The colonial empire built by the Spanish from the sixteenth through the nineteenth century was the first to achieve a global scale. Although more archaeological research has been conducted on Spanish colonial outposts and the impacts of its territorial claims in the Americas than elsewhere, the Spanish Empire also sought outposts in the Caribbean, the Pacific, Southeast Asia, and Africa, with varying degrees of success. This vast political undertaking was a crucial model for its European rivals and partners alike and was arguably foundational in launching and shaping the early modern era of empire building across oceans and vast territories. In turn, the Spanish imperial project was built on earlier Portuguese trading and colonial outposts in Africa and the eastern Atlantic, especially along the continent’s northwestern coast. Spanish colonists and administrators had measurable impacts on the political organization and economic foci of the local areas where they levied colonial demands for natural resources and labor. The indigenous peoples who occupied those areas on so many continents had measurable, specific, or diffuse impacts on the Europeans in their midst as well. Moreover, indigenous individuals and groups were moved around both within regions, such as the western coast of North America, and across vast distances between regions both forcibly and voluntarily. As has been well documented by historians of the era, intermarriage between indigenous, European, African, and other groups of people begat a plethora of new racial (e.g., caste) labels. These two phenomena—intermarriage and migration—produced multicultural, pluralistic colonies within which individuals variably adopted or invented different material manifestations of identity in dual processes of ethnogenesis and cultural persistence.

The processes of identity transformation and creating and rediscovering the importance of places were organic ones for those living under
Spanish colonialism because for both indigenous groups and the agents of colonization Spanish colonies were places of cultural pluralism with a mixture of local and foreign groups living together (Cipolla 2013, 2015; Haley and Wilcoxon 2005; Hu 2013; Panich 2013; Voss 2008a, 2008b, 2015; Weik 2014). As the empire grew across time and space, so did connections between new groups and cultures. Colonialism, Stephen Silliman (2005:62) writes, is “about processes of cultural entanglement, whether voluntary or not, in a broader world economy and system of labor, religious conversion, exploitation, material value, settlement, and sometimes imperialism.” Lee Panich (2013) sees the results of those entanglements on indigenous and colonists’ lives as a constant process of “becoming.” This process of becoming necessitated viewing the world around oneself in new contexts and with new insight and the creation of both new identities and places of importance as the result of the push-and-pull changes in everyday life and of creeping colonialism (Ferris 2009:168–170).

Archaeologically, the material residues of this cross-cultural interaction are visible throughout the regions covered in this volume’s chapters (Map I.1). In addition to tackling broad questions revolving around cultural persistence and pluralism within colonialism, the authors collectively aim to broaden our understanding of colonial place making among pluralistic communities of indigenous and foreign peoples. Although we cover different regions and situations, indigenous cultures, and indices of foreign intrusions, we see manifestations of place making in each case study. The concept of place making has received much attention from scholars (Adams et al. 2001; Cresswell 2001, 2004; Johnson 2012) and is most often defined in a physical, geographic sense, as in the creation of a meaningful place on the landscape marked by cultural incorporation and ritual practice. A location in space is thus made place within a broader social and environmental landscape; this landscape can be pluralistic, dynamic, and multiethnic. The deliberative and conscious exercise of agency is fundamental to this understanding of place making. Within a colonial setting, groups rely on prior practices and ideas (e.g., reglamentos) to shape their response and strategies regarding place making, which in this sense can be social or political.

The second, related conceptualization of place making used in this volume involves the making of a social place within a social landscape that is marked by the materialization of changes in people’s identities in
Map I.1 Map of the world, indicating the location of the case studies in this book (numbers correspond to chapters). Map prepared by Jacquelyn Dominguez.
a location on the landscape. The first, more colloquial version of place making incorporates the construction of physical features such as a mission or town, but in this second iteration, it also includes the appearance of hybrid material culture, the incorporation of foreign goods into local material traditions, the continuation of local traditions (representing rejection of or lack of access to foreign goods and material styles), and archaeologically visible evidence of opportunistic social climbing in pluralistic colonial settings. Changes in clothing fashion, culinary traditions, and other aspects of material culture may simply be adaptations of daily practices to allow the persistence of long-term cultural traditions (Arkush 2011; Panich 2013; Reddy and Douglass 2018). In some cases, changes in material culture are ways to maintain aspects of traditional culture rather than signifiers of new cultural practices. Continuities in the daily practices of indigenous peoples, including cases when foreign goods are absorbed into local material culture, belie simplistic dichotomies that equate the appearance of new goods, technologies, or material styles with replacement, domination, accommodation, or other interpretations. After early Spanish encounters in the U.S. Southeast, for example, metal axes and celts joined copper plates and armbands as prestige symbols in Mississippian chiefdoms (Chapter 3). And just 200 m from a Dominican church at Majaltepec in Mexico’s Nejapa Valley, subfloor burials included a metal blade fragment and hundreds of glass trade beads (Chapter 4). These examples highlight what Kent Lightfoot (2012) and Silliman (2009, 2012) have argued, that changes in the continuity of cultural traditions do not have to be binary choices for native groups in colonial settings. Rather, change and continuity were part of the same process of responding and adapting to newly emerging and evolving colonial surroundings (what Panich [2013] has referred to as “becoming”), which included a wide variety of contexts, not just large, complex social environments like empires (see Chapters 1 and 7; see also Beaule 2017a; Voss 2015:656). Place making is visible throughout the former Spanish Empire in both these geographic and social senses (Chapters 1, 5, 6, 8, and 10).

