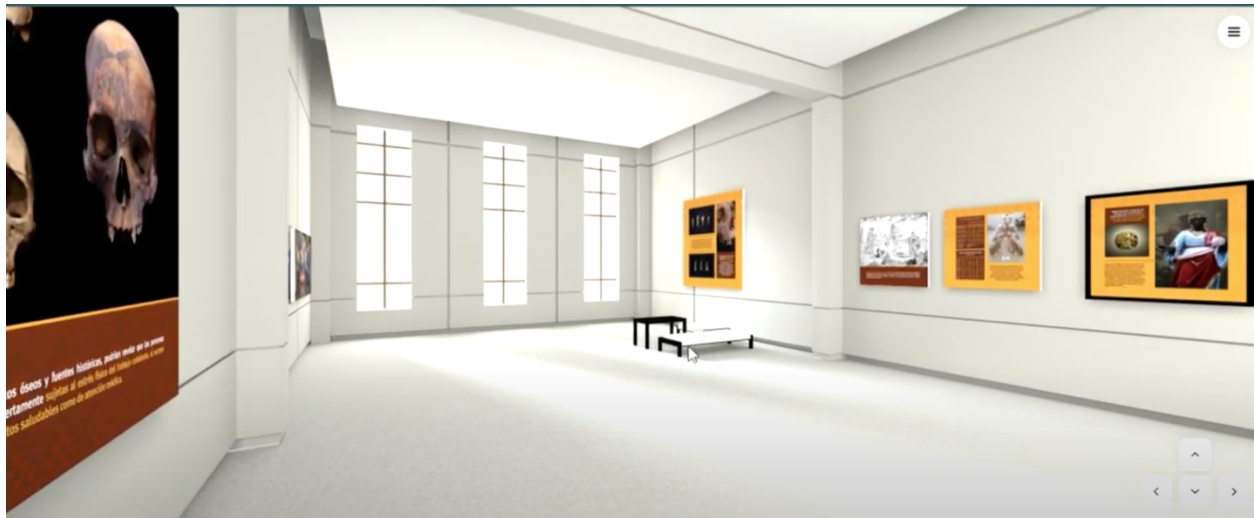


Figure 7.9: Model of a preliminary virtual museum room composed as an example for a project proposal in 2020. Model courtesy of Juan Luis Zegarra Queirolo

7.4.4. Exploring MUAFRO San Luis

Exhibition 1: “Learning the roots: History and Archaeology”

Within the virtual museum itself, there are three principal exhibitions that visitors can explore. Each room addresses a central component of Afro-Peruvian cultural heritage in San Luis. The first, “*Conociendo las raíces: Historia y arqueología*” (Learning the roots: History and Archaeology), traces the history of African descended communities in the region. In the first panel, visitors are greeted by a timeline of the history of San Luis, from indigenous origins in the pre-hispanic period, to the founding of Cañete by Spanish settlers in 1556, and on through the present day. This timeline serves as a guide for visitors as they navigate through the subsequent panels, allowing them to anchor each event or topic in the broader history of San Luis.

The following sets of panels each correspond to a specific moment in this timeline: that is, the colonial period, the Republican period, and the present day. Blending recorded interviews with scholars, infographic panels with texts and images from interdisciplinary research, and animated videos, these panels center on the specific histories of San Luis’ African descended communities. For visitors who may not be familiar with the underrepresented history of the African diaspora in Peru, introductory panels explain the history of the transatlantic slave trade in the Americas, and then traces the arrival of enslaved peoples to the diverse landholdings in colonial Cañete. Interdisciplinary research findings from Hacienda La Quebrada provide an example of everyday life in conditions of captivity. Aided by images, historical documents, and audio recordings from members of the archaeological team, visitors learn about the roles of enslaved peoples in the local colonial sugar economy and the impacts that these conditions had on their everyday lives (Fig. 7.10). Subsequent panels then follow the lives of African and Afro-descendant communities through the Republican period, including their roles in the war for

independence, the struggle for emancipation, and ultimately, in modern society through the 20th century.



Figure 7.10: Digital reconstruction of the cranium of the “Elegúa” for the virtual website. The biohistory of the Elegúa will be a primary case study for presenting archaeological evidence about life in conditions of captivity in the late colonial period. Digitalization: PAR Archaeology and Virtual Heritage

There is a vast and rich history of African diaspora communities in San Luis that is difficult to encompass in a single exhibition room. Certainly, we hope that as more opportunities arise to expand the scope of the virtual museum space, it will be possible to amplify the narratives presented in this first exhibition. As diverse forms of archaeological, bioarchaeological, historical, and anthropological work continue to unfold in San Luis, new information will also be interwoven into the existing panels, ideally transforming it into a dynamic space that is continuously adopting to new knowledge and understandings of the past. Nevertheless, these initial panels offer an important foundation for creating a visible space for commemorating the extensive social, cultural, economic, and political contributions of African descended peoples to San Luis over the past 300 years.

Exhibition 2: “A Single Sentiment: Religious Fervor”

The second two exhibitions build on this historical foundation to focus on two specific contributions of African descendant communities to contemporary Afro-Peruvian cultural traditions. “*Un solo sentimiento: Fervor religioso*” (A Single Sentiment: Religious Fervor) explores the influence of African and Afro-Peruvian spiritual traditions in San Luis. This exhibit centers primarily around the figure of Saint Efigenia (Fig. 7.11). According to historical and local accounts, Saint Efigenia was a Nubian princess born in Ethiopia, where she was converted to Christianity by St. Matthew the Apostle. As a symbol of an Afro-descendant woman who



*Figure 7.11: An 18th century painting depicting Saint Efigenia. This painting is currently in storage at the chapel of La Quebrada, awaiting conservation as part of the museum project.
Photo courtesy of Luis Santa Cruz*

converted to Christianity, she became a powerful figure in the conversion of enslaved peoples in Peru during the colonial period. Over time, her image was reappropriated by Afro-descendant communities, who imbued it with their own spiritual beliefs, cultural traditions, and worldviews, ultimately leading Santa Efigenia to become recognized as the patron saint of Afro-Peruvian folklore (Luna Obregón 2005).

Saint Efigenia continues to be a central figure in Afro-Peruvian spiritual tradition and culture in San Luis. Recognizing the central role that she plays in contemporary life and notions of identity, this exhibition joins a historical

exploration of her life with a reflection on her influence in the present day. Using interviews, videos, and records generated by local organizers in the present-day *Culto de Santa Efigenia* (Cult of Saint Efigenia) and other leaders in the Afro-descendant community, panels share with visitors the various ways that followers celebrate and worship Saint Efigenia. At the heart of this presentation is footage from the annual festival in her honor, which is among the largest celebrations in the district of San Luis (Fig. 7.12). The date and location of this festival is listed in the final panel along with other important religious holidays in the region, which permits interested visitors to one day attend these vibrant celebrations.



*Figure 7.12: Procession of the idol of Saint Efigenia through the town of La Quebrada during the 2016 celebrations of her patron saint day.
Photo: Claire Maass*

Exhibition 3: “Living Culture”

Finally, the third panel, “*Cultura Viva*” (Living Culture), expands this exploration into contemporary Afro-Peruvian culture in San Luis. Panels showcase the rich influence of African roots on traditions such as *criollo* cuisine, music and dance, and art. Importantly, all of these panels center the voices and work of members of the local descendant community. Through

videos of food preparation, musical and dance presentations, and art exhibitions, this room ultimately strives to create a space that not only celebrates the African descended communities who shaped local culture in the past, but also the people who continue to carry them on today. This recognition and commemoration of leaders in the local descendant community is cemented in the final panel, which lists the names of the various leaders who have been designated as *Personajes Meritorios de la cultura afroperuana* (Meritorious Persons of Afro-Peruvian Culture) by the Ministry of Culture for the extensive work that they have done to contribute to the valorization of Afro-Peruvian culture, politics, and society in the country.

Community-Led Workshops

After completing this exploration of the influence of Afro-Peruvian history, religion, and culture in San Luis from the past through the present day, visitors are invited to engage with these various traditions themselves. One of the central functions of the physical museum space will be as a community space for holding workshops hosted by local artists, chefs, musicians, or researchers, where people can gather to learn hands-on about some of these diverse cultural traditions (Fig. 7.13, Fig. 7.14). In the virtual museum format, these in-person learning activities are replaced by a webpage containing recorded videos prepared by local artists. For cooking lessons, instructional videos are paired with a list of ingredients and cooking ware needed for preparing a specific recipe; meanwhile, musicians suggest inventive ways to create similar sounds for viewers who may not own musical instruments. Importantly, all of the groups who volunteer to share videos are given the opportunity to receive some compensation for their

efforts — this helps to ensure that all of the benefits of these activities directly benefit the local community itself.



Figure 7.13: Local artist Jaime Rojas providing a drawing demonstration during a project outreach event in 2018. Jaime's art workshops will be among those featured at MUAFRO San Luis.

Photo: Claire Maass



Figure 7.14: Sonia Aguilar preparing cajones in an artistic workshop for MUAFRO San Luis.

Photo courtesy of Luis Santa Cruz and Samuel Lancho

Centering Local Voices

The development of a community museum commemorating Afro-Peruvian history and culture in San Luis has only been made possible because of the collaborative work performed by diverse actors. Archaeological interventions at Hacienda La Quebrada spurred historical research, the collection of oral histories, and conversations with community stakeholders that revealed the expansive influence of Afro-Peruvian communities in the district of San Luis over the past 300 years. All of these influences are rooted in a deep historical past and continue to be celebrated in everyday practice in San Luis today. By finally having a dedicated space for commemorating these influences, it will also be possible to ensure that Afro-Peruvians pasts and traditions in the present are shared to the diverse communities in San Luis, Peru, and beyond, and in doing so, helping to facilitate their memorialization for future generations.

Moreover, the focus on exhibition materials produced by members of the local and descendant community allows these narratives to be shared by and for the direct benefit of very communities whose history, culture, and heritage are at the heart of the museum project (Fig. 7.15). While research and design specialists have helped to give form to these spaces, it is ultimately the voices and knowledge of San Luis' Afro-descendant community that are the protagonists in the museum space. This organizational structure contributes to a larger political project of decolonizing institutional spaces, which—as vestiges of projects of colonialism, European imperialism, and capitalism—often prioritize academic knowledge of non-local specialists over the knowledge of communities themselves (Araujo 2021). Instead, by putting local knowledge and knowledge-producers at the center of the project, this project ultimately aims to ensure that the museum is reflective of the ideas, interests, and identities of the

communities themselves, and that they continue to be the authors and direct beneficiaries of this work over the long term.



Figure 7.15: Martin Alvarado (left) is a documentary photographer whose photos will be featured in MUAFRO San Luis. He has also collaborated with La Quebrada Archaeology Project.

Photo: Claire Maass

7.5. Conclusion

Collaborative archaeology as decolonizing practice facilitates an inclusive space for African descendant communities to reclaim power in voicing and conserving their own histories. This realignment of power has epistemological and sociopolitical implications for the representation of African descended peoples, especially in former colonial societies with histories of racialized inequality and discrimination, such as Peru. The production of knowledge with, about, and for African descendant communities can contribute to the dismantling of misrepresentations and negative stereotypes about African descended peoples that persist today.

It can also transform archaeology into a tool to pursue greater inclusivity in scholarly investigations of the past, as well as in the narratives that they produce.

Peru offers a powerful example of the power of archaeology to fundamentally define and reform popular conceptions of cultural communities, including the histories and heritage of communities of African descent. Peru's international image is strongly linked to the Andean heritage, whose deep history has been revealed in significant part by over a century of archaeological work. As one interlocutor explained in the early stages of La Quebrada Archaeology Project,

Cities like Cuzco... all have a strong sense of cultural identity, which is rooted in a deep history. This history has been studied by archaeologists for a long time and has become part of a larger narrative about Peruvian heritage. In a sense, then, it is not only about their local identity, but also about national identity—about what it means to be Peruvian.

Asserting African descendant communities and their histories as legitimate subjects of archaeological research is not only important for confronting the marginalization, exclusion, or invisibility of African descended peoples in narratives of Peruvian history and heritage; it is also fundamental to the broader project of shaping a more inclusive image of Peruvian identity.

Collaborative research in San Luis has striven to confront issues of representation amongst Afro-Peruvian communities in multiple intersecting ways. Bioarchaeological and historical investigations at Hacienda La Quebrada demonstrate how a collaborative research practices can critically address histories of enslavement and colonial violence, while simultaneously reinforcing empowering narratives that foreground the contributions of African descended peoples to Peruvian history and culture. By retelling these narratives in accordance with the worldviews of contemporary descendant communities and scholars, the collaborative research project has ultimately been able to transform these

archaeological pasts into a tool for identity construction and place-making in descendant communities in the present.

Meanwhile, ongoing education and public heritage work have contributed to the broader social objective of achieving the greater recognition of Afro-Peruvian communities in national public discourse. These initiatives are a critical step towards combating the marginalization of African descended peoples in popular understandings of Peru's past, as well as in contemporary society. Creating representations of Peruvian history and culture where children of African descent can see themselves represented will be especially important in the longer-term struggle for inclusivity.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1. Revisiting Burial Grounds

The deep entanglement of bioarchaeology in histories of colonialism, imperialism, and state violence has had profound implications for the bodies and burial grounds of enslaved peoples of African descent for over a century. Similar to indigenous communities, the ancestral remains of African descendant populations were disproportionately targeted by collectors, archaeologists, and medical researchers in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Blakey 2001, 2020). More recently, infrastructure projects and urbanization have threatened to destroy ancestral burial spaces in countries as wide-ranging as the United States (Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2001; Mack and Blakey 2004), Brazil (Pereira 2007), and Peru (Maass 2021b, in review). In death as in life, the bodies of Africans and Afro-descendants have been disproportionately rendered into sites of violence, experimentation, and control (Camp 2002).

However, the descendants of these historical communities have also been leading voices of resistance and reform that have fundamentally reframed the methods of archaeological practice in the 21st century. Groundbreaking research at sites like the New York African Burial Ground (La Roche and Blakey 1997; Mack and Blakey 2004) and the Garden of Memory in Ecuador (Balanzátegui 2018) have redefined the ways that archaeologists engage with burial grounds, foregrounding research methods that prioritize respect for ancestral remains and the communities that claim a heritage relationship to them. Importantly, the prioritization of community-engaged methods has demonstrated the diverse objectives that communities may have for engaging with cemetery sites, including around decisions of whether or not to excavate.

The ethical interventions of these previous investigations have served as an essential guide for this dissertation project, as well as for the development of La Quebrada Archaeology Project more broadly. While unfortunate events leading to the partial destruction of the colonial cemetery at Hacienda La Quebrada ultimately informed the decision to pursue recovery efforts, it was important to be critically reflective about how and to what extent these interventions should occur. Working with members of the local descendant community and other stakeholder groups was essential not only to prevent further unnecessary harm to the burial remains, but also to ensure that the interventions were done in a way that most directly benefited the interests of present-day community stakeholders.

In response to these sociopolitical and ethical concerns, this dissertation project has prioritized a community-engaged, decolonizing research approach to the study of the burial remains of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada. Traditional archaeological research in Peru has tended to treat descendant communities as the subjects of analysis, where the direction of research and its results largely benefit the researcher. In contrast, La Quebrada Archaeology Project has striven to position descendant stakeholders as partners who actively defined and helped implement the research program. By empowering communities to become involved in the different stages of studying, interpreting, and representing their archaeological pasts, the project has ultimately worked to build a model of collaborative bioarchaeology in Peru in which inclusivity and community rights are held as the guiding principles of research (Turner and Andrushko 2011).

The incorporation of the ideas, interests, and perspectives of diverse stakeholder groups also directly shaped the narratives that emerged from this bioarchaeological research. For many of the members of the local descendant community and Afro-Peruvian organizations that I

worked with throughout this dissertation project, it was important to equally address histories of captivity and violence, but also community-building and resilience. This dissertation has striven to weave this dual perspective throughout the narrative as a whole, especially when reconstructing the lives and experiences of the enslaved peoples at Hacienda La Quebrada in Chapters 5 and 6. Ultimately, this work aims to demonstrate how bioarchaeological research can address the multilayered forms of colonial violence experienced by African descended peoples in the past, while also shaping humanizing narratives that foreground the different ways they worked beyond these conditions to build their own vibrant communities and traditions.

8.2. Summary of Research Findings

8.2.1. Biocultural Perspectives towards Life in Captivity at Hacienda La Quebrada

'Negrito nací.' And this also means San Luis de Cañete. But there is a history that has little been told: how did [our African and Afro-descendant ancestors] live? Where did they live? What did they do? What did [they] hope for in their lives? Maybe they thought that one day, we would learn about them...but they didn't know when (Santa Cruz and Lancho 2019, translated by author).

Bioarchaeological, archaeological, and historical investigations at Hacienda La Quebrada have offered new insights into the lives of enslaved persons of African descent in the coastal sugar economy during the late colonial period. While the mixed conservation of burial remains at the cemetery site posed some limitations to the interpretation of bioarchaeological data, the recovery of an estimated minimum of 245 skeletal individuals nevertheless provided an expansive source of information to examine the conditions and lived experiences of enslavement at the former plantation site (Research Question 1).

Paleodemographic data from the analysis of the recovered skeletal sample complemented historical evidence of a large and diverse population of enslaved men, women, and children at

Hacienda La Quebrada. Throughout the 18th century, the ratio of enslaved women and children grew at the plantation, as the importation of enslaved workers was gradually balanced by reproduction within the existing community. The presence of 158 subadults ranging from newborns to adolescents up to 20 years old in the burial record suggest that natural reproduction was likely a source of population growth during period that the cemetery was in use. Colonial records documenting the family names and civil status of enslaved laborers bolster this claim, providing further evidence of the emergence of multi-generational families at the plantation through the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

High infant mortality likely stagnated some of this natural population growth at Hacienda La Quebrada. Of the estimated minimum of 158 subadult individuals represented in the recovered skeletal sample, nearly half perished within their first year of life. Frequencies of pathology among these young infants, including active lesions, contribute to the broader interpretation that this was a critical period in the lives of enslaved peoples. As in other colonial societies, childbirth was often dangerous in 18th and early 19th century Peru, leaving both the mother and her child at risk of succumbing to infections or other complications (Warren 2010). At Hacienda La Quebrada, these factors were likely intensified by the particular conditions of enslavement at the rural plantation. Inadequate nutrition and often uncertain access to adequate medical care would have posed additional health risks to pregnancy and childbirth, as well as to the capacities of young infants to fight off possible infections or disease as their immune systems were continuing to develop.

Evidence of a secondary mortality bump and enamel hypoplasia frequencies representing malnutrition and disease events indicate that enslaved peoples continued to face marked precarity throughout the first five years of their childhood. While some researchers have attributed high

mortality and nutritional stress between the ages of two and four to practices of weaning (for critique see Blakey et al 1994), these patterns more realistically reflect multiple intersecting factors related to the conditions of everyday life at Hacienda La Quebrada, including unbalanced or insufficient diets, exposure to disease in close living quarters, and subjection to multiple forms of control by adults in the plantation community. These findings shed light on the tragic human cost of enslavement, which compounded existing conditions of public health in colonial society by further restraining access to the essential resources that children needed to grow and thrive.

