





**Maiolica and the doctrine of blood purity in  
New Spain, Mexico**

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## *Abstract*

The aim of this research is to explore the different dimensions that material culture has to approach the ideological realm. It presents the results obtained from the study of sixteenth to early-nineteenth century maiolica ware recovered from archaeological excavations in Mexico City by personell of the National Institute of Anthropology and History of Mexico (INAH). In this research, it is argued that different cultural groups inhabiting Mexico City utilized tin-glazed ceramics of an Islamic tradition as a medium to express their identities based on the doctrine of blood purity. Ever since the colonization of this territory in the early-sixteenth century, Spaniards transferred the political and social institutions that existed in the Iberian Peninsula, such as the doctrine of blood purity, as well as cultural practices like dining. The doctrine was a hierarchical system that originated in fifteenth century Spain and can be broadly defined as based on the absence of Jewish and Muslim blood. It prescribed social separatism between old-Christian Spaniards and their descendants, known as “cristianos lindos”, from new converted Christians with heretic ancestors and non-European cultural groups, namely those of African descent. Blood purity and wealth were essential to pertain to elite circles and a world of privileges in Mexico. Thus, it is argued that both elite and aspiring members of society utilized maiolica and dining to express their cultural identities, which in turn were based on the doctrine of blood purity. Therefore, a close examination of this ceramic tableware enabled to address the following, amongst other aspects: The ways in which maiolica physically embodied ideas and symbols related with blood purity; the differential patterns of consumption of maiolica by particular cultural groups; the extent to which maiolica can be used to inform on dining to express notions related with the doctrine; how physical features like potters’ marks found on the ceramics may constitute expressions of the doctrine. Whilst in all case studies the similarities in the consumption of maiolica suggest the existence of a shared cultural identity based on the doctrine of blood purity, the differences between them are interpreted as expressions of gender, religious and social identities that co-existed in colonial Mexico City.



## ***Resumen***

El objetivo de esta investigación es explorar las diferentes dimensiones que posee la cultura material para aproximarse al campo de estudio de lo ideológico. Se presentan los resultados obtenidos del estudio de mayólica de los siglos dieciséis a diecinueve, la cual fue recuperada de excavaciones arqueológicas en la Ciudad de México por personal del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. Se argumenta que los distintos grupos culturales que habitaron en la Ciudad de México en el período colonial, utilizaron esta cerámica estaño-plúmbea de tradición Islámica como un medio para expresar sus identidades basadas en la doctrina de pureza de sangre. Desde la colonización de este territorio en la primera mitad del siglo dieciséis, los españoles transfirieron al Nuevo Mundo instituciones políticas y sociales de la península Ibérica tales como la doctrina de pureza de sangre, así como prácticas culturales como la etiqueta de mesa. La doctrina fue un sistema jerárquico que se originó en el siglo quince en España y puede definirse a grandes rasgos como basada en la ausencia de sangre musulmana y judía. En esencia, prescribía la segregación entre españoles cristianos viejos, también conocidos como “cristianos limpios”, “cristianos bonitos” o “cristianos lindos”, de los cristianos nuevos con ancestros “herejes” y no europeos, particularmente aquellos de ascendencia africana. La pureza de sangre era esencial para pertenecer a las élites en México y al mundo de privilegios. En esta investigación, se argumenta que tanto las élites como los grupos aspiracionales utilizaron la mayólica y las etiquetas de mesa para expresar sus identidades culturales basadas en la doctrina. Los resultados obtenidos a partir del estudio de los servicios de mesa de mayólica permitieron inferir lo siguiente: las maneras en las cuales la mayólica corporeiza las ideas relacionadas con la doctrina; los patrones diferenciales de consumo de mayólica por distintos grupos culturales; las maneras en las cuales los servicios de mesa de mayólica pueden informar sobre la etiqueta de mesa como parte de las estrategias ejercidas por los grupos culturales para expresar nociones relacionadas con la doctrina; el potencial que tiene el utilizar las marcas de los alfareros encontradas en la mayólica para informar sobre algunos aspectos relacionados con la doctrina. En todos los casos de estudio se identificaron similitudes en los patrones de consumo de mayólica. Ello permitió sugerir la existencia de una identidad cultural compartida basada en la doctrina de pureza de sangre. Las diferencias observadas en los mismos patrones de consumo fueron interpretadas como

expresiones identitarias de género, religiosas y sociales que co-existieron en la Ciudad de México durante el período colonial.



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*To Carlos*



## Introduction

This research will examine how social groups in New Spain, Mexico utilized ceramics and maiolica tableware in particular, from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, to express their cultural identities that were based on the doctrine of blood purity that is broadly defined as the absence of Jewish, Muslim and African blood. This thesis considered that people in the past actively produced, manipulated, and used material culture or objects, in this particular case maiolica tableware, to express and transform their identities (Moreland 2001, 80). Thus, it will be argued that the identities of cultural groups in Mexico City during the colonial period were expressed through the production, consumption and use of maiolica in everyday practices like dining.

Maiolica is a common name that refers to the ceramics produced in Spain, Italy, Holland and Mexico, also known as Delftware, Faience and *Talavera* (Goggin 1968, 1-2). The manufacture of maiolica comprises earthenware with a vitreous or glazed surface made from tin oxide, lead oxide, sand and water. Vessels are generally wheel made and fired two times. During the first firing process a ceramic biscuit is produced and painted (Monroy and Fournier 2003). During the second firing process the enamel surface and mineral oxides dissolved in water as decoration become vitrified. These tin glazed ceramics, both locally made and imported ones from Spain and Italy, were consumed in Mexico City from the first half of the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, and are still manufactured today.

In 1521 Tenochtitlan, the Aztec capital city, capitulated to the control of the Spanish Empire, one of the most powerful in the western world during the sixteenth century, and that transformed the newly founded territory into the vice royalty of New Spain. This was considered as an extension of the Spanish kingdom and as such, became a political, economic and cultural reflection of it, and this included the establishment of the doctrine of blood purity. The doctrine of blood purity segregated the colonial world in that of Europeans and their descendants and those of 'mixed' ancestry, that is of African descent that were labelled as *castas*. The identification with a particular cultural group meant the access and/or exclusion from the social, economic, religious, political and educational circles. These ideas were justified by physiological knowledge and

understanding of the human body that linked the physical appearance with morality and rationality of behaviour. Skin colour, ancestry, wealth, honour and a pure blood lineage were essential constituents of the identity of elite members. The doctrine shaped a system of beliefs that were adopted by the elite cultural groups in New Spain and that enabled them engage in the world, and exclude or include social individuals based on their skin colour, religion and cultural practices. Blood purity was essential to belong to the world of political, economic and social privileges, and thus it was crucial to display it publicly through material means (Cope 1994, 53; Martínez 2008, 123-141; 244-245). However, as social transgression and miscegenation occurred throughout the colonial period, cultural groups sought different strategies to display their social position and cultural affiliation by means of material culture that embodied the ideas on blood purity.

### ***1. Outline of thesis***

The major aim of this thesis is to explore the extent to which the consumption patterns of colonial ceramics and maiolica in particular, expressed notions on the doctrine of blood purity. This research undertook a different approach to that of previous studies in that it compared different assemblages from nine sites in Mexico City and focused on the interrelationship between material culture and the doctrine. This was sought by focusing on the interrelationship between vessel forms and modes of decoration within the broader context of dining. This allowed explore the spatial distribution and chronological change in the consumption of ceramic wares, vessel forms and modes of decoration that provided glimpses to changes in dining and attitudes towards the doctrine.

The first chapter of this thesis will examine the vice royalty, its social structure and how the notion of blood purity was used to sustain this. It provides an overview of the commercial networks between Spain and the Indies and China via the Philippines. These factors explain to a certain extent, the presence of imported ceramic wares in the assemblages from Mexico City and provides a background to the consumption of such items by colonial society. In order to understand the historical and social context of colonial Mexico, and in relation to blood purity, it was necessary to trace the origins and theoretical basis of the doctrine to fifteenth century Spain and then explore how was it transferred to the New World. Throughout the course of the research on blood purity, an



interrelationship between the human body and food were found. Therefore an overview of the physiological beliefs that governed the human body was necessary. These allowed insights to the mentalities of the period regarding the bodily *complexio* or constitution, bodily fluids that included the blood, and food that were drawn from the works of contemporary physicians and historiographical sources.

The methodological approaches undertaken for the analysis of colonial ceramics are presented in chapter Chapter two. These included the system of classification of each of the ceramic types (maiolica, Chinese porcelain, *botijas* and *lebrillos*), as well as the quantification methods used. The chapter then outlines the methodology employed to explore and classify the modes of decoration present on the different ceramics.

Chapter three presents an overview of the nine case studies. A general history of each site under study is undertaken, and information on the excavations and contexts were these were recovered is provided. This chapter is arranged into three sections that considered the functions of the sites: royal (the National Palace and Juárez 70), secular or domestic (Capuchinas and Mina 32), and religious (the convents of La Antigua Enseñanza and La Encarnación, the Hospital of San Juan de Dios, Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer and the monastery of El Carmen). This chapter considers the relative proportions and minimum vessel count of ceramic wares, types, vessel forms and modes of decoration on a site-by-site basis.

The detailed analysis of the ceramics is undertaken in Chapter four, that considered the patterns of consumption of ceramic wares, types and vessel forms from each site. The final section of this chapter explored the interrelationship between maiolica and *casta* members as depicted in eighteenth century *Casta* paintings. Added to the proportions of each ceramic type, ware and vessel form, an assessment of the expenditure values was also undertaken in Chapter five. This allowed the exploration of further variations in the patterns of consumption from each site to assess possible differences in wealth and ways to display cultural identities. Other comparisons were drawn based on the decorative schemes. The second section of this chapter gives an interpretation of the potters' signatures found on maiolica vessels as possible expressions of the doctrine of blood purity. The identification of the variation encountered in the vessel forms and modes of decoration in the samples of maiolica, were further discussed within the

context of dining. This allowed insights to the ways in which the material culture, the perceptions held by contemporary society on the human body and food constructed a discourse on morality and was used by the cultural groups to express notions on blood purity. This discussion was undertaken in Chapter six. Also, an alternative interpretation for the use of Chinese porcelain and miniature vessels is given in relation to women and children. Finally, a discussion on unglazed carinated bowls known as *lebrillos* and that are commonly found in hospital sites is provided.

This thesis contributes to the broader discussion of ceramic studies by addressing the different uses and meanings given to material culture by differing social groups in colonial Mexico. This research will contribute to the broader knowledge of ceramic studies and those related to the colonial period and dining. The results will enable a greater understanding of how social groups utilized material culture to express their cultural identities to be achieved. This highlights how the consumption of material culture and food was guided by the perceptions that a society held on the human body and notions of nobility and morality from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries.

## ***2. Material culture as a means to translate and communicate notions on blood purity***

One of the preferred means to display a pure lineage and affiliate to the elite circles in colonial Mexico City was to possess and display maiolica tablewares. These white tin-glazed ceramics soon became one of a number of symbols of their cultural identities and a landmark of Spanish colonization in the New World. In New Spain, maiolica was associated with privileged social groups as it is abundantly found in convents, government buildings and elite houses commonly inhabited by Europeans and their descendants (Goggin 1968, 1-6; 211). Material culture of Hispanic origin and tradition, particularly ceramics, are represented in higher quantities within urban settings inhabited by Hispanic groups in comparison to rural areas mainly inhabited by Native population (Charlton *et al.* 2005, 63). Maiolica was considered a symbol of socioeconomic status due to its relatively elevated cost in Mexico. The supply of European tablewares enabled Spaniards and their descendants to demonstrate their lineage, express their identities, ideology and satisfied their need for prestige (Blackman *et al.* 2006, 208-210; Fournier and Blackman 2008; Lister and Lister 1974).

The consumption of ceramics of a Spanish tradition serves as indicator of the material culture that was associated with social status and ‘Spanishness’ on behalf of European population in the New World (Skowronek 1992, 112-113). During the sixteenth century Italian and Spanish maiolica decorated the tables of Cardinals and kings in Spain, Italy and Hungary (Wilson 1999, 5-6). This luxurious ceramic tableware only comparable to Chinese porcelain became popular amongst European elite groups during the sixteenth century because of its white tin glazed surfaces and colourful designs. It replaced medieval ceramics and was considered a prestige product and appealing to royal taste. Moreover, the increase in the consumption of maiolica parallels that of changes in dining as a ritual to express social standing. Maiolica was cheaper than metal ware and glass and imitated Chinese porcelain, and thus enabled consumers to emulate elite dining since the sixteenth century in Europe (Gaimster 1999, 1-2).

The Spaniards received maiolica through Islamic groups established in the Iberian Peninsula with its decorated surfaces in Persian blue that emulated those of Chinese porcelain (Lister and Lister 1974, 18). These white tin-glazed earthenwares with a vitreous surface and colourful designs originated around the eighth century A.D. from a North African Islamic tradition. This ceramic technology and vessel forms were introduced in Spanish workshops particularly in Andalusia during the thirteenth century, when the Umayyad Caliphate of Córdoba was defeated and the Nasrid dynasty established in Granada, and where they preserved alliances with the kings of Spain until the fifteenth century. Maiolica became part of the material culture that was used by Iberian courtiers. This was characterized by the use of green and purple surfaces. Until the early sixteenth century, maiolica production was primarily at the hands of Muslims and their descendants. However, the fervour of the doctrine of blood purity during the Re-Conquest of Islamic Spain forced many Muslims to convert to Christianity and eventually the last converted Muslims exiled in 1609. Within this context, Italian and Flemish merchants and craftsmen like Jan Floris relocated in Spain and introduced new Renaissance styles to maiolica, that were later adopted by potters in Mexico (Farwell Gavin 2003, 1-5; Goggin 1968, 1-6; Pleguezuelo 2002, 123-124: 130).

Maiolica was first introduced to New Spain after the Spanish conquest of the Indies in the early sixteenth century (Lister and Lister 1974, 18). During the early colonial period that is during the second half of the sixteenth century maiolica was imported from

Spain. However, the costs of transportation overseas made it affordable only to members of the elites and few Native people could purchase it. For example, the price of one plate in Spain was of 7 *maravedies* and in Mexico it could cost 11 (Blackman *et al.* 2006, 208). The establishment of maiolica workshops in Mexico City and Puebla was a response to the anxiety exercised by Hispanic groups to display their cultural identities and wealth. Therefore, prestigious Spanish potters established workshops in Mexico since the second half of the sixteenth century in Mexico City, and the cities of Puebla and Oaxaca (Blackman *et al.* 2006). Maiolica workshops in Mexico comprised the masters and painters staff mainly of Christian and white background (Cervantes 1939; Farewell Gavin 2003, 12).

Despite the links between maiolica and the doctrine of blood purity, the research on this relationship has been insufficiently explored in the archaeology of the colonial period in Mexico. Lister and Lister (1982) had suggested a link between tin-glazed ceramics and blood purity. Blackman, Fournier and Bishop (2006, 219), have suggested that the production of tin-glazed ceramics in Mexico was an expression of a unified Vice Regal identity that excluded Native population and those with an impure blood known as *castas* from the seventeenth century and onwards. On the other hand Frutta (2002, 232) highlighted the need to explore the mechanisms of self-representation that were sought by members of the elites in New Spain that enabled them stay at the highest level of the social hierarchy from a cultural perspective. Thus, it became clear that the field of research that focuses on the relationship between the doctrine of blood purity and the consumption of colonial ceramics needed further consideration. Also, the relationship between maiolica tableware and the arena of dining constituted a gap in the studies of material culture from Mexico and thus required further investigation, as this had the potential to inform how did people express their cultural identities through the consumption of objects and food. Moreover, it became apparent that it was necessary to conduct research that would allow understand the interrelationship between material culture, the human body and dining and how were these related with the doctrine of blood purity and social status. This thesis focuses on such relationship.

### **3. Case studies**

The value of conducting a research on colonial ceramic tableware, dining and blood purity relies on the fact that the ideas held by a society on the human body and food are translated into cultural practices and guide the consumption of material culture that is used as signifiers of particular cultural groups. Moreover, a comparative analysis between the samples from different sites in Mexico City has not been sufficiently explored and thus, the potential that this has for drawing inter-site comparisons and addressing aspects related with consumption and cultural identities remains to be investigated. Therefore, this thesis considered such comparative patterns of consumption that allowed insights to the different ways in which cultural groups in Mexico City utilized material culture to express notions on blood purity and their cultural identities.

The case studies considered in this thesis comprise sites located in Mexico City in an area that was known as the *traza* and outside it that allowed inter-site comparisons amongst the ceramic samples. This allowed observe possible differences between the samples from the sites located inside and outside the city, and explore variations in the patterns of consumption of ceramic materials between religious, royal and secular groups. Therefore, within the Spanish city, the sites of National Palace that is the former vice royal palace, the convents of La Encarnación and La Antigua Enseñanza and the domestic site of Capuchinas were considered. Amongst the sites located outside the *traza*, the religious houses of San Juan de Dios, El Carmen, the domestic site of Mina 32 and the former Hospice for the Royal Poor known as Juárez 70 were included in the thesis.

The ceramic materials that were analyzed in this thesis were all excavated by the Direction of Rescue Archaeology (Dirección de Salvamento Arqueológico) and the Project of Urban Archaeology (Proyecto de Arqueología Urbana), both organizations belonging to the National Institute of Anthropology and History of Mexico (INAH). The information regarding these excavations can be found in the field reports that are preserved at the Technical Archive of the National Coordination of Archaeology of INAH. The data of the excavations from National Palace were found in Jiménez Badillo

and López Rodríguez (1994). Additional insights on the Vice Regal Palace were found in the work by Escamilla González (2005) and in that published by the *Secretaría de Obras Públicas* (1976). The field reports on the excavations at the site of Capuchinas were found in López Wario, Hernández Pérez, Getino Granados and Ortíz Butrón (1990) and López Wario, Hernández Pérez, Posadas Tinoco and Contreras (1990a). The works conducted by Salas Contreras at the convents of La Antigua Enseñanza and La Encarnación, were found in the field reports from 1989, 1994 and n/d. Additional insights derived from historical works on the convents and the lives of the religious women were found in Amerlinck de Corsi (1995), Lavrin (1978; 2008) and Socolow (2000).

The data obtained from the excavations at the monastery of El Carmen that took place in 1997-1998 were found in Moreno Cabrera (2002). Those concerning the excavations at the Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer, an area that belonged to the Hospital of San Juan de Dios, were found in Pérez Castellanos and Rojas Gaytán (2000). The information provided by Salas Díaz and Valencia Cruz (1982) on the excavations and quantification of the colonial ceramics recovered at the Hospital of San Juan de Dios were invaluable as the ceramic samples available for analysis was limited. Therefore, the data from the field report provided an overview of the material culture that was recovered at the site. Finally, the data of the excavations at the site of Juárez 70 were found in Corona Paredes, Domínguez Pérez, Maldonado Servín and Mora Cabrera (2000). In addition to these works, the thesis by Castillo (2007) on the Chinese porcelains and maiolica from Juárez 70 was an invaluable source of information on the material culture that was excavated at the site. The work by Arrom (2000) is a rich and socially informed historical overview on the Hospice for the Poor within the context of Bourbon policies. It provides insights to the life in the institution and its eventual decadence. The information derived from these studies allowed observe the incongruence of colonial society and the Vice Regal policies. Moreover, an overview on the consumption of material culture and the image that the Bourbons intended to portray during the eighteenth century through the construction of the hospice and the lavish display of ceramics were attained.

#### *4. Types of ceramics*

In order to explore the relationship between the consumption of material culture and the doctrine of blood purity, it is necessary to undertake an overview of the European and Mexican maiolica from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries found in Mexico City. Maiolica is a chronological sensitive material. Its vessel forms and colourful modes of decoration are susceptible to changes in fashion and taste of the consumers that may reflect to a certain extent changes in dining, attitudes towards the human body and cultural identities. Other tin-glazed objects such as tiles and *albarelli*, that are pharmaceutical jars, have not been included in the thesis because these materials are not tablewares and therefore would have functioned in different arenas.

The elevated prices in the market of imported maiolica made it an object for conspicuous consumption and accessible to a few members of colonial society. It was transformed into a symbol of status by elite members and used to express notions on wealth and cultural identities. Because wealth alone was not enough to pertain to elite circles where a pure blood lineage was essential, the consumption of lavish objects that included ceramics allowed aspiring members of society to affiliate to those exclusive social groups. The consumption of objects that embodied notions on wealth, refinement, taste and blood purity allowed different cultural groups emulate the elites. In addition to this, tableware of Chinese porcelain is considered in this study because they performed very similar roles as those of maiolica and dining, since maiolica imitated Chinese porcelain, and it was the most expensive tableware in colonial Mexico. It was also considered due to its clear association with tin-glazed earthenwares in archaeological contexts of Mexico City. Furthermore it is clear that Oriental ceramics are often associated with elite sites as well as being consumed by aspiring members of society. Thus, by combining the study of porcelains and maiolica there is a greater potential to obtain more detailed insights to the strategies of consumption and display of wealth and cultural identities of social groups.

Utilitarian amphorae known as *botijas* that were used for transporting comestibles from Spain to the Indies are also included in this thesis. These objects occur abundantly in the archaeological deposits of Mexico City and in association with maiolica and Chinese

porcelain. Whilst the *botijas* were not used at the table, it was their contents such as olive oil, wine and olives amongst other comestibles what is significant in terms of consumption and the expression of cultural identities. The analysis of these vessels had the potential to explore aspects related to the consumption of food in relation with dining. Also, the formal variations observed in the vessel shapes, sizes and glazing colours enabled explore aspects related to the technological changes and an increase in the production due to the commerce between Spain and the Indies since the sixteenth century. Finally, other utilitarian unglazed ceramic vessels known as *lebrillos* were also considered because of their association with other colonial ceramics in the samples. Their analysis had the potential to shed light on their function as bread moulds and their possible use by secular religious communities in Mexico City as a medium to display religious piety.

##### ***5. Previous Studies of Maiolica and other Colonial Ceramics in New Spain***

There are a number of works that have focused on maiolica from the Spanish colonies and Mexico in particular. However, unlike this thesis, which is focused on the relationship between tableware and blood purity, these other works have addressed more general issues of regional patterning, production, consumption and colonialism. Amongst the earliest typological works of tin-glazed colonial ceramics found on archaeological sites in Mexico are those by Noguera (1934) and López Cervantes (1976). Nevertheless, the most influential work on maiolica from Spanish America is *Spanish Majolica in the New World* by Goggin (1968). This emerged as an attempt to understand the historical pottery from the former Spanish colonies by obtaining adequate samples that would allow chronological seriation and the construction of an informed typology that would allow inter-site comparisons, and this is still used today as a primary source. The data was obtained from archaeological materials collected in surface surveys and excavations in Mexico, the Caribbean and the United States, and was also informed by historical documentation and art historical museum collections. This work has been extensively examined by archaeologists working historical sites in the New World and has contributed significantly to the archaeology of the former Spanish colonies (Goggin 1968, 16-21).



An additional value of the study by Goggin resides on the fact that it placed maiolica within a wider cultural background of the sites examined, within a spatial and temporal framework based on a direct historical approach. It also provided with a thorough description of maiolica types from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century along with associated tiles, and a literature review on earlier works about maiolica's origins and production in Spain, Mexico and South America. It is one of the earliest works that identified the occurrence of maiolica in sites occupied by Spanish groups and the relationship between tin-glazed ceramics and high socio economic status sites. However, this relationship was not fully explored and does not address the complexity involved in the dynamics of consumption and ethnic identities (Goggin 1968, 22).

The stylistic similarities between the maiolica from Spain and Spanish Americas were grouped by Goggin (1968, 1-2) into different ceramic complexes and cultural traditions and explained in terms of external influences and emulation of European, Chinese and Moresque traditions. A problem with this approach was that it underestimated to a certain extent the possibility of local technological and stylistic innovations and its significance. In more recent decades, archaeological excavations in the Florida and Caribbean region have refined the provenance and chronological framework of some maiolica types. This effort has resulted in a richly informed typology of colonial ceramics that include Chinese porcelain and *botijas*, and used to construct an online catalogue ([www.flmnh.ufl.edu](http://www.flmnh.ufl.edu)). This provides a chronological and spatial framework for the study of ceramics, and was a major source for the identification of maiolica types and Chinese porcelain in this thesis.

In addition to the work by Goggin, *Sixteenth Century Maiolica Pottery in the Valley of Mexico* by Lister and Lister (1982) and *Andalusian Ceramics in Spain and New Spain* (Lister and Lister 1987) are extensive works on the excavated maiolica from the centre of Mexico and the history of the craft in Spain and Mexico. These provide a detailed analysis of ceramic materials that include technological aspects, decoration, pigments, fabric and vessel forms, information regarding the potters and that were also informed by documentary sources. Moreover, these works offer a characterization of European and local ceramics that include fabrics other than tin-glazes and the identification of common and fine grade maiolica. The research done by Lister and Lister was central to this thesis for the identification of ceramic types and particularly regarding their

different qualities. Other studies that focused on stylistic similarities between the maiolica from Mexico and Europe can be found in Lister and Lister 1974 and 1976a and b. The stylistic similarities observed in European and American maiolica were argued to result from the trade relations between China, the Mediterranean and Europe, and the immigration of Flemish artists to Spain and of Spanish potters to Mexico. These stylistic similarities that were encountered in the maiolica from the different geographical regions in Spanish America allowed the identification of four ceramic complexes or manufacturing traditions. Finally, an archaeological and historical overview of the colonial potters' quarter of the city of Puebla in Central Mexico was found in the work Lister and Lister (1984). This work provided insights to the geographical location and internal organization of the guild and other aspects related to the production of tin-glazed ceramics despite the modern alteration of the subterranean deposits.

*Evidencias Arqueológicas de la Importación de Cerámica con base en los Materiales del ex-Convento de San Jerónimo*<sup>1</sup> by Fournier (1990) is one of the most comprehensive studies done to date on the imported material culture found in Mexico City, in the former convent of San Jerónimo. This work is one of the first ones conducted by a Mexican scholar that highlighted the relevance of studying imported and local ceramics from the early modern period. It is distinguished from previous studies in that it interprets the ceramics from a consumption-based perspective, rather than purely a typological one that aimed to explain stylistic similarities. Moreover, it is probably one of the first studies to provide an informed overview on European, Eastern and local ceramics, with an emphasis on Chinese porcelain and thus makes this research central to the study of colonial and post-colonial archaeological deposits. Other sources that allow a comprehensive overlook to the colonial ceramics utilized in daily life in Mexico City and that were recovered from archaeological excavations in Templo Mayor can be found in Fournier (1998). Finally, a typology of the ceramic materials found in the convent of Santo Domingo in Oaxaca, southwest Mexico was published in Gómez Serafín and Fernández Dávila (2007). This is probably one of the few recent studies on colonial ceramics from a geographical region outside of Mexico City and allowed

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<sup>1</sup> Archaeological evidence of the importation of ceramics based on the materials from the convent of San Jerónimo

comparisons between maiolica types and potters' signatures that were recovered from the convent excavations and those found in the analyzed case studies in this thesis.

*Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800* by Deagan (1987) also stands as one of the most relevant and comprehensive studies on material culture from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. An additional value of this work is that it included artefacts such as maiolica and Chinese porcelain from a variety of sites from Florida, Venezuela, Panama, Haiti and the United States that enable observe similarities in the consumption of objects and the identification of ceramic types. Other studies on maiolica also by Deagan (1978; 1996) focused on the identification of regional patterning amongst the artefacts. These aimed to explain cultural processes that operated in the past and draw cross-cultural generalizations. Artefact patterning is common to many works on colonial sites in the New World and particularly the United States. These studies of sixteenth-century material culture, which included maiolica from Spanish Florida, La Isabela in Dominican Republic and Puerto Real in Haiti, are good examples of this type of approach. These aimed to explore the relationship between tin-glazed ceramics and the identities of Spanish-American groups in these colonial settlements (Deagan 1978; 1996). In addition to these studies, that by McEwan (1992) stands as a further good example of this type of approach, where the archaeological materials from former Spanish colonies and Spain were categorized following within an artefact frontier pattern. The study of McEwan (1992) focused on the analysis of tableware to address notions on socio-economic status, ethnicity and gender. Whilst this thesis took a different approach to that of regional patterning, the work by McEwan makes for a useful comparison as it explored the preservation of traditional Hispanic culture in the New World through the analysis of tableware that was intended for public display. Furthermore, the study provides insights to changes in dining that were informed by the ceramics and historical accounts and that suggest that these were the reflection of Renaissance ideals that promoted a sense of individualism.

Studies in more recent years have examined maiolica from Mexico and focus on cultural aspects related to its production, commercialization, consumption, ethnicity and social status. The application of Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis (INAA), have enabled researchers in this field to contest previous assumptions on the production origin of maiolica types that were based solely upon stylistic traits or macroscopic

observation (Myers *et al.* 1992). The results drawn from compositional analysis of maiolica from Mexico also allowed insights to production centres, technology, the internal organization of guilds and consumption (Blackman *et al.* 2006; Fournier *et al.* 2009; Monroy and Fournier 2003).

The INAA analysis of maiolica from Mexico from archaeological sites across the country has allowed for the identification of at least three different production centres: Mexico City, Puebla and Antequera, Oaxaca (Blackman *et al.* 2006). The study provided further insights into production centres that were active from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, and compositional groups for both Spanish imports and local ceramics. This allowed the reconstruction of commercial routes that were in use during the colonial period and through which maiolica was distributed across the vice royalty of Mexico. One of the major contributions of this research to the study of maiolica is that it modified previous assumptions about the production origin of certain types. For example, some of these were thought as having originated in Mexico City but the compositional analysis suggested the city of Puebla. Whilst some types of tableware were produced in both cities, and potters in Antequera copied. Moreover, the emulation of Chinese and European styles in Mexican maiolica was interpreted as an identity that was constructed through imitation, comparison and later differentiation (Monroy and Fournier 2003). Also, the production origin of pseudo-maiolica or Indigena Ware types such as Romita Sgraffito and Romita Plain that had been previously been assigned to Europe (Rodríguez Alegría *et al.* 2003), were found to have been produced in the basin of Pátzcuaro, western Mexico (Fournier and Blackman 2008; Monroy and Fournier 2003).

Other studies that have incorporated compositional analysis to the broader study of maiolica from Mexico have explored aspects related with consumerism and identity within the context of the archaeology of capitalism (Fournier and Blackman 2008; Fournier *et al.* 2009). Maiolica was a sign of distinction and a luxury product that was used by privileged groups in Europe and New Spain, and aspiring groups emulated the aristocracy by consuming cheaper versions of maiolica. The conclusions derived from the aforementioned studies suggest that maiolica served as a symbol of identity and for the display of wealth. The potters in New Spain satisfied the needs of the consumers as they adapted the production of tin-glazed ceramics to the new colonial environment

(Fournier and Blackman 2008; Fournier *et al.* 2009). On the other hand, the analysis of consumption of maiolica suggests that Spanish descendants looked for symbols of status in local maiolica of a Hispanic tradition. This was because the production of tin-glazed ceramics encompassed contradictory feelings such as the desire to identify themselves with Spain but at the same time remain distant from it. The imitation of European cultural traits resulted in different expressions of a unified vice regal identity that arose from a hegemonic discourse, and that excluded Native groups and individuals with an impure blood since the seventeenth century (Blackman *et al.* 2008).

These studies have considered the relationship between maiolica tableware and Hispanic social groups that used it for lavish display. However, Gaimster (1999) has explored further the mechanisms behind the adoption of maiolica tableware by social groups in northern Europe by considering the interrelationship between technological innovation and social attitudes. This relationship is central to understanding the material cultural aspects of tin-glazed ceramics that made of this particular ware a desired object. Because maiolica was an ideal medium for changes in fashion, it met with popular trends and was also a signifier of status. Moreover, the transformations in dining from the medieval to the early modern period towards a more “ritualistic” act paralleled the introduction of maiolica that adapted to the needs of ostentation through individual dining, as it has been highlighted by Goldthwaite (1989). These changes implied technological innovations in the production of ceramics.

The technological innovations in maiolica production such as improvements to the kilns, colour technology and artisan skills, the manufacture of a variety of vessel forms, the emergence of various production centres and the adaptation to changes in vogues, along with the notion of ‘prestige’ are key to understand its popularity amongst the consumers and the success of Italian maiolica in the market. The emergence of specialized centres in Italy such as Faenza and the prestige that princes attached to the maiolica produced in their regions, contributed to the preference for tin-glazed ceramics. Moreover, the pride of Italian potters can be observed in the individual signatures left on the surface of the vessels. In contrast to the Italian examples, Spanish potters were conservative and more attached to their traditional designs, which resulted in them adapting less to changes in fashion (Goldthwaite 1989, 12-21). This is interesting because one of the key elements observable in seventeenth to eighteenth century

maiolica from Mexico and particularly that from Puebla are the individual marks left by the potters, and observable in the analyzed samples in this thesis. This could be related to changes in the attitudes on behalf of consumers and producers towards maiolica during that period.

The popularity of maiolica was also due, in part, to changes in the taste of consumers whom attached particular characteristics to the ceramics, and that were appealing to their ideals in relation with food and dining. Maiolica was considered as a clean and safe surface from where to eat and over which food tasted better as opposed to metal ware. Maiolica soon replaced base and precious metal tablewares, and furnished the tables of the nobility and cardinals alike (Goldthwaite 1989, 20-21). The changes in dining practices from the medieval to the early modern world as a moral discourse are also observable in the proliferation of individualized plates and differentiation in vessel forms. These changes in domestic tablewares from Spain, that include the adoption of particular vessel forms and decorative schemes have been explored by Casanovas (2003). In addition to these studies, the work by Pierce (2003) was central to understanding the adoption of particular vessel forms that were used for drinking chocolate. Insights to contemporary attitudes to this beverage by Hispanic groups were essential to the reconstruction of the context in which these vessels were used and that will be discussed in further depth in this thesis.

Finally, the relationship between colonial ceramics and an ideology of domination in sixteenth century Mexico has received the attention of researchers in the past years (Rodríguez Alegría 2005). The analysis of maiolica, Chinese porcelain and colonial Red Ware from three sites in Mexico City enabled Rodríguez Alegría to suggest that a monolithic ideology of domination that prescribed cultural separatism between Hispanic and Native groups did not exist in the colonial period. The results obtained from the consumption patterns of these ceramics also suggested that there were multiple ideologies of domination. However, as it will be explored in Chapter two of this thesis and based on the results obtained during this research, the proposal by Rodríguez Alegría can be contested. This because whilst the patters of consumption suggest that Spanish families were consuming Native ceramics and thus, incorporating native traditions to their daily lives, this ceramic ware was refashioned by Hispanic groups to meet their taste and needs of public display (see also Fournier 1997 and Hernández

2012). Moreover, as it will be hopefully shown in this thesis, the results obtained from the ceramic analysis of nine sites in Mexico City, instead suggested that whilst there were variations in the consumption patterns of ceramics, these were related with the individual needs for display of personalized identities. These co-existed within a unified attitude towards the display of wealth and social status that shaped a common cultural identity based on the doctrine of blood purity.

### *Chinese porcelain*

The earliest works on Chinese porcelain recovered from archaeological sites in the former Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and Mexico are those by Goggin (1968), Lister and Lister (1982), Fournier (1990) and Deagan (1997). However, since these studies were mainly concerned with maiolica, except for the work by Fournier (1990), Oriental ceramics received only cursory attention. Therefore, the first comprehensive and socially informed research on Chinese porcelain was that by Fournier (1990) on the convent of San Jerónimo in Mexico City. This work is central to the identification and study of Chinese porcelain from the Ming and Ch'Ing dynasties found in Mexico because it constructed a typology for the types encountered. Furthermore, this stands amongst the first anthropological oriented researches that gave insights to the commercial networks and aspects related with consumption. A second work on Chinese porcelain in colonial Mexico with an anthropological and historical perspective is that by Junco and Fournier (2008). This study provides an overview on the commercial networks between China and New Spain, the distinctive characteristics of Ming porcelain, and its consumption in New Spain in terms of the need on behalf of colonial society to express their identities through the possession of these objects. In addition Kuwayama (1997) focused on the identification of Chinese porcelain found in Templo Mayor, the great temple of the Aztecs also in the centre of Mexico City, and is also a useful source for the identification of ceramic types.

The art historical study by Bonta de la Plezuela (2003) focused on the identification of the porcelain that was produced in China and exported to the vice royalty of New Spain. This work provides insights to the social aspects related with the commercialization of porcelain, a nomenclature of vessel forms, and an overview on the decorative schemes and the role of porcelain amongst vice regal social groups. It incorporated museum

collections and primary sources of which the commercial registers were most useful for this thesis, particularly to observe the prices of products. These were contrasted and enriched also by the information provided by Castillo (2007) on the list of prices for Chinese porcelain and maiolica. Other works that were relevant for understanding the choices behind the consumption of Chinese porcelain were found in Porter (2002) and Slack (2012).

### *Botijas*

These *amphorae*, also known as olive jars, were usually used for transporting comestibles from Spain to the Indies and occur in relatively high proportions in the archaeological contexts from Mexico. However, they have been insufficiently studied from a material culture perspective. The inclusion of *botijas* in this thesis was due to the fact that these vessels constitute in themselves potential sources for directly inferring aspects related with the consumption of food. The *botija* was a preferred vessel form for transporting comestibles from Spain to the Spanish America and whilst they are a “coarse” pottery, are an indicator of high status activity and these were even consumed and reused once empty for architectural purposes (Goggin 1960; Lister and Lister 1981; 1987; Pleguezuelo *et al.* 1999).

*The Spanish Olive Jar an Introductory Study* (Goggin 1960) is one of the earliest studies on this class of ceramic that had been found in archaeological contexts across Spanish America. This provided the first typology that considered the mouth and body shape, and allowed the identification of three styles that are chronologically sensitive. Subsequently, James (1988) has undertaken a critical reappraisal on the form and function of *botijas*. The analysis of organic remains that had been found inside the vessels allowed James to establish the possible relationship between the use of glazing and vessel forms with the function that the vessels might have had *e.g.* for wine, olive oil, vinegar or olives amongst other items. Apparently, the glazed vessels contained thick liquids such as olive oil and those without glaze were destined for wine, vinegar, olives, capers, almonds, and other solid comestibles and non comestible products like tar. This was significant because it allowed the type of comestibles that were being imported to New Spain to be inferred. Moreover, Carruthers (2003) approached a discussion on the formal attributes, functions of *botijas* and the seals that are found on



some of the vessels. The work by Marken (1994) based on *botijas* recovered from shipwrecks provided rich insights into the variety of forms, functions and seals. On the other hand, de Amores Carredano and Chisvert Jiménez (1993), based on the identification of the different shapes of *botijas* found in architectural features like roofs and vaults in Sevilla, have suggested seven different types of vessels and a chronology of manufacture that differs to that proposed by Goggin in 1960. The occurrence of different types of *botijas* in the same architectural features suggests that the variations in shape that are encountered across the vessels do not necessarily reflect chronological differences as Goggin (1960) previously suggested, but rather correspond to variations within contemporary *botijas*. Other works that have focused on the study of *botijas* but from a historical perspective are those by Sánchez (1996) and Mena García (2004). The first constitutes a study on the products that were transported from Spain to the Indies with particular attention paid to ceramic vessels including *botijas*. Details on their production and packing are explored in this study. Also, information on the quantities and type of ceramic vessels that were produced and sold made it possible to penetrate into the variety of uses and names that were given to these vessels, the kind of product that these contained and the possible meanings of the seals (Sánchez 1996). On the other hand, the study by Mena García (2004) considered the ceramic containers in relation to their contents and their transport to the Indies. Emphasis on the networks of producers and consumers along with the regulations imposed by the Crown for the commercialization of particular products was also provided. Particular attention was paid to the types of containers that were used and their prices, and these were valuable for the interpretation of the vessels in this thesis.

### *Lebrillos*

The *lebrillos* are utilitarian unglazed ceramic vessels created with a mould, an also shaped by hand, that have a sealed interior surface. These containers, although not central to this thesis were nevertheless considered because of their clear association with other colonial ceramics. These were also considered in this research because of their possible relationship between different cultural groups in Mexico City and the expression of religious identities. Previous studies of *lebrillos* by Noguera (1934), López Cervantes (1975), Hernández Pons, Uribe Moreno and Robles Luengas (1988), Temple Sánchez (1998) and Lugo Ramírez (2006) were challenged in this thesis. An

alternative interpretation of these vessels is presented in this thesis and will hopefully contest previous assumptions concerning the function of these vessels and place them within the wider narrative of the religious landscape of Mexico City.

## **6. On the doctrine of blood purity and *casta* system**

The subject matter of blood purity and *casta* system in Spain and Spanish America has been extensively discussed but almost exclusively from an historical perspective. *Los Estatutos de Limpieza de Sangre*<sup>2</sup> (Sicroff 2010) is probably one of the most extensive historical overviews on the topic, which included the social and judicial justifications that gave origin to the doctrine in fifteenth century Spain. This extensive study explores the historical changes that occurred in the discourse of the doctrine from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Moreover, the study explores in depth the relationship between blood purity and Jewish and Muslim groups who were the main victims of persecution, and the religious arguments upon which the doctrine was build and enforced against their faiths.

In contrast, *El Peso de la Sangre*<sup>3</sup> (Herring Torres *et al.* 2011) is a compilation of articles taking a critical approach to different aspects related to the doctrine of blood purity. Within this collection, Herring Torres (2011, 29-62) has approached the study of the doctrine in Spain through a theoretical model that considered the judicial, social and mental aspects of the doctrine. It also explored the role of the canonical laws that derived from the medieval period in order to understand how did these operated in society and segregated Jews and Muslims from the different trades and offices. In addition to this, Sanchiz (2011, 113-136) has explored the discrepancies that existed between the formal or idealized discourse of the doctrine, and the one that functioned in daily practice in Spain and New Spain. Moreover, approaches to the relationship between the doctrine and the Inquisition with particular attention to Jewish population and crypto-Jews were found in Alberro (2011, 169-185) and in Bötcher (2011, 187-217).

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<sup>2</sup> The statutes of blood purity

<sup>3</sup> The weight of the blood

The aforementioned studies constitute recent contributions to the research field on Judaism in Spanish America and within the context of blood purity. This builds on the earlier work by Liebman (1963), who also explored the role of the Inquisition and of crypto-Jew in colonial Mexico. An interesting element of this work is that it discusses the *Sanbenito*<sup>4</sup> garments that were worn by unrepentant individuals of Jewish origin. This is particularly relevant to the study of material culture in the form of figurines that were identified in the sample from San Juan de Dios known as *Sanbenitos*, and that could then represent these social groups. Other questions that arise from these studies is the location of the Jewish quarters within the city, the possible existence of synagogues and the mechanisms by which Jewish groups that had converted to Christianity used the consumption of material culture to express their identities. However, this is part of a wider research project that requires further investigation that would allow identify the spatial distribution of Spanish and Jewish material culture and reconstruct the religious landscape of the city in relation with individuals with a ‘tainted’ lineage.

*Genealogical Fictions* (Martínez 2008) is an extensive work on the concept of blood purity. It traces its origins to Spain and highlights the obsession that Hispanic society had with the maintenance of a pure lineage free from heresy. Moreover, it approaches the adaptation of the doctrine to the social context of New Spain as a means to preserve the purity of the newly founded land and natives that had converted to Christianity. Therefore, the doctrine was particularly applied to Africans and their descendants known as *castas* and used to restrain social mobility and segregate individuals from particular trades and offices based on the purity of their lineage and skin colour. This highlights the fact that the doctrine had historicity; it changed depending on the cultural context where it was applied, from purity of faith to a more racial discourse that was applied to African population, and this continued to be modified throughout the colonial period. In addition to this, other aspects regarding the doctrine and that are crucial to understanding how it operated in daily practice and the importance it had in colonial society was found in Martínez (2008). This work was crucial for understanding how

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<sup>4</sup> These figurines are known as Sanbenitos, Sanbenitos or Saint Benedicts represent un-repentent penitents that were judged and burned by the Holy Office and whom where exposed with this distinctive garments (Monteiro de Barros Carollo 1999, 113-119). Some of the individuals that were forced to wear the Sanbenito garment had been accused of practicing Judaism and intriguing in favour of the Independence from the Spanish Crown in Mexico before the early nineteenth century (García Molina Riquelme 2000, 241-242; 249).

genealogies were crafted to demonstrate a pure blood and allowed Hispanic immigrants and their descendants to claim social status and privileges. In this context, material culture became an ideal medium to reinforce their cultural identities.

In New Spain the stains from heresy included African blood and slavery, and vulgar infamies, but also included people who engaged in ‘vile’ or mechanical occupations including potters. However, this changes throughout the colonial period and the industry acquired some degree of prestige particularly during the eighteenth century (Martínez 2004). On this point, the study of Cervantes (1939) is one of the earliest historical works that reproduced the ordinances of the potters’ guild from the city of Puebla. This mentions the strictures that prevented individuals of a “disturbed colour” or *castas* from becoming potter masters. In addition to this, Castro (1989) has also summarised the ordinances of the guild that mention the restrictions made to non-white potters. Other interesting aspects of the study by Cervantes is that it presents the information from the ordinances regarding the different qualities of maiolica that were produced, and that were identifiable based on their decoration and vessel forms. Further information regarding the different qualities of maiolica that existed during the colonial period in Mexico was found in Lister and Lister (1982). While the relationship between blood purity and particular guilds is something that remains to be explored from a material culture perspective, the work by Cervantes was central to an understanding of how the doctrine permeated the pottery industry. In addition to this, Cervantes and Lister and Lister raise questions regarding the identifiable elements of the material culture under study in this thesis, and that could stand as expressions of blood purity.

Other works that have provided further insights to the doctrine of blood purity are those by Nutton (1995), who focused on how the Inquisition persecuted heretics and subjects that were considered as possessing “deviant practices” and skin diseases during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This work enabled an understanding of how the doctrine operated and how ideas concerning the human body and morality conflated. Following this, the principle of exclusion of heretics was based on the understanding of how sin and immoral behaviour could be transmitted by means of the blood and maternal fluids (Edwards 1990). Also, through the maternal imagination which was held responsible for the physical and moral disposition of an individual (Lope Gutierrez 2008; Roodenburg 1988; Shildrick 2004; Stafford 1993). These fascinating ideas that

prevailed throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may account to a certain extent, for the understanding of the ‘superiority’ and ‘inferiority’ of certain individuals that depended on their purity of faith, and that was observable in their physical appearance and cultural practices.

The operation of the *casta* system within New Spain has been discussed by Diggs (1953), Poole (1981), Seed (1982), Carrera (1998; 2003), Cope (1994) and Martínez (2008). In particular, *Imagining identity in New Spain* (Carrera 2003) is a comprehensive study that approaches the ways in which *casta* system operated in New Spain as part of the Bourbon reforms that sought to control members of society. This study begins by exploring the example of a woman in colonial Mexico whom wished to change her *casta* category. This is used to expose the way in which the *casta* system operated in New Spain during the Bourbon regime, the logic that governed it and the importance that this had in different social relations such as marriage, amongst others. The *casta* system is seen as a response to the anxiety exercised by the government to order society and control individuals. An interesting aspect highlighted by Carrera (2003) concerns African and native blood, and the justifications that were provided for segregating individuals with an impure lineage, slavery and the consequent moral debasement. The strategies of surveillance were translated into visual documents of the era that are known as *Casta* paintings that portrayed the different members of colonial Mexico City. While the approach of Carrera to the function that the paintings had in colonial Mexico, as a mechanism of control may be debatable, it is nevertheless interesting to consider the importance of visual imagery and how the social structure was translated to these pictorial devices.

The *Casta* series constitute a unique pictorial genre in that they depict the different cultural groups that conformed the society of New Spain. They depict the “racial mixture” of the different cultural groups from colonial Mexico, and allow insights to the ways in which these were perceived, probably by elite members, and the material culture that was associated to each *casta* category. The consideration of *Casta* paintings is essential for this thesis because it allows the direct observation of the close associations between ceramics and *casta* members, as depicted in the art. *Las Castas Mexicanas* (García Sáiz 1989) is probably one of the first studies to approach the analysis of the pictorial genre with an emphasis on the elements of daily life, trades,

costumes and local food. It provides an overview on the images from Mexico and South America. On the other hand, *Casta Painting* by Katzew (2004) is an extensive study of the genre that considered the social context in which these images were produced. The study of the images is approached through an art historical perspective. It explores the possible meanings of the paintings and their historicity in relation to colonial policies. Drawing from an extensive number of images that include those from famous artists like Cabrera, it explores the function that these had in the construction of identities and pride of cultural groups from Mexico.

# ***Chapter One. The Social Structure of New Spain, the doctrine of blood purity and the casta system***

## **Introduction**

This chapter provides an overview of the viceroyalty of New Spain. The first section explores the geographical, historical and social background of the viceroyalty that includes its political and social constitution. Insights to the physical and social space of Mexico City are also provided. Section 1.2 refers to the trade networks between Spain and the Indies, and with China through the Philippines. This allows for a wider overview of the material culture that was traded amongst the different parts of the Spanish kingdom. This includes maiolica, *botijas* that contained comestibles, and porcelain amongst other items, and that are commonly found in the archaeological sites of Mexico City. The doctrine of blood purity was explored in section 1.3. This includes the origin of the statutes, their purpose and meaning, as well as a general overview of its historicity, its relationship with maiolica, and as a social tool that was used by the elites along with the social individuals to which these were applied.

In order to gain a better understanding on the importance of blood and its purity it was necessary to provide the social and historical context of its emergence, in a world ruled by Galenic medicine where human *complexio* and the humours were crucial in determining the moral disposition of the individuals under scrutiny. Moreover, this related the concept of blood purity with the consumption of food and thus, with dining, morality and codes of etiquette and refinement which shaped cultural identities of groups inhabiting New Spain. These ideas enabled the social categorization of individuals in New Spain under a system known as *casta* system. An overview of this is provided in last section of this chapter along with a theoretical overview on purity and danger and *casta* system derived from Douglas (2002) and Dumont (1980), the principles of such a system, and the possible reasons behind the racial discourse that operated in everyday life New Spain.

## 1.1 Historical and social background of the viceroyalty of New Spain

### 1.1.1 *The viceroyalty of New Spain*

The viceroyalty of New Spain was established in 1521, soon after the conquest of the Aztec capital of Mexico-Tenochtitlan by Hernán Cortés, on behalf of the Spanish Crown. This kingdom comprised a geographical territory that extended from modern day California, New Mexico and Texas to the north and Guatemala to the south and was divided in twelve intendancies (Gerhard 2000, 3-8) (Figure 1.1.1). The Spanish Empire controlled this territory for three hundred years until the Mexican Independence in 1821. New Spain was first governed by the Hapsburg house (1506-1700) and after the death of Phillip III, was ruled by the Bourbons along with the Kingdom of Spain until 1810. The term New Spain also refers to a cultural construct where Spanish discourses about society, racial groups and social boundaries overlapped the geographical territory. New Spain was considered an extension of the kingdom located in the Iberian Peninsula.



Figure 1.1.1 The viceroyalty of New Spain. Taken and modified from <http://www.google.co.uk/imgres?q=virreinato+de+nueva+españa&um=1&hl=en&client=safari&>



At the eve of the conquest of Mexico the Spanish monarchy, and society more widely, were understood in organic terms, as a metaphor for the human body constituted by different elements or ‘organs’ such as groups with shared status or functions, values and particular legal codes or ordinances that were applicable to each of these groups. These elements were interrelated and inter-dependant of each other and the ‘health’ of the whole organic entity or body depended on the appropriate functioning of each one of them (McAlister 1963, 350). The viceroyalty and the viceroy himself were the head of this political and religious body. As an extension of the Spanish kingdom, the viceroy of New Spain was the receptor of the symbolic and physical power of the king and as such he was entitled to govern and administer the provinces under Spanish control. The viceroy was the “king’s living image”, the “sacred centre” of political authority in New Spain, and as such his person and court were subject to the same protocol as the royal house in the peninsula. Every viceroy was appointed to power for a period of three years (Cañeque 2004, 17-26).

During the Habsburg regime, Spanish monarchs were identified with the Holy Sacrament. The monarchy assembled a series of rituals that were derived directly from the Catholic Church and that were created to display royal power and the grandeur of the court (Cañeque 2004, 119-127). Power was thought as something that had to be enacted through political ceremonies, performances that activated the power of the viceroy and the king. Because of the distance between New Spain and the motherland, the colonial ‘theatre of power’ had the need to display a liturgy of magnificence that were capable of reinforcing the symbols utilized and embodied by the royal power, and a part of this concentrated on outward appearances. These included processions through Mexico City, where the body of the viceroy was exhibited to the public with great splendour and magnificence. Power was also re-enacted through highly ritualized clothing, body language and speech. The image and person of the viceroy inspired exquisiteness and admiration, fear and hate, and embodied honour and prestige. The rituals that surrounded the viceroy and his court, and that were used as signifiers of power and control, were extended to the material world that enabled him sustain this supremacy (Cañeque 2004, 119-127).

### 1.1.2 Mexico City and vice royal society

The capital of New Spain was Mexico City and was the place where the viceroy and his family dwelt. The *ayuntamiento* or government for the Spaniards was established in Mexico City in 1524, and after the establishment of the vice royal palace in 1532, it became the residence of the viceroy as well as the head for political and administrative endeavours and the place from where all the viceroyalty was administered. Furthermore, two different republics were established, the Spanish and the Native one, with its own government in the quarters of Tlatelolco and San Juan Tenochtitlan (Gerhard 2000, 186). Native people were considered as vile, miserable and thus subject of abuses. This view shaped the discourse on behalf of the Crown towards them during the colonial period. In order to ‘protect’ them from abusive Spaniards, new paternalistic discourses were promoted that considered them instead as “gentle, domestic and peaceful... with little capacity and pusillanimous (Cope 1994, 3)...” This is one of the reasons why the construction of a separate republic for the natives was created, as this was the materialization of the Franciscan religious utopia in the New World. This republic, although separate from that of Spaniards, was commanded by the viceroy, and guided by friars, district magistrates and parish priests (Cañeque 2004, 186-194; 215-218; Cope 1994, 3).

Mexico City was the Spanish urban centre and located inside the *traza*, some thirteen square blocks in the city centre and designed by the conqueror Alonso García Bravo during the mid-sixteenth century (Figure 1.1.2.1). It was designed following the North-South, East-West axis of former Aztec Templo Mayor. At the centre of the *traza* was the Plaza Mayor, surrounded by the cathedral to the North, and the houses of *conquistadores*. The *traza* was surrounded by the Native habitation quarters. It was limited to the north with the former street of *Apartado*, and the temple of *Santo Domingo*, to the south with the street of *San Miguel*, to the east with the streets of *Jesús María* and to the west with that of *San Juan de Letrán* (Cope 1994, 12-6; Mier y Terán Rocha 2005; Toussaint *et al.* 1990, 136). In the *traza*, the Hispanic elite dwelt alongside their Native servants and African slaves. This was the city, “stunning with wealth and misery, elegance and filth, sophistication and ignorance all side by side” (Cope 1994, 12-16). The nearby streets to the vice royal palace were equally occupied by sumptuous domestic structures and also by miserable shacks (Gonzalbo Aizpuru 2009, 213). This

urban centre, as with many others from the early modern period, had a problem with rubbish disposal. The canals were polluted, public areas were filled with domestic refuse, and sometimes during epidemics dead bodies were left in the street for days. This in consequence created a noxious environment, where people feared disease and the corruption of health. Another problem was that of floods, Mexico City being built over a lake and with canals, flooding and the supply of potable water remained a constant throughout the colonial period (Cope 1994, 12-16; 27-28).

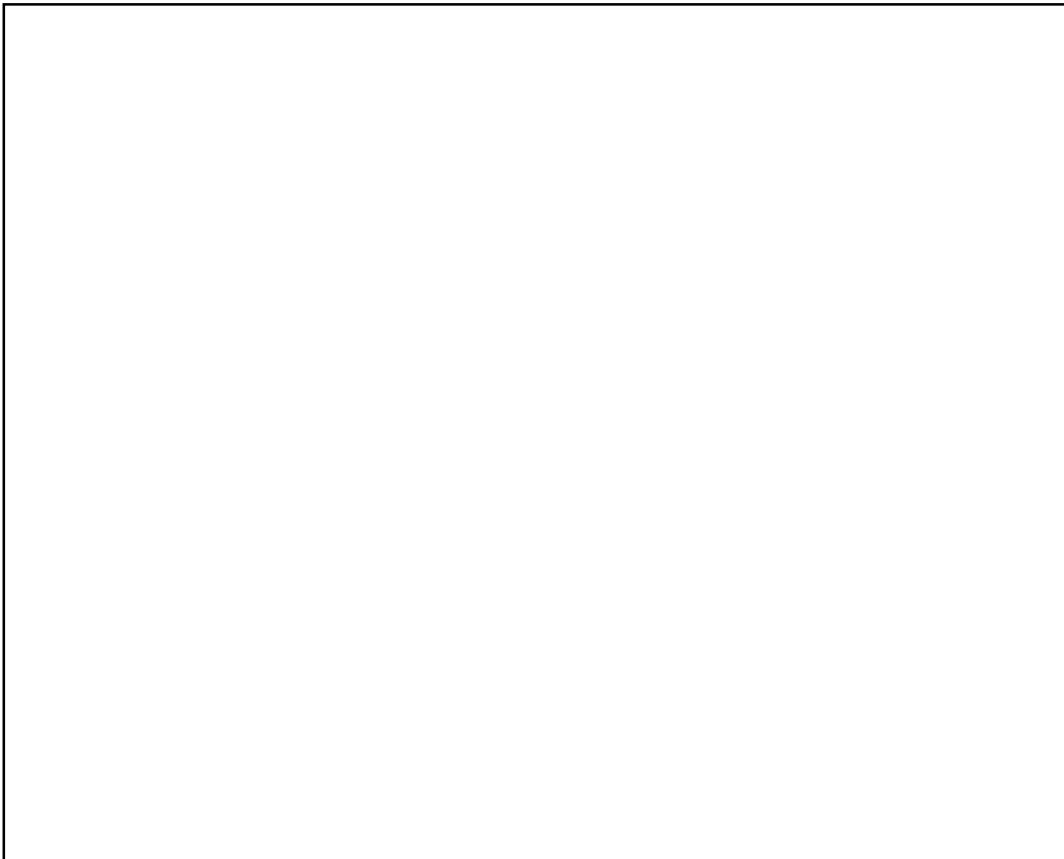


Figure 1.1.2.1 View of the Plaza Mayor of Mexico City, ca. 1695 by Cristóbal de Villalpando. Taken from Katzew 2004, 70

The convents occupied large areas of the city and the economic disparities amongst the wealthy and the unfortunate became visible in the type of household occupied by each of these social groups. Elite members owned two storeys ‘mansions’, with bridges over the canals, patios, parlours and rooms, and areas for horses and other animals (Figure 1.1.2.2). This contrasted with the houses that were often let by non-elite members who could afford humbler ones, made with *adobe* (sun dried bricks), of one storey and

sometimes without roof. Other social differences were translated into the differential access to water sources, most of which were located in private residences, leaving a tenth part of these in public spaces (Cope 1994, 28-29).

During the eighteenth century, communal dwellings known as *vecindades*, intended for the habitation of a number of families in reduced spaces or rooms and with a central patio, were built. These dwellings contrasted with more spacious and expensive ones that had various quarters, halls and dining room, a feature that became common until the eighteenth century. Sometimes, these houses had spaces in the ground level that functioned as shops and also, as houses for people with lesser income than those inhabiting the upper levels. The most expensive houses had interconnected rooms, a large and regular halls, balconies with iron railings, servant quarters, kitchen and dining room, a space for coaches and patio, an entrance hall with chairs and the *estrado*, a female space for socialization. According to historical sources, the material culture from one of the most luxurious houses in Mexico City in 1770 included silver and Chinese porcelain objects, carpets and religious painting (Gonzalbo Aizpuru 2009, 214-218).

The largest Spanish group, *mestizos*, that is the offspring of a Spanish and a Native person, and Africans concentrated in Mexico City. Spaniards however, always remained a minority in Mexico (Cope 1994, 4). Nevertheless, due to continuous floods and epidemics, particularly those that occurred throughout the eighteenth century and that affected both Europeans and non-Europeans the population numbers constantly fluctuated. For example, in 1550 there were around 3,000 Spaniards and during the next decades, the number increased to 4,000. By 1580, there was a significant increase in the population numbers, there being approximately 7000 Spaniards, and these figures remained more or less constant throughout the seventeenth century. In contrast, the population comprised by *mestizos* Africans and *mulatos* in 1560 was around 3,000 and by the end of the eighteenth century, the figures increased significantly to around 25,000 (Gerhard 2000, 187).

The social structure of colonial Mexico could be characterized by a small Hispanic elite that sustained itself at the highest level, with the remaining 95% of the population that lived at its base. Most of the members of these elites were peninsular Spaniards, and nobility, honour and wealth largely determined membership. During the Bourbon

period, peninsular Spaniards were approximately 9,000 in number, of which 400 of these were women, most of who resided in Mexico City (Brading 1973, 391-393). Initially Hispanic members of society assumed their position as conquerors in the early 16th century, and Spaniards that arrived in later decades to New Spain also claimed social and economic privileges, because they claimed to possess an untainted lineage that was the direct result from descending from old Christians. In colonial Mexico, virtually any 'white' person could claim a noble breeding. In this context, the concept of Spanishness was equated with whiteness, old Christianity and blood purity, "the white or Spanish component of society was the American counterpart of the noble estate of Spain" (McAlister 1963, 357). These ideas constituted the system of values within colonial society and were determinant in defining the social status of an individual.

The group constituted by white and old Christian individuals, and that had once been the first conquerors, comprised the upper tier of the nobility. Below this elite group, where those composed by the first settlers, who colonized the new territories for the King of Spain and founded towns and cities. These two groups had economic privileges such as grants of lands known as *encomienda*, a feudal system based on vassalage, were merchants became *hacendados*, holders of extensive land tenure that gave rise of a new rural elite, By the eighteenth century, new elite groups emerged and that dedicated to the exploitation of silver mines, by the Crown through the concession of nobility titles, and to commerce. Those older groups that had built their fortunes on military merits and *encomiendas* resented the large riches now acquired by those who had formally been tavern and shopkeepers (McAlister 1963, 359-367).

The colonial discourse demanded the maintenance of 'strict' cultural and economic boundaries and in Mexico City. For example, land tenure and commerce were in the hands of the Spaniards, whereas unskilled labour was concomitant to natives and *castas* and their access to work depended on the social networks established amongst them. Moreover, certain professions and jobs became identified with particular cultural groups. For example, Peninsular Spaniards were generally part of the, whereas creoles that is Spaniards born in the Indies, were shop owners and artisans. In contrast, *mestizos* and free mulattoes were more commonly artisans and the latter ones servants and the natives, labourers and servants (Cope 1994, 86-88).

Other elite members were physicians, clergymen, lawyers, bureaucrats, landowners and mine owners. The privileges sustained by peninsular Spaniards created a feeling of antipathy between them and the creoles. This feeling of abhorrence grew throughout the eighteenth century and resulted in the creation of different strategies on behalf of each group to display wealth, status and cultural identities. Peninsular Spaniards could demonstrate their status by their origin and political and economic achievements, and creoles, who had sometimes been despised and disfavoured by them, sought this through conspicuous consumption of expensive material culture. However, not all Spaniards or their descendants pertained to this reduced group that enjoyed social and economic privileges, but *mestizos* and Afro-descendants largely comprised the overall of non-elite sectors of society (Brading 1973, 389-397).

Peninsular Spaniards imported to New Spain the structure of social relations from Spain such as marriage, gender relations and social status. And while these underwent minor adaptations that were imposed by the new physical and cultural environment, folklore, superstition, cultural preferences and diet suffered minor changes throughout the colonial period. These traits of Spanish culture were mostly drawn from the south and west of the Iberian Peninsula, as most immigrants were from Andalusia, Extremadura and Castile. So strong were these cultural values that they largely shaped a unified Spanish identity and throughout the sixteenth century, the immigrants sustained emotional ties with Spain and regarded their birthplace as their hometown (Seed 1982, 18-20).

In the vice royal setting, there was a mixed sense of nostalgia, emotional ties with the Iberian Peninsula and on the other hand, there was reluctance to belong to the new cultural scenario. Nostalgia could be expressed through the consumption of Spanish comestibles and tableware that were used by the Spaniards as signifiers of their cultural identities in the public arena, and as objects that stood as material reminders, ‘mementos’ that embodied peninsular pride and tradition. The possession of such souvenirs was possible through the constant commerce between Spain and Mexico, which also allowed cultural groups to acquire symbols of taste and status like tableware and ornaments that were imported from China, via the Philippines in the Manila Galleon (Finlay 1998; Shurz 1918; Villiers 1980; Junco and Fournier 2007).

## 1.2 Commercial networks and material culture

The analysis of ceramics and the information contained in the work by historians on trade and commercial relations between Spain, China and the Indies is unique in that it allows the reconstruction of an overview of a complex world where people and objects constantly migrated from one side of the Atlantic to another. This information allows a better understanding of the recurrence of particular material culture from the Far East and Europe, as well as enabling a broader insight to the kinds of merchandises consumed by the cultural groups in the New World to be obtained and to explore how these preferences and taste shaped their identities.

### 1.2.1 Spain and the Indies

The commerce between New Spain and the Iberian Peninsula was regulated by the Crown through the *Casa de Contratación*, the house of trade, which was established during the mid-sixteenth century in Sevilla and then in Cadiz (Figure 1.1.2). The commercial registers from the Casa de Contratación suggest that throughout the sixteenth century Spanish and other European products were imported to New Spain through the trade house in the Peninsula and shipped in the Spanish vessels known as *flota*: French knives, oils from Rouen, clothes and garments from Germany and Holland, Portugal, England and Italy; dolls and knives from Flanders and Bohemia, paper, mirrors and glass from Venice (Torre Revello 1943, 773-776). An interesting point refers to the fact that Spanish localities such as Sevilla, Granada and Valencia preferred to consume those merchandises of Spanish manufacture, and this may have also impacted the patterns of consumption of imported items by cultural groups in New Spain (Torre Revello 1943, 773-776).

These exports to the New World increased considerably towards 1521, including shipments of a variety of architectural ceramics such as tiles, ceramic tableware and vessels to contain agricultural and artisan products to the ports of Veracruz and Campeche in Mexico, Guatemala and Cartagena de Indias (Sánchez 1996, 128; 133-136) (Figure 1.1.2). The maolica that was most commonly shipped to the New World was that from Sevilla and from Talavera, and to a lesser extent from Manises e.g. coarse

earthenwares known as *botijas*. Talavera style ceramics were in high demand by consumers in the New World and this preference is attested by the quantities shipped from Spain and that have been registered in commercial documents for the sixteenth century *e.g.* 419 dozen plates and blue *escudillas*, that is carinated bowls, at a cost of 2.5 *reales* each, and two boxes containing 53 dozen Talavera blue on white ceramics at a cost of 4 *reales* per dozen (Sánchez 1996, 131-132). Italian maiolica tablewares were imported to Mexico City from Montelupo, Faenza and Liguria (Skowronek 1987, 101; 104-108). The Renaissance style of Italian maiolica was adopted by Spanish potters in southern Spain and then transferred to Mexico. These styles and techniques of manufacture eventually replaced the once prevalent Islamic ceramic tradition of maiolica observed in types such as Columbia Plain, Yayal Blue on White, Santa Elena Mottled and Santo Domingo Blue on White. These newer styles demonstrate the preference for thinner walled vessels and polychrome decoration that placed a central anthropomorphic motif amongst others (Lister and Lister 1976, 33-38).

The earliest imports of this type of tablewares were those from Liguria. They were shipped to Spanish America regularly through Genoese merchants that were allocated in Sevilla and Cadiz, despite the restrictions imposed by the Spanish Crown that prohibited non-Spaniards from participating in trade with the Indies (Lister and Lister 1976, 28-32; Sánchez 1996, 130). However, whilst most of the commerce of these merchandises were regulated through the house of trade, others arrived through contraband (Skowronek 1992, 111-114). The role that other “unofficial” trade routes may have played and the alternate possibilities that were available to consumers in Spanish America, which allowed them acquire European ceramics, possibly as a means to satisfy their needs for outward display or as a resistance strategy to the Spanish monopoly is interesting. However, this remains to be explored.

Other products that were imported to New Spain were agricultural ones contained in utilitarian earthenware *amphorae* known as *botijas*. These vessels contained wine, olive oil, olives, tar and almonds amongst other comestibles, and they were even purchased empty (Sánchez 1996, 140). Some of the comestibles that were imported to New Spain included wine, oil, honey and *arope*, a jam made from wine, fish and meat preserved in vinegar (Mena García 2004, 448-465). During the second half of the seventeenth century approximately two million arrobas of wine from Andalucía and Canary Islands



were sent to the New World and more than half of this quantity arrived to New Spain (Ortíz-Troncoso 1992, 76). The *botijas* were subject to careful preparation before being shipped. This procedure required that they would be wrapped in a straw cover that would protect them during the hazardous trip across the Atlantic. Their mouths were sealed with cork and lime in order to prevent any spilling of the contents and marked with a stamped seal that was incised, with ink or through the application of a burning rod on the straw cover. It is usually thought that *botijas* with an incised seal were *botijas peruleras* of wine from Cazalla, whilst vessels marked with ink contained olives and had a large 'A' marked on their exterior surface. Those with a fire mark were *botijas peruleras* for wine and the seal indicated their origin and year of harvest and others that had a seal hanging from the vessel contained sweet olive oil (Sánchez 1996, 141-142).

### *1.2.2 Porcelain from China and the Philippines*

The fashion for Chinese porcelain spread to New Spain since the second half of the sixteenth century when Charles V opened the commercial route from Spain to Mexico, Perú and China after Magallanes had discovered the islands. The primary interest for the Spanish Crown in the colonisation of Philippines was that they stood as a trade route for Chinese spices and other merchandises to Spain (Figure 1.1.2). During the second half of the sixteenth century, Phillip II authorized the commercial traffic between New Spain through the port of Acapulco and the Philippines, and China (Picazo Muntaner 2000, 113-117). With the establishment of the trade route Manila-Acapulco in 1571, Mexico became the most important trade centre and distributor of Chinese merchandises, only contested by Peru where the society was even wealthier and consumed these products profusely. Nevertheless, the Manila galleon supplied social groups in New Spain with Chinese merchandises that included porcelain tableware and other products that stood as signifiers of social status (Finlay 1998, 170-173; Villiers 1980, 74-75; Schurz 1918, 389.391; 395; 397; Slack 2009, 36).

With the establishment of the city of Manila in the Philippines in 1571 by Miguel López de Legazpi (Díaz-Trechuelo 2001, 71-79), Spain exerted greater control over the import of porcelain and allowed to supply avid consumers across the empire, through the viceroyalty of Mexico. The Portuguese were the first to establish a commercial

relationship with China in 1499 through Dutch merchants, when the king became fascinated by porcelain. However, they failed to export important quantities beyond their homeland and the Iberian Peninsula due to the hostility exerted by the Chinese authorities towards foreign merchants. It was until 1557, that the Portuguese were granted imperial permission to establish a permanent settlement at Macao. Even though the Portuguese and the Dutch played an important role in the commercialization of Chinese porcelain and other merchandises that were found in the ‘Far East’, they could not compete with the Spanish empire throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Until the eighteenth century, when the alchemist of Augustus II, elector of Saxony and king of Poland discovered the secrets of porcelain manufacture. This had important implications in the market as China had to supply European consumers with objects that embodied a western taste (Finlay 1998, 142-143; 167-168).