Collectively, the authors in this volume see the interaction of pluralism and place making as conceptually powerful features of all of our case studies because manifestations of both played out in very different ways in situations ranging from brief encounters on Pacific beaches (Chapter 7) to established missions (Chapters 9 and 10) and towns (Chapter 5) over
the course of four centuries and spanning many world regions (including Southeast Asia, the Pacific, the Americas, the Caribbean, and Africa). We deliberately brought together case studies from different regions and time periods and used different kinds of data, theoretical approaches, and methodologies in order to foster comparative dialogue about those themes and to explore patterns beyond local or regional ones. We aim to contribute to broader discussions of, for example, place making among indigenous peoples that necessarily incorporates geopolitical changes in relationships between the Calusa chiefdom and surrounding towns (Chapter 3), as well as locally constituted cultural exchanges between indigenous peoples in West Africa and western Central Africa and between Portuguese and Spanish individuals (Chapter 1). Similarly, first contacts included not just European voyages in the Caribbean (Chapter 2) but also later encounters in both exploratory (Pacific voyaging, Chapter 7) and organized colonial (Central America, Chapter 5) forays. The archaeological and historical remains of these encounters span not just the moments or brief periods of the exchanges themselves but also more sustained impacts. For example, the Spanish-built landscape of cities, towns, churches, roads, and other infrastructure was sometimes quite fragile; even where the colonial built environment failed to have a lasting presence, the impact of those changes in local settings may have had long-lasting consequences for the indigenous population left behind (see Chapters 5, 6, 8, and 10). Indeed, the nature of that indigenous population was often changed by the members of distant indigenous cultures, Africans, mestizos, mulattos, and others who came to populate the world where Spaniards sought territorial control. The chapters collected in this volume thus differ from other books focused on Spanish colonialism or using global comparative approaches to historical or prehistoric case studies of colonialism (Beaule 2017a; Berger and Lorenz 2008; Falk 1991; Gardner et al. 2013; Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002; Stein 2005). This book includes regions not often included by these intellectual predecessors (Southeast Asia, Pacific, the Caribbean, and Africa), coupled with a thematic focus that integrates them despite the great variability in our chapters’ geographic and temporal foci and the differences in the intensity, occupational permanence, and impact of entanglements with the Spanish.

Overall, then, this volume is designed to explore the varied nature of Spanish colonialism within cultures across the globe. At the same
time, many of these chapters make wide connections between places and cultures that at first glance may not be readily apparent. In the next section, “The Spanish Imperial Project,” we provide a brief sketch of this historical expansion for readers unfamiliar with the Spanish colonial empire. We intend the theoretical foci of place making and pluralism to supersede the shared feature of Spanish colonialism so that the case studies in this volume serve as analogies for colonialism’s impacts elsewhere, whether those colonists were European or non-European or, as in all of the case studies, a combination of the two. In this case, the Spanish began their colonial expansion in the Caribbean and then soon after undertook campaigns in multiple portions of Central America. Within a generation, the Spanish Empire had expanded globally. Spain’s inherent need for mineral wealth and natural resources and labor to extract them, combined with a desire to save souls through Christianity, led to interconnections between diverse and disparate cultures that would draw people together in new and previously unimaginable ways.

How does pluralism and place making—in cultural formations, ethnic identities, socioeconomic classes, religious ideologies, political maneuverings, economic extractions, and other manifestations—impact the archaeological record at scales ranging from the individual feature to the global? The problem of scale is particularly salient in a comparative project such as this one, because temporal and geographic scales impact one’s perspective (Senatore and Funari 2015:5) on the patterns of change and persistence we aim to explore. For example, in a relatively short time after Hernán Cortés arrived in Mexico in 1519, Manila galleons and other trade ships were bringing immigrants (both freed and enslaved) to Mexico from many distant regions, including Southeast and Southwest Asia and Africa, creating extremely pluralistic cultural settings (Casella and Fowler 2005; Jamieson 2005; Matthew 2015; Russell 2005; Schwaller 2010, 2011; Seijas 2014). Rather than being brought into the dominant culture, these ethnic enclaves were strong and, as Lightfoot (2015:9217) recognizes, “remained in the voids and pockets of settler colonies.” Such cultural pluralism is most visible at the site level but much less so at a larger scale of analysis.

The ability to identify cultural and personal identity through meaningful things and places is important to be able to understand its transformation in colonial contexts. At numerous sites across the Spanish
colonial world, native peoples used, adopted, and incorporated European or other foreign goods and iconography for either everyday use or special purposes, but they used them in indigenous ways rather than in the ways they were originally intended. Glass beads and pigs, among other items, circulated through indigenous Caribbean trade networks (Chapter 2) and would have provided symbolic capital to their owners, much as medicine bottles and porcelain objects did in Pinagbayana in the Philippines (Chapter 8). The incorporation of glass beads, metal items (or fragments thereof), and other European goods into local indigenous material cultures and trade networks was a common archaeological indicator of colonial entanglements, ranging from indirect contact (such as the Calusa in Florida, Chapter 3) to residence in Spanish settlements (such as El Salvador and Guatemala, Chapter 5). These items represent simultaneously both residence in and resistance to colonial worlds (Sil-liman 2005:68).