Meanwhile, the decreasing frequencies of pathologies into adolescence could indicate that enslaved persons who died later in their childhood likely died as a result of acute diseases or other events, which did not leave a mark on the skeleton. As is often the case in diverse human societies, including in contexts of enslavement, older children appear to have been among the healthiest persons in the community (Blakey et al 2001a). Low rates of mortality among older children and adolescents suggest that most of the enslaved children who survived the critical first years of development were able to build the immunological and physiological resilience that they needed to continue to grow into young adults. Importantly, this transition in the biological life course was paralleled by a shift in the social roles and treatment of children in plantation society. Patterns in both burial rites and skeletal indicators of work appear to suggest that enslaved peoples began to take on adult roles at Hacienda La Quebrada from as early as adolescence. As will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, these findings raise new questions about the construction of social categories of childhood in this particular context, and its implications for understanding the roles, treatment, and experiences of enslaved peoples through different moments in their lives.

For the enslaved peoples who either arrived at Hacienda La Quebrada later in life or matured into adults within the plantation community, life expectancy remained relatively short. Both men and women experienced elevated work stresses during young adulthood, exposing the physical impacts of the arduous labor that was exploited from peoples of African descent within the mechanisms of plantation slavery. The overlap in evidence of muscle hypertrophy and degenerative joint disease across gender was especially notable, demonstrating that most enslaved peoples in the plantation community performed similar forms of physical work for extended periods of time. However, the presence of some differences in the distribution of load-bearing and repeated physical movements amongst enslaved women reveals the separate roles that they likely played at Hacienda La Quebrada. Historical accounts from both documentary records and local intergenerational narratives add further insights into this interpretation, elucidating the diverse responsibilities that enslaved women typically held in caring for their communities through activities such as preparing food, tending home spaces and gardens, producing crafts, and working as healers (Arrelucea 2004, 2009; Weaver 2015).

The multiple responsibilities placed upon enslaved women had a direct impact on their health and well-being. Even though men generally presented greater evidence of physiological stress and disease, enslaved women tended to be affected by these conditions from a younger age. This followed a broader trend within the enslaved population, in which women faced a younger overall life expectancy than adult men. As in other contexts of slavery across the Americas, enslaved women at Hacienda La Quebrada appear to have faced multiple forms of violence and exploitation as a result of their intersecting race, gender, and class identities (Franklin 2001; Arrelucea 2004, 2009). However, while it is important to shed light on these experiences, it is also essential to recognize the profound resilience of enslaved women in the

face of such conditions. By re-centering the diverse social and labor roles that enslaved women played at the former plantation, this dissertation ultimately works to build on broader efforts to “revea[l] and understan[d] the many ways and means that Black women have struggled to elevate themselves and serve their communities” (Franklin 2001:111).

8.2.3. Beyond Captivity: Resilience and Community-Building

Ultimately, while the bioarchaeological, archaeological, and historical information from Hacienda La Quebrada begin to paint a picture of the difficult conditions of living at the plantation during the late colonial period—and particularly as a result of poor nutrition, unreliable access to medical care, and excessive physical demands and mistreatment—they also offer some insights into how enslaved persons worked beyond these imposed conditions to build their own social lives, cultural traditions, and communities of care.

During my interviews and meetings with self-identified African descendants in San Luis, it became apparent that even though many wanted to learn more about the conditions endured by their ancestors, their own personal understandings of these histories were not defined by notions of victimization or loss (Research Question 2). While they believed that it was important to expose the dark history of slavery and its influence on dynamics of racial discrimination through the present, they also insisted that the identities of the enslaved peoples were not, and should never be, defined by the condition of captivity that was imposed upon them. Instead, what many of the project’s interlocutors chose to emphasize were stories of how enslaved peoples worked beyond, against, and in spite of these conditions in order to build a cohesive cultural community with its own unique traditions.

Bioarchaeological and historical evidence of the presence of families at Hacienda La Quebrada has become a central avenue for exploring these dynamics. One of the most unanticipated findings of archaeological interventions at the cemetery was the presence of children in the burial record. While the high rates of child mortality reveal the devastating effects of plantation slavery on enslaved youth (Maass 2021a, in review), what many interlocutors have instead chosen to focus on is how the presence of children could illuminate the cultivation of families and social communities within conditions of captivity.

This has been augmented by the identification of archival records listing the names and civil status of enslaved men, women, and children at Hacienda La Quebrada during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Historical research at archives in Lima produced evidence of at least four registries of the enslaved populations at the Buena Muerte's landholdings in the Cañete valley, spanning from the period that the cemetery at Hacienda La Quebrada was in use (1774, 1813, 1815), to the emergence of the new independent republic (1823).¹ As discussed in Chapter 3, the recording practices of *procuradores* (solicitors) were varied and at times inconsistent, with some registries indicating very broad estimated ages of enslaved persons, or in other instances making apparent errors in the calculation across the different pages. It is also important to be reflective of the limitations of colonial practices of recording, which inscribed gender binaries onto individuals, assigned names to enslaved peoples that they may have not identified with, and often misrepresented the ages of enslaved peoples who did not have an accurate sense of what year they were born.

¹ Based on three registries: AAL 1774. Visitas Pastorales. *Canete autos de certificacion para que el cura Manuel Angel de la Quintana presenta los libras de cofradias de inventarios y el padron general de espanoles y esclavos que trabajan en las haciendas*. Exp. 22/Leg. 12. ; AAL 1813. Documentos sobre Padrones, Padron de esclavos, Leg. Exp. 25/Leg. 12. ; AAL 1823. *Cuentas presentadas por el padre Jose Cairo, prefecto de la religion de la Buenamuerte, relativas a la administracion de las haciendas Casablanca y La Quebrada*. Exp. 8/Leg. 60.

In spite of such limitations, these records have taken a powerful to stakeholders who identify as descendants of Africans, and especially those who have families that trace back generations in San Luis. While the names of individuals cannot be affiliated with specific burial remains, they nevertheless provide additional evidence of the emergence of families at the historic plantation. Importantly, many of the surnames identified in the records are still present in San Luis today, opening the possibility for contemporary descendants to initiate the historical project of tracing their heritage into the colonial past. When combined with the first-hand accounts of enslaved men and women who negotiated, contested, and even fled the conditions of captivity Hacienda La Quebrada (see Chapter 6), these documents ultimately help facilitate a perspective that moves beyond narratives of victimhood to also elucidate the ways “in which enslaved Africans and their descendants never ceased to pursue politics of belonging...and regeneration” (Brown 2008:1249) in Peruvian society.

8.2.3. Commemoration and Recognition of Afro-Peruvian Cultural Heritage

Together, the multiple lines of archaeological, historical, and ethnographic evidence that have been collected to date through the La Quebrada Archaeology Project have directly contributed to local efforts to achieve official recognition of the rich history of Afro-Peruvian cultural tradition in La Quebrada, and the district of San Luis more broadly (Research Question 3). In December of 2018, La Quebrada Archaeology Project worked with the *Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuana* and the Offices of Afro-Peruvian Affairs to have the district of San Luis recognized by the Peruvian Ministry of Culture as a national Repository of Collective Memory and Afro-Peruvian Culture. This is the first step in an ongoing campaign for the inscription of San Luis as part of UNESCO’s global ‘Slave Route’ network.

As part of this process, the La Quebrada Archaeology Project has also embarked on a new project to create museum in La Quebrada, which will house archaeological materials along with other art, images, and exhibitions related to local Afro-Peruvian cultural traditions and history in San Luis. Ultimately, the creation of a commemorative space can serve as an enduring platform for an alternative retelling of colonial histories from the perspective of the Afro-descendant communities, whose voices have often been silenced within hegemonic narratives of Peru's past. In doing so, it can thus help achieve the larger goal of contributing to processes of healing and place-making for the future (Walsh 2007).

8.3. Directions for Future Research

Interdisciplinary investigations at Hacienda La Quebrada have raised new questions and possibilities for future research into the history of the African diaspora in coastal Peru during the colonial period, as well as its continued influence through the present day. While descendant communities across the region continue to maintain a deep historical and experiential understanding of these pasts, there still exists a vast material record that has yet to be systematically explored. However, as argued throughout this dissertation, it is important that any future investigations into these materials, places, and pasts be developed in dialogue with local and descendant groups.

Based on the particular interests and objectives of the diverse stakeholders involved in archaeological research at Hacienda La Quebrada, and especially the communities who claim a descendant or heritage relationship to the burial remains, there are currently no plans for further archaeological work at the cemetery site. As discussed at various points throughout this dissertation, the primary goal of archaeological interventions in the cemetery space was to a)

recover burial remains that had been and/or were at further risk of being destroyed by infrastructure projects; and b) utilize these interventions to achieve the recognition and protection of the cemetery site under national heritage legislation. With the completion of excavations in 2018, both of these objectives were successfully realized.

8.3.1. Comparative Studies of Non-Enslaved Populations

For the purposes of this dissertation, it is still worth noting areas of research that could help to expand upon and add further details to the findings presented in this project. Perhaps the most critical piece of additional research, which has been suggested by this committee as well as other scholars who have read this work, is a comparative study of a contemporaneous non-enslaved population. Comparisons with other African diaspora populations in the Americas have facilitated interpretations of the paleodemographic and paleopathological evidence observed in the burial population at Hacienda La Quebrada. However, the collection of bioarchaeological data from a non-enslaved population from a similar environmental, ecological, and regional context would permit more nuanced insights, especially by allowing for a disentanglement of conditions that were likely associated with the specific conditions of plantation slavery from the broader conditions of colonial life. This inclusion of both enslaved and non-enslaved populations in a future bioarchaeological study could also help to address important theoretical and ethical concerns in the bioarchaeology of colonialism. By including colonizing groups in the scope of analysis, such a comparative study would contribute to decolonizing efforts to combat the legacy of archaeological studies predominately targeting the bodies and material histories of traditionally marginalized communities (Haber 2016).

To date, bioarchaeological studies of non-enslaved populations dating to Peru's colonial period remain scarce. One possible comparative study for examining biological health and demography during the post-contact period is the Lambayeque Valley Biohistory Project, led by Haagen Klaus in the town of Mórrope on the north coast of Peru (Klaus and Tam 2009; Klaus 2012). As the first bioarchaeological investigation of post-contact Peru, this project focuses on the analysis of 862 skeletal individuals from the indigenous Mochica population, which date from AD 1536 to 1751. However, the historical conditions of this colonial *reducción* are more closely similar to the conditions of enslavement than to a more general baseline of colonial life. Multiple seasons of bioarchaeological research have revealed that Mochica peoples endured conditions such forced migration to a new ecological and disease environment, subjection to unfree physical labor, and restricted diets and access to resources—conditions that broadly parallel the socioeconomic and environmental conditions of slavery in colonial Peru. Indeed, indigenous slavery was the predominant source of labor in early colonial Peru before the arrival of captive Africans and their descendants in the 16th century (Bowser 1974).

Similar research by Melissa Murphy, Maria Boza, and Catherine Gaither (2017) at Purucho-Huaquerones has worked to document the impacts of colonialism on indigenous communities in the Central Andes. However, in a departure from the Lambayeque Valley Biohistory Project, Murphy and colleagues moved beyond European contact and settlement to also explore the different forms of colonialism that occurred throughout central Andean history and prehistory, including the influences of the Wari Empire during the Middle Horizon (A.D. 600-100) and the expansion of the Inca Empire around A.D. 1470. Bioarchaeological analysis of two mortuary populations collectively spanning these time periods revealed that the prevalence of disease and physiological stress actually did not notably increase after European contact.

However, rates of violence and lethal perimortem trauma did spike during the early Conquest Period (Murphy et al 2017).

The contrasts between the Lambayeque and Purucho-Huaquerones projects illuminate the importance of comparative research into the conditions and impacts of Spanish colonialism in Peru, as well as the need for a greater number and diversity of historical archaeology projects in the region. The parallel levels of nutritional stress, physiological stress, and disease in the indigenous Mochica populations at Mórrope and in the enslaved African descended population at Hacienda La Quebrada may be reflective of the similar conditions of forced resettlement in both communities, as suggested above. In contrast, populations who were largely able to maintain their local communities and practices, such as in Purucho-Huaquerones, may have faced less risk of additional stress factors. This hypothesis suggests that in order to more closely understand the biocultural impacts of plantation slavery at Hacienda La Quebrada, it is necessary to examine comparative data from a contemporaneous local population that did not face similar conditions of forced migration, resettlement, and labor.

Comparative research of a local non-enslaved or non-laboring population can also help to deepen interpretations of the demographic profile of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada. Existing studies of indigenous Andean communities have identified varying age-at-death distributions across regional, temporal, and sociocultural contexts, which suggest that there are multiple intersecting factors to consider when interpreting demographic data at Hacienda La Quebrada. For example, bioarchaeological research at the Wari-era sites of Conchopata and Beringa has demonstrated a high presence of infant and subadult individuals relative to the overall recovered populations (Tung 2012). Out of the total 259 adult and subadult skeletal individuals recovered from Conchopata, 51 percent presented an age-at-death of 15

years old or younger; meanwhile, 55 percent of the 151 individuals at Beringa perished before the age of 15, and 32 percent perished before the age of two. In contrast, studies at the Middle Horizon site of La Real (Tung 2012) and in Inca-period Cuzco (Andrushko 2021) revealed relatively lower rates of subadult mortality, with individuals under the age of 15 representing 24.8 and 24.2 percent of the total recovered burial populations, respectively.

Investigations of colonial-period African diaspora populations have identified relatively more consistent patterns of high infant and child mortality, although with some differences across rural, urban, and industrial contexts (for comparison, see Rankin-Hill et al 2001). As discussed in Chapter 5, historical research at Jesuit haciendas in colonial Peru have suggested that rates of infant and child mortality were often high in enslaved communities on rural plantations. As one historian writes, “[o]n the four haciendas whose eighteenth-century baptismal and burial records I have examined, 45.3 of all recorded deaths were of children 15 years of age and under. The records reveal that 47.4 percent did not reach the age of 22” (Cushner 1975:190). Bioarchaeological and historical studies of African diaspora populations have identified similar patterns in the age-at-death profiles of enslaved communities. At the New York African Burial Ground, for example, subadults younger than 15 years old represented 43.2 percent of the recovered burial sample (Rankin-Hill et al 2001).

As has been discussed at various points in this dissertation, there are multiple factors that complicate historical estimations of mortality, including fertility rates, the number of enslaved women of child-bearing age at a given plantation, as well as other social dynamics influencing the presence of enslaved children in the burial or archival record (e.g., failure to be baptized, sale to a different estate, different mortuary practices for adult and non-adult individuals, etc.). A comparison of multiple contemporaneous non-enslaved communities could therefore help to

establish a reference sample for identifying determining factors in age-at-death profiles, as well as broader demographic trends within the Hacienda La Quebrada community. As part of my planned post-doctoral research project on the topic of childhood, which I will discuss below, a central component will be to gather historical demographic information and paleodemographic data (e.g., age-at-death profiles, sex ratios) from multiple colonial contexts in the Spanish Americas, including the central Andes and Peru.

8.3.2. Archival Research and Questions on Childhood

Current work at Hacienda La Quebrada is centered on expanding historical research at archives in Lima and beginning new modes of analysis on the existing collection of archaeological and bioarchaeological remains. The unexpected finding of multiple infant and adolescent burials has especially called attention to the need for further historical investigations into the conditions, status, and treatment of children at Hacienda La Quebrada. On the one hand, the presence of both a commingled deposit of younger subadults and individual adolescent burials raises new questions about why this distinction existed. This could include the possibility that the deposit was associated with a single event (e.g., an epidemic, political strife, or some form of natural disaster), or that there were other sociocultural factors (e.g., spiritual beliefs, cultural values, or burial customs) that contributed to these different burial rites. On the other hand, comparative research into a non-enslaved population will provide further insights into the patterns in infant mortality observed at Hacienda La Quebrada. Once again, this will allow for a more nuanced understanding of the specific impacts of the conditions of captivity in comparison to the more general conditions of colonial life. I hope to address these questions as part of a

larger post-doctoral project examining the topic of children and childhood in conditions of slavery in the colonial Atlantic world.

8.3.3. Reconstructing Forced Migration Patterns and Foodways

Further investigations into the existing bioarchaeological sample will center on new forms of isotopic and genetic analysis. On the one hand, stable carbon and nitrogen isotope analysis can provide information about the composition of enslaved workers' diets, and thus offer insight into how dietary patterns of the enslaved community changed through the lifetime of individuals. More specifically, combining isotopic data with information about pathological indicators in the skeletal record (i.e., linear enamel hypoplasia, cribra orbitalia, porotic hyperostosis, and/or Harris lines) can shed light on episodes of potential malnutrition during developmental years, contributing to an understanding of the overall disruptive impact that slavery had on peoples' lives. Additionally, as recent scholarship (for review see Singleton 1995; Leone et al 2005) has demonstrated, domination over enslaved persons was rarely ever complete; rather, they continually resisted the conditions of their subjugation, often through the negotiation of cultural practices, and the cultivation of communities of care. Foodways are at the nexus of these cultural and nutritional practices, and are therefore a unique way to access larger patterns in the social conditions of Hacienda La Quebrada.

On the other hand, genetic analyses can provide important insights into the possible forced movement patterns and geographic origins of enslaved peoples at Hacienda La Quebrada. One of the notable findings of La Quebrada Archaeology Project was the discovery of evidence of cultural dental modification in at least three of the individuals recovered during archaeological excavations (Fig. 8.1). In bioarchaeological research, practices of dental modification have been

associated with first-generation captives born in Africa, particularly in central and western regions of the continent (Handler et al 1981; Cox and Sealy 1997; Wasterlain et al 2016). While still preliminary, these findings have had a profound impact among members of the descendant community in La Quebrada and San Luis. For residents who frame their own identities in relation to a deeper connection to the African diaspora, the presence of material evidence directly connecting enslaved peoples at the historic plantation back to the African continent reaffirms their understandings of their ancestral origins, while also strengthening their sense of connectedness to a larger diasporic community.

Genetic analyses will permit more detailed insights into the likely geographic origins of these individuals. Moreover, by expanding the sample to include other individuals of diverse ages and skeletal sex, it will be possible to reconstruct some of the multiple origins and migration patterns across the broader enslaved population. To this end, La Quebrada Archaeology Project has developed collaborations with researchers from the University of Minnesota to begin a new multi-stage project to perform aDNA analysis on a sample of the skeletal remains. In the spring of 2022, we plan to perform a pilot study using a sample of dentition from 20 individuals. The purpose of this first pilot study will be to evaluate the preservation of the sample, which will enable us to gain a critical understanding of the quality and quantity of data that can be recovered. Based on the findings of this study, we will then expand to a larger sample in late 2022 or early 2023, which can provide a more representative collection of data from the burial population. Importantly, extensive community consultations will take place before each stage of research to explain the proposed interventions and provide various stakeholders with an opportunity to decide whether or not to advance with any destructive analyses.



