

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<i>Preface</i>	<i>xv</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>xix</i>
PART I. INTRODUCTION TO MOQUEGUA AND ITS ENVIRONMENT	I
<hr/>	
1. Moquegua: A Landscape Perspective	3
<i>Spatiality and Spatialization: Landscape, Space, and Place</i>	4
<i>Cultural Environment</i>	7
<i>The Moquegua Bodegas Project</i>	9
<i>Early Colonial Moquegua and the Emerging World System</i>	15
2. The “Natural” Landscape of Moquegua	19
<i>Geology: Mountains and Minerals</i>	20
<i>River Systems: Low Flow</i>	22
<i>Soils: Rich but Limited</i>	24
<i>Weather: Sunny and Dry</i>	27
<i>Vegetation and Agriculture</i>	29
PART II. INDIGENOUS SPACES AND PLACES	31
<hr/>	
3. Late Pre-Hispanic Colonization and Re-spatialization	35
<i>Late Intermediate Period: Multiple Sites and Ethnicities</i>	37
<i>The Late Horizon</i>	40

<i>Landscape and Order: The Inka Heartland</i>	42
<i>Imperial Expansion: The Lake Titicaca Basin and the Aymara</i>	47
<i>Inka Re-spatialization</i>	52
4. Inka Spaces and Places: The Inkas in Moquegua	55
<i>Interrogating the Account</i>	56
<i>Inka Sites in the Osmore Drainage</i>	61
<i>Inka Re-spatialization in Moquegua</i>	65
5. Language and Toponyms	69
<i>Toponymy</i>	69
<i>Indigenous Toponymy in Moquegua: Pre-Hispanic Multivocality</i>	71
<i>Toponymy in Spanish-Colonial Moquegua</i>	78
<i>The Region and the Legacy of Indigenous Provinces</i>	82
PART III. SPANISH-COLONIAL SPACES AND PLACES	89
<hr/>	
6. Spanish Order and Re-spatializations	91
<i>New World Conquest and Agendas</i>	93
<i>Space-Related Spanish Institutions</i>	94
<i>Spanish (Re-)Spatialization and (Re-)Politicization in Moquegua: Contestation</i>	100
<i>Economic Re-spatialization: Moquegua's Wine Heredades</i>	103
<i>Four Excavated Bodega Sites in Moquegua</i>	109
7. Encomiendas in Moquegua	117
<i>Encomiendas in Peru</i>	117
<i>The Buenos and Carumas</i>	120
<i>Lucas Martínez Vegaso and Cochuna</i>	124
<i>Discussion</i>	127
8. Torata Alta: From Inka Administrative Center to Spanish Congregación	129

Reducción in Moquegua	129
<i>Torata Alta: Layout and Structures</i>	131
<i>Material Culture and Economy</i>	152
<i>Colonial (Re-)Spatialization and (Re-)Politicization</i>	159
<i>Abandonment</i>	165
9. Locumbilla: A Colonial Wine Heredad	169
<i>Yaravico and Locumbilla: The Buenos and Estradas</i>	170
<i>Locumbilla Bodega: The Industrial Sector</i>	176
<i>Residential Sector</i>	189
<i>Specialized Analyses</i>	191
<i>Later History of Yaravico and Locumbilla</i>	195
10. Religion . . . and Resistance?	199
<i>Local Catholicism in Pre-Modern Spain</i>	200
<i>Catholicism in Early Peru: Formal and Local</i>	203
<i>Religion in Early Moquegua</i>	207
<i>Inscriptions on Tinajas</i>	211
<i>Reducción and Resistance at Torata Alta?</i>	217
PART IV. DECORATIVE SPACES AND DECORATING	
PLACES: ANDEAN "MAJOLICA" POTTERY	223
<hr/>	
11. Transcending Worlds	227
<i>Historical Background</i>	227
<i>Mudéjar Style</i>	230
<i>Christian Persecutions and Restrictions on Trade</i>	237
<i>From the Old World to the New</i>	239
<i>Myths and Voices</i>	242
12. Technological Spaces and Transfers	249
<i>Spanish Majolica: Resources and Production</i>	
<i>Technologies</i>	251
<i>Majolica and Loza in the Americas</i>	255
<i>Two Ibero-American Loza Spheres</i>	267

<i>Morisco Wares and Influences in Spanish American Pottery</i>	272
<i>Travel, Trade, and Technology</i>	276
13. Ceramic Spatialization: Southern Styles (<i>Prudence M. Rice and Wendy L. Natt</i>)	281
<i>Moquegua's Bodegas and Loza</i>	281
<i>Space and Style: Hierarchical Design-Structure Analysis</i>	283
<i>Vessel Forms</i>	285
<i>Color Use and Application</i>	287
<i>Levels of Design Structure</i>	291
<i>Summary of Comparisons: Tin-Enameled Ware in Colonial Peru and Aragón</i>	299
<i>Interpretations</i>	302
PART V. CONCLUSIONS	309
<hr/>	
14. Moquegua's Landscapes, Spaces, and Places through Time	311
<i>Glossary</i>	321
<i>References</i>	325
<i>Index</i>	367

Preface

Since the early 1990s I've fretted about not meeting my responsibilities for full and timely publication of the data from the Moquegua Bodegas Project. I can trot out the usual excuses: increasing administrative duties, a return to fieldwork in the Maya area, supervision of graduate students, and so on. In 2009, however, with the good fortune of both a sabbatical leave and growing interest in historical archaeology in the Andes, I was able to synthesize the findings of the Moquegua Bodegas Project into a monograph entitled *Vintage Moquegua: History, Wine, and Archaeology on a Peruvian Periphery* (Rice 2011b). *Vintage Moquegua* is a history of the introduction of wine-based agrarian capitalism into this tiny valley on the periphery of the European world system. But because of limits on the length of the volume, I was unable to include raw data from project excavations, especially at Locumbilla, the most intensively investigated winery site, and at the *congregación* site of Torata Alta.