As Mary Van Buren (2010:179) writes, some issues “require a change in scale to include the broader socioeconomic fields in which colonial groups participated. Although the sheer size of the Spanish Empire makes this a daunting task, archaeologists can broaden their scope in a variety of ways.” The chapters in this volume address change and continuity on a variety of temporal and geographic scales; in doing so, they provide an opportunity for us to think critically about how those axes of variability impact our interpretations of the colonial dynamics of place making in pluralistic settings. But first, we offer a brief sketch of the history of the Spanish Empire as background in order to contextualize the book’s chronological ordering of case studies.

THE SPANISH IMPERIAL PROJECT

The story of the construction and expansion of the Spanish global empire is one of repeated conquest, violence, demographic devastation, racism, economic extraction, and exploitation. It is a story of movement of Spaniards, enslaved and free indigenous peoples, clergy, and soldiers both within and between regions across the globe. However, it is also a story of exploration, discovery, blunders, and failures. Elements of all these stories appear throughout this book. Here, we aim to offer a sense of the big picture, of an expansion that was at times accidental (stumbling
into previously unknown lands) and at other times deliberate, with well-organized and provisioned campaigns. The place making that occurred throughout the extremely varied global regions covered in this volume illustrate these axes of variability in intentionality and success, and the sociocultural pluralism that characterizes the whole was greatly facilitated by the movements, forced or voluntary, of the many individuals caught up in those expansive efforts.

Spanish imperialism was rooted firmly in Portugal’s contacts, cultural intersections, and colonial aspirations in the African continent. The placement of Christopher DeCorse’s case study as Chapter 1 reflects this chronological heritage. Although Spain and Portugal were briefly united under the Iberian Union from 1580 to 1640 and share deep and abiding cultural connections, their imperial histories and mechanisms were distinctly different. Portuguese encounters and outposts in West Africa were, in many cases, overwritten by the constructions of later European powers and African peoples, and their accommodations by indigenous locals were often more ephemeral than those of their Spanish counterparts in places like Mexico and Peru. The Spanish presence in the Caribbean (Chapter 2), on the other hand, bears some resemblance to those earlier Portuguese forays into Africa. The forced African diaspora, genocide, and disease changed the Caribbean cultural and physical landscape forever, but Amerindians and their highly diverse cultures remain an indelible part of that landscape too. This region was the initial setting of indigenous, European, and African intercultural dynamics, but it remains largely neglected in the scholarship of Spanish colonialism, which more commonly begins with Cortés’s fateful conquest of Tenochtitlan. We see the chapters by DeCorse and by Corinne Hofman, Roberto Valcárcel Rojas, and Jorge Ulloa Hung as foundational to this volume, which aims to explore place making and pluralism both wherever the Spanish Empire sought to expand and throughout its imperial history. They are equally foundational to understanding the character of that empire, whose practices, understandings of indigenous others, and goals were formed in the crucibles of Iberian encounters in Africa and the Caribbean.

The colony of Mexico, founded by Cortés in 1519, quickly connected with other portions of the ever-expanding Spanish Empire. Within just a few years of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, there were campaigns to the south into El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, as well as into Peru,
and north into the southwestern and midwestern United States. Chapter 3, by Christopher Rodning, Michelle Pigott, and Hannah Hoover, and Chapter 4, by Stacie King, document archaeological manifestations of these early entradas (exploratory voyages). Both offer excellent examples of multicultural and multilayered settings, with highly variable impacts of foreigners and foreign goods in indigenous cultures unfolding along the way. The palimpsest nature of cross-cultural encounters and conflicts predating the Spaniards’ entrance onto the scene is especially apparent in King’s research. The cultural pluralism that defines these exploratory efforts with the goal of establishing a colonial presence is explored on a smaller and finer scale in Chapter 5, by Laura Matthew and William Fowler, who document San Salvador (El Salvador) and Santiago en Almolonga (Guatemala), two short-lived colonies founded in 1528. Both case studies give us a clearer sense of what *convivencia* (living together) looked like on the ground in that early historical period. These complex histories emphasize how indigenous responses to the would-be colonists, including accommodation, resistance, and co-optation, were framed by prehispanic experiences of migration, colonialism, conquest, and coexistence. Spaniards’ experiences in these regions in turn informed their strategies, assumptions, and behavior elsewhere.

The Spanish conquest of the Andes was accomplished in a remarkably short period of time, from 1532 to approximately 1572, and was aided greatly by the ravages of epidemic diseases that raced south and west from various points of contact by Spaniards, accompanying both slaves and domesticated animals. However, the loci of colonial interaction with those indigenous peoples who survived the diseases and wars, displacement and enslavement, were relatively few and far between. Thus, the cultural impact of colonialism in the Andes was highly variable over space and through time in the region. Kevin Lane’s research at Kipia in the north-central Peruvian highlands documents place making by the religious orders at an indigenous *huaca* (a shrine, a ritually meaningful object, or a place in the sacred landscape) and the syncretic church that was built there (Chapter 6). This site, almost 500 km away from the colonial capital of Lima, amply illustrates the physical manifestation of liminality that characterized the transition from indigenous rule to the establishment of systematic evangelization and *reducciones* (resettlements of survivors into model villages) in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.
Spaniards’ efforts to expand their success (in terms of wealth extraction) extended westward over the Pacific Ocean within decades of the Mexican campaigns. Early Pacific voyages, later including the Manila galleons, were systematic expansions of the American campaigns by conquerors like the Alvarado brothers (see Kelsey 2016:59–62). In 1568 and 1595, Spanish expeditions launched from Peru were exploring the Solomon Islands with the intention of establishing colonies. Martin Gibbs and David Roe’s work there (Chapter 7) draws on archaeological, ethnohistoric, and archival data to explore the transitory and ephemeral nature of encounters between Spanish ships and indigenous peoples and the former’s failed attempts to establish a foothold. By 1565, on the other hand, there was a colony at Manila in the Philippines that became an economic center for trade and slavery (Seijas 2014; Tremml 2012). From Manila, groups of colonists made efforts to expand their colonial holdings and presence throughout the Philippine archipelago and beyond in order to more directly tap into well-established trading networks in Southeast Asia and China. Stephen Acabado and Grace Barretto-Tesoro (Chapter 8) present two archaeological case studies of cultural persistence among the highland Ifugao, who were not conquered, and a lowland Tagalog society that was directly administered by the colonial apparatus.