*Figure 8.1: Evidence of cultural dental modification in a 30–40-year-old adult male.
Photo: Samuel Lancho*

8.4. Intellectual Contributions and Broader Impact

This dissertation research project contributes a little-studied area of research to archaeological scholarship of the African diaspora in the Americas. As Charles Orser (1998) noted in his review of the field at the turn of the 20th century, African diaspora archaeology has the potential to stimulate important discussions about social and political implications of archaeological practice, and in doing so, drive new methodological and theoretical advances that will have applications throughout the discipline. However, as more recent scholarship has suggested (Ogundiran and Falola 2007; Orser 2010; Adams 2013; Funari and Orser 2014), achieving this potential is in many ways dependent on striving towards a more global discipline. This dissertation project thus responds to such efforts to integrate more diverse regional, cultural,

and historical contexts by helping bring Peru, and the Central Andes more broadly, into an international field of African diaspora archaeology.

Moreover, in providing the first bioarchaeological data from an African diaspora population in Peru, this project offers new empirical information about a community that has been traditionally underrepresented in Peruvian archaeology. To date, Peruvian archaeology has continued to be defined by the excavation of monumental and pre-hispanic sites (Benavides 2001; Jamieson 2005; Martin et al 2012). While colonial archaeology is emerging as a more widely practiced area of research, studies of mission sites, haciendas, and landscapes have rarely engaged with African and Afro-descendant communities. And, as cited in Chapter 2, the few projects that have addressed topics related to the African diaspora have typically done so from a material and landscape perspective. By offering bioarchaeology as another avenue of research for studying histories of African enslavement and diaspora in Peru, this project contributes a novel methodological and topical study to historical archaeology in the region.

Through these contributions to African diaspora archaeology in South America and Peru, this dissertation project also builds upon an expanding body of African diaspora heritage studies. As Terrence Weik (2004) has observed in his review of the archaeology of the African diaspora in Latin America, African diaspora sites have remained underrepresented in national and international historical preservation efforts. Through the 1990s, cultural heritage studies and the designation of heritage sites largely focused on European and pre-hispanic indigenous sites that symbolized national identity, such as Christopher Columbus' early settlement La Isabela in the Caribbean, and major Inca sites across the central Andes (Weik 2004). Apart from major ports of the slave trade in Brazil (e.g., Salvador de Bahia, inscribed in 1985), the growth in African diaspora World Heritage sites did not really begin until the 2000s, with inscriptions at the coffee

landscapes of Cuba (2000) and Colombia (2011). Meanwhile, heritage studies and preservation level at the national level have tended to focus predominantly on plantations, ports, and maroon societies in Brazil and the Caribbean (Weik 1997; see also Funari and Orser 2015).

By working with diverse scholars, organizers, and officials to have Hacienda La Quebrada recognized and protected under national heritage legislation, this dissertation project builds on these efforts to revalorize African diaspora heritage. Importantly, this intervention comes at a particularly timely moment in Peruvian cultural heritage discourse. In 2017, Zaña became the first site of African diaspora cultural heritage to be inscribed as an area of natural cultural patrimony, and to be recognized as a site of memory of slavery. Moreover, within the past decade there has been an expansion of publications in association with CEDET, a social organization whose inter-disciplinary scholarship aims to produce knowledge about Afro-Peruvian experiences and cultural heritage from a historical perspective.

This project's community-engaged approach to research, and particularly its coordination with the ongoing social programs of local Afro-Peruvian organizations, situates it to contribute to both of these areas of heritage work. The recent inscription of San Luis as a national site of Afro-Peruvian culture and memory and its current campaign for inclusion in UNESCO's global Slave Route Project helps expand the visibility of Afro-Peruvian cultural patrimony in Peru. At the same time, the dissemination of information about Afro-Peruvian history and culture in the region through multiple museum and education projects generates wider awareness of the vast influence of African diaspora tangible and intangible heritage. Hopefully these efforts will be joined by future projects, especially in regions such as Chincha, Callao, and Ica, so that Afro-Peruvian cultural heritage can more systematically protected and celebrated throughout the country.

At a broader level, this project builds on larger efforts for the meaningful recognition and inclusion of Afro-descendant communities in Peruvian social politics. In 2009, the Peruvian government apologized to its citizens of African descent for the discrimination enacted against them from the colonial period to the present. While this gesture initiated a long-awaited process of addressing the history of slavery in Peru's past and its legacies for Afro-descendant communities in the present day, it has yet to be translated into meaningful reform; to date, Afro-Peruvian histories continue to be largely absent in academic curricula and public discourse, and Afro-Peruvian communities continue to be the subjects of racism and discrimination (Golash-Boza 2011; Greene 2012; Ministry of Culture of Peru 2015). By striving towards a more direct understanding of the lives and experiences of Afro-Peruvians in the past, and of their lasting impacts for descendant communities in the present, this project ultimately hopes to contribute to broader social efforts for recognition and inclusion that can bring meaningful change for the future.

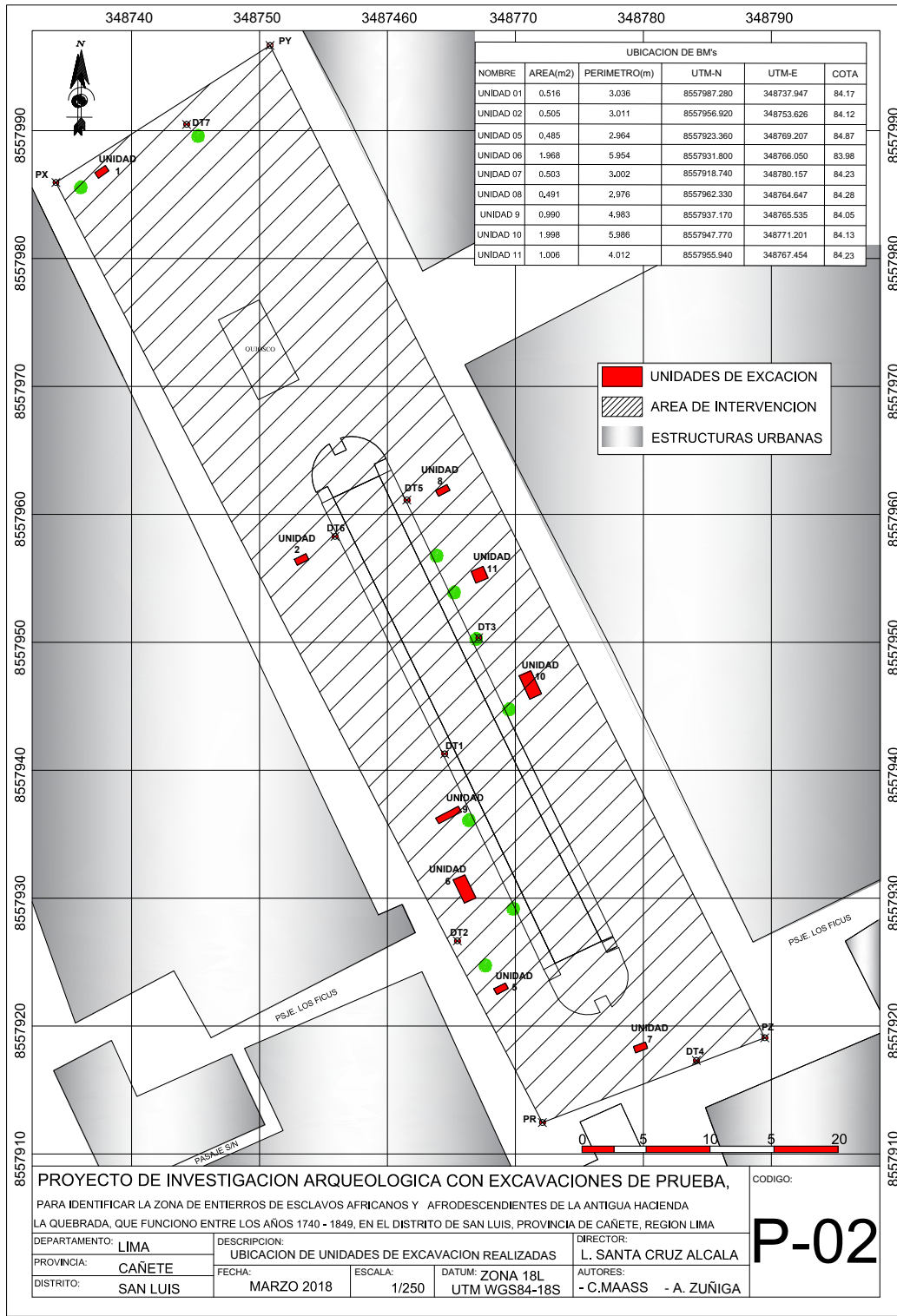
Appendix A

Documentation from Phase I Pedestrian Survey and Mapping

Appendix B

Documentation from Phase II Test Excavations

Document 1: Map of Location of Test Excavations



Document 2: Catalog of Recovered Materials During Phase II Text Excavations

Cat #	Fecha	Area	Uni.	Cuad.	Capa	Fech (Exc).	Excavator	Artefacto con descripción	# de bolsas	Caja #	Peso	Cantidad	Fotos (S/N)	Exc.
1	15/08/2017	3	7	NO,NE	Sup.	8/10/17	JT	Plastico (tapa de botella)	1	16	2 gr	1	N	C.K.M
2	15/08/2017	3	7	NO,NE	Sup.	8/10/17	JT	Ladrillo	1	10	201 gr	7	N	C.K.M
3	15/08/2017	3	7	NO,NE	Sup.	8/10/17	JT	Cerámica	1	7	86 gr	2	N	J.T
4	15/08/2017	3	7	NO,NE	3	8/11/17	JT	Ladrillo	1	10	157 gr	12	N	J.T
5	15/08/2017	3	7	NO,NE	3	8/11/17	JT	Cemento	1	16	164 gr	3	N	J.T
6	15/08/2017	3	7	NO,NE	4	8/11/17	JT	Ladrillo	1	10	49 gr	12	N	J.T
7	15/08/2017	3	7	NO,NE	4	8/11/17	JT	Cemento	1	16	69 gr	2	N	J.T
8	15/08/2017	3	7	NO,NE	4	8/11/17	JT	Metal	1	9	14 gr	1	N	J.T
9	15/08/2017	3	7	NO,NE	4	8/11/17	JT	Óseo Animal	1	13	14 gr	1	N	J.T
10	15/08/2017	3	7	NO,NE	4	8/11/17	JT	Vidrio	1	15	2 gr	1	N	J.T
11	15/08/2017	3	7	NO,NE	4	8/11/17	JT	Loseta	1	11	1 gr	1	N	J.T
12	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	1A	8/4/17	CKM	Metal	1	9	5 gr	3	N	J.T
13	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	1A	8/4/17	CKM	Cemento	1	16	184 gr	5	N	J.T
14	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	1A	8/4/17	CKM	Cerámica	1	7	54 gr	6	N	J.T
15	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	1A	8/4/17	CKM	Loseta	1	11	18 gr	2	N	J.T
16	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	1A	8/5/17	CKM	Malacológico (Mesodesma donacium)	1	12	2 gr	1	N	J.T
17	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	1A	8/5/17	CKM	Vidrio	1	15	11 gr	3	N	J.T
18	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	1A	8/4/17	CKM	Cuarzo Blanco	1	9	1 gr	1	N	J.T
19	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	1A	8/5/17	CKM	Óseo Animal	1	13	1 gr	1	N	J.T

20	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	1A	8/4/17	CKM	Botánico (Madera)	1	8	1 gr	1	N	J.T
21	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	1A	8/4/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	329 gr	47	N	J.T
22	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	2	8/8/17	CKM	Vidrio	1	15	20 gr	6	N	J.T
23	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	2	8/7/17	CKM	Metal (botón metálico y otro sin determinar)	1	9	2 gr	2	N	J.T
24	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	2	8/8/17	CKM	Óseo Animal (posible camélido)	1	13	48 gr	1	N	J.T
25	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	2	8/7/17	CKM	Cemento	1	16	142 gr	5	N	J.T
26	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	2	8/8/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	152 gr	20	N	J.T
27	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	3A	8/9/17	CKM	Vidrio	1	15	80 gr	6	N	J.T
28	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	3A	8/9/17	CKM	Cemento	1	16	166 gr	2	N	J.T
29	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	3A	8/9/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	140 gr	15	N	J.T
30	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	3A	8/10/17	CKM	Cerámica	1	7	231 gr	8	N	J.T
31	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	3A	8/10/17	CKM	Malacológico (Perumytilus purpuratus)	1	12	1 gr	1	N	J.T
32	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	3A	8/10/17	CKM	Metal (sin determinar)	1	9	1 gr	5	N	J.T
33	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	3A	8/10/17	CKM	Botánico (Madera)	1	8	258 gr	6	N	J.T
34	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	3B	8/9/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	1 gr	1	N	J.T
35	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	3B	8/9/17	CKM	Cemento	1	16	3 gr	1	N	J.T
36	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	1B	8/7/17	CKM	Vidrio	1	15	8 gr	6	N	J.T
37	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	1B	8/7/17	CKM	Cerámica	1	7	44 gr	2	N	J.T
38	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	1B	8/7/17	CKM	Cemento	1	16	651 gr	29	N	J.T
39	15/08/2017	1	9	NO,NE	1B	8/7/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	435 gr	75	N	J.T

40	15/08/2017	1	5	NO,NE	1	8/11/17	PLF	Ladrillo	1	10	287 gr	16	N	J.T
41	15/08/2017	1	5	NO,NE	Sup.	8/10/17	PLF	Metal (2 clavos y uno sin identificar)	1	9	10 gr	3	N	J.T
42	15/08/2017	1	5	NO,NE	1	8/11/17	PLF	Carbón	1	8	3 gr	4	N	J.T
43	15/08/2017	1	5	NO,NE	1	8/11/17	PLF	Óseo Animal (diente)	1	13	4 gr	1	N	J.T
44	15/08/2017	1	5	NO,NE	1	8/11/17	PLF	Vidrio	1	15	6 gr	1	N	J.T
45	15/08/2017	1	5	NO,NE	1	8/11/17	PLF	Botánico (Madera)	1	8	1 gr	1	N	J.T
46	15/08/2017	1	5	NO,NE	1	8/11/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	45 gr	3	N	J.T
47	15/08/2017	1	5	NO,NE	1	8/11/17	PLF	Plastico (Diversos)	1	16	6 gr	5	N	J.T
48	15/08/2017	1	5	NO,NE	1	8/11/17	PLF	Malacológico(un Choromytilus Chorus; lo demás es Mesodesma Donacium)	1	12	3gr	9	N	J.T
49	15/08/2017	1	5	NO,NE	Sup.	8/10/17	PLF	Botánico (Diversos)	1	8	4 gr	8	N	J.T
50	15/08/2017	1	6	6N	Sup.	8/4/17	JT	Metal (varilla de metal y clavo)	1	9	141 gr	2	N	J.T
51	15/08/2017	1	6	6N	Sup.	8/4/17	JT	Botánico (Madera)	1	8	1 gr	1	N	J.T
52	15/08/2017	1	6	6N	Sup.	8/4/17	JT	Plástico (Tazo, también conocidos como Flippos, POG, Caps, etc)	1	16	1 gr	1	N	J.T
53	15/08/2017	1	6	6N	Sup.	8/4/17	JT	Cemento	1	16	77 gr	2	N	J.T
54	15/08/2017	1	6	6N	Sup.	8/4/17	JT	Cerámica	1	7	20 gr	4	N	J.T
55	15/08/2017	1	6	6S	Sup.	8/4/17	PLF	Botánico (Diversos)	1	8	20 gr	11	N	J.T
56	15/08/2017	1	6	6S	Sup.	8/4/17	PLF	Plástico (Diversos)	1	16	6 gr	3	N	J.T

57	15/08/2017	1	6	6S	Sup.	8/4/17	PLF	Cal	1	9	10 gr	7	N	J.T
58	15/08/2017	1	6	6S	Sup.	8/4/17	PLF	Ladrillo	1	10	77 gr	35	N	J.T
59	15/08/2017	1	6	6S	Sup.	8/4/17	PLF	Loseta	1	11	4 gr	1	N	J.T
60	15/08/2017	1	6	6S	Sup.	8/4/17	PLF	Carbón con óxido	1	8	179 gr	15	N	J.T
61	15/08/2017	1	6	6S	Sup.	8/5/17	PLF	Malacológico (Perumytilus purpuratus)	1	12	1 gr	1	N	J.T
62	15/08/2017	1	6	6S	Sup.	8/5/17	PLF	Carbón	1	8	1 gr	2	N	J.T
63	15/08/2017	1	6	6S	Sup.	8/5/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	14 gr	5	N	J.T
64	15/08/2017	1	6	6S	Sup.	8/5/17	PLF	Vidrio	1	15	34 gr	3	N	J.T
65	17/08/2017	1	6	6N	1A	8/7/17	JT	Cerámica	1	7	45 gr	2	N	P.L.F
66	17/08/2017	1	6	6N	1A	8/7/17	JT	Ladrillo	1	10	670 gr	36	N	P.L.F
67	17/08/2017	1	6	6N	1A	8/7/17	JT	Cemento	1	16	34 gr	4	N	P.L.F
68	17/08/2017	1	6	6N	1A	8/7/17	JT	Óseo Animal	1	13	1 gr	2	N	P.L.F
69	17/08/2017	1	6	6N	1A	8/7/17	JT	Botánico (Madera)	1	8	16 gr	5	N	P.L.F
70	17/08/2017	1	6	6N	1A	8/7/17	JT	Vidrio	1	15	2 gr	1	N	P.L.F
71	17/08/2017	1	6	6N	1A	8/7/17	JT	Loseta	1	11	2 gr	2	N	P.L.F
72	17/08/2017	1	6	6N	1A	8/7/17	JT	Metal	1	9	21 gr	11	N	P.L.F
73	17/08/2017	1	6	6S	1A	8/7/17	PLF	Loseta	1	11	2241 gr	20	N	P.L.F
74	17/08/2017	1	6	6S	1A	8/7/17	PLF	Malacológico	1	12	2 gr	2	N	P.L.F
75	17/08/2017	1	6	6S	1A	8/7/17	PLF	Textil	1	14	1 gr	2	N	P.L.F
76	17/08/2017	1	6	6S	1A	8/7/17	PLF	Plástico	1	16	4 gr	8	N	P.L.F
77	17/08/2017	1	6	6S	1A	8/7/17	PLF	Botánico	1	8	36 gr	26	N	P.L.F
78	17/08/2017	1	6	6S	1A	8/7/17	PLF	Yeso	1	9	22 gr	12	N	P.L.F
79	17/08/2017	1	6	6S	1A	8/7/17	PLF	Madera (Pintada)	1	8	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
80	17/08/2017	1	6	6S	1A	8/7/17	PLF	Vidrio	1	15	14 gr	4	N	P.L.F