Figure 1.2.2.1 Geographical location of the major commercial ports from 1500 to 1800

### *Summary*

The viceroyalty of New Spain was an extension of the Spanish and as such it was organized into two different republics, one for Spaniards and the second one for natives. Mexico City, the capital of the viceroyalty was one of contrasts between the wealthy and the poor, the sumptuous convents and mansions and the modest and even humbler

ones, side by side. The Spaniards and their descendants that inhabited Mexico City considered Spain as their hometown for most of the colonial period, creating antagonisms between them and other cultural groups. This sentiment of nostalgia and Spanish pride shaped much of their cultural identities in the New World. The maintenance and, possibly, the reinvention of their cultural identities was possible through the consumption of material culture from the Iberian Peninsula in the form of maiolica tableware and comestibles contained in *botijas*. Other signifiers of social status were the exotic imports and porcelain in particular that was imported from China after the discovery of the Philippines archipelagos in the second half of the sixteenth century. Hispanic groups utilized these objects in dining for public display, as signifiers of wealth and refinement.

### **1.3 The doctrine of blood purity in Spain and Spanish America**

The doctrine on blood purity was essential to Hispanic society from the fifteenth century in Spain and lasted well into the nineteenth century in Mexico. It was thought that blood had the capacity to transmit beneficial traits, heresy, purity and corruption. Contemporary physiological theories derived from the work by Galen and Aristotle exercised considerable influence in the understanding of how the human body was constituted, the mechanics involved in human reproduction and the power of human fluids in the transmission of heresy and a tainted blood (Carrera 2003; Edwards 1990; Martínez 2008; Siriasi 1990). Consequently it is important to provide a discussion on the humours in the context of this thesis, to understand how things considered as non-natural, such as food, affected the quality of the blood and was crucial in maintaining the individual complexion. It will be argued that these theories were conflated with popular mentalities and permeated many aspects of daily life. The elites used the doctrine of blood purity as a tool for social cohesion and exclusion. It was translated into a series of social practices such as dining and can be traced through consumption patterns of material culture like pottery, which became a noble knowledge.

#### *1.3.1 The doctrine*

The concept of blood purity can be traced back to late medieval Castile and was defined by peninsular Spaniards as the absence especially of Jewish and/or Muslim blood. It

held a religious and moral dimension as it was linked to purity of faith (Edwards 1990:247-248; 251). The first statute of blood purity was enacted on June 5<sup>th</sup> 1449 in Toledo. This was a result of the riots against converted Jews, accused of heresy, and as an attempt to maintain the Jews at the margins of Christian Spanish society, away from any political and economic positions (Sicroff 2010, 37). Late medieval and early modern canonical law relegated Jewish and Muslim converts (*conversos*) to Christianity socially and professionally from trades, education, religious orders and the military due to their 'tainted origin' (Hering Torres 2011, 29). This concern intensified during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in view of the rapid penetration of Jews that had converted to Christianity, in Spanish society, especially in the highest socio economic levels. The persecution of new Christians extended, but on a lesser scale, to the practitioners of Islam and their descendants, known as *moriscos* who had converted to Christianity. This situation occurred despite the fact that they had not been able to penetrate into many social sectors as those individuals of Jewish ancestry had (Sicroff 2010, 37-38; 47-53). During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, persecution of impure blood also focused its attention on heretics, homosexuals and those affected with leprosy and other skin diseases for they were associated with "deviant sexual appetites and the sin of lust, dirt, stench and putrefaction" (Nutton 1995, 188).

After 1516 arguments in favour of blood purity arose feverishly and were applied to specific social bodies throughout Spain in guilds, private chapels, the military and religious orders, universities and economic sectors privileging Old Christians (Edwards 1990, 244-246). By 1540, the doctrine became institutionalized and supported by the Crown and the Pope through the Inquisition and the laws practiced against *conversos*. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, Spanish society was obsessed with genealogy and particularly with the idea of a pure lineage as synonym of having only Christian ancestors. This was understood as a critical sign of a person's loyalty to the faith. Blood purity was synonymous with nobility, honour, virtue, wealth and tradition and a purity status was necessary for public honours and offices (Martínez 2008, 78-79).

Throughout the fifteenth century and until the nineteenth century, the doctrine changed meaning depending on the social, geographical and historical context in which it was applied. Initially, biblical and theological matters that were related with the role that Jews had on the Crucifixion of Christ informed the doctrine, but towards the

seventeenth century, medical concepts were integrated to the discourse. Anti-Judaic feelings that rose in Spain during the medieval and early modern periods became increasingly racist, with the concept of race being directly inked to lineage. The doctrine has been interpreted as a system that incorporated three concepts: judicial, social and mental. The judicial category is understood as a “normative” one, because it regulated the social relationships and impeded upward mobility on the social scale. This allowed the elites to exercise power and remain at the highest levels of society (Hering Torres 2011, 30-6; 58-60).

Blood purity was also a “social category” because it determined or constructed the social reality. In this reality, blood purity became a tool that was utilized by old Christians to define nobility and draw socio cultural distinctions. The concept of nobility conveyed three categories that were civil, natural and theological, this latter one granted by the grace of the Holy Spirit. These qualities contrasted with those of newly converted Christians, namely Jews that were in some instances considered heretic, liars and unworthy of honour. As a discursive category, the doctrine justified the power relationships between those with a ‘pure lineage’ and individuals with a tainted one. The foundations that granted legitimacy to the doctrine of blood purity, and thus made it an efficient discourse that enabled some cultural groups to exercise power over others and justify their privileged position, were informed by theological and medical concepts (Hering Torres 2011, 30-6; 58).

In Spain and New Spain, this ideology was expressed in social cohesion and exclusion by impeding social mobility through the practice of endogamy. This was justified by lineage and ancestry and maintained members of the colonial nobility at the highest level of society. However, Sanchiz (2011, 115; 119) has suggested that this largely included the groups that were at the middle of the social scale. Blood purity was a requisite to travel to the New World and it became a crucial matter to integrate into elite circles. However, not all individuals that demonstrated a pure lineage pertained to these exclusive cultural groups. Blood purity was both an ideological and socio economic tool. It enabled the aristocracy to construct a self- image based on the exclusion of those unable to integrate into this reduced social circle because of an impure blood. In New Spain, it became a noble knowledge and installed a noble praxis of social control in favour of an elite were there was a degree of social mobility (Frutta 2002, 218- 225;

230-231). By the seventeenth century in Spain, the old 'menace' represented by the converted Jews had almost faded, however the doctrine of blood purity prevailed as it had penetrated deep into the Spanish mentalities. Society strived to maintain the doctrine intact and it became a social norm, as well as a signifier of good and pious Christians (Sicroff 2010, 295).

When the doctrine was transferred to Spanish America, it produced a hierarchical system of classification based on the proportions of Spanish, Native and African ancestry, the latter groups known as *castas*. Catholicism was the foundation of society and thus any sign of heterodoxy was considered a moral deviation. Since the instalment of the Inquisition tribunal in 1571 in Mexico City, and throughout the seventeenth century, the nobility had appropriated the concept as common praxis, and blood purity and the Holy Office walked hand by hand in New Spain. The Inquisition was in charge of investigating individuals suspected of impure blood through the revision of documents and a complex questionnaire related to cultural practices, place of birth, faith, fame and family honour as these were considered the main attributes of an old Christian (Frutta 2002, 220-226). Moreover, an untainted lineage or pure blood implied three basic qualities: a legitimate birth, lack of descent from Jewish, Moorish nor heretic ancestors, the attainment of 'good costumes' that is not engaged in vile occupations nor having been judged or sentenced by a tribunal of the Holy Office (Bötcher 2011, 188).

In 1596 Phillip II forbade 'foreigners', Moors and Jews, from residing in the Indies, whilst during the seventeenth century, Phillip III included the Portuguese within the decree due to their massive immigration to the New World kingdoms. During this period an exhaustive prosecution against converted Christians took place in New Spain, most of which were Portuguese. The tribunal of the Holy Office would investigate individuals suspected of having Jewish ancestors and those suspected as secretly practicing crypto-Jews. Converted Christians were seen under the eyes of the Inquisition and the Spanish Crown as a source of physical illness that was capable of infecting 'healthy Christians' with "perfidy and malice" (Alberro 2011, 169-176; Bötcher 2011, 192-195). Archaeologists have overlooked the presence of Jews in colonial Mexico and their participation in economic and social activities. This might be in part due to the difficulty in locating them archaeologically. Despite this, Inquisitorial documents suggest that between 1528 and 1599 a number of Jews 'infiltrated the

colonies', and 84 appear as having been tried for being Jewish, descendant of a Jew or for following the Laws of Moses, and were tortured and forced to wear *sanbenitos*<sup>5</sup> or *sambenitos*. Converted Jews participated in many professions, the army and offices, as members of the clergy, mining and slave trade. During the mid-seventeenth century, an approximate of 2000 to 3000 Jews inhabited Mexico City (Liebman 1963, 96-98; 100-103).<sup>6</sup>

To ascertain blood purity, the Inquisition commissioners would inspect Inquisitorial and local archives, travel to the petitioner's or suspect's native town and conduct interrogations, but at the same time noblemen and wealthy commoners could bribe a genealogist to invent a pure pedigree for them (Martínez 2008, 65-66; 87). However, many individuals pertaining to noble groups were unable to reconstruct their ancestry and thus provide a proof of blood purity. Therefore, it remains an important task to explore the mechanisms employed by the families of New Spain that were included in this select circle, that enabled them to preserve and prove their quality publicly (Sanchiz 2011, 125).

It can be suggested that blood purity was more of an imaginary construct, which operated at three different levels: personal, familiar and communal. Individuals that ascribed themselves to this selected social circles required the recognition and the approval of others. If documents could be forged and lineages forgotten, it was necessary then to actively reinforce the quality of blood purity continuously through other mechanisms. These might have involved the use of material culture like maiolica and the enactment of social rituals that conveyed the labels of blood purity. These enabled individuals to present and represent themselves to others as with an untainted lineage and sustain a privileged social status.

The maintenance of an uncorrupted lineage was crucial to Hispanic society because as it has been mentioned above, if Old Christians mixed with non-Christians not even their "holy seed" could prevent the process of degeneration of their lineage and even if

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<sup>5</sup> Inquisitorial robe with a green cross that was worn by penitent individuals

<sup>6</sup> Unlike archaeologists, the research on Jews in New Spain has been extensively researched by historians in the last decades e.g. Bocanegra and Liebman (1974), Uchmany (1992), Alberro (2001; 2012), Hordes (2005), Warshwsky (2008) to name a few.

suppressed for a few generations, the “natural” traits and inclinations of heretics like Jews and Muslims would return. Because a blood purity status was determined by both bloodlines and required legitimate birth in order to establish paternity, marriage to an old Christian became indispensable for the maintenance of genealogical family pre-eminence. At the same time, the Old Christian fear that pure women would secretly introduce tainted blood into a lineage made their sexuality more subject to control (Martínez 2008, 56-57). Blood purity was an expression of a gentile and Christian past, of faithful ancestors, and these were believed transmitted from parents to children during conception. Therefore, the foetus could easily inherit the blood and faith from the parents (Sicroff 2010, 298-300).

Descent and religion, blood and faith, were the foundational principles of this ideology that were transferred to Spanish America. As in Spain, blood purity was synonymous of nobility or *hidalguía*. Honour, virtue, wealth and tradition are essential concepts to understand how the Peninsular and Spanish American aristocracy or *hidalgos* remained in power for so long and how society was structured. The concept however, underwent various modifications throughout the colonial period for it was adapted to new mentalities and social scenarios. The doctrine changed throughout the centuries as it was embedded with historicity that depended on the cultural context in which it was applied. For example, during the sixteenth century, it was linked to purity of faith (Martínez 2008, 123-141), in the seventeenth century it was particularly applied against *mestizos* and African population (Sanchiz 2011, 123) and by the eighteenth century, the doctrine was influenced by ideas derived from the Enlightenment which classified individuals through zoological labels according to their physical traits and degrees of rationality (Martínez 2008, 123-141; 228).

### 2.3.2 *Blood purity and maiolica*

From the sixteenth century until the end of the eighteenth century, many *probanzas*, proofs of blood purity, were produced in New Spain and identified four stains: 1) descent from Jews, Muslims and heretics, 2) descent from blacks and some native people, 3) descent from slaves understood as stains of vulgar infamies and 4) descent from people who had engaged in “vile or mechanical occupations” (Martínez 2008, 244).



Vile and mechanical occupations included pottery making; in sixteenth-century Spain, Castilians admired and attempted to perpetuate *mudéjar*<sup>7</sup> pottery but considered their production appropriate only for the Muslim sectors of society and not for their own kind. A courtier writing to King Felipe II in 1558 stated that “so great is the love of ease, so advanced Spain’s perdition, that none, whatever his state or condition, will hear of working at any craft or business” (Lister and Lister 1987, 275).

These attitudes might have derived from the medieval Muslim context that despised potters because pottery was a metaphor for the fragility of the human spirit and their place of work was considered as “an exploited land only suitable for burial”. The low status of potters in Spain and New Spain might be understood in terms of the uncleanness of their bodies and occupation that resulted from handling moist clay and inhabiting damp places. Their skins were always pale, decoloured and with dermatitis, suffered from headaches and melancholy (Lister and Lister 1987, 275-279).

This feeling of abhorrence was contrary with the admiration that merged within Hispanic taste for maiolica: its colours, proportions and lines, repetitive patterns appealing to the eye, its surfaces appealing to the touch; the cheerfulness of its designs and the sobriety of others along with the “concern with making the earth’s materials work for basic human need” and the inflexible constancy of form and style over time (Lister and Lister 1987, 276-277).

By the sixteenth century, the once-Muslim dominated pottery industry in Spain was absorbed by Christian masters, and in New Spain guild ordinances forbade Muslims and non-Christians from attaining the rank of pottery master, leaving out Africans, slaves, natives and Chinese. By 1681, revisions to earlier guild restrictions allowed these various racial mixtures to participate at all levels of the industry except the elected position of Inspector or *Veedor* that remained in the hands of Spaniards. The craft had become too big to be exclusive and had absorbed more diverse racial strains than in Spain (Lister and Lister 1987, 269-272).

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<sup>7</sup> Name given to Muslims that stayed in Spain after the re-Conquest

By the seventeenth century in New Spain, the industry had acquired social prestige, particularly that of Puebla and maiolica was one of the most prestigious products of colonial trade used in convents as tableware and for decoration in the form of tiles. The guild ordinances of 1652 of the city of Puebla for “potters of the white”, that is maiolica, stated that only Spaniards of all satisfaction and trust could be ordained not admitting blacks, mulattoes nor persons of “disturbed colour” (Castro 1989, 35; 106).

### *1.3.3 Blood purity as signifier of social distinction*

Upward mobility was attained by means other than hypergamy. All groups, except *castizos* (Spaniards born in the Indies) and African males, had endogamy rates over 50 percent and Spaniards had a marked propensity for in-group marriages. Moreover, there is little evidence to suggest that *castas* were actively attempting to improve their social status by passing as higher born individuals. In a world where ethnic differences were real those *casta* members who successfully attained economic privileges and fame were unable to fully integrate within elite circles. This was because wealth was ephemeral and in the ideology of the elite, a group obsessed with lineage and hostile to social climbers, race held a major importance (Cope 1994, 78; 107; 120-121). By the end of the eighteenth century, a Spanish law that extended to the Americas ordered that proof of blood purity must be provided in order to marry and stressed the importance of marrying amongst equals. Therefore, since neither wealth nor prestige alone could be acknowledged as essential to nobility in New Spain, blood purity enabled the elites to regulate access to privileges (Martínez 2008, 123-141; 244-245). Blood purity was synonymous of prestige that was granted at birth and together with wealth, it gave individuals social status and placed them at the highest levels of the social hierarchy.

The concept of blood purity was central to the society of colonial period Mexico. However, to date no archaeology scholar has placed this concept in a more cultural perspective so as to explain the self-representations of the nobility and how these operated. Moreover, the mechanisms of representation that the nobility used and the choices taken to construct their identities still remain to be explored (Frutta 2002, 233). Elite groups and *castas* utilized material objects and cultural practices as signifiers of social identities, since racial status went beyond physical characterization and place of birth. For example, *casta* members were recognized by the material culture and attitudes

that were considered as inherent to them e.g. their particular dress, hair length and mode of speech (Cope 1994, 53).

Since social transgression threatened the Spanish order and elite privileges, it is necessary to explore the symbols of distinction set forth by the elites as signifiers of blood purity. These might be addressed by considering the ideas and beliefs that orientate the consumption of particular objects like maiolica, and social practices such as dining that stand as the material signifiers of an elite ideology. This field of enquiry might shed light on how the consumption of material culture is informed by the ideology of blood purity. The objects might speak about bodily perceptions and the mechanisms utilized by the elites for self-representation informed by a noble knowledge, and also how cultural perceptions shaped consumerism and attitudes towards the body.

#### *1.3.4 Blood purity and human reproduction*

In the mind of sixteenth- to eighteenth- century Hispanic society, blood had a central position for acquiring social prestige. But it is important to ask why this fluid was such a powerful tool of social cohesion and exclusion. It can be argued that in the mentalities of the society of that period, blood and bodily fluids were capable of transmitting all sorts of beneficial traits such as honour and nobility, but also dishonour and religious proclivities. Blood purity was linked to genealogy and to purity of faith. This is why deviation and heterodoxy endangered the cleanness of the entire social body. Blood had the capacity to include, or segregate, individuals based on the dichotomies of cleanness and pollution, the privileged and the condemned. It was so powerful a tool that blood could save an individual or condemn their family and descendants (Frutta 2002, 219-220). Furthermore, the quality of the blood was responsible for the psychological disposition of an individual and, according to Aristotle, courage and intelligence were a consequence of the possession of hot, thin and clear blood (Siriasi 1990, 105).

From the sixteenth century onwards, it was believed that blood had the power of transmitting malignant traits, therefore heretical behaviour could be transferred from parents to children and was capable of infecting family members who came into contact with the heretic and his or her cultural practices. According to doctrine derived from the

Bible and from Saints Augustine and Aquinas, the stain of heresy passed down to direct descendants from two to four generations because it was believed that up to four generations a person could still be in contact with the heretic. Because of this, blood was central to human reproduction and the doctrine of blood purity was linked to gender and sexuality. The spread of heresy in the Spanish kingdom, including Judaism, Islam and Protestantism, threatened the unity of faith and may account for the strategies undertaken by the Spanish Inquisition to eradicate them through the doctrine of blood purity (Martínez 2008, 4-5; 41-42).

Beliefs on human reproduction that were based on the work by Aristotle, sustained that the male seed contained the active principle of conception and the female one was passive and provided the matter for the foetus (Siriasi 1990, 110-111). This is why the male seed had a predominant role in human reproduction and its potency could be increased or diminished by the food ingested and the environmental conditions. It was held responsible for transmitting sins and stains. This is the reason why the union between Old Christians, particularly women, and heretics and *castas* was discouraged. If it were to happen, then the male should pertain to a higher born group so that the negative traits from a *casta* member, for example an African descendant, could be absorbed or “whitened” by the Spanish ones and prevent moral degeneration (Martínez 2008, 233; 245).

Within this mindset, body, mind and soul were connected and biology and culture conflated with the understanding of human reproduction because beliefs and behaviour were attributed to biological and cultural inheritance. These physiological theories understood blood, semen, breast milk, the environment and cultural practices like dining, through the selection of particular meals, as elements that affected the human body and therefore contributed to the conception of life. Food would transmute to the blood after consumption and this would in turn become sperm in male individuals and milk in female ones. Bodily fluids were essential constituents of individual physiological traits and crucial in determining the moral disposition of an individual (Martínez 2008, 41; 54).

### 2.3.5 *Complexio, blood and humours*

From the medieval period onwards, physiological treatises suggested that every individual was born with a particular *complexio*, that is an essential identifying characteristic acquired at the moment of conception that persisted throughout life. In Galenic physiology *complexio* stood as an organizing principle of each living organism and referred to the temperament of an individual based on the balance of the quantities of hot, wet, cold and dry, which resulted from the mixture of the elements in the human body. It could vary according to sex, life conditions and the stars, geography and the climate. If these innate qualities became unbalanced, sickness occurred and could be regained through medication and especially through food that matched inversely the disordered qualities. The perfect temperate complexion was a constant pursuit in the mentalities of the early modern period and stood as an ideal to be approached but seldom reached (Siriasi 1990, 102-103).

The theoretical concepts drawn from physiology from the medieval period until the nineteenth century understood the human body as constituted by things natural, non-natural and contra-natural or pathological (Siriasi 1990, 100-101). Things natural comprised deadly sins and cardinal virtues, humours, members of the body, operations and *spiritus*, a substance manufactured in the heart from inspired air and transmitted through the body via the arteries. These joined together “material components” imperceptible to the senses like the elements of earth, fire, air and water in the human body and physically perceptible bodily parts like the humours, members or bodily parts and virtues and operations understood as activities and functions. The non-naturals comprised a range of physiological, psychological and environmental conditions that affected health such as exercise, rest, sleep, air, food and drink along with the “accidents of the soul” or passions and emotions. The set of non-naturals are of special interest to this research for they served the practical purpose of providing a series of recommendations for a regimen, which included dining practices (Siriasi 1990, 100-101).

There were four humours, good or bad alike: phlegm, bile (also known as cholera, red or yellow bile), black bile (known as melancholy) and bad blood, which ought to be eliminated. The humours were held responsible for the psychological, emotional, mental and physical disposition of an individual: phlegmatic, choleric, sanguine and melancholic. In popular beliefs and medical theories, blood held a central position

among the humours. This was because most of the blood was used in nourishing each part of the body, believed to generate from the humours contained in the veins, as a sanguineous mass consisting of a mixture of pure humour blood and a lesser proportion of the other three humours, generated as part of the process of blood manufacture in the body. The heart, thoracic cavity and the arteries through which the blood was transmitted to the whole body, were considered as spiritual members because they were responsible of sustaining life therefore, they were associated with *spiritus*, the vehicle of virtue. Therefore, blood was a powerful humour for it was diffused through the arteries mixed with *spiritus* through the heart and as such it was the vehicle of life and virtue (Siriasi 1990, 104-109).

When blood was diffused throughout the body it incorporated with other humours and nourished it. Avicenna suggested that ingested food transformed in the stomach was subsequently transported to the liver where it was cooked into blood, the two biles and phlegm. Aristotle asserted that the veins disseminated the natural virtues essential for nutrition and growth and reproduction in the form of blood. Therefore, blood and food were essential for sustaining life and virtue and were intimately related with each other (Siriasi 1990, 104-109).

### 2.3.6 *Wet Nursing*

Since the fifteenth century, it was believed that maternal milk derived from menstrual blood. Therefore, the stain of heresy and other malignant traits was believed to pass from mother to child through breast feeding. A mother, or wet nurse, would contribute to form the child she fed in her own image. In 1492 Spain, the Inquisitorial concept of *Apostasia* stated that Judaism was transmitted through the blood and no sacrament could eliminate it. By the sixteenth century, it was suggested that no Moorish or Jewish woman should raise the child of an Old Christian. This was because her blood was still infused with their ancestors' beliefs and even if they were not held responsible for this, they could still impregnate the child with the stain of heresy (Edwards 1990, 250).

Two examples can be taken that provide an idea on how these beliefs operated. The first one refers to Jaime Palomos, a Spanish and old Christian man who lived in Spain around 1480. He was the witness to how a Jewish *conversa* wet nurse had fed an old

Christian child. His testimony was recorded in an inquisitorial process against his master where he stated that he had witnessed this dangerous and equivocal practice (Edwards 1990, 249).

Carrera (2003, 127) provides a second example drawn from *El Periquillo Sarmiento*, the first Spanish American novel written by Lizardi in the eighteenth century. The main character was the son of *creole* parents and lived a comfortable life. However, despite his bloodline and the goodness of his parents, he became of immoral character. The moral deficiencies in him grew due to his early nurturing by a mother who was “too lenient and superstitious”, by an Native, a Black African and a white wet nurse of “dubious repute, cursed temperament and greedy”, evil and immoral (Carrera 2003, 127).

### *2.3.7 Maternal impressions and the power of imagination*

In the early modern world, Neo-Platonic theories on embryonic imprinting known as “maternal impressions” might also account to a certain extent for how society understood the transmission of sin, ugliness and pathology. Women were believed to possess magical powers capable of stimulating or distorting the object of gaze, fear and desire. During pregnancy, the object of gaze could be materialized by simulation and the image would be passed on to the foetus (Stafford 1993, 306; 308; 311).

In the Hispanic mentalities from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, as well as in other European countries, (being largely influenced by the work of Avicenna, Galen and Feijoo, a Spanish friar), imagination was so powerful that it was capable of changing the surrounding reality. The maternal imagination was considered so potent that it could cause physical and behavioural changes in the embryo that included the skin colour. An example of how much power was endowed to maternal imagination is that of a white couple gave birth to a black child because during the marital relations, the mother was observing the image of a man from Ethiopia (López Gutiérrez 2008, 2-7). In Germany, it was said a man who represented the role of the Devil in a play arrived home wearing the costume. This in consequence made him a victim of lust and had marital relations with his wife, whose imagination was filled with the devil’s image. This terrible

impression in the wife caused her to give birth to a monster, with Luciferian traits and behaviour (López Gutiérrez 2008, 2- 7).

The maternal impressions were so powerful that fearful sights, disordered thoughts, passions and sensations experienced by a pregnant woman were transmitted to her foetus and the child's body and mind became marked by corresponding signs. The mother could affect her child mentally in the womb and produce madness. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries in Western European society, almost any neonatal deformity of the body or the mind was attributed to the power of maternal imagination. This epistemology and mentality posed reality and fantasy in tension with one another (Shildrick 2000, 244-247).

Aristotle's work on the primacy of the male seed and the idea that likeness produced likeness was widely accepted during this period. Any deviance in corporeal form such that parental likeness was lost, constituted a "monstrous birth", a deviation to the proper order of paternal power. The actual sight of a fearful image would get imprinted on the child through the animal spirits in the blood (Shildrick 2000, 246; 248-250). Other causes for an "anomalous" birth were explained in terms of the quality of the female sperm, a fall, nasty shocks, enthusiastic intimate relations, a narrow womb or having intercourse during menstruation, in sum all "sinful" behaviour (Roodenburg 1988, 707-708).

These beliefs were widely shared among the laity and the elites, by medical practitioners and women alike and formed part of a general pattern of cultural concepts, a shared view of the body as vulnerable and open to all sorts of exterior threats. Medical texts intended for lay consumption advised physicians, husbands and women on how to avoid the "dreadful possibility of monstrous or deformed births" through a series of prescriptions and preventions. Excessive appetites and particular cravings were considered especially dangerous as the child could become affected by the likeness of the food desired by the mother. The craving for herring and strawberries were to be avoided (Roodenburg 1988, 701-702; 707; 709-711). Shellfish was known to produce horrendous facial features (Shildrick 2000, 255-256).



The anxiety for maternal impressions, common since the 1500s, reached its peak during the seventeenth century and continued until the end of the eighteenth century. The most dangerous impressions in popular medical works which were to be avoided by expectant mothers were: the sight of apes, accidents, deformed people and animals, beggars, mutilations, lunatics, “terrifying persons” and black people. The mother could receive these impressions at the moment of conception, through a dream, a nocturnal vision or object (Paré 1982, 38-42). In Amsterdam, a woman gave birth to a stillborn whose face and right arm were “totally black” since she had been frightened by a “Moor”. Another who became frightened by a black person in both of her pregnancies bore two black babies (Roodenburg 1988, 708-711).

Before Christian eyes, maternal impressions explained the passing of virtue and of the original sin as an inherited trait that infected or even “blackened” mankind. In contrast, a pregnant woman, who gazed intensely at an image of a Moor, had the power to materialize those “contaminating” qualities in her unborn child. Because skin was considered like a sheet of paper, it was capable of depicting concealed passions, stained by *pathos* and original sin in the form of a physical spot on the surface as the likeness of suffering and corruption of the mother. Maternal impressions were the source of explanation for the “problem” of inheritance and skin colouration and also for transforming the original white colour of human race into black, considered as a different human species. The Black African skin became a central topic of aesthetics as it was considered a “broken skin”, unnatural, undressed, uncivilized and improper (Stafford 1993, 314; 318; 323).

A further example that emphasises this belief was a child who was born bearing the face of a frog. This apparently occurred because the mother had had a fever and her neighbour advised her to hold a living frog on her hand until it died. That night she went to bed with her husband and conceived with the frog still in her hand. By the power of her imagination the image of the frog got imprinted on her child (Paré 1982, 38).

Another case was a hairy girl was born because the mother gazed at a painting of Saint John the Baptist, (with his animal skins, his body hair and beard), attached to the foot of her bed. A final example was a princess accused of adultery because she had given birth to a black child. She was saved by Hippocratic thought arguing that the child’s colour

had been caused by maternal impressions, for she had gazed at the portrait of a Moor attached to her bed (Paré 1982, 38-42).

### *Summary*

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, blood and bodily fluids were central to Hispanic society for they were the vehicle of virtue and heresy and the body was vulnerable to the deviation of the spirit, of the body and the mind. External influences understood as un-natural things such as food, could affect the blood and therefore, the entire social body. These fears explained human diversity and shaped particular attitudes towards the body in order to prevent it from becoming contaminated. They were translated into a series of social practices informed by the ideological observable in consumption patterns and rituals of display of taste and social refinement like dining which became a noble knowledge. Since purity of faith and an untainted lineage were concomitant to the ideology of blood purity, these served the elites as a tool for social cohesion and exclusion in order to maintain social order, prestige and economic privileges. This resulted in the ordering of society through mechanisms that prevented pollution and promoted cleanness of the blood and purity of the faith, a hierarchical and classificatory system known as *casta* system.

Material culture and pottery in particular, fits into this wider context. Maiolica relates to blood purity because it was an industry dominated by Old Christians and intended for elite consumption. Moreover, as the container of food, it relates indirectly to non-natural things that affected the human and was considered as a white and clean surface from where to eat. The decoration found in the vessels relates directly to these ideas because the colors and images might have affected the viewers, promoted certain values and as a visual medium, can communicate ideas and beliefs about the consumers.

## **1.4 *Casta* system**

...“A very well- dressed mulatto appeared in Córdoba [the main city of the Jurisdiction of Córdoba, province of Tucumán]. She was the envy of all the *señoras* [ladies], who requested her to dress according to her quality, however she paid them no attention. So, they left her alone and without protection. One day, under another pretext one of the ladies invited her to her home

where she had her servants to undress her, whip her, burn her clothes before her eyes so that she would learn how to dress according to her quality ...” (Concolorcorvo<sup>8</sup> 1938:67-68).

The doctrine of blood purity promoted social practices aimed to achieve purity, prevent contamination and translated into a system of social categorization known as *casta* system. The above quote by Concolorcorvo is extracted from *El Lazarillo para Ciegos Caminantes*<sup>9</sup> (1773), a travelogue of a journey from Buenos Aires to Perú. It reflects, to a certain extent, the attitudes exercised by Hispanic elites regarding *casta* members, the consequences of social transgression, and how material culture stood as a symbol that demarcated social boundaries. Throughout the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, the *casta* system organized the economic structure and segregated individuals based on their physical and cultural traits, which in consequence constructed a discriminatory discourse that shaped particular attitudes towards their bodies. Moreover, it extended to the social landscape and material world in the form of clothing and especially pottery, like maiolica, that stood as symbols of blood purity and refinement.

#### *1.4.1 Theoretical overviews on purity and pollution*

Because the doctrine of blood purity was central to Hispanic society, it is necessary to explore the underlying principles regarding cleanness and danger, understood as essentially disorder, in the context of New Spain. In order to explore this, the principles on purity and danger outlined by Mary Douglas can be applied. Douglas (2002, 2-3) argued that hygiene and dirt exist in the eyes of the beholder and are relative categories that organize the environment. Cleanness is procured through the execution of certain rituals and social practices. With every ritual there are symbolic patterns that are exhibited outwardly in the public sphere but also in the domestic realm. Ideas on pollution operate at two different social levels. On the first level, individuals try to influence one another’s behaviour through a set of beliefs that reinforce social attitudes. These can be political decrees that justify the rights of certain groups through the use of an ideology and the belief in extraordinary powers that emanate from an elite, like the doctrine on blood purity. These groups can rely upon a variety of symbols and material

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<sup>8</sup> Alonso Carrió de la Vandra, Concolorcorvo, was an eighteenth century writer and traveller who spent most of his life in the Viceroyalty of Perú.

<sup>9</sup> The blind man’s guide for blind travelers

means like clothing and pottery amongst others, to exercise their power over others and reinforce their purity status (Douglas 2002, 2-3).

The second level refers to an ideal order of society guarded by potential dangers to transgressors. These are put into practice by an individual or social group to coerce one another, to claim or counter-claim social status and prevent members from “lapses of righteousness”. Every contact considered as “dangerous” carries a symbolic load, therefore it relates directly to social life. Natural laws or even naturalized laws, for example those regarding the quality of the blood and the human body, can be used to sanction the moral code where disease or social disorder is understood as the lack of moral behaviour, miscegenation and impiety for example. Certain moral values are upheld and social rules are defined by beliefs in dangerous contagion from the gaze of an unwanted vision or contact with a heretic for example, which would bring consequences to the transgressor. To prevent dangerous contacts, various practices are set forth to promote cleanness such as: foster endogamy, rules of hygiene, rituals to protect from defilement and avoid objects believed to conduct impurity after being in contact with certain people (Douglas 2002, 3-4; 40; 42-43).

In New Spain these ideas on purity and danger structured many social practices. For example, sexual contact between a Spaniard and a *casta* member was potentially dangerous for bodily fluids were capable of transmitting heresy and bad blood. Also, bodily orifices represented dangerous gateways through which polluting agents could enter the body (Vigarello 1985, 17-20). Other practices included the performance of cleansing rituals before and after eating in order to prevent the transmission of contaminating agents contained in the sweat, that could be transmitted to the food through the skin pores (Ruiz Somavilla 2002, 238-239).

The avoidance of damp and pestilent places, such as those ones inhabited by potters, due to the fear of becoming ill could also be considered as a ritual of prevention. Potters were relegated to the outskirts of main cities of Spain and New Spain. This might have occurred because pottery making was customarily carried out in poorly lighted and damp surroundings, and illness was common in the pottery craft and also, because kilns are dirty and a fire hazard. Potters suffered from skin and eye diseases, rheumatism, were usually sallow, pale and cachectic. Also, there existed a the risk of becoming

poisoned with lead through the absorption of particles through the mouth, eyes or body pores, or from inhaling noxious vapours (Lister and Lister 1987, 175; 277-278).

Preferences for particular ceramic types, such as maiolica and Chinese porcelain, in which to present and eat the food were also informed by beliefs on purity. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the French intellectual Montaigne referred to the Italian table as one with individualized dishes, an array of maiolica plates that stood for a clean and white wear, and where people ate with a fork not touching the food with the hands. This expresses how contemporary values on cleanness intertwined with those on luxury and refinement, so as to inform on the consumption of particular objects (Goldthwaite 1989, 26-27). In the mentalities of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish writers, such as Lope de Vega (1989, 42-43), the dining table was referred to as one that incorporates humility and wealth, and compared eating in Talavera, that is maiolica, with the cleanness of Chinese porcelain. Tirso de Molina (1989, 542) wrote that the plates from Talavera, Spain were clean to eat from and as long as they were available for eating food in them, even a war could not destroy the earth.

Douglas argued that the concept of dirt is relative to what is considered pure and cultural systems set publicly standardised values that mediate the individual experience and provide basic categories where ideas and values are ordered. Because uncleanness is matter out of place, it can be approached through order, can be physically controlled because it is potentially dangerous to society and individuals might feel anxious when confronted with anomaly. However, there is no clear distinction between what is pure and dangerous, the sacred and the profane because more often than not, these categories conflate in the social practice (Douglas 2002, 44-51).

#### *1.4.2 The order of society: Casta system in New Spain*

In the Iberian Peninsula, blood purity was synonymous with purity of faith. In New Spain, the doctrine acquired a different connotation for it also related to skin colour and cultural practices of non-Europeans, and this led to a system of classification known as *casta* system. The word *casta*, of Portuguese and Spanish origin derives from Latin *castus* meaning pure, virtuous, pious and sacred. The Spaniards employed this term in

the Americas from the sixteenth century to refer to the impurity of faith and blood of African and Native groups, and to describe race and lineage (Dumont 1980, 21).

In New Spain, the *casta* system included all members of society where there were at least three major ethnic groups: Spaniards, natives and Africans. However, these major categories were further subdivided into: 1) Spaniards or “pure” white, 2) Euro-Mestizos (preponderantly Spaniards but mixed with Native blood), 3) Afro and Indo Mestizos (the designation of *casta* was particularly applied to them), 4) Africans and 5) Natives. These categorizations were based on biological and cultural considerations constructed upon the basic opposition of pure- blooded Europeans and those with tainted blood (Diggs 1953, 404).

At an immediate level, the social structure of New Spain principally differentiated between Spaniards and natives, and this was materialized in the landscape in the form of two different republics. Spanish groups were anxious about the constant miscegenation of other ethnic groups, particularly between Spaniards, natives and individuals of African descent that inhabited within the physical and imagined margins of both republics (Cope 1994, 15). Physical and social mobility were proscribed and controlled through the use of space. Cities, like Mexico City, were intended for Spanish habitation, with Native population being confined to communities generally located on the outskirts of the Spanish town. *Castas* did not fit into either republic, and Spaniards regarded them as a threat to the internal stability of each social sphere. They were neither Spanish citizens, nor original inhabitants of Mexico, like the natives. Because they had no pre- assigned place within the colony, they constituted an anomaly to the Spanish order (Cope 1994, 15).

The elements of division in the “Hispanic imagination” were based on principles of opposition between Spaniards and *castas*. Spaniards were regarded as Old Christians, of legitimate birth, pure blooded, honourable, law-abiding, affluent, noble and non-manual workers. *Castas* were considered New Christians thus with a tainted blood, of illegitimate birth, infamous, criminal, poor, plebeian and manual workers. The official stereotype of *castas* as illegitimate criminally inclined and neophytes in the faith lasted throughout the eighteenth century. However, there was a degree of social mobility

between the two groups, not all *castas* were relegated to low-status occupations and not all Spaniards held prestigious ones (Cope 1994, 19).

Since the sixteenth century, and throughout the colonial period, the doctrine of blood purity intertwined with the categories of race and *casta*. The notion of race in the study of the early modern world might be anachronistic, for the actual term of race as understood today did not come into play until the nineteenth century. This is true for Spanish American attitudes regarding phenotype, a category that usually combined ideas on cultural and religious difference (Martínez 2008, 11).

Hispanic American ideas of genealogy and blood purity competed with those regarding biological and cultural descent and inheritance. These resulted in a particular understanding of racial differences. The notions concerning race vary from one context to another and through time and biological differences intertwine with cultural ones. In New Spain, the concept of race could be used in relation to the doctrine of blood purity but “with great caution” since both concepts strongly connected to lineage and intersected with religion. Both were part of a “grid of knowledge” that constituted a religious discourse with fluctuating meanings over the centuries (Martínez 2008,11-13).

While phenotype could have been a major determinant of race in colonial Mexico, cultural practices were also considered when defining a person’s social standing. Race was partly defined according to the proportion of Spanish blood, and phenotype intertwined with moral qualities. Thus, race was an ambiguous and confusing category, and it is hard to understand how this ambiguity functioned in daily practice. Race was utilized by the Spaniards as a guide to the moral qualities of individuals and the same actions could take different connotations if performed by whites or *castas* (Cope 1994, 25; 41; 51-53).

#### *1.4.3 Casta categories*

The colonization of New Spain was a territorial and an ethnic conquest, one of the physical and the social body. The concept of *casta* was formalized in the seventeenth century through the creation of nobility and *casta* books kept by the Church and created to keep information regarding blood purity (Frutta 2002, 225).

The colonial discourse sought to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin to justify the conquest and establish systems of administration and instruction. Race labels reveal the world of fantasy of the colonizers. Discrimination became the by-product of such discourse and was related to a matter of race and skin. Skin was a key signifier of cultural and racial difference in the stereotype, being the most visible of fetishes. It became the object of discrimination, where colour stood as a cultural and political sign of inferiority or degeneracy. It was recognized as “common knowledge”, in a range of cultural, political and historical discourses, and it played a public part in the racial drama enacted everyday in colonial societies (Bhaba 2010, 96-101; 112-113). This was the colonial discourse employed by the Spaniards in colonial America in their attempt to subjectify individuals through racial labels (Cañeque 1996, 332-333).

From the 1500s until the early nineteenth century, impurity of faith, skin colour, texture and colour of hair, beard, thickness of lips, shape of the nose, eye colour, body structure, face width and cultural practices were markers of impure blood and signifiers of an individual's social standing. However, as miscegenation and social transgression occurred through the appropriation of material culture once exclusive for the elites, the colour line, anatomical characteristics and cultural practices were not longer definable. This resulted in a series of ethnic categorizations to which new ones were constantly added (Diggs 1953, 403-405).

Within this context, biology and culture intersected with one another (Carrera 1998, 38). *Casta* labels overlapped and can be confusing to the modern observer. Therefore, it is hard to assert the degree to which these labels functioned in the daily practice and also, there exists the possibility that these were employed essentially by elite members and might have not been of interest to the *castas* (Cope 1994, 76).

Labels were also applied to the offspring of mixed relationships. Based on *casta* paintings and the work by García Sáiz (1989) and Katzew (2004) some of the labels appeared as follows:



<b>Casta label</b>	<b>Offspring</b>
Spaniard + Castizo =	Spaniard
Spaniard + Native =	Mestizo (generally humble, serene and straightforward)
Spaniard+ Mestizo =	Castizo (a beautiful fruit, that looks the same as the Spanish father and is fond of horses from an early age)
Spaniard + African =	Mulato (proud and with sharp wits; originally a zoological term that refers to a “hybrid”)
Spaniard + Mulato =	Morisco (word derived from Moor; the parents pass on their respective character and ways to the offspring)
Spaniard + Moro =	Mulato
Spaniard + Morisco =	Albino (short sighted, mild and generally kind)
Spaniard + Albino =	<i>Torna Atrás</i> (literally meaning a turn backwards in skin colour, bearing, temperament and traditions) or Lobo (wolf)
Mulato + Native =	Calpa Mulato (wild temperament, strong, broad and with a short and wide body) or Chino (a generic name used by colonial officials for Asian people, particularly from the Philippines)
Native + Calpa Mulato =	Gíbaro (ordinary, restless and always arrogant)
African person + Native =	Lobo (bad blood, thief and pickpocket)
Lobo + Native =	Cambujo (term that alluded to tanned skin. Referred to a slow, lazy and cumbersome individual), Chino cambujo or Torna-atrás
Lobo + Mestizo =	Cambujo
Mestizo + Mulato =	Cuarterón Cabcioso (tricky person), Mulato torna atrás or Calpamulato
Cuarterón + Mestizo =	Coyote (strong and bold)
Coyote + Mestizo =	Albarazado (affected with white leprosy or skin discoloration; prone to mocking, jokes and games)
Torna atrás + Albarazado =	<i>Tente en el aire</i> (literally meaning ‘stay in the air’; born badly)
Torna-atrás + Native =	Lobo
Mestizo + Mestizo =	Mestizo
Native + Zambaigo =	Cambujo
Native + Chamizo =	Cambujo
Cambujo + Native =	Albarazado

Chino + Native =	Genízaro
Chino + Cambujo or Mulato =	<i>Ahí te estás</i> (literally meaning ‘stay there’ and meant neither progression nor retrogression in skin colour)
Albarazado + Mulato =	Barcino
Albarazado + Black person =	Cambujo
Barcino + Native =	Gíbaro
Chino + Mulato =	Gíbaro or Albarazado
Gíbaro + Native =	Chamicoyote
Coyote mestizo + Mulato =	Ahí te estás
Tente en el aire + Mulato =	No te entiendo (literally meaning ‘I do not understand you’)
No te entiendo + Native =	Torna atrás or Chino
No te entiendo + Cambujo =	Tente en el aire
Native + Mestizo =	Coyote
Native + Black person =	Lobo
Castizo + Mestizo =	Chamizo
Coyote + Native =	Chamizo
Barcino + Mulato =	Chino Albarazado
Albarazado + Torna Atrás =	Tente en el Aire
Tente en el aire + Loba =	<i>Negro pelo lacio</i> (black person with straight hair)
Black person + Mulato =	Zambo (a person with bow legs)
Black person + Native =	Zambo
<b>Other names:</b>	
Cafre de pasa	From Arabic <i>kafir</i> and Spanish <i>pasa</i> (raisin), to name Black people from North Africa. The term <i>pasa</i> referred to their hair
Negro atezado	Sun tanned
Negro retinto	Very dark
Mulato de color de membrillo	
Moro	Moor
Mulato prieto	Dark
Anegrado	Blackened
Mulato pardo	
Mulato color de rapadura	Sugar cane molasses
Negro champurrado	Chocolate
Color cocho	
Amarillito	Yellowish
Loro	
Color quebrado	Literally meant of broken colour if the skin tone was whitish, darker or fair

#### 1.4.4 *The world of castas*

Many Spaniards would regard *casta* members as “disgusting”, others ignored them and still others treated them as vagabonds, beggars, as dirty and lazy individuals, useless, antisocial, rebellious and dangerous for they were out of Spanish control (Carrera 1983, 83). The official stereotype of *castas* was that of illegitimate, “neophytes in the faith”, criminally inclined, inherently vicious, vile and with evil ways of life, especially mulatos and mestizos (Cope 1994, 19; 25; 41; 51-53). These beliefs and racial prejudices determined the access of *castas* to the different social and economic groups, education, the military, religious orders and public office (Frutta 2002, 225).

In 1622 those of mixed blood in the first degree could be ordained but with “great caution”, as porters, lecturers, acolytes and exorcists. The candidates had to demonstrate a blood purity status and could not descend from the Moors, based on the notion of *impedimento* or prohibition for common infamy. People who suffered from a “physical or social defect” like illegitimacy of birth, being a slave and thus black, or a convert to the faith, while not blameworthy could be a “hindrance to their ministry” (Poole 1981, 639-641; 644; 646-648).

Segregation implied a relationship between racial group and division of labour, although by no means a straightforward one. Racial labelling positioned individuals in specific labour niches. This was the foundation of the social and economic organization in New Spain as indicated by marriage records from the Sagrario of the Cathedral in Mexico City, and census from 1752-53 from Mexico City (Seed 1982, 585-586; 593-594; 601-602). On the one hand, these documents indicate the racial labelling or designations of race such as Spaniard, castizo, mestizo, morisco, mulatto, Black and Native. On the other hand, there is often disagreement between the marriage records and the census finding that some individuals were registered as castizos in the first documents and as Spaniards in the second. Moreover, there was often a disagreement on the labels for mixed population. There is indication that Spaniards were seldom classified as blacks or mulattoes, and there was a tendency to classify these social groups as belonging to a ‘lighter’ racial category like that of mestizo (Seed 1982, 593-595).

Commercial activities pertained almost exclusively to Peninsular Spaniards and creoles that were also craftsmen, and they had the monopoly over certain guilds such as the silversmiths, goldsmiths and maiolica production. Mexicans who migrated to Mexico City generally worked as servants and unskilled workers. African groups also occupied a defined economic niche working as slaves on the sugar plantations and mining districts, and because of the persistence of urban slavery as servants in wealthy houses and convents, where they were generally considered as unskilled workers. While non-Spanish groups, like some mestizos and mulatos, could work at crafts, they would seldom hold the position of Master (Seed 1982, 582-585; 599-600).

Parish registers show variation within *casta* labels, which suggests that racial categorization was subject to modification, and this can be understood in terms of social mobility. Since many *castas* occupied labour positions substantially different from those of most of their racial group, an accurate classification was difficult. For example, a mulato classified as such in the parish register, was reclassified as a castizo on the census. This occurred because he was a shop owner and literate, unusual for the conventional occupational role of a mulato. Therefore, social mobility resulted in a reclassification of his racial label into a “whiter” group (Seed 1982, 592; 599-600).

The movement of individuals to a “whiter” group was understood as “passing”, a general trend for a lighter classification (Seed 1982, 591). This became common practice during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries because as miscegenation and social mobility occurred, and because mixed-bloods constituted a larger population than the Spanish one, there were difficulties in distinguishing social groups in the colonial society. As suggested by Concolorcorvo, physical traits were no longer reliable since many *castas* could pass as Spaniards, natives or mestizos if they wore the right clothes, spoke and pronounced correctly, if they cut their nails, had a clean face and combed their hair. Castizos and mestizos, as a group of Native origin, were less physically identifiable than those of African origin, and thus could easily pass as Spaniards (Seed 1982, 569-570; 591-594; 596; 599-600).

Passing might have created anxiety among the Spanish elites, as evidenced by the fact that since the 1540s the Spanish Crown was concerned with bringing *castas* into the social order. The “spectre” of African revolts that haunted colonial authorities

originated after several *casta* uprisings such as the alleged slave conspiracy to take over Mexico City in 1537 and other insurrections that occurred during the 1540s. Another such incident in 1611 was the silent procession of fifteen hundred Blacks and mulatos, who passed by the vice royal palace and the Inquisition building with the body of a female slave whose death they claimed had been caused by her owner's mistreatment. In 1692, the "maize revolt" was motivated by a shortage of maize and wheat and by the anger of Native and *castas* against elite members and the vice royal government, ultimately culminating with the burning of the palace. Before Spanish eyes, this violence was originated by opportunistic *castas* who had instigated the natives into the rebellion (Cope 1994, 16-18; 125-130; 154-155).

In 1612, the colonial authorities accused thirty-five Blacks and mulatos, men and women, for conspiring against the Crown and of disloyalty to the Catholic faith. It was believed that the conspirators aimed to rebel against the government on Maundy Thursday to establish a Black king and mulato queen, and revert the *casta* system in favour of African groups. The "conspirators" were publicly hanged and their bodies were mutilated. This image provides an insight into the Spanish mentalities and an imagined colonial world, in constant "threat" by African groups. This gave them a justification to subjugate, debase and control them through laws and racial labels that held them as people of low moral quality and criminally inclined (Martínez 2004, 479-483; 492).

#### *1.4.5 The stain of slavery and original sin*

To the Spanish, black skin was subject to derogatory discourses influenced by religion and physiological theories on maternal impressions and the humours. Black skin was associated with the myth of the Curse of Ham, which linked it to a stained biblical genealogy condemned to perpetual servitude as slaves (Martínez 2004, 485-486). Blackness, it was believed, resulted from the first Ethiopian woman who was struck by a black object while pregnant after which negritude was fixed and extended to succeeding generations (Carrera 2003, 11-12). A second explanation refers to a pregnant woman who was struck by the sight of her husband's body covered in black paint. During the seventeenth century, it was believed that bile and vitriolic or bitter

fluids that ran through the veins of Africans were responsible of their skin pigmentation (Carrera 2003, 11-12).

The union between Spanish men and Native women produced a mestizo offspring, a diluted but not polluted blood. A mestizo and a Spaniard produced a castizo, which if by third generation mixed with a Spaniard, their offspring would return to Spanish quality or pure blood. However, this was not so if a Spaniard or Native mixed with an individual pertaining to the African group. This because it was believed that the African blood had the capacity of staining the other blood, of absorbing it and would get eventually lost into the condition of a “Negro”. To those contaminated with the “Negro stain” were called mulatos and their “blood could colour with such efficacy that even the most effective chemistry cannot purify” (Carrera 2003, 12-13).

Black blood was considered as incapable of redemption because like Jews, Africans were unable to separate themselves from their Negritude even if they had had thousands of white ancestors. Blacks were then by definition “impure” and black blood was correlated with slavery and impurity ideas inherited from the Iberian context which linked northern African groups with slavery and Islam. While natives were considered to have pure blood, innate to their quality as Native population of New Spain, Africans were forcedly brought to the Indies as slaves. Their impurity was connected with slavery and colonial institutions treated them as with a permanent stain on their lineage, which enabled them to deny all sorts of rights and claims based on their birth (Martínez 2004, 485-486; 491).

Enlightenment theories fostered a pejorative understanding of black skin during late colonial Mexico and correlated the causes of pigmentation with a loss in the capacity for compliance to the accepted morality. This resulted in a debasement of the moral content of African people and their descendants (Carrera 2003, 12-13). People of African descent were often accused of practicing witchcraft in alliance with natives. The Spaniards understood these practices as deviant and bad behaviour, but were often promoted by the Spaniards themselves whom accused them before the Inquisition (Lewis 2003, 12; 23; 120; 154; 201).

#### 1.4.6 *Castas and sumptuary legislation*

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was a real distaste for outward expressions of luxury through clothing and dining, for they represented the vices of avarice and social evil, especially if indulged by the “wrong people”, that is *castas* and possibly the emerging bourgeoisie (Donahue 2004, 106-109). From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, the Spanish authorities sought to control, monitor and limit the physical and social mobility of *castas* through sumptuary legislation, which emphasized their social standing as non-natives and inferior. They had to pay tribute and could not bear arms, an important status symbol (Cope 1994, 16-17).

Luxury, despite the moral prescriptions, was used to express status in a culture where appearances were too important and in New Spain, as an extension of the kingdom there was no exception to the rule. Clothing and the overall apparel became an increasingly codified system of social distinction among the upper levels of society. The *Novelas Ejemplares* by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra<sup>10</sup> show how material culture was used by the elites as a social signifier of gender and lineage, of blood and honour. The social standing of non-elite groups is readable by their clothes and lack of taste, but it could also be misleading (Donahue 2004, 106-109; 115).

In order to prevent people from “passing” as Spaniards, creoles or mestizos, sumptuary laws were promulgated along the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and this continuous promulgation suggests that they were constantly broken. These aimed to keep the three major groups separated and prevent *castas* from “passing” as whites or natives. They especially targeted people of African descent and banned them from wearing luxurious textiles, silk and lace, gold and silver ornaments, precious stones and pearls (Voss 2008, 413-414). Women were restricted from wearing embroidered headscarves, the hallmark of elite women. During the eighteenth century, men were expected to dress in the Bourbon fashion. The transgression to these laws was punished with the confiscation of the “offending” articles, corporeal punishment and humiliation through public nakedness (Voss 2008, 413-414). Females of African descent could be

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<sup>10</sup> Spanish literary known as exemplary novels, a genre and collection of short stories with a moralizing character pertaining to late sixteenth century

punished “on pain of a hundred lashes” (Cope 1994, 16-17), and moral degradation as observed in the quote by Concolorcorvo (see above).

These laws sought to control material culture used by the elites and its signifiers, create exclusivity and demarcate social boundaries. The objects stood as expressions of taste that embodied social traditions of what were considered proper and improper in the public and private realm. Because practices of taste allowed individuals to communicate their social standing and differentiate elite from non-elite members, these practices are politically charged. Individuals choose certain objects to negotiate their identities in the private and public contexts. Sumptuary legislation then offered an opportunity to observe how official traditions were incorporated into daily life and the proper forms in which material culture ought to be used (DiPaolo 2001, 66-67).

### *Summary*

Society in New Spain was structured upon two basic principles: purity and corruption. These were translated into a series of social practices and attitudes that involved rituals that promoted cleanness and prevented contamination of the physical and social body. The ideological discourse constructed a hierarchical system of classification known as the *casta* system, which placed individuals into an inferior or superior position according to their physical and cultural traits. Race was related to labour divisions but there existed a degree of social mobility. In order to prevent social transgression and “social disorder”, sumptuary laws were passed. Because people utilized material culture to negotiate their identities outwardly, it is necessary to explore how was it used in the private realm. But, to what extent did the category of purity permeated into the daily life and is able to inform about the rituals performed by the different cultural groups in Mexico City? How do these categories inform about perceptions on taste and production and consumption of material culture? Can material culture be used as a means to explore ideas on blood purity? The differing ways in which material culture can inform about these ideas will be approached in the next chapters of this thesis through the analysis of maiolica tableware by considering aspects related with its production and consumption.



## ***Chapter Two. A Methodological Approach to the Study of Ceramics in New Spain***

### **Introduction**

This chapter summarises the methods used for data gathering and analysis employed in this thesis, in order that the relationship between the consumption of material culture and the maintenance of notions of blood purity, roughly defined as the absence of Muslim and Jewish blood, may be ascertained. Section 2.1 provides an overview of how the data were collected and the rationale behind the choice of particular datasets. The ceramic fabrics chosen for study are outlined, and specific taphonomic and post-excavation biases that might affect their interpretation are discussed.

The second section, 2.2, outlines the methodology employed during data collection and the precise variables recorded in the construction of the database. Factors including the specific fabric types, manufacturing period, provenance or production origin, vessel form, vessel part and precise decorative scheme were all individually recorded for each vessel in the assemblages, as well as more general quantifications and descriptions being undertaken. In some cases, comments on manufacturing techniques, glazing, decoration and potters' signatures that were observable on some vessels were also recorded.

The final section, 2.3, discusses the application of the data to the central research question, exploring how the material culture can inform on the doctrine of blood purity as expressed through the consumption patterns of pottery and dining practices. This is undertaken in two ways. First, the research focuses on the identification and comparison of consumption patterns at each study site using the following variables: the number of pottery fragments represented in each sample, the proportions of expensive pottery types over less expensive ones, and the quantification of the different vessel shapes. Second, the thesis attempts to identify the various vessel shapes used throughout the colonial period, from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, and to equate these

with particular functions and foods, especially in the context of dining. This is based on secondary sources that include cookbooks, medical and urbanity manuals, and literary references, as well as the unique *casta* paintings that specifically depict material culture in its social context.

## **2.1 The dataset**

### *2.1.1 Ceramic types included in the survey*

In order to explore how elite groups in New Spain utilized material culture to construct their identities based on the ideology of blood purity, it was necessary to consider the material culture associated with these social groups. Ceramic, and maiolica in particular, is the ideal medium to explore this relationship, as it was the pottery produced by Christian Spaniards in Spain and New Spain that was specifically intended for consumption by Hispanic elites in the New World (Castro 1989, 35 and 106; Lister and Lister 1987, 269-72). In comparison with other materials related to elite consumption, such as glass, silver vessels and cutlery, maiolica is much more commonly found within the archaeological record, and it is often excavated in direct association with Chinese porcelain and *botijas* (or olive jars), as well as more ubiquitous utilitarian pottery types such as plain glazed and unglazed earthenwares.

Although occurring in smaller quantities, Chinese porcelain and *botijas* are also included in this research given their clear association with high-status Hispanic occupation sites. Furthermore, with the exception for the work by Goggin (1960), and Fournier (1990), *botijas* have been overlooked in previous studies of colonial pottery from Mexico (Lister and Lister 1974; 1976; 1976a; 1981), and thus this current research provides the opportunity for the first time to assess the values and significance the vessels may have held with their users. By integrating these supplementary materials into the primary research on maiolica, a broader interpretation of the material culture that was in use during the colonial period in Mexico will be obtained.

Utilitarian glazed and unglazed earthenwares have not, in contrast, been included in the current analysis. This is for four reasons. First, these types of ceramics have a wide geographical distribution across Mexico and are found at sites equally associated with Hispanic and Native occupation (Fournier and Blackman 2008, 7). Moreover, these

ceramics are primarily used for cooking and for non-dining roles, and are not associated with the display of wealth. Third, such ceramics are notoriously undiagnostic typologically and chronologically, as almost identical forms and fabrics were in use throughout the colonial period until the twentieth century (Fournier and Blackman 2008, 7). In contrast maiolicas and porcelains experienced rapid and chronologically sensitive changes through time, and these have been extensively studied by previous scholars and comprehensive typologies published already (Deagan 1978; 1987; Goggin 1968; Lister and Lister 1978; López Cervantes 1976; Müller 1981). Finally, glazed and unglazed utilitarian pottery is often not retained on excavations and kept for post-excavation analysis, hindering comprehensive and comparative studies. This is not the case with maiolicas and porcelains, which, because of their elaborate decoration and perceived higher status, are routinely retrieved on archaeological excavations and kept for post-excavation analysis.

### *2.1.2 Sample biases and assemblage selection*

The data used in this thesis have been collected from the assemblages recovered during rescue excavations in Mexico City by the Urban Archaeology Project from Templo Mayor (PAU) and the Direction of Rescue Archaeology in Mexico (Dirección de Salvamento Arqueológico), and these are some of the largest collections of material culture from the colonial period in Mexico excavated to date. As briefly mentioned above, due to the nature of standard archaeological practice in Mexico, all ceramics have been processed and subject to prior quantification, curation and in almost all cases selectively discarded, which inevitably has diminished the size of the samples and narrowed the number of collections available for this research. Despite the problems with previous quantification, analysis and discard, this thesis is still valid as these are factors affecting all sites and therefore affecting uniformly the samples chosen for conducting this research. Where a potential assemblage has been too adversely affected by collection strategy, it has not been included in this thesis.

Finally, it is also important to take into consideration the characteristics of Mexico City's subsoil and the nature of continuous settlement in the location, and how this affects any analysis of the specific contexts in which the pottery was found. As the

excavations of Vega Sosa (1979) demonstrated, the continuous occupation of the city since the fourteenth century and the fact that the original Aztec city was built over a lake that had desiccated during the colonial period due to urban expansion has resulted in the formation of large clay deposits and fills. These deposits have also resulted from various cycles of demolition and construction over more than seven centuries in a very confined geographical location. This has resulted in often very mixed archaeological contexts that contain a range of material culture from the pre-Hispanic period to the modern era (*e.g.* Charlton and Fournier 1993, 204). Despite this, the analysis of the archaeological materials in this thesis is still meaningful as, whilst it is not possible to associate ceramics with specific contexts of use in most cases, they can still be studied on a site by site and chronological basis as these deposits are found throughout Mexico City and affect the sampling techniques uniformly. Because this situation is encountered throughout Mexico City, these are the samples that are available for study. The research conducted by Fournier (1990; 1998), Castillo (2007) and Rodríguez Alegría (2005) to mention a few, based on ceramic samples recovered from archaeological excavations in the historical centre of Mexico City, demonstrate that their study is valuable to obtain insights to patterns of consumption and aspects related to ideology and everyday life during the Colonial period. Moreover, although most of the materials were recovered from these deposits, some of them were found in trash pits adjacent to domestic areas in the sites of La Encarnación and Capuchinas. It was possible to identify some ceramics with the inscriptions of the religious orders that inhabited those sites from where these were recovered *e.g.* the convents of La Encarnación and La Antigua Enseñanza, the Hospital of San Juan de Dios and the monastery of El Carmen. This suggests that although the materials were recovered from mixed archaeological deposits, they can be positively identified with the sites where they were consumed and later discarded.

Given these factors, four criteria were used to choose pottery collections for inclusion in this research. First, the sites were chosen that were located inside the former Spanish *traza*, today the historical centre of Mexico City, because during the colonial period this was the capital of New Spain and the area inhabited by members of the Hispanic elite (Cope 1994,10). A number of sites located outside the former Spanish *traza*, in modern Mexico City, were also added to this selection in order to have a balance of the samples that would allow comparisons between the material culture consumed by the social groups inhabiting inside the Spanish *traza* and those outside it, presumably Native

groups and castas (Cope 1994,16). Given this, collections recovered from the sites inside the Spanish *traza* might be expected to present some of the largest samples of maiolica, porcelain and *botijas* in comparison to other areas of Mexico City.

Furthermore, collections from sites located outside the Basin of Mexico that were historically associated with Spanish occupation were not available for the analysis in this thesis, and therefore only material from the capital could be considered.

The second major selection criterion used was the presence of maiolica in the samples. This is because in some cases, the maiolica in the collections had been analyzed and subsequently discarded. In other instances, the collections were recovered from excavations in areas outside the ancient *traza* that were not associated with Hispanic occupation, but possibly with Native or non-elite groups and did not have maiolica samples. A further important factor in the choice of assemblage was the existence of a full field report on the excavations for the selected collection. Whilst there were some assemblages containing very numerous maiolica groups, the absence of a field report would have made it impossible to explore the social context in which these were used, and relate ceramic groups to the context in which these were excavated. The final factor affecting sample choice was the receipt of official authorization to undertake research; whilst usually forthcoming this was not always the case. Once these criteria of selection were fulfilled, pottery collections from eight sites were selected: The National Palace; Capuchinas; Convent of La Antigua Enseñanza; Convent of La Encarnación; Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer; Juárez 70; Mina 32; and Convent of el Carmen. A total of 2,019 ceramic sherds were recorded and analyzed, primarily coming from maiolicas, Chinese porcelains and *botijas* of which a minimum number of 1,686 vessels were identified: 1,334 pertaining to maiolica vessels, 312 to Chinese porcelains and 40 *botijas*.

## **2.2 Data recording**

### *2.2.1 The database and variables recorded*

All collected data were included in Excel spreadsheets that consist of a number of variables under which every pottery sherd was uniformly recorded and classified. These variables corresponded site, context, (excavation unit, trench pit or feature), level or strata, pottery type or fabric, provenance (China, Spain, Italy or Mexico), period of manufacture, vessel form, vessel part (each element being represented by a numerical

code, e.g. rim=1, body=2, base= 3, handle=4 etc.); quantity, and 10) decorative scheme (plain, naturalistic, geometrical, anthropomorphic etc.).

An additional cell was created in the spreadsheet for the inclusion a general description of the decoration and comments on the manufacturing techniques visible on the maiolica and *botijas*. In the case of maiolica these observations included the presence of cockspur marks, the use of a high or low quality of tin glaze observable in the thickness and whiteness of the glazed surface, manufacturing defects (see Figure 2.1), spots and speckles of paint produced by the possible firing of different types of maiolica in the same kiln, and inscriptions found on maiolica surfaces such as the name of religious orders (Figure 2.2).

Potters' marks, or signatures, found on Mexican maiolica of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were also recorded (Figures 2.2.1.3-2.2.1.5) and identified using the established typologies of Goggin (1960) (Figure 2.2.16) and Cervantes (1939). This was done in order to identify the existence of different workshops and the variety of wares produced by these, a topic that has been overlooked in studies on maiolica workshops in Mexico (Goggin 1968, 206; Gómez Serafin and Fernández Dávila 2007; Lister and Lister 1974; 1984). Furthermore, the presence of potters' marks upon maiolica of this period is particularly significant, as they reflect changes that were taking place to the ordinances of the maiolica guild in Mexico. These emphasized the need to place potters' signatures on maiolica vessels in order to prevent forgeries, and forbade non-Christian Spaniards of a 'disturbed colour' from becoming pottery masters (Castro 1989, 35 and 106). Consequently the analysis of these marks will hopefully add information to the narrative of maiolica production in New Spain.



Figure 2.2.1.1 Plate with remains of another plate attached to rim. Juárez 70



Figure 2.2.1.2 Inscription on a maiolica plate. Carmelite religious order. Convent of El Carmen

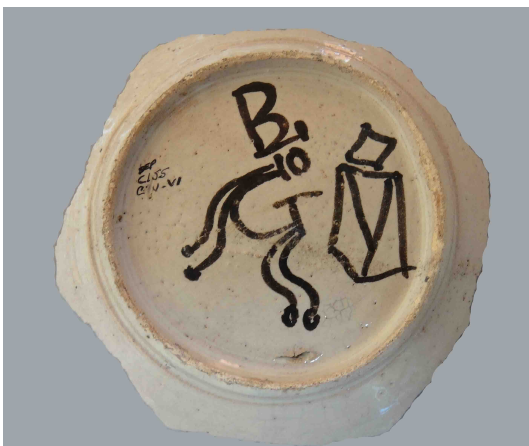


Figure 2.2.1.3. Example of a potter's signature in Mexican maiolica. Convent of La Antigua Enseñanza



Figure 2.2.1.4. Example of a potter's signature in Mexican maiolica. Convent of La Encarnación

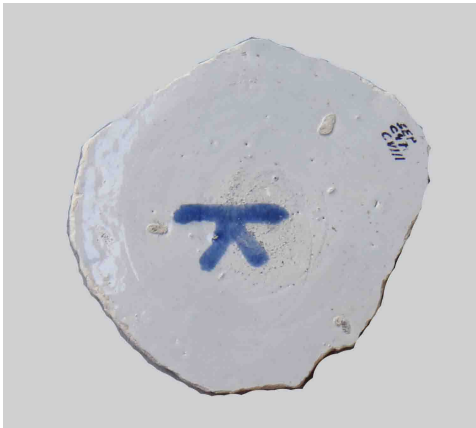


Figure 2.2.1.5. Example of a potter's signature in Mexican maiolica. Convent of La Encarnación

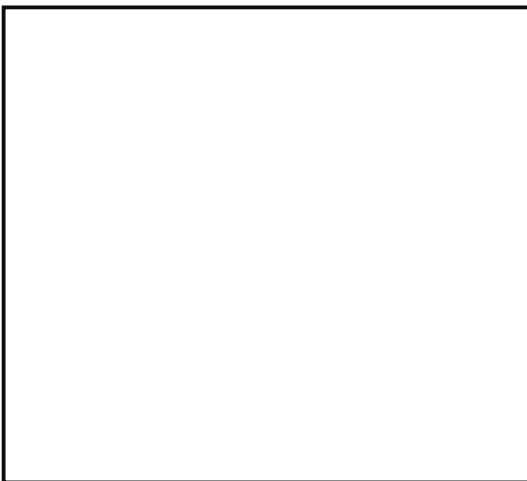


Figure 2.2.1.6. Potters' signatures in maiolica. Taken and modified from Goggin (1968)



### 2.2.2 Site, context, level and strata

The name of the site and context where the pottery was found was recorded, together with whether the material came from an excavation unit, trench, pit or a specific feature, and its metric level or location within a specific stratum. This information was processed and presented in the form of graphs to enable observation of the general spatial distribution of the pottery types within each site to be made, and to allow identification of any significant patterns that might inform the interpretation of the contexts in which the ceramic was found.

### 2.2.3 Pottery types




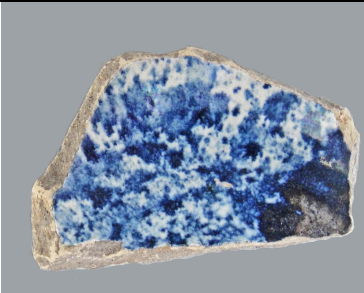
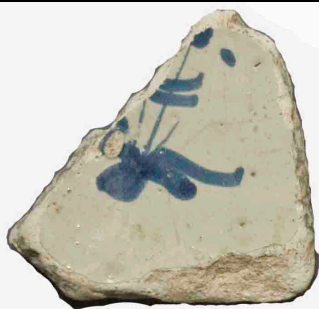

Each pottery sherd was first divided into the three broad groups: maiolica, Chinese porcelain and *botijas*. Once these groups had been defined, each fragment was subdivided according to a specific pottery type and fabric, with the assignment of pottery types following the standardized typology by Goggin (1968).<sup>11</sup> Goggin's work has placed pottery found in the New World within a now accepted spatial and chronological framework, and provides a definitive and comprehensively illustrated typological description of Spanish, Mexican and Italian maiolicas of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This typology has subsequently been developed by further work undertaken by the Florida Museum of Natural History (FLMNH. [http://www.flmnh.ufl.edu/histarch/gallery\\_types/type\\_list.asp](http://www.flmnh.ufl.edu/histarch/gallery_types/type_list.asp)), which has resulted in an online database for pottery identification of maiolica and Chinese porcelain. This resource provides pictures, descriptions of the pastes, vessel forms, chronological ranges of production, provenance or production origin, geographical distribution, and observations on the grade or quality of many Mexican maiolica types, whether fine or common, and an overview of the various decorative schemes employed. The utilization in this thesis of the typologies allowed a uniform approach to the identification of ceramic types and their names. However, the limitations of undertaking such an approach is acknowledged in that it does not allow to consider the variability within the

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<sup>11</sup> Training in the identification of pottery types of maiolica and Chinese porcelain was given by Dr. Patricia Fournier, Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and to whom I am very grateful. The inadequacies found in this work regarding the identification of ceramic types is my entire responsibility.

ceramic types regarding fabrics, vessel size and form and modes of decoration, their possible significance in terms of cultural identities and as the byproduct of different workshops.