By the late seventeenth century, Spanish efforts to establish colonies and found missions had picked up steam, as illustrated in Chapter 9 by James M. Bayman, Boyd M. Dixon, Sandra Montón-Subías, and Natalia Moragas Segura and in Chapter 10 by Steve A. Tomka. Chapter 9 contextualizes early archaeological research on a Spanish mission site in Guam in the archaeological record of colonialism in the Mariana Islands (the name of the archipelago is itself a Spanish colonial legacy). Though the earliest recorded contact between Europeans, via the Magellan-Elcano circumnavigation voyages, and indigenous Chamorros in Guam took place in 1521, it was not until 1668 that the first permanent mission was successfully established. Despite great differences in scale, there are important parallels between the mission in Guam and those documented by Tomka (Chapter 10) around San Antonio, Texas. The impacts of Spanish efforts to turn indigenous peoples into tax-paying, Catholic, and loyal citizens of the Spanish Crown—part of the Bourbon Reforms in Spain, which were designed to strengthen an ailing empire, centralize control over its colonial holdings in peninsular (rather than American-born criollo) hands,
and increase its profitability—lasted far longer than the occupations of the missions themselves. Founded in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, most missions were abandoned within 150 years.

Efforts to tighten control over the vast dominions they claimed continued right up until the invasion of the Iberian Peninsula by Napoléon in 1808 and throughout the rest of the nineteenth century’s wars of independence in the Americas. This expansion continued within those territories as well, as colonialism was always highly variable across the landscape of any given region. Moreover, expansion efforts were not always territorial but instead were sometimes targeted efforts to extract particular resources, efforts that were framed and constrained by local realities on the ground. The final case study in this volume (Chapter 11) documents Juliet Wiersema’s fascinating late case study of colonial extraction in Nueva Granada. In the late eighteenth century, the Dagua River region was a multicultural backwater inhabited by a dynamic mix of French, Italians, Spanish, and Amerindians but with a majority African population. The social mobility that African slaves and their descendants were able to achieve in this place and time presents a fitting bookend to the first case study in Africa, as well as to the volume’s overarching overview of place making and pluralism throughout the Spanish Empire.

**TIES BETWEEN SPANISH COLONIES**

The Spanish colonial empire began with their arrival in the Caribbean, which led soon after to the establishment of the colony of Mexico, founded by Cortés in 1519, and quickly connected with other portions of the ever-expanding Spanish Empire. Within just a few years of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, there were campaigns to the south into both Guatemala and Peru and north into the southwestern and midwestern United States, all under the authority of the newly established Royal Council of the Indies. By 1565 there was a colony at Manila, which became an economic center for trade and slavery (Seijas 2014; Tremml 2012). Early Pacific voyages, later including the Manila galleons, were a systematic expansion of the American campaigns by conquerors like Pedro de Alvarado y Contreras and his brothers (Kelsey 2016:59–62).

Colonies fulfilled different goals for Spain (Douglass and Graves 2017). First, there were minerals and other resources to harvest. Once
the colony in Mexico was established, for example, expeditions into the southwestern United States were launched to search for gold, silver, and other resources. Then, the Spanish aimed to convert indigenous peoples to Catholicism. The process of conversion, partially through labor at the missions, was one way to aid in also ensuring that native peoples would become good citizens of the Spanish Empire (Hackel 1998:122; Newell 2009:51–54). Lastly, as outlined by Tatiana Seijas (2014), another principal goal was the use of labor for extracting natural resources and feeding the continued colonial expansion, which, as Laura Matthew has argued (2015:84), was “a natural extension of Christian expansion.” Muslims captured during war, for example, could be legally enslaved (Seijas 2014:37). This was done in part through colonies that expanded the slave trade. Enslaved people came from many categories of people in Asia, from enslaved Filipinos to Muslim war captives (Seijas 2014:Map 2.1). Based on archival records, roughly a third of sixteenth-century Mexican colonist households held slaves (Rodriguez-Alegria 2016), and they performed a wide range of tasks. During this time there were both transatlantic and transpacific Spanish slave trades, and there was also a clear program of enslaving local indigenous peoples in the Americas. Slaves also were shipped to Spain from many parts of the world, including native North America (Matthew 2015).