81	17/08/2017	1	6	6S	1A	8/7/17	PLF	Ladrillo	1	10	948 gr	101	N	P.L.F
82	17/08/2017	1	6	6S	1A	8/7/17	PLF	Carbón	1	8	1 gr	4	N	P.L.F
83	17/08/2017	1	6	6S	1A	8/7/17	PLF	Metal (Clavos)	1	9	14 gr	3	N	P.L.F
84	17/08/2017	1	6	6S	1A	8/7/17	PLF	Papel (Cemento)	1	16	1 gr	7	N	P.L.F
85	17/08/2017	1	6	6N	1B	8/7/17	JT	Ladrillo	1	10	325 gr	23	N	P.L.F
86	8/17/17	1	6	6N	1B	8/7/17	JT	Metal (Clavos)	1	9	24 gr	4	N	P.L.F
87	8/17/17	1	6	6N	1B	8/7/17	JT	Botánico (Madera y ramas)	1	8	6 gr	4	N	P.L.F
88	8/17/17	1	6	6N	1B	8/7/17	JT	Vidrio (Canica y otros)	1	15	12 gr	6	N	P.L.F
89	8/17/17	1	6	6S	1B	8/7/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	5 gr	2	N	P.L.F
90	8/17/17	1	6	6S	1B	8/7/17	PLF	Plástico (Tapa de botella y otros)	1	16	3 gr	3	N	P.L.F
91	8/17/17	1	6	6S	1B	8/7/17	PLF	Loseta	1	11	244 gr	8	N	P.L.F
92	8/17/17	1	6	6S	1B	8/7/17	PLF	Ladrillo	1	10	429 gr	17	N	P.L.F
93	8/17/17	1	6	6S	1B	8/7/17	PLF	Botánico	1	8	10 gr	8	N	P.L.F
94	8/17/17	1	6	6N	2	8/8/17	JT	Metal (moneda y casquillo?)	1	9	14 gr	2	N	P.L.F
95	8/17/17	1	6	6N	2	8/8/17	JT	Óseo Animal	1	13	5 gr	4	N	P.L.F
96	8/17/17	1	6	6N	2	8/8/17	JT	Botánico (Semillas)	1	8	1 gr	11	N	P.L.F
97	8/17/17	1	6	6N	2	8/8/17	JT	Loseta	1	11	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
98	8/17/17	1	6	6N	2	8/8/17	JT	Cerámica	1	7	116 gr	3	N	P.L.F
99	8/17/17	1	6	6N	2	8/8/17	JT	Ladrillo	1	10	384 gr	6	N	P.L.F
100	8/17/17	1	6	6N	2	8/8/17	JT	Vidrio	1	15	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
101	8/17/17	1	6	6S	2	8/10/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	1032 gr	13	N	P.L.F

102	8/17/17	1	6	6S	2	8/8/17	PLF	Vidrio	1	15	12 gr	11	N	P.L.F
103	8/17/17	1	6	6S	2	8/8/17	PLF	Carbón	1	8	2 gr	1	N	P.L.F
104	8/17/17	1	6	6S	2	8/8/17	PLF	Porcelana	1	7	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
105	8/17/17	1	6	6S	2	8/8/17	PLF	Metal	1	9	8 gr	3	N	P.L.F
106	8/17/17	1	6	6S	2	8/10/17	PLF	Óseo Animal	1	13	39 gr	1	N	P.L.F
107	8/17/17	1	6	6S	2	8/8/17	PLF	Botánico	1	8	1 gr	15	N	P.L.F
108	8/17/17	1	6	6S	2	8/8/17	PLF	Malacológico	1	12	2 gr	6	N	P.L.F
109	8/17/17	1	6	6S	2	8/8/17	PLF	Ladrillo	1	10	79 gr	8	N	P.L.F
110	8/23/17	1	5	NO,NE	1	8/12/17	PLF	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	4	N	P.L.F
111	8/23/17	1	5	NO,NE	1	8/12/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	17 gr	9	N	P.L.F
112	8/23/17	1	5	NO,NE	1	8/12/17	PLF	Ladrillo	1	10	18 gr	5	N	P.L.F
113	8/23/17	1	5	NO,NE	1	8/12/17	PLF	Yeso	1	9	5 gr	5	N	P.L.F
114	8/23/17	1	5	NO,NE	1	8/12/17	PLF	Cemento	1	16	16 gr	4	N	P.L.F
115	8/23/17	2	10	10S	Sup.	8/14/17	PLF	Óseo Animal	1	13	1 gr	3	N	P.L.F
116	8/23/17	2	10	10S	Sup.	8/14/17	PLF	Botánico (Madera)	1	8	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
117	8/23/17	2	10	10S	Sup.	8/14/17	PLF	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	3	N	P.L.F
118	8/23/17	2	10	10S	Sup.	8/14/17	PLF	Textil (color verde)	1	14	1 gr	3	N	P.L.F
119	8/23/17	2	10	10S	Sup.	8/14/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	1 gr	2	N	P.L.F
120	8/23/17	2	10	10S	Sup.	8/14/17	PLF	Metal	1	9	74 gr	15	N	P.L.F
121	8/23/17	2	10	10S	Sup.	8/14/17	PLF	Ladrillo	1	10	50 gr	9	N	P.L.F
122	8/23/17	2	10	10S	Sup.	8/14/17	PLF	Loseta	1	11	1 gr	2	N	P.L.F
123	8/23/17	2	10	10S	Sup.	8/14/17	PLF	Botánico (Pepas de Durazno)	1	8	9 gr	3	N	P.L.F
124	8/23/17	2	10	10S	Sup.	8/14/17	PLF	Vidrio	1	15	3 gr	3	N	P.L.F
125	8/23/17	2	10	10S	Sup.	8/14/17	PLF	Plástico	1	16	42 gr	4	N	P.L.F
126	8/23/17	2	10	10N	Sup.	8/14/17	JT	Ladrillo	1	10	155 gr	5	N	P.L.F
127	8/23/17	2	10	10N	Sup.	8/14/17	JT	Metal	1	9	3 gr	2	N	P.L.F

128	8/23/17	2	10	10N	Sup.	8/14/17	JT	Textil	1	14	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
129	8/23/17	2	10	10N	Sup.	8/14/17	JT	Plástico	1	16	38 gr	4	N	P.L.F
130	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	Sup.	8/18/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	14 gr	2	N	P.L.F
131	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	2	8/21/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	537 gr	9	N	P.L.F
132	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	2	8/21/17	CKM	Cemento	1	16	181 gr	2	N	P.L.F
133	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	2	8/21/17	CKM	Vidrio	1	15	17 gr	7	N	P.L.F
134	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	2	8/21/17	CKM	Cerámica vidriada (colonial aprox. siglo XVIII)	1	7	15 gr	1	N	P.L.F
135	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	2	8/21/17	CKM	Cerámica	1	7	7 gr	1	N	P.L.F
136	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	2	8/21/17	CKM	Porcelana	1	7	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
137	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	2	8/21/17	CKM	Metal (tapa de botella)	1	9	1 gr	2	N	P.L.F
138	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	2	8/21/17	CKM	Óseo Animal	1	13	11 gr	1	N	P.L.F
139	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	2	8/21/17	CKM	Plástico	1	16	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
140	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	2	8/21/17	CKM	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	3	N	P.L.F
141	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	3	8/22/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	261 gr	8	N	P.L.F
142	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	3	8/22/17	CKM	Óseo Animal	1	13	13 gr	3	N	P.L.F
143	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	3	8/22/17	CKM	Metal (tapa de botella)	1	9	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
144	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	3	8/22/17	CKM	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
145	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	3	8/22/17	CKM	Plástico	1	16	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
146	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	3	8/22/17	CKM	Metal (moderno)	1	9	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
147	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	3	8/22/17	CKM	Botánico (Madera)	1	8	2 gr	1	N	P.L.F
148	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	3	8/22/17	CKM	Cerámica	1	7	4 gr	1	N	P.L.F
149	8/23/17	2	8	NO,NE	3	8/22/17	CKM	Vidrio (Antiguo)	1	15	39 gr	2	N	P.L.F
150	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	Sup.	8/11/17	CKM	Cerámica	1	7	17 gr	3	N	P.L.F

151	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	Sup.	8/11/17	CKM	Cemento	1	16	10 gr	3	N	P.L.F
152	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	Sup.	8/11/17	CKM	Metal	1	9	14 gr	2	N	P.L.F
153	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	Sup.	8/11/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	33 gr	2	N	P.L.F
154	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	1	8/11/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	52 gr	7	N	P.L.F
155	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	1	8/11/17	CKM	Cemento	1	16	4 gr	1	N	P.L.F
156	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	1	8/11/17	CKM	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
157	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	1	8/11/17	CKM	Loseta	1	11	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
158	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	1B	8/12/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	99 gr	5	N	P.L.F
159	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	1B	8/12/17	CKM	Cerámica	1	7	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
160	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	1B	8/14/17	CKM	Cemento	1	16	164 gr	1	N	P.L.F
161	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	1B	8/14/17	CKM	Óseo Animal	1	13	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
162	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	1B	8/14/17	CKM	Textil	1	14	3 gr	1	N	P.L.F
163	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	2	8/16/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	71 gr	4	N	P.L.F
164	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	2	8/16/17	CKM	Cerámica	1	7	22 gr	1	N	P.L.F
165	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	2	8/16/17	CKM	Metal (tapa de botella)	1	9	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
166	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	2	8/16/17	CKM	Plástico (Champú anticasca)	1	16	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
167	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	3	8/16/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	12 gr	3	N	P.L.F
168	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	3	8/16/17	CKM	Vidrio	1	15	6 gr	1	N	P.L.F
169	8/23/17	2	11	NO,NE	3	8/16/17	CKM	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
170	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/16/17	JT	Ladrillo	1	10	74 gr	6	N	P.L.F
171	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/16/17	JT	Metal	1	9	15 gr	3	N	P.L.F
172	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/16/17	JT	Cerámica	1	7	20 gr	2	N	P.L.F
173	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/16/17	JT	Malacológico	1	12	11 gr	9	N	P.L.F
174	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/16/17	JT	Vidrio	1	15	49 gr	2	N	P.L.F
175	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/16/17	JT	Óseo Animal	1	13	22 gr	3	N	P.L.F
176	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/16/17	JT	Yeso	1	9	1 gr	2	N	P.L.F

177	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/16/17	JT	Plástico	1	17	3 gr	3	N	P.L.F
178	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/16/17	PLF	Metal	1	9	120 gr	12	N	P.L.F
179	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/16/17	PLF	Ladrillo	1	10	32 gr	4	N	P.L.F
180	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/16/17	PLF	Óseo Animal	1	13	5 gr	2	N	P.L.F
181	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/16/17	PLF	Carbón	1	8	3 gr	6	N	P.L.F
182	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/16/17	PLF	Cerámica vidriada (colonial aprox. siglo XVIII)	1	7	45 gr	3	N	P.L.F
183	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/16/17	PLF	Botánico	1	8	1 gr	7	N	P.L.F
184	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/16/17	PLF	Malacológico	1	12	2 gr	10	N	P.L.F
185	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/16/17	PLF	Vidrio	1	15	11 gr	6	N	P.L.F
186	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/16/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	29 gr	4	N	P.L.F
187	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/16/17	PLF	Plástico	1	16	8 gr	3	N	P.L.F
188	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/18/17	LSC	Cerámica	1	7	114 gr	3	N	P.L.F
189	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/18/17	LSC	Ladrillo	1	10	200 gr	14	N	P.L.F
190	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/18/17	LSC	Loseta	1	11	17 gr	3	N	P.L.F
191	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/18/17	LSC	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	5	N	P.L.F
192	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/18/17	LSC	Carbón	1	8	1 gr	3	N	P.L.F
193	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/18/17	LSC	Plástico	1	16	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
194	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/18/17	LSC	Vidrio	1	15	6 gr	3	N	P.L.F
195	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/18/17	LSC	Óseo Animal	1	13	41 gr	11	N	P.L.F
196	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/18/17	PLF	Carbón	1	8	1 gr	7	N	P.L.F
197	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/18/17	PLF	Textil	1	14	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
198	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/18/17	PLF	Óseo Animal	1	13	9 gr	10	N	P.L.F
199	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/18/17	PLF	Porcelana	1	7	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
200	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/18/17	PLF	Ladrillo	1	10	46 gr	7	N	P.L.F
201	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/18/17	PLF	Vidrio	1	15	20 gr	3	N	P.L.F

202	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/18/17	PLF	Malacológico	1	12	4 gr	15	N	P.L.F
203	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/18/17	PLF	Metal	1	9	60 gr	7	N	P.L.F
204	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/18/17	PLF	Loseta	1	11	47 gr	5	N	P.L.F
205	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/18/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	155 gr	7	N	P.L.F
206	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/21/17	PLF	Cerámica vidriada (colonial aprox. siglo XVIII)	1	7	24 gr	5	N	P.L.F
207	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/21/17	PLF	Óseo Animal	1	13	1 gr	4	N	P.L.F
208	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/21/17	PLF	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	2	N	P.L.F
209	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/21/17	PLF	Carbón	1	8	1 gr	3	N	P.L.F
210	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/21/17	PLF	Vidrio	1	15	4 gr	5	N	P.L.F
211	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/21/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	113 gr	4	N	P.L.F
212	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/21/17	PLF	Loseta	1	11	134 gr	3	N	P.L.F
213	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/21/17	PLF	Ladrillo	1	10	23 gr	5	N	P.L.F
214	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/21/17	PLF	Ladrillo	1	10	78 gr	4	N	P.L.F
215	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/21/17	PLF	Malacológico (Mesodesma donacium y Perumytilus purpuratus)	1	12	2 gr	4	N	P.L.F
216	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/21/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	8 gr	2	N	P.L.F
217	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/21/17	PLF	Carbón	1	8	1 gr	3	N	P.L.F
218	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/21/17	PLF	Vidrio	1	15	2 gr	1	N	P.L.F
219	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/21/17	PLF	Metal (Clavos)	1	9	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
220	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/21/17	PLF	Loseta	1	11	25 gr	3	N	P.L.F
221	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/21/17	PLF	Óseo Animal	1	13	20 gr	1	N	P.L.F
222	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/22/17	CKM	Plástico	1	16	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
223	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/22/17	CKM	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F

224	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/22/17	CKM	Cerámica	1	7	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
225	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/22/17	CKM	Vidrio	1	15	5 gr	1	N	P.L.F
226	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/22/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	19 gr	3	N	P.L.F
227	8/23/17	2	10	10N	1	8/22/17	CKM	Papel (cartón)	1	16	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
228	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/22/17	PLF	Botánico (madera quemada)	1	8	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
229	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/22/17	PLF	Óseo Animal	1	13	6 gr	7	N	P.L.F
230	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/22/17	PLF	Loseta	1	11	37 gr	5	N	P.L.F
231	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/22/17	PLF	Porcelana	1	7	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
232	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/22/17	PLF	Lítico (?)	1	9	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
233	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/22/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	4 gr	1	N	P.L.F
234	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/22/17	PLF	Vidrio (Antiguo y moderno)	1	15	19 gr	2	N	P.L.F
235	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/22/17	PLF	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	6	N	P.L.F
236	8/23/17	2	10	10S	1	8/22/17	PLF	Mate	1	8	9 gr	1	N	P.L.F
237	8/24/17	2	10	10S	1	8/24/17	PLF/LSC	Plástico	1	16	1 gr	4	N	P.L.F
238	8/24/17	2	10	10S	1	8/24/17	PLF/LSC	Loseta	1	11	111 gr	2	N	P.L.F
239	8/24/17	2	10	10S	1	8/24/17	PLF/LSC	Vidrio	1	15	4 gr	2	N	P.L.F
240	8/24/17	2	10	10S	1	8/24/17	PLF/LSC	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
241	8/24/17	2	10	10S	1	8/24/17	PLF/LSC	Ladrillo	1	10	70 gr	4	N	P.L.F
242	8/24/17	2	10	10S	1	8/24/17	PLF/LSC	Metal (Clavo)	1	9	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
243	8/24/17	2	10	10S	1	8/24/17	PLF/LSC	Porcelana	1	7	7 gr	2	N	P.L.F
244	8/24/17	2	10	10S	1	8/24/17	PLF/LSC	Cerámica	1	7	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
245	8/24/17	2	10	10S	1	8/24/17	PLF/LSC	Óseo Animal	1	13	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
246	8/24/17	2	10	10N	1	8/24/17	PLF/LSC	Loseta	1	11	127 gr	1	N	P.L.F
247	8/24/17	2	10	10N	1	8/24/17	PLF/LSC	Cerámica	1	7	97 gr	3	N	P.L.F
248	8/24/17	2	10	10N	1	8/24/17	PLF/LSC	Ladrillo	1	10	16 gr	6	N	P.L.F

249	8/24/17	2	10	10N	1	8/24/17	PLF/LSC	Malacológico	1	12	3 gr	4	N	P.L.F
250	8/24/17	2	10	10N	1	8/24/17	PLF/LSC	Cemento	1	16	37 gr	1	N	P.L.F
251	8/24/17	2	10	10N	1	8/24/17	PLF/LSC	Plástico	1	16	9 gr	1	N	P.L.F
252	8/24/17	2	10	10N	1	8/24/17	PLF/LSC	Porcelana	1	7	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
253	8/24/17	2	10	10N	1	8/24/17	PLF/LSC	Vidrio	1	15	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
254	8/24/17	1	5	NO,NE	1	8/24/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	107 gr	1	N	P.L.F
255	8/24/17	1	5	NO,NE	1	8/24/17	CKM	Porcelana	1	7	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
256	8/24/17	1	5	NO,NE	1	8/24/17	CKM	Cerámica	1	7	10 gr	1	N	P.L.F
257	8/24/17	1	5	NO,NE	1	8/24/17	CKM	Cerámica vidriada (colonial aprox. siglo XVIII)	1	7	7 gr	2	N	P.L.F
258	8/24/17	1	5	NO,NE	1	8/24/17	CKM	Plástico (Poliestileno)	1	16	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
259	10/5/17	2	11	Amp NO	1	8/27/17	LSC	Ladrillo	1	10	16 gr	4	N	P.L.F
260	10/5/17	2	11	Amp NO	1	8/27/17	LSC	Loseta	1	11	20 gr	3	N	P.L.F
261	10/5/17	2	11	Amp NO	1	8/27/17	LSC	Plástico	1	16	2 gr	3	N	P.L.F
262	10/5/17	2	11	Amp NO	1	8/26/17	LSC	Malacológico	1	12	5 gr	3	N	P.L.F
263	10/5/17	2	11	Amp NO	1	8/27/17	LSC	Malacológico	1	12	5 gr	10	N	P.L.F
264	10/5/17	2	11	Amp NO	1	8/27/17	LSC	Ladrillo	1	10	8 gr	3	N	P.L.F
265	10/5/17	2	11	Amp NO	1	8/26/17	LSC	Plástico	1	16	1 gr	4	N	P.L.F
266	10/5/17	2	11	Amp NO	1	8/26/17	LSC	Cerámica	1	7	12 gr	10	N	P.L.F
267	10/5/17	2	11	Amp NO	1	8/26/17	LSC	Botánico (variado)	1	8	6 gr	9	N	P.L.F
268	10/5/17	2	11	Amp NO	2	8/27/17	LSC	Botánico	1	8	2 gr	1	N	P.L.F