So I began writing half a dozen articles presenting these data and interpretations. While developing these analyses, however, I grew increasingly frustrated with the sclerotic processes of peer review and publication in scholarly journals and the need for repetition of basic background information in each manuscript: field operations, Moquegua's environment, various maps, references, and so on. Mindful of a frequent critique of academicians—that we publish the same information over and over, but in different journals—as well as the waste of trees in devoting repeated pages to the same information (even in this electronic world), I concluded that the most appropriate solution to both dilemmas was to bring everything together in a single volume.

The sense of “unfinished business” had another component. After leading a graduate seminar on “Space and Place” focused on the Maya, I grew more interested in the production of space in settings of in-migration and colonization. I was particularly concerned with the “*espacio Moqueguano*” as part of what Carlos Sempat Assadourian (1972) calls the “*espacio Peruano*.” Specifically, I wanted to explore what Moquegua’s experience might tell us about landscape, space, and place and their meanings and orderings in colonial encounters, as well as what the orderings and meanings of landscape, space, and place—the spatializations—in such encounters might tell us about Moquegua. I drafted a paper about some of my ideas and asked the seminar participants to read it, and one student responded that she thought it contained too many ideas for a single article. So I decided to prepare the present book, the completion of which has been greatly furthered by my retirement from academia.

With respect to the meanings of spaces and places, I am intrigued by the observation that “places come into being through praxis . . . places produce meaning . . . [and] control over the meanings of place [should be returned] to the rightful producers” of it (Rodman 1992: 642, 643, 644). One way to investigate the processes of colonialism and layering of spatial meanings is through toponyms: their linguistic sources (i.e., the colonized or the colonizers) and patterns of retention, loss, and renaming. In the Moquegua landscape, for example, some ancient indigenous toponyms were lost, and others were appropriated into the Spanish-colonial wine-based political economy. I also look at the spaces and spatializations embodied in tin-enameled (“majolica”) pottery: this beautiful ware has a history of more than a millennium that spans the globe. The details of its production—especially the colorful decoration carefully painted onto its surface spaces—its trade, and its use provide insights into cultural interactions not otherwise easily obtained.

The result of my explorations is the present volume, a compilation of essays about various aspects of the history and archaeology of Moquegua from the perspective of spaces and their ordering. This volume lacks the narrative arc of *Vintage Moquegua* because it treats disparate topics that are not strictly organized chronologically, although they are thematically linked. The focus is primarily on a “moment” in Moquegua’s history: Spanish contact, which appears to have begun around AD 1534–35. Archaeologically (and even historically), of course, it is impossible to define this literally as a single moment in clock-time or calendar-time. Indeed, to try to do so would be a pointless exercise: Spanish contacts with, and colonization of, the valley occurred over several decades, and Moquegua’s initial experience with the Europeans was significantly contoured by its incorporation into the Inka empire little more than a half century earlier.

Indeed, Moquegua was the focus of repeated contacts with, and colonization by, outsiders in pre-Hispanic times. So, for the present purposes I consider “contact” loosely as a centuries-long process, roughly defined by complex multiethnic and multivocal interactions and transformations that included *colonization* and ended with the entanglements of Spanish *colonialism* (see Silliman 2005).

The findings of my project in Moquegua can be situated in the movement, beginning in the late 1970s, to shift colonial Andean historiography from a focus on “political elites revolving around the opulent viceregal court and the European legacy” of Lima and Cuzco and instead to investigate rural landscapes and peoples (Campbell 1986: 193). In this “historical reconquest of ‘Peruvian space’” (see also Sempat Assadourian 1972; Glave 1986), colonial Andean history is being reclaimed to include indigenous peoples, rural economies (Quiroz Paz Soldán 1991b), and Andeans’ various strategies of negotiating the alien canons of Catholicism and capitalism. Similarly, Andean archaeology has been undergoing a “neo-historicist” paradigm shift, inspired in part by Mesoamerican studies, that is giving greater credence to native traditions and oral histories (Hiltunen and McEwan 2004: 237–38).

But scholarly critique works both ways: archaeologists interested in Andean civilizations typically write their histories up to the Spanish conquest and then end abruptly, as if pre- and post-conquest societies were totally disjunctive. Despite the catastrophic epidemiological and demographic “Columbian consequences” of European contact, elements of indigenous civilizations, some elite and some commoner, survived throughout the Americas. The artifice of assigning pre- and post-1534 events to different scholarly disciplines, archaeology and (ethno-) history, often contributes to a failure to recognize and integrate the perduring influences of indigenous voices, structures, institutions, material/technological influences, cosmologies, and what can be broadly termed “world-view” into post-1534 Andean histories. It diminishes and dishonors the survivorship. Further, as I try to show, historical documentation can contribute insights into the late pre-Hispanic period (see also Wernke 2007a, 2007b).

I use the terms *Peru* and *southwestern Peru* here to refer to the modern nation-state, strictly as a matter of convenience (recognizing Sempat Assadourian’s [1972: 11] critique). In early Spanish-colonial times, of course, Peru referred to the viceroyalty that was centered on the Inka empire of Birú along the Andean spine and encompassed nearly the entire continent of South America. When I refer to the viceroyalty, I specify it as such.