The Manila galleons and other Spanish ships moved diverse trade goods and slaves between colonies. These ships made many stops across the Pacific, impacting indigenous diets and material inventories of peoples such as the Chamorro in the Marianas (Bayman and Peterson 2016). Enrique Rodriguez-Alegria (2016:42–49) studied the inventories of 30 sixteenth-century Spanish colonizers in Mexico to better understand their material belongings during this early period. He concludes that roughly 60 percent of the items listed were manufactured in Mexico or elsewhere in the Americas, many likely by indigenous peoples. Although initially colonists depended on trade goods from Europe, indigenous craftspeople started copying material forms and styles fairly soon after the conquest (Rodriguez-Alegria 2016:48). That said, almost 39 percent of the items inventoried came from cities in Europe. Some items in high demand, such as European glass beads, made their way through Mexico and were shipped out to other colonies (Hackel 2016). Items from Europe, Asia, and elsewhere circulated throughout the distribution
system. The colony of Manila became an important hub in preexisting trade networks linking China and Southeast Asian kingdoms, bringing varied Asian goods to Acapulco, Mexico, and beyond, but also silver in enormous quantities to the currency-starved Chinese Empire from the Spanish-American colonies (Chia 2006). Soon after Spanish colonies were established, a wide variety of new, exotic goods would make their way into the interior of colonial lands, other islands, and nations outside direct contact with the Spanish through exchange networks.

All told, intercolony trade networks facilitated the exchange of ideas, materials, and people between different environments and areas of the empire, creating pluralistic economies and societies. Oceanic shipping routes were complemented by overland expeditions and exchange networks. Colonial expansion also allowed indigenous groups to align with or fight against local Spanish powers. Spanish armed forces included relatively few actual Spaniards but contained many aligned indigenous warriors. For example, the Alvarado brothers’ 1520s campaigns into Guatemala and El Salvador had just a few hundred Spaniards but up to 8,000 central Mexican indigenous warriors (Matthew 2007, 2012; Restall and Asselbergs 2007). Between campaigns, some of these same indigenous warriors were shipped to other portions of the Spanish Empire, such as South America, creating new cultural hybridity in these parts of the world. The early Coronado expedition from central Mexico into what is now Kansas, in the central portion of the United States, also had few Spaniards but hundreds of central Mexicans (Douglass and Graves 2017; Flint 2009). Of course, it was not just slaves or warriors who crossed the waters between colonies. Native noblemen and noblewomen from various portions of the empire also crossed the Atlantic to visit Spain (Matthew 2015:88–89).

PLACE MAKING

One thematic focus of this volume is on the global connection between people and places tied together during Spanish colonialism over a nearly 500-year period. The case studies presented have variable time depth, cut across time periods, and offer perspectives from incredibly diverse places. One of the important considerations in these various colonies—incorporating both people and the physical places themselves—is the
creation of space and place. These spaces, as Paul Adams, Steven Hoelscher, and Karen Till (2001:xiv) have argued, become places when they are embedded with and represent social relations. Spaces are, they write (2001:xiii), “intangible and dauntingly infinite,” and as a result, people create places from spaces that are tied to “experiences and memories of the material world that is so reassuringly solid.” At the same time, places are not as tangible and pronounced as they initially appear, as social and material conditions tend to be in constant flux. In the case of the colonial world, people and communities are in a constant process of becoming (Panich 2013). In these contexts, people from diverse backgrounds—for example, colonists and indigenous groups—help create these colonial spaces that embody the social relationships between them and that are internal to those groups. Within this context, physical spaces connected with cultural interpretation help create places of importance that help these divergent groups interact. As Stephen Acabado and Grace Barretto-Tesoro argue in Chapter 8, three things constitute a place (following Agnew 1987): its location, its setting for social relationships, and a sense of place (i.e., the more intangible elements and feelings of a place that give it meaning for a particular group of people). Ideas about space and place can take many shapes, but more and more, there is acknowledgment that spaces can become loci of power and authority, gender relations, classes, factions, social memories, practices, and everyday life, among other things (Johnson 2012:275–276; Rubertone 2009, 2012). Adams et al. (2001:xx–xxii) argue that many social transformations and transitions can occur within spaces and places, including experiences, identity, imagination, and social construction. For example, any geographic space may not simply be a physical one but may have social meaning attached to it by various social agents, which helps create places. Any particular place may have a different meaning to diverse groups or individuals, especially in a colonial setting. Places are socially constructed (Cresswell 2001, 2004) and are contexts in which people help create, mediate, shape, and transform identity, likely on multiple occasions. This is place making.

Thus, we should think not only about physical or geographic places per se but also about the social setting and social relationships that help create the space that has been identified, used, and maintained by these diverse peoples. Similar arguments have been recently made regarding
the creation of communities in colonial contexts; it is not the physicality but the social relations and social agency that help create, alter, and maintain communities (Hull and Douglass 2018). These places mediate and offer a social lens for viewing the surroundings. As an example, the social landscape of colonial Alta California offers important insight into this sense of place and its divergent meanings by colonists and indigenous people who inhabited the same lands. In southern Alta California, there is an area in west Los Angeles known as La Ballona that has been the home of indigenous people of the area, the Gabrielino/Tongva, for millennia. During the mission period, one native village located in this area was called Guaspet (Douglass and Reddy 2016; Douglass et al. 2018; Douglass et al. 2016; Hackel 2016; Stoll et al. 2016). This village, which we know from both archaeological and ethnohistoric sources, was a very important social and economic locus along the coast as a connection with the southern Channel Islands. During the mission period, it also contained an area in which hundreds of Gabrielino/Tongva were buried; this burial ground likely drew from a much larger population than just the village of Guaspet. This village was recruited by Misión San Gabriel, and over 90 of its villagers left to become baptized neophytes at the mission, only to return intermittently for ceremonial activities such as feasting rituals associated with the burial area and the traditional Mourning Ceremony (Douglass et al. 2018).