269	10/5/17	2	11	Amp NO	2	8/28/17	LSC	Plástico	1	16	8 gr	3	N	P.L.F
270	10/5/17	2	11	Amp NO	4	8/28/17	LSC	Plástico	1	16	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
271	10/5/17	2	11	Amp NO	4	8/28/17	LSC	Botánico	1	8	6 gr	2	N	P.L.F
272	10/5/17	2	11	Amp NO	4	8/28/17	LSC	Vidrio	1	15	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
273	10/5/17	2	11	Amp NO	4	8/28/17	LSC	Loseta	1	11	17 gr	3	N	P.L.F
274	10/5/17	2	11	Amp NO	4	8/28/17	LSC	Malacológico	1	12	3 gr	5	N	P.L.F
275	10/5/17	2	11	Amp NO	4	8/28/17	LSC	Ladrillo	1	10	71 gr	8	N	P.L.F
276	10/5/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	Sup.	8/26/17	CKM	Plástico	1	16	1 gr	2	N	P.L.F
277	10/5/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	Sup.	8/26/17	CKM	Cerámica	1	7	24 gr	1	N	P.L.F
278	10/5/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	Sup.	8/26/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	13 gr	6	N	P.L.F
279	10/5/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	1	8/26/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	13 gr	2	N	P.L.F
280	10/5/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	1	8/26/17	CKM	Vidrio	1	15	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
281	10/5/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	2	8/27/17	CKM	Cerámica	1	7	28 gr	2	N	P.L.F
282	10/5/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	2	8/27/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	79 gr	12	N	P.L.F
283	10/5/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	2	8/27/17	CKM	Metal	1	9	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
284	10/5/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	2	8/27/17	CKM	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	2	N	P.L.F
285	10/5/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	2	8/27/17	CKM	Cemento	1	16	23 gr	1	N	P.L.F
286	10/5/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	2	8/27/17	CKM	Plástico	1	16	1 gr	2	N	P.L.F
287	10/5/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	2	8/27/17	CKM	Vidrio	1	15	13 gr	6	N	P.L.F

288	10/5/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	2	8/26/17	CKM	Loseta	1	11	9 gr	1	N	P.L.F
289	10/5/17	1	9	Amp O-NO	2	9/3/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	528 gr	18	N	P.L.F
290	10/5/17	1	9	Amp O-NO	2	8/28/17	CKM	Botánico (madera, presenta evidencia de pintura blanca en el borde)	1	8	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
291	10/5/17	1	9	Amp O-NO	2	8/28/17	CKM	Porcelana	1	7	4 gr	1	N	P.L.F
292	10/5/17	1	9	Amp O-NO	2	9/5/17	CKM	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
293	10/5/17	1	9	Amp O-NO	2	8/28/17	CKM	Vidrio	1	15	14 gr	6	N	P.L.F
294	10/5/17	1	9	Amp O-NO	2	9/3/17	CKM	Cerámica vidriada (colonial aprox. siglo XVIII)	1	7	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
295	10/5/17	1	9	Amp O-NO	2	9/3/17	CKM	Cemento	1	16	142 gr	11	N	P.L.F
296	10/24/17	1	9	Amp NO	3A	8/27/17	CKM	Cerámica vidriada (colonial aprox. siglo XVIII)	1	7	6 gr	1	N	P.L.F
297	10/24/17	1	9	Amp NO	3A	8/27/17	CKM	Botánico (madera trabajada y presenta pintura verde)	1	8	3 gr	3	N	P.L.F
298	10/24/17	1	9	Amp NO	3A	8/27/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	4 gr	1	N	P.L.F
299	10/24/17	1	9	Amp NO	3A	8/27/17	CKM	Loseta	1	11	5 gr	1	N	P.L.F
300	10/24/17	1	9	Amp NO	3A	8/27/17	CKM	Vidrio	1	15	10 gr	1	N	P.L.F
301	10/24/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	3C	8/27/17	CKM	Cemento	1	16	251 gr	1	N	P.L.F

302	10/24/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	3C	8/27/17	CKM	Cemento (pared)	1	16	22 gr	2	N	P.L.F
303	10/24/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	3C	8/27/17	CKM	Carbón (presente en una posible zuela de zapato)	1	8	8 gr	2	N	P.L.F
304	10/24/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	3C	8/27/17	CKM	Loseta (moderna)	1	11	22 gr	2	N	P.L.F
305	10/24/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	3C	8/27/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	119 gr	8	N	P.L.F
306	10/24/17	1	9	Amp Oeste	3C	8/27/17	CKM	Plástico	1	16	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
307	10/24/17	1	9	Amp O-NO	1	8/28/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	26 gr	1	N	P.L.F
308	10/24/17	1	9	Amp O-NO	Sup.	8/28/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	9 gr	2	N	P.L.F
309	10/24/17	1	9	Amp O-NO	1	8/28/17	CKM	Metal (clavo)	1	9	3 gr	1	N	P.L.F
310	10/24/17	1	9	Amp O-NO	1	8/28/17	CKM	Metal (Chapa de botella)	1	9	2 gr	1	N	P.L.F
311	10/24/17	1	9	Amp O-NO	1	8/28/17	CKM	Botánico	1	8	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
312	10/24/17	1	9	Amp O-NO	1	8/28/17	CKM	Cemento	1	16	8 gr	1	N	P.L.F
313	10/24/17	1	9	NE	3B	8/28/17	CKM	Cerámica	1	7	14 gr	2	N	P.L.F
314	10/24/17	1	9	NE	3B	8/28/17	CKM	Cerámica vidriada (colonial aprox. siglo XVIII)	1	7	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
315	10/24/17	1	9	NE	3B	8/28/17	CKM	Vidrio	1	15	3 gr	2	N	P.L.F
316	10/24/17	1	9	NE	3B	8/28/17	CKM	Malacológico	1	12	5 gr	5	N	P.L.F
317	10/24/17	1	9	NE	3B	8/29/17	CKM	Ladrillo	1	10	73 gr	9	N	P.L.F
318	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	Sup.	8/26/17	JT	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	2	N	P.L.F
319	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	Sup.	8/26/17	JT	Ladrillo	1	10	39 gr	6	N	P.L.F
320	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	1A	8/26/17	JT	Loseta	1	11	13 gr	2	N	P.L.F
321	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	1A	8/26/17	JT	Plástico	1	16	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F

322	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	1A	8/26/17	JT	Ladrillo	1	10	6 gr	1	N	P.L.F
323	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	1A	8/26/17	JT	Vidrio	1	15	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
324	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	1A	8/26/17	JT	Botánico	1	8	4 gr	3	N	P.L.F
325	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	1A	8/26/17	JT	Metal	1	9	5 gr	1	N	P.L.F
326	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	1A	8/26/17	JT	Cal	1	9	23 gr	3	N	P.L.F
327	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	1B	8/29/17	PLF	Ladrillo	1	10	26 gr	3	N	P.L.F
328	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	1B	8/29/17	PLF	Metal	1	9	32 gr	1	N	P.L.F
329	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	1B	8/29/17	PLF	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	2	N	P.L.F
330	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	1B	8/29/17	PLF	Loseta	1	11	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
331	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	1B	8/29/17	PLF	Vidrio	1	15	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
332	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	2A	8/28/17	PLF	Botánico	1	8	1 gr	7	N	P.L.F
333	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	2A	8/28/17	PLF	Vidrio	1	15	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
334	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	2	8/27/17	JT/PLF	Vidrio	1	15	51 gr	15	N	P.L.F
335	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	2	8/27/17	JT/PLF	Botánico	1	8	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
336	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	2	8/27/17	JT/PLF	Plástico	1	16	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
337	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	2	8/27/17	JT/PLF	Metal (Clavo)	1	9	2 gr	4	N	P.L.F
338	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	2	8/27/17	JT/PLF	Loseta	1	11	3 gr	1	N	P.L.F
339	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	2	8/27/17	JT/PLF	Cemento (pared)	1	16	95 gr	2	N	P.L.F
340	10/24/17	1	2	NO,NE	2	8/27/17	JT/PLF	Cemento	1	16	100 gr	10	N	P.L.F
341	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2B	8/28/17	PLF	Metal	1	9	223 gr	3	N	P.L.F
342	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2B	8/28/17	PLF	Yeso	1	9	13 gr	8	N	P.L.F
343	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2B	8/28/17	PLF	Cemento	1	16	91 gr	12	N	P.L.F
344	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2B	8/28/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	11 gr	2	N	P.L.F
345	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2B	8/28/17	PLF	Ladrillo	1	10	91 gr	10	N	P.L.F
346	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2B	8/28/17	PLF	Vidrio	1	15	5 gr	7	N	P.L.F
347	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2C	8/29/17	PLF	Porcelana	1	7	1 gr	3	N	P.L.F
348	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2C	8/29/17	PLF	Vidrio (elaborado de	1	15	10 gr	4	N	P.L.F

								manera artesanal)						
349	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2C	8/28/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	4 gr	1	N	P.L.F
350	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2C	8/29/17	PLF	Ladrillo	1	10	14 gr	3	N	P.L.F
351	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2C	8/28/17	PLF	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
352	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2C	8/29/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
353	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2C	8/28/17	PLF	Botánico	1	8	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
354	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2C	8/28/17	PLF	Porcelana	1	7	6 gr	1	N	P.L.F
355	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2D	8/29/17	PLF	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
356	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2D	8/29/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	11 gr	6	N	P.L.F
357	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2D	8/29/17	PLF	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	3	N	P.L.F
358	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2D	9/2/17	LSC	Cemento	1	16	1 gr	4	N	P.L.F
359	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2D	9/2/17	LSC	Loseta	1	11	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
360	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2D	9/2/17	LSC	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
361	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2D	9/2/17	LSC	Vidrio	1	15	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
362	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2D	9/2/17	LSC	Ladrillo	1	10	1 gr	6	N	P.L.F
363	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2D	9/3/17	LSC	Carbón	1	8	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
364	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2D	9/4/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	2 gr	1	N	P.L.F
365	10/25/17	1	2	NO,NE	2D	9/4/17	PLF	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
366	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	Sup.	9/2/17	PLF	Botánico	1	8	1 gr	2	N	P.L.F
367	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	Sup.	9/2/17	PLF	Textil	1	14	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
368	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	Sup.	9/2/17	PLF	Loseta	1	11	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
369	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	Sup.	9/2/17	PLF	Metal	1	9	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
370	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	Sup.	9/2/17	PLF	Plástico	1	16	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
371	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	Sup.	9/2/17	PLF	Vidrio	1	15	1 gr	4	N	P.L.F
372	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	Sup.	9/2/17	PLF	Metal (clavos)	1	9	1 gr	2	N	P.L.F
373	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1	9/3/17	PLF	Ladrillo	1	10	31 gr	7	N	P.L.F
374	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1	9/3/17	PLF	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	3	N	P.L.F

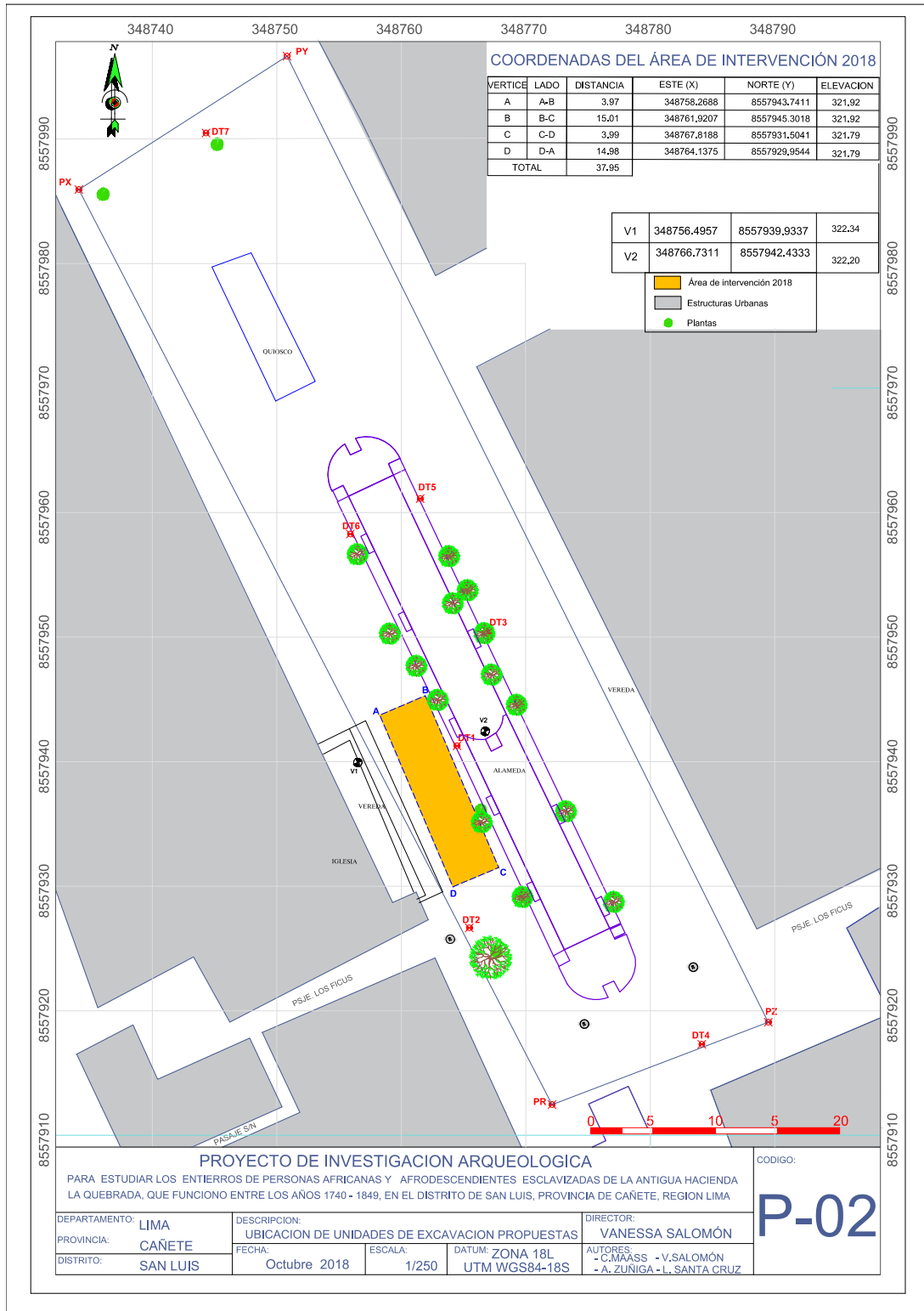
375	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1	9/3/17	PLF	Botánico	1	8	15 gr	15	N	P.L.F
376	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1	9/3/17	PLF	Metal (Clavos)	1	9	3 gr	3	N	P.L.F
377	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1	9/3/17	PLF	Vidrio	1	15	8 gr	8	N	P.L.F
378	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1	9/3/17	PLF	Plástico	1	16	1 gr	3	N	P.L.F
379	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1	9/3/17	PLF	Textil	1	14	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
380	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.1	9/3/17	PLF	Loseta	1	11	3 gr	6	N	P.L.F
381	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.1	9/3/17	PLF	Ladrillo	1	10	9 gr	2	N	P.L.F
382	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.1	9/3/17	PLF	Botánico	1	8	15 gr	2	N	P.L.F
383	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.1	9/3/17	PLF	Metal	1	9	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
384	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.1	9/3/17	PLF	Plástico	1	16	3 gr	9	N	P.L.F
385	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.2	9/4/17	PLF	Loseta	1	11	22 gr	1	N	P.L.F
386	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.2	9/4/17	PLF	Metal	1	9	20 gr	6	N	P.L.F
387	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.2	9/4/17	PLF	Cemento	1	16	607 gr	32	N	P.L.F
388	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.2	9/4/17	PLF	Textil	1	14	38 gr	4	N	P.L.F
389	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.2	9/4/17	PLF	Botánico	1	8	3 gr	6	N	P.L.F
390	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.2	9/4/17	PLF	Ladrillo	1	10	60 gr	11	N	P.L.F
391	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.2	9/4/17	PLF	Porcelana	1	7	26 gr	6	N	P.L.F
392	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.2	9/4/17	PLF	Vidrio	1	15	36 gr	11	N	P.L.F
393	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.2	9/4/17	PLF	Carbón	1	8	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
394	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.2	9/4/17	PLF	Plástico	1	16	174 gr	10	N	P.L.F
395	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.3	9/5/17	PLF	Malacológico	1	12	2 gr	3	N	P.L.F
396	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.3	9/5/17	PLF	Vidrio	1	15	2 gr	1	N	P.L.F
397	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.3A	9/5/17	PLF	Vidrio	1	15	6 gr	2	N	P.L.F
398	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.3A	9/5/17	PLF	Muestra Tierra (presenta evidencia de quema)	1	9	27 gr	12	N	P.L.F
399	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	1.3A	9/5/17	PLF	Metal	1	9	82 gr	12	N	P.L.F

400	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	2	9/5/17	PLF	Cerámica vidriada (colonial aprox. siglo XVIII)	1	7	8 gr	4	N	P.L.F
401	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	2	9/5/17	PLF	Porcelana	1	7	4 gr	4	N	P.L.F
402	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	2	9/5/17	PLF	Oseo Animal	1	13	11 gr	9	N	P.L.F
403	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	2	9/5/17	PLF	Botánico	1	8	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
404	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	2	9/5/17	PLF	Metal (Clavo)	1	9	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
405	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	2	9/5/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	72 gr	8	N	P.L.F
406	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	2A	9/7/17	PLF	Cerámica vidriada (colonial aprox. siglo XVIII)	1	7	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
407	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	2A	9/7/17	PLF	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
408	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	2A	9/7/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	1 gr	1	N	P.L.F
409	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	2A	9/7/17	PLF	Botánico	1	8	1 gr	7	N	P.L.F
410	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	3	9/7/17	PLF	Cerámica	1	7	10 gr	2	N	P.L.F
411	10/25/17	1	1	NO,NE	3	9/7/17	PLF	Malacológico	1	12	1 gr	6	N	P.L.F