The work by Fournier (1990) also has been used in this thesis as it is the standard guide for the identification of Chinese porcelain found in colonial contexts in Mexico City, mainly because it provides a chronological framework and a thorough description of porcelain types from the Ming and Qing dynasties, supplemented with drawings and images. Another secondary source by Kuwayama (1997), a study of Chinese porcelain found in Templo Mayor, Mexico City, has also aided identification of material in this thesis as it provides detailed descriptions and dates of manufacture of certain wares. Table 2.2.3.1-2.2.3.3 provides images of the standard Spanish, Italian and Mexican maiolica types and Table 2.3.1.4 Chinese porcelain identified in this research.

<i>Columbia Plain</i>	<i>Columbia Plain Gunmetal</i>	<i>Lusterware</i>
		
<i>Santa Elena Mottled</i>	<i>Santo Domingo Blue on White</i>	<i>Sevilla White</i>
		
<i>Yayal Blue on White</i>		


		
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Table 2.2.3.1 Examples of Spanish maiolicas identified in this thesis

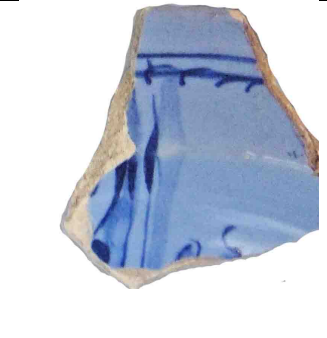
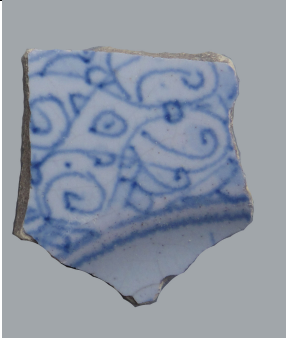


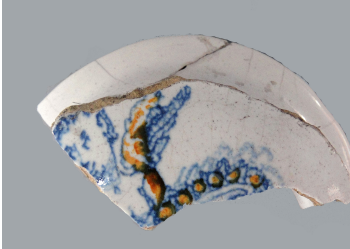


<i>Ligurian Blue on Blue</i>	<i>Ligurian Blue on White</i>	<i>Montelupo Polychrome</i>
		
<i>Montelupo Blue on White</i>	<i>Faenza Polychrome Compendiario</i>	<i>Faenza Polychrome Isoriato</i>
		

Table 2.2.3.2 Examples of Italian maiolicas identified in this thesis

<i>Abo Polychrome</i>	<i>Aranama Polychrome</i>	<i>Castillo Polychrome</i>
		
<i>Fig Springs Polychrome</i>	<i>Huejotzingo Blue on White</i>	<i>La Traza Polychrome</i>
		
<i>Mexico City Blue on Cream</i>	<i>Mexico City Green on Cream</i>	<i>Mexico City Polychrome</i>
		

		
<i>Mexico City White Variety 1</i>	<i>Mexico City White Variety 2</i>	<i>Playa Polychrome</i>
		
<i>Puebla Blue on White fine grade</i>	<i>Puebla Blue on White entrefino grade</i>	<i>Puebla Polychrome</i>
		
<i>Puebla White</i>	<i>Romita Plain</i>	<i>Romita Sgraffito</i>
		
<i>San Luis Blue on White</i>	<i>San Luis Polychrome</i>	<i>Santa Maria Polychrome</i>
		
<i>Tacuba Polychrome</i>	<i>Tlalpan White</i>	

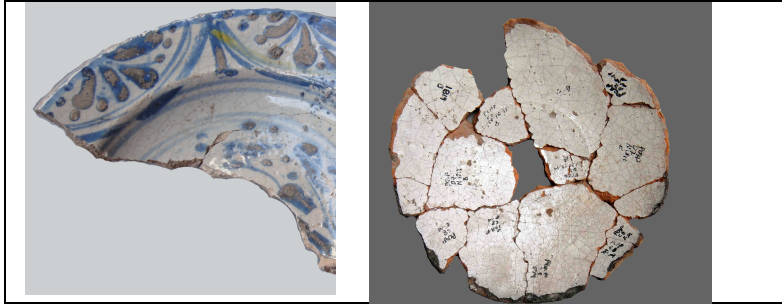


Table 2.2.3.3 Examples of Mexican maiolicas identified in this thesis








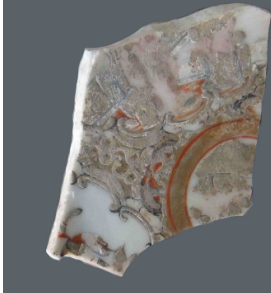

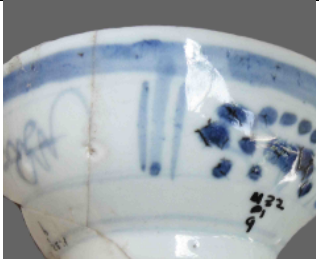

<i>Ming Blue on White</i>	<i>Kraak</i>	<i>Ming Polychrome Overglaze</i>
		
<i>Ch'Ing Blue on White</i>	<i>Ch'Ing Polychrome Overglaze</i>	<i>Dehua/ Blanc de Chine</i>
		
<i>Imari</i>	<i>Polychrome Chinese Export</i>	<i>Brown Glaze</i>
		
<i>Provincial</i>	<i>Tiger Skin</i>	
		

Table 2.2.3.4 Examples of Chinese porcelains identified in this thesis

*Botijas* have been classified using diagnostic attributes such as rims (Figure 2.2.3.5), handles bases and bodies, following the standardized typology by Goggin (1960). Three major groups can be identified depending on these diagnostic attributes: early, middle

and late styles. Within each style variation in vessel shapes can also be identified and classified separately.

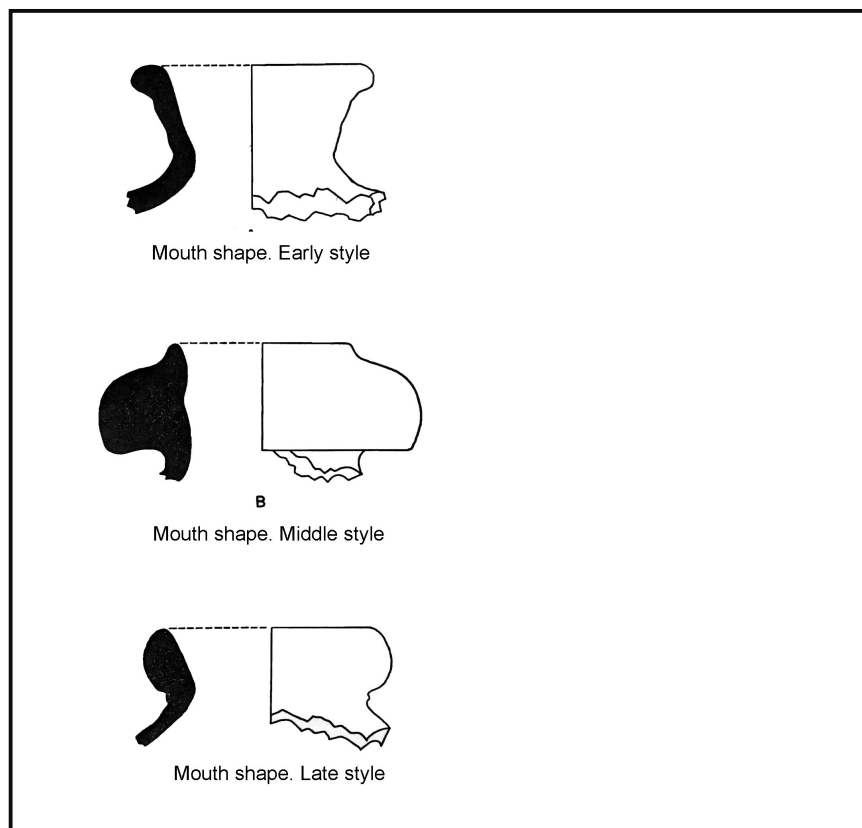


Figure 2.2.3.5 Shapes of *Botija* rims. Taken from Goggin (1960)

In addition to the initial identification of *Botija* style, other criteria were included such as macroscopic characterization of the fabrics (whether red or grey), and the presence or absence of slip and glaze, glaze colour (for example, green, yellow or blue) (Figure 2.2.3.6). Other general observations were also recorded such as variations in the colour of glaze related to the possible function of the *botija*, being either for wine, olive oil, capers, olives or honey, and a topic already discussed by Goggin (1960). Observable air bubbles, the shape and diameter of the mouth and body when semi-complete vessels were available, the approximate measure of capacity and the presence or absence of seals were also further variables recorded (Figure 2.2.3.7). The identification of seals follows the work by Goggin (1960) and Carruthers (2003).





Figure 2.2.3.6 Examples of glazed and unglazed *botijas*. The National Palace

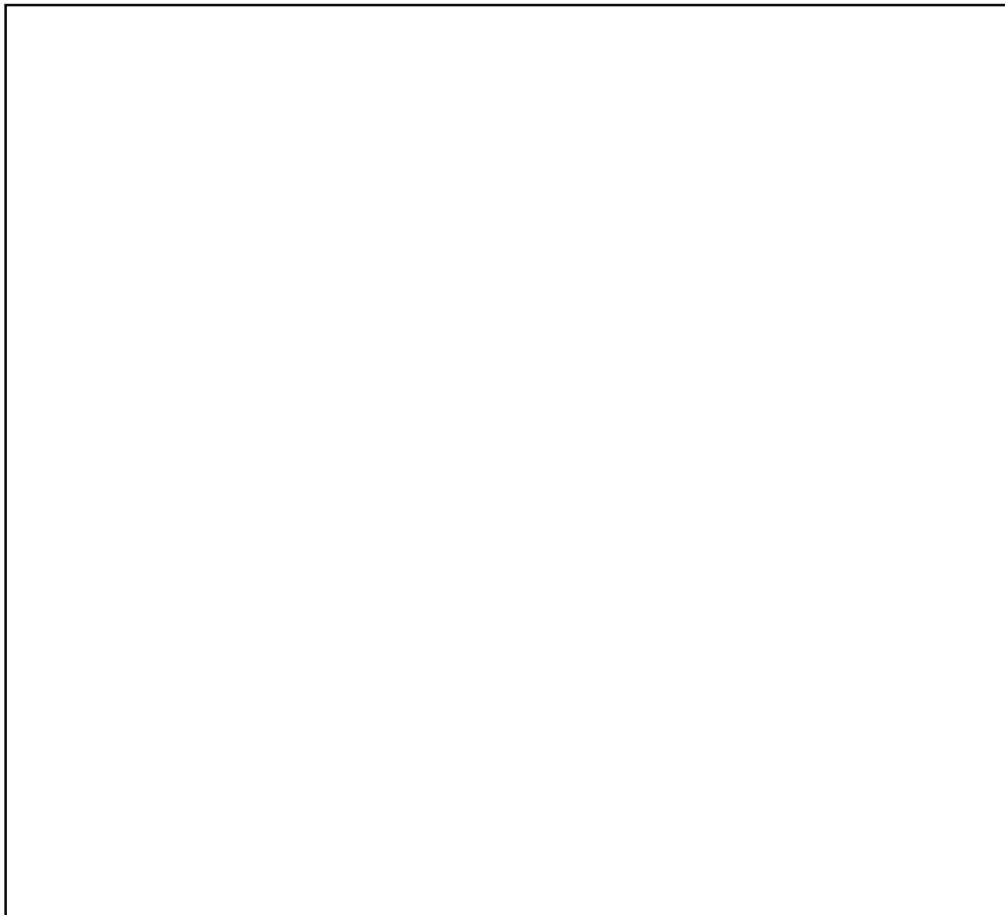


Figure 2.2.3.7 Examples of seals on *botijas*. Taken and modified from Goggin (1960)

#### 2.2.4 Provenance

The identification of the production centres for the ceramics analyzed in this research was based primarily on Goggin (1968), and the database of the Florida Museum of Natural History. Using these sources, it has been possible to identify all the maiolica as having been produced either in Spain, Italy or Mexico. The identification of more localised production centres has been traditionally done through the macroscopic characterization of the fabrics and decoration (Goggin 1968, 115-202), but in more recent years the use of Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) on most of the maiolica varieties produced in Mexico has refined the identification of production centres inside the country, for example to Mexico City, Puebla, Oaxaca and Michoacán in the particular case of the types Romita Plain and Romita Sgraffito (Fournier and Blackman 2008; Monroy and Fournier 2003).

The production centre of the types Romita Plain and Romita Sgraffito had been previously interpreted as Spain (Rodríguez Alegría *et al.* 2003, 68). However, the data obtained by the application of lead isotopic analysis to the glazes (Iñáñez *et al.* 2010), were consistent with the NAA results obtained by Fournier and Blackman (2008) that had identified Michoacán as its place of production. This is particularly interesting in terms of consumption patterns and blood purity because this pseudo maiolica was produced by Native groups inhabiting the west coast of Mexico that were accused by the Spaniards for producing this ‘white’ pottery (Fournier *et al.* 2009, 195-221), but nevertheless is found in sites with Hispanic occupation in Mexico City. Finally, *Botijas* can be identified as being Spanish in origin, based on the results obtained from the Neutron Activation Analysis done by Fournier and Blackman (2008) and Jamieson and Hancock (2004) on examples found in Mexico and in Ecuador respectively.

#### 2.2.5 Period of manufacture

The dating of the maiolica and Chinese porcelain is based on the work by Goggin (1968), which provides a comprehensive seriation of ceramics derived from surface surveys and stratigraphic excavations in Mexico and the Caribbean. Additional refinement of this dating can be found in the database of the Florida Museum of Natural History, and Fournier (1990). The date of manufacture for *botijas* was also based on the

work by Goggin (1960, 22-3) who constructed an initial seriation of *botijas* from stratigraphic excavations in Mexico, Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Trinidad and Florida. The broad periods of manufacture assigned to the various types of maiolica, Chinese porcelain and *botijas* encountered in this research are summarised in Table 2.2.

5.1.

<i>Type</i>	<i>Sub Type</i>	<i>Period of manufacture</i>
Spanish maiolica	Columbia Plain	1490-1650
	Columbia Plain Gunmetal	1490-1650
	Sevilla White	1530-1650
	Santo Domingo Blue on White	1550-1630
	Santa Elena Mottled	1500-1600
	Yayal Blue on White	1490-1625
	Italian maiolica	Ligurian Blue on Blue
Ligurian Blue on White		1550-1600
Montelupo Blue on White		1500-1550
Montelupo Polychrome		1500-1575
Faenza Polychrome Compendario		1550-1600
Faenza Polychrome Isoriato		1550-1600
Mexican maiolica		Romita White
	Romita Sgraffito	1500-1600
	Fig Springs Polychrome	1540-1650
	La Traza Polychrome	1500-1600
	San Luis Blue on White	1550-1650
	Tacuba Polychrome	1550-1600
	Tlalpan White	1550-1600
	Mexico City Green on Cream	1540-1675
	Mexico City Blue on Cream	1540-1650
	Mexico City White Variety 1	1540-1650
	Mexico City White Variety 2	1540-1650
	Mexico City Polychrome	1540-1775
	Puebla White	1650-1800
	Puebla Blue on White	1675-1800
	Playa Polychrome	1725-?
	Castillo Polychrome	1680-1710
	Puaray Polychrome	1675-1700
	Abo Polychrome	1650-1750
	Aranama Polychrome	1750-1800
	San Luis Polychrome	1650-1750
	Santa Maria Polychrome	1650-1760
	Puebla Polychrome	1650-1725
	Huejotzingo Blue on White	1700-1850
Chinese porcelain	Ming Blue on White	1550-1644
	Kraak	1550-1644
	Provincial	1600-1700
	Ming Polychrome Overglaze	1550-1644
	Ch Ing Blue on White	1644-1912
	Ch Ing Polychrome Overglaze	1700-1750
	Imari	1700-1780
	Dehua	1640-1750
	Brown Glazed porcelain	1700-1780
	Tiger skin	1661-1722
		Polychrome Chinese Export Famille Verte Famille Rose
<i>Botijas</i>	Early Style Botijas	1500-1560
	Middle Style Botijas	1560-1750/1800
	Late Style Botijas	ca. 1780-1850

Table 2.2.5.1 Periods of manufacture for maiolica, Chinese porcelain and *Botijas*

### 2.2.6 Vessel form

The identification of the range of maiolica and porcelain forms present in the chosen assemblages considered the most diagnostic surviving elements such as rims, bases, handles and lids. The classification of these forms in the thesis followed the standard typology for both maiolica and porcelain used in the database of the Florida Museum of Natural History (Figure 2.2.6.1), and Goggin (1968) for maiolica (Figure 2.2.6.2). The standard maiolica vessel shapes included plates, bowls, carinated bowls (*escudillas*) cups, handleless cups (*pocillos*), jugs, pitchers, candleholders, basins, inkwells, flower pots and *albarelli* or medicine jars. Those of Chinese porcelain comprised plates, large plates and bowls, rice bowls, cups, and small cups and tea bowls. Diagnostic parts were considered for drawing vessel profiles to observe the differentiation in vessel diameters and shapes and the changes and permanence of vessel forms through time.

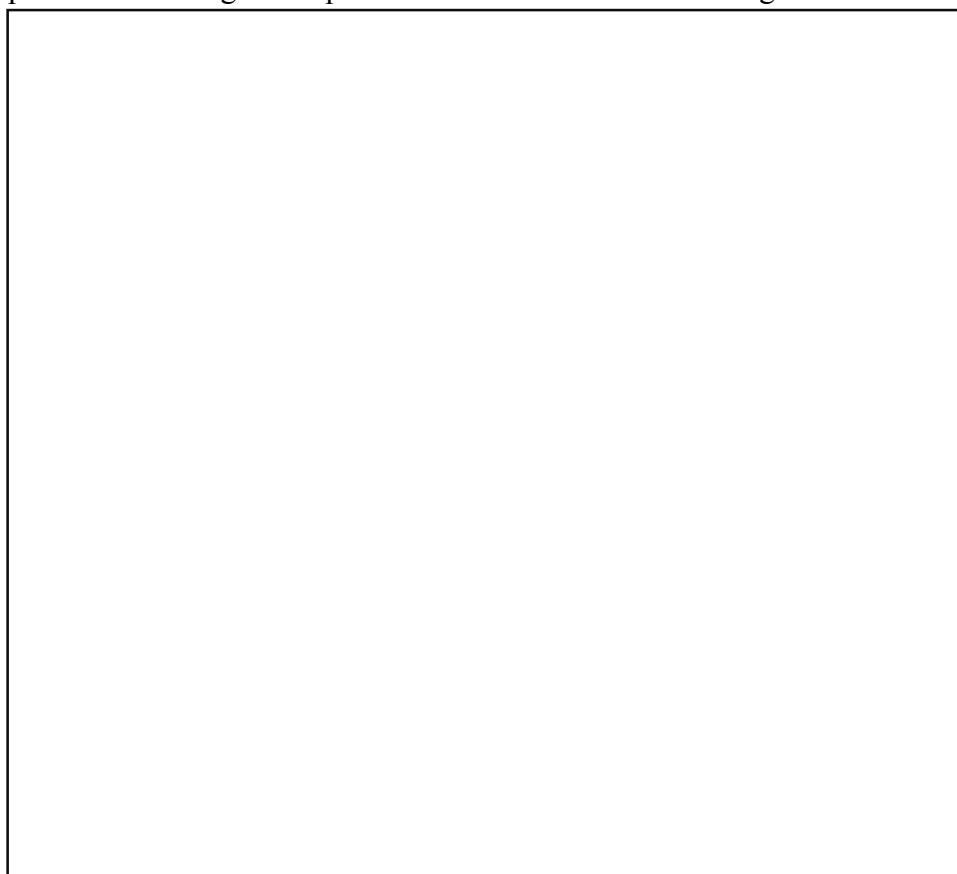


Figure 2.2.6.1 Vessel forms in both Maiolica and porcelain (Taken and modified from FLMNH).

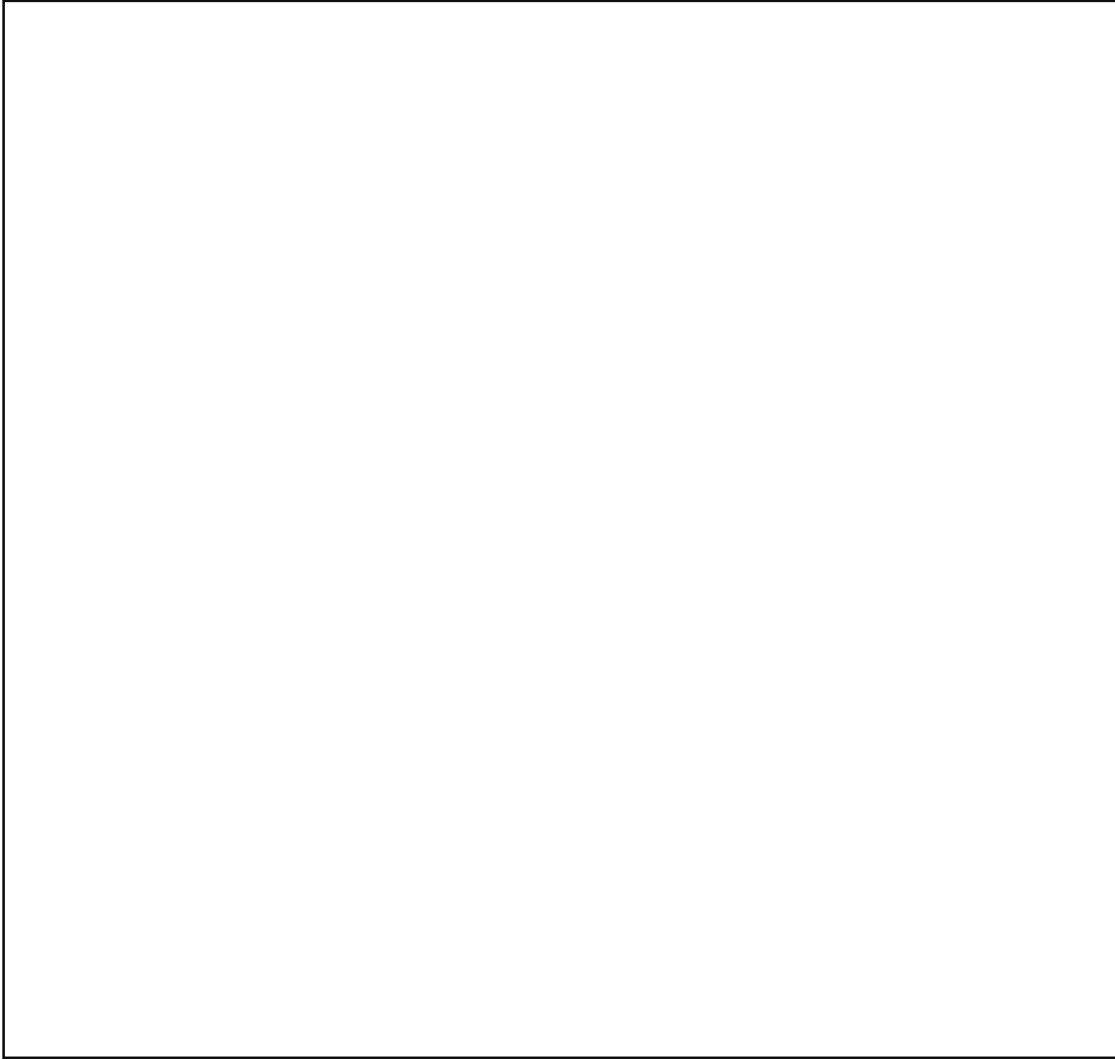


Figure 2.2.6.2 Vessel forms in Maiolica. Taken and modified from Goggin 1968.

The form of each *botija* followed the work by Goggin (1960). Within each style that is early, middle and late, there exists variation in the vessel forms which have identified as a, b, c and d (Figures 2.2.6.3-2.2.6.6).

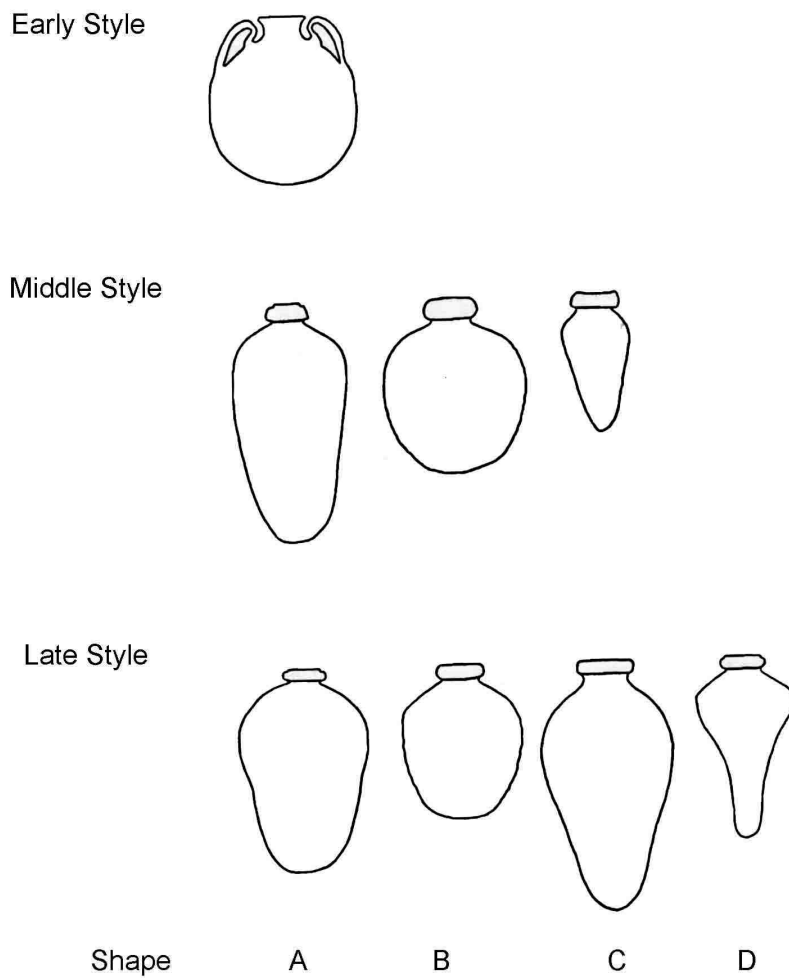


Figure 2.2.6.3 *Botijas*, Early, Middle and Late Styles. Shapes A, B, C and D. (Taken and modified from Goggin (1960))



Figure 2.2.6.4 Middle Style Botija. Shape A. Convent of La Encarnación



Figure 2.2.6.5 Middle Style *Botija*. Shape B. The National Palace



Figure 2.2.6.6 Middle Style *Botija*. Shape C. Convent of La Encarnación

A further important work for the study of *botijas* is by James (1988) who undertook an analysis of 600 vessels, most of which were in an excellent state of preservation, recovered from the 1724 wreck site of the galleons the *Conde de Tolosa* and the *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* in the Dominican Republic. This study is useful for this current research project because it included the microscopic characterization of the fabrics, as well as exploring the shapes, glazes and the high variation in the volume capacity of the vessels. Additionally historical data were used to suggest that the names given to the different *botijas* (*botija*, *botija media perulera*, *botija perulera*, *botijuela*) is a measure of the products they contained e.g. *botijas* for wine (5.6-6.5 litres), *botijas medias peruleras* (2-4 litres) and *botijas peruleras* for olive oil (5.8 litres) and *botijuelas* for honey (James 1988, 64). Finally, the analysis of organic residues found



inside the *botijas*, such as olive pips and tar, contributed to the assignation of differing functions to both the glazed and unglazed vessels. For example, James Jr. demonstrated that unglazed ones were used to transport olives, whilst glazed jars were used for olive oil, and it seems likely that the glaze served the purpose of preventing certain products, such as olive oil, from becoming rancid and making *botijas* reusable for transporting products from the New World back to Spain (James 1988, 60-2).

Further works on *botijas* used in this thesis include those that provide an overview of items traded between Spain and Indies (Mena García 2004; Sánchez 1993), the nature of comestible products they contained (García Fuentes 1980; Ojeda Pérez 2007), the measures and function of the *botijas* (Zunzunegui 1995), and insights into the variations found between the vessels, explained in terms of the existence of different pottery workshops (De Amores Carredano and Chisvert Jiménez 1993).

#### 2.2.7 *Quantification*

After initial sorting first by type and then by form, the ceramics were consistently quantified in order to obtain a general overview of the nature and size of the sample within each site and context. This followed standard procedures of pottery classification and quantification in Mexico. After the identification of contiguous sherds, or pieces that could be positively demonstrated to be from the same vessel due to the decorative or other elements present, a second sorting was undertaken. Every diagnostic vessel part (such as rims, handles, bases and lids) within each pottery sub type was used to identify individual vessels, in order that a minimum vessels count (MVC) could be made following methodologies outlined in Orton *et al.* (1993, 192-193). Body sherds were also considered as diagnostic pieces, and therefore included in the MVC, when there was just one fragment of a type within a context.

#### 2.2.8 *Decoration*

Previous studies on the decoration of maiolica from the New World have tended to classify it according to differing ‘ceramic complexes’ and ‘ceramic traditions’ (Goggin 1968; Lister and Lister 1974). ‘Ceramic complexes’ are broad classificatory categories

that group maiolica types that share similar diagnostic criteria such as paste, vessel form and decoration into a chronological framework and geographical regions. The identification of these stylistic attributes on maiolica has resulted in ten ceramic complexes (A-J) (Goggin 1968, 203), and four geographical regions (Lister and Lister 1974). ‘Ceramic traditions’ are also classificatory units based upon decoration, but include more detailed descriptions than the more general ones found in the ceramic complexes. Furthermore, the concept of ceramic traditions aims to observe the development of decorative styles through time and look at historical relationships between pottery types. Based on this, four ceramic traditions were identified and correspond to: medieval, Chinese-popular, Italian-Talaveran and Puebla (Goggin 1968, 206-7).

Although the concept of ‘ceramic complexes’ is limited in its ability to explore the adoption of particular styles and the development of local decorative schemes, as these are largely explained in terms of external influences, these are nevertheless useful in the identification of broad stylistic trends within maiolica types. Also, they served the purpose of placing the decorative schemes within a general spatial and chronological framework, and thus provide a basis for further enquires on the meaning of the adoption of particular styles in maiolica from New Spain in terms of the construction of cultural identities, as demonstrated below.

#### 1) Ceramic Complexes

*Complex A.*- This ceramic complex comprises Spanish maiolica with medieval vessel shapes that are decorated with bold blue lines as observed in the types Santo Domingo Blue on White and Yayal Blue on White.

*Complex B.*- This ceramic complex is represented by *albarelli* of the type known as Caparra Blue.

*Complex C.* - The decorative style within this complex is characterized by the use of a blue over white palette that appears as a band on the rim, stripes, dashes and arcades, and as a central medallion on the vessel bottom. The type Ichuktnee Blue on White is a typical example of this complex.

*Complex D.*- This is constituted by the Mexican maiolica type Fig Springs Polychrome, decorated with designs in blue, orange and yellow placed at the bottom of bowls and plates.

*Complex E.*- This style incorporates the use of a central medallion on the bottom of vessels and a decorative band on the rim. The types San Luis Blue on White and San Luis Polychrome are the best examples of this ceramic complex.

*Complex F.*- The maiolica classified under this Complex is characterized by the use of a central medallion and brim bands painted in blue, share decorative similarities with those in Complex G that comprises the single type Abo Polychrome. This can be identified by the use of a polychrome palette and the incorporation of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic motifs.

*Complex G.*- This style is related to that found in Complex H, which comprises a blue on white decoration and the use of black lines to highlight the geometric motifs as in the Puebla Polychrome. However, this complex differs from Complex G in its decorative style that is reminiscent of an earlier Moorish decorative tradition.

*Complex I.*- The maiolica classified under this Complex comprises a decorative style of motifs such as loops and zoomorphic figures painted in rich blue and outlined with black lines known as *chinoiserie*, inspired by Chinese porcelain. The maiolica types of Puaray Polychrome, Castillo Polychrome and San Agustin Polychrome best exemplify this style.

*Complex J.*- This style derived from that one found in Complex I. It is characterized by the use of blue on white decoration and a high quality in the execution of the motifs which include pendant lobes, designs and bands over the rim. This style is commonly found in the types Puebla Blue on White and Huejotzingo Blue on White (Goggin 1968, 203-6).

Additional works have categorized the decorative schemes of maiolica from the New World within ceramic complexes that are found in distinct geographical areas e.g.

Caribbean, Andean, Panamean and Mexican (Lister and Lister 1974). The Mexican complex is characterized by a decoration that emulates Spanish-Portuguese, Italian and Eastern ceramics, which developed in a unique regional style (Lister and Lister 1974, 27-9).

### *1) Spanish-Portuguese style*

Potters in Mexico produced tableware familiar to the one used by the Spaniards in the Iberian Peninsula, and conforming to their decorative taste. Since the sixteenth century the use of floral, figural and geometric motifs in green and blue, common to Spanish and Portuguese maiolica, were incorporated into Mexican examples. This can be observed in the type known as Puebla Polychrome, decorated with a lace pattern, a motif that was regulated by the potters' guild and prescribed the use of blue for the background and black to paint the web lines (Lister and Lister 1974, 23-7).

### *2) Italianate style*

This style was diffused to Mexico through Italian potters and merchants allocated in Seville (Ray 1990, 343) and through Genoese potters that immigrated to the city of Puebla in Mexico. Hispanic potters in New Spain adapted these external influences to the production of maiolica and seldom innovated, according to Lister and Lister (1976). These incorporated the use of central medallions on the interior surfaces of bowls and plates, motifs over the rims and overlapping arches on the exterior surfaces painted in blue with occasional touches of yellow and orange. This style can be observed in the type Abo Polychrome decorated in blue, yellow, green and orange to fill a central figure delineated in black. The decorative pattern was also regulated by the guild's ordinances (Lister and Lister 1974, 27-8).

### *3) Eastern Style*

During the eighteenth century, the arrival of large quantities of Chinese porcelain to New Spain resulted in the adoption of a blue on white decoration on Mexican maiolica and an improvement in its quality so that it could compete with Eastern imports. The

adoption of Chinese decorative schemes in Mexican maiolica could be the result of the possible arrival of Asian groups to New Spain, whom might have been incorporated into maiolica workshops during that same century (Lister and Lister 1974, 29).

The emulation of Chinese decorative schemes is observed in the use of two tones of blue over an oyster white background to paint pending lobes or petals, bands and a central figure in the types Puebla Blue on White and Castillo Polychrome, and the representation of a long-legged crane in the type San Elizario Polychrome. Throughout the eighteenth century, Bourbon courtiers favoured the use of maiolica flatware decorated in a baroque style that combined *chinoiserie* and Moresque patterns such as flowers, guilloche and oriental landscapes. Blue was the favoured colour to decorate fine grade maiolica as it was probably associated with the pottery used in European and Chinese courts. Guild ordinances from New Spain confined the use of green to common grade maiolica due to its possible association with old decorative styles since this colour had been in use in Spain since the Cordovan Caliphate (Lister and Lister 1974, 33-5). This is particularly useful to the approach on decoration in this research as it can be used to explore aspects related with consumption and perception of taste among Hispanic consumers and its relationship with blood purity.

## 2) Ceramic traditions

1) *Medieval tradition*- this tradition is identifiable by the use of Moresque decorative styles and the occurrence of vessels with thick walls and concave bottom. It can be traced back to 1493 and continued in use until the seventeenth century in the New World. It comprises Spanish maiolica types like Columbia Plain, Santo Domingo Blue on White and Yayal Blue on White (Goggin 1968, 207-8).

2) *Chinese-popular tradition*- this tradition derived from the medieval one but differs from the former in the use of vessel forms and decorative motifs inspired by Chinese porcelain such as a central basal medallion and a rim band. This tradition can be traced back to 1550 in Spain and was adopted in Mexico during the seventeenth century. The Mexican maiolica types like San Luis Blue on White and San Luis Polychrome best exemplify it (Goggin 1968, 208).

3) *Italian-Talavera tradition*- this tradition originated towards the end of the seventeenth century in Spain and was adopted by Mexican potters around that same period. It corresponds to a unique decorative scheme that derived from Flemish and Italian engravings and tile painting. The decoration comprises polychrome designs in yellow, orange, blue, purple and green of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures that appear as a central motif surrounded by naturalistic representations of stems, flowers and leaves. This tradition can be best observed in the maiolica types of Abo Polychrome and Aranama Polychrome.

4) *Puebla tradition*- stands for a new decorative scheme inspired by Spanish and Chinese pottery observable in the combination of European and Chinese scenes as in the eighteenth century Puebla Blue on White (Goggin 1968, 208-10).

This thesis undertakes a different approach to the analysis of the decoration on maiolica, moving beyond explanatory models that are based purely upon concepts of cultural diffusion. The new approach adopted here aims to understand *why* a particular decoration was adopted and *how* was it used by social groups in New Spain as a medium to communicate and negotiate their identities in the colonial context. This methodology is based on the identification of decorative schemes in relationship with the vessel forms in which these were depicted, and their use in the context of dining. By categorising and considering the schemes employed in the decoration of Mexican maiolica vessels in their own right, and through the exploration of the possible meanings that these conveyed to their consumers, this study is able to make important and innovative observations concerning both the development of decorative motifs chronologically and the role that they played in the construction of cultural identities.

The decorative designs in Chinese porcelain were classified in the same way as those found in maiolica. The most common decorative motifs found in the analyzed samples of Wan Li porcelain include: couples of ducks that were related to marital happiness, deer that symbolize fertility, horses that represent perseverance, and dragons that symbolize the Emperor. Religious imagery from Buddhism is also found such as the Fo dog, the guardian of Buda (Junco and Fournier 2008). Other decorative motifs found in Ming and Qing porcelains include the cherry tree which symbolizes endurance and hope, the pagoda associated with protection of the environs, the mountains as a symbol

of imperial authority, the sacred fungus which was considered a symbol of immortality and the lotus flower that represented purity, longevity, nobility and believed to possess healing properties (Bjaal and Welch 2010).

With the exception of the porcelain type known as Chinese Polychrome Export that was painted by Chinese artists especially for European consumers (Lewis 1978 cited in Leath 1999, 50), the Chinese porcelain imported to New Spain was decorated in the same fashion as that intended for Chinese consumers. Therefore, *irrespective* of whether the pottery was the same as that intended for the domestic Chinese market, it is difficult to know how differently the consumers of New Spain would have interpreted the decorative motifs. Therefore, rather than approaching the symbolism of Chinese imagery in depth, the analysis considered a general overview on the figurative language and as a broad decorative scheme. This was done to infer some aspects of the aesthetic language of the period, the attitudes exercised by consumers in New Spain towards Eastern objects and how might decorative schemes inform about consumption and perceptions of taste and the construction of life-styles (Bourdieu 2008; Gaimster 1999; Porter 2002). Also, the context in which these objects were used and how were they used by the consumers, as symbols of outward display and for the construction of cultural identities was considered.

The decorative motifs found on both maiolica and Chinese porcelain were classified in the database under four general categories. The first were ‘naturalistic’ designs. This category refers to both zoomorphic motifs, such as deer, lion, hare and bird (Figure 2.2.8.1), and phytomorphic ones that comprise fronds, lobes and floral and landscape scenes (Figure 2.2.8.2). These were classified under the same category because the zoomorphic figures often appear together with floral representations and in Chinese porcelain these are depicted in landscape scenes. The second category was anthropomorphic in nature and included representations of male and female characters (Figure 2.2.8.3). The third category comprised religious representations such as cherubs and angels. The final category of decorative schemes consists of abstract or geometric motifs such as circles, bands, lines, cobweb and lace like designs (Figure 2.2.8.4).

The four decorative categories were represented by numerical values in the database, and each quantified by minimum number in order to obtain relative proportions of

decorative motifs on each pottery type and in the overall collection. This has allowed comparisons to be made between the eight assemblages studied in the thesis, enabling the identification of site-specific patterns of preference for particular colours and motifs, the noting of changes in decorative fashions over time, and an exploration of the possible meanings behind these variations to be suggested.

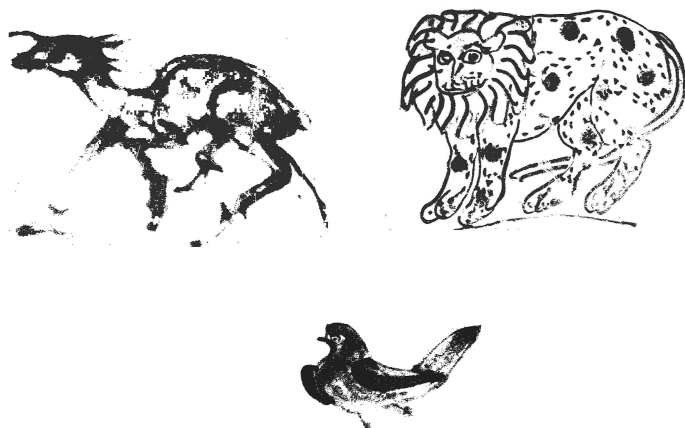


Figure 2.2.8.1 Zoomorphic motifs in Kraak porcelain and Mexican maiolica



Figure 2.2.8.2 Fronds. Puebla Blue on Chinese porcelain and Mexican maiolica



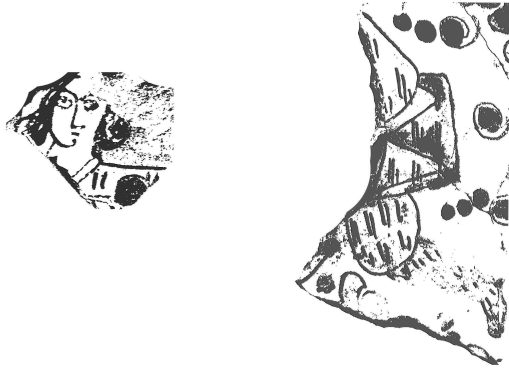


Figure 2.2.8.3 Anthropomorphic motifs

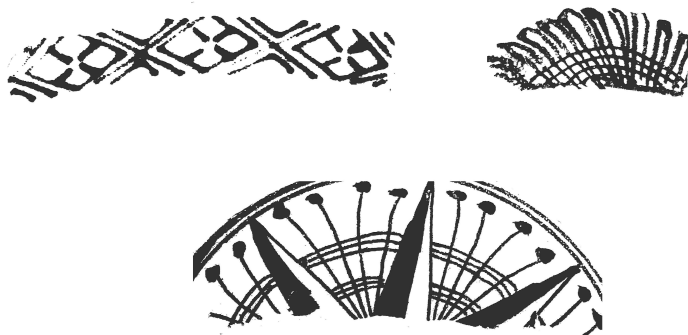


Figure 2.2.8.4 Geometric motifs

The analysis of decoration comprised two phases. The first aimed to understand the significance of the adoption of styles in local maiolica by potters in New Spain in terms of the construction of cultural identities. The second phase looked at the meaning attached to decorative motifs in their context of use as tableware, and the extent to which these can inform on the identities of local consumers and on blood purity.

This method finds some similarities with the one proposed by Morrall (2009) employed in the analysis of material culture from sixteenth-century northern Europe that included ceramic vessels, metalwork, glass and stove tiles, amongst others. Ornament is considered as a language used by contemporary users to express cultural identities and looks at the adoption of Italianate designs in architecture, engravings, literature, sculpture and calligraphy and how was this style used by members of the new bourgeoisie to express their social position and identities. Furthermore, it considers

ornament as a metaphor used by contemporary society to articulate the social and ethical values on persons and institutions. It examines at how the images and designs that conveyed information on virtue and morality functioned as a constant reminder for the users of these ideals (Morrall 2009, 47-61).

The methodological approach proposed in this research differs from that by Morrall because the analysis focuses on excavated material culture in the form of tableware. It looks at different sources of evidence such as potter's marks and guild ordinances. It explores the uses of decoration in relation to the function of objects in their context of use, namely dining. While this method of analysis considers the decorative dimension as a language utilized by contemporary society to express their cultural identities, it is the relation between the decorative motifs and the objects in the context of dining that is meaningful. By relating the decoration to broader perceptions on morality, the body, food and blood purity, richer insights into the ways in which people used decorated objects to construct their identities might be gained.

The first phase of the analysis examines the meaning of the adoption of Chinese, Italianate, Moresque and Spanish styles in maiolica and considers the ways in which these decorative schemes operated in society in terms of the attitudes exercised by the potters and the consumers in terms of *habitus* and taste (Bourdieu 2008), who used them as a medium to express their social position and cultural identities based on blood purity. This phase of the analysis was done through the identification of broad decorative schemes within each maiolica type and their possible correlation with the ones found in imported maiolica and Chinese porcelain. The analysis considered the decorative schemes in relation to the potters' signatures on maiolica vessels and the ornamentation programmes of maiolica that can be inferred through the ordinances of the maiolica guild (Cervantes 1939).

The second phase of the analysis considered the decorative motifs as a language that was used by the consumers to express contemporary perceptions on purity, wealth, nobility and morality. The designs embodied these ideals and these along with the object enabled the users to actively engage with the world and embody their identities (Tilley 2006, 60-61). The decorative motifs and the meanings attached to them were considered within the historical context of their production and use as tableware. By

considering the relationship between object and subject and the decoration within the context where these were used, that is dining, insights to the construction of ethnic identities might be approached. Additional insights to the ornamental programmes that operated in the colonial period in Mexico and their possible relationship with the doctrine of blood purity have been inferred from primary (De Nola 1529; Hernández de Maceras 1607; Martínez Montañón 1611), and secondary historical sources on ceramics, dining and colonial society (Albala 2007; Casanovas 2003; Muriel 1993; Pierce 2003). To observe the relationships between decoration and objects, and their chronological change the following data were recorded:

<i>Period of manufacture</i>	<i>Pottery type</i>	<i>Vessel form</i>	<i>Decoration</i>

The consideration of decoration in relation to tableware is fundamental to understand the construction of blood purity and cultural identities because the ideas on wealth, virtue, honour and nobility were closely linked to the realm of dining. The images might have functioned as a constant reminder of the virtues that elite members sought to achieve in relation to food, as an expression of an untainted lineage (see section 2.3). The use of images and analogies between decorative motifs and moral principles and ideals can be inferred through contemporary civility manuals written by De Santa María (1615) and Palmireno (1573) and Geigher (1639), and also physiognomic treatises like those by Savonarola (1515), Lobera de Ávila (1542), and De Sorapán (1616). Literary examples from the Baroque period namely by De Cervantes Saavedra (1802) and De Carbajal y Saavedra (1728) were also considered as these stand as exemplary novels that portray the idealized behaviour and attitude of contemporary society. Finally, the work by Ruíz Somavilla (2002) was included as it is a historical work that focuses on beliefs held by contemporary society on the human body and hygiene and how did these intertwined with dining during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Spain.

The lack of decorative motifs in plain maiolica does not diminish the potential that these ceramics have to imply certain aspects of the consumers in relation to the doctrine. These decorative scheme remained a constant among the consumers in New Spain since the sixteenth century as evidenced by the types Columbia Plain, Columbia Plain

Gunmetal, Mexico City White Varieties 1 and 2, Tlalpan White and Puebla White alongside the appearance of highly decorated ceramics. In the particular case of Columbia Plain Gunmetal, its surfaces have been decorated with a grey glaze that resembles the colour of pewter vessels. The type Columbia Plain presents variations in the colour of the tin glaze used to decorate its surfaces that ranges from white to green in a Moresque fashion as has been observed by Boone (1984, 85) in sixteenth-century maiolica from the Portuguese site Qsar el-Seghir and the New World.

The analysis of plain maiolica considered the colour of the tin glaze as significant in terms of the maintenance and change of decorative schemes and the quality of the vessels e.g. the white and uniformly applied glaze in fine grade Mexico City White Variety 1 differs from the yellowish and thin glaze of the common grade maiolica like Mexico City White Variety 2 and Tlalpan White. These variations are also expressed in the different vessel forms found in each maiolica type. For example, eighteenth-century Puebla White comprises small cups, bowls and *albarelli* (Lister and Lister 1976, 30), which differ to the vessel forms found in earlier periods. The occurrence of the glaze in relation to vessel forms might inform on broader aspects on the function of vessels and the possible meanings of stylistic change and permanence in terms of the construction of cultural identities.

### *Summary*

This first section provided with an overview of the criteria employed in the collection of data and a consideration of the biases that might affect the interpretation of the materials. The second section approached the methodology employed for data recording of ceramic variables and the construction of a database that could allow the analysis of decorated and undecorated maiolica, and Chinese porcelain. The third section of this chapter, 2.3, will outline the methods employed to infer patterns of consumption and dining that helped to understand how was the material culture used by the different social groups inhabiting New Spain to express their attitudes on blood purity. Finally, an analysis of *casta* paintings was proposed to explore the different attitudes exercised by the members of colonial society towards maiolica and the possible meanings in terms of the construction of their cultural identities.

## 2.3 Material culture and the doctrine of blood purity

This section explores the interpretive methods employed in the analysis of the data sets so that the material culture can be interrogated to answer the central research question; to what extent can maiolica be used to understand the construction of the ideology of blood purity in New Spain. The first part of the analysis, section 2.3.1, provides a characterisation of the patterns of consumption from the identifiable social groups on a site-site-basis by considering the quantity and quality of ceramic types and vessel forms represented in each assemblage. This then enables inter-site comparisons to be drawn. Section 2.3.2 presents the methodology employed to analyze the material culture in the broader context of dining. Possible meanings attached to foodstuffs, the identification of vessel forms with specialized functions, and the uses that consumers gave to the objects and meals all provide insights to contemporary attitudes towards blood purity. The final section of this chapter, 2.3.3 pays particular attention to the role of maiolica and its relationship to the construction of cultural identities as can be specifically observed in the *casta* paintings, a unique artistic form for the region (see Chapter 2 Section 2.3.3).

### 2.3.1. Establishing patterns of consumption

The first part of the analysis has assigned each data set to one of three broad categories that correspond to the role that each site had during the colonial period: royal, religious, and domestic. This has been done because it might be expected that, depending on the function of the sites and their spatial location inside or outside the Spanish *traza*, each identifiable social group would have utilized material culture in different ways to express their attitudes on blood purity, social status and cultural identity, whether these be the courtiers from the vice royal palace or the nuns from the convent of La Antigua Enseñanza. The three variables considered to investigate differences in patterns of consumption were: quantity of different ceramic wares and types, differentiation between vessel forms, and variations in quality of the different wares on a site-by-site basis, the results of these quantifications serving to draw inter-site comparisons.

This methodology follows a similar approach by Rodríguez Alegría (2005), which was applied to the analysis consumption patterns of tableware from eight sites located in the former *traza* of Mexico City, and presents the results from the ceramic analysis from

three of these sites. The study by Rodríguez Alegría aimed to re-examine the relationship between material culture and an ideology of Spanish domination in sixteenth-century Mexico. The basic assumption taken by Rodríguez Alegría was that a monolithic ideology of domination that prescribed cultural separatism between Spaniards and natives was not present in New Spain. If indeed such a unified ideology existed, then European families would have rejected the consumption of Native pottery, namely Red Ware and consumed maiolica and Chinese porcelain tableware for their strategies of display of wealth. Rodríguez Alegría expected to see a higher quantity of expensive imported and fine grade ceramics than those of Red Ware in the archaeological samples in wealthy sites associated with European occupation. This pattern was anticipated to contrast with that seen on poorer sites, which were expected to use large percentages of Native ceramics, common-grade maiolica and few or no imports (Rodríguez Alegría 2005, 36-9).

However, the results obtained from the analysis by Rodríguez Alegría (2005, 46-7), suggest that Spanish groups actually incorporated Native wares into their daily lives. Therefore, the patterns of consumption of material culture based on quantity and quality of expensive wares like maiolica and Chinese porcelain could not be used exclusively on their own to define wealth, social class and ethnicity. Moreover, he demonstrated that it was unrealistic to infer social status and wealth from the analysis of material assemblages as many factors other than wealth affected the use and display of ceramics in sixteenth-century Mexico. This evidence for the consumption of Native wares, namely Red Ware, alongside maiolica and Chinese porcelain on sites with Spanish occupation suggests that a single ideology of domination that prescribed a cultural separatism between European and Nahua<sup>12</sup> Native groups cannot be identified from the analysis of material culture alone, but rather different ideologies and strategies of display coexisted in colonial Mexico.

Rodríguez Alegría's interpretation of the data that an ideology of domination did not operate in colonial Mexico, based on the ubiquitous presence of Red Wares (Figure 2.3.1) across all sites, is not viable because the Native ware that he considered in his study was also a symbol of social status amongst Spanish groups during the colonial

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<sup>12</sup> Speaker of *Náhuatl*. Native group from the Basin of Mexico

period. The historical sources regarding the manufacture of Colonial Red Ware is scarce according to specialists working these ceramics (Charlton and Fournier 1995). However, it was probably a continuing ceramic tradition that derived from the Aztec one that utilized Native technologies that included the same fabric and the use of moulds (as opposed to maiolica for which the wheel was used in its manufacture). It is probable that these technologies and ceramics continued until the eighteenth century, and probably even until the twentieth. Also, it is probable that this ceramic tradition remained in the hands of Native potters known as *olleros* during the Colonial period, and women were also involved in their manufacture. Common vessel shapes found in Red Ware correspond to bowls or *cajetes* and tripod bowls or *molcajetes* with moulded supports in the shape of eagles, bowls with pedestal bases and pitchers amongst others (Charlton, Fournier and Cervantes 1995, 139-142). These, and other vessel shapes can be observed in the *Codex of the Potters of Cuauhtitlan*, compiled by R. H. Barlow<sup>13</sup> (see Charlton, Fournier and Cervantes 1995; Fournier 1997; Hernández 2012) (Figure 2.3.1.2).

Although Red Ware was a ceramic that was manufactured locally, probably in the town of Cuauhtitlán since the sixteenth century, and primarily consumed by Native elites during the pre-Hispanic and Colonial periods. During the early colonial period Peninsular Spaniards in Mexico adopted it. They adapted the vessel forms and decoration of Red Ware according to a European taste. The incorporation of decorative and technological innovations during the Colonial period is observed in the use of seals, polishing, painted motifs, incrustations and moulded supports. These differ from the technologies utilized in pre-Hispanic ceramics (Charlton, Fournier and Cervantes 1995, 139; 142-143; 148). Red Ware is found outside the Basin of Mexico on sites associated with European groups alongside maiolica and other expensive ceramics like Chinese porcelain (Fournier 1997, 134), as well as being found widely in convents and sites inside the Spanish *traza* (Charlton, Fournier and Cervantes 1995, 149; Hernández 2012, 101, 119). This ceramic style is a remainder of the burnished *terra sigillata* from the Roman period in Spain, which was used primarily in domestic contexts, and the Spaniards in New Spain might have readily identified this kind of ware that was so

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<sup>13</sup> See Barlow, R. H. 1951. "El Códice de los Alfareros de Cuauhtitlán" in *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos*, vol. XII. Published in Mexico by Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología.

familiar to that used in Spain. Such redwares, although having classical origins in the Iberian Peninsula, were produced throughout the early modern period and indeed are still manufactured in present-day Extremadura, the hometown of Mexico's conqueror Hernán Cortés (Fournier 1997, 134).



Figure 2.3.1.1 Colonial Red Ware. Convent of La Antigua Enseñanza

So far from being symbolic of the Native populous, Red Wares rapidly became a symbol of social status and were highly valued among Spanish groups in New Spain, whom developed a more lustrous appearance of the vessels' surfaces than in their pre-Hispanic precedents. European decorative schemes were introduced including floral and zoomorphic representations that substituted the rather linear and geometric patterns that were popular during the Late Aztec period, and were depicted in graphite colour instead of black, which was 'widely' utilized during the pre-Hispanic period. New vessel forms introduced in this kind of ware included plates, large dishes cups and jars, teapots, and sugar bowls in the same form as maiolica, all forms not produced during the pre-Hispanic period and intended for both serving and for individual consumption.

Alongside maiolica, the traditional ceramic amongst Spaniards in Mexico, Red Ware also became a fine serving ware during the colonial period. Some vessel functions were modified as in the *molcaxetes*, (tripod shallow plates), which during pre-Hispanic times were used for grinding sauces and in the colonial period were adapted to contain the precious cacao. Other interesting colonial forms include the Islamic inspired *alcarrzas* (bottles with a long neck, lid and lateral handles), that were used to keep water fresh, goblets, *tinajas* or receptacles, pitchers, small pitchers, jugs with handle, lid and a ring base, reniform jugs with the modelled face of a bearded man, (possibly representing a



Spaniard) and jars with the shape of a black male's head known as '*negritos*' (Hernández 2012, 105; 113-15; 124; 130-44) (Figure 2.3.1.2 See 't' and 'u'). By 1566, in Cuauhtitlán, Mexico, *alcarrazas* or vases and jars, were manufactured to commemorate the birth of Hernán Cortes' grandson. The ornamentation of its surfaces depicted the letter 'R' with a Crown to mean 'thy will rule' (Fournier 1997, 134). Spanish land tenants, such as Alonso de Avila, are recorded as celebrating important feast with dinners served in Red Ware tableware, *alcarrazas* and jars from Cuauhtitlán (Hernández 2012,102).

The utilization of these domestic vessels and especially those depicting individuals of African ancestry and Spaniards as tableware, suggests that an ideology of domination did operate in everyday practices such as dining. Through the lavish display of Red Ware along with maiolica and Chinese porcelain, Spanish groups re-enacted the colonial discourse. Through the use of these objects in the table, individuals expressed their cultural identities by establishing the unequal relationships between colonized and colonizer, reaffirming their power and privileged position through the use of the material culture that was part of their identity and that expressed notions of blood purity. Moreover, it should be acknowledged that an ideology of domination that prescribed cultural separatism between Spanish and natives also extended to *casta* members, which held a more precarious or uneven position than the natives within the colonial context.



Figure 2.3.1.2 Colonial Vessel Forms of Red Ware. Codex of the potters of Cuauhtitlán. Taken from Hernández 2012, 131

In urban settings, where the Spaniards lived with their Native servants and African slaves, Hispanic artefacts are found more abundantly in comparison to rural areas, and Native wares were clearly influenced by Hispanic traditions (Charlton *et al.* 2005, 63). The implementation of a monolithic ideology of domination, that prescribed cultural separatism of Spaniards, natives and *casta* members, is further suggested by the adoption and rejection of ceramic technologies and styles. Native ceramic traditions adopted Spanish decorative styles, vessel forms and certain aspects of the European technology but Spanish ceramics such as maiolica did not adopt local traditions. Moreover, each workshop was characterized by distinctive production techniques;

Spanish ceramics were made using the potter's wheel, which was not used by Native potters (Hernández 2012, 105; 144-5).

A second problem in the approach adopted by Rodríguez Alegría is that the patterns of consumption of expensive wares, expressed in larger proportions of maiolica and Chinese porcelain on most elite sites, *do* suggest that Spanish groups were using these particular ceramics for the display of wealth. For example, the assemblage from the site of Guatemala 38 suggested that maiolica was 'clearly the preferred choice of serving vessels' and Red Ware made up a lower proportion of the sample than expected and 'perhaps this strong preference for imported European serving vessels was part of an ideology that prescribed the rejection of Native material culture to maintain a Spanish identity' (Rodríguez Alegría 2005, 45-7). However, as previously observed, the 'Native ceramic' that had been considered in his study, Red Ware, was in fact a Spanish adaptation and therefore a symbol of social status in its own right.

At the site of Justo Sierra 33, in addition to Red Wares there were large quantities of Cholula Ware, a Native ceramic which is 'chronologically undefined' (Rodríguez Alegría (2005, 44; 46). Cholula ware seems to have been produced until 1650 in the valley of Mexico and Cholula following some European decorative schemes and vessel forms (Hernández 2012, 93). However, the inclusion of Cholula Ware in his study skewed the proportions of fabric types examined and resulted in the under representation of imported and local maiolica, as well as Chinese porcelain when compared to Red Ware (Rodríguez Alegría 2005, 46).

At the site of Licenciado Verdad 8, the former convent of Santa Teresa la Antigua, apparently the poorest of the sites that were sampled, the dominant ceramic ware in the assemblage is fine grade Mexican maiolica, Chinese porcelain and low proportions of Italian imports. This low proportion of Italian maiolica is a trend commonly found in the samples analyzed in this thesis and even observed in the site of National Palace. Red Ware was also present at the convent, although in much lower proportions, and the author suggests that this is 'contrary to what I would expect if there was indeed a link between poverty or low socioeconomic status and the use of Nahua ceramics in Mexico City' (Rodríguez Alegría 2005, 46).

Therefore, the results presented by Rodríguez Alegría suggest that the patterns of consumption from sites located inside the *traza* are similar, and they suggest that there *was* a clear preference for maiolica, Chinese porcelain and Red Ware by the Spaniards in Mexico. Moreover, the patterns of consumption of these ceramics suggest that, contrary to the conclusions of Rodríguez Alegría, that there were, in fact, shared patterns of consumption and the concept of a standard display of wealth exercised by the cultural groups living within the Spanish *traza*, which resulted in a preference for particular kinds of ceramics. The archaeological evidence obtained by Rodríguez Alegría suggests that ‘Spaniards accepted Native crafts in their homes as serving vessels’. However, as it has been noted above, the Native crafts that were considered in his analysis correspond to ceramics of Native manufacture that were adapted, even modified by the Spaniards to meet their taste and dining practices, and were reinterpreted by them as symbols of social status, and consequently do not indicate that these were used in the same fashion as Native groups.

Consequently Maiolica and Chinese porcelain can be used as indicators of wealth and in an exploration of the ideology of domination, they are found abundantly in convents, government buildings and wealthy houses, whilst are never common on sites inhabited by non-European population, at least before the second half of the eighteenth century. The Spanish Crown imposed the commercial policies and production regulations over the maiolica, resulting in most of the maiolica from Spain and the New World being produced and used only by Spaniards (Goggin 1968, 3, 211).

The Spanish colonizers sought to maintain their culture and dining practices, which included eating from maiolica vessels and, before the establishment of maiolica workshops in Mexico in the mid-sixteenth century (Blackman *et al.* 2006, 208), these had to be imported from Spain. Spanish-style objects were considered as elements that indicated social position and represented Spanish culture (Hernández 2012, 104-5; 148-9). Maiolica continued to be an important object of consumption throughout the colonial period. The vessel forms and decorative schemes decorated the houses of the elites and were used by these social groups as symbols that identified them as belonging to a privileged sector of society. Non- elite groups who achieved prosperity would emulate the aristocracy in New Spain through the consumption of these objects (Fournier and Blackman 2008).

The approach undertaken in this thesis to the study of ideology through the analysis of colonial ceramics differs from that by Rodríguez Alegría by accepting the premise that an ideology of domination based on the doctrine of blood purity structured every aspect of colonial society and daily lives of the inhabitants of Mexico City, including dining. Blood purity was central to the construction of cultural identities, and in this thesis the approach to the study of an ideology of domination through the consumption patterns of ceramics will consider that the Spanish hegemonic discourse was expressed since the sixteenth century through the production and consumption of namely maiolica, Chinese porcelain and comestibles that were contained in *botijas* as evidenced by the ceramic assemblages analyzed in this thesis.

Consequently a consistent quantitative and qualitative analytical approach is required to penetrate and characterise this ideological realm, and it is necessary to consider additional variables beyond just basic fabric types, these being the decorative elements and forms of the vessels in particular. Because the doctrine of blood purity was held in close association with wealth (Frutta 2002, 219-20; Martínez 2008, 4-5, 41-2), bodily perceptions and the realm of food (Siriasi 1990, 100-1), it is in this field that an analysis of the ideological can be approached.

This anxiety to display a cultural identity through the use of preferred objects found cultural expression during dining. Dining can be considered as the ideal *locus* for self-presentation and social interaction where the domestic and the public realm converged. Objects and people were brought together in the context of dining, where individuals engaged with the world through specific objects and foods to express shared cultural perceptions with members of a similar community (Heidegger 1962, 231-232). In this locus, a gap was opened for the interaction of family members and strangers, and thus dining was an arena for social competition, nostalgia, display of blood purity, power and wealth, and where social groups interrelated with the objects and foods that embodied these ideas. In the context of dining, people and luxurious objects were introduced and merged with exotic foods and drinks, such as chocolate, that mediated these interactions amongst objects and people. In this locus, social groups actively engaged with the world through these objects and food that rendered meaning to the users (Thomas 2006, 47). To achieve this more contextual investigation of the meanings

contained within each ceramic assemblage under consideration, three key variables have been recorded:

### 1) Quantity

The characterization of patterns of consumption was based on the quantification of the relative proportions of ceramic types, the minimum vessels count (MVC), that is the minimum number of vessels present and the variety of decorative schemes represented. This was undertaken on a site-by-site basis that allowed an inter-site comparison that might enable the inference of the ways in which different groups expressed perceptions on taste, wealth and social status. It is acknowledged that small and large proportions are not statistically meaningful. Nonetheless, if applied uniformly to all the samples it is useful for obtaining an overview of these and draw inter-site comparisons.

### 2) Differentiation of vessel forms

The relative proportions of the different vessel forms within each ceramic type were considered e.g. plates, large plates, bowls and cups. This was in order to establish the patterns of consumption of tableware that could be positively linked to specialized functions in the context of dining and observe variations between the assemblages. The differentiation of vessel forms allowed the linking of these with specialized functions to contain food and drink as will be seen in section 2.3.2, and to characterize differing dining practices.

### 3) Quality

The measure of the quality of the ceramics was based on the relative proportions of Chinese porcelain, imported maiolica, fine grade and common grade Mexican maiolica in the assemblages from each site. To date, no retail price indexes are known for specific types of maiolica and Chinese porcelain in New Spain. The few known values for maiolica are very general and inconsistent, and apply exclusively to sixteenth-century Spanish maiolica, *botijas* and eighteenth-century Mexican maiolica and Chinese porcelain (Castillo Cárdenas 2007). The values reveal that between 1569 and 1570, each

plate and *escudilla* of Spanish maiolica could cost 8.5 *maravadies*. Towards 1580, one *botija* could cost 28 *maravadies* and a plate and an *escudilla* could even cost 338 *maravadies*. A Spanish maiolica plate that could cost 7 to 11 *maravadies* in Spain would increase its cost as much as 400% in New Spain and thus constituted the most expensive maiolica affordable only to the wealthiest members of society, and rarely by natives (Blackman *et al.* 2006, 208). Therefore, in order to obtain a measurement based on quality it was necessary to construct a scale of the relative values that maiolica and Chinese porcelain held among the consumers in Mexico, by multiplying the minimum vessel count of particular pottery types and vessel forms times the value that is shown on lists of prices.

This method finds similarities with that employed by Miller (1980, 1-5; 1991), who used the scale of value of ceramics based on the relative stable price of Cream Ware during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the United States, against which the prices of other wares were compared to infer expenditure patterns in households. The index prices were drawn from potters' pricing lists and catalogues in Staffordshire, from where almost all the ceramics in Miller's study were produced. The classification of the different wares was based on decoration, vessel size and forms according to *emic* categories found in such catalogues, which enabled the construction of ceramic groups that ranged from the most expensive ones to the least expensive. The expenditure value was then multiplied by the minimum number of vessel count for each ceramic ware represented in the assemblages to produce an overall relative 'value' for each group.

The analysis of the quality of ceramics in this thesis, however, differs from the work by Miller because while the price of the wares can be indicative of their value in the market, to a certain extent, and therefore can be used as an indicator to infer expenditure patterns, it does not explore how can these expenditure patterns could be used to infer the processes by which groups consumed and utilized expensive ceramics to express notions on wealth and the doctrine of blood purity. Moreover, when the expenditure value is compared against the relative proportions of ceramics in a site, it is possible to observe discrepancies between these that could be related with wealth. For example, the relative high proportion of ceramics from one site in comparison to others with lesser proportions may suggest that a higher socio economic status of the first site. However, when assessing the expenditure value of the ceramics, the results may indicate that the

high proportion of ceramics corresponds to relatively non-expensive ones. In contrast, when assessing the expenditure value in the sites that display a lesser proportion of ceramics, these may reveal that the ceramics correspond to expensive items.

Because the assessment of quality of ceramics can be subjective, observable traits in the material culture that served as indicators of quality, (such as the production origin based on pottery type, the vessel form and decorative scheme) were supplemented with secondary sources on the potters' ordinances which mention the grades and relative values of the different wares (Cervantes 1939; Lister and Lister 1982). This was done to obtain the relative proportions of expensive and less expensive wares represented in the assemblages. The categories of ceramic type and vessel form were included in an Excel spreadsheet that allowed the quantification of the minimum number of vessels and multiply these times the expenditure value.

#### *Production origin*

The first criterion for the analysis of ceramic quality considered provenance as diagnostic of the relative value of the wares. For example, the relative value of imported maiolica in New Spain is suggested as high within the scale of value because as it has been observed previously it was an expensive item and was affordable only to the wealthiest members of colonial society, generally Spaniards and creoles (Blackman *et al.* 2006, 208). Furthermore, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the price per crate of Spanish maiolica was two to three times more expensive than that manufactured in Mexico (Lister and Lister 1982, 79). Finally, the comparative proportions of Chinese porcelain were used because this ware was the most expensive one in comparison to maiolica and other wares, and remained a relatively expensive item throughout the colonial period in New Spain, particularly the larger and finer pieces. This further introduces a second variable to be considered in the assessment of quality, that is vessel form.



### *Vessel form*

Whilst a high proportion of Chinese porcelain over other less expensive wares on a site is suggestive of a higher social status, by introducing the variable of vessel form it is possible to obtain a deeper insight into differences of income, patterns of consumption and cultural identities. For example, large plates and bowls of Chinese porcelain appear as the most expensive vessels in the scale of value in comparison to rice bowls and teacups that were cheaper and fairly common amongst most consumers in New Spain (Lister and Lister 1982, 79). Therefore, the proportion of large vessel forms in comparison to the proportion of lesser ones is significant in terms of income and social status.