Within a single lifetime after the establishment of Misión San Gabriel, the village of Guaspet was no longer inhabited. The mission-period village of Guaspet and its associated burial area were constructed on an alluvial fan adjacent to the Ballona wetlands, which had been occupied as a stable surface for well over 6,000 years. This village was a persistent place on the landscape, as conceptualized by Sarah Schlanger (1992), as it was used as a seasonal habitation site for thousands of years. It is likely that this persistence helped create a sacred landscape and an important socially constructed burial place for the Gabrielino/Tongva. Through time, the concept of community changed from one focused on habitation to one more focused on ritual ceremony associated with the burial area (Douglass et al. 2018), as the mission period fragmented native communities through migration to the missions, pueblos, and ranchos, as well as through increased foreign-borne illnesses and hunger. The social memory and history of the site helped create and transform this space
from one of long-term occupation to an important ritual and communal sacred place. The continuous use of the native burial area, combined with annual feasting ceremonies nearby, was a way for the local Gabriélino/Tongva to continue their long-lived traditions in the face of colonialism, as well as connect with those members who had left for Misión San Gabriel to be baptized but who were likely to return for these important feasting and mourning rituals.

Simultaneous with and partially responsible for the decline of the native village of Guaspet, colonial rancheros developed the area for cattle range and farming activities. On the bluffs overlooking the former village and burial area of Guaspet, which likely was still partially visible as it slowly was buried by alluvial fan deposits, a horse or cattle area was developed and appears on an early map with the label “Corral de Guaspita.” Although the Gabriélino/Tongva, who had occupied this land for thousands of years, no longer occupied the village of Guaspet, subsequent colonists had continued using the name, but in a transformative way, much like an analogy to the way they transformed the land around them from a sacred native place geography to a utilitarian place. While the physical location (space) remained the same in many ways, the sense of place changed dramatically from the native to the colonial occupation. That said, the location of the ancient village of Guaspet is still viewed by some native Gabriélino/Tongva as a sacred place two hundred years after the village and associated burial area were last occupied and used.

PLURALISM IN COLONIAL SETTINGS

Colonial settings are, by definition, pluralistic; they contain indigenous and foreign populations that, after perhaps a very short period of time, become intertwined in economic, political, and social realms. Each participant group struggles to find its way, and its place, in this new social order, although clearly indigenous groups struggled much more so. As described above for the Gabriélino/Tongva in what is now southern Alta California, new or altered definitions and creations of place were one of many reactions to this colonial, pluralistic reality. Martin Gibbs and David Roe’s contribution (Chapter 7) to this volume tells the story of exploratory navigations from Peru to the Philippines, and there may be no better example of the pluralistic nature of colonial settings than the
passengers on those Spanish ships that traveled between those locations in the Pacific: Spanish, indigenous Peruvians, enslaved and free Africans, and the list goes on. We know from the analysis of historical documents that not only were colonies pluralistic, but their ties to other colonies were as well. For example, María Fernanda García de los Arcos (1996) and Eva Maria Mehl (2014) both argue that from an early time period, Mexico and the Philippines were conjoined and historically intertwined politically, economically, and socially. From transport of Nahua warriors from central Mexico to the new colony of the Philippines in the mid-1500s, the importation of enslaved peoples from Africa, the Americas, and other parts of Asia, to the transpacific import of Mexican military recruits (including convicts and other criminals) in the 1700s, the integration of the local and foreign peoples led to a complex social, political, and economic colony. Below, we touch on elements of this pluralism as it was expressed, sometimes in diverse fashions, across the Spanish Empire.

Categories of gender and race and an individual’s place within any colonial sociopolitical system, such as the caste system, were very important parts of colonial society across the Spanish world. The caste system hailed from the concept of *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood). Legal definitions of caste groups were elaborate and complex, with fine distinctions among different classes of people. Many scholars have argued that there was little mixing between castes or races (*mestizaje*) in early Spanish colonial settings such as Mexico. Robert Schwaller (2011), for example, has argued based in part on simple demographics in these early colonies that from the outset of the colonial period, there were simply few Spanish women in these early colonies, which led Spanish men to create interethnic and interracial marriages, which in turn led to new identities and, sometimes, ethnogenesis. Using archival data, he argues that mestizas (women partially of Indian ancestry) were much more likely to marrySpaniards, while mestizos (men of partial Indian ancestry) were more likely to marry *indias*. Schwaller sees that some mestizos, even during the early colonial period in central Mexico, were able to avoid the caste limitations set on them by having strong ties with Spanish life and effectively played the role of *españoles*. Alternatively, those who had biological ties to Spaniards but were abandoned by their Spanish fathers probably identified with indigenous castes and communities. Alternatively, other scholars, such as Barbara Voss (2005:463), have argued that this system was outwardly
a “pigmentocracy,” with lighter-skinned people likely to be higher in the social order; castes were also related to lineal ancestry, class, and a variety of other attributes. She argues that colonial society in the heartland of colonies was very rigid in its caste system, and Spanish-colonial sumptu-ary laws highly restricted both upward and downward movement within this caste system by members of colonial society (Voss 2008b:413). In general, many historians likely view the situation of caste in the Americas more along the explanation of Schwaller than of Voss. In other cases, the Spanish caste system conflated ethnic groups; in the 250 years or so of the Manila galleons, migrants came to the Americas from the Philippines and elsewhere in Southeast Asia, Japan, Cathay [China], and India and became collectively known as *chinos* (Chinese) or *indios chinos* (Chinese Indians) (Slack 2009:35).