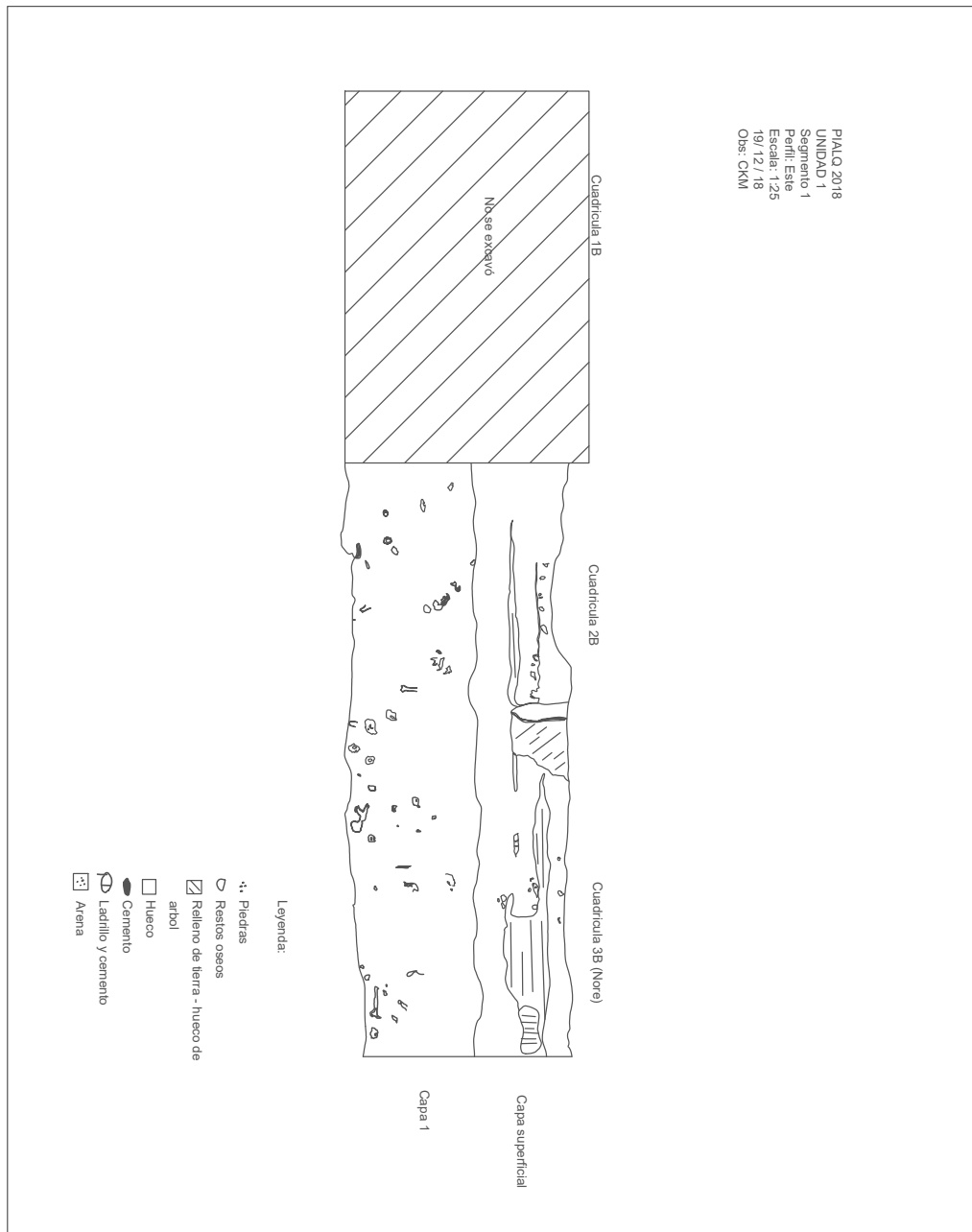
Appendix C

Documentation from Phase III Excavations

C.1: Map of Area of Excavations



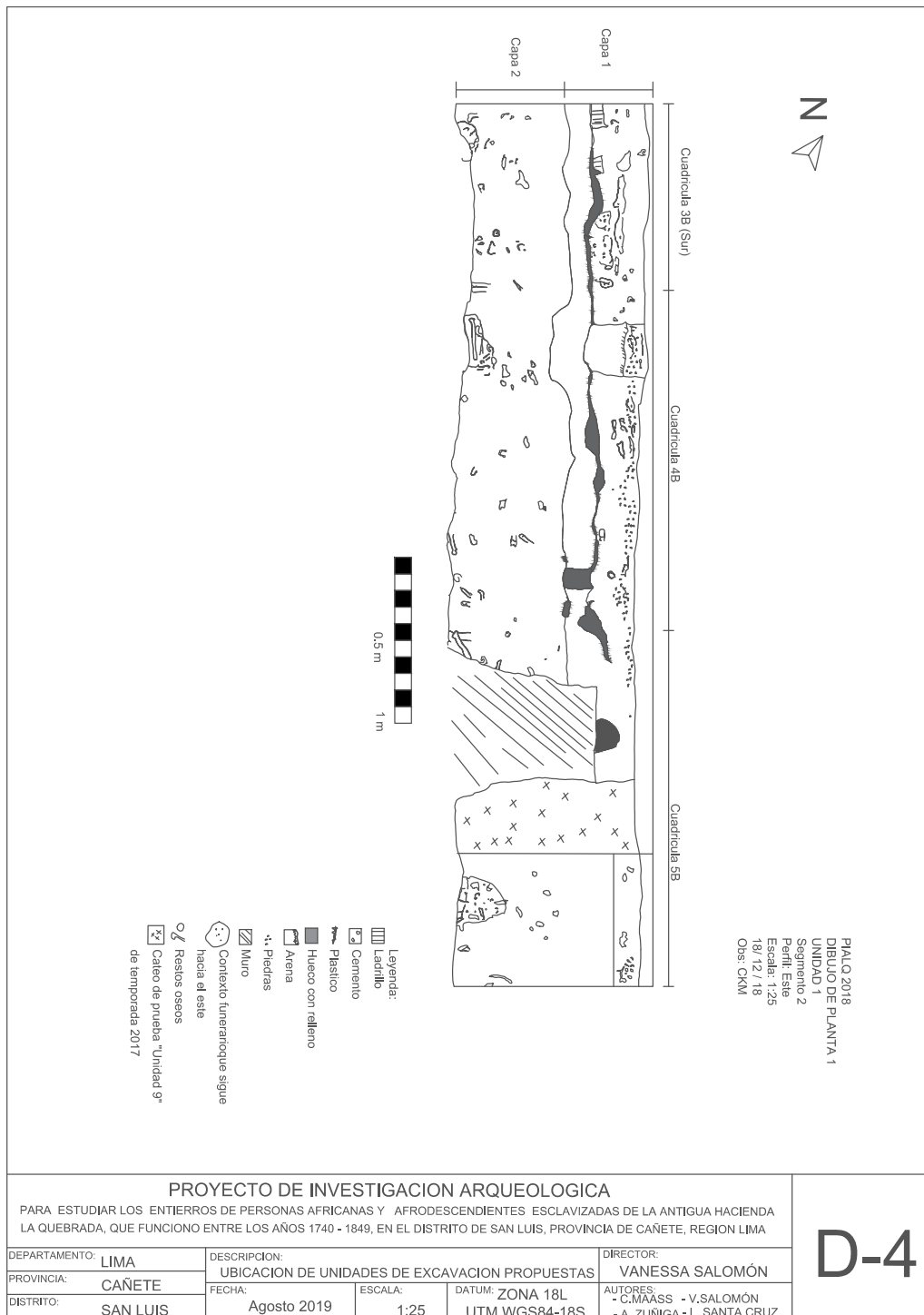
C.2. Stratigraphic Profile of Segment 1



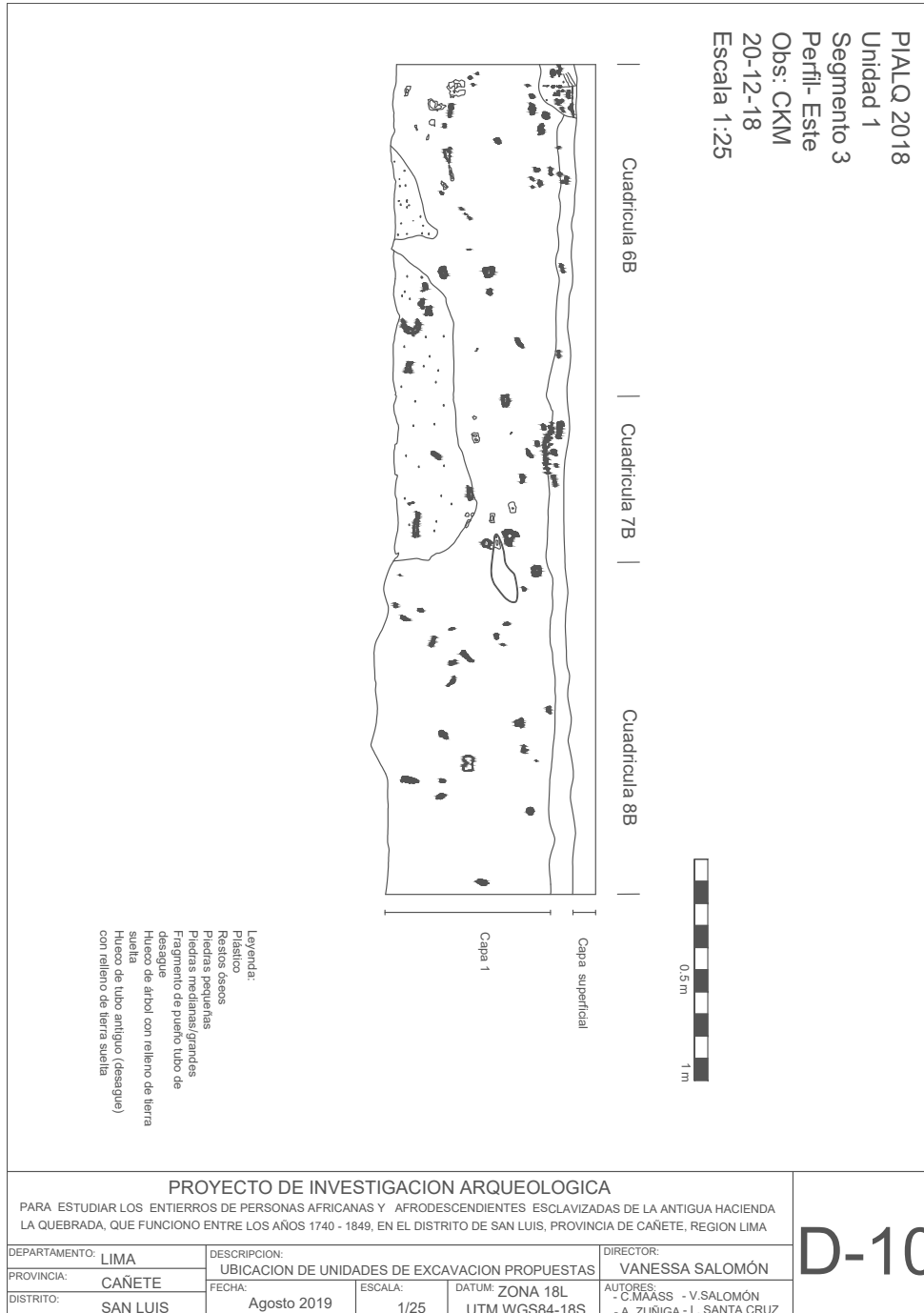
PROYECTO DE INVESTIGACION ARQUEOLOGICA					
PARA ESTUDIAR LOS ENTIERROS DE PERSONAS AFRICANAS Y AFRODESCENDIENTES ESCLAVIZADAS DE LA ANTIGUA HACIENDA LA QUEBRADA, QUE FUNCIONO ENTRE LOS AÑOS 1740 - 1849, EN EL DISTRITO DE SAN LUIS, PROVINCIA DE CAÑETE, REGION LIMA					
DEPARTAMENTO:	LIMA	DESCRIPCION:	UBICACION DE UNIDADES DE EXCAVACION PROPUESTAS		DIRECTOR:
PROVINCIA:	CAÑETE	FECHA:	AGOSTO 2019	ESCALA:	1:25
DISTRITO:	SAN LUIS	DATUM:	ZONA 18L	UTM WGS84-18S	AUTORES: - C.MAASS - V.SALOMÓN - A. ZUÑIGA - L. SANTA CRUZ

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C.3. Stratigraphic Profile of Segment 2



C.4. Stratigraphic Profile of Segment 3



C.5. Inventory of Archaeological Materials from Phase III Excavations, by Box

PIALQ 2018: Caja #1

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadr	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	2	5A	-	1	70-80	-	321	13/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
2	1	2	5A	-	1	90-100	-	158	13/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
3	1	2	5A	-	1	90-100	-	84	13/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
4	1	2	3B	-	1	90-100	-	97	7/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
5	1	2	4A	-	1	90-100	-	289	15/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
6	1	2	4A	-	1	90-100	-	743	12/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
7	1	2	4B	-	1	90-100	-	202	13/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
8	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-	725	9/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
9	1	3	7A/8A	-	1	60-70	-	848	13/11/18	WF	Oseo Humano
10	1	3	6A	-	1	70-80	Individuo #36	185	31/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
11	1	2	5A	-	1	90-100		86	13/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
								TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 11			

PIALQ 2018: Caja #2

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	2	4B	-	1	90-100	-		7/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
2	1	2	5B	-	1	130-160	-		7/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
3	1	2	3A	-	1	80-90	-		29/10/18	GI	Oseo Humano
4	1	2	3A	-	1	90-100	-		7/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano

5	1	3	6B	-	1	70-80	-		7/11/18	WF	Oseo Humano
6	1	2	5B	-	1	90-100	-		7/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
7	1	2	3B	-	1	90-100	-		7/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
8	1	2	4A	-	1	90-100	-		6/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 8											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #3											
Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	6A	-	1	70-80	-	495	6/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	6B	-	1	70-80	-	223	31/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
3	1	2	3B	-	1	90-100	-	226	5/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
4	1	2	4B/5B	-	1	100-120	-	1674	6/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
5	1	2	4A	-	1	90-100	-	736	6/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
6	1	3	6B	-	1	70-80	-	329	05//11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
7	1	2	4B	-	1	90-100	-	637	05//11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
8	1	3	7A	-	1	60-70	-	250	6/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 8											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #4											
Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	7B/8B	-	1	60-70	-	404	29/10/18	WF	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	7B	-	1	50-60	-	324	05//11/18	WF	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	6B	-	1	60-70	-	184	30/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano

4	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-	142	31/10/18	LS	Oseo Humano
5	1	2	5B	-	1	70-80	-	88	05//11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
6	1	2	4B	-	1	90-100	-	663	05//11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
7	1	2	3A	-	1	80-90	-	953	25/10/18	GI	Oseo Humano
8	1	2	5B	-	1	70-80	-	421	05//11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
9	1	3	7B	-	1	50-60	-	304	05//11/18	WF	Oseo Humano
10	1	3	7B	-	1	50-60	Individuo #58	1288	5/11/18	WF	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 10											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #5

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	2	3A	-	1	80-90	-		25/10/18	GI	Oseo Humano
2	1	2	4B	-	1	80-90	-		30/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	6B	-	1	60-70	-		29/10/18	WF	Oseo Humano
4	1	2	5A	-	1	70-80	-		31/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
5	1	3	6B	-	1	60-70	-		29/10/18	WF	Oseo Humano
6	1	2	4B	-	1	80-90	-		30/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
7	1	2	4B	-	1	80-90	-		30/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
8	1	3	6B	-	1	60-70	-		30/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 8											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #6

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	8A	-	1	60-70	-		9/11/18	WF	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	8A	-	1	60-70	-		9/11/18	WF	Oseo Humano
3	1	2	5B	-	1	90-100	-		8/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
4	1	2	5B	-	1	90-100	-		7/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
5	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-		8/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
6	1	2	3B	-	1	90-100	-		9/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	8B	-	1	90-100	-		7/11/18	WF	Oseo Humano
8	1	2	3A	-	1	90-100	-		8/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
9	1	3	8A	-	1	60-70	-		8/11/18	WF	Oseo Humano
10	1	2	5A	-	1	90-100	-		8/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
11	1	3	8A	-	1	60-70	Contexto especial #1		5/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 11											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #7

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	-	-	1	50-60	-	246	25/10/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	-	-	1	50-60	-	491	23/10/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	7B/8B	-	1	60-70	-	1088	29/10/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
4	1	2	3A	-	1	70-80	-	229	23/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
5	1	2	3A	-	1	70-80	-	242	23/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
6	1	2	3B	-	1	80-90	-	475	25/10/18	GI	Oseo Humano
7	1	2	3B	-	1	70-80	-	128	25/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
8	1	3	-	-	1	-	Contexto especial #1	204	26/10/18	LS	Oseo Humano

9	1	2	3B	-	1	70-80	-	302	25/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
10	1	3	7B/8B	-	1	60-70	-	400	29/10/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 10											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #8

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	-	-	1	10-40	-		23/10/18	WF	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	-	-	1	40-50	-		24/10/18	LS, WF	Oseo Humano
3	1	2	3A	-	1	60-70	-		22/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
4	1	2	3A	-	1	60-70	-		22/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
5	1	2	4A	-	1	50-60	-		22/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
6	1	3	-	-	1	20-40	-		18/10/18	WF	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	-	-	1	20-40	-		19/10/18	LS	Oseo Humano
8	1	2	4A	-	1	50-60	-		19/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
9	1	3	-	-	1	20-40	-		22/10/18	LS, WF, GI	Oseo Humano
10	1	3	-	-	1	20-40	-		16-17/10/18	GI,LS	Oseo Humano
11	1	2	-	-	1	50-60	-		19/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
12	1	3	-	-	1	20-40	-		18/10/18	GI	Oseo Humano
13	1	2	-	-	1	60-70	-		22-23/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
14	1	3	-	-	1	-	-		11-15/10/18	LS, CKM, GI	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 14											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #9

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	2	5B	-	1	80-90	-		7/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
2	1	2	5B	-	1	90-100	-		9/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
3	1	2	3A	-	1	90-100	-		12/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
4	1	2	5A	-	1	90-100	-		12/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
5	1	2	5B	-	1	90-100	-		13/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
6	1	2	3B	-	1	90-100	-		-	CKM	Oseo Humano
7	1	2	3A	-	1	90-100	-		9/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
8	1	2	5B	-	1	100-130	-		12/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
9	1	2	5B	-	1	100-130	-		12/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 9											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #10

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	2	3A	-	1	60-70	-	597	23/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
2	1	2	4A	-	1	80-90	-	58	05/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	-	-	1	40-50	-	93	25/10/18	LS, WFL	Oseo Humano
4	1	2	4A	-	1	50-60	-	264	22/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
5	1	2	3A	-	1	70-80	-	385	23/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
6	1	2	3A	-	1	70-80	-	201	23/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	-	-	1	40-50	-	108	25/10/18	WF	Oseo Humano
8	1	2	3A	-	1	70-80	-	12	23/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
9	1	3	6A	-	1	70-80	Individuo #37	30	9/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
10	1	2	5A	-	1	90-100	-	30	13/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano

11	1	2	4A	-	1	90-100	-	491	8/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
12	1	3	7A	-	1	100-110		369	13/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
13	1	3	7A	-	1	100-110		34	13/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
14	1	3	7A	-	1	100-110		79	13/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
15	1	3	7A	-	1	100-110		104	13/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
16	1	3	7A	-	1	100-110		42	13/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
17	1	3	7A	-	1	100-110		39	13/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
								TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 17			