### *Decorative scheme*

The third variable introduced to the scale of value was the decorative scheme, colours and quality of the tin glaze (whether white or yellow in Mexican maiolica), as these variables are often found in association to each. This is further suggested because the regulations prescribed by the ordinances of the maiolica guild in Puebla ordered the use of white tin glaze and forbade the use of cockspurs in the manufacture of fine grade maiolica, in opposition to the common grade one. Additionally, some colours used, such as green and washed-out blue, were reserved for common grade maiolica whilst decorative schemes that imitated Chinese styles were exclusive to fine grade maiolica (Cervantes 1939). There were two distinct grades of maiolica in colonial Mexico intended for the consumption of wealthier and poorer sectors of society respectively. The wealthy families set their tables with fine grade maiolica, either Mexican or Spanish and Italian alongside Chinese porcelain. The poorer members of society consumed common grade Mexican maiolica that was mass-produced with 'degraded executed patterns and few shapes' (Lister and Lister 1982, 94-5)<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Additional references to the grade of maiolica can be found in the online database of the Florida Museum of Natural History

The problem with assessing the quality of Mexican maiolica based on these secondary sources alone is that they only mention the quality of a few types. Therefore, additional data observed directly within the material culture were included, when possible, such as the occurrence of potters' signatures (as an indicator of high quality), and the presence or absence of cockspur marks (Figures 2.3.1.2a- 2.3.1.3), indicative of an old production technique widely used in colonial Mexico for common grade maiolica (Lister and Lister 1982, 90, 95). The presence of cockspur marks and 'manufacturing defects' in imported maiolica would provide additional insights to the consumption of expensive ceramics even when these constituted second-class objects. By contrast Chinese porcelain, Imari, Chinese Polychrome Export and Brown glazed, known as Batavia, wares were widely considered as the most expensive porcelain during the eighteenth century (Lewis 1978 cited in Leath 1999, 50). These variables were all included in a database that enabled the relative proportions of expensive and less expensive ceramics present in a given assemblage to be compared alongside the vessel forms as previously mentioned.



Figure. 2.3.1.2a Cockspur, *tricol* or *caballito*



Figure. 2.3.1.3 Cockspur marks on the bottom of bowl. Huejotzingo Blue on White. Convent of Antigua Enseñanza

### 2.3.2 Dining

This section presents the methodology employed in the analysis of ceramics in relation to dining. The first part considers the relationship between food and blood purity, and the second explores the choices and significance of particular meals. This information has been drawn from secondary sources such as civility manuals. Cookbooks and probate inventories have also been particularly helpful in identifying different vessel forms with specialized functions and in reconstructing their use at the table. Finally, this information has enabled the construction of a classificatory scheme that ranks and associates different meals with particular vessel forms in both maiolica and Chinese porcelain, so that the values that guided the consumption of food and objects in relation to the ideology of blood purity can be observed.

#### *Food and blood purity*

To understand the significance that dining had for Spanish groups, and to what extent choices for particular foods and serving objects were guided by taste, it was necessary to explore the relationship between material culture, food and blood purity. In order to do this, a review of the contemporary understandings of the human body and the quality of the blood based on humour theory was necessary. The choices for particular kinds of foods and the meanings attached to these were intertwined with perceptions of the human body, blood purity, nobility, wealth, virtue and morality, and were translated into dietary regimes as can be observed in medical treatises (De Sorapán 1616; Farfán 1592; Lobera de Avila 1542; Savonarola 1515) and cookbooks (De Nola 1529; Hernández de Maceras 1607) from Spain and New Spain.

The work by Rodríguez Alegría (2005a) also explores Spanish dining practices through the examination of patterns of consumption of ceramics and faunal remains from elite houses inside the Spanish *traza*. Although the results from the faunal analysis are not yet fully published, he suggest that Spaniards were incorporating Native eating habits as a way of constructing political alliances with the natives in Mexico City. The basic assumption by Rodríguez Alegría (2005a, 552) is that Spaniards sometimes 'ate like natives' using Native ceramics and food. If in fact they rejected Native material culture, then this would be expected to translate in the archaeological record finding an

‘overwhelming presence of European maiolica and Chinese porcelain’ and ‘little or no Aztec tradition pottery in Spanish houses’ (Rodríguez Alegría 2005a, 560). The results obtained from his analysis revealed that European and Mexican maiolica makes up 50.1% of the potsherds in the houses and it was ‘clearly the ware with the highest frequency’ (Rodríguez Alegría 2005a, 561). Red Ware, associated with Spanish elite consumption, makes up the 29.2% of the total sherds of serving vessels and this percentage is used by him to argue that ‘in spite of the differences between percentages of rims or all sherds, one generalization is true: Red Ware serving vessels were an important part of the pottery assemblage in Spanish houses in Mexico City ... and used for serving food’. However, the quantity of maiolica sherds indicates that this was the preferred serving vessel (Rodríguez Alegría 2005a, 561-2). While the Spaniards might have integrated certain elements of Native food to their own diet and might have interacted with Native communities in order to fulfil political affairs, and as part of the colonization project that resulted in a cultural syncretism or *mestizaje*, the patterns of consumption of ceramics provided by Rodríguez Alegría do not indicate that the Spaniards were in fact ‘eating like natives’ as maiolica was clearly the preferred tableware. This rather suggests the incorporation of specific aspects of the material culture that were reinterpreted by Spaniards and reshaped as symbols of social distinction.

Other secondary sources were useful for observing the significance of particular meats. For example, turkey was a favoured meat among elite members in Spain and New Spain and this is reflected in its depiction in the decorative schemes of some types of maiolica, and Abo Polychrome wares in particular. The turkey, known as *guajolote*, is native to Mexico and its incorporation to European dining by the Spaniards suggests the adoption of local elite products. Turkey soon became a symbol of the opulence of New Spain and was frequently found on the table of the elite in Mexico and the Iberian Peninsula. It was considered delicious meat that would satisfy the most voracious diner, and thus also held connotations with gluttony (Amado Doblás 2005, 278, 282-285). Additional insights into the presentation of food at the table, the use of maiolica and Chinese porcelain, as well as the rituals involved in dining and perceptions on cleanness and social status can be inferred from civility manuals (De Santa María 1615; Geigher 1639; Palmireno 1573), literary descriptions (De Carbajal Saavedra 1728), probate inventories (Curiel 2000; 2005) and historiographical sources that narrate the rituals involved in

washing hands before and after dining which became symbols of social refinement amongst Spanish elites (Ruíz Somavilla 2002).

Cookbooks and probate inventories from elite houses in New Spain (Ballesteros Flores 2008; Curiel 2000) were particularly useful in enabling the identification of vessel forms in maiolica and Chinese porcelain with specialized functions. For example, bowls and cups of Chinese porcelain were listed as being for broths and chocolate, fountains for serving food at the centre of the table, bowls to serve vegetables that would accompany the main dishes, and *escudillas* for potages and desserts (De Nola 1529; Hernández de Maceras 1607). This data provides insights into the complexity and sophistication involved in dining, whilst also giving the possibility to place the material culture in a wider cultural context, where the consumers used it as symbols of taste, wealth and to express notions on blood purity. For example, drinking chocolate with sugar instead of chilli, as it was drunk during the pre-Hispanic period, was considered an expression of refinement (Curiel 2005).

### **2.3.3 Casta paintings**

The term ‘*casta* painting’ refers to a series of consecutive images from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that depict a contemporary ‘typology’ of the three major ethnic groups inhabiting New Spain – Spaniards, natives and Africans – as well as the complex miscegenation amongst these. The paintings depict people in association with ceramics and the local flora and fauna, textiles, furniture, musical instruments, cigarettes, chocolate, snuffboxes, *pulque* (alcoholic beverage extracted from *maguey* cactus) (Figure 2.3.3.1). The paintings are considered a medium that was used by colonial society to craft their identities (Dean and Leibsohn 2003, 25-26), as well as a device of self-exoticization used by its members (Scott 2005, 77).

It is generally accepted that the ‘inventors’ of *casta* paintings were Manuel de Arellano sometime around 1711 and Juan Rodríguez Juárez (1675-1728) who created the template of a nuclear family and their offspring (Katzew 2003, 10; 15), a trend that was copied by other artists and is observed in almost all *casta* paintings. While prestigious artists of New Spain and members of the art academies created many of these series, more than one hundred known examples remain anonymous (Katzew 2003, 15). Other

well-known artists of *casta* paintings included José de Ibarra (1685-1756), Miguel Cabrera, Morlete Ruiz, José de Páez, José Guiol, Francisco Clapera (a Spaniard and member of the Royal Academy of San Fernando in Madrid), and Luis Berrueco (1743-1747). Moreover, the paintings evidence the knowledge that artists had of symbolic seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish genre painting, and initiated a trend of using clothing to indicate socio-economic status and economic occupation of those depicted, as observed in the paintings by Vermeer, for example (Katzew 2003, 8-9).

Viceroy like Fernando de Alencastre Noroña y Silva, Duke of Linares (1711-1716) commissioned *casta* paintings from these prestigious artists, and particularly Cabrera, for Charles VI, King of Spain. Likewise, the Archbishop of Lorenzana commissioned one of these sets to take on his return trip to Toledo, and such elite patronage of *casta* art may account for the popularity that the paintings held within the colonial landscape (Carrera 2003; Katzew 2004, 81).

As well as their being commissioned by members of the elite, the inscriptions that referred to the *casta* labels in the paintings suggest that they were meant for an educated public. Variations in their quality and style suggest that there was a growing clientele and that painters of all standings were commissioned to satisfy this market. The paintings might have been perceived differently in Europe and the Americas; apparently some creole groups disdained them for they considered the images as something that harmed New Spain as these showed miscegenation and a the proclivity to games, drunkenness and social disorder. Nevertheless, other creoles like the Spaniards might have praised them for their exoticism as these portray the splendour and ‘strangeness’ of the colonial world (Carrera 2003, 49-50). The brief account from the diary of marine officer Arcadio Pineda who travelled to Mexico in 1791 describes the house of don Pedro Bustamante, a wealthy inhabitant of Mexico City, who had in his house a collection of paintings depicting the different castes that inhabited America (González Claverán 1988). The appealing character that these paintings held for Spanish and creole groups is further attested by the official decree of 1776 requesting viceroys and other functionaries throughout Spanish America to send to Spain “curious productions from the natural world and other artistic curiosities” which included *casta* paintings. Thus, *casta* paintings found their way into the cabinet of natural history housed in the

Alcázar of Toledo, founded by the cardinal archbishop Lorenzana and the Royal Cabinet of Natural History in Madrid (Katzew 2004, 112-15, 121, 154-5).

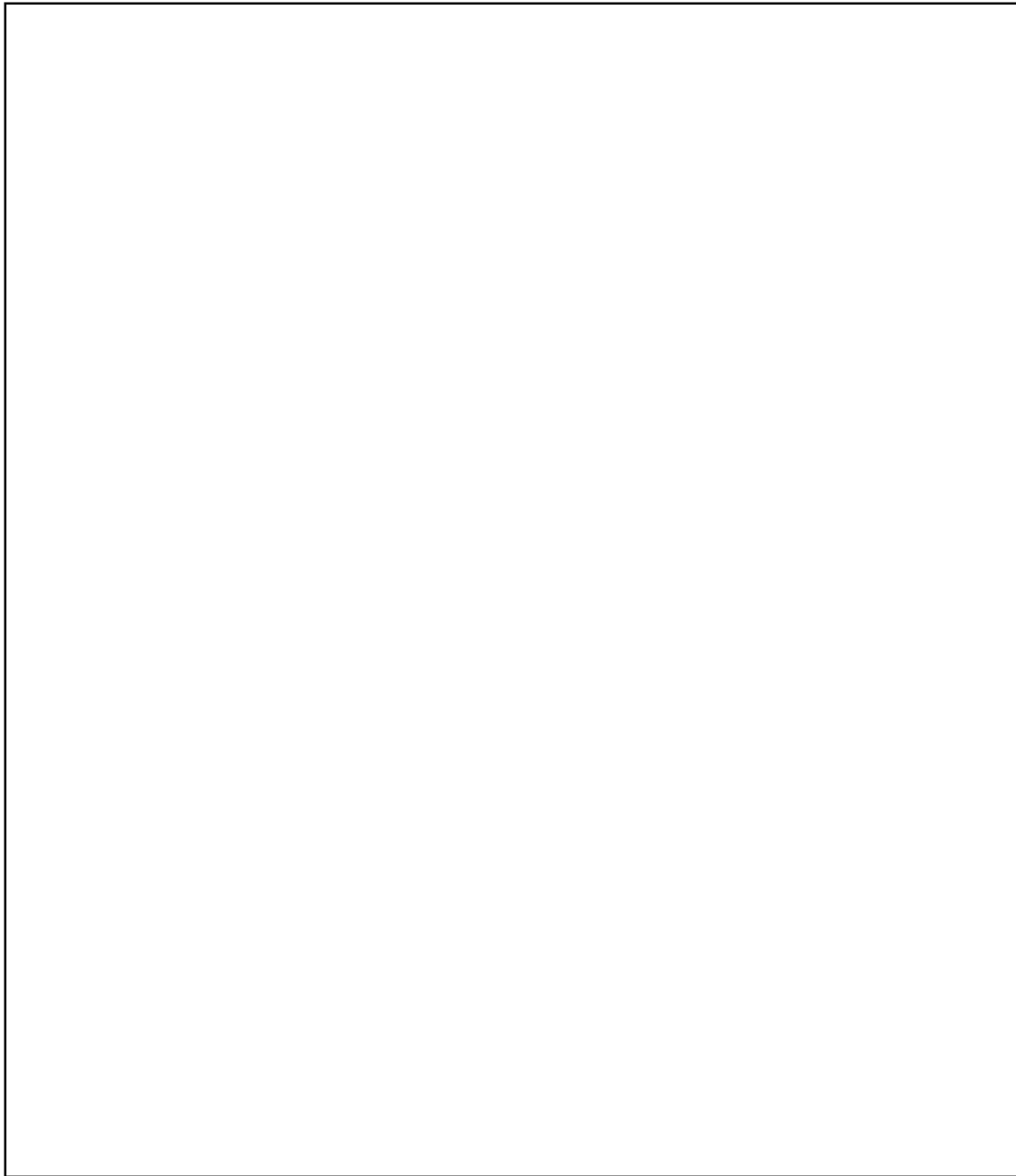


Figure 2.3.3.1 Anonymous. *Casta* series, ca.1750. Taken from Katzew 2004, 36

*Casta* paintings have intrigued historians, art historians and anthropologists since the eighteenth century and have been subject to various interpretations. The paintings have been considered as ethnographic documents that depicted local trades and costumes along with the different *casta* labels (García Sáiz 1989; Katzew 2004). They have also been seen as the construction of a creole self-image, and a visual elaboration produced

by the artists that express the desire to project an image of the splendour of New Spain through an implied strict social hierarchy (Katzew 2004, 108-11).

Most of the series were painted between 1760 and 1790 and relate to the Bourbon reforms. While they must not be said to be a literal depiction of social reality, they do speak about social engineering, so appealing to the Bourbon in their attempt to construct, control and maintain the social bodies and the spaces they occupied. Moreover the images as visual practices reflect the reality of an increasing disorder in the viceroyalty, especially in Mexico City (Carrera 2003, 43). During the eighteenth century, the continuous miscegenation between Spaniards, Africans and natives along with the upward mobility of some *casta* members, made it difficult to distinguish elite members from plebeians. Because of this, the paintings might have stood as a visual device that sought to control and allocate the different social groups inhabiting New Spain into specific social categories which will in consequence delineate the social boundaries which by the eighteenth century had been broken (Katzew 2004, 108-11) and thus, can be considered as visual devices that re-enacted the ideology of blood purity.

This is further evidenced by the location of *casta* members within specific spaces, whether interior or exterior, and are correlated with the skin colour, the clothes and furniture to communicate the degree of purity of each *casta* member e.g. Spaniards and their descendants are located inside a European-style setting while mixed-blooded individuals are portrayed in the kitchen and exterior settings and often engaged in violent scenes, particularly men and women of African descent (Figures 2.2.3.2, 2.2.3.3). The purification of the blood moves from one panel to another and is made explicit by the progressive use of a lighter skin colour, and from the depiction of traditional dresses to European-style ones. The child of a Native Mexican is portrayed in a rural environment and that of a *castizo* or Spaniard is represented inside an urban environment (Carrera 1998, 43).



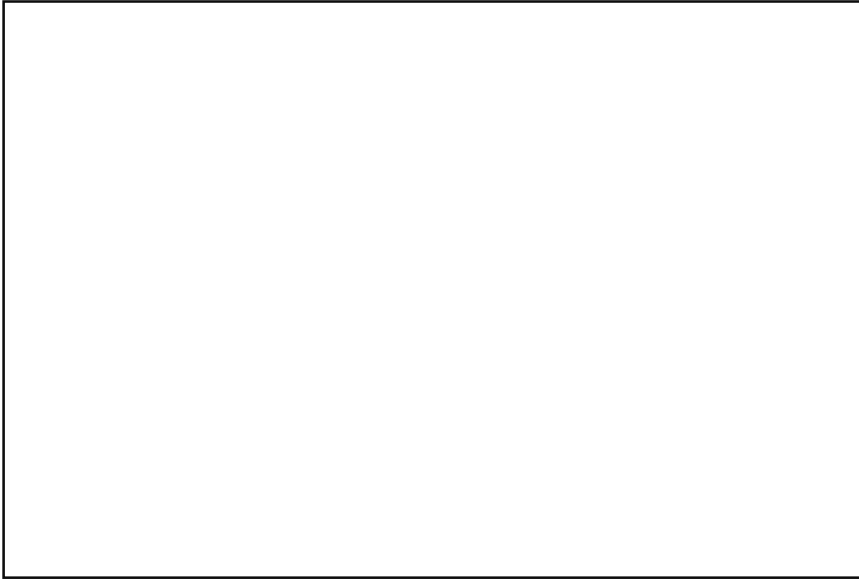


Figure 2.3.3.2 *Casta* painting by José de Páez. From Spaniard and Castiza, Spaniard, ca. 1770-1780. Taken from Katzew 2004, 23

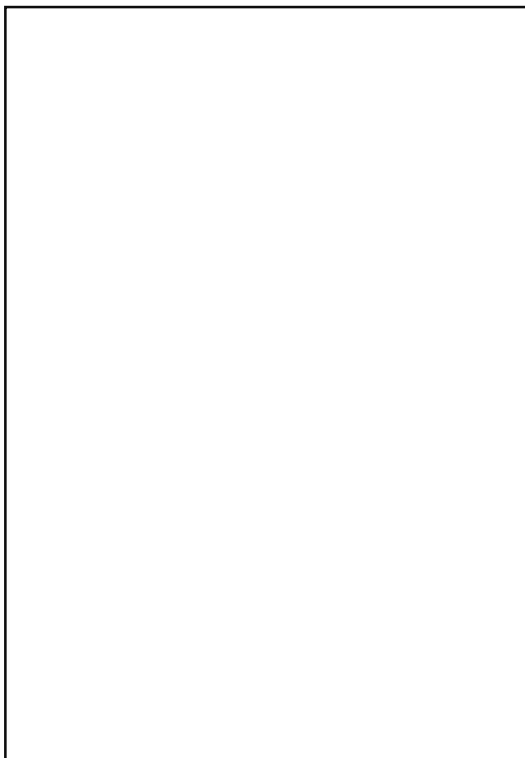


Figure 2.3.3.3 *Casta* painting attributed to José de Ibarra. From Black and Native Mexican, Wolf, ca. 1725. Taken from Katzew 2004, 87

*Casta* paintings were also considered as a visual register of the *castas* in New Spain that served as an aid for parishioners when establishing a *casta* category of baptized, married and buried individuals (Katzew 2004, 5-6). Indeed, *casta* labels were indispensable to claim social status and even some economic and educational

occupations in New Spain. The genre has also been interpreted as a form of ‘exotic souvenir’ that satisfied a European clientele (García Sáiz 1989). Carrera (1998; 2003) has taken the interpretation of the paintings further, suggesting they represent the imagined colonial world where the physical and social dimensions of race intersected. According to Carrera, these were used by Spanish and creole spectators as devices that took the viewer into the private life of the colonial world, and also as a medium to ordain and establish boundaries between the different racial groups. Still other interpretations have looked at these images under the concept of *biopower*, where the images acted as a surveillance technology that served the purpose to administer life and control and inscribe race into a *casta* system (Jiménez del Val 2009).

Despite the various attempts to explore the meanings behind *casta* paintings, the potential that these images have for the analysis of material culture have not been fully addressed. The work by Katzew (2004) is probably one of the first to highlight the multiple hermeneutical possibilities that the paintings have to approach a study of material culture. The paintings that portray individuals within the domestic realm are an ideal medium to explore the uses given to material culture by the different *castas*. These paintings portray cupboards with maiolica plates and others for serving food and drinks (Figures 2.2.3.4- 2.2.3.6). The approach undertaken in this thesis looked at the *casta* paintings to obtain additional information on the function of maiolica as a symbol of blood purity and to observe the correlation between material culture and identifiable ethnic groups in terms of how was maiolica used by the different *casta* members, including Spaniards, to construct their cultural identities. This approach considered the interrelationship between the following criteria classified according to: the date of production, the context in which social groups and maiolica appear, (whether it is in the domestic or public sphere), the ethnic group represented, and the function of maiolica vessel forms, such as for display, drinking or even broken. This allowed a general overview of the frequency in which types of maiolica are associated with different Spanish groups or castas to be made (Table 2.2.5.2), as well as an exploration of the possible meanings behind these.

<i>Date of production</i>	<i>Domestic (1) Public (2)</i>	<i>Ethnic group</i>	<i>Maiolica for display</i>	<i>Maiolica for serving</i>	<i>Broken</i>	<i>Maiolica type</i>	<i>For Chocolate</i>	<i>For Food</i>
1780	1	Spanish and Castizo		1		San Elizario Polychrome	1	

Table 2.2.5.2 Classification of *Casta* paintings

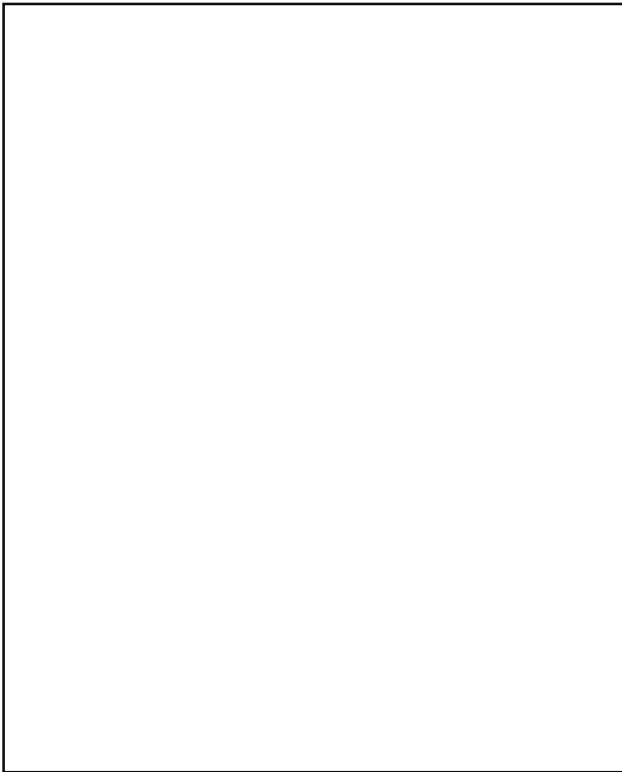


Figure 2.3.3.4 *Casta* painting by Francisco Clapera. De barcino y mulata, chino (From Barcino and Mulatta, Chino), ca. 1785. Taken from Katzew 2004, 30



Figure 2.3.3.5 *Casta* painting. From Spaniard and Castisa, Spaniard. From Spaniard and Black, Mulatta. Taken from García Sáiz 1989, 169

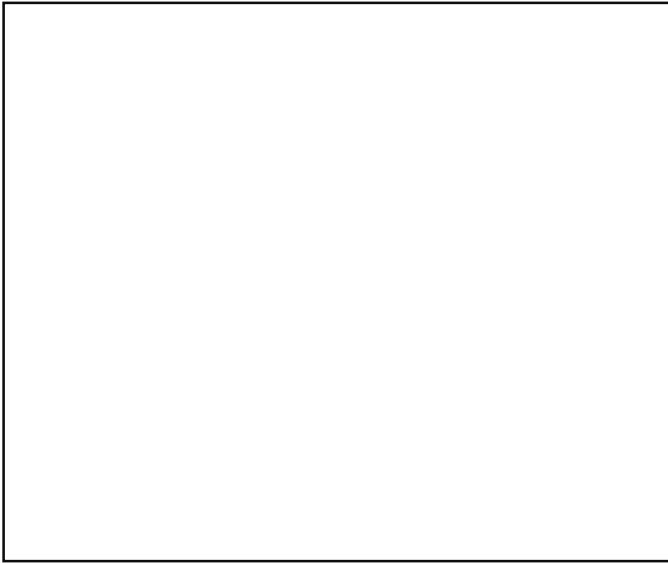


Figure 2.3.3.6 *Casta* painting. From Spaniard and Mulatta, Morisca. Taken from García Sáiz 1989, 226

### *Summary*

This chapter has presented the methods employed in this research to approach the study of colonial ceramics and its relationship with blood purity. The first section, 2.1 considers the criteria behind the choosing of the ceramic samples and possible biases affecting the analysis. Section 2.2 outlined the methods employed in the analysis of maiolica and Chinese porcelain that have enabled the construction of a database (such as pottery type, production origin, period of manufacture, vessel form, vessel count and decoration). To these, other criteria observable in the material culture were added that would enable to obtain a richer insight into manufacturing techniques and quality. The method for analysing the decorative schemes in maiolica and Chinese porcelain was also exposed.

Section 2.3 provided an overview of the analytical techniques employed for investigating and explaining the different patterns of consumption. The variables used to characterize these were based on the quantity, the differentiation in vessel form, and the quality of the different wares on a site-by-site basis, providing for inter-site comparisons, (section 2.3.1). This has allowed the identification of the different ways in

which identifiable social groups used ceramics as displays of wealth and cultural identities. The biases involved in assessing quality were also included. Section 2.3.2 explored the socio-historical context of food and dining in the early modern period and contrasts particular vessel forms with specialized functions connected with different food and drinks. This has allowed the establishment of the interrelationship between food and tableware to explore possible ways in which consumers in New Spain expressed notions on blood purity through dining. Finally, an approach to the study of *casta* paintings was proposed in section 2.3.3 that could enable to infer the possible uses given to maiolica by the different ethnic groups inhabiting New Spain to express notions on blood purity. The next chapter will discuss the ceramic samples from royal, religious and domestic sites that considered the total number of ceramic fragments and the minimum vessel count of ceramic types and vessel forms.



## ***Chapter Three. Discussion of the ceramic assemblages***

### **Introduction**

This chapter summarises the history of the sites under study, and provides a discussion of the excavated ceramic samples of imported and local maiolica, *botijas* and Chinese porcelain. The samples were obtained from excavations carried out by the Project of Urban Archaeology from Templo Mayor (PAU) and the Direction of Rescue Archaeology (INAH), Mexico. It was arranged into three main sections according to the type of site: royal, secular or religious. Section 3.1 provides an overview of the National Palace, formerly the vicerojal palace and Juárez 70, the former location of the royal hospice for the poor. Section 3.2 includes secular sites like Capuchinas, located inside the Spanish traza and that of Mina 32, a property that was located in the outskirts of Mexico City. The third section includes religious institutions, two of which correspond to the female convents of La Antigua Enseñanza and La Encarnación, and three sites that pertained to the monasteries of San Juan de Dios and El Carmen (Figures 3.1.1.1 and 3.1.1.2). The ceramic samples from each site were classified according to the ceramic type, context, vessel form, vessel part and modes of decoration. This allowed for a systematic quantification of the total number of fragments and the minimum vessel count to be undertaken, information that is provided in the tables within each section of the chapter. Other criteria taken into consideration were the potters' signatures, inscriptions and manufacturing defects that were observed in the material culture.



Figure 3.1.1.1 Location of sites in the historical centre of Mexico City. The yellow line shows the limits of the Spanish *traza*. Image taken from Google Earth

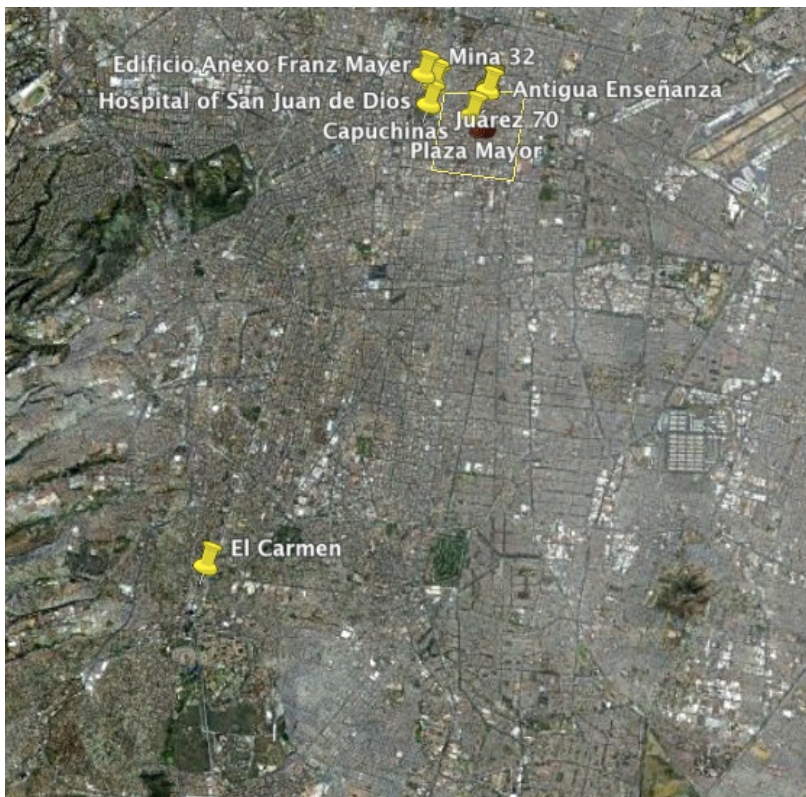


Figure 3.1.1.2 Location of the convent of El Carmen in the area of San Angel with respect to the ancient *traza*. Image taken from Google Earth



## 3.1 Royal sites

### 3.1.1 The National Palace

The National Palace is located in the historical centre of modern Mexico City (Figure 3.1). This was the residence of the viceroy of New Spain and the chair of vice royal power and administration during the colonial period. It was constructed by Mexico's conqueror Hernán Cortés in 1525 over the ruins of the palace of Aztec emperor Moctezuma, and was originally intended to be his private residence. The Spanish Crown bought the building from Cortés in 1562 and transformed it into the vice royal palace. It was also the place where political affairs were settled and from where the kingdom of New Spain was administered (González Claverán 1988). The vice royal palace was the centre of social life in New Spain where only privileged social groups had access (Secretaría de Obras 1996). The vice royal court was a small-scale representation of that in Spain and as such, hierarchy and etiquette were subject to those followed in the Palace of Madrid (Arenas Frutos 2010, 557-559; Boscán 1873, 33-36; 51-66).

The physical appearance of the palace underwent several transformations from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century (Secretaría de Obras 1996). This was due to the fall of the Hapsburgs in the eighteenth century and the rise to power of the Bourbon House. Also, due to the personal taste and need of ostentation of each viceroy and to the numerous floods, earthquakes and riots that occurred throughout the seventeenth century (Escamilla González 2005; Secretaría de Obras 1996). Moreover, because of the swamp-like characteristics of Mexico's City subsoil, the walls and foundations of the building were continuously destroyed due to subsiding and thus in need of renewal. The Spaniards accomplished this through a technique known as *terraplenado* that consisted in elevating the level of the sunk sections of the building with soil and rubbish (including ceramics) to layers that could prevent the water from penetrating and causing further damage (Secretaría de Obras 1996). These factors are essential to understand the formation of the archaeological deposits in the palace and throughout Mexico City.

### The Ceramic sample

This section provides an overview of the ceramic materials that were found in each excavation unit, based on the quantification of ceramic types. The analyzed colonial ceramic sample comprises a total of 762 fragments and a minimum number of 504 vessels that include imported and Mexican maiolica, Chinese porcelain and 149 fragments, with a minimum number of 11 vessels, of Middle Style shape B *botijas* were identified (Table 3.1.1.2). This sample was obtained from the excavations conducted by the Project of Urban Archaeology (PAU) from Templo Mayor in 1991-1992, resulting from the need to restore the foundations and prevent progressive sinking of the building. The analyzed sample for this thesis was recovered from the excavations in Patio Mariano 1 and 2 and surrounding areas in Patio 1 Trench 56, Room 1 Trench 24, Room 2 Trench 28, Room 4 Trenches 16 and 17, Room 11 Trench 12 and Trench 50, Room 12 Trench 8, Patio 2, Room 17, Room 3 and Patio 2 Room 8 Trench 13 (Table 3.1.1.3).

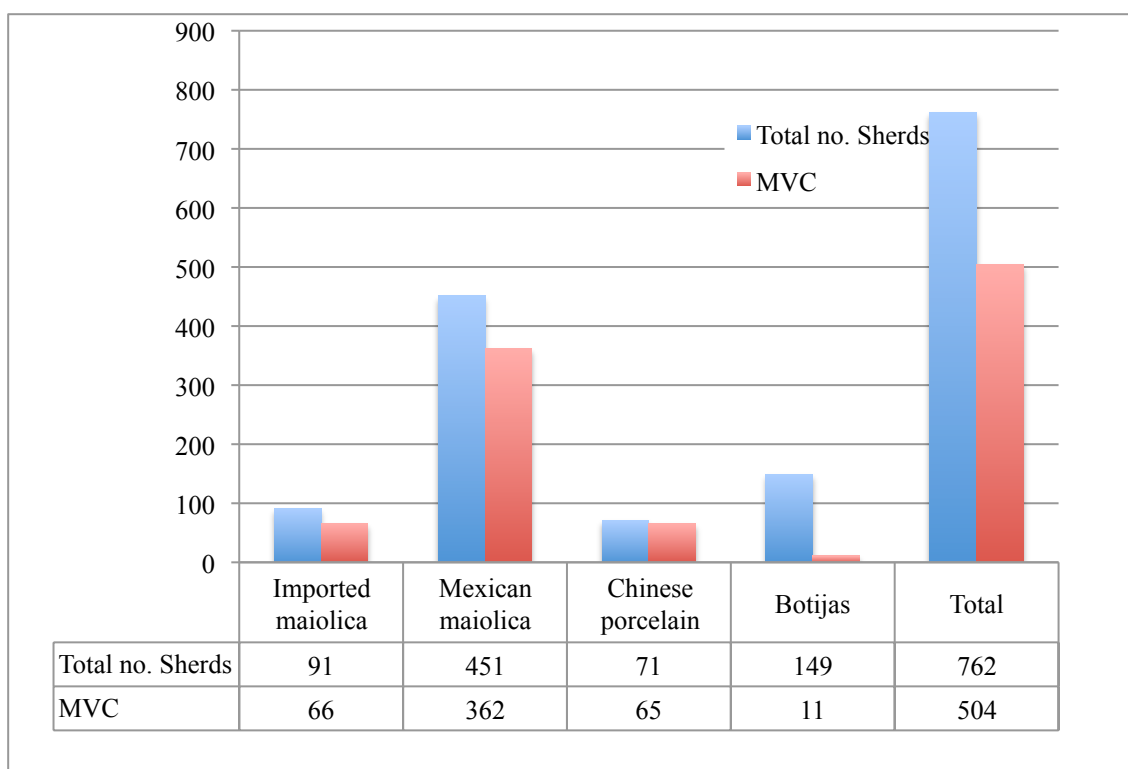


Table 3.1.1.2 Proportions of ceramics from National Palace

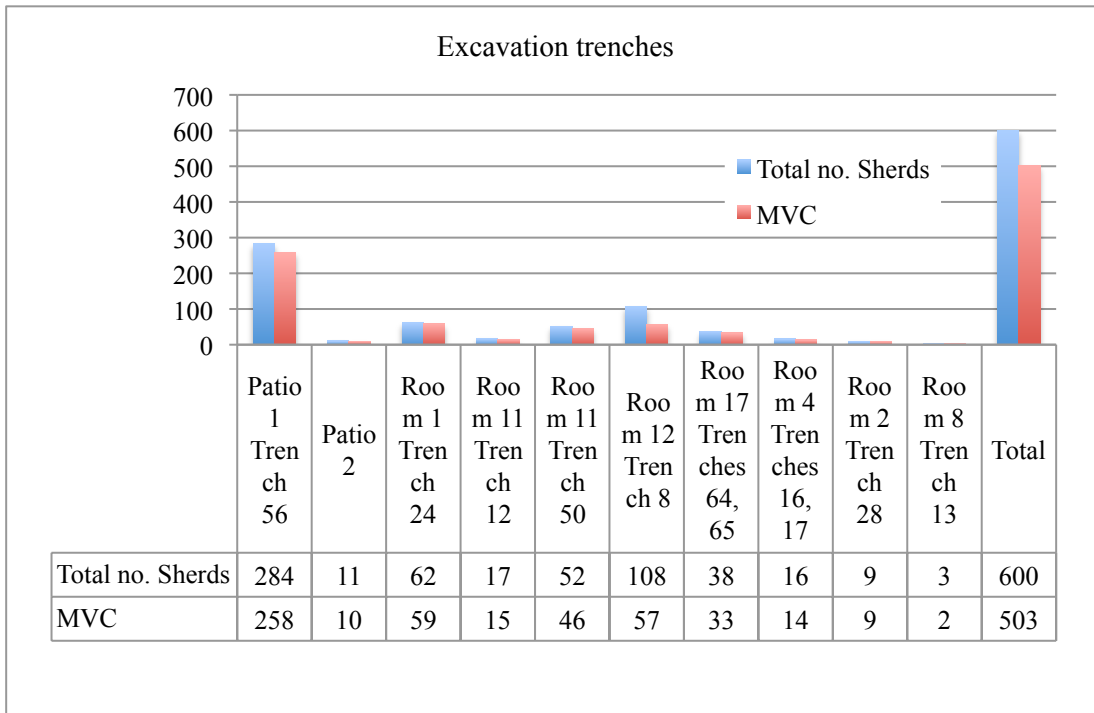


Table 3.1.1.3 Proportions of ceramics from excavation trenches of National Palace

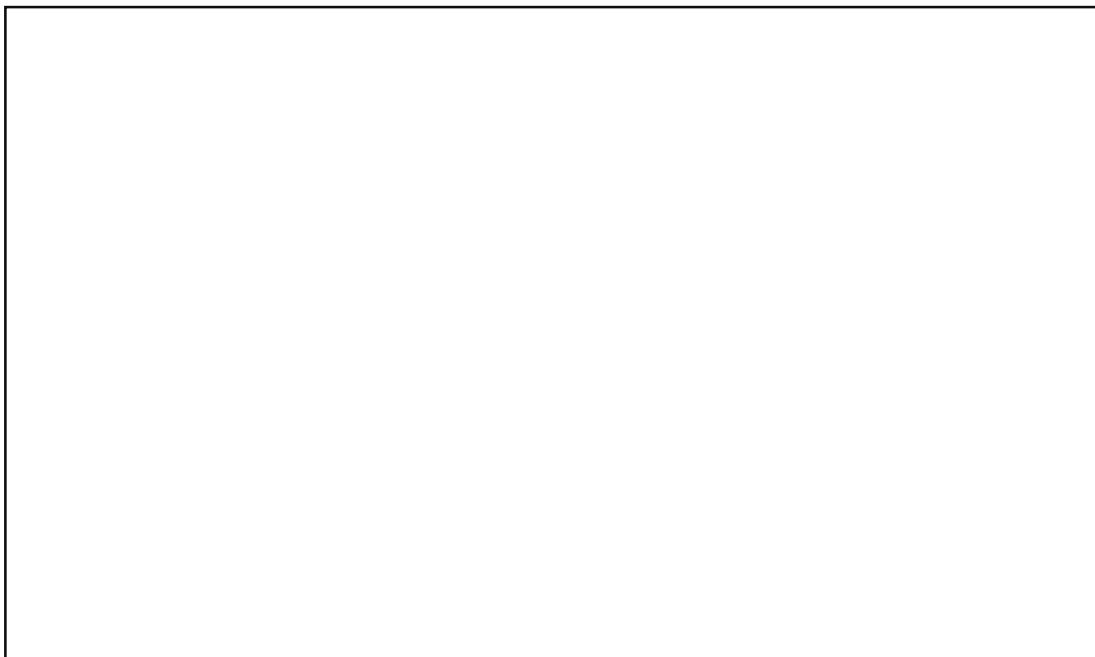


Figure 3.1.1.3 Plan of excavations of the National Palace. Taken and modified from Jiménez Badillo and López Rodríguez 1994

*Patio 1 Trench 56*

The highest concentration of ceramics from the National Palace was found in this trench, in colonial refuse pits A and B that contained complete and semi-complete

ceramic vessels, faunal and botanical remains (Jiménez Badillo and López Rodríguez 1994). Context A was a relatively large deposit that comprised a total number of 136 ceramic fragments and a minimum number of 116 vessels. These included Mexican and Spanish maiolica from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The ceramics that were recovered from Context B constitute a total number of 31 fragments and a minimum number of 26 vessels. These correspond to Italian, Mexican and Spanish maiolica and Chinese porcelain from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

#### *Room 1 Trench 24*

The excavations in Room 1 Trench 24, located at the north of Patio 1 revealed a refuse pit (Jiménez Badillo and López Rodríguez 1994). The analyzed ceramic sample that was recovered from this trash pit comprises a total number of 62 pottery fragments and a minimum number of 59 vessels.

These correspond to sixteenth to eighteenth century local and imported maiolica. Also, Chinese porcelain from the Ming and Ch'Ing dynasties was identified, including Brown Glazed porcelain also known as *Café au Lait* or Batavia ware (Figure 3.1.1.4), and two Middle Style *botijas*.



Figure 3.1.1.4. Cup of Brown Glazed Porcelain

#### *Room 2 Trench 28*

The ceramics that were recovered from this excavation unit were found in a construction fill (Jiménez Badillo and López Rodríguez 1994). The analyzed materials comprise a total of nine fragments and minimum number of nine vessels. These correspond to plates and bowls of Spanish Columbia Plain, Santo Domingo Blue on White, and fine and common grade Mexican maiolica such as Fig Springs Polychrome, Mexico City Green on Cream and Mexico City Blue on Cream.

#### *Room 4 Trenches 16, 17*

This area of excavation identified a series of refurbishments of the building and a concentration of archaeological materials that were found in association with construction materials (Jiménez Badillo and López Rodríguez 1994). The colonial ceramics from this excavation area that were analyzed in this thesis comprise a total

number of 16 sherds and a minimum number of 14 vessels, most of which correspond to local maiolica.

#### *Room 11, Trench 12*

The analyzed ceramic sample from this trench comprises a total of 24 fragments and a minimum number of 22 vessels. The ceramics found within this context comprise mostly plates of Mexican fine grade maiolica from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. This contrasts with the relative low proportions of Spanish maiolica that were recovered along with seven fragments and a minimum number of seven *botijas*, three glazed and two unglazed, presumably for olive oil and wine.

#### *Room 11, Trench 50*

The ceramics recovered from the excavations in this trench were found in a construction fill (Jiménez Badillo and López Rodríguez 1994).

The ceramic materials are highly varied and while most of these pertain to the sixteenth century, a few fragments of eighteenth-century Puebla White and Puebla Blue on White were also identified. The sample comprises a relatively high proportion of plates and bowls of Mexican ceramics, bowls, *escudillas* and plates of Spanish maiolica that included Sevilla White (Figure 3.1.1.5), four *botijas* and a plate and a bowl of Ming porcelain.



Figure 3.1.1.5. Porringer and plate. Sevilla White

#### *Room 12 Trench 8*

The sample from excavations in this trench comprises a total number of 108 ceramic fragments representing a minimum number of 57 vessels. The excavations revealed a series of refurbishment events, suggested by layers of slab and brick floors, drains and remains of architectural features. A colonial refuse pit was also found. Amongst the associated materials inside this pit were a wooden barrel and fragmented *botijas*. Also, utilitarian glazed pottery and cooking pots, candleholders, fish scales and bones, a wooden pen and traces of shoe manufacturing (Jiménez Badillo and López Rodríguez 1994). The analyzed ceramics from this deposit suggest that it probably dated to the seventeenth century. A total number of 41 fragments and a minimum of three *botijas*

were identified in the sample. Additionally, there were a high proportion of plates pertaining to sixteenth century Spanish, Italian and Mexican maiolicas. The Chinese ceramics recovered from this trench correspond mainly to plates, large plates and bowls of Kraak porcelain and one fragment of that one known as Tiger Skin (Figure 3.1.1.6).

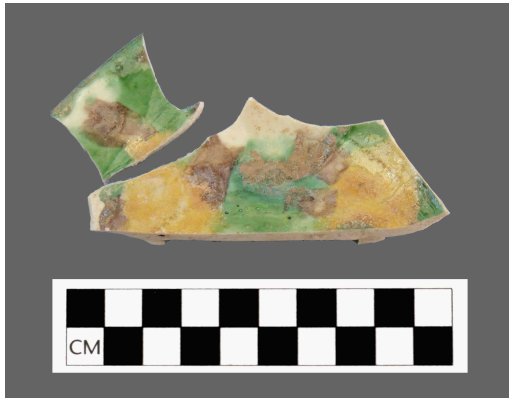


Figure 3.1.1.6. Plate. Tiger Skin porcelain

#### *Room 17, Trenches 64 and 65*

The excavation of these trenches uncovered a colonial refuse deposit with a considerable number of archaeological materials (Jiménez Badillo and López Rodríguez 1994).

The ceramics that were recovered from this context range in date from the

sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries and comprise a total number of 38 sherds and a minimum number of 33 vessels. These correspond to bowls of Fig Springs Polychrome (Figure 3.1.1.7), plates and *escudillas* of Spanish Columbia Plain, Santo Domingo Blue on White and one fragment of Sevilla White. Also, sixteenth to eighteenth century fine and common grade local maiolica, namely Fig Springs Polychrome, Ming and Ch'Ing porcelain and seven *botijas*.



Figure 3.1.1.7. Bowls. Fig Springs Polychrome

#### *Overview of the ceramic samples*

Mexican maiolica comprises the largest proportion in the ceramic sample from the National Palace. This is highly differentiated finding a variety of fine and common

grade types pertaining to the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Tables 3.1.1.4-10). Common grade Mexico City Green on Cream is the most common ceramic type, followed by Fig Springs Polychrome and Puebla Blue on White. While the sample is highly differentiated, consisting of plates, bowls, cups, *pocillos* and candleholders (Figure 3.1.1.8), there seems to exist a preference for flatware, found in early and late maiolica types. In the fine grade maiolica from the sixteenth century, as in La Traza Polychrome and Mexico City White Variety 1, the individual plate is the most common vessel. Large plates are common in fine grade La Traza Polychrome. Fig Springs Polychrome is more differentiated, finding plates, large plates, bowls and pitchers. Whilst common grade maiolica is also differentiated, finding a variety of plates, bowls and the candleholders, the vessel shapes found within these ceramic types are absent in fine grade examples.



Figure 3.1.1.8. Candleholder. Mexico City Blue on Cream

The vessel forms also suggest that there were changes in dining and the consumption of particular meals and vessel forms. These changes are particularly observable in the ceramics from the sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries when compared to those from the mid-seventeenth century and onwards. The earlier ones mainly correspond to flatware and bowls while the later ones include many more drinking vessels. These ceramics suggest the utilization of a variety of tablesets and vessels that may have had specialized functions such as drinking chocolate and eating sweet bread. Moreover, the materials recovered from the refuse pit found in Trench 56 Context 1A provide interesting insights to the ceramics that were discarded, for example 10 plates, 4 bowls and one cup of San Luis Polychrome, and plates and bowls of Aranama Polychrome.

The excavation in the refuse pit found in Room 1 trench 24, recovered 8 plates of La Traza Polychrome, suggesting that semi-complete tablesets may have been discarded.

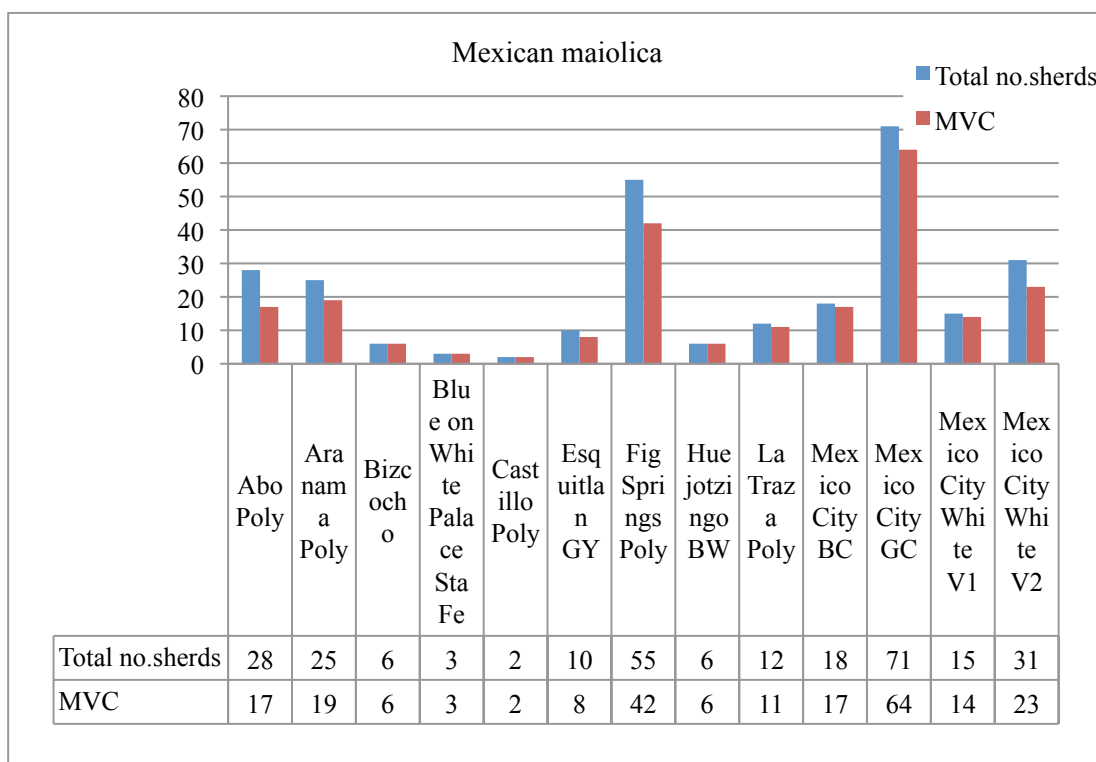


Table 3.1.1.4 Proportions of Mexican maiolica from National Palace

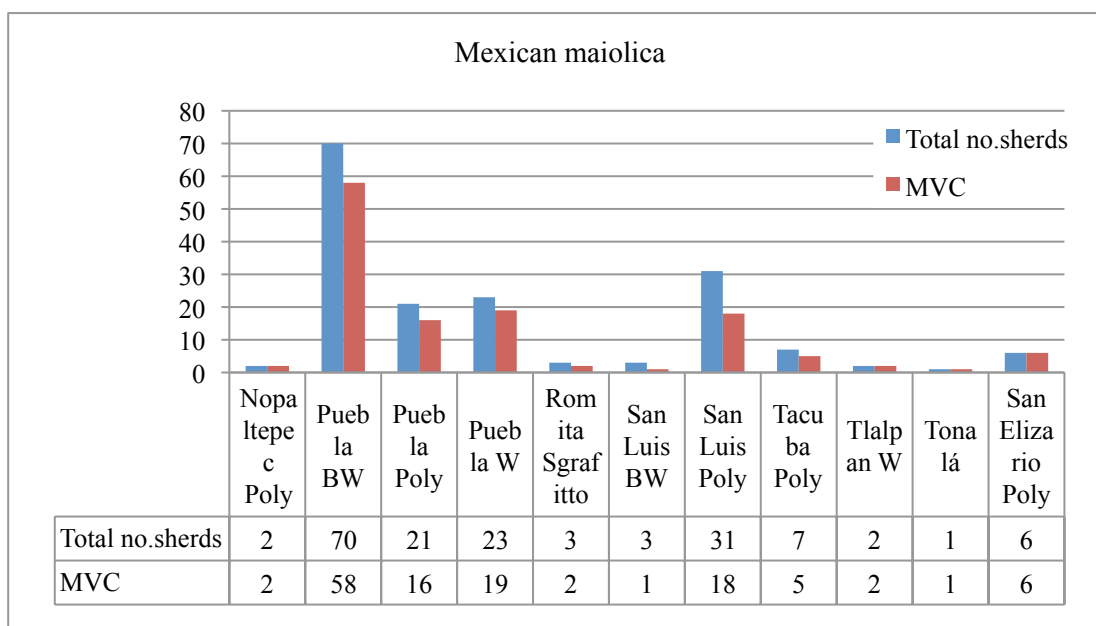


Table 3.1.1.5 Proportions of Mexican maiolica from National Palace



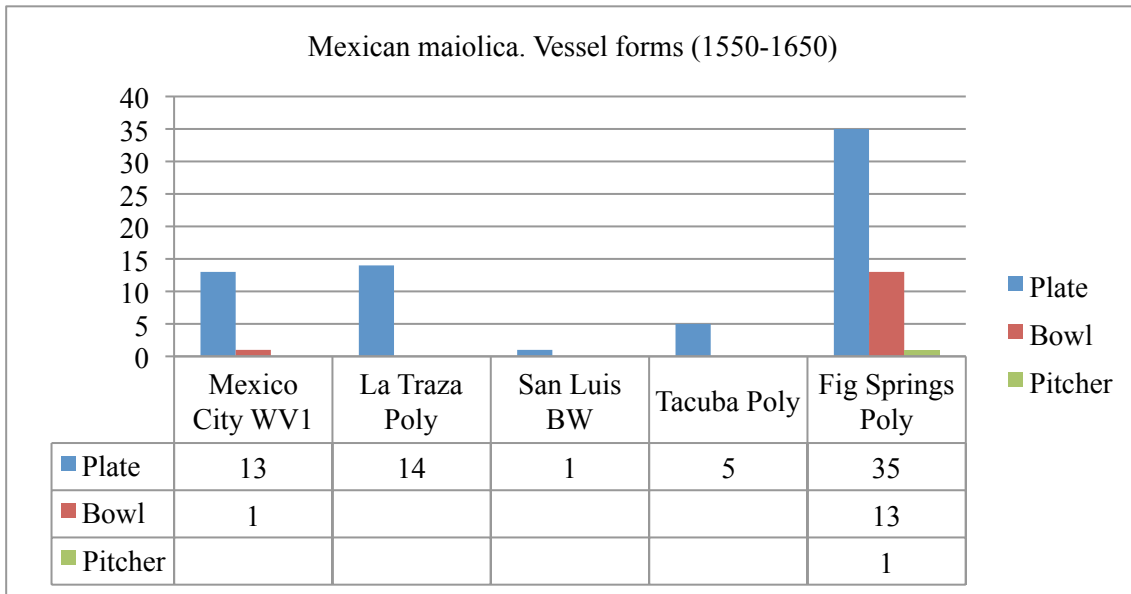


Table 3.1.1.6 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica from National Palace

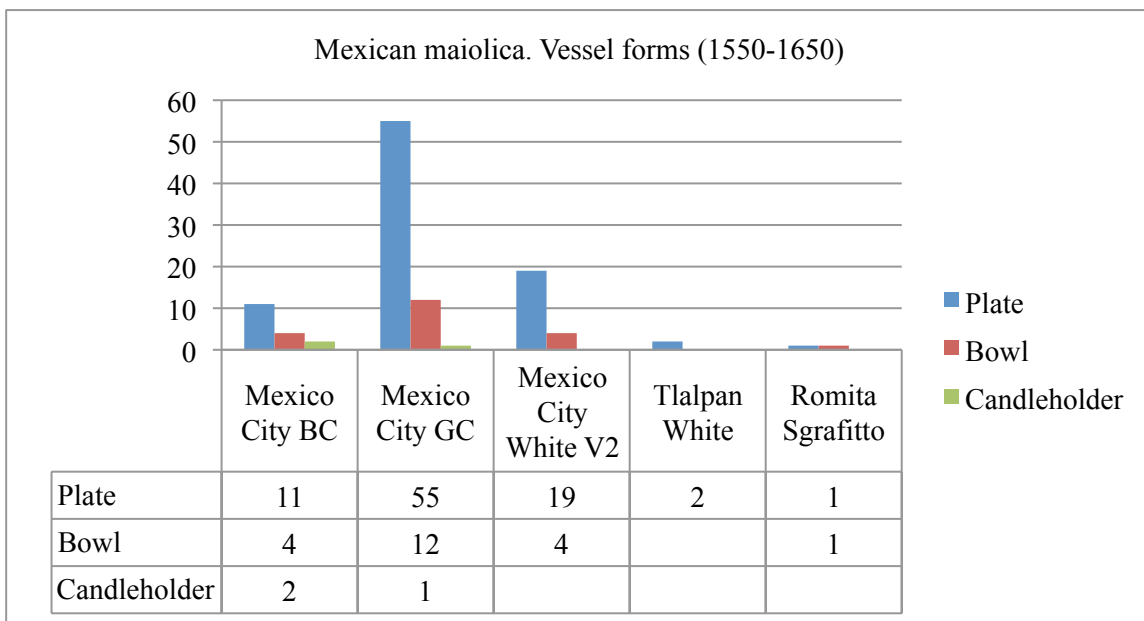


Table 3.1.1.7 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica from National Palace

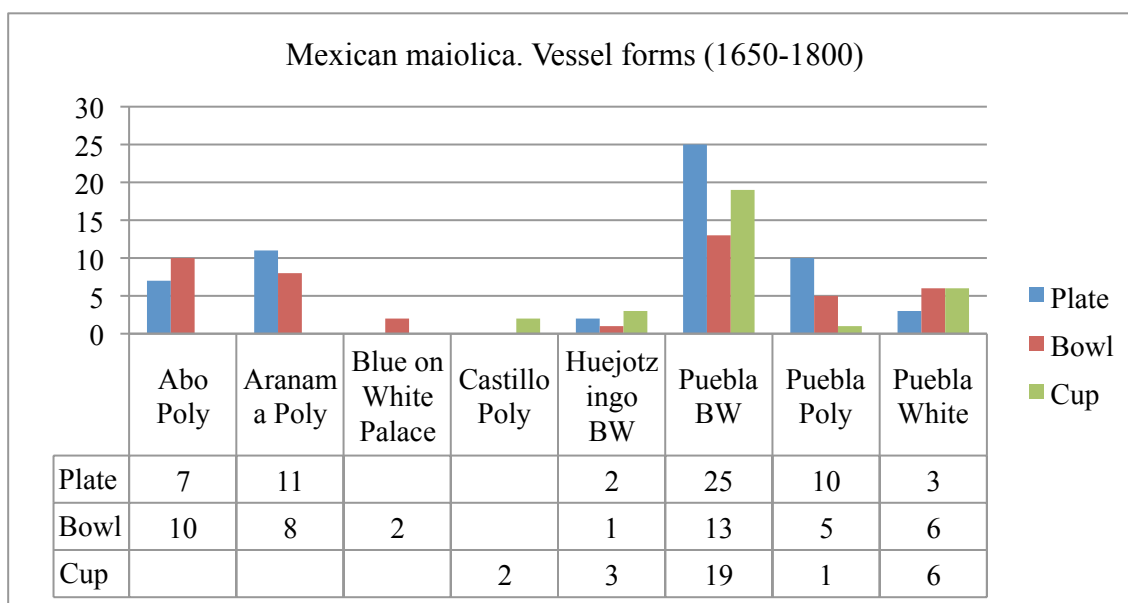


Table 3.1.1.8 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica from National Palace

The imported maiolica comprises the second largest ceramic proportion within the sample. Within this proportion, Spanish maiolica occurs more commonly than Italian types (Tables 3.1.1.9-10). Columbia Plain and Santo Domingo Blue on White represent the highest proportion of the sample in comparison to the relatively scarce Sevilla White, Yayal Blue on White and

Lusterware from Manises. This may suggest that the latter may have been considered to be luxurious items and thus were not so readily discarded, in comparison to the more ordinary Columbia Plain and Santo Domingo Blue on White. It is interesting to note that the vessel forms vary from one ceramic type



Figure 3.1.1.9. Plates. Ligurian Blue on White

to another. For example, the *escudillas* and plates are common to Columbia Plain whereas the large plates and bowls and pitchers, are typically of Santo Domingo Blue on White. These variations were also observed in Sevilla White, with finds of bowls and porringers with handles. They may be attributed to the different uses given to the tablesets, which might have depended on the type of food served at the table and the dining setting. While this is difficult to assert, some ceramics like Columbia Plain may have been more ‘utilitarian’ whilst others like Santo Domingo Blue on White and

Sevilla White may have been intended for lavish display and specialized meals finding a wider variety of vessel forms within these ceramic types. Even though the relative proportions of Italian maiolicas are lower than those constituted by Spanish ones, the sample is nevertheless highly differentiated, including a variety of plates from Liguria (Figure 3.1.1.9). Faenza and Montelupo. Their scarcity in the archaeological record may be due to their high price in the market and thus may have been used as items for display of wealth and that were probably exhibited but not used for dining. This is further suggested by the occurrence of few individual plates in the samples that pertain to different tablesets and the absence of other specialized vessel forms pertaining to the same tableset (Tables 3.1.1.9-10).

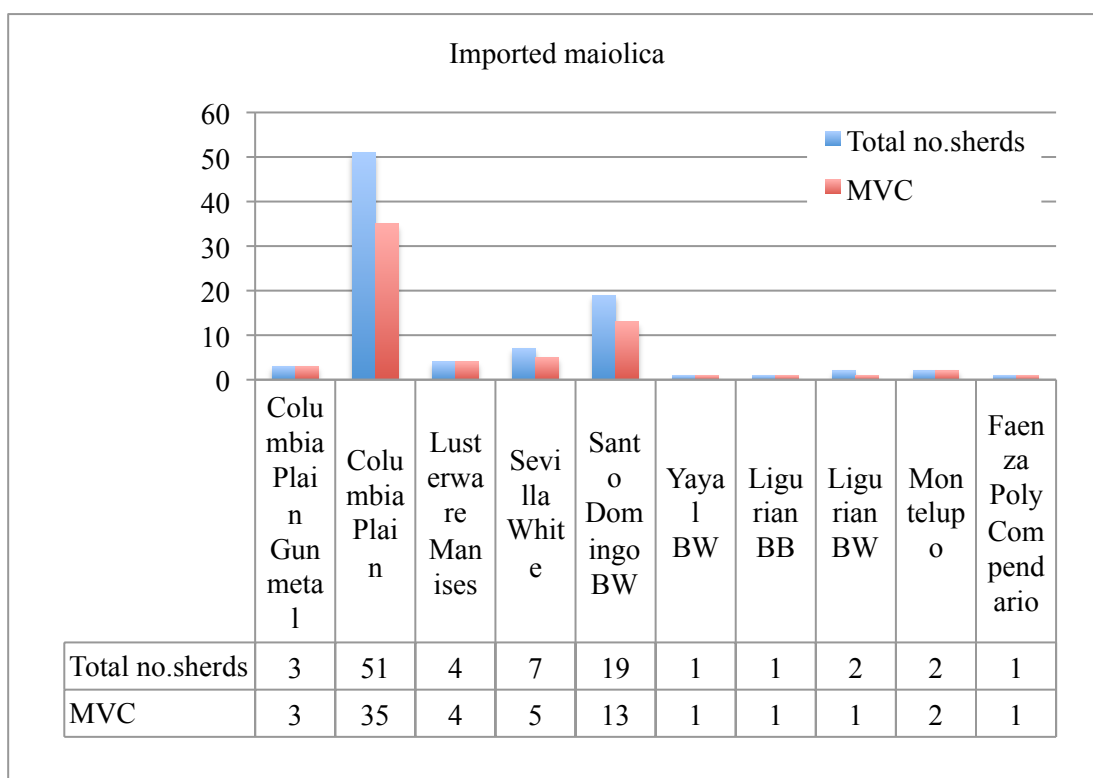


Table 3.1.1.9 Proportions of imported maiolica from National Palace

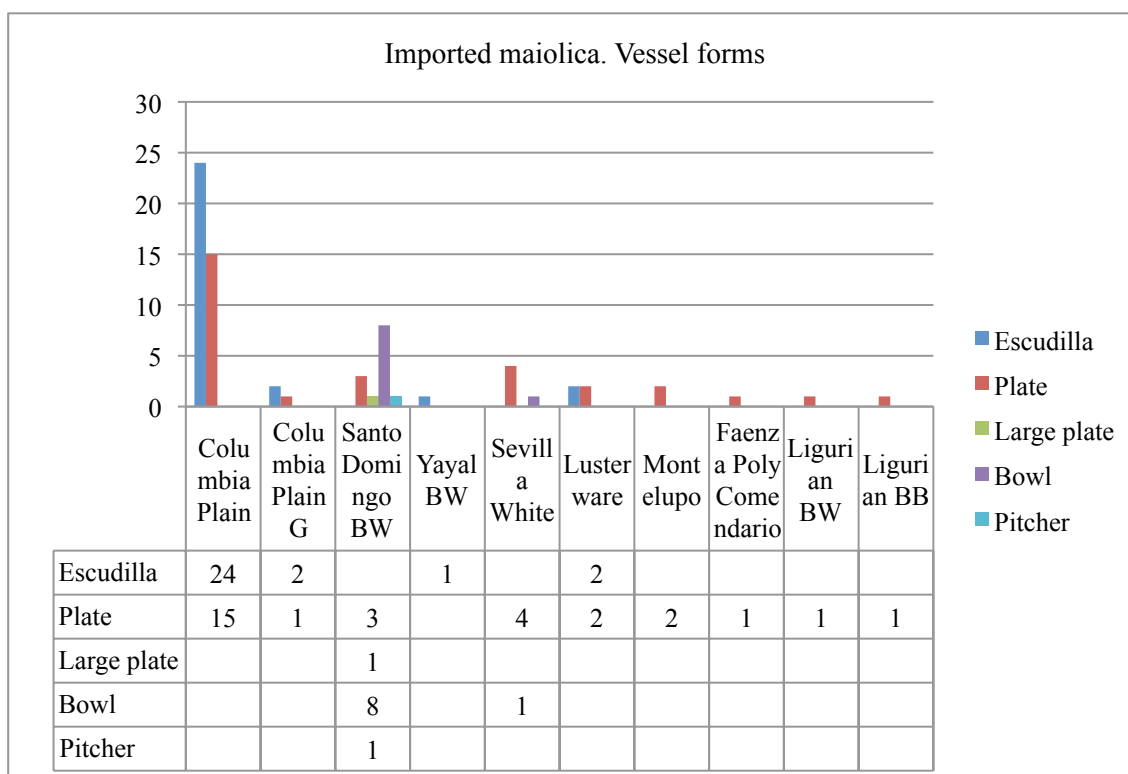


Table 3.1.1.10 Vessel forms of imported maiolica from National Palace

Also, a total of 149 ceramic fragments and a minimum number of 11 vessels, represented by diagnostic fragments such as the mouths, formed the bulk of the analyzed sample of *botijas* (Table 3.1.1.11). These fragments were recovered from the refuse deposits found in Trench 56 and Room 1 Trench 24, from Room 17 Trenches 64 and 65, and a relatively high quantity of sherds were recovered from Room 12 Trench 8. There is a similar proportion of glazed and



Figure 3.1.1.10 Botija with seal produced by fire

unglazed sherds, and thus those vessels originally containing wine or grape juice and maybe olive oil, olives or capers (see Chapter two). Two different types of fabric were identified, one red and the other one buff to white. Both fabrics have calcite, sand and mica inclusions (0.1-0.8 cm), which are sometimes observed on the exterior surface. The exterior surface is generally covered with a white slip in both groups of *botijas*, and in the unglazed ones a brown slip covers the interior surface. Where identifiable, fragments of mouths could be attributed to Middle Style vessels (diameter 7-8 cm), some of which had seals over the exterior surface. Two incised seals and one produced

by a fire mark were identified (Figure 3.1.1.10). Moreover, one *botijuela* with a flat base and an emerald glaze on the interior and partially covering the exterior surface was also identified. Because of its dimension, shape and flat base, it may have been used to serve olive oil at the table or for cooking.

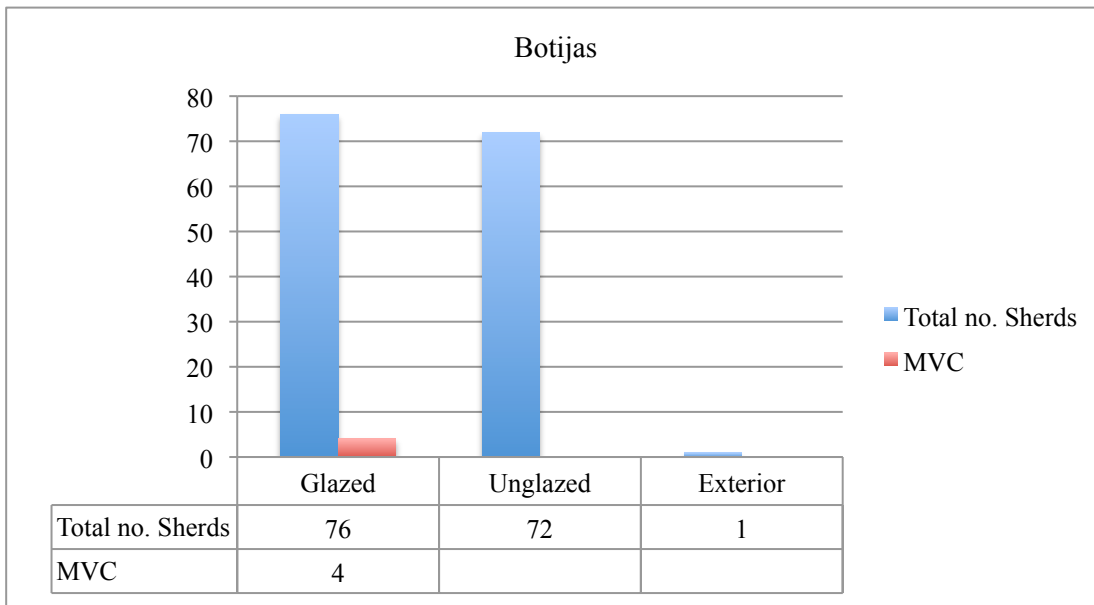


Table 3.1.1.11 Proportions of *botijas* from National Palace

Finally, the sample of Chinese porcelain from the National Palace provided insights to the consumption patterns throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The predominance of Ming porcelain over that from the Ch’Ing dynastic period may be explained in terms of the relatively high proportion of plates, large plates, cups and bowls that comprise Kraak tableware (Table 3.1.1.10). In comparison, the vessels pertaining to other late porcelain types such as Dehua, Imari and Ch’Ing Blue on White mainly correspond to drinking vessels



Figure 3.1.1.11. Bowl. Ch’Ing porcelain

and bowls and these constitute scattered examples from tablesets (Table 3.1.1.12-13). This suggests that porcelain like Dehua, Tiger Skin and Brown Glazed, were not readily discarded and thus may have constituted expensive items in comparison to Kraak and the bowls of Ch’Ing Blue on White (Figure 3.1.1.11). Or, rather that the consumption of

Chinese porcelain decreased towards the eighteenth century as a reflection of changes in taste and display of wealth on behalf of the courtiers.