Another way of helping break the rigidity of the caste system in the core of Spanish colonies was to head toward the periphery of the Spanish Empire as a colonist or an explorer. Crypto-Jews left the Iberian peninsula for the New World to flee persecution, and many continued once they arrived in the core of Mexico and headed to places such as what is now New Mexico (Douglass and Graves 2017; Hordes 2005:89). Early overland expeditions to California were also a good opportunity for colonists to transform their identity from one of mixed race to that of *español*, far away from the colonial core (Haley and Wilcoxon 2005; Voss 2008a, 2008b). At times, people were banished to these far-flung places or otherwise fled to distant locations (Mehl 2014). The Spanish Empire was a vast network of cultures and places in which to transform oneself (see Beaule 2017b), and migration, in different forms, was an important catalyst for change (Weik 2014:198–200).

For example, at the beginning of the overland Anza expedition from southern Arizona to California in the mid-1770s, many of those heading to California were of mixed race and were willing to attempt the expedition as a way to get farther away from the harsh restrictions placed on them based on their racial category in the caste system (Voss 2008b). Perhaps to encourage them to endure the long journey, traveling colonists were sometimes issued clothing that was not allowed within the Mexican heartland. Once these same settlers arrived and were established in southern California, within a short time they had transformed their identity from Indian to Spanish, based on self-reporting in census records.
Introduction

(Mason 1998). In another example from the sixteenth-century British Isles, sumptuary laws were strict and restrictive, dictating what clothing one could wear based on one’s status and place in the hierarchy. Audrey Horning (2014:300–302) documents these constraints in Ireland and the numerous ways people worked around them. Elites assumed that clothing illustrated established cultural meanings, but the secondhand trade of clothing allowed lower-caste people to “code switch” and appropriate a higher status. In doing so, some lower-caste individuals were able to create a new place for themselves in their respective social landscapes; this is thus an example of place making in the social sense. In the Andes too, Joanne Pillsbury (2002:78) writes of Spanish encomenderos who adopted the Inka practice of giving fine textiles as gifts to subject kurakakuna (indigenous nobles) on their encomiendas. Gifting textiles was, in this case, a manifestation of Spanish colonists incorporating indigenous strategies of binding subject elites to themselves in politically indigenous fashion.

Food also plays an important part in expressing identity in colonial settings. Michael Dietler (2001), for example, argues that food is an important medium during colonialism as it aids in understanding the transformative effects of colonialism in cultural identity. He argues that the adoption of alien foods is primarily through actions of individuals or social groups “located differentially within complex relational fields of power and interest” (Dietler 2007:226). That is, elites, commoners, or other groups within a culture may adopt specific foods that may, through time, be incorporated by other elements of that society. Particular foods may be used to strategically identify social roles. Peaches and other orchard fruits were introduced to the Hopi of northern Arizona by the Spanish and incorporated into Hopi lifeways. Through time, these fruits may have become Hopi rather than Spanish foods. Similarly, the incorporation of Spanish-introduced churro sheep into Navajo culture over time reinforced Navajo, not Spanish, identity. These sheep infused a number of activities, from food (including highly regarded mutton stew) to weaving and trade. In colonial contexts, food can be a medium of solidarity or differentiation within a group. DeCorse (Chapter 1) discusses the vast incorporation of foreign foods into local West African diets as the result of Portuguese and Spanish colonial introductions.

The examples above use specific elements of material culture, such as food, clothing, and burial goods, to illustrate the intertwined nature
of this volume’s two themes. Place making in the geographic sense is illustrated by the attachment of culturally specific meaning to a location on the landscape, while place making in the social sense involves the creation or modification of a group’s place in a socially or politically diverse setting. In the context of the highly variable and diverse social and geographic landscape of Alta California, groups such as the Gabrielino/Tongva evidenced place making—in both senses—in this pluralistic colonial setting. The degree to which place making and pluralism are intertwined in the chapters that follow illustrates how theoretically powerful these two related concepts are for explaining some of the remarkable variability captured by these case studies of Spanish colonialism.

RECONCEPTUALIZING COLONIALISM’S IMPACTS

This volume’s collection of case studies collectively reveals several patterns worth pursuing in future research endeavors. At the start, it is important to recognize that deliberative and strategic expansion efforts by the Spanish had often devastating consequences for the native populations who tangled with them and their multicultural allies. Those entanglements also had surprising and probably unforeseen impacts, too, on indigenous peoples in, for example, material culture (moving beyond discussions of hybridity and syncretic styles). The chapters of this volume illustrate great variability in indigenous and Spanish geographic and social place making in a rapidly changing landscape. In part, this included creative processes of identity formation, such as the introduction and/or manipulation of new ethnic categories and new meanings to old categories; indios chinos (Chinese Indians) in the Philippines and the “Spanish” on board Pacific exploration ships offer two enticing examples. Similarly, documented changes in the composition or location of pluralistic communities on indigenous landscapes illustrate place making in spaces that were themselves the sites of deep, pluralistic histories of communities.

Simply labeling these case studies “colonial” obscures the extent of misunderstandings that also shaped people’s experiences of them. The ultimately unsuccessful fate of exploratory voyages in the Pacific (Chapter 7), the perseverance of indigenous cultures by a demographically devastated but persistent native population in the Caribbean (Chapter 2), the strength of West African cultures able to fend off European political
subjugation for so long (Chapter 1), and creative processes of ethno-
genesis in late colonial pockets of unconquered lands in the Americas (Chapter 11) offer key examples that counter a narrative of conquest and political subjugation by Europeans. And they beg the question of how much of that Spanish expansion around the globe was accidental or un-
successful, leaving some areas even relatively untouched.