PIALQ 2018: Caja #11

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	-	-	1	20-40	-	1229	18-22/10/18	WF, GI, LS	Oseo Humano
2	1	2	3B	-	1	80-90	-	27	30/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
3	1	2	3A	-	1	60-70	-	306	22/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
4	1	3	-	-	1	40-50	-	346	24/10/18	LS, WF	Oseo Humano
5	1	2	3A	-	1	60-70	-	441	23/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
6	1	2	4A	-	1	50-60	-	305	22/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
7	1	2	3A	-	1	60-70	-	308	22/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
8	1	2	-	-	1	60-70	-	889	23/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
9	1	2	3A	-	1	60-70	-	955	22/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
								TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 9			

PIALQ 2018: Caja #12

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	2	3A	-	1	60-70	-		22/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	-	-	Superficial	-	-		9/10/18	CKM, LS, GI	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	6B	-	1	60-70	-		29/10/18	WF	Oseo Humano
4	1	2	5A	-	1	70-80	-		31/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
5	1	2	5A	-	1	90-100	-		8/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
6	1	2	3B	-	1	60-70	-		24/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
7	1	2	-	-	Superficial	-	-		18/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
8	1	2	-	-	Superficial	-	-		18/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
9	1	2	-	-	Superficial	-	-		15-17/10/18	CKM, LS	Oseo Humano
10	1	3	7A/8A	-	1	50-60	-		15/11/18	WF	Oseo Humano
11	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-		8/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
12	1	3	5A-7A	-	1	70-80	-		30/10/18	LS	Oseo Humano
13	1	3	6A	-	1	50-60	-		26/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
14	1	3	5A-7A	-	1	70-80	-		30/10/18	LS	Oseo Humano
15	1	3	6A	-	1	50-60	-		29/10/18	CKM, LS	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 15											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #14

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	2	4A	-	1	80-90	-	799	5//11/18	GI	Craneo humano (#7)

2	1	2	3B	-	1	90-100	-	312	6/11/18	CKM	Craneo humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 2											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #15

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	6A, 6B	-	1	70-80	Individuo #1	967	29/11/18	WFL	Craneo humano
2	1	3	-	-	1	80-90	Individuo #3	353	5/12/18	CKM	Craneo humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 2											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #16

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	7A, 7B	-	1	80-90	Individuo #28		13/12/18	GI	Oseo Humano
2	1	1	2A	-	1	100-120	Contexto Funerario #3 (Bolsa 1/3)		12/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
3	1	1	2A	-	1	100-120	Contexto Funerario #3 (Bolsa 2/3)		12/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
4	1	1	2A	-	1	100-110	Contexto Funerario #3 (Bolsa 3/3)		11/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
5	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	Individuo #27		13/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
6	1	1	2A	-	1	100-110	-		13/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	7A	-	1	60-70	-		5/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 7											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #17

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	2	3A	-	1	80-90	-	651	30/10/18	GI	Craneo humano (#4)
2	1	3	6B	-	1	60-70	-	225	30/10/18	CKM	Craneo humano (#5)
3	1	3	6A	-	1	90-100	-	115	13/12/18	CKM	Craneo Humano (#36)
4	1	2	4A	-	1	90-100	-	99	8/11/18	CKM	Oseo humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 4											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #18

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	2	4A	-	1	90-100	-	682	8/11/18	CKM	Craneo humano (#9)
2	1	2	4A	-	1	90-100	-	650 (con papel)	15/11/18	CKM	Craneo humano (#22)
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 2											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #19

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	2	3A	-	1	70-80	-	264	24/10/18	CKM	Craneo humano (#2)
2	1	2	3A	-	1	70-80	-	306	24/10/18	CKM	Craneo humano (#1)
3	1	2	3A	-	1	80-90	-	406	25/10/18	GI, CKM	Craneo humano (#3)
4	1	2	3B	-	1	90-100	-	249	05//11/18	GI	Craneo humano (#8)
5	1	3	-	-	1	60-70	-	77	30/10/18	WF	Craneo humano

TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 5

PIALQ 2018: Caja #20

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	2	3A	-	1	80-90	-		29/10/18	GI	Diente humano
2	1	2	3A	-	1	70-80	-		22-23/10/18	CKM	Diente humano
3	1	2	5A	-	1	70-80	-		14/11/18	CKM	Diente humano
4	1	3	-	-	1	-	-		17/11/18	CKM, LS, GI	Diente humano
5	1	2	-	-	1	50-60	-		19/10/18	CKM	Diente humano
6	1	3	-	-	Superficial	-	-		9/10/18	CKM, LS, GI	Diente humano
7	1	2	-	-	Superficial	-	-		16-18/10/18	CKM	Diente humano
8	1	2	3A	-	1	80-90	-		25/10/18	CKM, GI	Diente humano
9	1	2	5B	-	1	90-100	-		13/11/18	CKM	Diente humano
10	1	1	2A, 2B	-	1	50-60	-		28/11/18	CKM	Diente humano
11	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-		22/11/18	GI	Diente humano
12	1	1	2A, 2B, 3A, 3B	-	1	40-50	-		26/11/18	CKM, LS	Diente humano
13	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	50-60	-		27/11/18	CKM	Diente humano
14	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	30-40	-		22/11/18	LS	Diente humano
15	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	-		6/12/18	CKM	Diente humano
16	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	-		4/12/18	CKM	Diente humano
17	1	1	2B, 3B	-	1	60-70	-		29/11/18	CKM	Diente humano
18	1	3	-	-	1	Perfil	-		13/11/18	CKM	Diente humano
19	1	3	7A	-	1	100-120	-		20/12/18	WFL	Diente humano
20	1	3	6B	-	1	100-110	-		18/12/18	LS	Diente humano
21	1	3	6A	-	1	100-110	-		17/12/18	CKM	Diente humano

22	1	3	-	-	1	-	-		1/11 - 20/12/18	CKM	Diente humano
23	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	-		11/12/18	CKM	Diente humano
24	1	3	7A	-	1	80-90	-		6/12/18	CMA	Diente humano
25	1	1	3A, 3B	-	1	60-70	-		28/11/18	LS	Diente Humano
26	1	1	2	-	Superficial	-	-		21/11/18	LS	Diente humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 26											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #21											
Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	6A/6B	-	1	70-80	-		15/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	8B	-	1	70-80	-		19/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-		15/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
4	1	3	6B	-	1	60-70	-		15/11/18	WF	Oseo Humano
5	1	3	6B	-	1	60-70	-		15/11/18	WF	Oseo Humano
6	1	3	6B	-	1	70-80	-		19/11/18	WF	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	6B	-	1	60	-		15/11/18	WF	Oseo Humano
8	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-		19/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
9	1	3	7B	-	1	70-80	-		14/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
10	1	3	7B/8B	-	1	60-70	-		14/11/18	WF	Oseo Humano
11	1	3	7B	-	1	70-80	-		14/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
12	1	3	7A/8A	-	1	60-70	-		14/11/18	WF	Oseo Humano
13	1	3	-	-	1	Perfil	-		13/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 13											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #22

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	2	5B	-	1	70-80	-		5//11/18	CKM	Craneo humano
2	1	3	7A/8A	-	1	60-70	-		13/11/18	WF	Craneo humano
3	1	2	3B	-	1	90-100	-		6/11/18	CKM	Craneo humano
4	1	3	6A	-	1	60-70	-		6/11/18	CKM	Craneo humano
5	1	2	4A	-	1	90-100	-		12/11/18	CKM	Craneo humano
6	1	2	4A	-	1	90-100	-		12/11/18	CKM	Craneo humano (#15)
7	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-		8/11/18	LS	Craneo humano
8	1	2	5B	-	1	70-80	-		31/10/18	CKM	Craneo humano
9	1	3	6A	-	1	70-80	-		19/11/18	LS	Craneo humano
10	1	3	7B	-	1	70-80	-		15/11/18	LS	Craneo humano
11	1	3	6A/6B	-	1	70-80	-		19/11/18	LS	Craneo humano
12	1	3	6A	-	1	70-80	-		15/11/18	LS	Craneo humano
								TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 12			

PIALQ 2018: Caja #23

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	2	4A	-	1	90-100	-	551	15/11/18	CKM	Craneo Humano (#23)
2	1	2	4A	-	1	90-100	-	583	14/11/18	CKM	Craneo humano (#21)

TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 2

PIALQ 2018: Caja #24

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	7A	-	1	120-130	Contexto Funerario #9	468	20/12/18	WF	Craneo Humano
2	1	3	7A	-	1	110-120	-	234	21/12/18	CMA	Craneo Humano (#37)
3	1	3	7A	-	1	110-120	Contexto Funerario #8	624	19/12/18	WF	Craneo Humano
4	1	3	7B, 8B	-	1	80-90	-	317	15/12/18	GI	Craneo Humano (#39)
5	1	3	-	-	1	40-50	-	57	25/10/18	WF	Oseo Humano
6	1	2	3A	-	1	80-90	-	64	25/10/18	GI	Oseo Humano
7	1	2	4B	-	1	90-100	-	77	5/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano

TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 7

PIALQ 2018: Caja #25

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	6	-	1	70-80	-	246	8/11/18	GI	Craneo Humano (#10)
2	1	3	7A	-	1	110-120	-	306	21/12/18	CMA	Craneo humano (#45)
3	1	3	8B	-	1	100-110	-	419	19/12/18	GI	Craneo Humano (#44)
4	1	1	2A	-	1	100-110	Contexto Funerario #4	480	12/12/18	LS	Craneo Humano
5	1	3	6A	-	1	90-100	Individuo #21	128	14/12/18	WF	Craneo Humano

TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 5

PIALQ 2018: Caja #26

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material	
1	1	3	8B	-	1	80-90	-	561	30/11/18	GI	Craneo Humano (#27)	
2	1	1	3B	-	1	100-120	Contexto Funerario #6	450	15/12/18	LS	Craneo Humano	
3	1	3	7B	-	1	80-90	-	511	14/12/18	GI	Craneo Humano (#43)	
4	1	3	7B	-	1	70-80	-	294	4/12/18	CMA	Craneo Humano (#28)	
5	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	Individuo #6	487	4/12/18	CMA	Craneo Humano	
								TOTAL # DE BOLSAS:				5

PIALQ 2018: Caja #27

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material	
1	1	3	7A	-	1	90-100	Individuo #47	622	15/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano	
2	1	3	7A, 7B	-	1	80-90	Individuo #30 Bolsa 1	793	15/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano	
3	1	3	7A, 7B	-	1	80-90	Individuo #30 Bolsa 2	1515				
4	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	-	866	14/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano	
5	1		6B	-	1	90-100	Individuo #39	727	13/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano	
								TOTAL # DE BOLSAS:				5

PIALQ 2018: Caja #28

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	60-70	-	795	29/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
2	1	1	2A,2B	-	1	50-60	-	886	28/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
3	1	1	2B, 3B	-	1	50-60	-	243	27/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
4	1	1	2B, 3B	-	1	60-70	-	1353	29/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
5	1	1	2A, 2B	-	1	50-60	-	1991	28/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
6	1	1	3A, 3B	-	1	60-70	-	1289	28/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	7B	-	1	80-90	-	904	29/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 7											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #29

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	8B	-	1	110-120	-	854	20/12/18	CMA	Oseo humano
2	1	3	8A	-	1	90-100	-	940	18/12/18	CMA	Oseo humano
3	1	3	7A	-	1	110-120	-	599	20/12/18	WFL	Oseo humano
4	1	3	7A, 7B	-	1	80-90	-	501	15/12/18	CMA	Oseo humano
5	1	3	7B	-	1	100-110	Individuo #31	248	17/12/18	LS	Oseo humano
6	1	1	3A	-	1	100-110	Contexto Funerario #1	941	18/12/18	LS	Oseo humano
7	1	3	7A	-	1	110-120	-	261	18/12/18	AFLS	Oseo humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 7											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #30

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	7B	-	1	110-120	Individual #54	678	-	LS	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	7B	-	1	90-100	Individual #52	473	18/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	7B	-	1	70-80	Individual #34	849	17/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano
4	1	3	7B	-	1	80-90	Individual #49	1352	17/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano
5	1	3	7B	-	1	70-80	-	76	17/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 5											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #31

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	7B, 8B	-	1	80-90	-	1919	15/12/18	GI	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	6B	-	1	110-120	-	1047	17/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	6A	-	1	100-110	Individual #59	78	17/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
4	1	3	7B, 8B	-	1	80-90	-	406	15/12/18	GI	Oseo Humano
5	1	3	6A	-	1	100-110	-	270	17/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
6	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	-	101	15/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 6											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #32

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
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1	1	1	3A	-	1	100-110	-	496	7/12/18	LS	Craneo Humano (#58)
2	1	3	6A	-	1	90-100	-	156	13/12/18	WFL	Craneo Humano (#35)
3	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	Individual # 4	233	5/12/18	CKM	Craneo Humano
4	1	3	7B, 8B	-	1	80-90	-	238	15/12/18	GI	Craneo Humano (#38)
5	1	3	6A	-	1	70-80	-	217	8/11/18	GI	Craneo Humano (#11)
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 5											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #33

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	7B-8B	-	1	100-110	Individual #51	1259	19/12/18	GI	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	8A	-	1	90-100	-	283	18/12/18	CMA	Craneo Humano (#51)
3	1	3	8A	-	1	90-100	-	235	18/12/18	CMA	Craneo Humano (#50)
4	1	3	8A	-	1	90-100	-	239	18/12/18	CMA	Craneo Humano (#52)
5	1	1	3A	-	1	100-110	Contexto Funerario #2	353	18/12/18	LS	Craneo Humano
6	1	3	6A	-	1	100-110	Contexto Funerario # 7	729	11/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	8A	-	1	90-100	Individual #50	841	18/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 7											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #34

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
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1	1	3	8A	-	1	100-110	-	921	19/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano
2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	337	20/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	6A	-	1	Perfil	-	24	18/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
4	1	3	7A	-	1	110-120	-	377	20/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano
5	1	3	8B	-	1	110-120	-	340	20/12/18	GI	Oseo Humano
6	1	3	8A	-	1	110-120	-	153	20/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	7A, 8A	-	1	90-100	-	757	20/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano
8	1	3	7B, 8B	-	1	90-100	-	930	18/12/18	GI	Oseo Humano
9	1	3	8B	-	1	100-110	-	41	9/12/18	GI	Oseo Humano
								TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 9			

PIALQ 2018: Caja #35											
Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	6B	-	1	100-110	-	470	12/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	7B	-	1	80-90	-	611	15/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	7B	-	1	80-90	-	608	11/12/18	GI	Oseo Humano
4	1	3	7A	-	1	90-100	-	27	13/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
5	1	3	7A	-	1	100-110	-	48	14/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
6	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	-	192	7/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	6A	-	1	90-100	-	148	12/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
8	1	3	7A	-	1	90-100	-	89	14/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
9	1	3	7A	-	1	90-100	-	25	13/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
10	1	3	6A	-	1	90-100	-	190	7/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
11	1	3	6A	-	1	90-100	-	126	-	CKM	Oseo Humano

12	1	3	6A	-	1	90-100	-	140	7/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
13	1	3	6A	-	1	70-80	-	52	14/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
14	1	3	7A	-	1	100-110	-	113	14/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 14											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #36											
Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	Individuo #12	576	6/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	Individuo #11	322	6/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	6A, 6B, 7B	-	1	80-90	Individuo #5	244	5/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
4	1	3	7A, 7B	-	1	70-80	Individuo #2	195	29/11/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
5	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	Individuo #9	193	6/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
6	1	3	6A, 6B	-	1	70-80	Individuo #1	108	29/11/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	Individuo #7	121	5/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
8	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	Individuo #8	343	5/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
9	1	3	6A	-	1	80-90	Individuo #3	247	4/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
10	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	Individuo #4	284	5/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
11	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	Individuo #10	58	6/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
12	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	-	91	6/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 12											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #37

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	2	3B, 4B	-	1	90-100	-	1302	19/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-	710	20/11/18	VS	Oseo Humano
3	1	2	-	-	Superficial	-	-	412	21/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
4	1	2	4B, 5B	-	1	100-120	-	366	6/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
5	1	3	8A	-	1	70-80	-	563	20/11/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
6	1	3	7A	-	1	60-70	-	116	19/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
7	1	2	3A	-	1	-	-	96	22-23/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
8	1	3	7A	-	1	60-70	-	346	19/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
9	1	3	6A	-	1	70-80	Individuo #35	101	19/11/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
10	1	3	7B	-	1	70-80	-	7	20/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
11	1	3	6A	-	1	70-80	-	69	21/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
12	1	3	6A, 6B	-	1	70-80	-	128	19/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 12											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #38

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	8A	-	1	110-120	Individuo #55	440	19/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	7B	-	1	110-120	Individuo #53	802	19/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	7A	-	1	110-120	Contexto Funerario #8	1234	19/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
4	1	3	6B	-	1	100-110	-	272	18/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
5	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-	100	28/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
6	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	80-90	-	467	3/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	5A	-	1	80-90	Individuo #38	61	3/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano

8	1	3	5A	-	1	80-90	-	113	3/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 8											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #39

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	80-90	-	1974	3/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
2	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	50-60	-	1424	3/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
3	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	80-90	-	1114	3/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
4	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	80-90	-	678	3/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
5	1	1	2A, 2B	-	1	50-60	-	1097	3/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
6	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	80-90	-	620	3/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 6											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #40

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	100-110	-		4/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
2	1	1	2B, 3B	-	1	90-100	-		3/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	7B	-	1	80-90	-		30/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
4	1	1	2A, 2B	-	1	50-60	-		28/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
5	1	1	2B, 3B	-	1	90-100	-		4/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
6	1	3	8B	-	1	80-90	-		29/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	6B	-	1	70-80	-		29/11/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
8	1	1	3A	-	1	70-80	-		30/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano

TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 8

PIALQ 2018: Caja #41

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	7A	-	1	100-110	Individuo #44	169	14/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	6B	-	1	100-110	Individuo #40	343	14/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	Individuo # 46	254	15/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
4	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	Individuo #45	376	15/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
5	1	3	6A	-	1	90-100	Individuo #41	127	14/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
6	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	Individuo #42	160	14/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	6A	-	1	90-100	-	54	13/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
8	1	3	6A	-	1	90-100	Individuo #26	57	13/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
9	1	3	6A	-	1	90-100	Individuo #43	70	14/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
10	1	1	3B	-	1	100-120	Contexto Funerario #6	313	15/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano

TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 10

PIALQ 2018: Caja #42

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	1	2B, 3B	-	1	100-110	-	980	4/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
2	1	1	2B, 3B	-	1	100-110	-	1242	4/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	8A	-	1	80-90	-	656	5/12/18	-	Oseo Humano
4	1	3	8B	-	1	90-100	-	971	5/12/18	GI	Oseo Humano

5	1	3	7B	-	1	90-100	-	390	5/12/18	GI	Oseo Humano
6	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	-	289	6/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	7B	-	1	70-80	-	130	5/12/18	GI	Oseo Humano
8	1	3	7B	-	1	80-90	-	210	5/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
9	1	3	6A	-	1	80-90	-	136	5/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
10	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	-	123	5/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 10											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #43											
Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1 to 13	1	3	-	-	1	80-90	Individuo #29 (w/Craneo #27)		29/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 13											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #44											
Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	7B	-	1	70-80	-	394	7/12/18	WFL, GI	Craneo Humano (#32)
2	1	3	6A	-	1	90-100	-	634	13/12/18	CKM	Craneo Humano (#46)
3	1	3	7B	-	1	70-80	-	195	7/12/18	WFL, GI	Craneo Humano (#33)
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 3											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #45