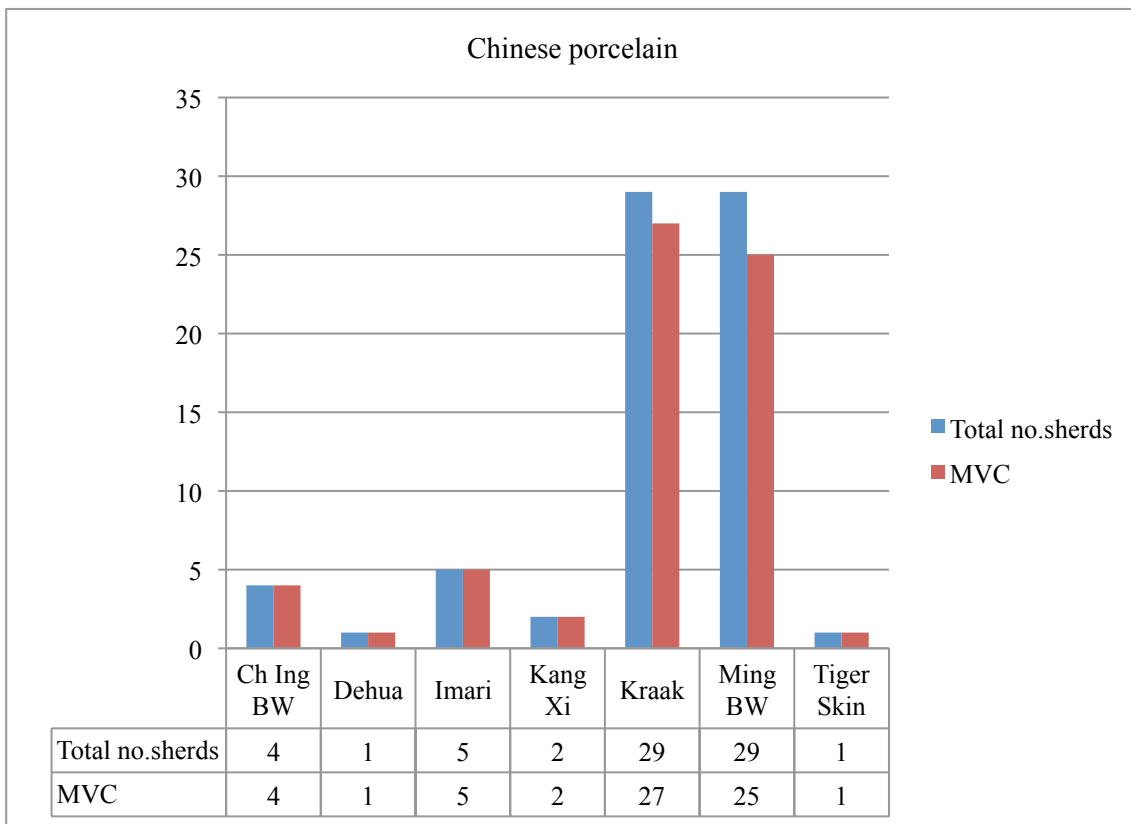


Table 3.1.1.12 Proportions of Chinese porcelain from National Palace

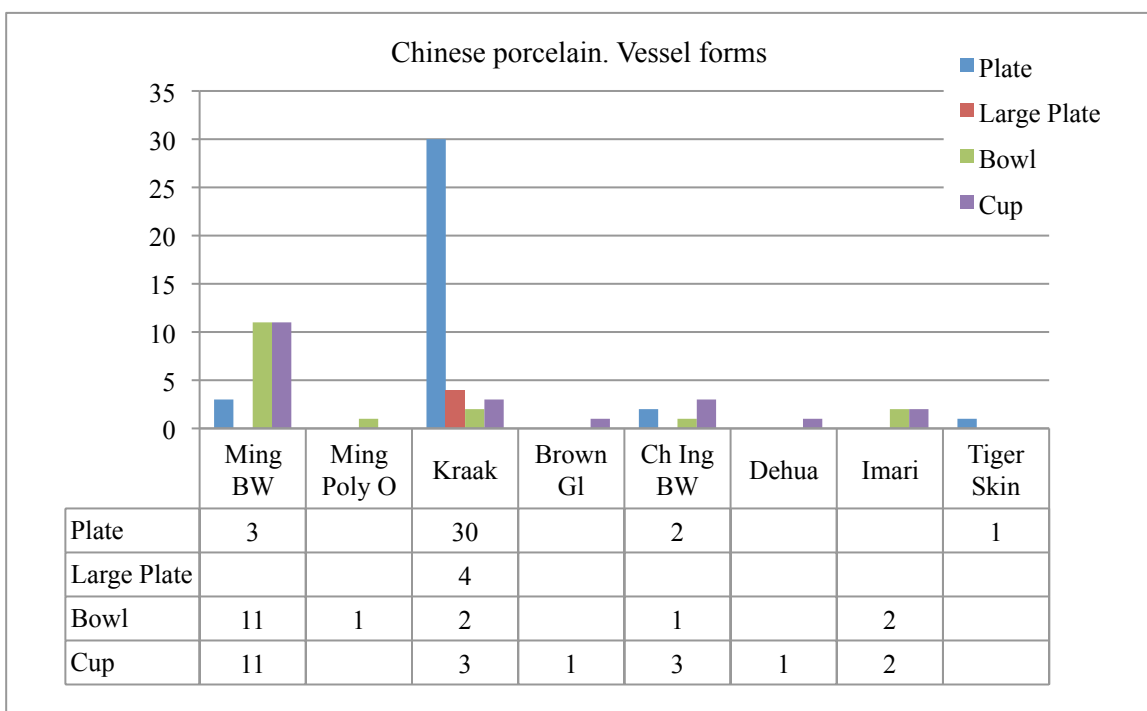


Table 3.1.1.13 Vessel forms of Chinese porcelain from National Palace

### 3.1.2 Juárez 70. The Royal Hospice for the Poor

The property of Juárez 70 was the place where the Royal Hospice of the Poor was erected in the eighteenth century during the Bourbon regime. It is situated in the Juárez Avenue right opposite the public garden known as *Alameda Central* or Alameda Park (Figure 3.1.1). During the colonial period and until the eighteenth century, this area was considered as the ‘outskirts’ of the *traza* (Corona *et al.* 2000, 8). The hospice was built as an institution that would ‘reform’ the ‘authentic poor people’ of the city and thus was a space that conveniently kept mestizos, Native Mexicans, Africans and *castas* “out of sight” from the inhabitants of Mexico City. It was the largest and most important building after the vice royal palace. The idea of reforming the royal poor was based on the principle of instructing them in some useful craft or labour activity and providing them with a house, food, clothing and medical care (Arrom 2000, 11-77; 82; 95; 170; 239). By doing this, vice royal authorities sought to diminish the ‘social vices’ of vagrancy, laziness and crime that haunted the streets of Mexico City (Martin 1985, 101-114).

#### *The ceramic sample*

The ceramics from Juárez 70 were obtained from the collections of La Alhóndiga, Direction of Rescue Archaeology of INAH. This sample constitutes a total of 244 fragments and a minimum number of 137 vessels of Mexican maiolica, 17 fragments and a minimum number of 12 vessels of Spanish ceramics and 361 fragments and a minimum number of 251 vessels of Chinese porcelain and one *botija* (Table 3.1.2.1). The ceramics were recovered from excavation units RI, I, II, III, IIIB, and IVB (Table 3.1.2.2). The stratigraphy of the site had been adversely affected at various times due to the construction of the Hospice of the Poor in the eighteenth century and the Hotel del Prado in the twentieth century, nevertheless a couple of refuse pits that contained colonial materials could be identified (Corona *et al.* 2000). These were discussed in detail and provided valuable insights to the patterns of consumption and discard in the hospice and the outskirts of Mexico City in general. Castillo Cárdenas (2007) had already analyzed one part of this important ceramic sample from Juárez 70, but because

of the relevance of this study, these data were taken into consideration in the analysis, to provide a wider overview of the material culture from the site.

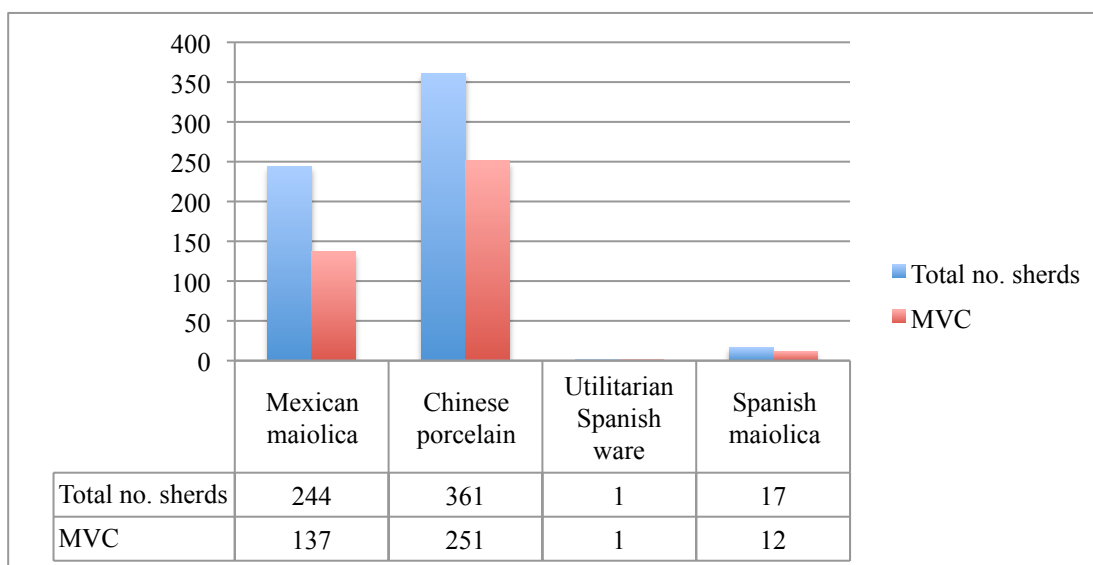


Table 3.1.2.1 Proportion of ceramics from Juárez 70

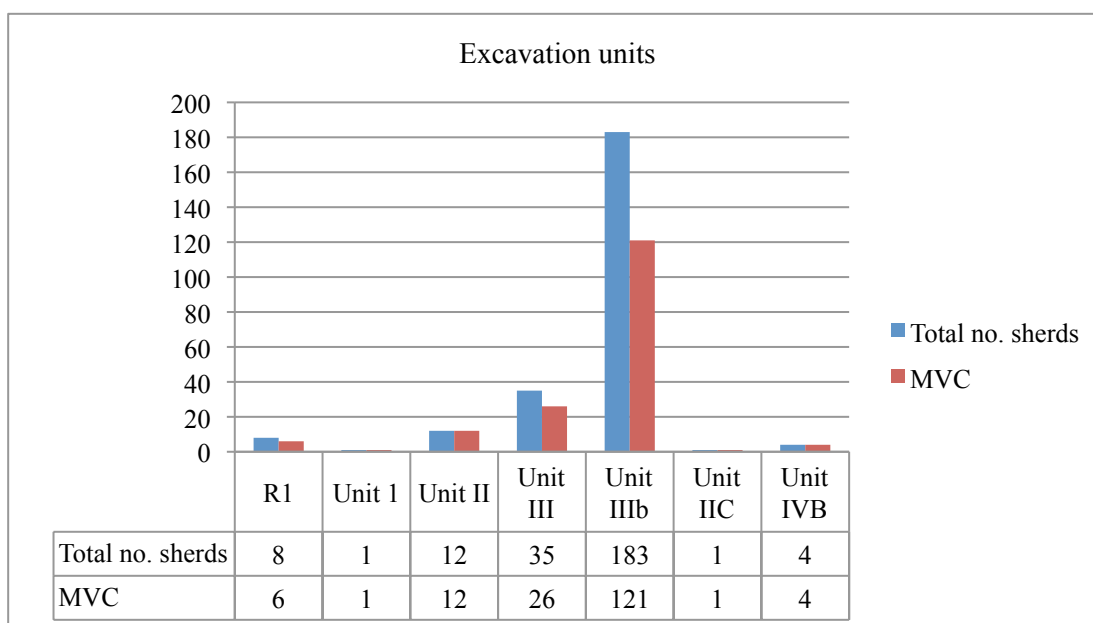


Table 3.1.2.2 Proportion of ceramics from excavation units at Juárez 70

### *Excavation units*

Excavation Unit I revealed a series of construction fills that were the result of construction and demolition processes during the twentieth century (Corona *et al.* 2000, 29-33; 51-61). In this unit, sixteenth to eighteenth century Mexican maiolica was



recovered. The materials recovered from excavation Unit II, included the remains of sixteenth to seventeenth centuries maiolica and utilitarian glazed ceramic manufacture, and the presence of unfired ceramic objects. This could be related to the potters' workshops that were located in the surrounding area of the hospice. The excavation of Unit III revealed imported and local maiolica from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

The highest proportion of ceramics was recovered from unit IIIB, located on the eastern portion of the hospice. The excavation revealed architectural features belonging to the pre-Hispanic period, canals, and features and foundations dating to the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. The most interesting context found in this excavation unit was a refuse pit located between layers III and VI. This feature was a well of rectangular shape with stone and mortar walls. It had been partially destroyed by the cementation of the modern hotel (Corona *et al.* 2000, 61-68). Inside, four different layers contained glass bottles, a high proportion of coal, bricks and stones and ceramics were found. The deposit comprises a high proportion of flatware and bowls of Spanish and Mexican maiolica. Also,

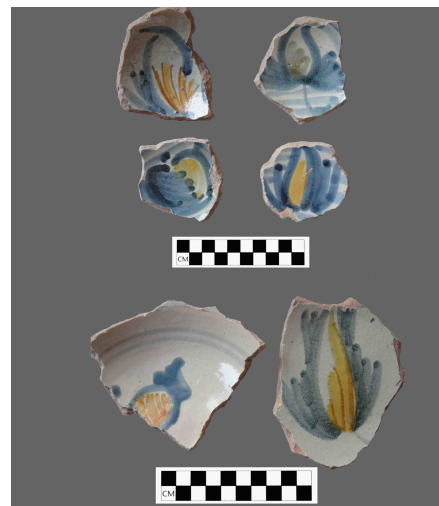


Figure 3.1.2.1. Plates and bowls of Fig Springs Polychrome

semi-complete vessels were identified within the sample (Figure 3.1.2.1), possibly waste from the nearby ceramic workshops. This is further emphasized by the identification of a plate with an attached piece of another vessel on its rim (Figure 3.1.2.2). The variations to the central decorative motifs namely in vessels of Fig Springs Polychrome, suggest that these are the work of different workshops or potters.

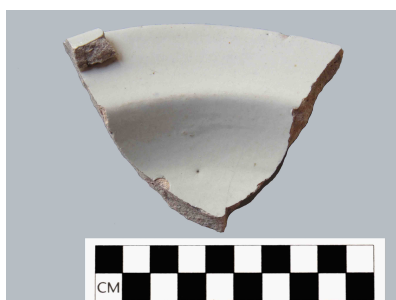


Figure 3.1.2.2. Production waste

Other interesting materials recovered from this excavation unit are the bowls and plates of Romita Sgraffito also known as *Indigena Ware*, one of these with the depiction of a winged figure as central decoration (Figure 3.1.2.3). Also, traces of clay attached to the base of a bowl of Santo Domingo Blue on White were identified which suggests that imported maiolica was consumed in Mexico City despite the manufacturing defects.



Figure 3.1.2.3. Plate. Romita Sgraffito

Additionally, 12 semi-complete *lebrillos* (Figures 3.1.2.4-3.1.2.5), that is carinated bowls of a medieval tradition with sealed bottoms, were also identified in the sample from this pit in layer III, and were associated to seventeenth-to eighteenth-century maiolica, and may suggest that the vessels were produced during that period. While most of the *lebrillos* are unglazed and with red slip on the interior surface one of these had traces of green glazing. These have different forms and sizes that range from 8-20 cm. The seals include representations of double-headed eagles and others with a crowned lion, possibly the Hapsburg insignia, and also rosette in gothic style and letters (Figures 3.1.2.6-3.1.2.8). The



Figure 3.1.2.4 *Lebrillos*

finding of *lebrillos* in this site, most of these semi-complete, can be paralleled to those from La Antigua Enseñanza, and this might provide insights to their function.

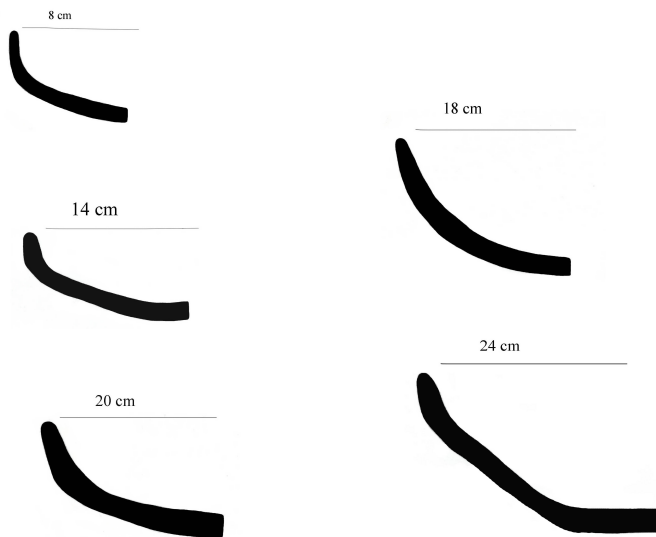


Figure 3.1.2.5. Lebrillos. Vessel shapes

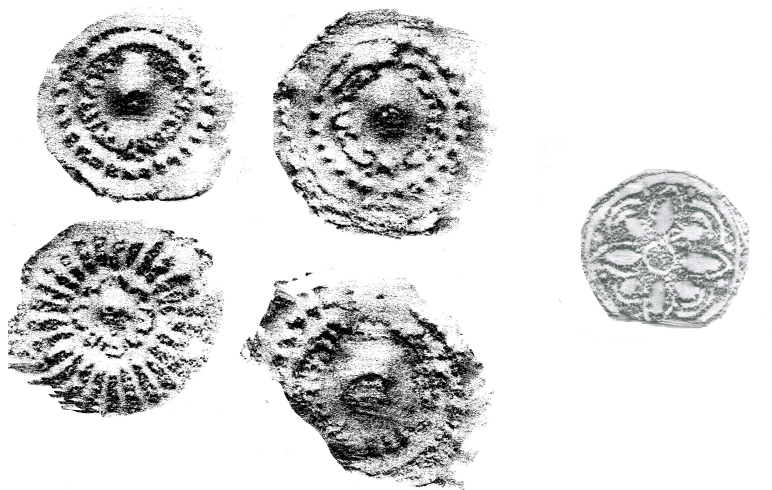


Figure 3.1.2.6. Imprinted motifs on *lebrillos*

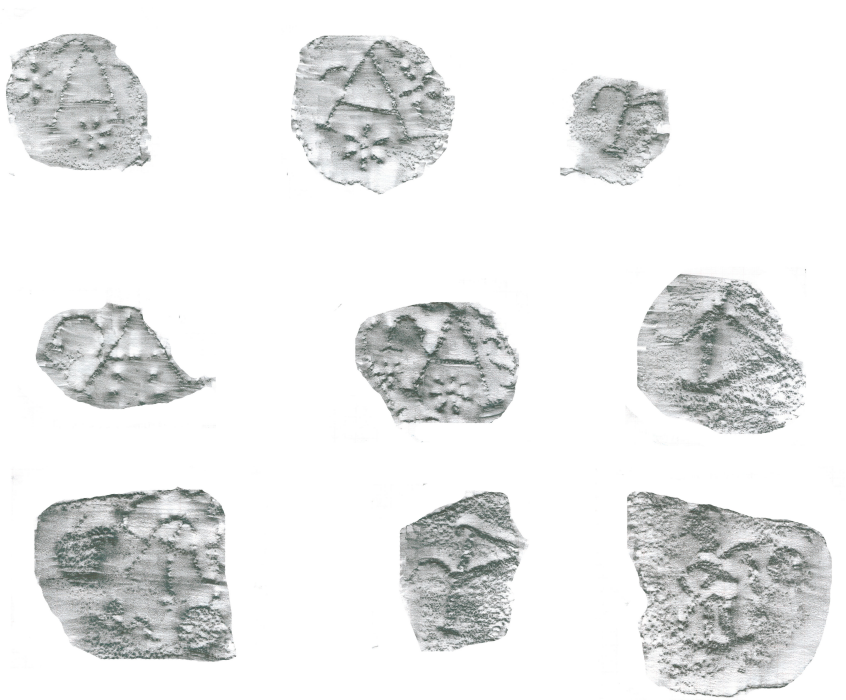


Figure 3.1.2.7 Imprinted motifs on *lebrillos*

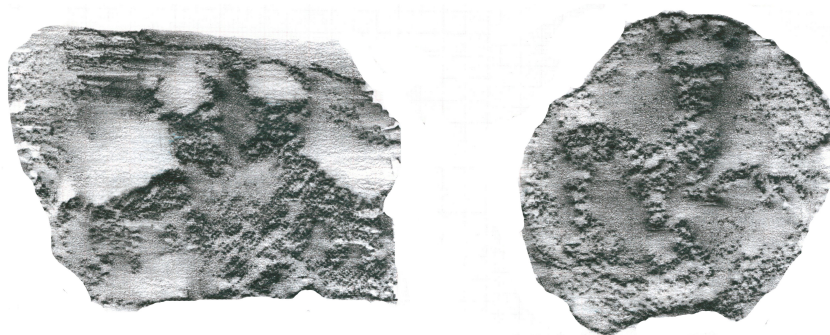


Figure 3.1.2.8 Imprinted motifs on *lebrillos*. Bulls and Hapsburg lion

Finally, the excavation of RI uncovered a waste pit with 8 ceramic fragments that correspond to semi-complete bowls and plates of Mexico City White Variety 2 and Mexico City Green on Cream. An observation of the vessel surfaces enabled the identification of what seem to be manufacturing defects. These ranged from a low quality surface finishing in comparison to other maiolica vessels analyzed in this thesis, with yellowish white appearance. Also, crazing and holes on the surfaces from the

glazing while firing the vessel, visible cockspur marks on the interior and exterior surfaces and pinholes amongst others (Figure 3.1.2.9). This may suggest that the waste pit had been in use by the potters and that the ceramics recovered from this context may constitute production waste. Other ceramics found in this excavation correspond to 48 *lebrillos*.



Figure 3.1.2.9. Bowls. Mexico City Green on Cream

#### *Overview of the ceramic sample*

Mexican maiolica comprises the highest proportion within the analyzed ceramic sample in comparison to the proportion represented by Spanish examples. The local maiolica corresponds to sixteenth to early nineteenth century ceramic types finding plates and bowls of Fig Springs Polychrome, La Traza Polychrome, Mexico City White Variety 1 and 2, Mexico City Green on Cream, San Luis Blue on White, Tacuba Polychrome and Puebla Polychrome. Some of the examples of local ceramics presented possible manufacturing defects in the decoration and surface finishing. This might suggest that they could correspond to production waste from the potters' quarters that were formerly located in the surrounding area of the eighteenth century hospice. However, there exists a possibility that these vessels were still perfectly usable but were sold off to the hospice at a lesser cost. Few sherds of imported maiolica were also present, namely plates and bowls, pitchers and *escudillas* of sixteenth century Columbia Plain, Columbia Plain Gunmetal and Santo Domingo Blue on White (Tables 3.1.2. -3.1.2.6).

The data from Castillo Cárdenas (2007) on local maiolica from Juárez 70 suggest a very distinctive sample characterized by a relative high proportion of plates and bowls of mid-seventeenth and eighteenth century date. These are similar to those analyzed in this thesis and mainly correspond to Puebla Blue on White, Puebla Polychrome, Abo Polychrome, Castillo Polychrome and San Elizario Polychrome amongst others.

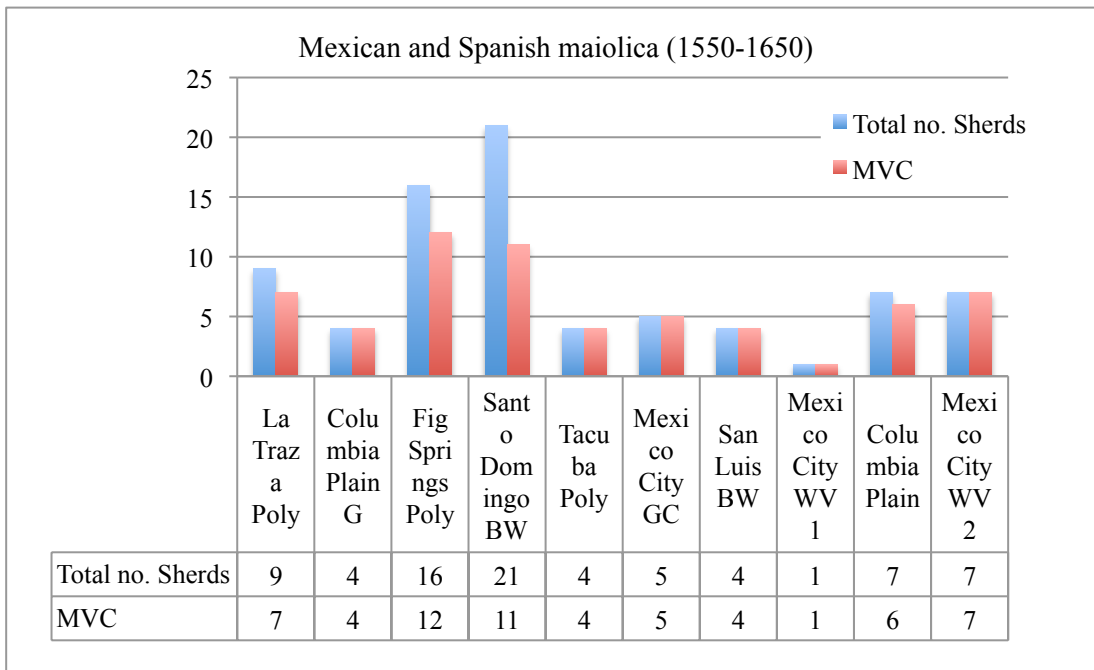


Table 3.1.2.3 Proportion of imported maiolica from Juárez 70

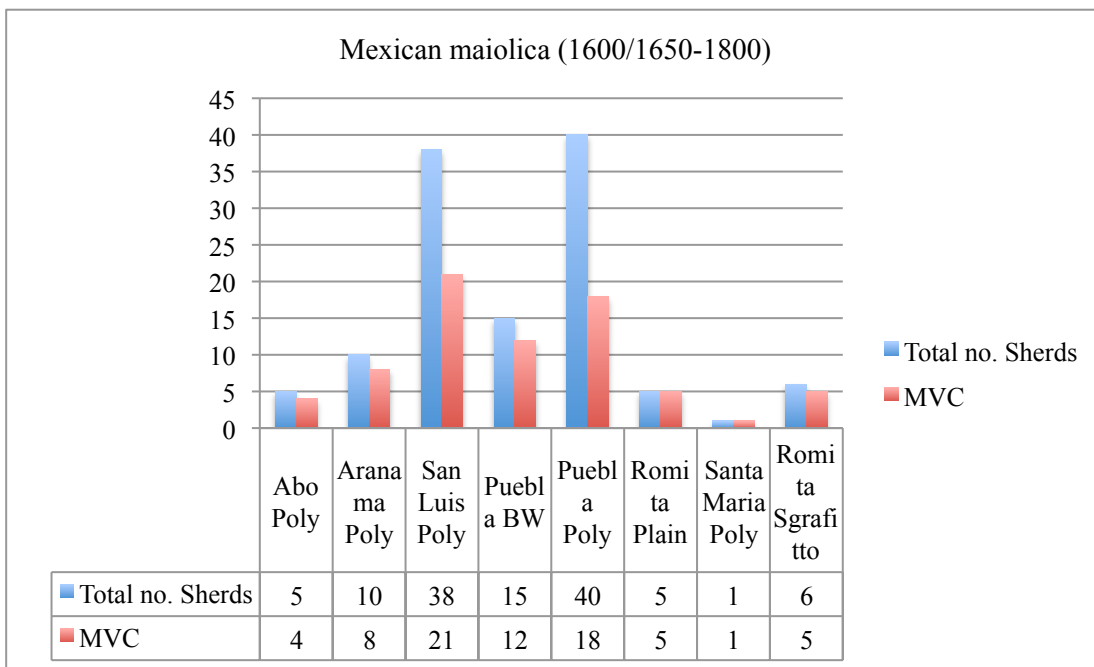


Table 3.1.2.4 Proportion of Mexican maiolica from Juárez 70

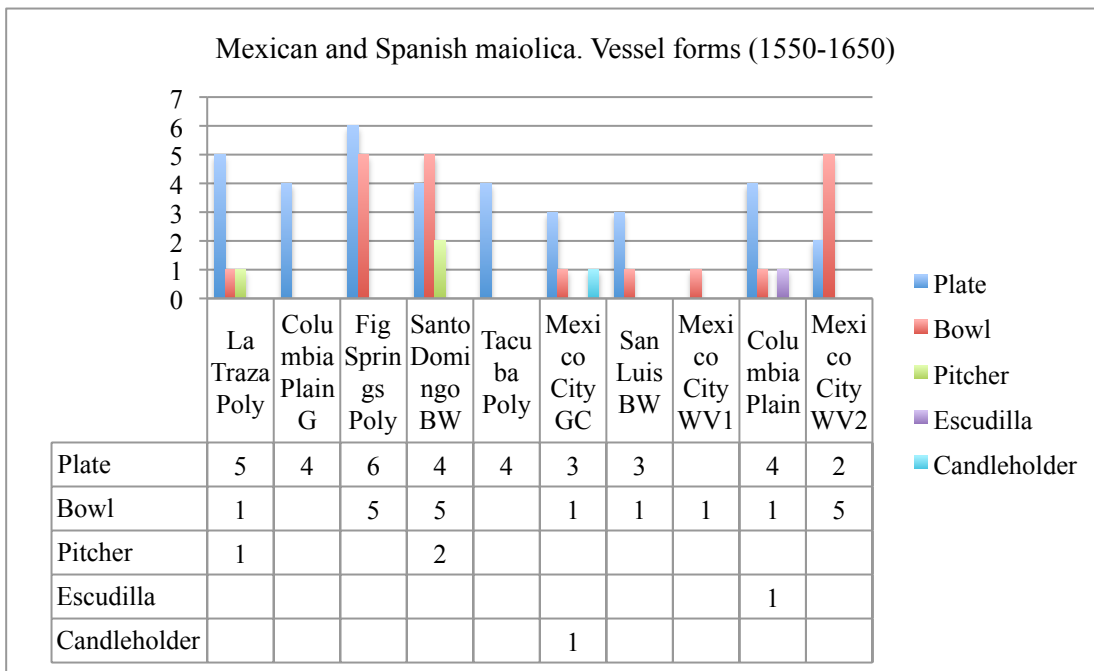


Table 3.1.2.5 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica from Juárez 70

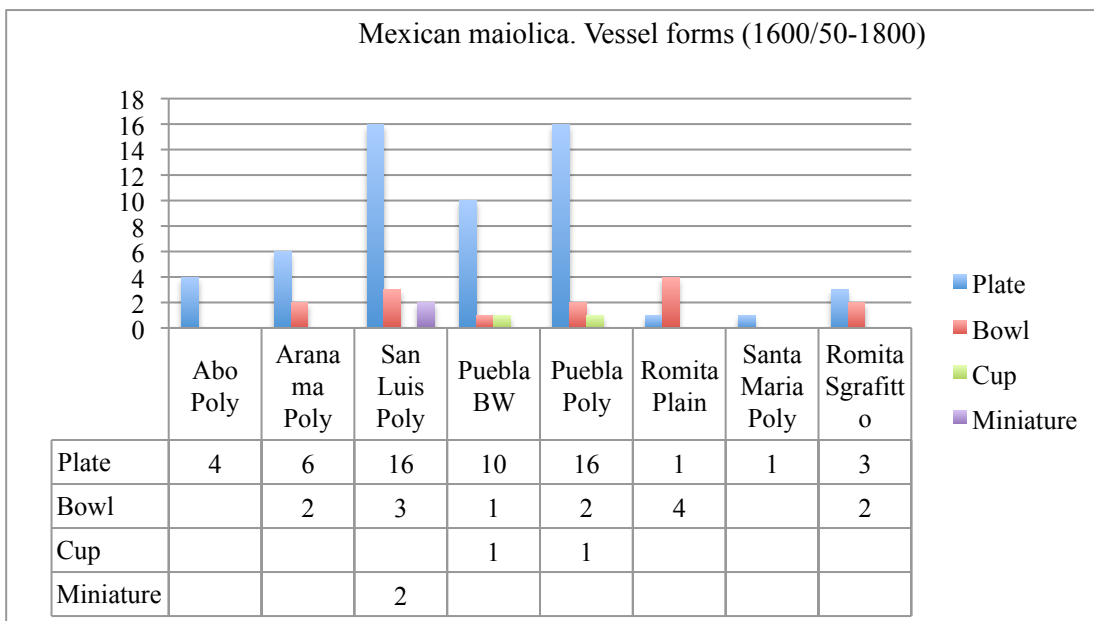


Table 3.1.2.6 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica from Juárez 70

Castillo Cárdenas (2007) analyzed a total of 360 fragments of Chinese porcelain. The data suggests a highly differentiated sample in the ceramic types and vessel forms from the Ming and Ch'Ing dynasties present. The vessel forms range from teapots to drinking

vessels to flatware and bowls, serving ware in the form of large plates, jars, lids and tibors (Table 3.1.2.7).

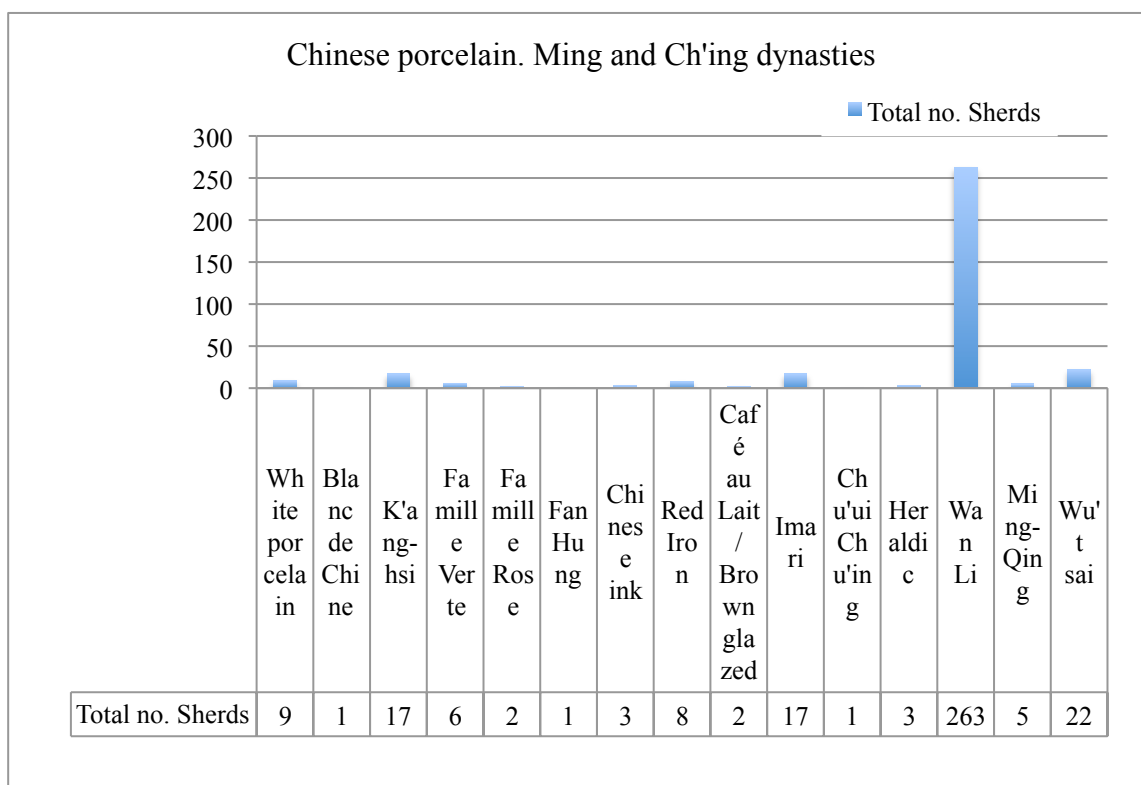


Table 3.1.2.7 Proportion of Chinese porcelain from Juárez 70. Data taken from Castillo Cárdenas 2007

## 3.2 Secular/ Domestic Sites

### 3.2.1 Capuchinas

The site of Capuchinas is located in the historical quarter of Mexico City, in the streets of Venustiano Carranza and Palma, in an area inside the Spanish *traza*. The archaeological data suggest that the construction of the first colonial house in this location occurred towards the first half of the sixteenth century and was owned by wealthy Spanish families, mainly descendants of conquistadors (López Wario *et al.* 1990, n/p; López Wario *et al.* 1990a).



### Ceramic sample

The Direction of Rescue Archaeology recovered the ceramic assemblage that was analyzed in this thesis, from the excavation of units B, C, D, E, F and G, in the former patio and rubbish dumps belonging to the colonial period (López Wario *et al.* 1990, n/p). The analyzed ceramics comprise a total of 228 fragments and a minimum number of 229 vessels, including Mexican and imported maiolica, *botijas* and Chinese porcelain (Table 3.2.1.1). The highest proportions of colonial ceramics were recovered from units C, D, E and F (Table 3.2.1.2).

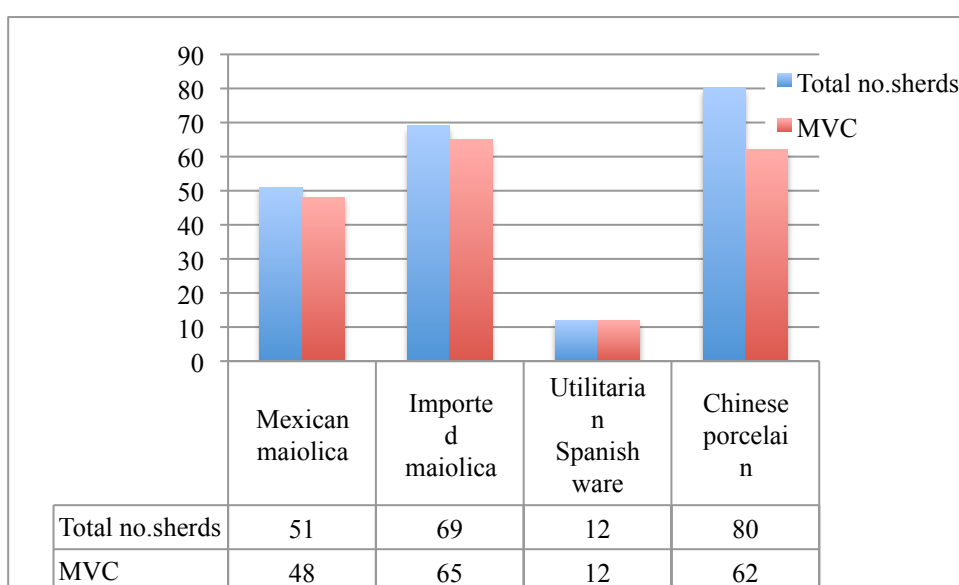


Table 3.2.1.1 Proportion of ceramics from Capuchinas

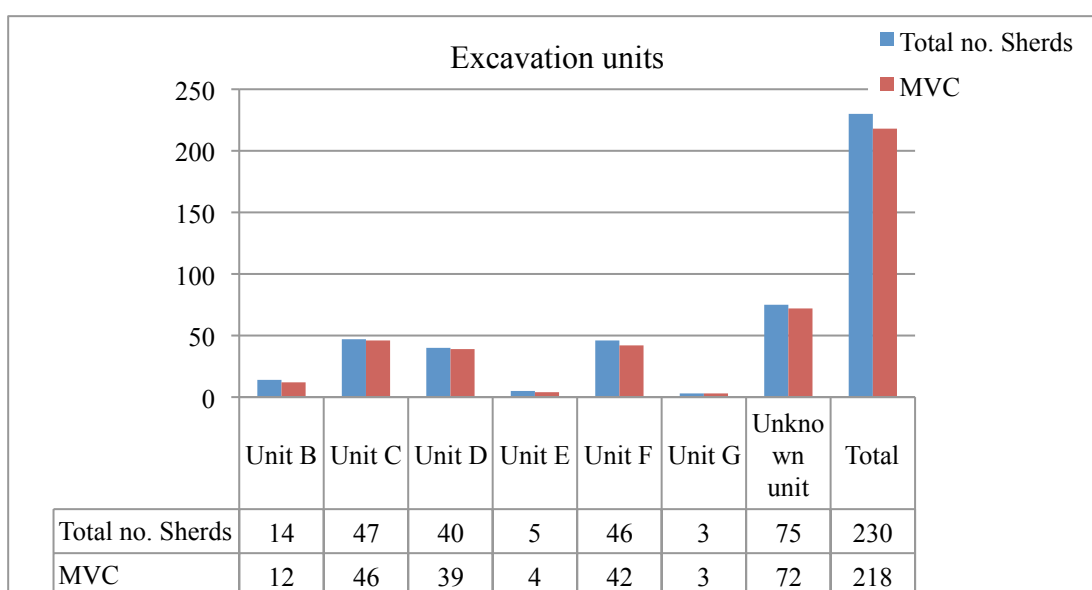


Table 3.2.1.2 Proportion of ceramics from excavation units at Capuchinas

The ceramic materials that were recovered from excavation area B were found in association to the remains of a staircase, a privy and wells that was later used as a refuse pits. These contained large proportions of material culture including complete maiolica vessels and utilitarian glazed ceramics (López Wario *et al.* 1990a n/p) (Figure 3.2.1.1). The imported and local maiolica and Chinese porcelain analyzed from this unit dated to the mid-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries suggesting an early colonial context. Another rubbish pit that was located in pit B8 contained miniature objects, possibly toys, and semi-complete maiolica vessels and utilitarian glazed ceramics, Ming porcelain and one Middle Style *botija*.

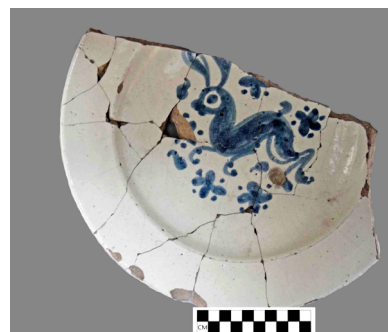


Figure 3.2.1.1 Plate. Santo Domingo Blue on White

The excavation of area C uncovered three wells belonging to the colonial period and that had been reused as refuse pits and two pits that were also used for the disposal of rubbish and that were labelled as C7 and C8 (López Wario *et al.* 199a n/p). The ceramic materials recovered from these features included imported maiolica from Liguria, Spanish maiolica and Ming porcelain. It was particularly interesting to note one plate of Spanish Columbia Plain that bears manufacturing defects such as cockspur marks on its interior bottom surface and might suggest that this was a low quality item (Figure 3.2.1.2). The ceramic materials that were recovered from pits C7 and C8 correspond to a considerable concentration of sixteenth and seventeenth century Chinese porcelain, imported maiolica such as Santa Elena Mottled and local maiolica. Furthermore, Early Style and Middle Style *botijas* for olive oil were identified (Table 3.2.1.3).



Figure 3.2.1.2. Plate. Columbia Plain



Figure 3.2.1.3. Middle Style *botija*

<i>Early style</i>	<i>Diameter mouth</i>	<i>Surface finishing</i>	<i>Fabric</i>	<i>Possible function (Taken from James 1988)</i>
	<i>Interior 6.9cm Exterior 7.8 cm</i>	<i>Green glaze covering interior and exterior surface of mouth</i>	<i>Red</i>	<i>Olive oil</i>
	<i>10 cm</i>	<i>Green emerald green on exterior and interior surfaces</i>	<i>Red</i>	<i>Olive oil</i>
<b><i>Middle Style</i></b>				
	<i>Internal 7.8 cm External 11 cm</i>	<i>Thick honey glaze on interior surface</i>	<i>Red</i>	<i>Olive oil</i>
	<i>Internal 5.8 cm External 8.5</i>	<i>Thick honey glaze on interior surface and part of mouth</i>	<i>Red</i>	<i>Olive oil</i>
<b><i>Botijuela</i></b>		<i>Green glaze on interior surface and partially covering exterior surface</i>	<i>Buff</i>	<i>Olive oil</i>

Table 3.2.1.3 *Botijas* from Capuchinas

The excavation in unit D uncovered several rubbish pits and this suggested that the area had been used for domestic discard (López Wario *et al.* 1990a n/p). The analyzed ceramic sample from these refuse deposits mainly correspond to imported wares from China and Europe such as plates and bowls of Kraak porcelain and Chinese Polychrome

Export, Italian and semi-complete vessels of Spanish maiolica (Figure 3.2.1.4). The excavations in unit E uncovered two wells that contained colonial material culture (López Wario *et al.* 1990a n/p) that included bowls of Ming porcelain, Columbia Plain Gunmetal and one Middle Style glazed *botija*.

The ceramic sample that was recovered from unit F was found inside a colonial well and corresponds to sixteenth-century Spanish and Mexican maiolica, Ming porcelain and two Middle Style glazed *botijas*. One fragment of Spanish maiolica bears a possible coat of arms and a second one a letter ‘A’ (Figure 3.2.1.5). Other ceramic materials were found in construction fills from unit F and correspond to a high proportion of plates, cups and bowls that were decorated with exemplary zoomorphic motifs such as turkeys, an anthropomorphic figure, an angel and a lions (Figure 3.2.1.6). Could all these vessels belong to a single tableset? Finally, three fragments of European maiolica were identified in the sample from area G and others that included plates, bowls and small cups of Ming and Ch’Ing porcelain from an unknown excavation area.



Figure 3.2.1.4. Bowls, jar and *escudillas*. Columbia Plain Gunmetal



Figure 3.2.1.5. Plates with inscriptions



Figure 3.2.1.6. Plates. Abó Polychrome

*Overview of ceramic samples*

Chinese porcelain constitutes the predominant ceramic ware within the site and this suggests a relatively high economic status. The sample is highly differentiated with the recovery of a variety of porcelain types, mostly from the Ming dynastic period, and differentiated vessel forms such as large serving plates, individual plates, bowls, cups, and small cups possibly intended for display or for conspicuous drinking (Tables 3.2.1.4-3.2.1.5).

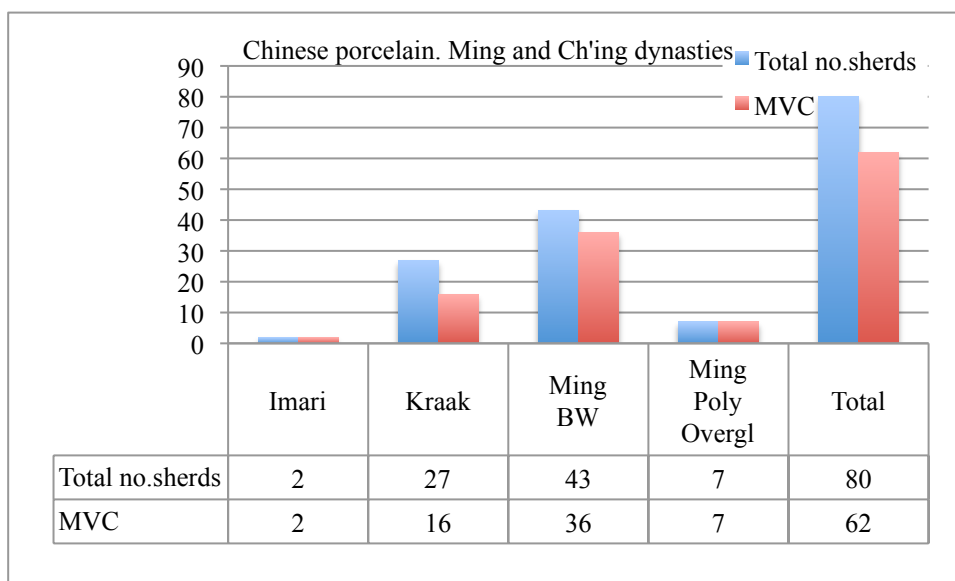


Table 3.2.1.4 Proportion of Chinese porcelain from Capuchinas

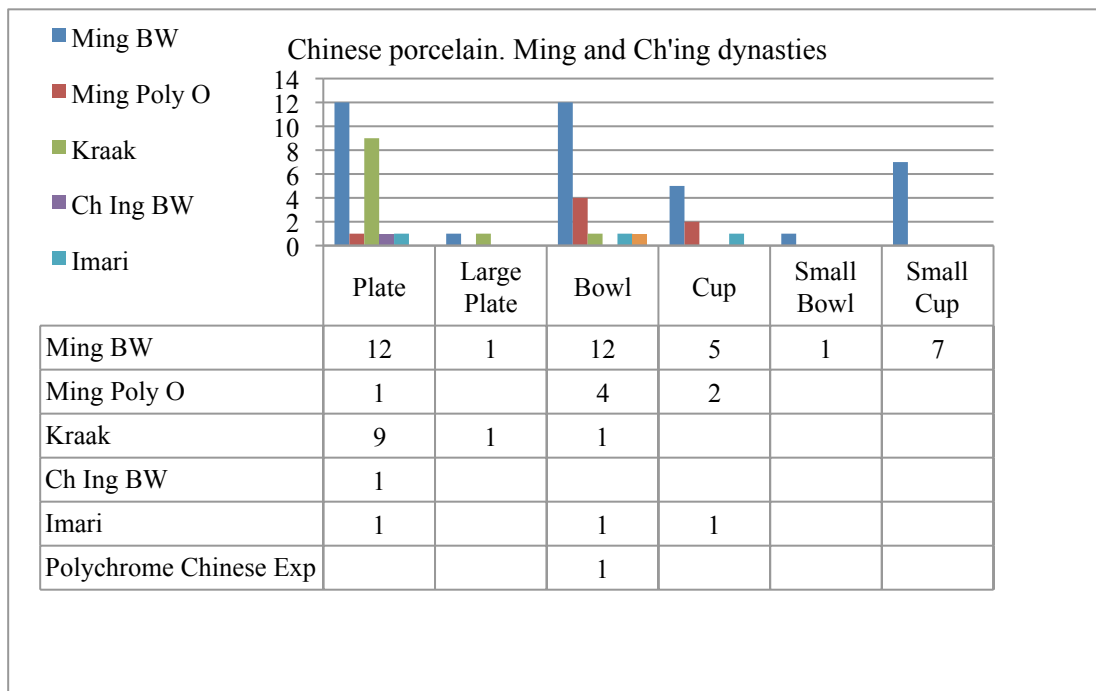


Table 3.2.1.5 Vessel forms of Chinese porcelain from Capuchinas

The second largest proportion within the ceramic sample is comprised by sixteenth-century Spanish maiolica. Plates, *escudillas*, bowls and pitchers of Columbia Plain and Columbia Plain Gunmetal are the most common ceramic types only followed by Santo Domingo Blue on White, Yayal Blue on White and Santa Elena Mottled (Tables 3.2.1.6-3.2.1.7). One plate of Columbia Plain Gunmetal had pinholes on the interior surface, and it is unclear if these correspond to decoration or manufacturing defects (Figure 3.2.1.6). Other plates of Columbia Plain and Columbia Plain Gunmetal had cockspur marks and a mark produced by fire on the base (Figure 3.2.1.7). This may suggest that these were low quality items. However, their finding suggests that the quality of the manufacture was not a significant factor that influenced the consumption of imported maiolica. Moreover, that they were produced in Spain, for example, may have been more significant in terms of their consumption, and had added value and prestige to the objects. Italian maiolica comprises a relatively small proportion within the ceramics in comparison to Spanish examples. At this site, however, three different types were identified and correspond to plates of Montelupo Blue on White, Montelupo Polychrome (Figure 3.2.1.8) and one lid of Faenza Polychrome Compendario (Tables 3.2.1.6-3.2.1.8). The finding of so few sherds of Italian maiolica in refuse contexts

across the site, might suggest that these may have been valuable items and that were not easily discarded.



Figure 3.2.1.7. Manufacturing defects



Figure 3.2.1.8. Plate. Montelupo Polychrome

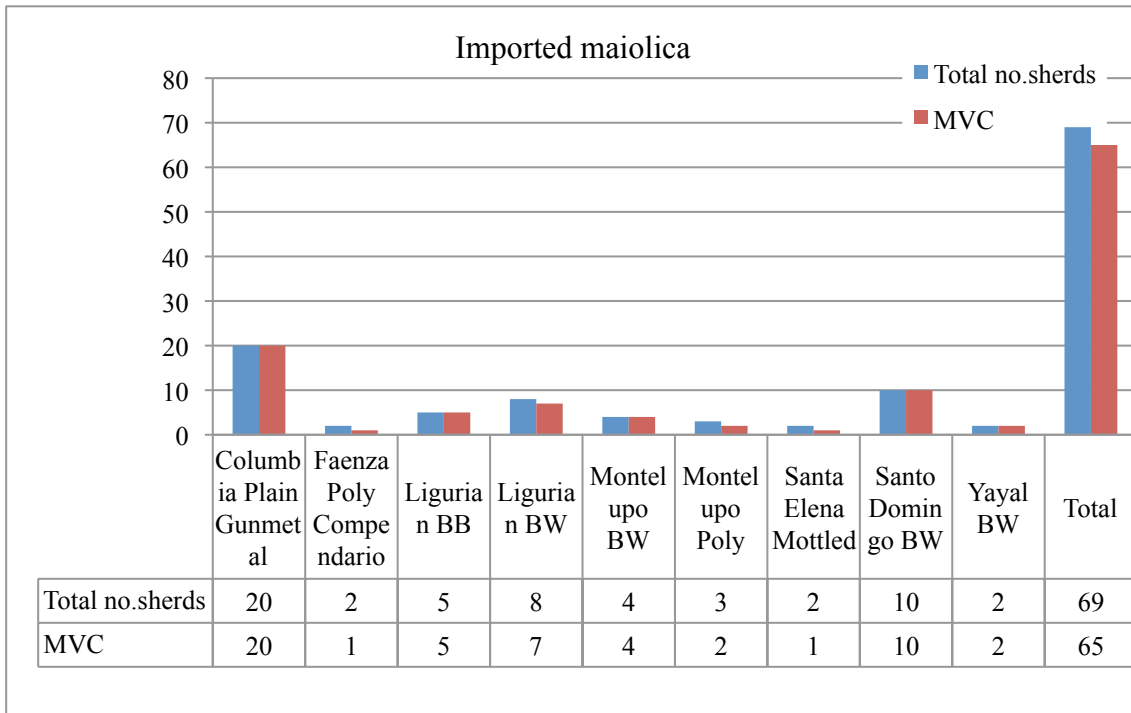


Table 3.2.1.6 Proportion of imported maiolica from Capuchinas

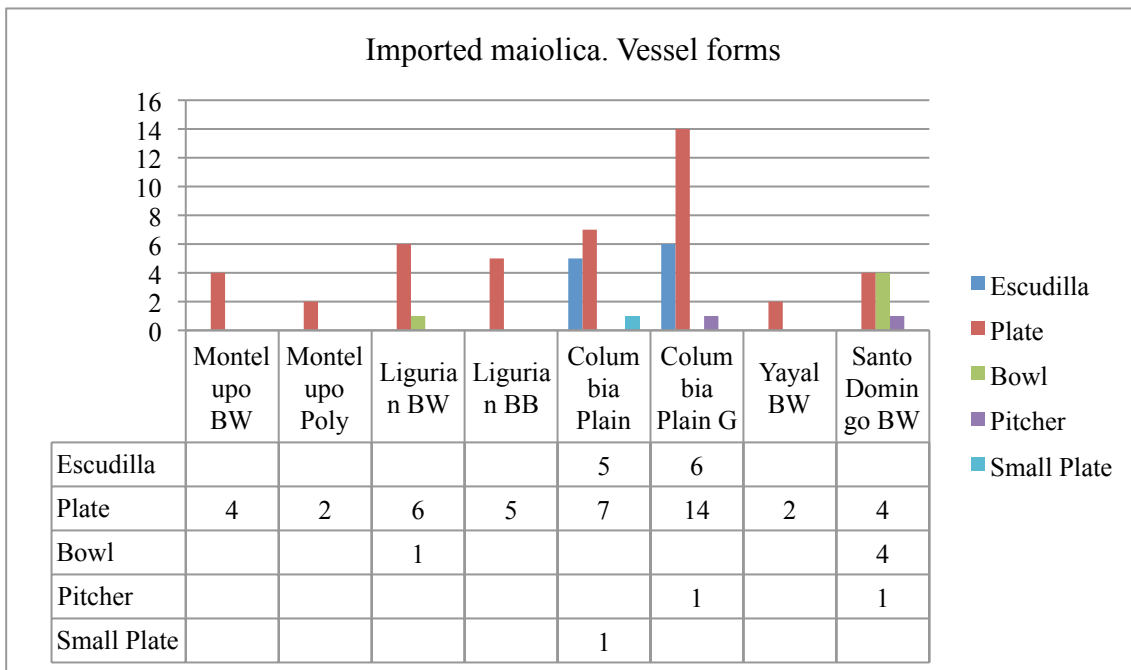


Table 3.2.1.7 Vessel forms of imported maiolica from Capuchinas

Other imported wares from Capuchinas and that were identified within the ceramic assemblage thirteen fragments and a minimum number of five *botijas*. Two of these were identified as Early Style, one with a green glaze and the other one unglazed that suggests that these contained olive oil and possibly wine (Figure 3.2.1.9). There were



also, two semi-complete vessels that were identified a Middle Style for olive oil or capers and wine and a small *botijuela*. This latter one has a green glaze on the interior surface, which also partially covered the exterior surface. It is similar to the one identified in the sample from the National Palace and can be dated to the seventeenth century (Figure 3.2.1.10) (Table 3.2.1.8).



Figure 3.2.1.9. Mouths of *botijas*



Figure 3.2.1.10. *Botijuela*

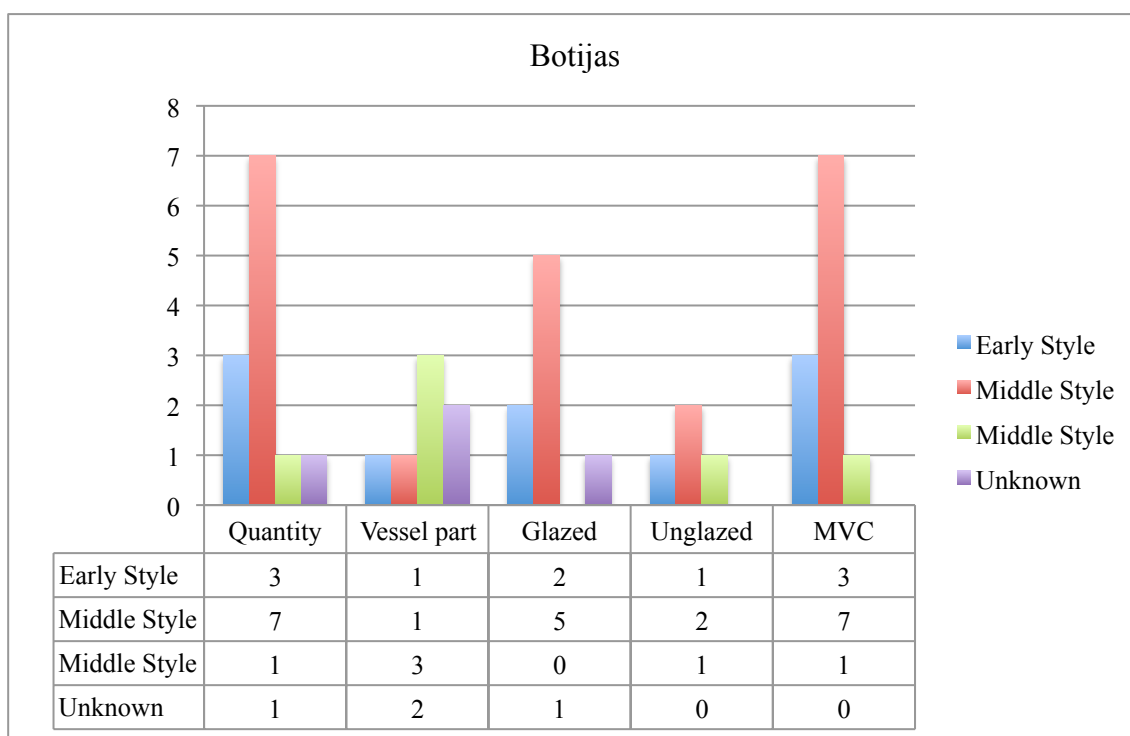


Table 3.2.1.8 Proportion of *botijas* from Capuchinas

Finally, local maiolica comprises the smallest proportion of the ceramic assemblage particularly in comparison to the Oriental and Spanish ceramics. Sixteenth and seventeenth-century types such as Fig Springs Polychrome, La Traza Polychrome, Tacuba Polychrome and Mexico City White Variety 1 amongst others primarily characterize the sample (Tables 3.2.1.9-3.2.1.10). These fine grade maiolicas contrast with the relative low proportions of common grade one such as Mexico City White Variety 2 and Tlalpan White. Maiolica types pertaining to the eighteenth century included plates, bowls and cups of Abo Polychrome, Puebla Polychrome, Castillo Polychrome and Puebla Blue on White (Tables 3.2.1.9-3.2.1.10).

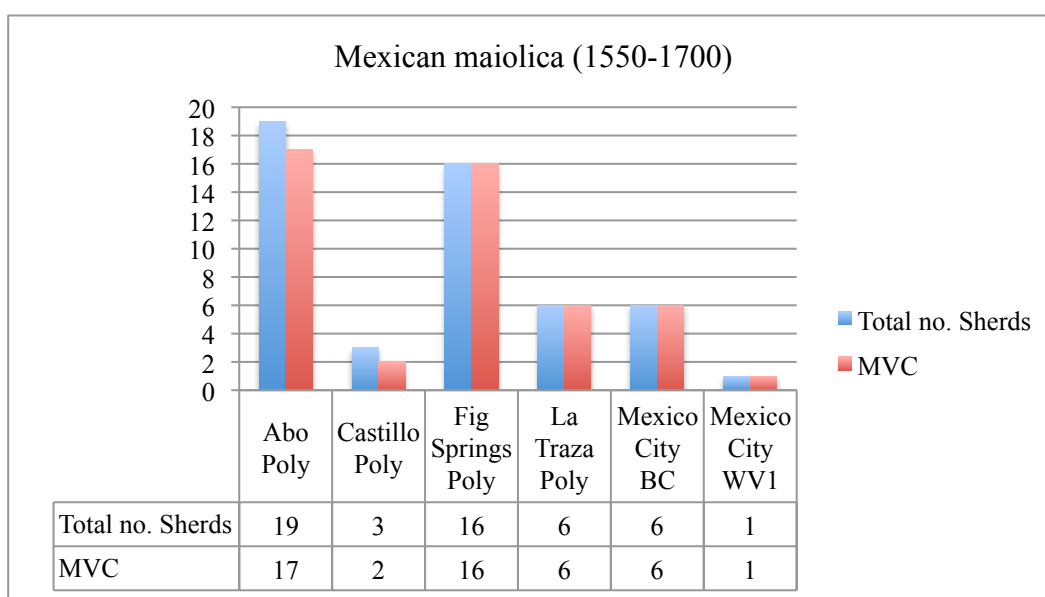


Table 3.2.1.9 Proportion of Mexican maiolica from Capuchinas

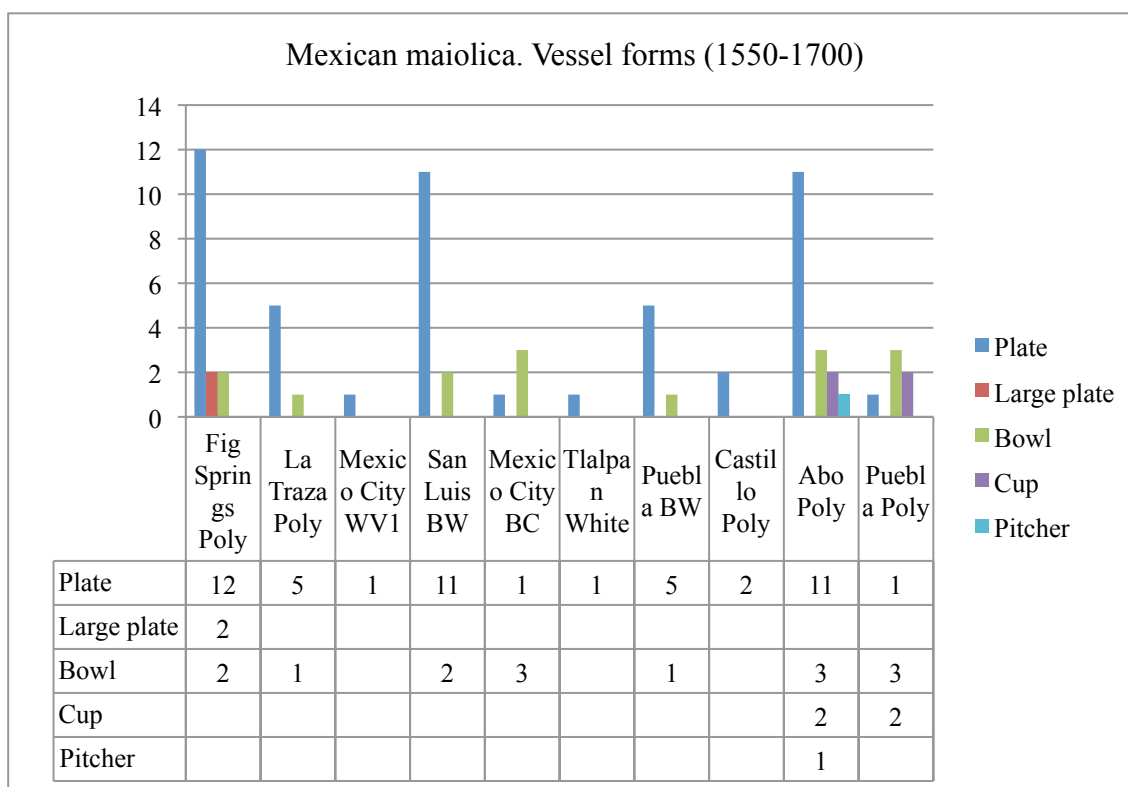


Table 3.2.1.10 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica from Capuchinas

### 3.2.2 Mina 32

The site of Mina 32 is located in the street of Francisco Javier Mina, in an area that was known during the colonial period as Santa María Cuepopan and originally intended by the Spanish authorities for Native habitation. Cuepopan was one of the four quarters, along with those of *Atzacolco*, *Teopan*, *Moyotla* that surrounded the Spanish *traza*. However, by the eighteenth century the Spanish population increased its numbers and they gradually settled in these Native quarters outside the limits of the *traza* (Sánchez Santiró 2004, 65-75; 91).

#### *Ceramic sample*

The analyzed ceramic sample from Mina 32 comprises a total number of 231 ceramic fragments and a minimum number of 201 vessels, finding a predominance of seventeenth to nineteenth-century Mexican maiolica over imported wares (Tables 3.2.2.1- 3.2.2.2). The sample was obtained from excavation areas A, B and C. Two

refuse deposits were located in area B from where the highest proportions of ceramics were recovered (Table 3.2.2.2) (Rojas and Heredia n/d).

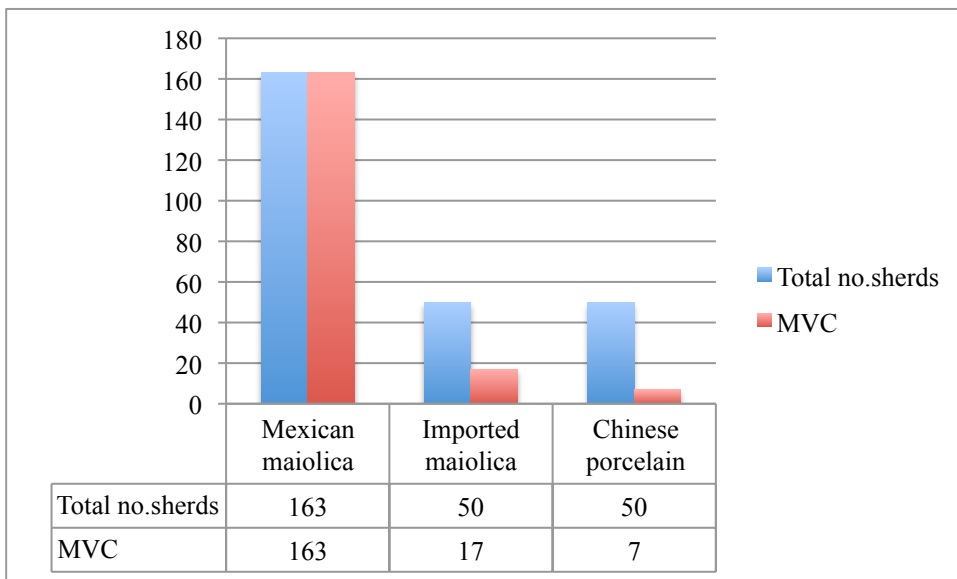


Table 3.2.2.1 Proportion of ceramics from Mina 32

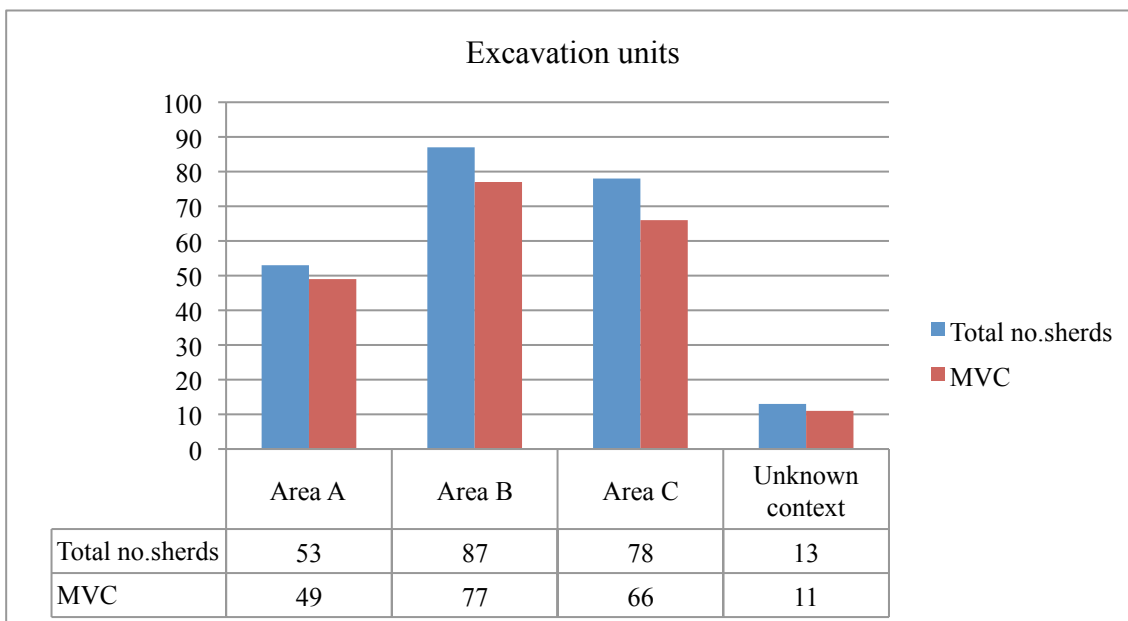


Table 3.2.2.2 Proportion of ceramics from excavation units at Mina 32

The ceramic sample from excavation area A was found in construction fills from the colonial and modern periods and a colonial waste pit and comprise mostly flatware of local maiolica such as Mexico City Green on Cream, Playa Polychrome (Figure 3.2.2.1), Puebla Blue on White with a potter's mark, and Chinese porcelain from the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The sample of porcelain is highly differentiated, there being Imari, Provincial and Chinese Polychrome export wares. Other interesting finds relate to two maiolica miniature vessels (Figure 3.2.2.2).