There are, at the same time, tentative observations that we can offer to debates in the archaeology of colonialism because of the great geographic variability captured in this volume. Here we seek to try to explain some of this variability in patterned ways that may also be applicable to other case studies of prehistoric and historic colonialism. First, we hypothesize that the intensity of contact within and between communities on the colonial landscape changed the nature of the incorporation of foreign goods and ideas. In contexts of increased frequency and intensity of interaction, such as in Spanish towns, missions, cabeceras, and so forth, we might expect to see less hybridity or syncretism in material culture because of the greater oversight potentially exercised by agents of the colonial power. For ex-
ample, living just 200 m from a church likely meant that Majaltepec residents buried community members with beads and indigenous grave goods under house floors in secret (Chapter 4). On the other hand, less intense or frequent intercultural contact likely meant that foreign goods were incorporated into indigenous daily practices and worldviews in ways that included greater meaning making among indigenous peoples for themselves. In this continuum, a glass bead in a native burial is not just an object that does not belong, a chronological marker, and evidence of cultural incorporation into the colonial world. The full context is required to better understand what that hypothetical bead meant to the individual who wore it, the community that interred it with the deceased, the contexts for its display, the value attached to it, and so on.

Second, the practices and processes of place making in colonial con-
texts varied too, depending in part on the degree and direction of socio-
political control of the physical and social landscape. We see examples of Spanish places in indigenous landscapes and Spanish identity cate-
gories in indigenous social landscapes as much as we see examples of indigenous place making in the physical and social landscapes that the Spanish sought to remake for their own ends. These efforts at colonial place making were rarely effective replacements for pre-contact ones; as
many chapters in this book (Chapters 2, 4, 5, 10, and 11) show, indigenous groups carved out or defended their own places within complex, multi-ethnic social landscapes that were variably impacted by Spanish efforts to transform them. Where colonial agents’ control was perhaps greatest were the places, sometimes walled, they occupied most densely, such as missions, specific neighborhoods in Spanish towns, and administrative and church complexes. It does not follow from this, however, that the places outside such pockets of control were similarly transformed into Spanish places, even if colonists renamed them and claimed to own them on large maps. The Treaty of Tordesillas may have granted Spain and Portugal vast territories, but there remained areas well outside the control of both, such as the Dagua River region of Nueva Granada during the late eighteenth century (Chapter 11). Place making in that case was performed by people brought forcibly from West and Central Africa in a multiethnic landscape offering opportunities the likes of which did not exist in spaces more clearly under colonial domination.

In the end, this book illustrates the vast and varied nature of indigenous cultural persistence within colonies firmly, or perhaps in some cases tenuously, under Spanish rule. Across time and space, we see examples of change of indigenous cultural norms in the face of colonization as functions of preserving these traditions. In some case studies, such as Oaxaca (Chapter 4), the local culture was overrun by other colonial cultures multiple times, yet indigenous culture survived and continued. We see variations of this same theme in the creation of colonial towns (Chapter 5), within the walls of missions (Chapters 9 and 10), and in other types of restricted spaces (Chapters 1, 7, 8, 9, and 11) and other contexts. It is remarkable how in each of these varied parts of the globe, where the Spanish Empire tried so hard to be dominant, indigenous cultures persevered, albeit perhaps not in the same form as they had prior to conquest. That result is part of what Panich (2013) has referred to as the process of becoming.

**Organization of This Volume**

As “The Spanish Imperial Project” section indicates, we have elected a chronological organization for the volume. When the participants in the Society for American Archaeology / Amerind Foundation workshop that gave rise to this book gathered in the fall of 2018, it quickly became
apparent that place making and cultural pluralism were themes that ran through every chapter. Thus, putting individual case studies under one heading or the other would have created artificial boundaries between groups of chapters that rightfully belonged under both themes. This chronological format instead takes the earlier date of each case study as its marker and uses that date to place the case study within the framework of the book. In this sense, the order of the chapters roughly follows the Spanish colonial enterprise itself as it spread across first one, then a second ocean in its quest for more precious metals, resources, and labor to exploit and souls to convert. Along the way, the colonists grew increasingly diverse themselves, pulling indigenous and nonindigenous individuals alike along to new places. These were the conditions under which previously unknown spaces transformed into meaningful places of colonial entanglements. Additionally, the pluralistic nature of those colonial social landscapes contributed to the unique material, sociopolitical, economic, and ideological histories that unfolded during the centuries of the global Spanish colonial enterprise. The chapters in this book, of course, capture just a small number of examples from seven world regions, but the parallels that run between them teach us much about the nature of place making and pluralism in that important period of early modern history.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We thank the Amerind Foundation, Christine Szuter, and all the participants of our Amerind Seminar for the opportunity to work side by side on this chapter. The feedback from all of the participants—particularly Laura Matthew, Steve Tomka, and Kevin Lane—was extremely helpful as we revised our chapter. In addition, anonymous peer reviewers offered helpful insight and areas to expand. All told, this chapter, while written by us, is the result of collaboration with all of the seminar participants, for which we are honored and grateful.

REFERENCES


Senatore, Maria Ximena, and Pedro Paolo A. Funari. 2015. “Introduction: Disrupting the Grand Narrative of Spanish and Portuguese Colonialism.” In