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	1	3B	-	1	100-110	Contexto Funerario #1		7/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	Individuo #15		11/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	Individuo #17		11/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
4	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	Individuo #20		11/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
5	1	3	6A	-	1	90-100	Individuo #21		11/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
6	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	Individuo #18		11/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	Individuo #13		7/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
8	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	Individuo #16		11/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
9	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	Individuo #14		11/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
10	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	-		11/12/18	CKM	Cranco Humano (#34)
								TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 10			

PIALQ 2018: Caja #46

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	1	2B, 3B	-	1	100-110	-	1766	5/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	7B	-	1	70-80	-	682	4/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	7A	-	1	80-90	-	642	4/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
4	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	100-110	-	1235	5/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
5	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	100-110	-	1144	5/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
6	1	3	7B	-	1	80-90	-	549	4/12/18	GI	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	8A	-	1	80-90	-	419	3/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano
8	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	-	29	3/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano

TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 8

PIALQ 2018: Caja #47

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	1	2A, 2B	-	1	40-50	-	716	26/11/18	CKM, LS	Oseo Humano
2	1	1	2A, 2B	-	1	50-60	-	889	28/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
3	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	50-60	-	658	27/11/18	CKM,LS	Oseo Humano
4	1	1	2A, 2B	-	1	50-60	-	1632	28/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
5	1	1	8A	-	1	70-80	-	521	27/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
6	1	1	7A	-	1	70-80	-	314	28/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
7	1	1	8B	-	1	70-80	-	252	23/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
8	1	1	7B	-	1	70-80	-	71	27/11/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
9	1	1	7A	-	1	70-80	-	83	27/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
10	1	1	6A	-	1	70-80	-	81	26/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
11	1	1	8A	-	1	70-80	-	92	26/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
12	1	1	8B	-	1	70-80	-	76	26/11/18	WFL	Craneo Humano (#49)

TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 12

PIALQ 2018: Caja #13

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-	987	23/11/18	GI	Oseo Humano
2	1	1	2A	-	1	40-50	-	1312	26/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
3	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	30-40	-	851	22/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano

4	1	1	2B	-	1	40-50	-	490	26/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
5	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-	135	20/11/18	VS	Oseo Humano
6	1	3	8B	-	1	70-80	-	780	26/11/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
7	1	1	2B, 3B	-	1	30-40	-	267	22/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
8	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	30-40	-	771	23/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
9	1	3	7B	-	1	-	-	1025	21/11/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
10	1	2	3A	-	1	90-100	-	30	23/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
11	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-	16	22/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 11											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #48											
Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-	90	13/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
2	1	1	2B, 3B	-	1	60-70	-	65	29/11/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	6A	-	1	70-80	-	95	14/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
4	1	2	5B	-	1	90-100	-	54	7/11/18	CKM	Craneo Humano (#54)
5	1	3	8A	-	1	80-90	-	39	5/12/18	CKM	Craneo Humano (#29)
6	1	3	6B	-	1	70-80	-	247	31/10/18	CKM	Craneo Humano (#6)
7	1	1	3A, 3B	-	1	60-70	-	80	28/11/18	LS	Oseo Humano
8	1	3	8A	-	1	100-110	-	142	19/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano
9	1	3	7B	-	1	50-60	-	34	5/11/18	WFL	Craneo Humano (#56)
10	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-	150	31/10/18	LS	Oseo Humano
11	1	2	5B	-	1	90-100	-	302	12/11/18	CKM	Craneo Humano (#14)
12	1	2	3A	-	1	70-80	-	154	23/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
13	1	3	7B, 8B	-	1	60-70	-	185	29/10/18	WFL	Oseo Humano

14	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	-	53	13/12/18	CKM	Craneo Humano (#47)
15	1	3	8B	-	1	70-80	-	76	28/11/18	WFL	Craneo Humano (#57)
16	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	Individuo #25	16	12/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
17	1	1	2A, 2B	-	1	50-60	-	611	3/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
18	1	3	6B	-	1	70-80	-	64	15/11/18	LS	Craneo Humano (#55)
19	1	3	Perfil Sur-Oeste	-	-	-	-	54	20/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 19											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #49											
Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	7A, 7B	-	1	70-80	Individuo #19	945	11/12/18	GI, CMA	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	7A	-	1	90-100	-	540	11/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
3	1	1	2A	-	1	100-110	-	792	7/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
4	1	3	7A, 7B, 8A, 8B	-	1	90-100	-	495	12/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano
5	1	3	7B	-	1	80-90	-	288	11/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano
6	1	1	3B	-	1	100-110	-	337	11/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	-	35	11/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
8	1	3	6A	-	1	80-90	Individuo #32	76	11/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
9	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	-	332	11/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
10	1	3	6A	-	1	80-90	-	24	11/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
11	1	3	6A	-	1	80-90	-	16	11/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
12	1	3	7A	-	1	90-100	Individuo #56	19	12/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
13	1	3	7A	-	1	90-100	Individuo #57	12	12/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 13											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #50

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	100-110	-	675	4/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
2	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	100-110	-	412	4/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	-	542	4/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
4	1	3	8B	-	1	80-90	-	1492	4/12/18	GI	Oseo Humano
5	1	1	3B	-	1	90-100	-	348	4/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
6	1	3	6A	-	1	80-90	-	448	4/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
7	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	100-110	-	683	4/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
8	1	1	3B	-	1	90-100	-	237	4/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
9	1	1	2B-3B	-	1	100-110	-	222	4/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
10	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	100-110	-	210	4/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
11	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	100-110	-	443	4/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
12	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	100-110	-	987	4/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
								TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 12			

PIALQ 2018: Caja #51

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	1	3A	-	1	100-110	-	467	5/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
2	1	1	3A	-	1	100-110	-	170	5/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
3	1	1	3A	-	1	100-110	-	486	5/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
4	1	3	8A	-	1	80-90	-	206	5/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano
5	1	3	7A	-	1	80-90	-	286	6/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano
6	1	3	8A	-	1	80-90	-	402	4/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano

7	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-	97	6/12/18	GI, WFL	Oseo Humano
8	1	3	7A	-	1	80-90	-	76	4/12/18	WFL	Craneo Humano (#48)
9	1	3	7B	-	1	70-80	-	159	6/12/18	GI	Oseo Humano
10	1	1	2A	-	1	100-110	-	267	7/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
11	1	1	3A	-	1	100-110	-	1848	5/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 11											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #52

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	7B	-	1	70-80	-	502	6/12/18	GI	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	7B	-	1	70-80	-	1866	6/12/18	WFL, GI	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	7A	-	1	90-100	-	498	12/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
4	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	-	456	6/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
5	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	Individuo #33	35	5/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
6	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	-	122	5/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	7B	-	1	70-80	-	717	6/12/18	WFL, GI	Oseo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 6											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #53

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	8A	-	1	100-110	-	371	19/12/18	CMA	Oseo Humano
2	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	Individuo #22	64	12/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
3	1	3	7B	-	1	90-100	Individuo #23	205	12/12/18	WFL	Oseo Humano
4	1	1	3B	-	1	80-90	-	263	30/10/18	CKM	Oseo Humano

5	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	Individuo #24	127	12/12/18	CKM	Oseo Humano
6	1	3	6B	-	1	100-110	Individuo #48	14	17/12/18	LS	Oseo Humano
7	1	3	6B	-	1	100-110	-	39	17/12/18	LS	Craneo Humano (#53)
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 7											

PIALQ 2018: Restos animales (Caja #54)

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	2	-	-	1	-	-		19/10/18	CKM	Diente animal
2	1	3	-	-	1	50-60	-		25/10/18	CKM	Oseo Animal
3	1	3	-	-	Superficial	-	-		9/10/18	CKM, LS, GI	Oseo Animal
4	1	3	-	-	1	-	-		18/10/18	LS, GI	Diente animal
5	1	3	-	-	1	-	-		11/10/18	LS, CKM	Oseo Animal
6	1	2	-	-	1	-	-		13/11/18	CKM	Oseo Animal
7	1	3	6A	-	1	100-110	-		14/12/18	CKM	Oseo Animal
8	1	2	-	-	1	-	-		23/10/18	CKM	Oseo Animal
9	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	30-40	-		22/11/18	LS	Oseo Animal
10	1	2	-	-	1	-	-		13/11/18	CKM	Diente animal
11	1	3	6B	-	1	100-110	-		14/12/18	CKM	Oseo Animal
12	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-		12/11/18	LS	Oseo Animal
13	1	3	6A	-	1	100-110	-		17/12/18	LS	Diente Animal
14	1	3	6A	-	1	100-110	-		17/12/18	LS	Oseo Animal
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 14											

PIALQ 2018: Vidrio, Metal (Caja #55)

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	-	-	1	-	-		11/10/18	CKM, LS, GI	Metal
2	1	2	-	-	Superficial	-	-		18/10/18	CKM	Metal
3	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-		19/11/18	CKM	Metal
4	1	2	-	-	1	90-100	-		7/11/18	CMK	Metal
5	1	1	2A,3A	-	1	50-60	-		27/11/18	CKM	Metal
6	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	30-40	-		22/11/18	LS	Metal
7	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	-		11/12/18	CKM	Metal
8	1	3	-	-	Superficial	-	-		9/10/18	CKM, LS, GI	Metal
9	1	1	2A, 2B, 3A, 3B	-	1	40-50	-		26/10/18	LS, CKM	Metal
10	1	1	2B, 3B	-	1	60-70	-		29/11/18	CKM	Metal
11	1	2	-	-	1	-	-		19/10/18	CKM	Vidrio
12	1	3	-	-	1	-	-		11/10/18	CKM, LS, GI	Vidrio
13	1	3	-	-	1	-	-		25/10/18	LS, WFL	Vidrio
14	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	-		4/12/18	CKM	Vidrio
15	1	1	2A, 2B	-	1	50-60	-		28/11/18	CKM	Vidrio
16	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	-		11/12/18	CKM	Vidrio
17	1	1	2A, 2B, 3A, 3B	-	1	40-50	-		26/11/18	LS, CKM	Vidrio
18	1	1	3A, 3B	-	1	60-70	-		29/11/18	CKM	Vidrio
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 18											

PIALQ 2018: Malacologico, Botanico, Madera, Paja (Caja #56)

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
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1	1	2	5B	-	1	100-130	-		12/11/18	CKM	Madera
2	1	3	-	-	1	-	-		11/10/18	CKM, LS, GI	Botanico
3	1	1	2B, 3B	-	1	30-40	-		22/11/18	LS	Paja
4	1	2	-	-	1	-	-		22/10/18	CKM	Botanico
5	1	3	-	-	1	-	-		11/10/18	CKM, GI,LS	Malacologico
6	1	3	-	-	Superficial	-	-		9/10/18	CKM, LS, GI	Malacologico
7	1	2	-	-	1	-	-		19/10/18	CKM	Malacologico
8	1	2	-	-	Superficial	-	-		18/10/18	CKM	Malacologico
9	1	1	2A, 2B, 3A, 3B	-	1	40-50	-		26/11/18	LS, CKM	Malacologico
10	1	3	-	-	1	-	Contexto Especial #1		5/11/18	LS	Malacologico
11	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	-		4/12/18	CKM	Malacologico
12	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	-		11/12/18	CKM	Malacologico
13	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	50-60	-		27/11/18	CKM	Malacologico
14	1	1	2B, 3B	-	1	30-40	-		22/11/18	LS	Malacologico
15	1	3	8B	-	1	70-80	-		23/11/18	CKM	Malacologico
16	1	1	2B, 3B	-	1	60-70	-		19/11/18	CKM	Malacologico
17	1	2	5B	-	1	90-100	-		8/11/18	GI	Madera
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 17											

PIALQ 2018: Textil, Boton (Caja #57)											
Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	60-70	-		29/11/18	LS	Textil
2	1	2	4B	-	1	90-100	-		13/10/18	CKM	Textil
3	1	1	-	-	1	80-90	-		3/12/18	LS	Textil
4	1	1	2A, 2B	-	1	50-60	-		26/11/18	LS	Textil

5	1	1	2A, 2B, 3A, 3B	-	1	40-50	-		26/11/18	LS	Textil
6	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	60-70	-		29/11/18	LS	Hilo
7	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	-		11/12/18	CKM	Boton
8	1	1	-	-	1	80-90	-		3/12/18	LS	Boton
9	1	2	-	-	1	-	-		22/10/18	CKM	Boton
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 9											

PIALQ 2018: Materiales para presentaciones (Caja #58)

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	7A, 7B	-	1	80-90	Individuo #30		15/12/18	CMA	Metal
2	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	-		5/12/18	WFL	Metal
3	1	2	5A	-	1	90-100	-		8/11/18	CKM	Boton con hilo
4	1	1	3A	-	1	100-110	Contexto Especial #1		6/12/18	LS	Boton
5	1	3	-	-	1	-	-		24/10/18	LS	Nacar
6	1	2	5A	-	1	90-100	-		13/11/18	CKM	Nacar
7	1	3	7A	-	1	60-70	-		6/11/18	LS	Nacar
8	1	3	8A	-	1	110-120	-		20/12/18	CKM	Metal
9	1	2	-	-	1	70-80	-		31/10/18	CKM	Ceramica
10	1	2	4A	-	1	90-100	-		14/11/18	CKM	Ceramica
11	1	2	-	-	1	-	-		22/20/18	CKM	Ceramica
12	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	60-70	-		29/11/18	LS	Ceramica
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 12											

PIALQ 2018: Ceramica (Caja #59)

Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	3	-	-	1	-	-		11/10/18	CKM, GI, LS	Ceramica
2	1	3	-	-	1	-	-		11/10/18	CKM, GI, LS	Ceramica
3	1	3	-	-	1	-	-		25/10/18	LS, WFL	Ceramica
4	1	1	2A	-	1	100-110	-		4/12/18	LS	Ceramica
5	1	3	-	-	Superficial	-	-		9/10/18	CKM, LS, GI	Loza
6	1	2	-	-	Superficial	-	-		16 - 18/10/18	CKM	Ceramica
7	1	3	-	-	1	-	-		11/10/18	CKM, LS, GI	Ceramica
8	1	2	-	-	Superficial	-	-		18/10/18	CKM	Porcelana
9	1	2	-	-	1	-	-		19/10/18	CKM	Ceramica
10	1	3	-	-	Superficial	-	-		9/10/18	CKM, LS, GI	Ceramica
11	1	3	7B	-	1	80-90	-		5/12/18	GI	Ceramica
12	1	3	7B, 8B	-	1	60-70	-		14/11/18	WFL	Ceramica
13	1	3	6A, 6B	-	1	100-110	-		17/12/18	LS	Ceramica
14	1	3	-	-	1	-	Contexto Especial #1		5/11/18	LS	Ceramica
15	1	2	-	-	1	-	-		14/11/18	CM	Ceramica
16	1	1	2A, 2B, 3A, 3B	-	1	40-50	-		26/11/18	LS, CKM	Ceramica
17	1	2	-	-	1	90-100	-		7/11/18	CKM	Ceramica
18	1	1	2A, 2B, 3A, 3B	-	1	40-50	-		26/11/18	LS, CM	Ceramica
19	1	3	8B	-	1	70-80	-		23/11/18	CKM	Ceramica
20	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	-		11/12/18	CKM	Ceramica
21	1	2	3A	-	1	90-100	-		23/11/18	CKM	Ceramica
22	1	1	3A	-	1	100-110	-		13/12/18	LS	Ceramica
23	1	1	2A, 2B	-	1	50-60	-		28/11/18	CKM	Ceramica
24	1	1	2B, 3B	-	1	60-70	-		29/11/18	CKM	Ceramica

25	1	3	6A	-	1	100-110	-		14/10/18	CKM	Ceramica
26	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	50-60	-		27/11/18	CKM, LS	Ceramica
27	1	1	2B, 3B	-	1	90-100	-		3/12/18	LS	Ceramica
28	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	-		5/12/18	WFL	Ceramica
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 28											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #60											
Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	2	3A	-	1	90-100	-		9/11/18	CKM	Craneo Humano (#12)
2	1	3	7B	-	1	70-80	-		6/12/18	WFL	Craneo Humano (#40)
3	1	3	7A	-	1	110-120	-		19/12/18	WFL	Craneo Humano (#42)
4	1	3	7A, 7B	-	1	70-80	Individuo #2		29/11/18	WFL	Craneo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 4											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #61											
Bolsa	Unidad	Segmento	Cuadrícula	Subcuadrícula	Capa	Nivel	# de Contexto/Elemento Especial/Entierro	Peso (gr)	Fecha	Excavó	Material
1	1	2	4A	-	1	90-100	-		15/11/18	CKM, GI	Craneo Humano (#24)
2	1	2	3A	-	1	90-100	-		23/11/18	CKM	Craneo Humano (#26)
3	1	3	7B	-	1	100-110	Individuo #51		19/12/18	GI	Craneo Humano
4	1	2	5A	-	1	90-100	-		15/11/18	CKM	Craneo Humano (#25)
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 4											

PIALQ 2018: Caja #62											
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1	1	2	3A	-	1	90-100	-	9/11/18	CKM	Craneo Humano (#13)
2	1	2	3A	-	1	90-100	-	12/11/18	CKM	Craneo Humano (#16)
3	1	2	4B	-	1	90-100	-	12/11/18	CKM	Craneo Humano (#17)
4	1	3	6A	-	1	100-110	Contexto Funerario #7	17/12/18	CKM	Craneo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 4										

PIALQ 2018: Caja #63										
1	1	3	7A	-	1	50-60	-	13/11/18	WFL	Craneo Humano (#18)
2	1	2	4A	-	1	90-100	-	13/11/18	GI	Craneo Humano (#19)
3	1	2	4A	-	1	90-100	-	13/11/18	GI	Craneo Humano (#20)
4	1	3	6B	-	1	90-100	Individuo #22	12/12/18	CKM	Craneo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 4										

PIALQ 2018: Caja #64										
1	1	3	6A	-	1	100-110	-	-	CKM	Craneo Humano (#41)
2	1	3	6B	-	1	80-90	-	6/12/18	CKM	Craneo Humano (#30)
3	1	3	7A	-	1	100-110	-	14/12/18	WFL	Craneo Humano (#31)
4	1	1	3B	-	1	100-110	-	6/12/18	LS	Craneo Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 4										

PIALQ 2018: Caja #65										
21	1	3	7A	-	1	100-110	Individuo #44	14/12/18	WFL	Craneo Humano
22	1	1	2A, 3A	-	1	60-70	-	29/11/18	LS	Craneo Humano

23	1	2	3A	-	1	80-90	-	25/10/18	GI	Oseo humano
24	1	3	7A	-	1	70-80	-	-	LS	Cranco Humano
TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 4										

TOTAL # DE CAJAS: 65

TOTAL # DE BOLSAS: 600

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