Figure 3.2.2.1. Playa Polychrome

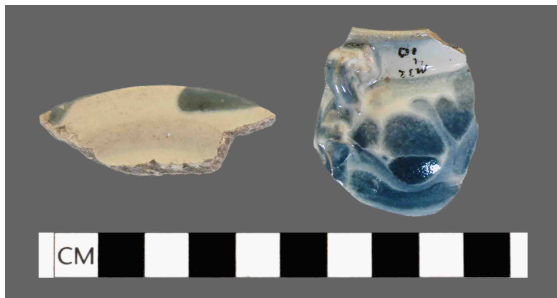


Figure 3.2.2.2. Miniature vessels. Puebla Blue on White

The excavation of area B revealed ceramic materials found in construction fills and refuse contexts and belong predominantly to plates, bowls and drinking vessels and miniatures of local and Spanish maiolica and also Ch'Ing porcelain. The ceramic materials that were recovered from the refuse context correspond to sixteenth to eighteenth century imported and local maiolica along with Chinese porcelain from the Ming and Ch'Ing dynasties. Finally, the analyzed ceramic materials that were recovered from excavation area C were also found in fills of clay and sand with building materials belonging to the colonial period as well as the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The ceramic sample included a relative high proportion of plates, bowls and drinking vessels of sixteenth to nineteenth century local maiolica and Ch'Ing porcelain, and a comparatively low proportion of Spanish maiolica.

### *Overview of the ceramic sample*

The sample of Mexican maiolica is comprised by sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries (Tables 3.2.2.3-3.2.2.4). The most common maiolica types were Playa Polychrome and San Elizario Polychrome, in blue and a variety in green and yellow (Figure 3.2.2.3). The most common vessel form that was identified in the maiolica pertaining to sixteenth and early seventeenth century was the plate (Table 3.2.2.5). In contrast, in the maiolica pertaining to the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there seems to exist a wider variety in vessel forms finding large plates for serving food, small plates and drinking vessels in the form of jugs, cups and *pocillos*, particularly of Puebla Blue on White fine and *entrefino* grade (Table 3.2.2.6).



Figure 3.2.2.3. Plate. San Elizario Polychrome

The characteristics of the ceramic sample from Mina 32 suggest that the materials from Mina 32 differ from those encountered in the National Palace and Capuchinas. Even though some examples of fine Sevilla White, Santo Domingo Blue on White and Columbia Plain had been identified in the sample, these do not occur in the same proportions than in the afore mentioned sites. Moreover, there does not exist the variety or the differentiation encountered in those sites regarding ceramic types and vessel forms. Also, the sample is predominantly characterized by late seventeenth and eighteenth-century maiolica. Some of these correspond to common grade like Mexico City copy of Puebla Blue on White and *entrefino* grade Puebla Blue on White (Tables 3.2.2.3-3.2.2.4). While in some cases as in Puebla Blue on White and Puebla White the vessel forms are differentiated finding flatware, bowls and drinking ware, in general terms the sample is constituted by scattered plates and bowls of a variety of maiolica types (Tables 3.2.2.5-3.2.2.6). This in consequence suggests a different consumption pattern from the sites located inside the city where a higher proportion of vessels that possibly pertained to a single tableset were identified.

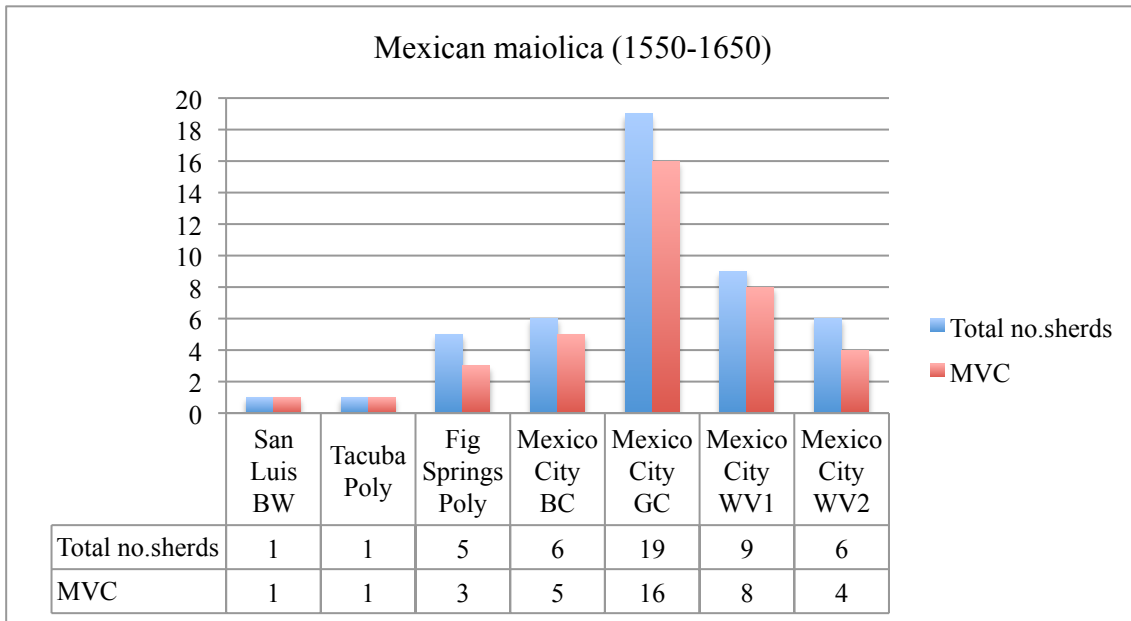


Table 3.2.2.3 Proportion of Mexican maiolica from Mina 32

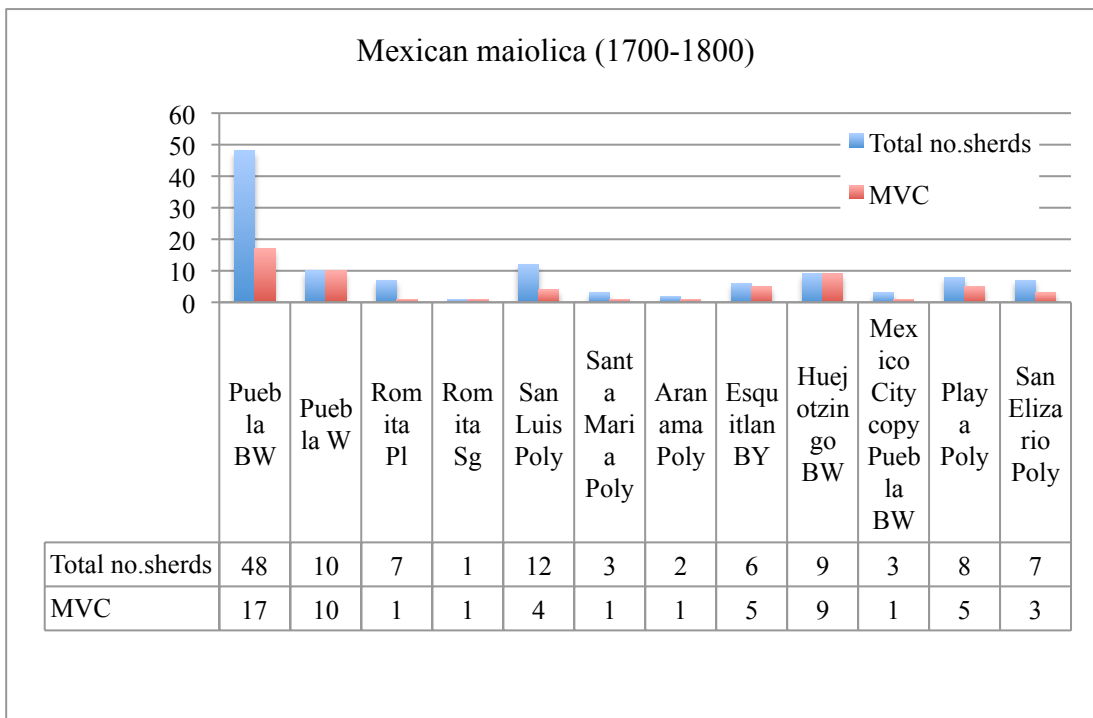


Table 3.2.2.4 Proportion of Mexican maiolica from Mina 32

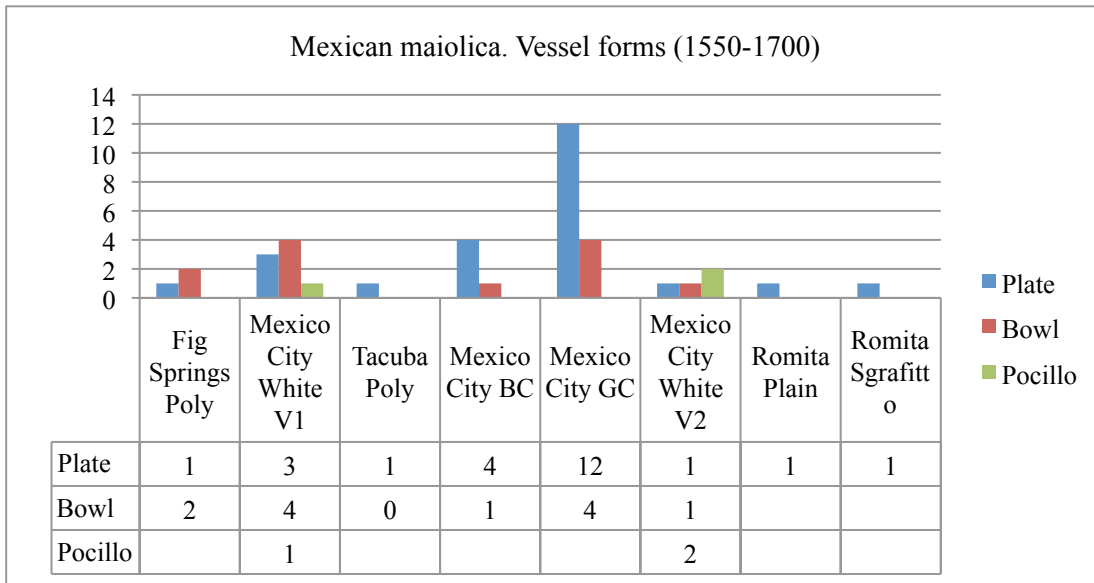


Table 3.2.2.5 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica from Mina 32

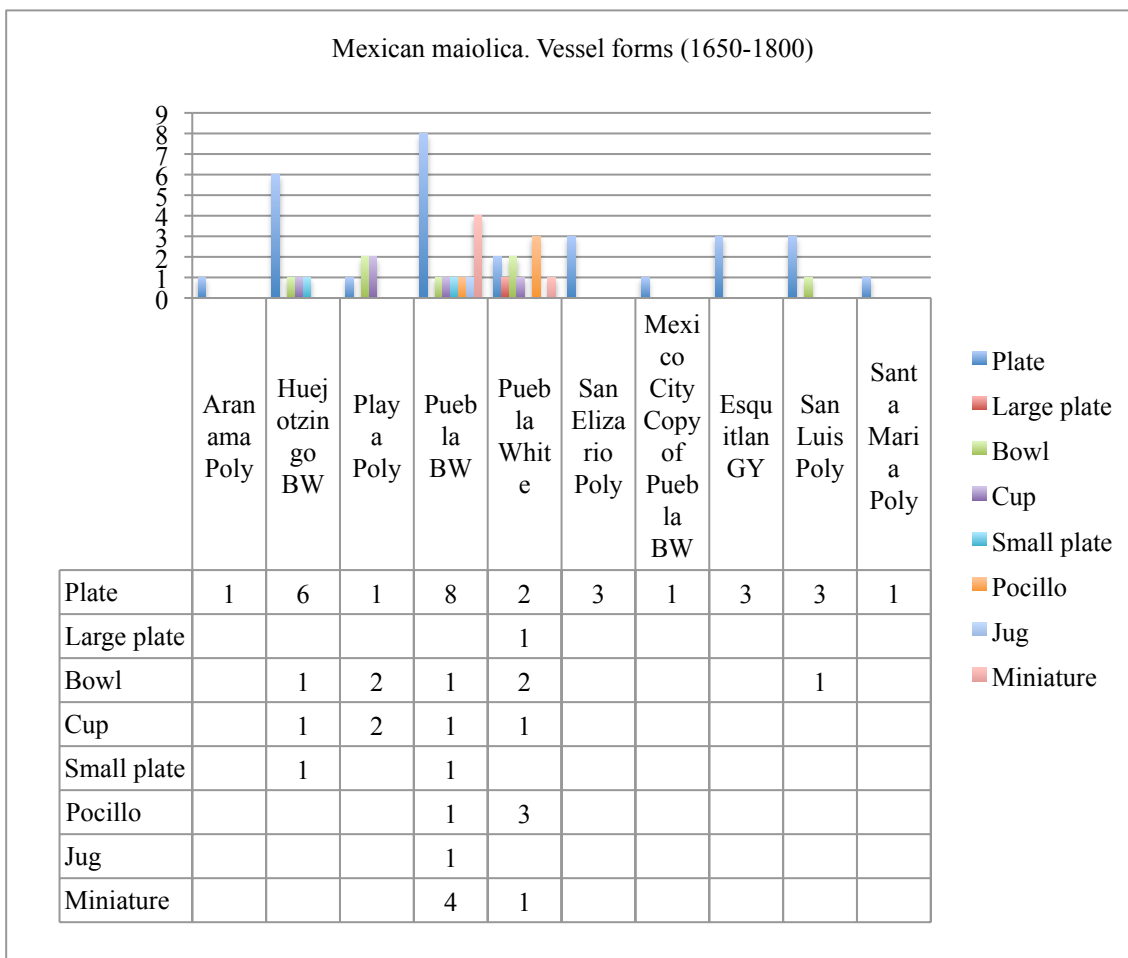


Table 3.2.2.6 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica from Mina 32



In contrast to the sample of local ceramics, European maiolica constitutes a smaller proportion, finding Spanish and Italian examples pertaining to the sixteenth century (Table 3.2.2.7-3.2.2.8). Finally, Oriental ceramics comprise a relative lower proportion than that represented by Mexican maiolica. The sample however is highly differentiated finding a variety of porcelain types from the Ming and Ch'Ing dynastic periods. The most common vessel forms are the plates, bowls and cups, some of these possibly pertaining to complete tablesets as in Ch'Ing Polychrome Overglaze. Others however, seem to constitute scattered items pertaining to a variety of tablesets (Tables 3.2.2.9-3.2.2.10). The sample from Mina 32 is interesting because it allows insights to the consumption patterns of the sites located outside the city. There is a general trend in the consumption of maiolica, and Oriental ceramics however finding ceramic types that are absent in the samples observed in the National Palace and Capuchinas. This allowed explore cultural differences that were expressed in the consumption of particular ceramic types and that will be discussed in Chapter four.

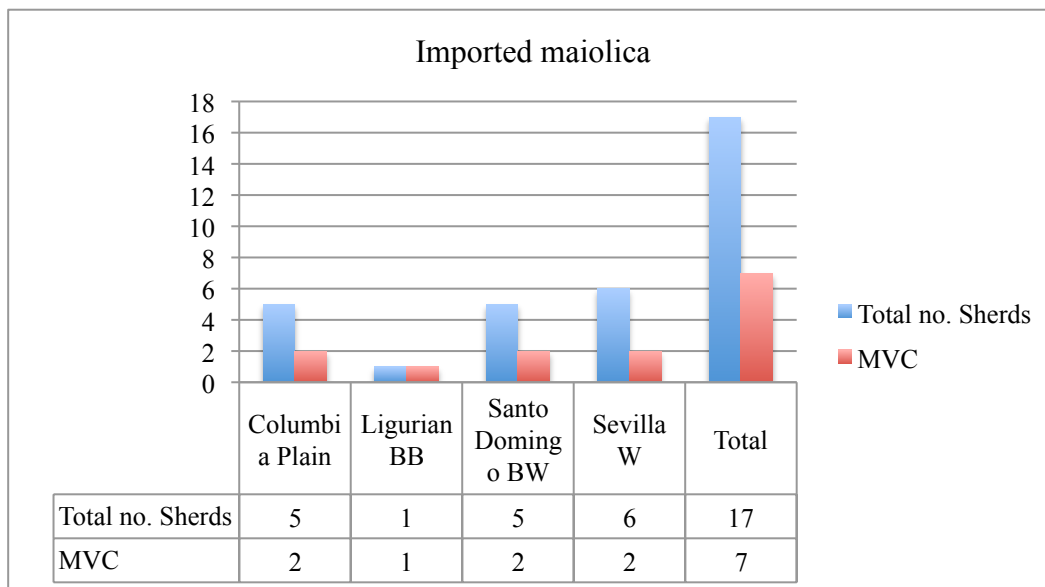


Table 3.2.2.7 Proportion of imported maiolica from Mina 32

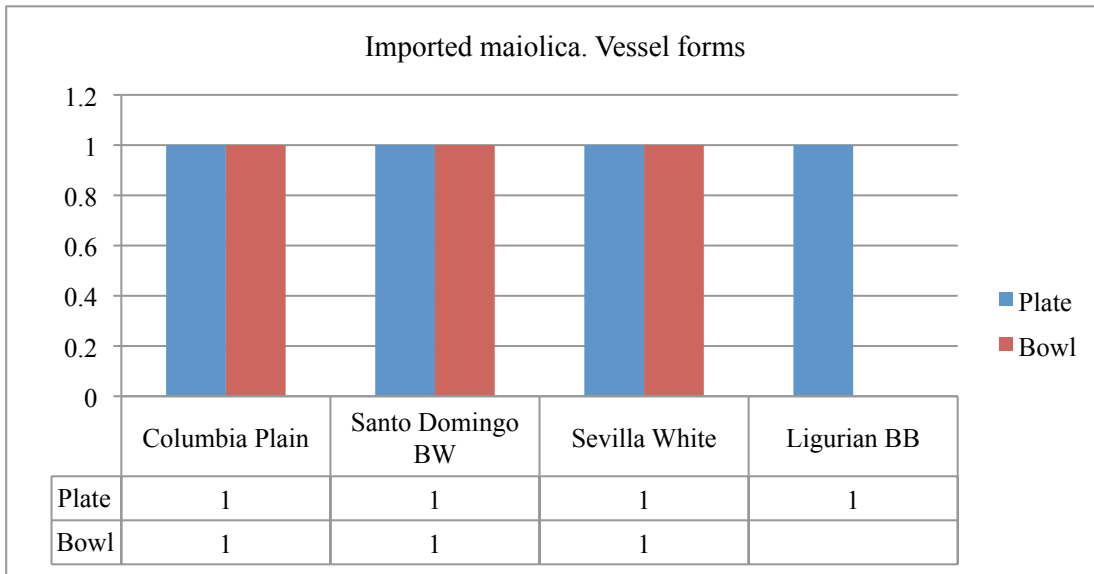


Table 3.2.2.8 Vessel forms of imported maiolica from Mina 32

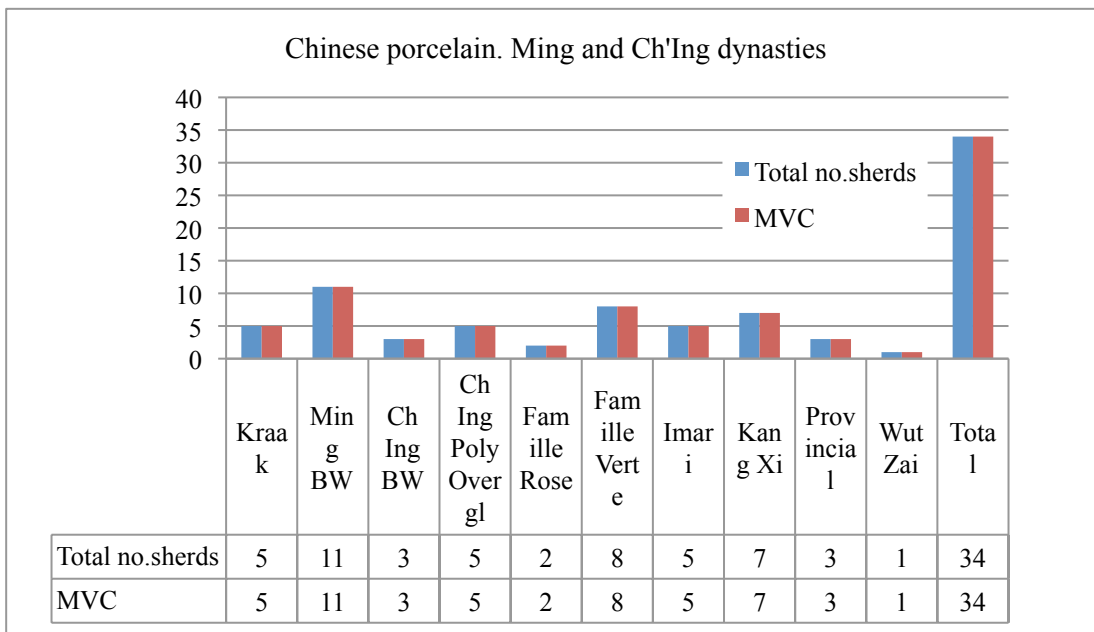


Table 3.2.2.9 Proportion of Chinese porcelain from Mina 32

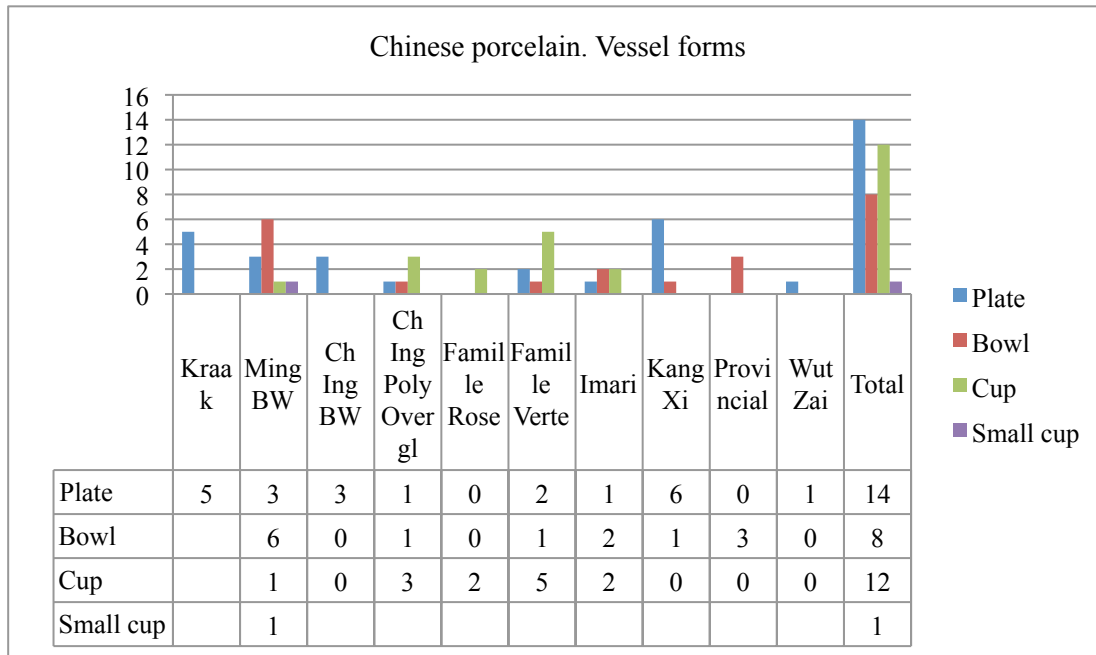


Table 3.2.2.10 Vessel forms of Chinese porcelain from Mina 32

### 3.3 Religious Institutions

#### 3.3.1 The Convent of La Antigua Enseñanza

The convent of La Antigua Enseñanza (the ancient teaching) is located in the street of Donceles no. 100, inside the Spanish *traza*. The foundation of the convent occurred between 1752 and 1754 by María Ignacia de Azlor y Echevers, a nun from northern Spain. The convent was granted with a royal recognition (Amerkinck de Corsi 1995, 134-142). Since its foundation, it was conceived as a teaching institution for secular and religious women that pertained to elite families in New Spain (Lavrin 2008, 326; Socolow 2000, 168-9). The buildings occupied by the convent had been inhabited by wealthy families throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Amerlinck de Corsi 1995, 134-142; Salas Contreras 1997, 9-13). Because of this and due to the needs to enlarge the religious house, the buildings over which the convent was constructed were subject to various processes of demolition and reconstruction throughout the eighteenth century. This is evidenced in the construction fills that were found during the archaeological excavations in this building. The nuns occupied the convent until 1855, a

time when due to changes in the legislation of the country they were forced to abandon the building (Salas Contreras 1997, 9-13).

*Ceramic sample*

The analyzed ceramic sample comprises a total of 371 fragments and a minimum number of 294 vessels. The highest proportion of colonial ceramics is constituted by Mexican maiolica, followed by Chinese porcelain, and imported maiolica (Table 3.3.1.1). The sample was recovered from excavation trenches that were located in various areas of the building and that revealed massive construction fills (Salas Contreras 1997, 16-25). However, the largest proportion of ceramics that were analyzed in this thesis was obtained from trenches 16 and 17 and these will be discussed in detail (Table 3.3.1.2).

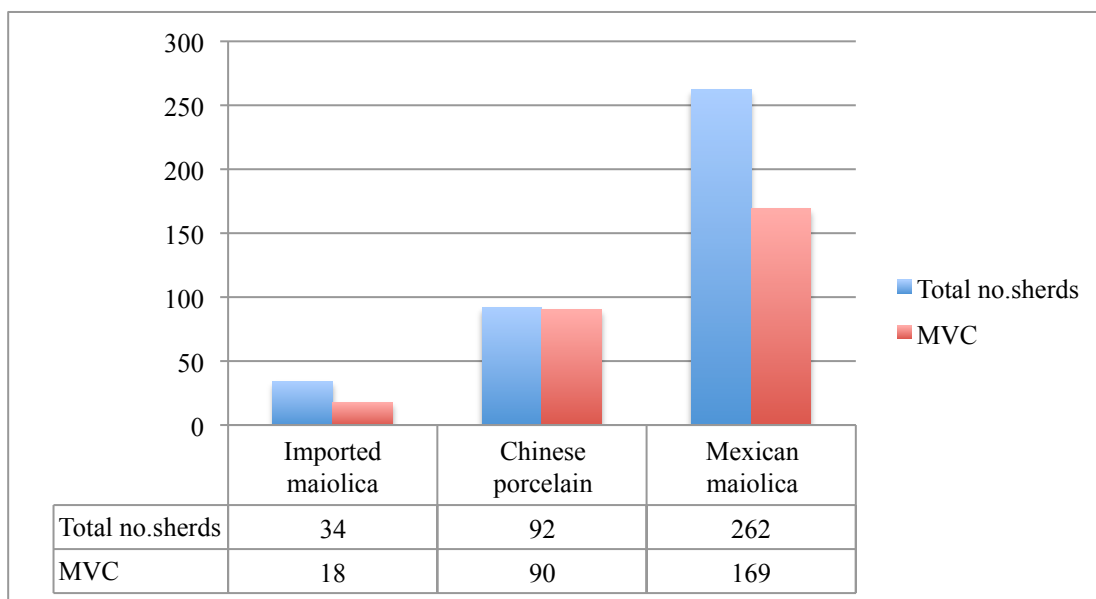


Table 3.3.1.1 Proportion of ceramics from La Antigua Enseñanza

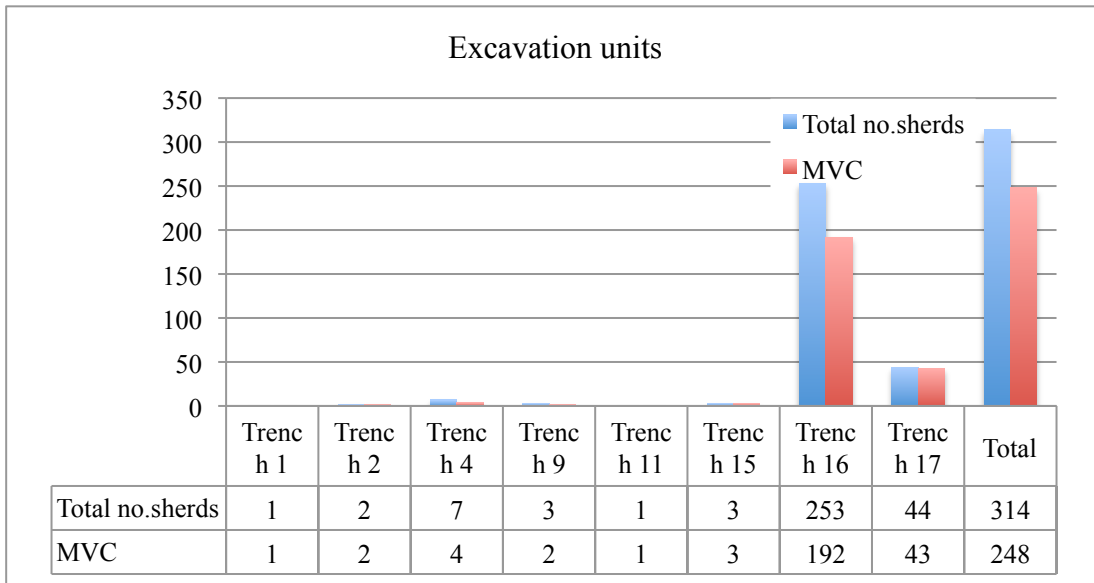


Table 3.3.1.2 Proportion of ceramics from excavation units at La Antigua Enseñanza

Trench 16 was an extensive excavation that was located in the central patio of the religious house. The excavation revealed patios and fountains, service areas, cleansing facilities and bathing tubs, drains, a brick furnace a refuse deposit dating to the eighteenth century (Salas Contreras 1997, 47). The associated ceramic materials correspond to Ming porcelain,



Figure 3.3.1.1. Plate with possible *alafia*

sixteenth century Spanish and Italian maiolica, including one example decorated with an *alafia* or a potter's signature (Figure 3.3.1.1), and a variety of Mexican maiolica from the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The sample of Mexican maiolica comprises the largest proportion within the analyzed sample from this trench. It is highly differentiated, as it is constituted by a variety of maiolica types and vessel forms. These correspond especially to plates and drinking vessels. A variety of exemplary plates and bowls of Abo Polychrome



Figure 3.3.1.2. Plates. Abó Polychrome

decorated with turkeys and human figures were also identified in the sample (Figure 3.3.1.2). Other examples included plates of Puaray Polychrome and Castillo Polychrome, one plate of Huejotzingo Blue on White with a painted 'A' (Figure 3.3.1.3), and bowls and plates of Puebla Blue on White and Puebla Polychrome with potters' signatures (Figure 3.3.1.4).



Figure 3.3.1.3. Plate with potters' mark. Huejotzingo Blue on White



Figure 3.3.1.4. Potters' signatures

The excavation of trench 17 revealed a series of construction fills with associated ceramics from the pre-Hispanic and colonial periods. The second largest proportion of colonial pottery was recovered from this trench and include European and local maiolica from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, and a relative low proportion of Ming and Ch'Ing porcelain. A predominance of flatware pertaining to a variety of tablesets was identified finding maiolica types such as Mexico City White Variety 1 and 2, Fig Springs Polychrome, Abo Polychrome, Huejotzingo Blue on White and Castillo Polychrome amongst others.

### *Overview of the ceramic sample*

The analyzed sample of Mexican maiolica corresponds to types pertaining to the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and thus suggesting two different occupational periods of the site. The sample is highly differentiated finding a variety of types, decorative motifs and vessel forms. Fine and common grade maiolica from the sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries include plates and bowls of Fig Springs Polychrome, La Traza Polychrome, San Luis Blue on White, Mexico City White Variety 1, Mexico City White Variety 2 and candleholders of Mexico City Blue on Cream (Table 3.3.1.3).

Seventeenth and eighteenth century Abo Polychrome is particularly interesting because the plates and cups are decorated with sophisticated motifs that include

anthropomorphic and zoomorphic representations of male figures and birds, particularly turkeys. Other maiolica corresponds to plates and bowls of Puebla Blue on White, Puebla Polychrome, Huejotzingo Blue on White, Aranama Polychrome, Puebla White and Castillo Polychrome. It is worth mentioning the

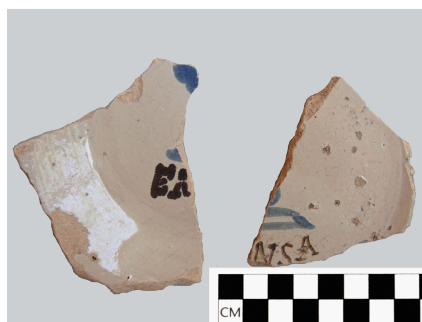


Figure 3.3.1.5. Plates with inscription

relatively high proportion of drinking vessels in the form of cups and *pocillos* of fine and *entrefino* grade. Also, two miniature vessels of maiolica were identified, one jar and a plate that have a white fine fabric and bear the same decoration as fine grade Puebla Blue on White and Puebla White. This suggests that these miniatures could correspond to expensive items (Table 3.3.1.5-3.3.1.6). The plates of Huejotzingo Blue on White and copies of this manufactured in Mexico City recovered in trench 16 bearing the letters 'A', 'EN' and 'NSA' constitute other interesting ceramic materials and could correspond to the inscription of 'La Enseñanza' (Figures 3.3.1.5- 3.3.1.6). Finally, it was possible to identify at least 8 different potters' signatures in Puebla Polychrome and Abo Polychrome that were recovered from trenches 16 and 17, and will be further discussed in Chapter four.

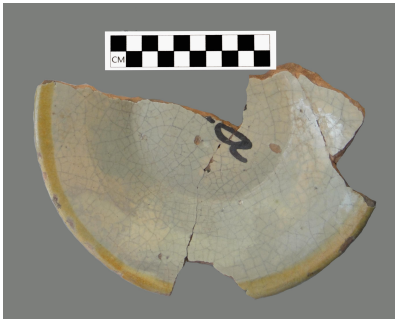


Figure 3.3.1.6. Plate with inscription

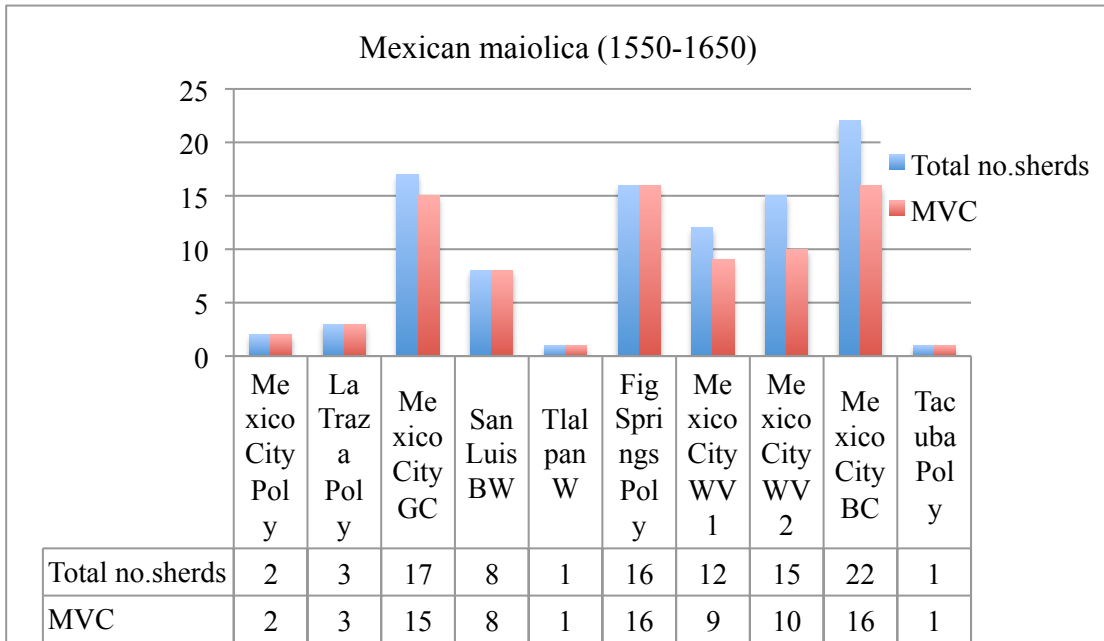


Table 3.3.1.3 Proportion of Mexican maiolica from La Antigua Enseñanza

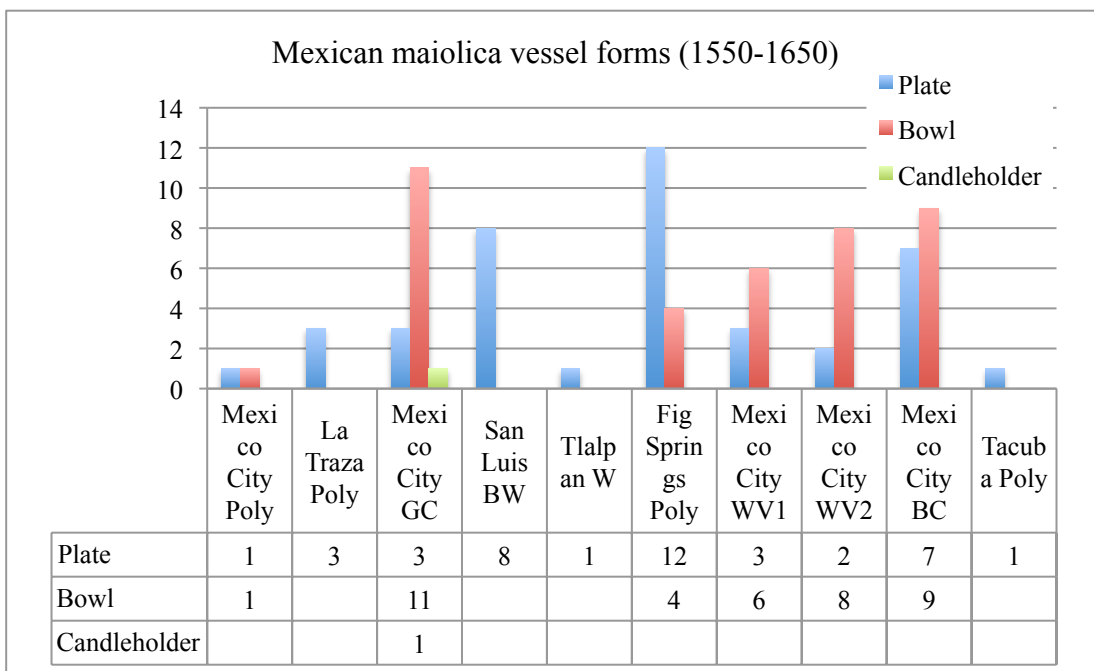


Table 3.3.1.4 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica from La Antigua Enseñanza



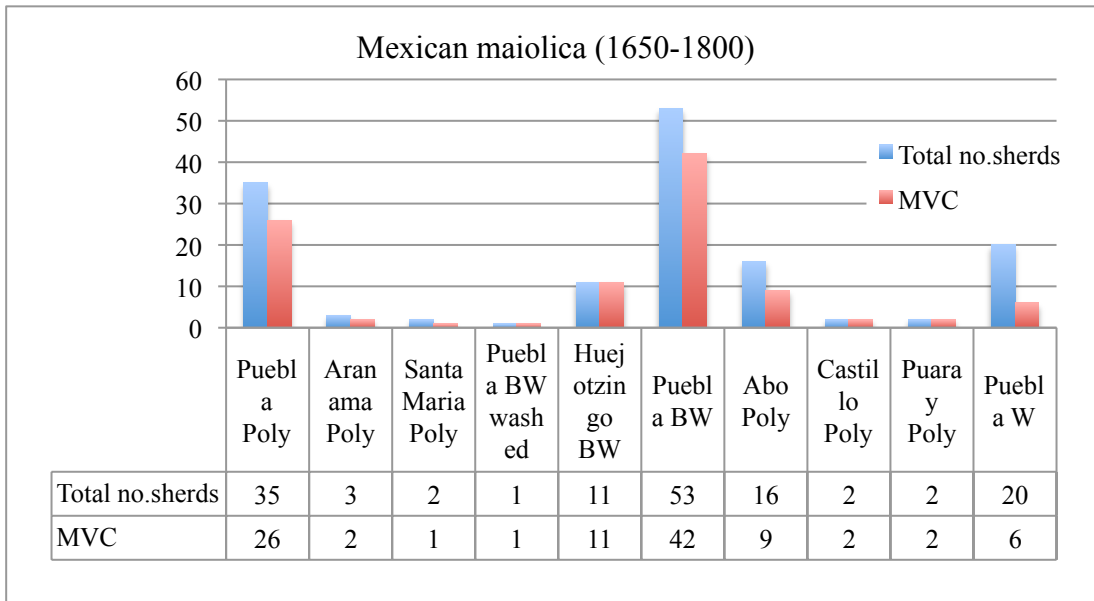


Table 3.3.1.5 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica from La Antigua Enseñanza

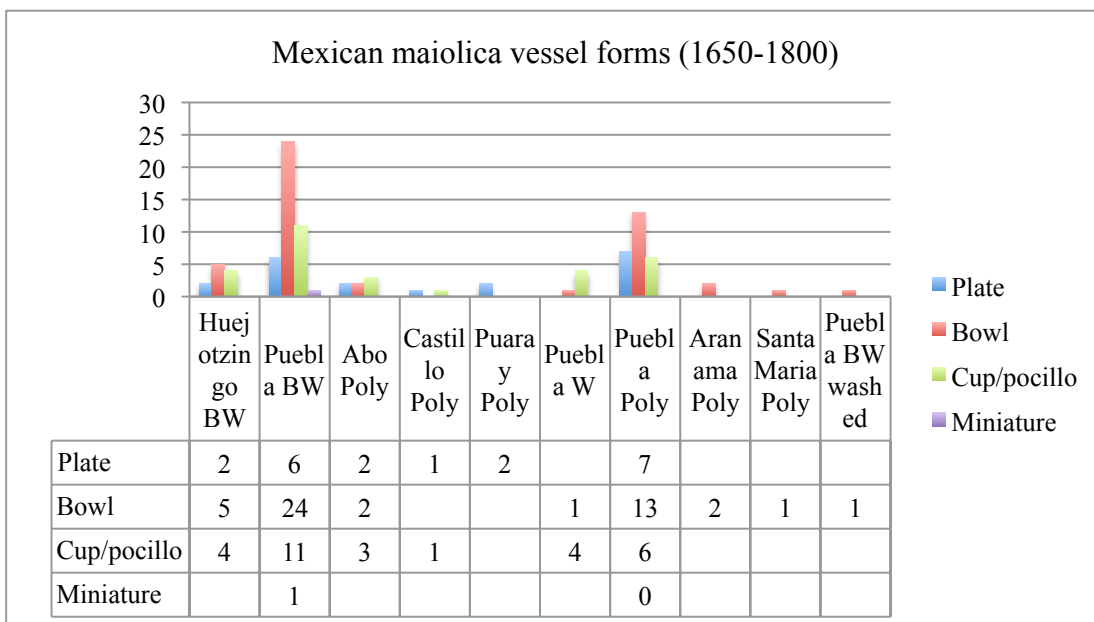


Table 3.3.1.6 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica from La Antigua Enseñanza

The proportion of imported maiolica is lower in comparison to that represented by Mexican one and it is possibly associated with the first occupation period of the site and before the foundation of the convent. This was mainly recovered from trenches 16 and 17. The most common maiolica type that was encountered in the analyzed sample

corresponds to sixteenth-century Columbia Plain, represented by bowls, plates and *escudillas*. Other Spanish types include Santo Domingo Blue on White and Santa Elena Mottled and maiolica from Liguria (Tables 3.3.1.7-3.3.1.8). It is worth mentioning a rare example of a plate with lace-like decoration in black. This decorative scheme is similar to that found in fine grade Mexican Puebla Polychrome and to Spanish Talavera examples known as *Série puntes de coixí* (pillow stitches) from the seventeenth century (Guia de museu de ceràmica de Barcelona 1997, 69). Therefore, based on the decorative scheme, there exists a possibility that this corresponds to an imported vessel (Figure 3.3.1.7).



Figure 3.3.1.7. Plate. *Série puntes coixí*

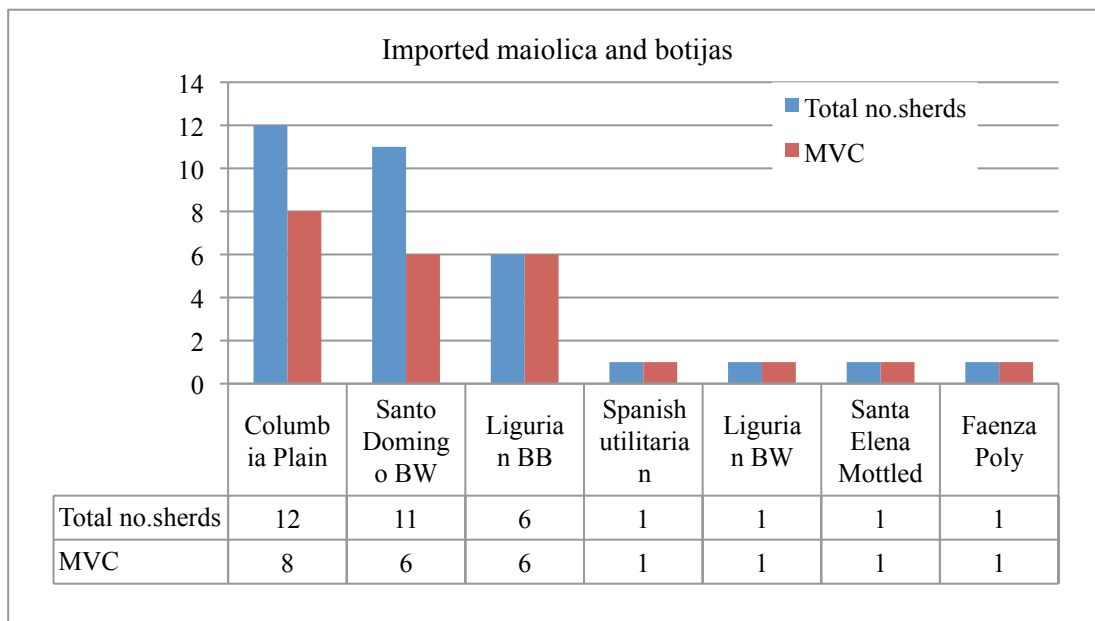


Table 3.3.1.7 Proportion of imported maiolica from La Antigua Enseñanza

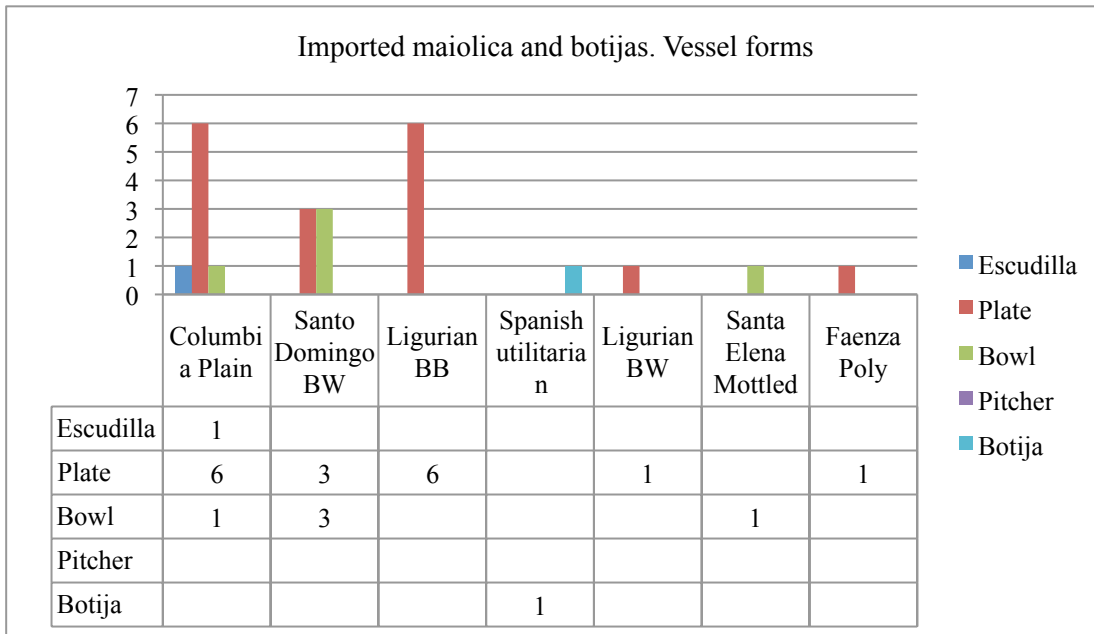


Table 3.3.1.8 Vessel forms of imported maiolica from La Antigua Enseñanza

The second highest proportion of ceramics from this convent is constituted by Chinese porcelain, mainly that one pertaining to the Ch'Ing dynastic period and thus can be related with the occupation period by the religious order. The of both Ming and Ch'Ing porcelain is highly differentiated finding a variety of ceramic types and modes of decoration that include flowers, fish and horses, some of which could belong to matching tablesets of Imari (Figure 3.3.1.8). The most common vessel forms that were identified in the sample correspond to flatware, bowls and cups (Tables 3.3.1.9- 3.3.1.10).

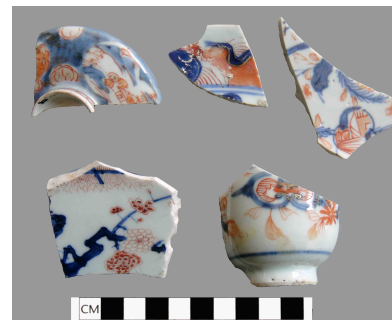


Figure 3.3.1.8. Imari porcelain

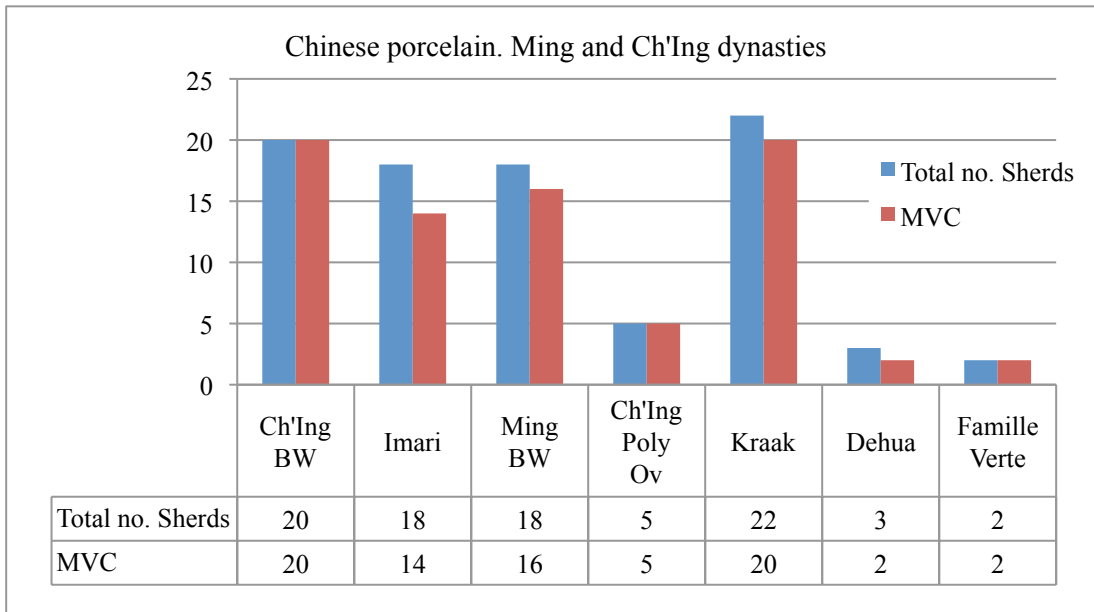


Table 3.3.1.9 Proportion of Chinese porcelain from La Antigua Enseñanza

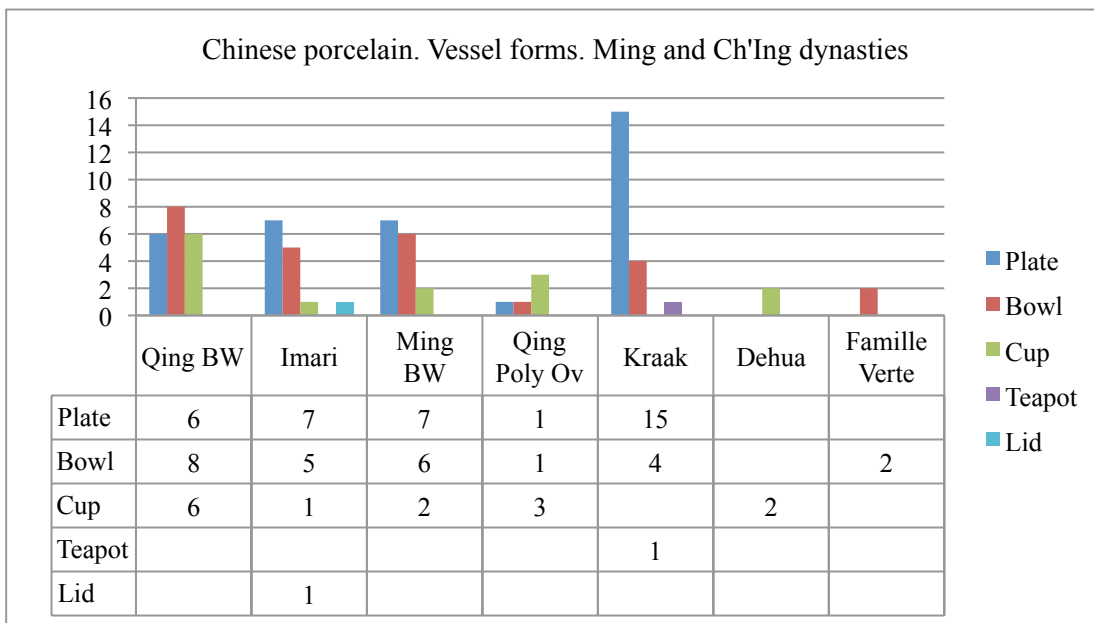


Table 3.3.1.10 Vessel forms of Chinese porcelain from La Antigua Enseñanza

Associated utilitarian ceramic materials that were recovered from this trench include a collection of 11 glazed candleholders with one burning chamber for a candle (Figure 3.3.1.9) and 30 *lebrillos*. These were also included in the analysis, as they were not found in the samples from other sites and because of their



Figure 3.3.1.9. Candleholders

finding as semi-complete vessels in the fills and refuse contexts of this convent. And this may be significant in terms of the function of this kind of material culture and the site itself. The seals of the *lebrillos* are varied finding depictions of nails, rosette motifs, the letters 'S' and 'A'. It was possible to observe traces of a thin and red slip on the interior surface of the vessels, and also that these were highly worn. The shapes and dimensions of these vessels are varied finding them deep brimmed as *escudillas* or less brimmed as plates (see Figure 3.1.2.5). The diameter ranges from 14 to 32 cm and thickness of walls 0.5-1.4 cm. These vessels were found semi-complete providing interesting insights to their function and posterior discard. Finally, a semi-complete clay figurine depicting an anthropomorphic shape with a tunic was also recovered from this trench and could correspond to a devotional object (Figure 3.3.1.10).



Figure 3.3.1.10. Devotional figurine

### 3.3.2 The Convent of La Encarnación

The convent is located in the streets of Venezuela, Luis González Obregón, Brasil and Argentina and inside the former Spanish *traza*. The religious house was founded in 1593 by the Dominican Order and was inhabited by nuns that pertained to the Concepcionist Order until 1836. La Encarnación was one of the largest and wealthiest convents in Mexico, and was destined for those religious women with a pure blood lineage who sought a contemplative life (Salas Contreras 1989, 1-5). The nuns did not live upon alms and the convent provided them with money each week for their expenses, and had servants and slaves. They did not live communally and each nun had their own household, as it has been also revealed through the archaeological excavations in the site (Lavrin 1966, 371-377; 382; Salas Contreras 1989, 5-7; 1994, 79). The convent was extensive, it had three storeys and several patios and a large infirmary (Lavrin 2008, 188; Salas Contreras 1994, 4; 81-90). The eastern part of the convent was

occupied by the Customs' building that was built in 1729 and had taken a section of the religious house (Salas Contreras 1989, 5). The archaeological excavations inside the convent were located in the Jacarandas patio and in the Novices' patio, the latter one surrounded by the houses of the religious women. Other excavation trenches were located in the Customs' building (Salas Contreras 1989, 5).

*The ceramic sample*

The analyzed ceramic sample comprises a total number of 238 sherds and a minimum number of 171 vessels. These correspond to a large proportion of local maiolica from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries and a relatively small proportion of Spanish and Italian ceramics, and *botijas* (Table 3.3.2.1). Despite this small proportion of storage vessels, the *botijas* from La Encarnación are exemplary as most of them are semi-complete. The sample of Chinese porcelain from La Encarnación was not available for analysis. The sample was mainly recovered from trenches 11 and 13 (Table 3.3.2.2). Other ceramics were recovered from trenches 14, 19, 45, 47, 73, 95 and 97.

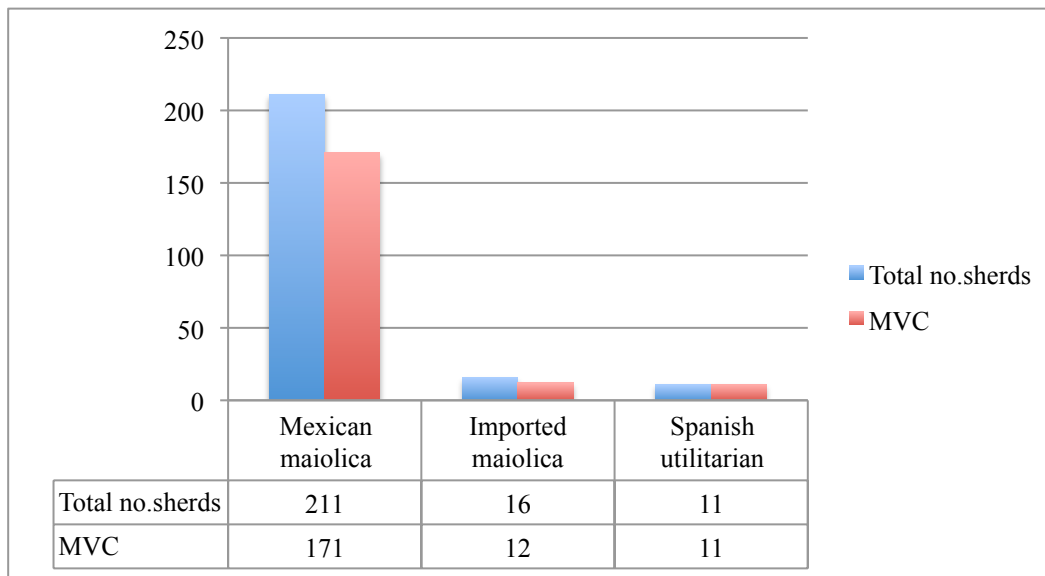


Table 3.3.2.1 Proportion of ceramics from La Encarnación

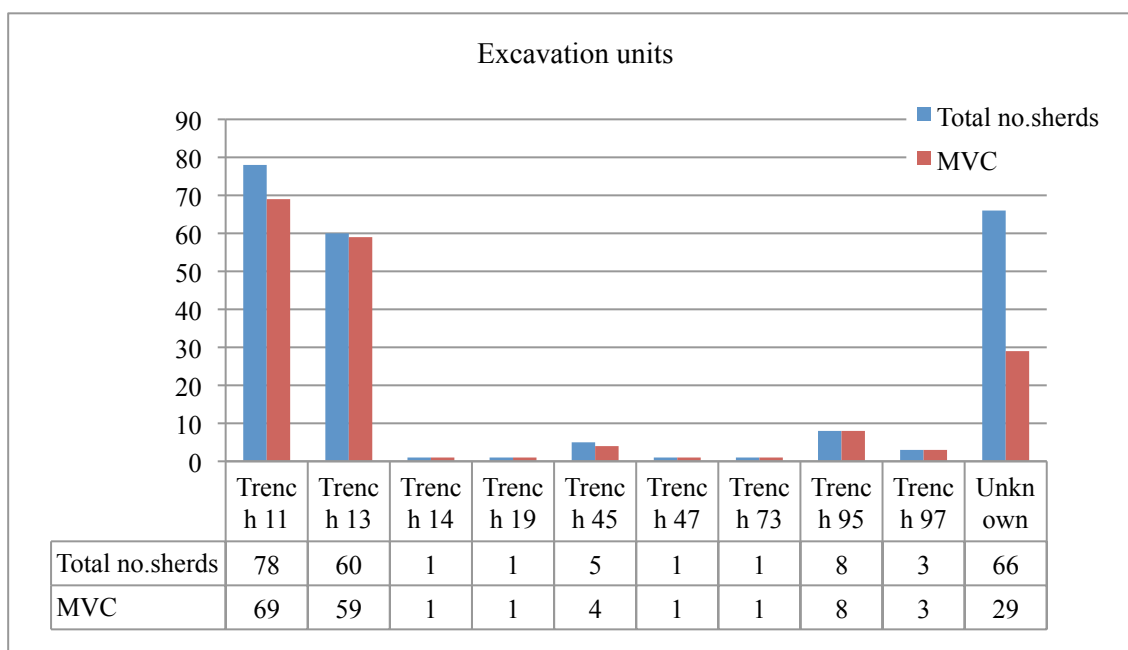


Table 3.3.2.2 Proportion of ceramics from excavation units at La Encarnación

The excavation of trench 11 that was located in the Jacarandas' patio, uncovered refuse pits that were associated to eleven houses occupied by the religious women and also revealed some of the foundations of the dwellings (Salas Contreras 1994, 84-85). The ceramic materials from this trench include local maiolica pertaining to the mid-sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The sample is exemplary due to its decorative motifs. These include anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and religious motifs that are found in plates and cups of Abo Polychrome Puebla Polychrome and Castillo Polychrome. Moreover, the word 'SORELA' was found painted on the surface of a plate of Puebla Blue on White (Figures 3.3.2.1-3.3.2.3). Could it represent a personalized item? The decoration found on the vessels is highly varied and suggests a degree of individualization. Furthermore, the vessel forms that were identified within the sample suggest that there exists a high degree of variability finding plates, small plates, bowls and cups, some of them possibly pertaining to the same tableset as observed in the examples of Tacuba Polychrome (Figure 3.3.2.4).



Figure 3.3.2.1 Cup. Abo Polychrome



Figure 3.3.2.2. Cup. Castillo Polychrome



Figure 3.3.2.3. Plate. Puebla Blue on White

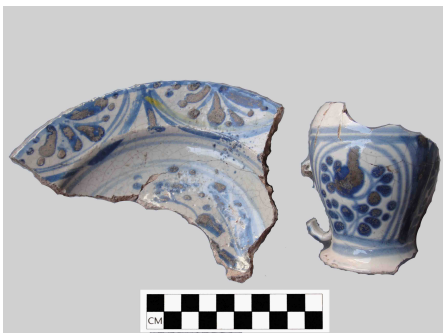


Figure 3.3.2.4. Plate and jug. Tacuba Polychrome



The excavation of trench 13, located in the northern part of the convent revealed five different halls or rooms that could have corresponded to those used as infirmary and pharmacy. Amongst the ceramic materials recovered from this trench were *albarelli*, washbasins, plates and bowls with the painted inscription ‘Infirmary’. Moreover, the analyzed maiolica from this excavation comprised a high proportion of imported and local flatware and some drinking vessels and bowls. The decorative motifs that were found on the examples of Mexican maiolica were exceptional. These were particularly observed in the plates and drinking vessels of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Abo Polychrome and Puebla Polychrome finding female figures, stars and zoomorphic representations (Figures 3.3.2.5-3.3.2.8).



Figure 3.3.2.5. Cup. Abo Polychrome

The degree of sophistication of each decorative scheme suggests innovation and craftsmanship that were executed to meet the taste of individual consumers. The variability in the size and shape of the vessels and the decoration suggest that these had a variety of specialized functions or were even used for lavish display. These objects are unique and do not find similarities to those that were found in the other analyzed samples.



Figure 3.3.2.6. Plates. Puebla Polychrome



Figure 3.3.2.7. Plates. Puebla Polychrome



Figure 3.3.2.8. Plate. Puebla Polychrome

The ceramic sample from trench 95, that uncovered the remains of three seventeenth-century households and their associated refuse pits, corresponds to plates, cups and bowls of local maiolica. Amongst these, those of Puebla Polychrome had potters' signatures. Three of these marks could belong to the same potter or workshop but were executed with different calligraphies. The fourth example is different and corresponds to an M and B (Figure 3.3.2.9). On the other hand, a scarce number of plates and bowls of eighteenth-century local maiolica constitute the sample that was recovered from construction fills in trench 97.



Figure 3.3.2.9. Potters' signatures

Other ceramic materials were recovered from construction fills in trenches 19, 45 and 47 that were located in the Customs building. Finally, a total number of 66 fragments and a minimum number of 33 vessels with an exemplary decoration were included in the analysis despite the fact that the trench number from where these were recovered was uncertain. The ceramics mainly correspond to flatware and cups of Abo Polychrome and Puaray Polychrome with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic motifs like a Cupid and maidens (Figures 3.3.2.10-3.3.2.11), birds and rabbits and others with Chinesque-like decoration (Figure 3.3.2.12).



Figure 3.3.2.10. Plate with Cupid. Abo Polychrome



Figure 3.3.2.11. Plate with maiden. Abo Polychrome



Figure 3.3.2.12. Cup with pagoda. Puaray Polychrome

### *Overview of the ceramic sample*

The analyzed sample from La Encarnación suggests that there is a predominance of local maiolica over imported one and that includes sixteenth-century Italian and Spanish examples (Table 3.3.2.1; 3.3.2.3-3.3.2.4). The local examples range from the mid-sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries (Tables 3.3.2.5-3.3.2-6). The sample is characterized by a variety of maiolica types, modes of decoration and differentiation in vessel forms finding individual and small plates, bowls, large bowls, drinking vessels like jugs, cups and *pocillos*, candleholders and miniatures (Tables 3.3.2.7-3.3.2.8). The plates and bowls seem to be the most common vessel form during the sixteenth-century however by the mid-seventeenth century, highly decorated drinking vessels are more commonly found in the samples, and this suggests changes in dining. Moreover, The early decorative schemes incorporate blue and yellow over a white background as observed in Tacuba Polychrome and Mexico City Blue on Cream contrasts with later examples pertaining to the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These latter maiolica presents a colourful palette and variety of decorative motifs finding anthropomorphic, religious and zoomorphic representations.

The identification of potters' signatures suggested the existence of at least four different workshops. Furthermore, that one same workshop manufactured two different maiolica types like Puebla Polychrome and Puebla Blue on White fine and *entrefino* grades. These elements constitute potential sources for exploring aspects related with the consumption and production of maiolica within the framework of the Ordinances, the display of cultural identities and their relationship with the doctrine of blood purity. This will be further discussed in Chapter five.

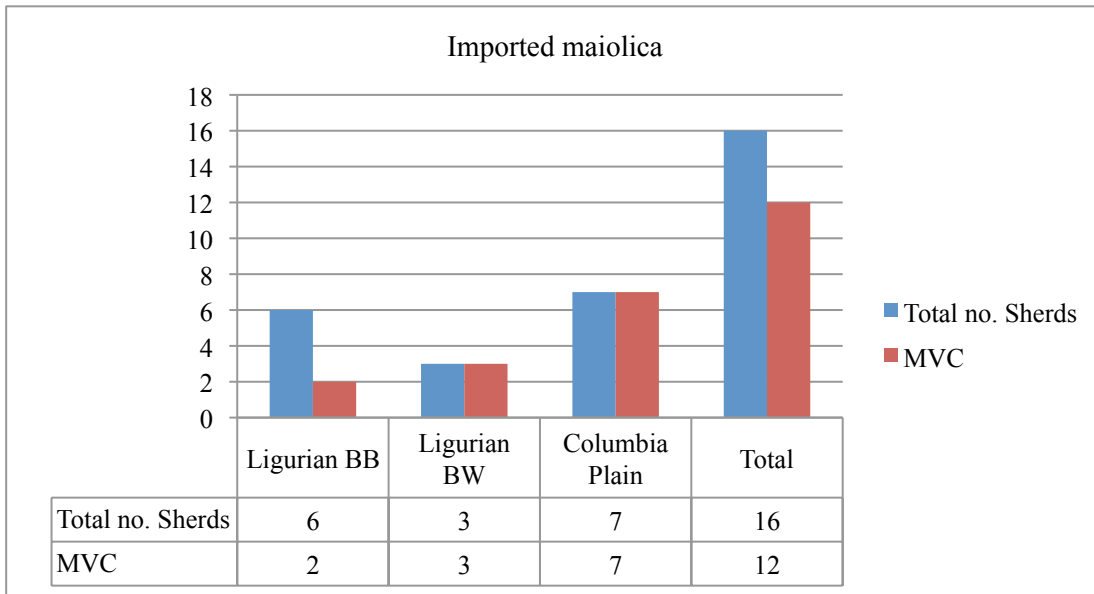


Table 3.3.2.3 Proportion of imported maiolica from La Encarnación

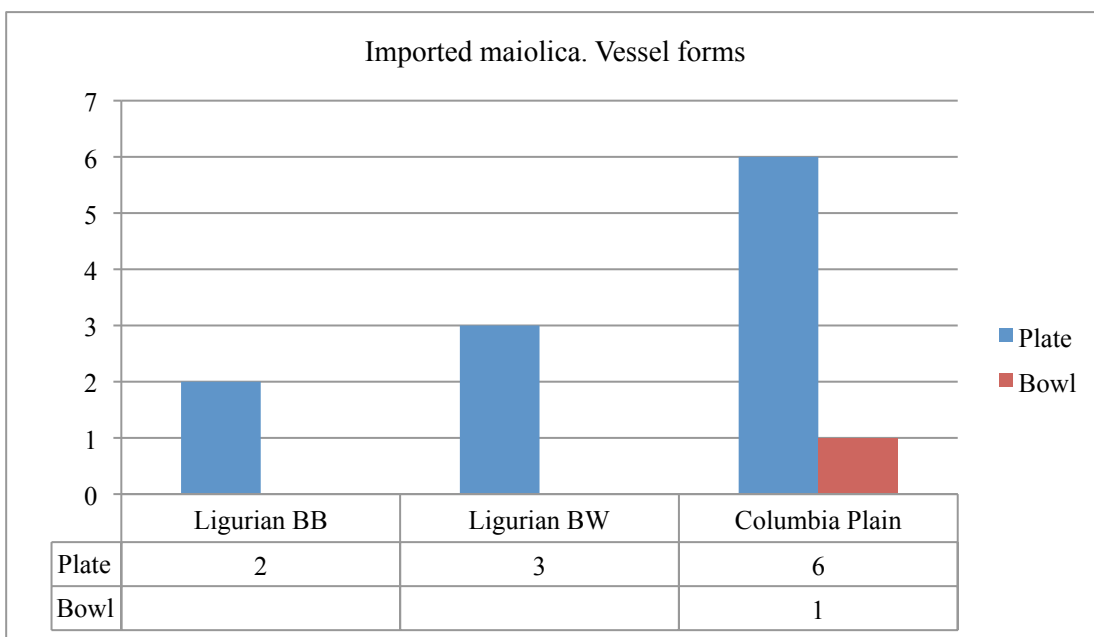


Table 3.3.2.4 Vessel forms of imported maiolica from La Encarnación

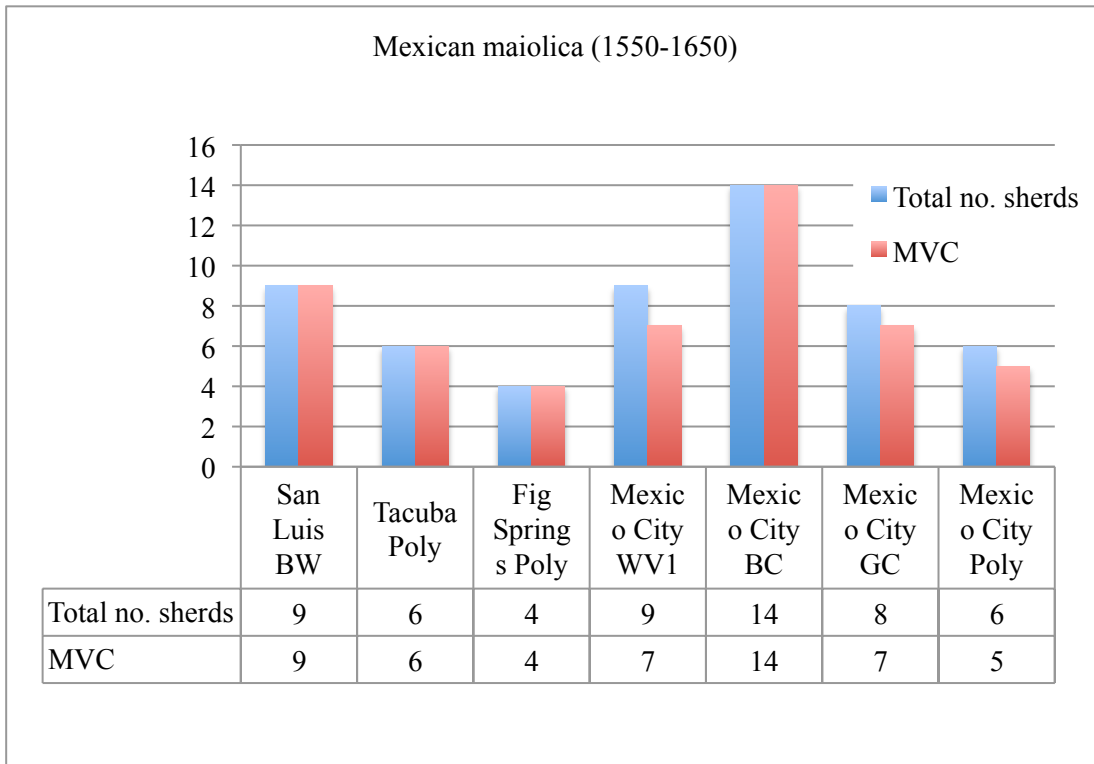


Table 3.3.2.5 Proportion of Mexican maiolica from La Encarnación

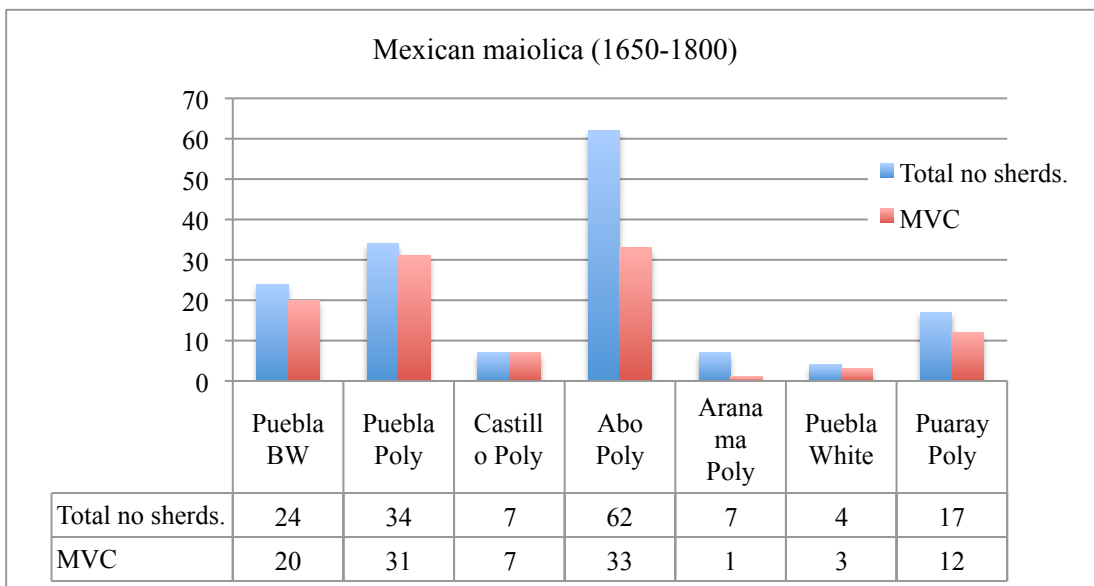


Table 3.3.2.6 Proportion of Mexican maiolica from La Encarnación

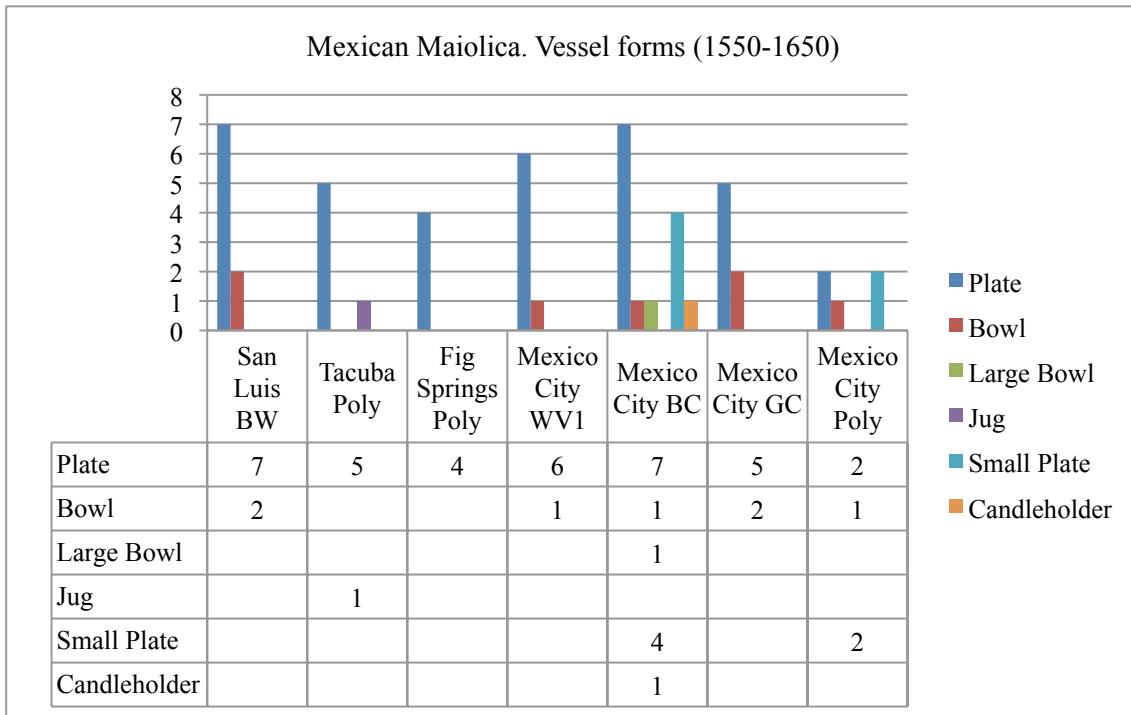


Table 3.3.2.7 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica from La Encarnación

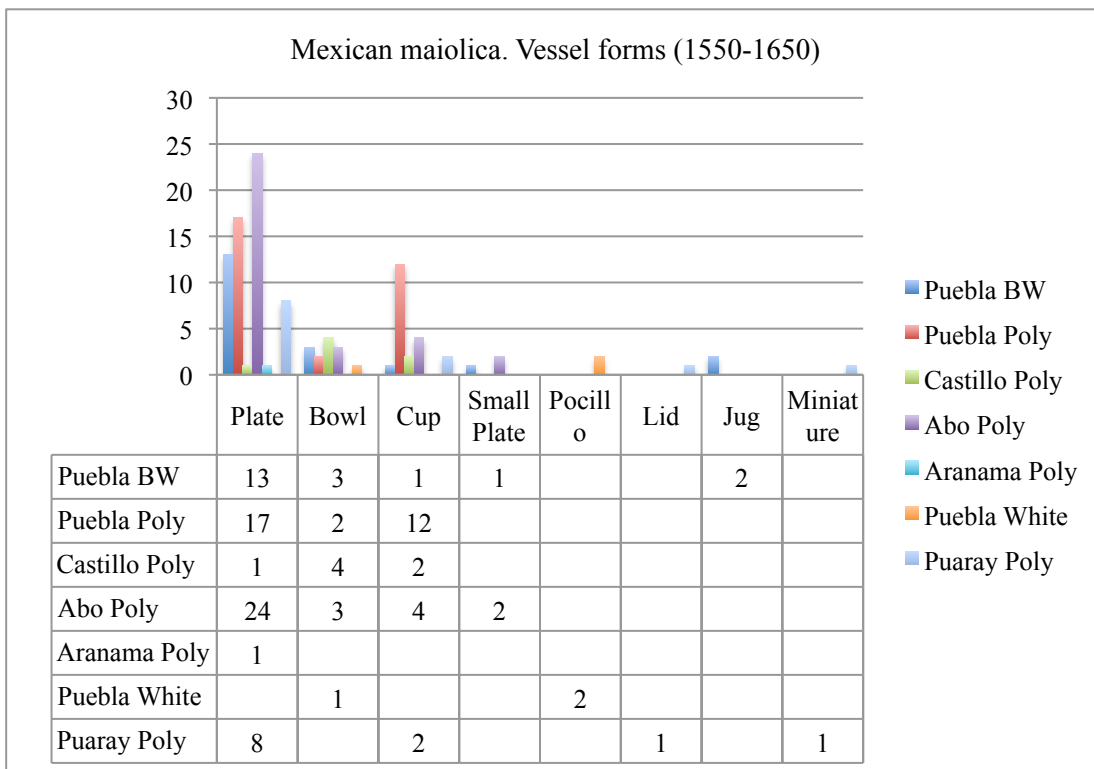


Table 3.3.2.8 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica from La Encarnación

Finally, the analyzed sample of *botijas* comprises a total number of 11 semi-complete vessels, nine of which are glazed (Table 3.3.2.9). These were recovered from the excavation at the convent and the Customs building. Nine of the vessels are Middle Style shape B, have a red fabric with mica and calcite inclusions (0.01-0.07 cm). These have a rounded base that could represent a stylistic change during the eighteenth century (Marken 1994, 96). The other *botijas* correspond to an unglazed Middle Style shape A vessel, form 1 according to the typology proposed by James (1988, 49) and one Middle Style shape C. In general terms, the shape B vessels are *botijas de arroba y cuarto* for vinegar and a lesser proportion of the sample are *botijas de una arroba* for wine (James 1988). A correlation between formal characteristics and possible function for each *botija* is provided in Table 3.3.2.10. Finally, one incised seal was identified in the mouth of a middle style shape b unglazed vessel in the form of an R (Figure 3.3.2.13).



Figure 3.3.2.13. Seal on Middle Style shape B *botija*

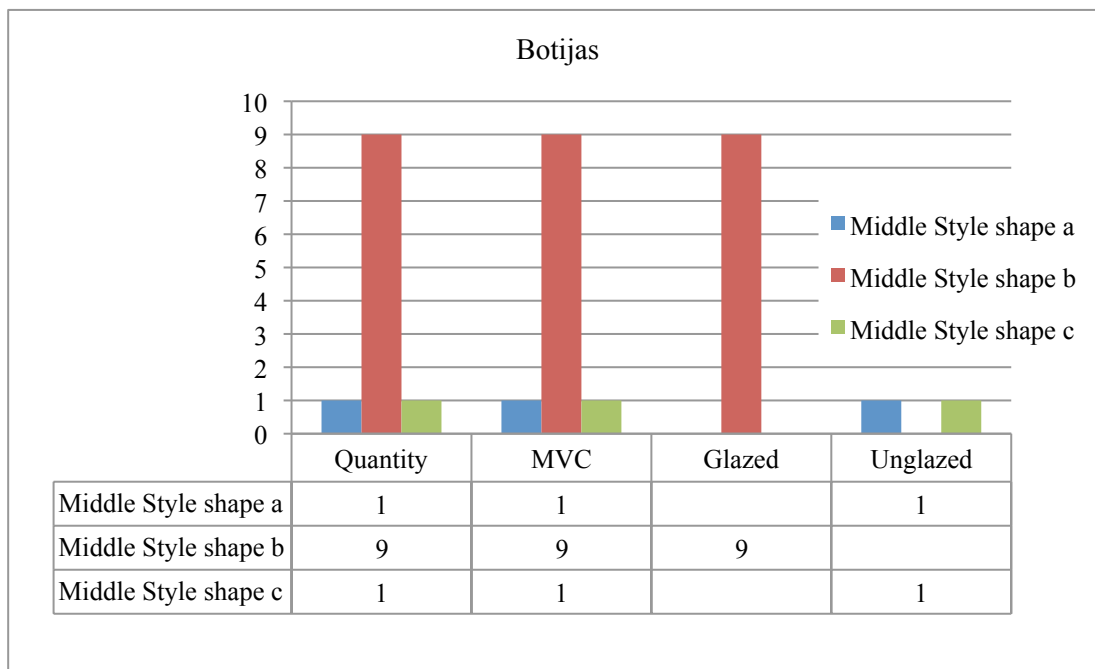







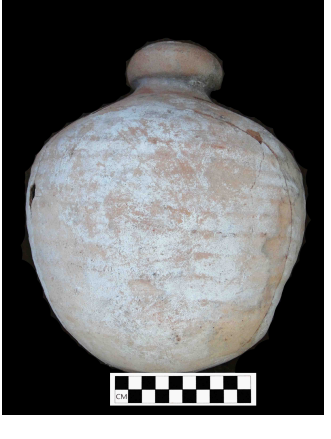



Table 3.3.2.9 Proportion of *botijas* from La Encarnación



		
<p>1) Middle style shape b. Unglazed. Height 29 cm Maximum diameter 30 cm. Capacity 20 litres. Botija de arroba y cuarto for vinegar</p>	<p>2) Middle style shape b. Unglazed. Height 27 cm Maximum diameter 26 cm. Capacity 14 litres. Botija de una arroba for wine</p>	<p>3) Middle style shape b. Unglazed. Height 30 cm Maximum diameter 24 cm. Capacity 13 litres. Botija de una arroba for wine</p>
		
<p>4) Middle style botija shape b with seal. Unglazed. Height 29 cm Maximum diameter 26 cm. Capacity 15 litres. Botija de arroba y cuarto for vinegar</p>	<p>5) Middle style botija shape b. Glazed. Height 25 cm Maximum diameter 27 cm. Capacity 14 litres. Botija de una arroba for olive oil</p>	<p>6) Middle style shape b. Unglazed. Height 29 cm Maximum diameter 26 cm. Capacity 15 litres. Botija de arroba y cuarto for vinegar</p>
		
<p>7) Middle style shape b. Glazed. Height 29 cm</p>	<p>8) Middle style shape b. Unglazed. Height 29 cm</p>	<p>9) Middle style shape a. Unglazed. Height 45 cm</p>


<i>Maximum diameter 26 cm Capacity 15 litres. Botija de arroba y cuarto for olive oil</i>	<i>Maximum diameter 26 cm Capacity 15 litres. Botija de arroba y cuarto for wine</i>	<i>Maximum diameter 35 cm. Capacity 43 litres. Unspecified comestibles</i>
		
<i>Middle style shape c. Unglazed. Height 32 cm Maximum diameter 17 cm Capacity 2 litres. Botija medio perulera for wine</i>		

Table 3.3.2.10 Styles of *botijas* from La Encarnación

### 3.3.3 The Hospital of San Juan de Dios

The building that had been the hospital of San Juan de Dios during the colonial period is located in the present location of the Museum Franz Mayer, adjacent to the Alameda Central (Figure 3.1.1). In 1582 the physician Pedro López founded the first hospital in this building and named it *La Epifanía*, for Africans, *castas*, the mentally ill and orphans. It was abandoned in 1597 until 1604 when the Juanino monks arrived to Mexico from Spain and founded the Hospital of San Juan de Dios. By the eighteenth century, the hospital became one of the most important ones in New Spain. Adjacent to the hospital was the renowned chapel of Santa Veracruz, founded by Spaniards but that nevertheless had a confraternity of African descendants, and was the place where the mutilated remains that had belonged to those executed by the Holy Office were buried. In 1766 the hospital was destroyed by fire and reconstructed in 1815 and remained administered by the Juaninos until 1820 (Salas Díaz and Valencia Cruz 1982, n/p).

### *The ceramic sample*

The data of the colonial ceramic materials that were recovered from the excavations in this site were drawn from the analysis of Salas Díaz and Valencia Cruz (1982, n/p) and from the ceramic collections that were deposited at *La Alhóndiga*. These correspond to 522 fragments of maiolica, mainly plates, bowls and cups of Mexico City Green on Cream and Puebla Blue on White. Other associated ceramics that were analyzed by Salas Díaz and Valencia Cruz (1982 n/p) correspond to 20 fragments of Chinese porcelain and 264 semi-complete *lebrillos* (Table 3.3.3.1).

The analyzed sample included one jug of a Mexican copy of Santo Domingo Blue on White, five plates and bowls of maiolica of Puebla White and Mexico City White Variety 1, two of these with inscriptions. The two inscriptions refer to the name of the religious house (Figure 3.3.3.1). The others had what may represent potters' signatures on the surfaces (Figure 3.3.3.2).



Figure 3.3.3.1. Plates with inscription of religious order

Amongst the examples of Ch'Ing porcelain there was one washbasin, one flowerpot and two bowls (Figure 3.3.3.3). Other associated materials included two fragments of *lebrillos* with a seal on their bottom surface (Figure 3.3.3.4), and two clay figurines that are representations of correspond *Sanbenitos*, that is representations of the individuals punished by the Inquisition (Figure 3.3.3.5).

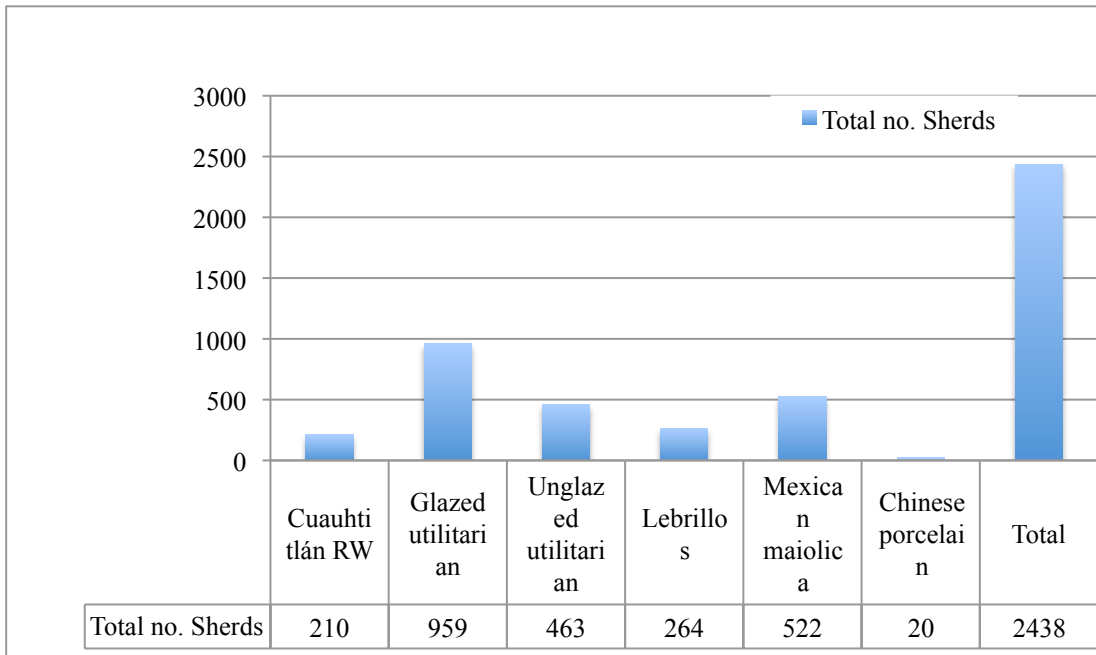


Table 3.3.3.1 Proportion of ceramics from San Juan de Dios



Figure 3.3.3.2. Plates with potters' signatures



Figure 3.3.3.3. Washbasin. Ch'ing porcelain



Figure 3.3.3.4. *Lebrillo*



Figure 3.3.3.5. *Sanbenitos*

#### *Overview of the ceramic sample*

The sample from San Juan de Dios is mostly comprised by local maiolica. Some interesting examples of this are the vessels that bear the inscription of the religious house, a trait that has been observed also in the ceramic materials from La Antigua Enseñanza. These vessels may stand as some of the material culture that characterizes hospitals and religious sites. Moreover, the finding of *Sanbenitos* in the ceramic sample is peculiar because of the proximity that the hospital had to the *Picota*, the site where those accused by the Inquisition were executed. Also, in the chapel of the hospital, their remains were buried, however this would require further investigation.

#### **3.3.4 Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer**

This site is located in the posterior area of the Franz Mayer Museum, the former Hospital of san Juan de Dios. This quarter was considered peripheral to the Spanish

*traza* and during the early colonial period was intended for the habitation of Native groups (see Mina 32). Despite the importance that the hospital of San Juan de Dios had during the colonial period, the area where it was built never lost its marginal position with respect to the *traza* (Pérez Castellanos and Rojas Gaytán 2000, 3-21).

*The ceramic sample*

The analyzed ceramic sample from this site comprises a total of 143 fragments and a minimum number of 131 vessels, most of which correspond to Mexican maiolica (Table 3.3.4.1). The sample was recovered from the excavation in units 1, 2, 4, 6, 7 and 9. The relative highest proportion of ceramics was found in refuse deposits in excavation unit 7 (Table 3.3.4.2).

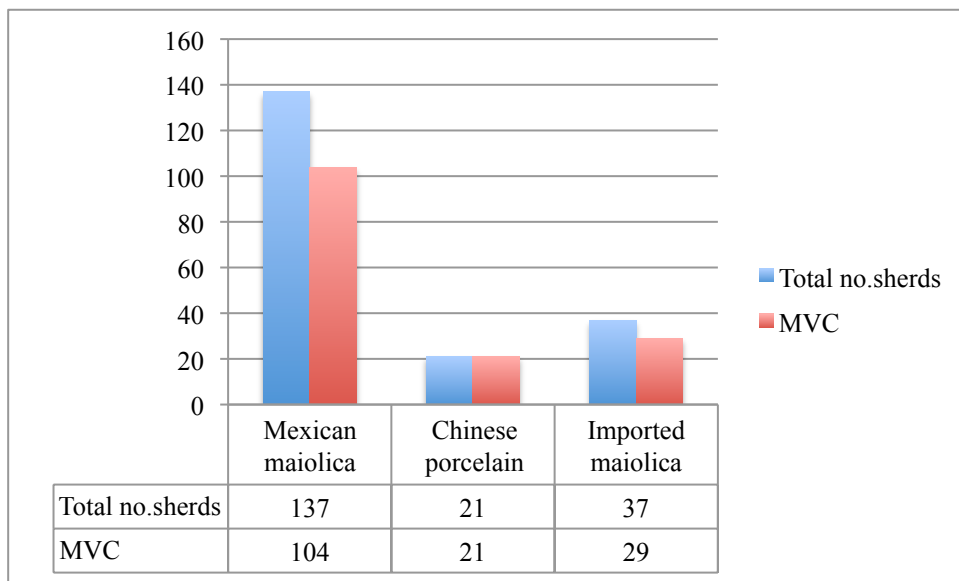


Table 3.3.4.1 Proportion of ceramics from Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer

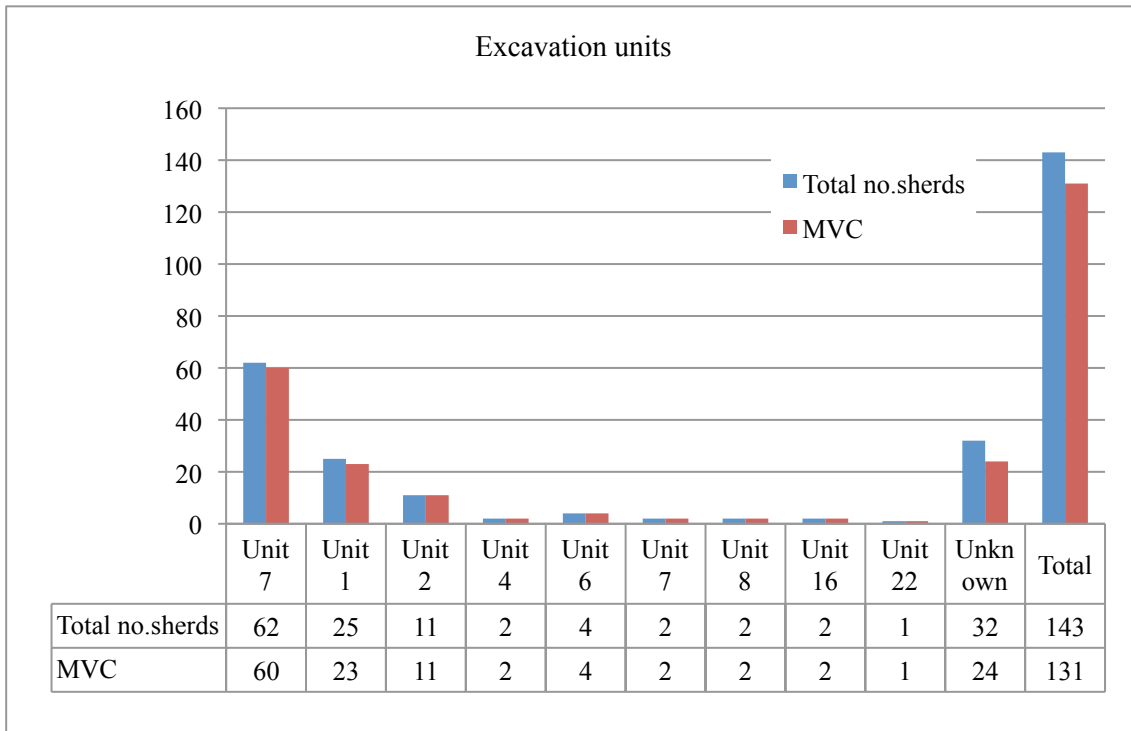


Table 3.3.4.2 Proportion of ceramics from excavation units at Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer

The excavation of unit 1 uncovered construction fills (Pérez Castellanos and Rojas Gaytán 2000, 29-37) with associated Mexican maiolica, plates and bowls from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. An interesting example of eighteenth-century Aranama Polychrome is a bowl with a painted motif of a monk (Figure 3.3.4.1). The imported ceramics that were recovered from this excavation unit correspond to Spanish and Italian maiolica and Ch'Ing porcelain such as Chinese Polychrome Export and a Fo dog adornment (Figures 3.3.4.2 -3.3.4.3).



Figure 3.3.4.1. Bowl. Aranama Polychrome

The ceramics recovered from the excavation of unit 2 correspond to sixteenth and seventeenth century local maiolica, Kraak porcelain, Columbia Plain and Ligurian Blue on White maiolica. The ceramic sample that was recovered from unit 7, a refuse pit, included mostly plates of imported maiolica and sixteenth to early nineteenth- century

local tin-glazed ceramics decorated with anthropomorphic figures and *horrori vaccui* (Figures 3.3.4.2.4-3.3.4.5). A small proportion of the analyzed sample was recovered from trenches 4, 6, 7, 8, 16 and 22. Other ceramics whose unit of excavation could not be established correspond to Spanish and Mexican maiolica pertaining to the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries alongside Ming porcelain.

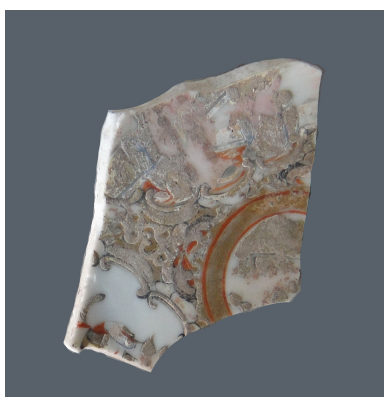


Figure 3.3.4.2. Plate. Chinese Polychrome Export



Figure 3.3.4.3. Fo dog



Figure 3.3.4.4. Plate. Abo Polychrome



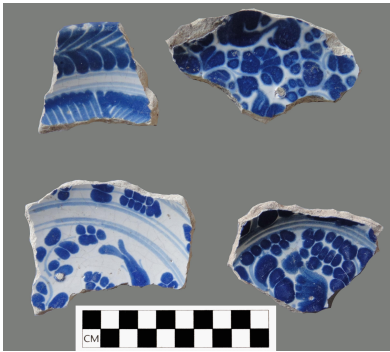


Figure 3.3.4.5. Plates. Puebla Blue on White fine grade

### *Overview of the ceramic sample*

Local maiolica constitutes the relative highest proportion within the analyzed sample.

This was mainly recovered from construction fills and refuse pits. The maiolica pertaining to the sixteenth and mid-seventeenth century includes mostly flatware and bowls. The highest proportion of Mexican maiolica corresponds to mid-seventeenth to early nineteenth-century ceramic types, finding flatware and bowls, and also drinking vessels and miniatures (Tables 3.3.4.3-3.3.4.6). Other associated ceramics correspond to *búcaros* of

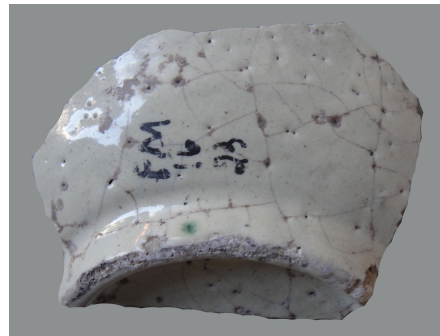


Figure 3.3.4.6. Columbia Plain with green speckles

Tonalá Ware, colonial earthenware from Western Mexico<sup>15</sup> (Figure 3.3.4.7). In contrast, the analyzed sample of imported maiolica and Chinese porcelain is proportionally smaller. This mainly corresponds to plates and bowls of Santo Domingo Blue on White, Columbia Plain and Ligurian maiolica (Tables 3.3.4.7-3.3.4.8). Some of the plates of Columbia Plain had green speckles on the surface, suggesting either manufacturing defects or these white vessels were being manufactured and fired in the same kilns as the green coloured Columbia Plain (Figure 3.3.4.6). On the other hand, Ming and

<sup>15</sup> These were originally manufactured in the western coast of Mexico, and were highly appreciated among the consumers in New Spain, and the nobility in the Spanish peninsula and in Italy, the Medici, because of the beautiful fragrance that emanated from the clay and the taste of it (Pleguezuelo 2000, 132). Its decoration was equated in quality to the one produced in Portugal and they were believed to possess beneficial-apotropaeic qualities for women (FLMNH).

Ch'Ing porcelain comprise a small proportion of the ceramic sample (Tables 3.3.4.9-3.3.4.10).



Figure 3.3.4.7. Tonalá Ware

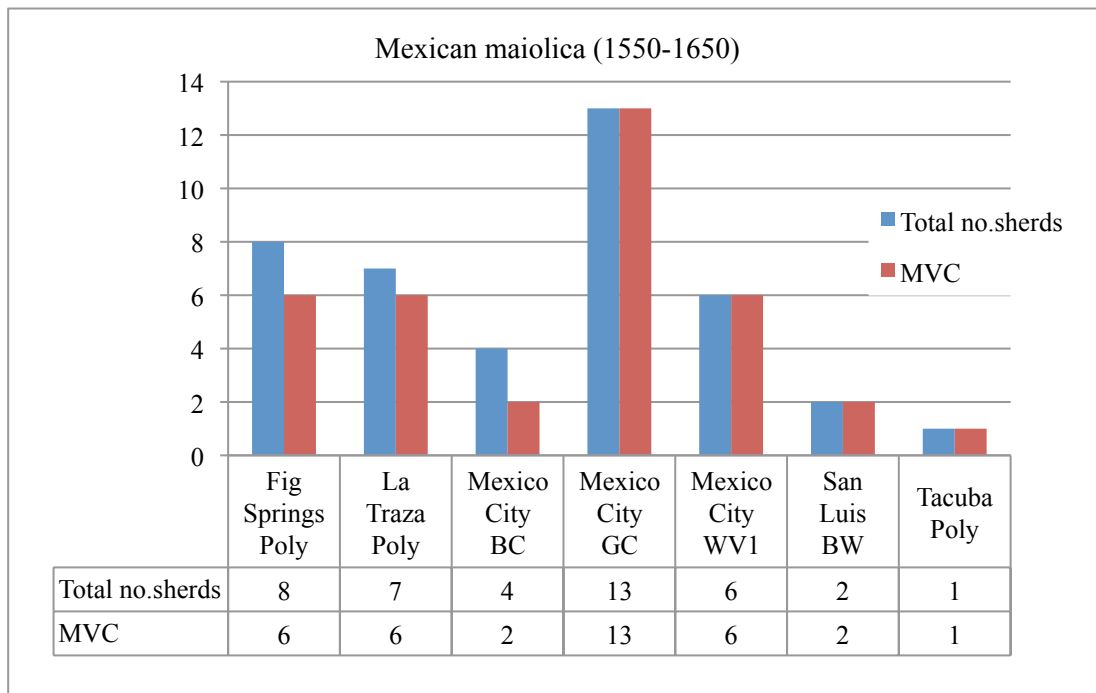


Table 3.3.4.3 Proportion of Mexican maiolica from Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer

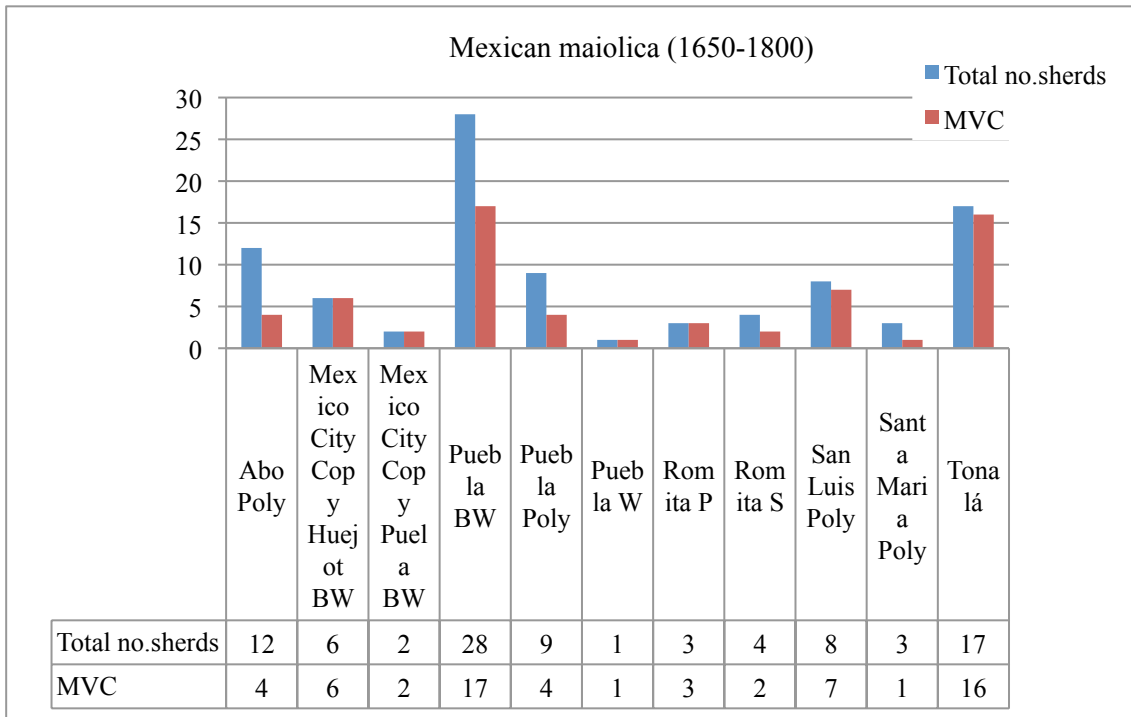


Table 3.3.4.4 Proportion of Mexican maiolica from Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer

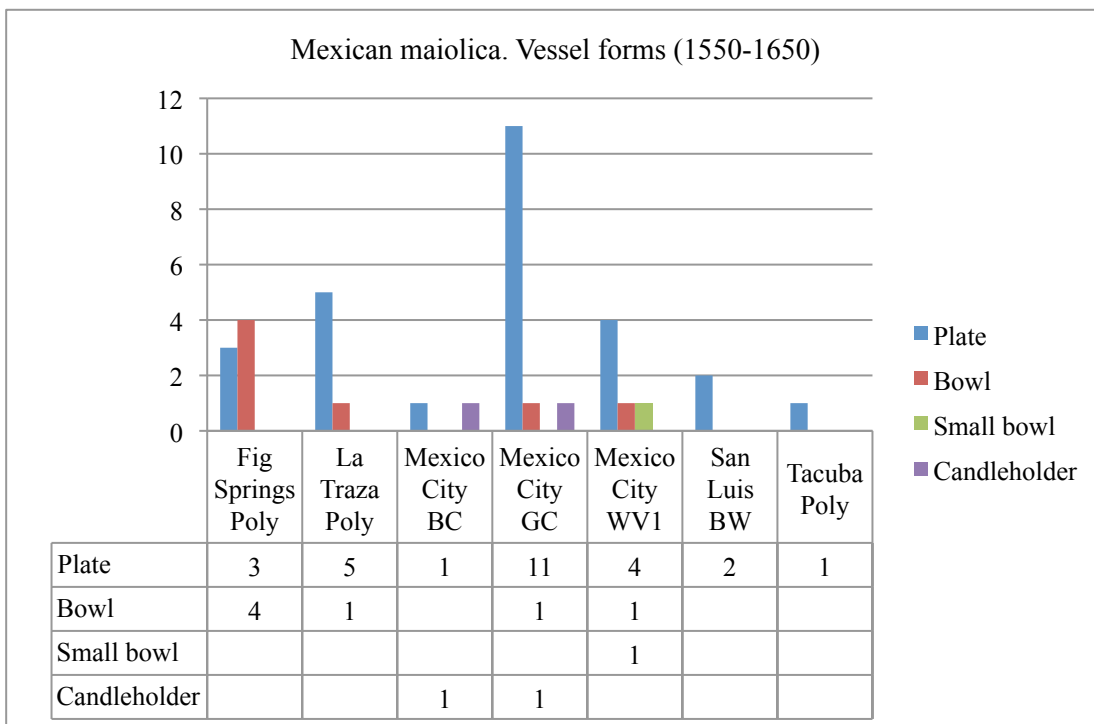


Table 3.3.4.5 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica from Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer

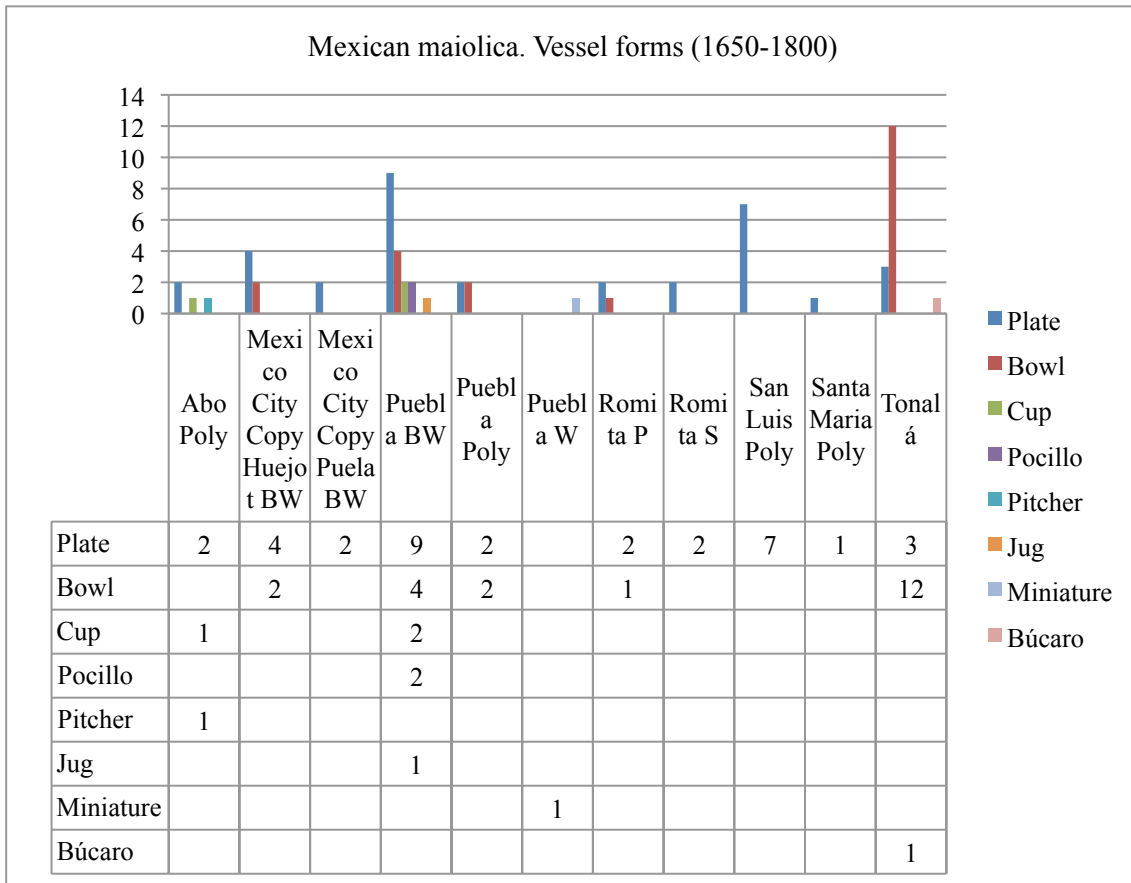


Table 3.3.4.6 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica and Tonalá Ware from Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer

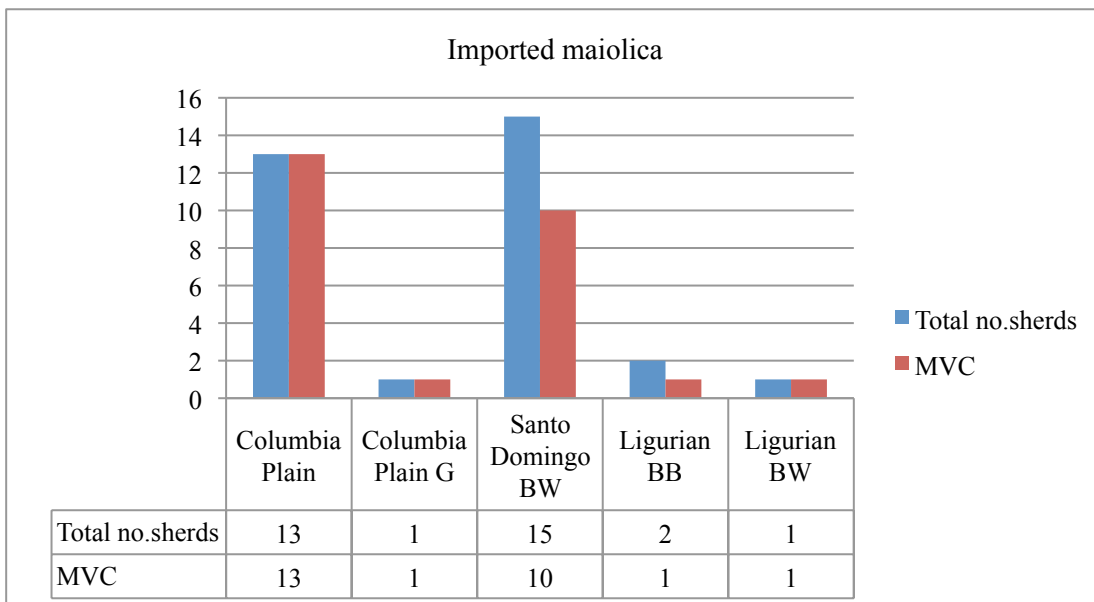


Table 3.3.4.7 Proportion of imported maiolica from Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer

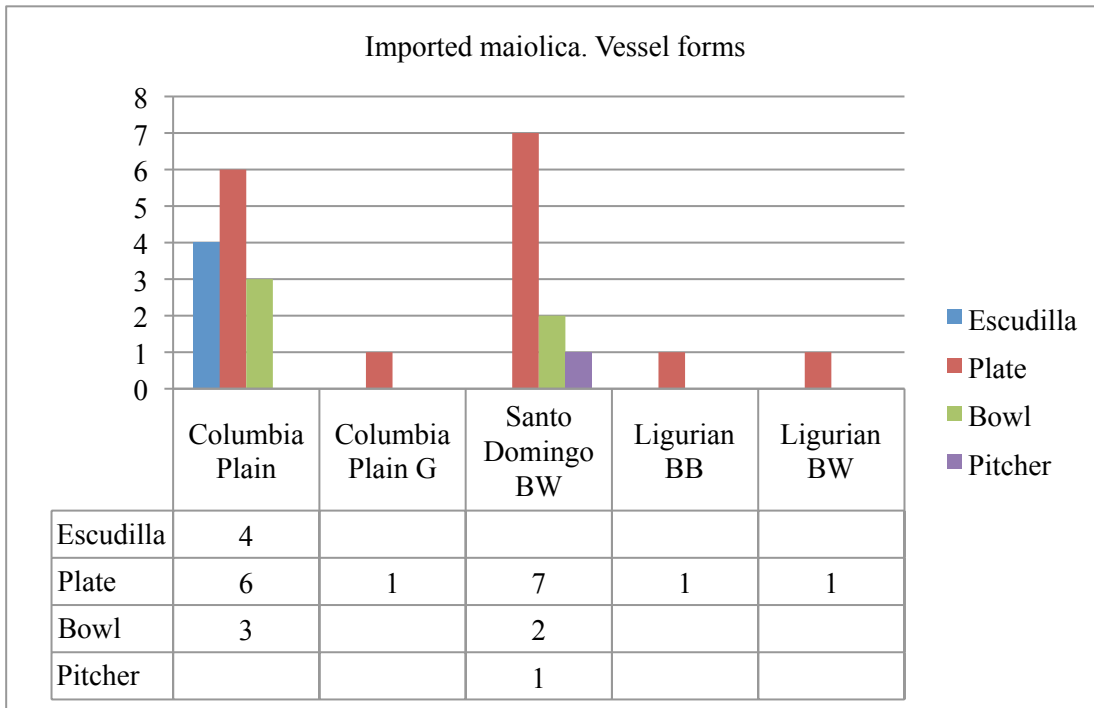


Table 3.3.4.8 Vessel forms of imported maiolica from Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer

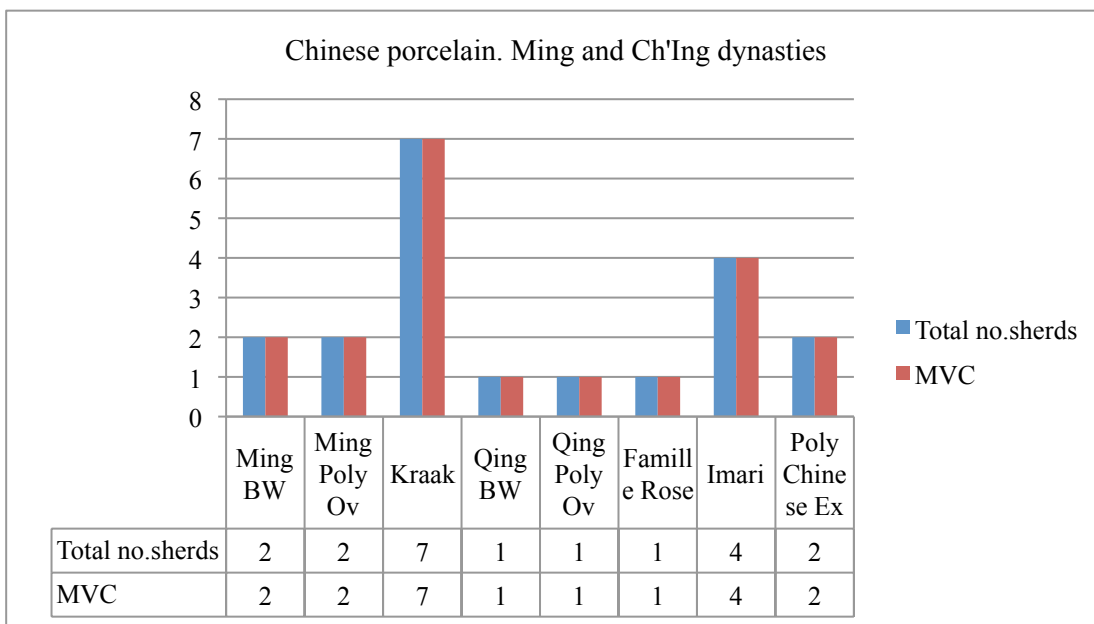


Table 3.3.4.9 Proportion of Chinese porcelain from Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer

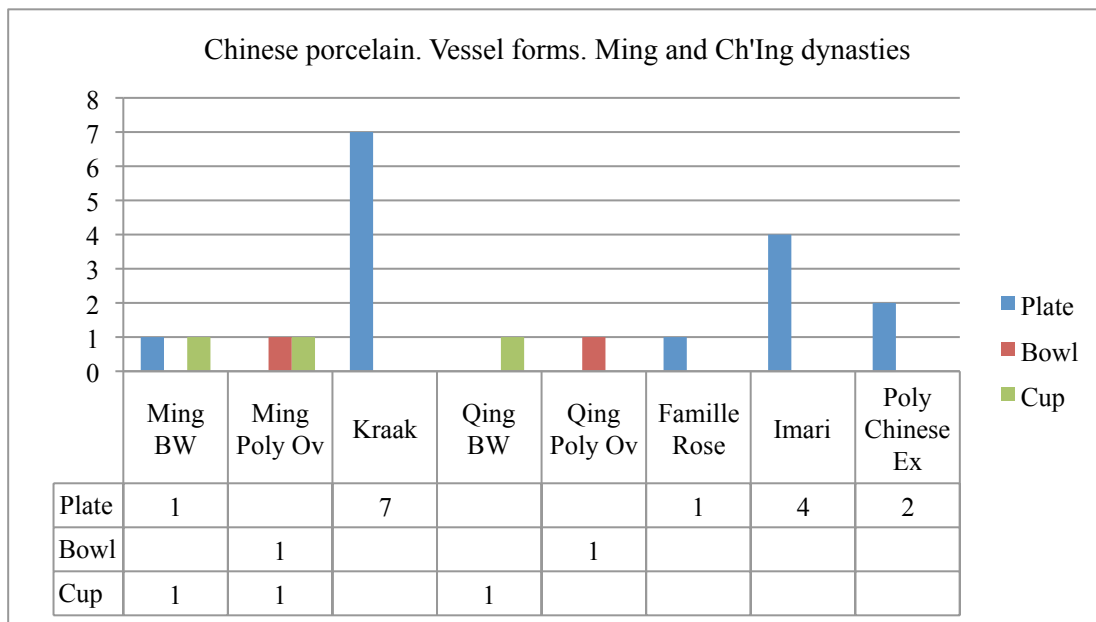


Table 3.3.4.10 Vessel forms of Chinese porcelain from Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer

### 3.3.5 The Monastery of El Carmen

The monastery of El Carmen is located in the streets of Arenal and La Paz, in the former village of San Angel, in the ancient countryside and to the south of the historical centre of Mexico City (Figure 3.1.2). It was built in 1626 and was inhabited by Carmelite monks until the nineteenth century (Moreno 2002, 19-29). They engaged in an ascetic life style devoted to mystic contemplation. The mortification of the flesh was allowed and there was an emphasis on enclosure and meditation, according to the hermit Elijah, the founder of this religious order (Boase 1939, 108-109; Koch 1959, 547-548; Weber 2002, 127-138). The monastery held a prestigious college devoted to the teaching of Philosophy and Theology (Weber 2002, 124-128). This religious order was a recipient of the monarchic and papal power. It was a mirror of the Spanish power and society that promulgated a strict social hierarchy and obedience to the Crown and the Church. The majority of the monks were Peninsular Spaniards. Creole and mestizo monks constituted the smallest proportion of the monks and were seldom admitted and ordained as priests (Ramos Medina 2005, 32-45).

*The ceramic sample*

The analyzed ceramic sample from El Carmen comprises a total number of 67 fragments and a minimum number of 63 vessels. The sample is characterized by Mexican maiolica from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries and a small proportion of Chinese porcelain (Table 3.3.5.1). The ceramic materials were recovered from the excavations trenches 1, 2, 3, 3A, 3B, 3C, 4A, 5, 8, 12, 13, 32, 35 and 38 that were located in the garden and in the area adjacent to the aqueduct of the monastery. The excavation of these trenches revealed construction fills from the refurbishments of the monastery that occurred throughout the colonial period and that were found in association with maiolica (Moreno 2002, 82-85) (Table 3.3.5.2).

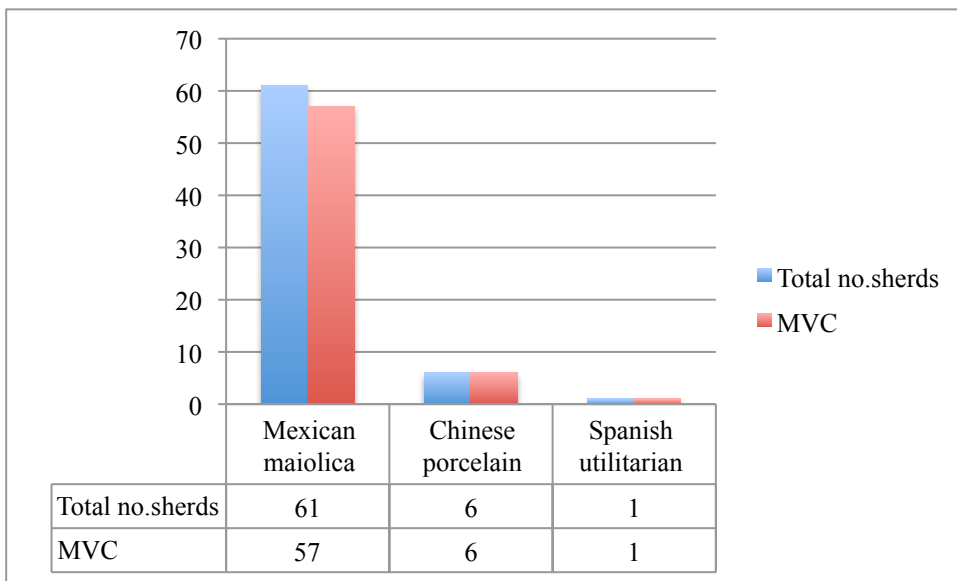


Table 3.3.5.1 Proportion of ceramics from El Carmen

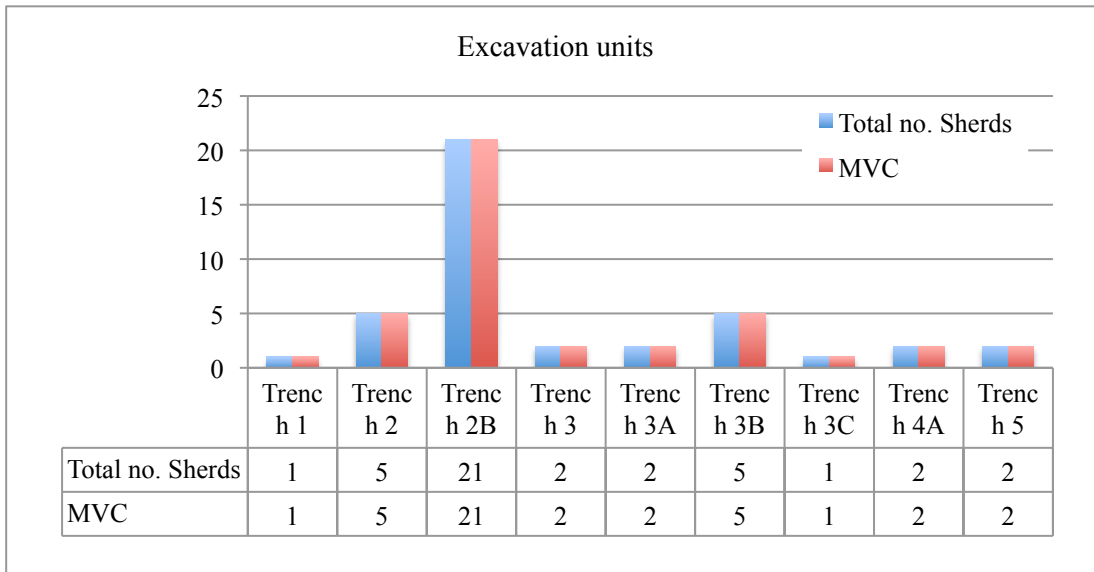


Table 3.3.5.2 Proportion of ceramics from excavation units at El Carmen

The excavation trenches in the garden area and near the aqueduct of the monastery revealed construction fills pertaining to the colonial period and the nineteenth century such as stone pillars and arches, drains, floors and walls (Moreno 2002, 34-47; 50; 56-57; 66; 68-69). The associated ceramics include Mexican maiolica such as Tacuba Polychrome, Puebla White and Puebla Blue on White amongst others. Some of these materials were found in association to faunal remains and glass.



Figure 3.3.5.1. Bowl with inscription

An interesting find was recovered from the excavation of trench 2B layer II, a clay deposit that had associated maiolica bowls with the inscription of the monastic house (Moreno 2002, 40). These bowls (diameter 10-20 cm) had a buff to pink coloured fine fabric, which suggest that these may have been manufactured in Mexico City. The interior surfaces had cockspur marks. One of the bowls had traces of a second one attached to its base, suggesting a low quality item. Also, speckles of blue under glazed pigment were identified in the interior surface of some of the plates. Moreover, the interior surfaces are highly worn which may indicate a continuous use of the vessels (Figure 3.3.5.1). The inscriptions were executed in different styles and this may indicate the participation of different potters (Figure 3.3.5.2). These vessels may suggest the



ascetic life of the religious individuals inside the monastery, particularly in the areas related with dining, and the ways in which their communal identities were actively constructed or reminded through the use of material culture.



Figure 3.3.5.2. Bowls with inscriptions of the Carmelite Order

#### *Overview of the ceramic sample*

The ceramic sample from the monastery of El Carmen is constituted by both fine and common grade maiolica that range from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries. Some of the maiolica types that were identified in the sample correspond to Fig Springs Polychrome, Mexico City White Variety 1 and 2 and Tlalpan White. Also, bowls, jugs and plates of fine grade Puebla Blue on White, and Mexico City White Variety 1 with potter's marks (Figure 3.3.5.3). Other interesting finds correspond to ten semi-complete bowls with the inscription of El Carmen. On the other hand, it is noteworthy the relatively low differentiation of vessel forms within maiolica in comparison to the ceramic samples from other religious institutions like the convents of Antigua Enseñanza and La Encarnación. Flatware and bowls, and a relative low proportion of inexpensive drinking vessels mainly characterized the analyzed sample from El Carmen.



Figure 3.3.5.3. Puebla Blue on White

Other maiolica items that were identified in the sample correspond to three small medicine jars or *albarelli* of local maiolica (Figure 3.3.5.4). Other interesting objects that were identified in the sample correspond to personal effects such as basins, a small baptismal fountain (Figure 3.3.5.5) and two devotional clay figurines (Figure 3.3.5.6). Finally, the sample of Ming and Ch'Ing porcelain from El Carmen is relatively small in comparison to that of Mexican maiolica. This is mostly comprised plates of Kraak, one cup and bowls of Ch'Ing Blue on White and *Famille Verte*.



Figure 3.3.5.4. Albarello



Figure 3.3.5.5. Baptismal fountain



Figure 3.3.5.6. Devotional figurines

## ***Chapter four. Patterns of consumption of colonial ceramics***

### **Introduction**

This chapter focuses on the analysis of the data to enable the identification of patterns of consumption of ceramics from each site, and allows for inter-site comparisons to be made. The first section of the chapter, Section 4.1, provides an overview of the variations in the patterns of consumption based on the relative proportions of ceramic wares and types that included local and imported maiolica, Chinese porcelain and *botijas* on a chronological and spatial basis. Section 4.2 considers the variations in the consumption of vessel forms that is mainly plates, bowls and drinking vessels on a site-by-site basis. This has allowed for insights into the differences in the spatial distribution of the vessel forms found within contemporary ceramic types throughout the sites under study in this thesis. Finally, the social distribution of maiolica will be looked at through the *casta* paintings.

### **4.1 Patterns of consumption of ceramic wares and types**

The analysis of the patterns of consumption considered the minimum vessel count of each ceramic ware, and the type of local and imported maiolica, Chinese porcelain and *botijas* on a site-by-site basis. These relative proportions were considered depending on the function of each site, whether royal, religious or secular, and its geographical location inside or outside the *traza*, and that allowed for inter-site comparisons. Moreover, the relative proportions of ceramic wares enabled the observation of the variations in the patterns of consumption that might be related to differences in socio economic status to be made. It was assumed that the wealthiest sites, that is those located inside the *traza* and particularly the vice royal palace and the female religious institutions, would display the highest proportions of individual vessels and the widest differentiation of types that include local and imported maiolica and Chinese porcelain. Chinese porcelain and imported maiolica were considered good indicators of wealth because these were some of the most expensive ceramics in Mexico City.

The second level of analysis considered the differentiation in vessel forms within each sample and contemporary ceramic types. For the purpose of the comparative analysis, it will be argued that that the sites inside the *traza*, particularly the vice royal palace, and the secular site of Capuchinas, would display a wider differentiated sample of vessel forms. This is because the sites inside the traza were known to have been inhabited by wealthy families, that included the vice royal one. Thus, tableware and dining may have been used as a medium to display publicly their social standing, refinement and notions on blood purity, through conspicuous consumption of luxurious objects and food.

As it can be inferred from Table 4.1.1.1 with the exception of Juárez 70 (the Hospice for the Poor), the sites located inside the *traza* all displayed the highest relative proportions of Oriental ceramics and imported maiolica, in comparison to the sites located outside the city. Nevertheless, local maiolica constitutes the most common maiolica across both the sites inside and outside the city, the exception being Capuchinas, which displayed a higher proportion of imported wares over local ones. Local maiolica was found in particularly high proportions at the Hospital of San Juan de Dios, the vice royal palace, and at Juárez 70 (Table 4.1.1.1). A closer examination to the ceramic types and vessel forms based on the minimum vessel count has allowed further comparisons and insights into variations in the patterns of consumption between different cultural groups to be made.

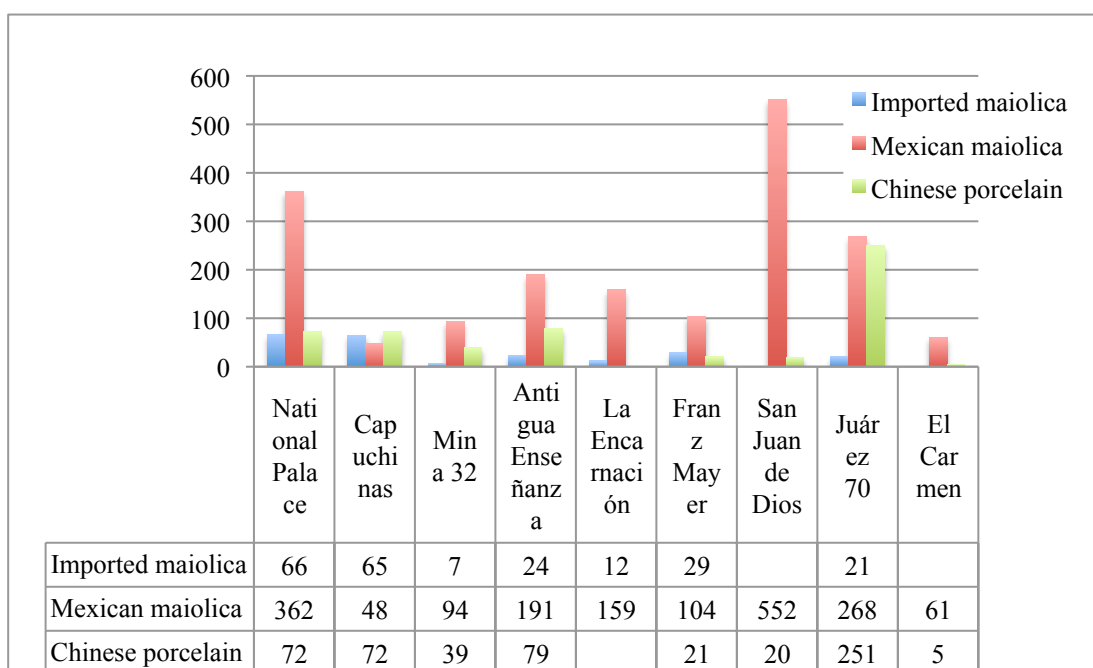


Table 4.1.1.1 General proportions of ceramics from each site

### ***Mexican maiolica***

The National Palace and the convents of La Antigua Enseñanza and La Encarnación displayed the highest proportions of sixteenth- to early nineteenth-century local maiolica and also the widest variation in maiolica types. These proportions were compared to those from Juárez 70, the site with the second highest relative proportions of maiolica, and also the sites outside the *traza* such as Mina 32, El Carmen and Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer, which display a relative lower variation of maiolica types (Tables 4.1.1.2- 4.1.1.7).

The sample from the National Palace was identified as the most highly differentiated, with relatively high proportions of both fine and common grade maiolica pertaining to the sixteenth and mid-seventeenth century, such as La Traza Polychrome, San Luis Blue on White and Fig Springs Polychrome and Mexico City Green on Cream and Mexico City Blue on Cream, amongst others. While these early ceramics were commonly encountered in the samples across the sites, the relative proportions vary from one site to another. An example of this are the proportions of common grade maiolica Mexico City Green on Cream, Mexico City Blue on Cream and Mexico City White Variety 2, and fine grade Fig Springs Polychrome and La Traza Polychrome, which are found in higher proportions at the National Palace compared with other sites (Tables 4.1.1.2, 4.1.1.4, 4.1.1.6).

A greater variation in the consumption patterns of local maiolica was identified in those dating to the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For example, the National Palace, the two female religious institutions, those of La Antigua Enseñanza and La Encarnación, and the site of Juárez 70 displayed the highest proportions of fine grade tableware of Puebla Blue on White. In contrast, the sites of Mina 32, Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer and El Carmen, located outside the *traza*, displayed relative higher proportions of medium and low quality maiolica such as Puebla Blue on White *entrefino* grade, and Mexico City copies of Puebla Blue on White and Huejotzingo Blue on White (Tables 4.1.1.2- 4.1.1.7).

Other maiolica types seem more unevenly distributed. For example, fine grade Castillo Polychrome and Puaray Polychrome (Figure 4.1.1.3, 4.1.1.5, 4.1.1.7) were exclusively identified in sites from the *traza*, including the National Palace, Capuchinas, La Antigua Enseñanza and La Encarnación. Puebla Polychrome was more commonly identified in the female religious institutions, and the royal sites of the National Palace and Juárez 70 (Tables 4.1.1.3, 4.1.1.5, 4.1.1.7). While this may indicate a preference on behalf of elite groups for expensive tableware, there were differences in the modes of decoration that were identified across these same samples and that will be explored in section 4 of this chapter. A similar situation is that of Abo Polychrome that was identified in higher proportions in the National Palace, Capuchinas and in the convent of La Encarnación, all of them located inside the city.

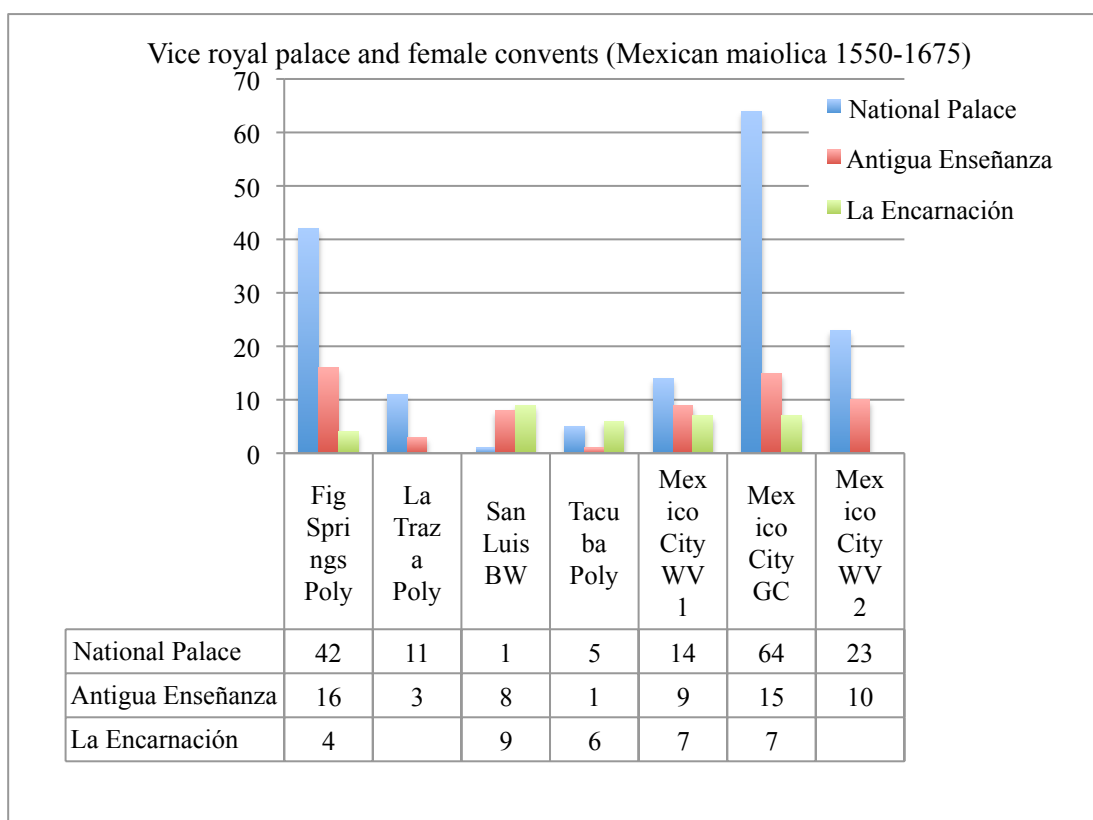


Table 4.1.1.2 Proportion of ceramics at the National Palace and female convents

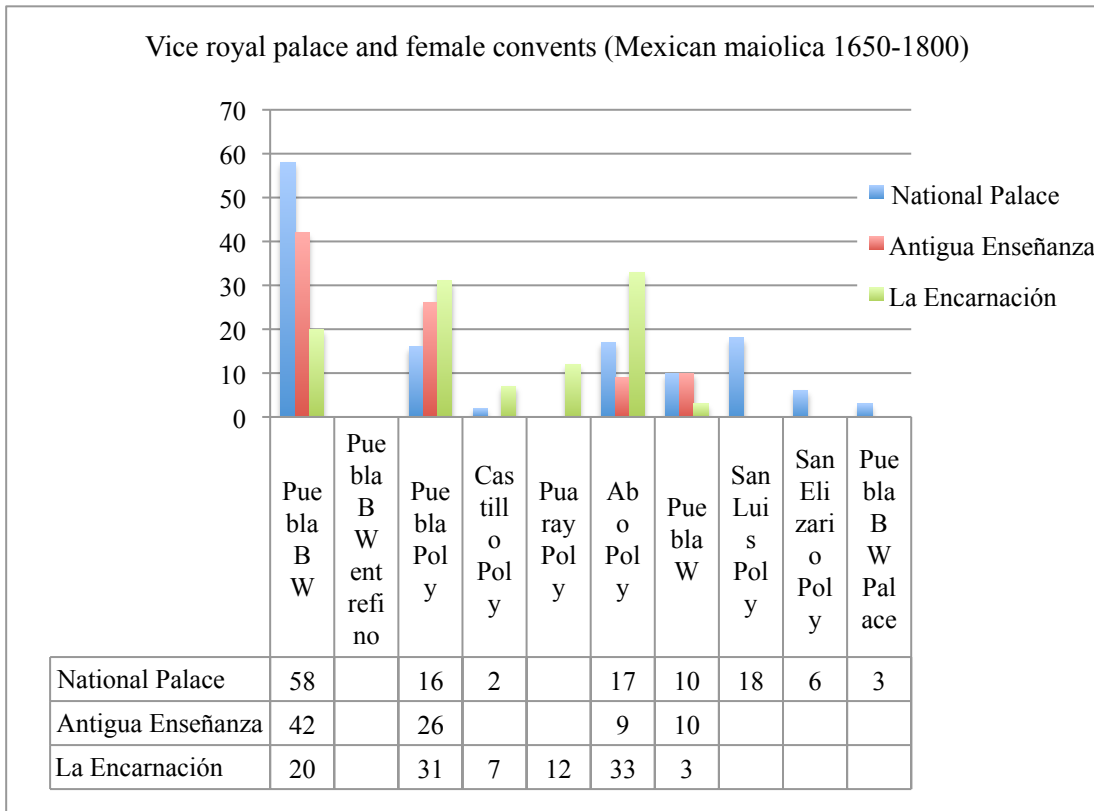


Table 4.1.1.3 Proportion of ceramics at the National Palace and female convents

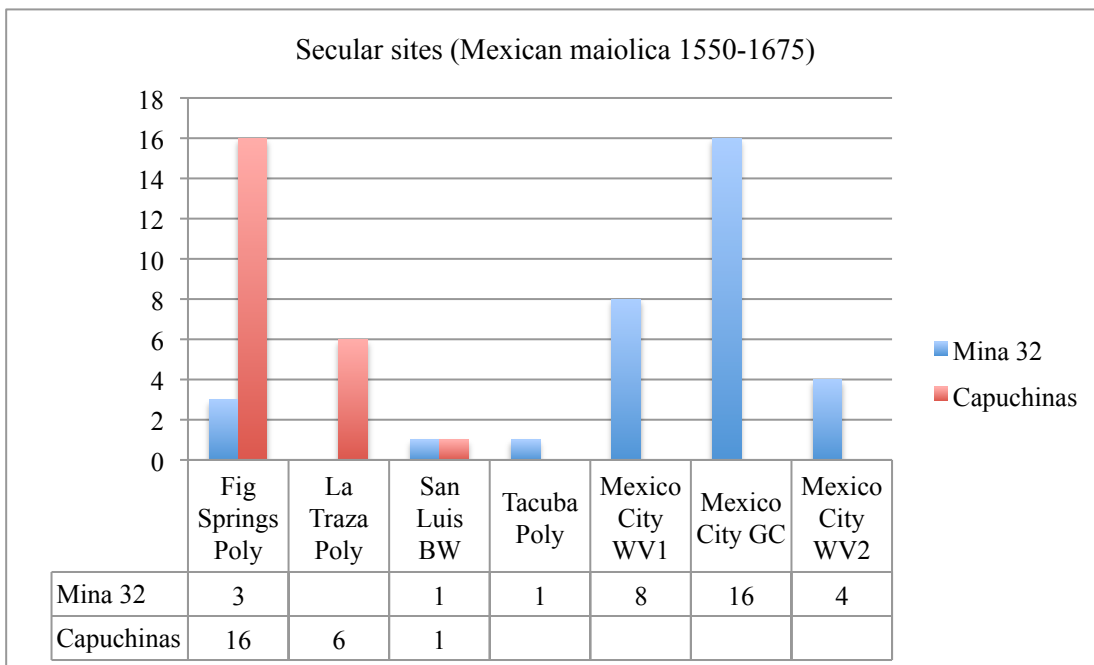


Table 4.1.1.4 Proportion of ceramics at secular sites

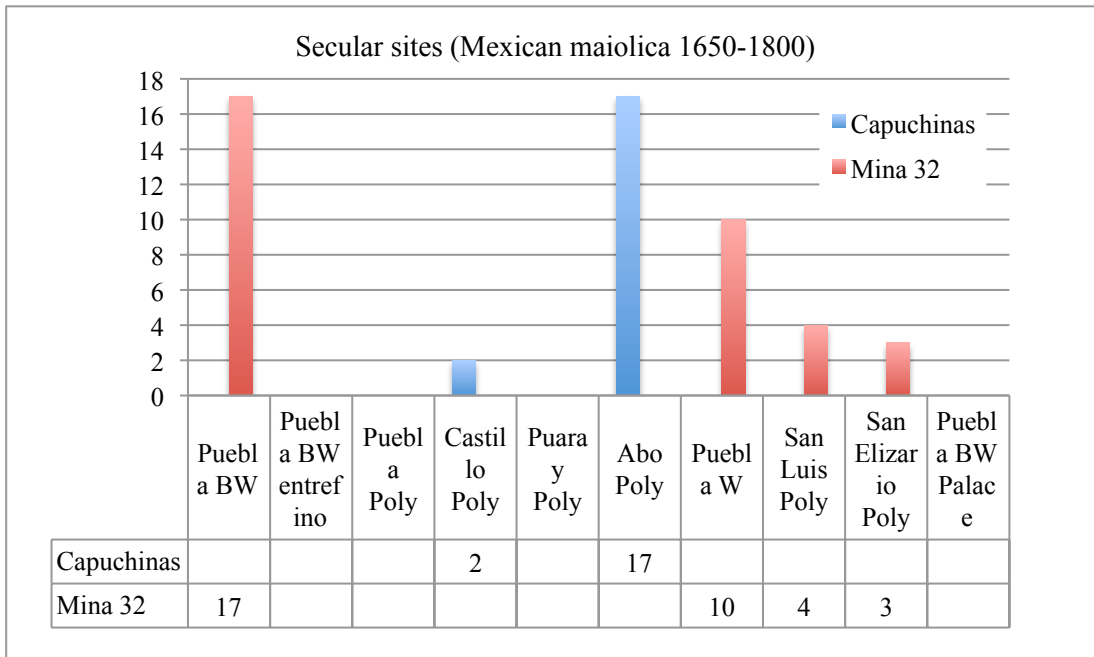


Table 4.1.1.5 Proportion of ceramics at secular sites

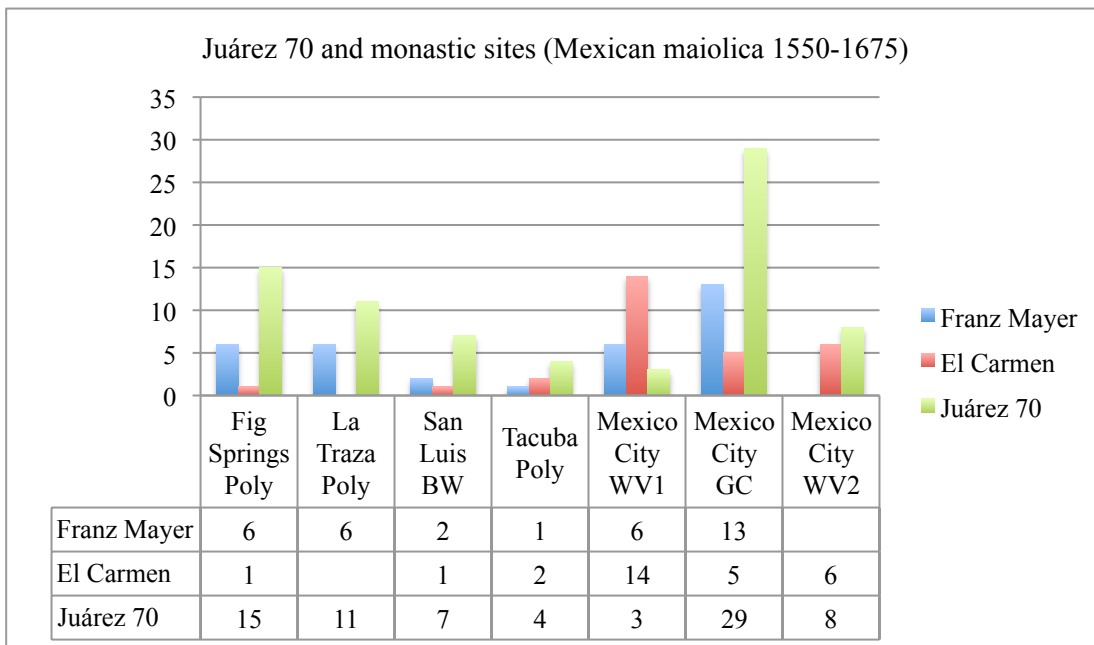


Table 4.1.1.6 Proportion of ceramics at Juárez 70 and monastic sites



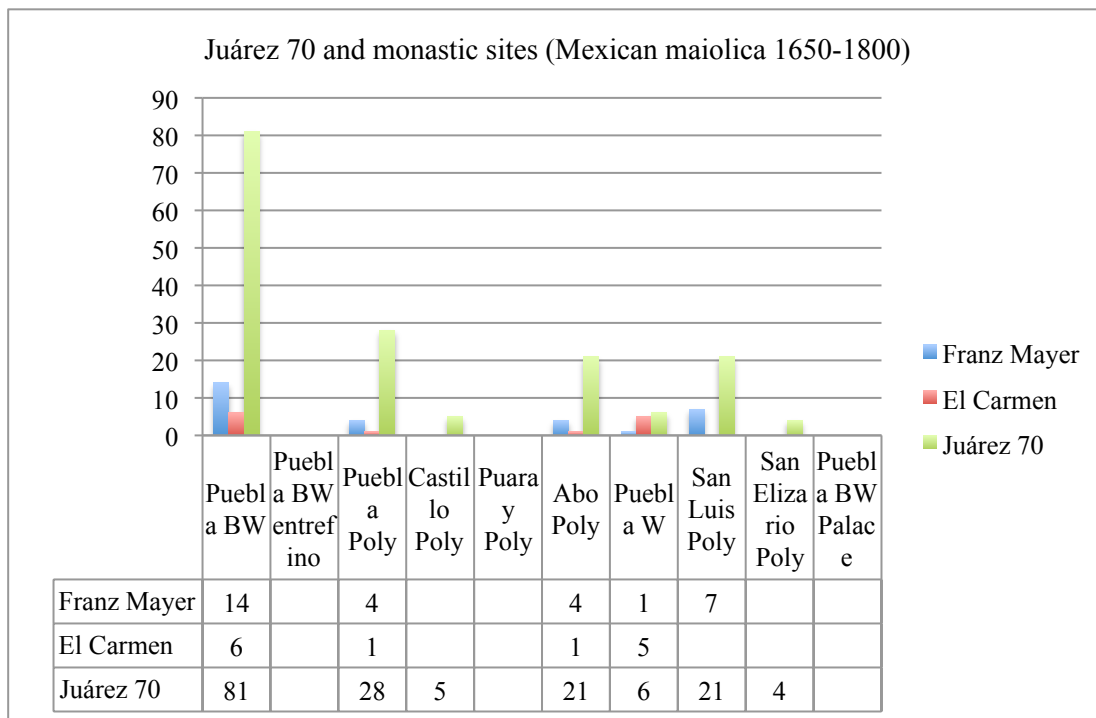


Table 4.1.1.7 Proportion of ceramics at Juárez 70 and monastic sites

The ceramics recovered from the refuse deposits of the National Palace, Capuchinas, La Encarnación and Mina 32 suggest variations in the maiolica that was discarded, and thus insights to the value attached by the consumers to particular items throughout the colonial period. The deposits of sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century ceramics from the National Palace and Mina 32 suggest that common grade Mexico City Green on Cream was more commonly discarded. However, the National Palace displayed a higher proportion of discarded fine grade ceramics such as Fig Springs Polychrome and San Luis Blue on White than Mina 32. This contrasts with the ceramics from Capuchinas, where fine grade types like San Luis Blue on White and Fig Springs Polychrome constitute the highest percentages of discarded items. However, in Capuchinas, common grade maiolica constitutes a low percentage. In La Encarnación, fine grade ceramics formed a relatively low percentage of discarded materials that included fine grade Tacuba Polychrome, Mexico City White Variety 1 and San Luis Blue on White, alongside small percentages of common grade maiolica (Figures 4.1.1.8, 4.1.1.9, 4.1.1.11). It is worth noting that in the National Palace and Capuchinas, La Traza Polychrome is the least discarded maiolica and also was identified in relative low proportions throughout the samples. This may suggest that La Traza Polychrome was luxurious ceramic tableware and thus seldom disposed of. A second possibility may be

related to the fact that the inhabitants of these sites seldom consumed tableware of La Traza Polychrome.

The ceramics deriving from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and that were found in refuse deposits, indicate that Puebla Blue on White comprised the highest percentage of discarded ceramics at Mina 32, and fine grade maiolica like Puebla White constitutes a lower percentage (Figure 4.1.1.11). In contrast, in the convent of La Encarnación, fine grade Puebla Polychrome constitutes the highest proportion of discarded materials in comparison to Abo Polychrome and fine grade Castillo Polychrome (Figure 4.1.1.10). Therefore, it can be argued that, in general terms, the sites located inside the *traza* presented the highest proportions of discarded fine grade maiolica, except for that of La Traza Polychrome, which was seldom encountered across the samples.

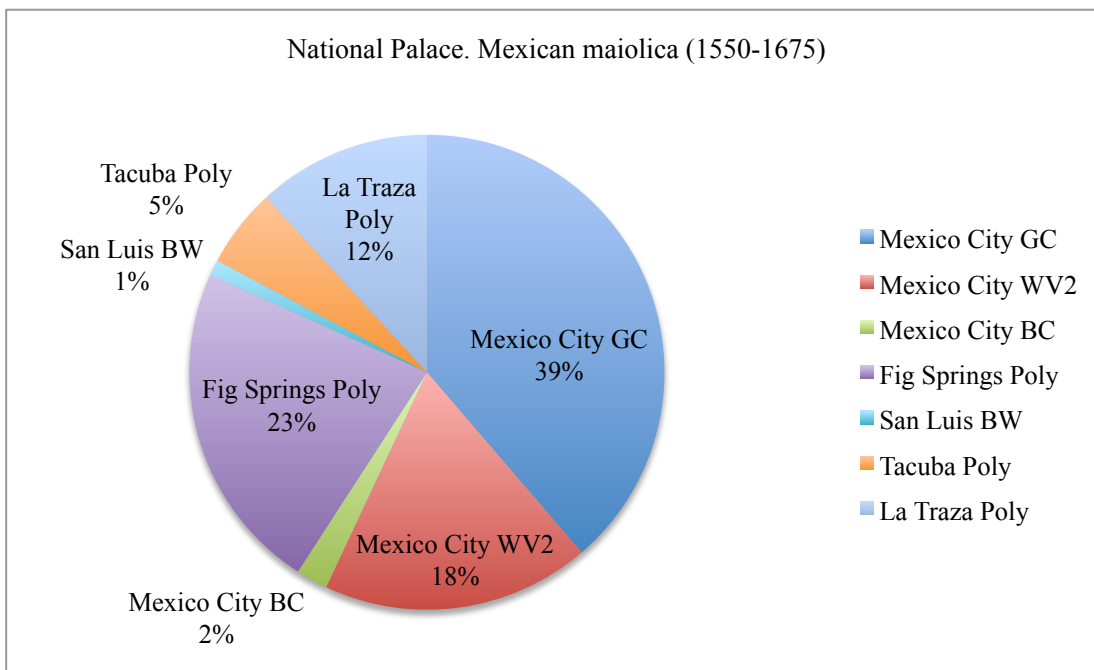


Table 4.1.1.8 Percentages of Mexican maiolica from the National Palace

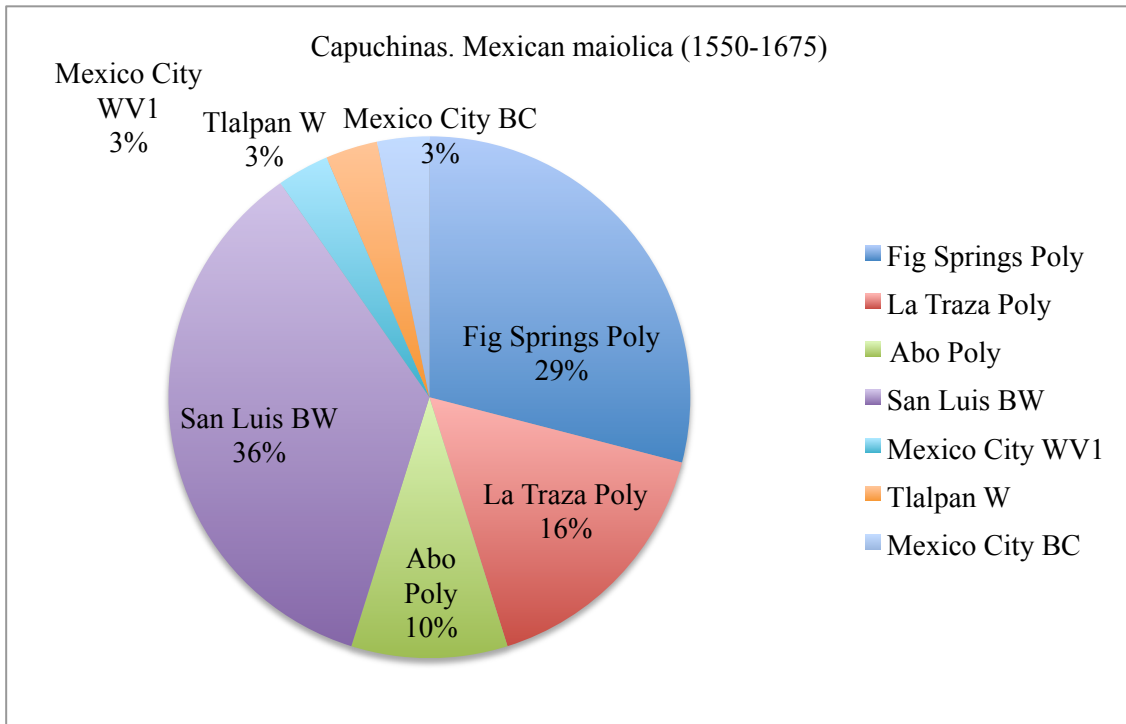


Table 4.1.1.9 Percentages of Mexican maiolica from Capuchinas

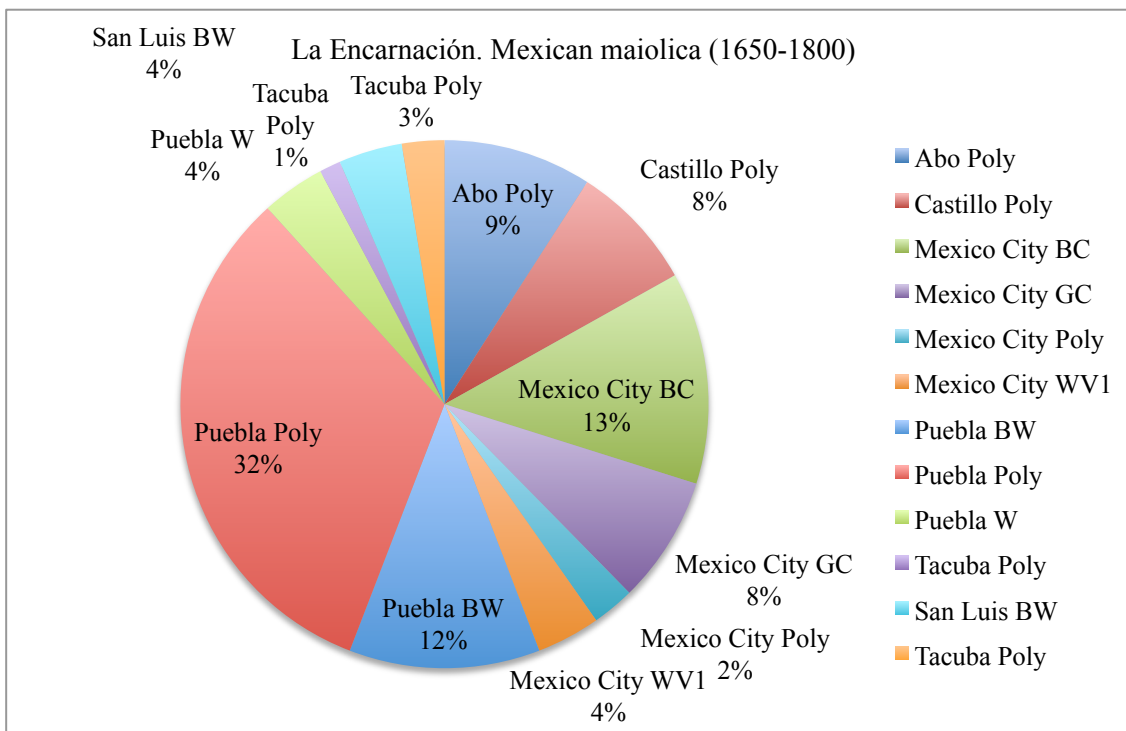


Table 4.1.1.10 Percentages of Mexican maiolica from La Encarnación

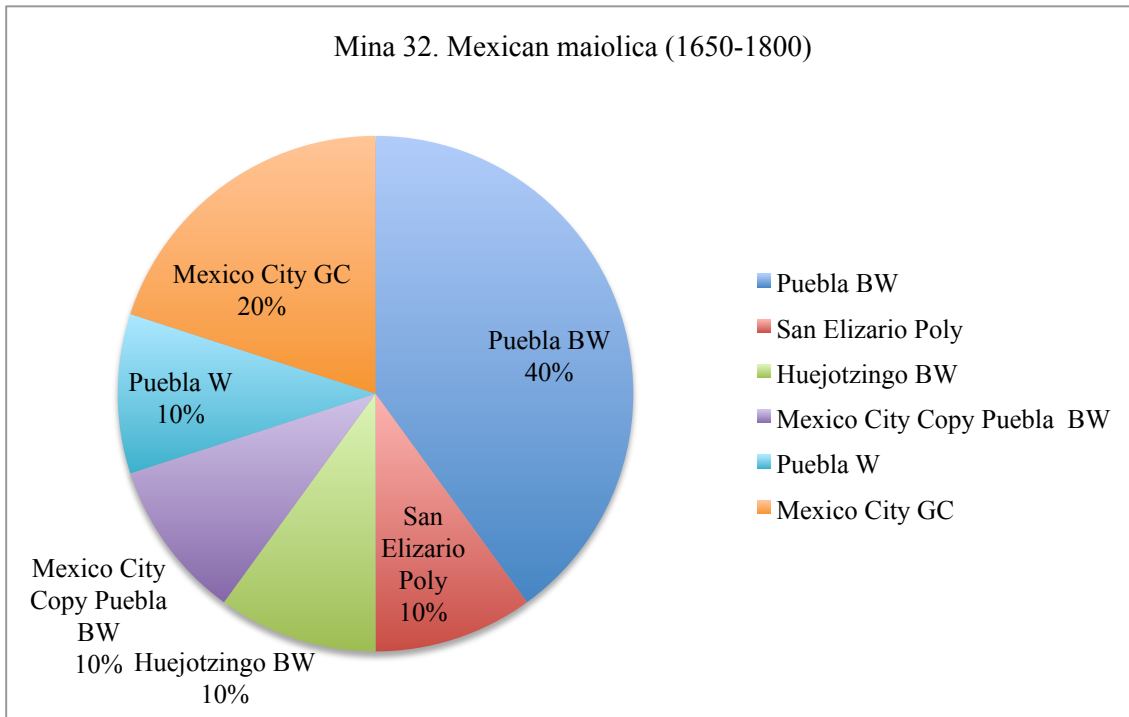


Table 4.1.1.11 Percentages of Mexican maiolica from Mina 32

### ***Imported maiolica***

The highest proportions of Italian and Spanish maiolica were encountered in the sites inside the *traza*, such as the National Palace, Capuchinas and La Antigua Enseñanza. Lesser proportions were identified in the analyzed samples from La Encarnación, and the sites outside la *traza* such as Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer, Juárez 70 and Mina 32. The sites that display the highest proportions of imported maiolica also display the widest variation of these finding Columbia Plain, Columbia Plain Gunmetal, Santo Domingo Blue on White, Yayal Blue on White, Sevilla White, Lusterware from Manises, Santa Elena Mottled, Ligurian, Montelupo and Faenza. Further variations were observed in the types encountered across the sites. For example, while Columbia Plain and Santo Domingo Blue on White are the most common maiolica types encountered in the samples, Yayal Blue on White, Sevilla White, Santa Elena Mottled and Lusterware from Manises occur in lesser proportions and are less evenly distributed across the sites, being found only in the National Palace and at Mina 32.

Lusterware from Manises was considered a luxury item during the sixteenth century and aside from the vice royal palace, has only been reported for the excavations of refuse deposits located beneath the Sagrario, in the Cathedral of Mexico City, which is located next to the palace (Lister and Lister 1978, 65-68). Moreover, Yayal Blue on White was only identified in the National Palace and in Capuchinas, whilst Santa Elena Mottled occurs in low proportions and was identified only in the samples from La Antigua Enseñanza and Capuchinas, located inside the *traza*.

Italian maiolica was more commonly identified in the samples from the National Palace, Capuchinas and those from the female religious institutions. The highest proportions and widest variety of these ceramics, however, were identified in the sample from Capuchinas, with finds of Ligurian Blue on Blue and Ligurian Blue on White, Montelupo Polychrome, Montelupo Blue on White and Faenza Polychrome Compendario, which are absent in other sites, and particularly those located outside the city (Tables 4.1.1.12-4.1.1.14).

In general terms, the sites located inside the *traza* displayed the highest relative proportions of sixteenth-century imported maiolica, especially that from Iberian Peninsula. Within the Italian examples, the Ligurian Blue on White and Ligurian Blue on Blue with a standard decoration of stems and leaves were more common, whereas those from Montelupo and Faenza, with an anthropomorphic decoration, are more rarely encountered except for the sites of Capuchinas and the National Palace. Despite the relatively low proportions of Italian maiolica, this is more spatially confined to the sites inside the *traza*, and in Capuchinas the highest variation in ceramic types was identified, being even greater than that in the vice royal palace. This suggests that types such as Columbia Plain Gunmetal, Sevilla White, Lusterware from Manises and Santa Elena Mottled along with Montelupo and Faenza maiolica might have been more expensive or appreciated amongst the consumers and thus not readily discarded.

It is interesting to note the lack of evidence for imported maiolica after the sixteenth century. A possible exception to this may be the two plates of *Série Puntos Croixí* (Figure 4.1.1.1), that were found within the samples from La Encarnación and La Antigua Enseñanza, and that probably date to the second half of the seventeenth century. The overall data obtained from the analyzed samples suggests that from the

seventeenth century and onwards, there was a decrease in the importation and consumption of European maiolica in Mexico City and its neighbouring areas. This might stress the fact that these items became rare and highly appreciated amongst the consumers and thus, these were not discarded for several generations of consumers.



Figure 4.1.1.1 Plate. *Série puntas croixi*

The early colonization of the city centre by the Spaniards might explain, to a certain extent, the clustering of imported ceramics in the samples from sites within this area that was associated with wealthy families and the descendants of *conquistadors*. In the particular case of La Antigua Enseñanza, the presence of early imports might be related to the first occupation period of the site by Hispanic families and prior to the foundation of the religious house in the eighteenth century. The relatively small proportions of European ceramics in sites like Mina 32, Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer, Juárez 70 and El Carmen, located outside the Spanish city, might be explained in terms of a differential access to these goods, in terms of socio-economic status. In the particular case of Mina 32, some of the imported maiolica was recovered from refuse deposits in the excavation area C, and that contained a variety of local maiolica from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. This suggests a possible continuous occupation of the site and a longer life cycle of imported ceramics (Tables 4.1.1.12-4.1.1.14).

These variations in the patterns of consumption suggest that the groups inhabiting the city exercised different consumption habits from those outside it, especially when concerned with items that symbolized wealth and blood purity, and this may have shaped the decisions undertaken to discard or keep particular objects. In Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer, the imported ceramics constitute a higher proportion than in Mina 32. These were recovered from a sixteenth-century refuse deposit, dating prior to the arrival

of Juanino monks and the foundation of the hospital, but contemporary to that of *La Epifanía*. The ceramics may correspond to this earlier phase of occupation and indicates the consumption of imported ceramics in areas that were considered as marginal to the city. A similar case is that represented by Juárez 70, where imported maiolica was mainly found in excavation unit IIIB, a rubbish pit with associated sixteenth-century maiolica and Ming porcelain.

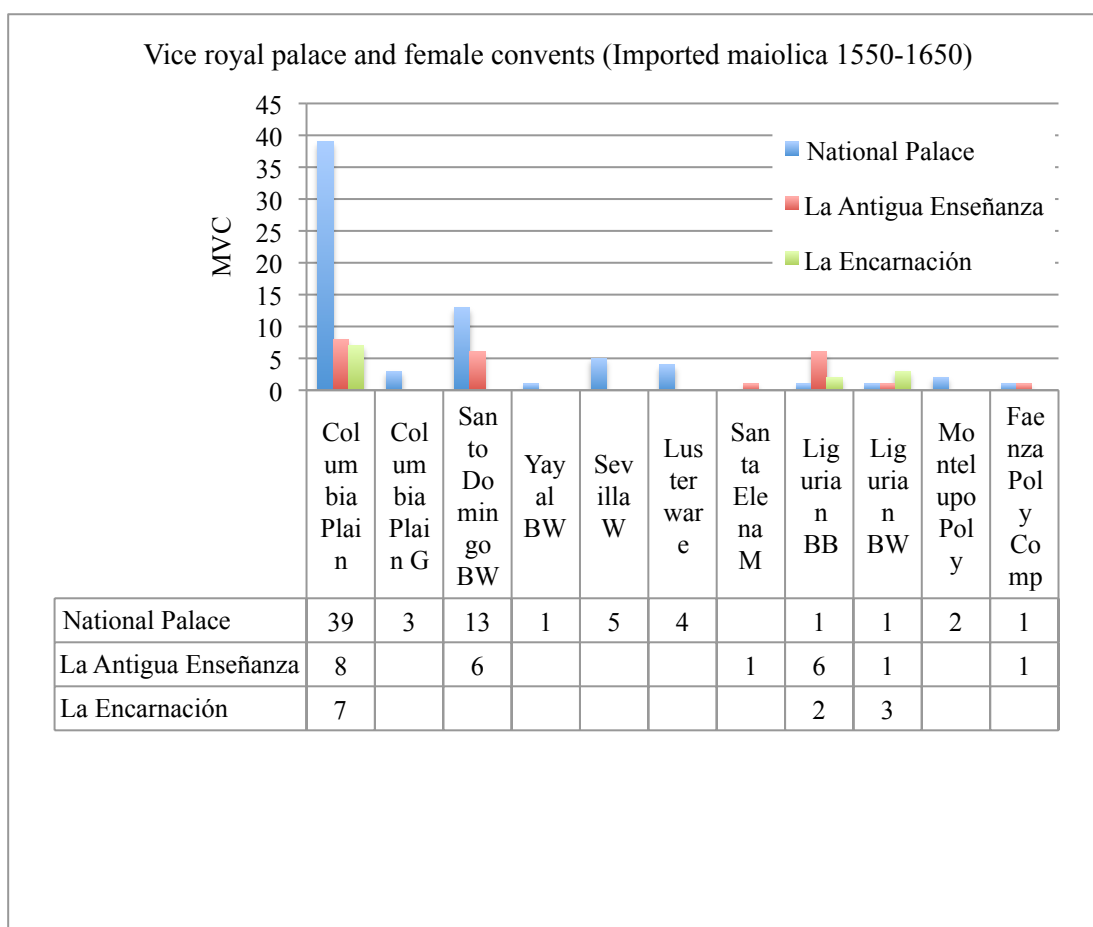


Table 4.1.1.12 Proportion of imported maiolica at the National Palace and female convents

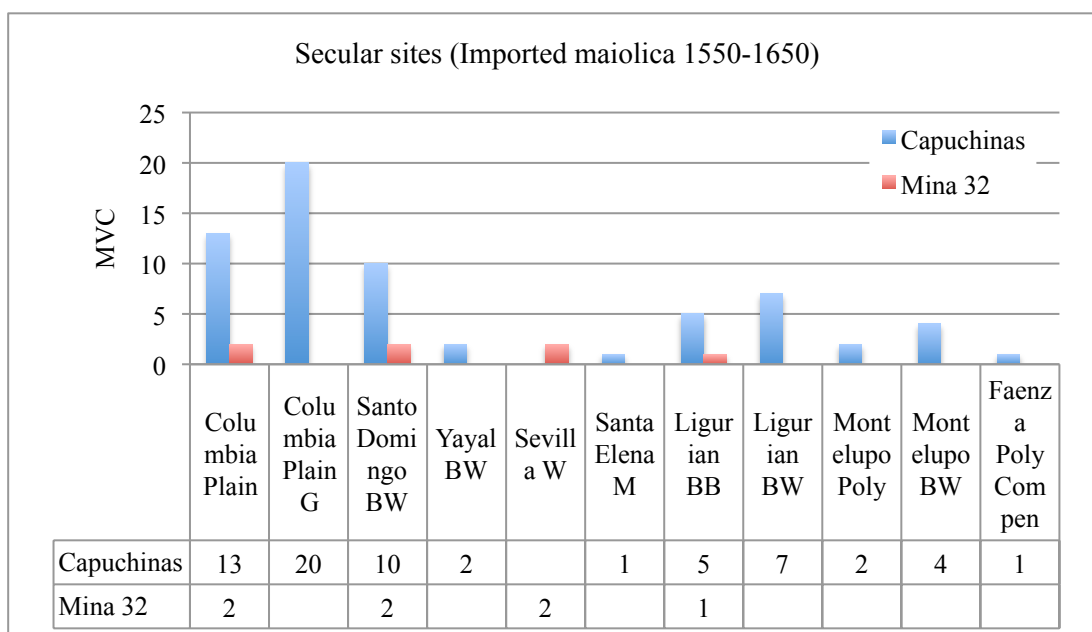


Table 4.1.1.13 Proportion of imported maiolica at secular sites

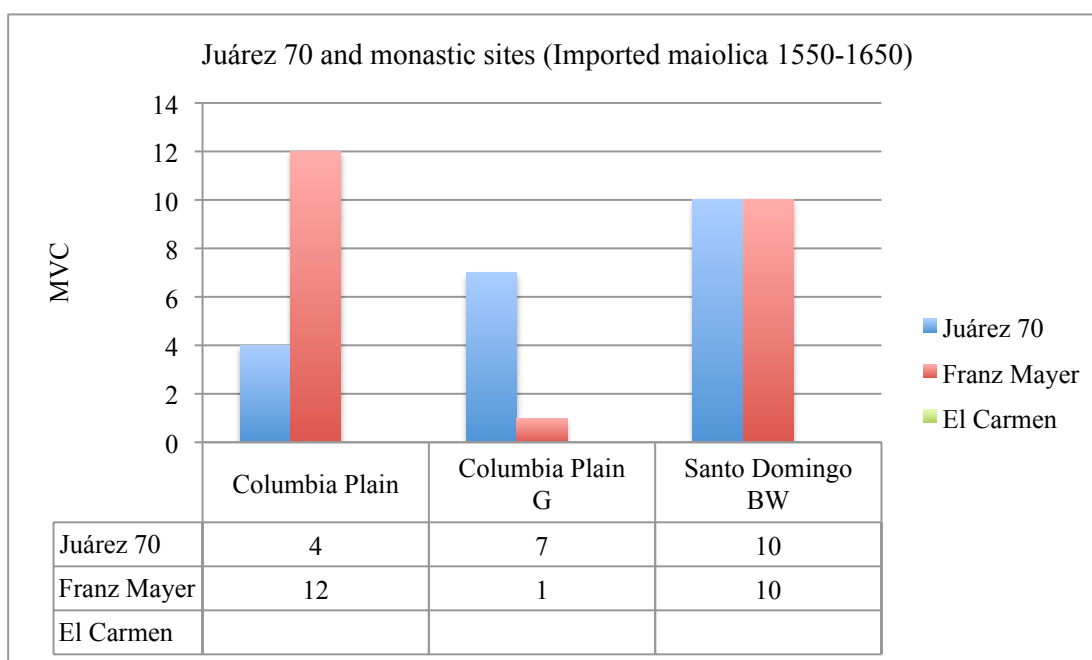


Table 4.1.1.14 Proportion of imported maiolica at Juárez 70 and monastic sites

### *Chinese porcelain*

Chinese porcelain was encountered in the samples from all the sites, although in differing proportions. However, in general terms the relative proportions of Eastern ceramics identified in the samples from inside the *traza* are higher than those from sites



outside it, and from male religious institutions in particular. Ming porcelain such as Ming Blue on White and Kraak, were generally found in relative higher proportions in the samples from sites inside the *traza* such as the Capuchinas, the National Palace and La Antigua Enseñanza, and found in lesser proportions at other sites. This balance, however, changes towards the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Whilst the proportions of Oriental ceramics decrease in the National Palace and Capuchinas, La Antigua Enseñanza and other sites located outside the city such as Mina 32 and the Hospice of the Poor display the highest proportions. These proportions contrast with the relative low quantities of both Ming and Ch'Ing porcelain in male religious institutions (Tables 4.1.1.15). Moreover, the data obtained from the refuse contexts from the National Palace, Capuchinas and Mina 32 suggest that the sites inside the *traza* display the highest proportions of discarded materials (Table 4.1.1.16). Furthermore,, whilst the sample from Mina 32 is relatively high differentiated, with examples of Ming and Ch'Ing porcelain, namely Ming Blue on White, Kraak, Famille Verte and Imari amongst others, the proportion of discarded materials is relatively low (Table 4.1.1.16).

The variety of types represented in each ceramic sample enabled further insights into the patterns of consumption to be made, and indicate that these may have been related to differences in wealth and taste. The site of Juárez 70 displays the most varied sample, with the finding of a variety of types belonging to the Ch'Ing dynastic period, which were not identified in the analyzed materials from other sites, e.g. Fan Hung, Red Iron, Chu'ui Chu'ing, Heraldic and Chinese Ink amongst others (Castillo Cárdenas 2007). Ch'Ing Blue on White was only identified in the samples from La Antigua Enseñanza, Mina 32, Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer and El Carmen. On the other hand, types such as Brown Glazed or Batavia Ware, Dehua, Tiger Skin, Kang Xi, Provincial and Wut'Zai were only identified in the samples from the royal sites of National Palace and Juárez 70 and in Capuchinas. Two examples of the expensive Polychrome Chinese Export, manufactured by Chinese potters for Western consumers, was only identified in Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer. And while Imari porcelain seems to be relatively common across the sites, the Ch'Ing dynasty types such as Famille Rose and Verte were mostly identified in sites outside the city such as Mina 32, Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer, El Carmen and Juárez 70 (Tables 4.1.1.17- 4.1.1.19). This data suggests that, by the eighteenth century, the consumption patterns of Chinese porcelain could have stood as a marker of social boundaries between the well-established aristocracy, constituted by

courtiers of the palace and other families inhabiting the city, and an emerging bourgeoisie.

This patterning suggests two avenues of enquiry that would require further consideration. The first relates with the variations encountered in the samples across the sites, particularly of Ch'Ing porcelain. This may be an expression of the choices exercised by different consumers that were informed by perceptions of taste, cultural affiliation and social standing; with the importation of higher quantities of Chinese porcelain to New Spain during the Bourbon regime (Bonta de la Plezuela 2002), Ch'Ing porcelain may have become available to broader sectors of society. As it was increasingly mass produced and accessible to emerging bourgeoisies, the consumption of Ch'Ing porcelain on behalf of well-established elite groups may have declined, as these objects were not considered symbols of status anymore. Second, the variations between the samples may suggest that by the eighteenth century there existed a wider array of ceramics in the market available to the consumers. Furthermore, it could also suggest a greater sense of individuality of the consumers whom chose to construct and express their personal identities through particular and 'unique' objects.

Such developments could explain, to a certain extent, the changes that occurred in the spatial distribution of Oriental ceramic tableware from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, with the finding of Ming porcelains in even higher proportions at the sites inside the city, and which by the eighteenth century were increasingly commonly encountered on sites outside it as well. Despite these possible changes, the relative quantities of Oriental ceramics in male religious institutions remained low throughout the colonial period, especially in comparison to the increase in the consumption of these in the convent of La Antigua Enseñanza, for example. Indeed it seems that the sites that displayed the highest proportions of Chinese porcelain during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, also witnessed a significant decrease its consumption during later periods. Could this be explained in terms of the mass consumption of such objects and thus, these were no longer considered anymore as symbols of status by the Hispanic elites, or simply as reflecting a change in taste and fashion?

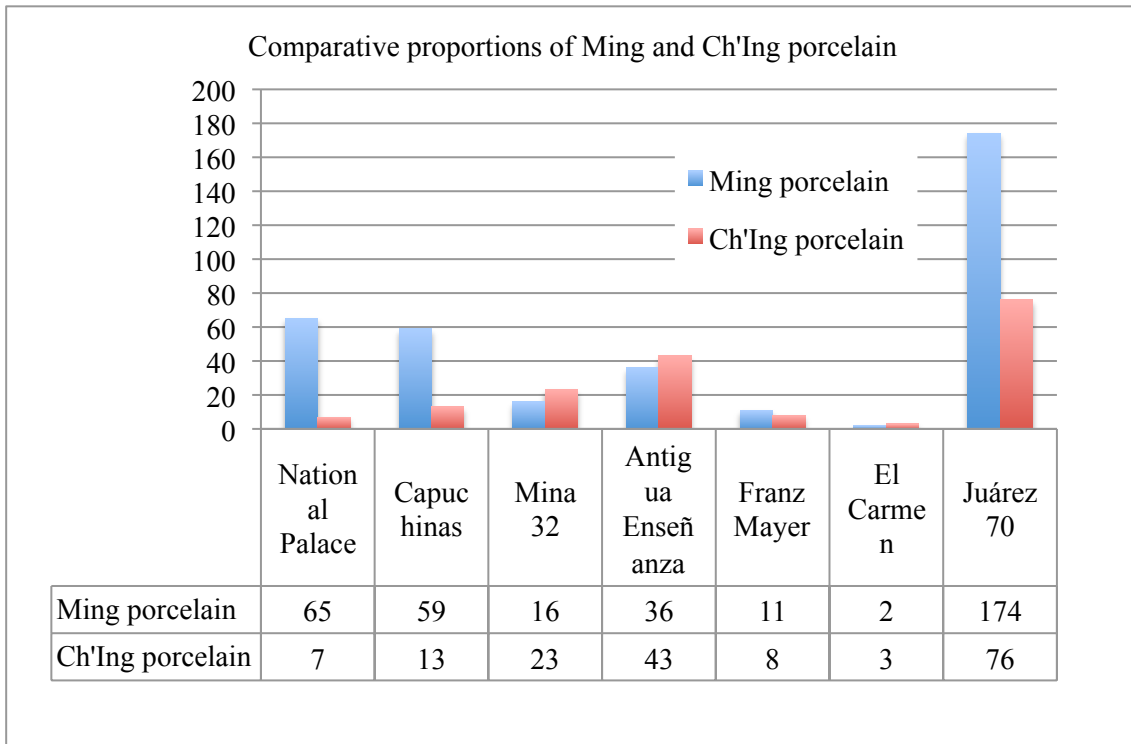


Table 4.1.1.15 Comparative proportions of Ming and Ch'Ing porcelain

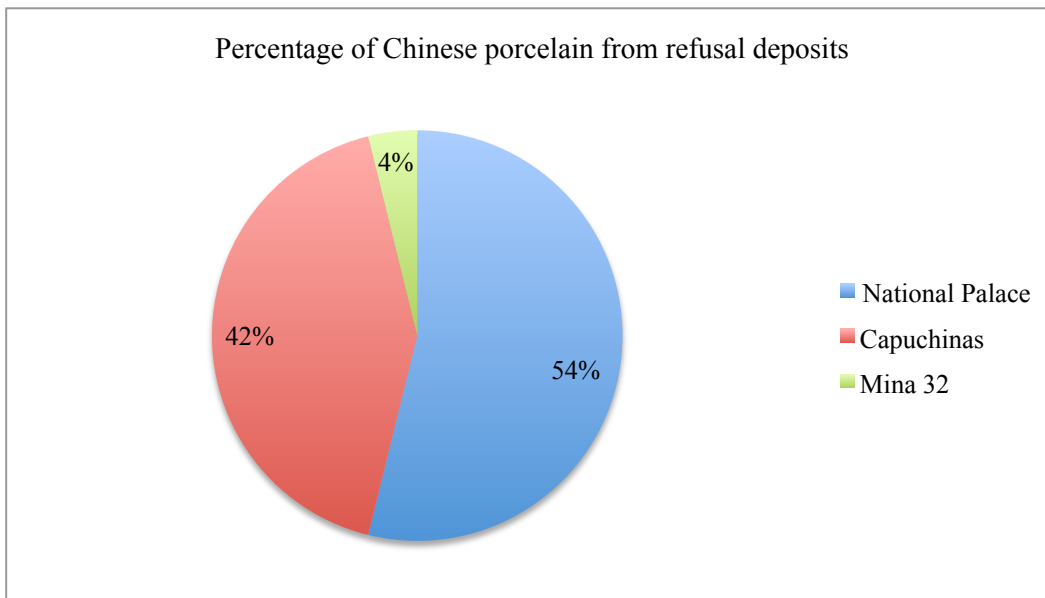


Table 4.1.1.16 Percentage of Chinese porcelain from refuse deposits

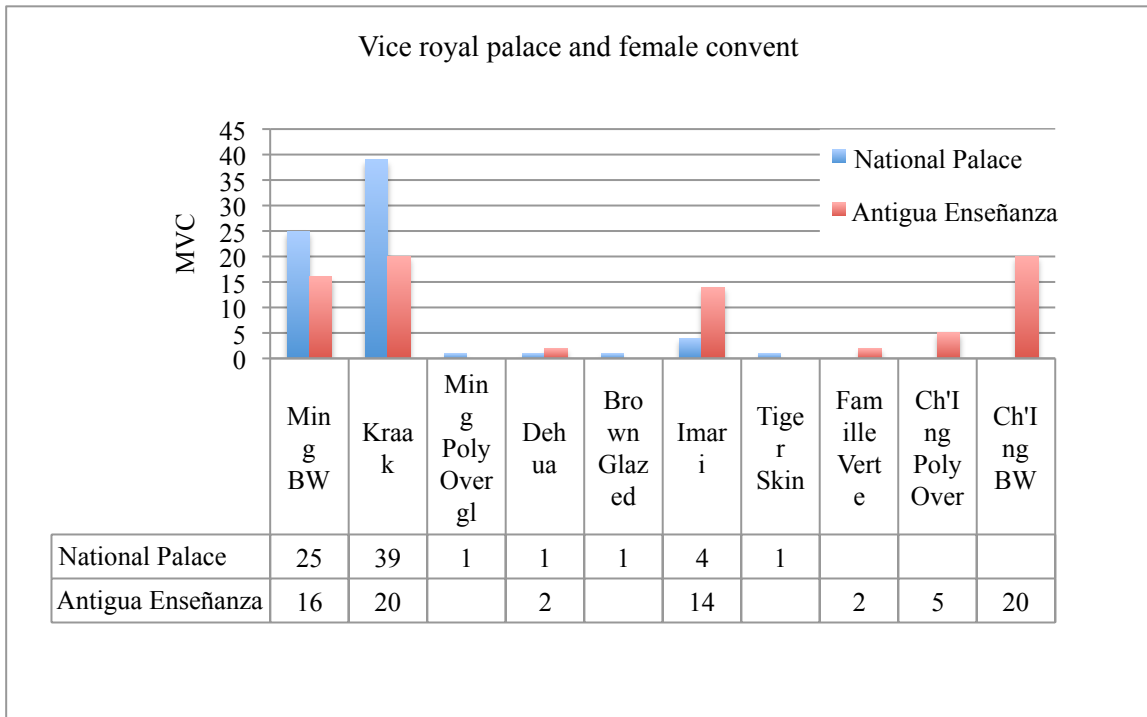


Table 4.1.1.17 Proportions of Chinese porcelain from the National Palace and La Antigua Enseñanza

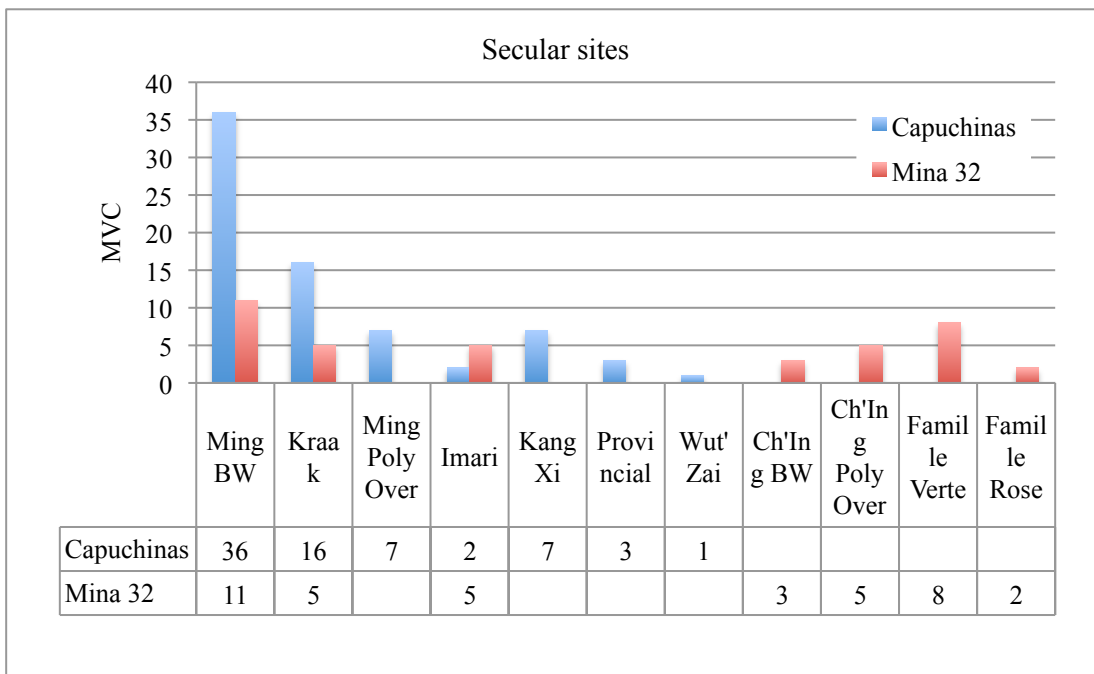


Table 4.1.1.18 Comparative proportions of Chinese porcelain from Capuchinas and Mina 32

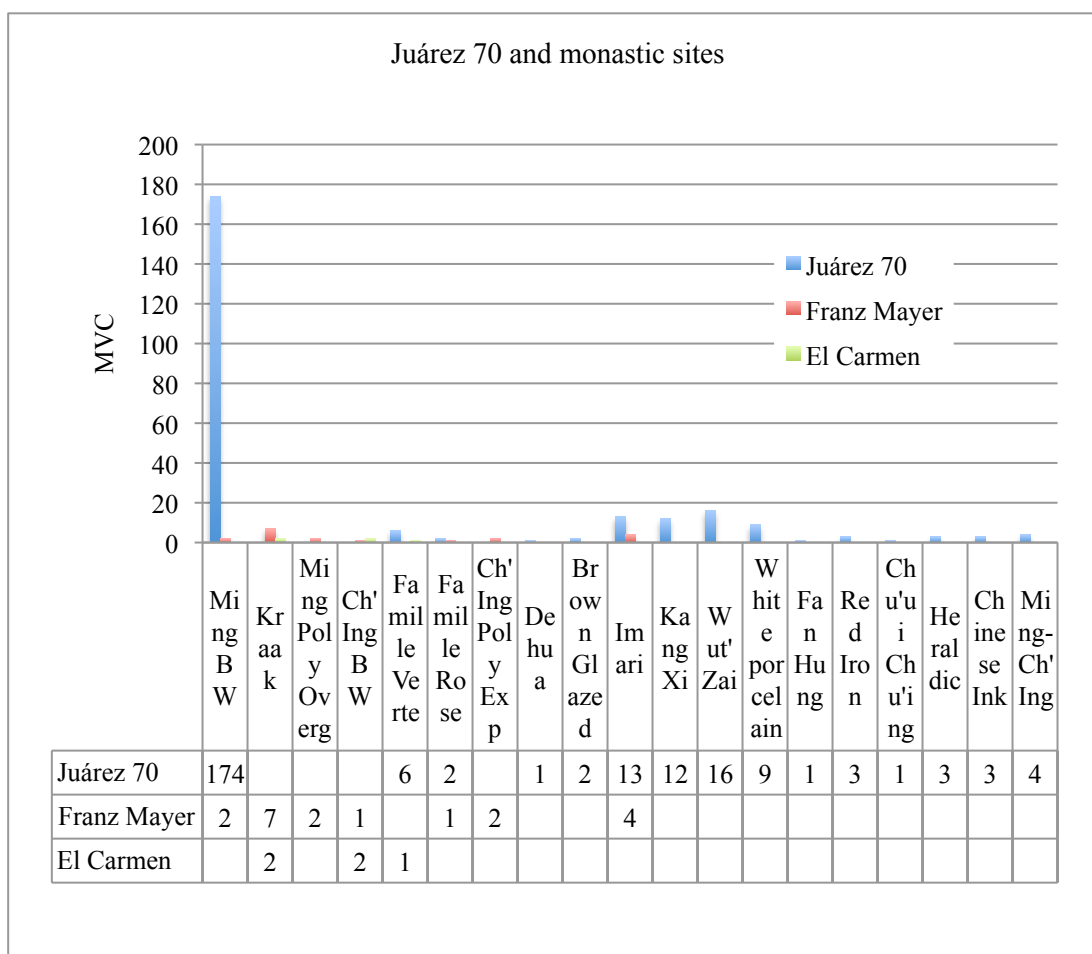


Table 4.1.1.19. Comparative proportions of Chinese porcelain from Juárez 70 and monastic sites. Data from Juárez 70 was taken and modified from Castillo Cárdenas 2007

### **Botijas**

The highest proportion of *botijas* from the sites corresponds to middle style shape b form, although some exceptions to this include early style and middle style shape a and c containers. The majority of the *botijas* were recovered from sites inside the *traza* such as the National Palace, Capuchinas and the convent of La Encarnación, with also a few fragments being found in the samples from El Carmen and Juárez 70. The highest proportion of *botijas* was identified in the National Palace (Table 4.1.1.20). These correspond to middle style shape b vessels, glazed *botijas peruleras* for olive oil and unglazed *botijas peruleras* for wine, grape juice, liquor or vinegar. The interior surface of some of the fragments retained traces of an organic substance (Figure 4.1.1.2). This sample also displayed the highest proportion of seals, incised and branded over the

mouths of the containers (Figure 4.1.1.3 a, b, c, d). Furthermore, two *botijas medio perulera*, or a small jar with a flat base and emerald glazing on the interior and exterior surfaces, were found in the National Palace (Figure 4.1.1.1.4a) and Capuchinas (Figure 4.1.1.1.4b) and were probably used for serving olive oil at the table or for cooking. The glazing on the exterior surface might have served for decorative purpose. These may have been in use during the seventeenth century, as suggested by the painting of Diego de Velázquez entitled Old Woman Frying Eggs (Figure 4.1.1.5) (Pérez Sánchez 1989, 59).



Figure 4.1.1.2 Interior surface of *botija* with organic remains

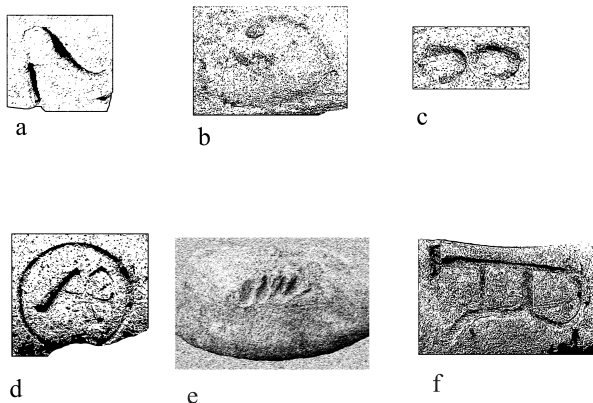


Figure 4.1.1.3 Examples of seals on *botijas*



Figure 4.1.1.4 *Botijuelas*



Figure 4.1.1.1.5 Old Woman frying Eggs by Diego de Velázquez. Taken from Pérez Sánchez 1989

The vessels from Capuchinas constitute the second largest proportion of *botijas*, including early and middle style examples, most of which had a green and yellow glazing on the interior surface (Table 4.1.1.20), suggesting that these containers were used for olive oil. In contrast, the sample from La Encarnación is unusual because it is constituted by semi complete jars of various sizes and functions. The majority of these correspond to middle style shape b unglazed vessels, and one carrot-shaped middle style shape c, and a large middle style shape a *botija*. These jars correspond to *botijas de arroba y cuarto* for vinegar, *botijas de una arroba* for wine, *botija perulera* for wine and one large middle style shape a *botija* for unspecified comestibles (see Chapter 3).

The information presented above suggests that there are variations in the patterns of consumption of these jars and Spanish comestibles. The National Palace displayed a larger consumption of vessels for olive oil, the same as Capuchinas where there is

evidence of a much earlier consumption of Spanish comestibles as suggested by the early style containers. The convent of La Encarnación displays a greater variety of jars, most of which were intended for wine and grape juice, but also for olive oil and other comestibles. This contrasts with other sites such as La Antigua Enseñanza where no *botija* was identified in the sample and especially with the sites outside the Spanish city, namely Mina 32, El Carmen, Juárez 70 and Franz Mayer where few or none fragments had been identified. This data suggests differences in the patterns of consumption between the sites inside and outside the city and that might have been related to differences in wealth; the sites inside the city might have consumed more imported comestibles as symbols of cultural identities, wealth and blood purity in comparison to those inhabiting on the periphery.

The macroscopic analysis of the *botija* fragments enabled the identification of two different fabrics, one red and a second one white to grey, both having calcite, sand and mica inclusions (0.1-0.5 cm). These inclusions are observable even on the surface of the vessels. The vessels with a red fabric constitute the largest proportion over those with a grey one (Table 4.1.1.21). In addition, the surface of the vessels was covered with a white slip but its chemical constitution is yet to be identified. While the shape of the vessels, the thickness of their walls and the application of a white slip are uniform, there are variations that can be observed in the surface treatment, glazing the exterior and/or interior surfaces, applying glazing as decoration, the colour, and sizes of the jars from all the analyzed samples (Figure 4.1.1.5). An example of this corresponds to air bubbles observed on the interior surfaces of glazed *botijas*, patches of clay and glaze dripping on the exterior surfaces. Also, traces of green speckles over a yellow glazed surface were identified in examples from Capuchinas that suggests that several kinds of *botijas* with different glazing colours were fired in the same kiln. These variations could suggest the existence of a complex network of agricultural producers, potters and consumers, and of several workshops and potters that supplied these vessels to the New World, and could stand as their personal imprint.





Figure 4.1.1.5 Surface finishing of *botijas*

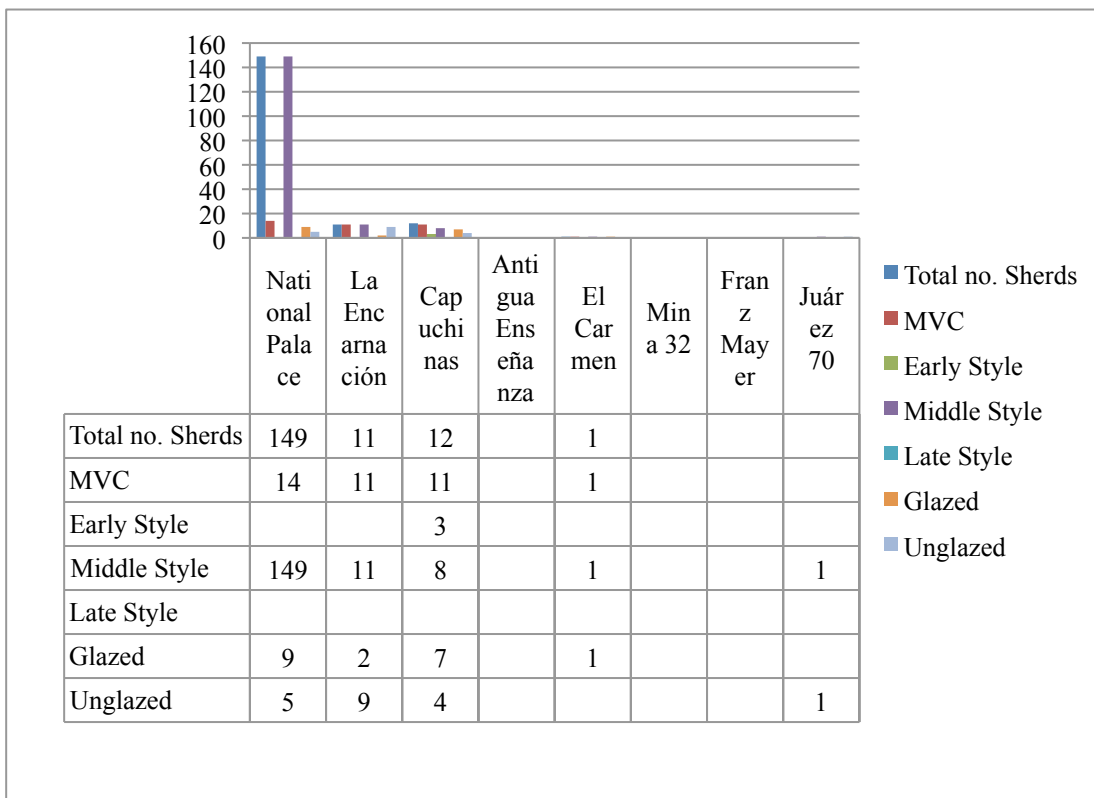


Table 4.1.1.20 Comparative proportions of *botijas*

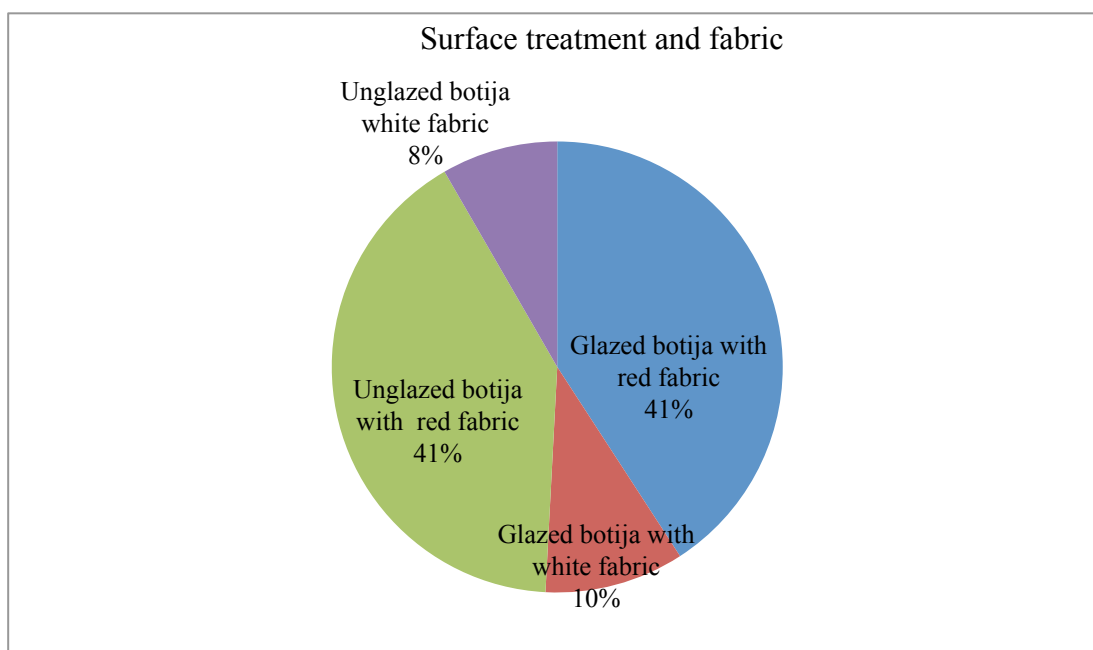


Table 4.1.1.21 Percentage of glazed and unglazed *botijas*

### ***Lebrillos***

The fragments belonging to these carinated, unglazed, bowls of a medieval tradition (Figures 4.1.6) were identified in the samples from the Hospital of San Juan de Dios, Juárez 70, La Antigua Enseñanza and in the convent of La Encarnación. Two major shapes of *lebrillo* were identified in the samples. The first one corresponds to a plate-like vessel (with a diameter of around 18 cm) and the second resembles a carinated bowl (having diameter varying between 8- 24 cm) (Figure 4.1.1.7). The inner surfaces have traces of having been exposed to the fire, sometimes have a red slip, and are generally highly worn. Other interesting elements of *lebrillos* correspond to the imprinted motifs that decorate their bottom surfaces. These correspond to letters, nails, rosette, floral and zoomorphic motifs. There were a total of 34 seals identified in the samples from Juárez 70, nine from La Antigua Enseñanza and one from San Juan de Dios. Also, it was possible to observe variations of these across the sites. For example, in Juárez 70 most seals correspond to variations of the letter ‘A’ with a floral motif, but in La Antigua Enseñanza these were not common instead finds with the letter ‘S’, eagles, sun, star-like and floral motifs, that were absent in the samples from other sites (Table 4.1.1.23; see Chapter five, Figures 5.6.1- 5.6.2).



Figure 4.1.1.6 *Lebrillos* with incised motifs

In Juárez 70, the highest proportion of vessels was recovered from RI that may correspond to a refuse deposit, where low quality maiolica waste dating to the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was found. Others were recovered from trench IIIB and were also found in a refuse context located on an area occupied by the hospice, and associated with eighteenth-century Mexican maiolica (Corona *et al.* 2000, 81-83). In La Antigua Enseñanza, the analyzed *lebrillos* from trenches 16 and 17 were found in a massive fill located in the central patio of the convent with maiolica from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries (Tables 4.1.1.22-4.1.1.24). Those from the convent of La Encarnación were recovered from the excavations at the church and the crypt (Salas Contreras 1994, 129). The largest proportion of these vessels was reported for the Hospital of San Juan de Dios. It is worth mentioning the absence of *lebrillos* in domestic sites like Capuchinas and Mina 32 and the vice royal palace (Table 4.1.1.22). This suggests that these objects were more commonly found in association to religious sites and those that had infirmaries for the paupers of the city as in Juárez 70. By considering the spatial distribution of *lebrillos* and their imprinted motifs, further insights to the ways in which secular communities engaged in pious acts may be attained. This relationship will be further explored in Chapter five.



Figure 4.1.1.7 Variety of vessel shapes in *lebrillos*

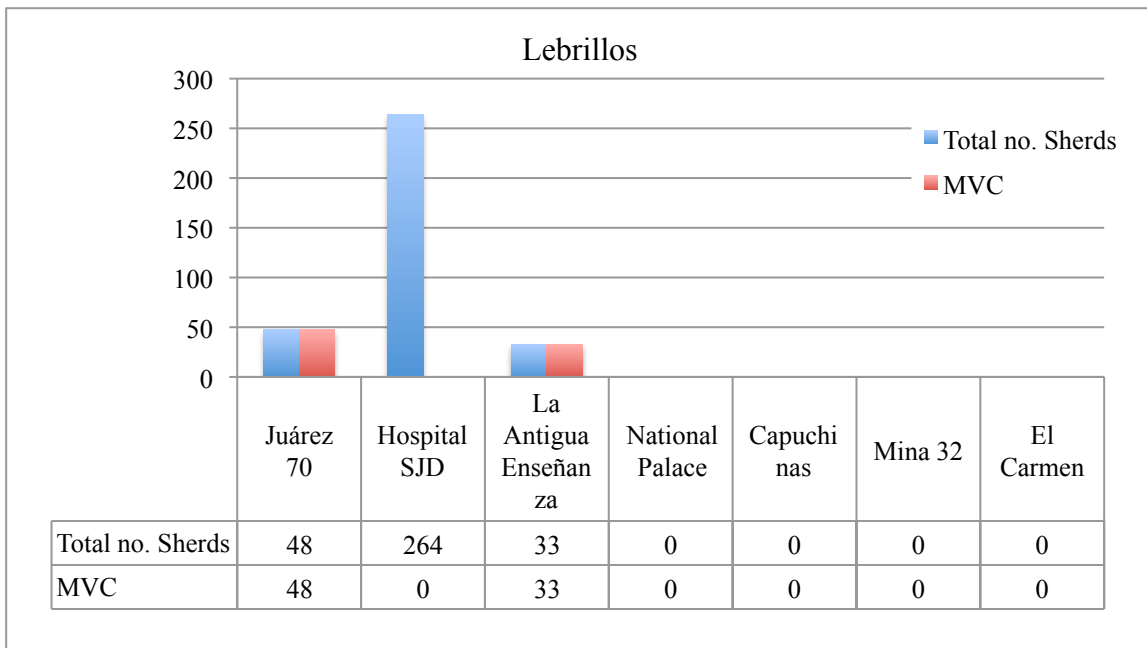


Table 4.1.1.22 Proportion of *lebrillos* across the sites

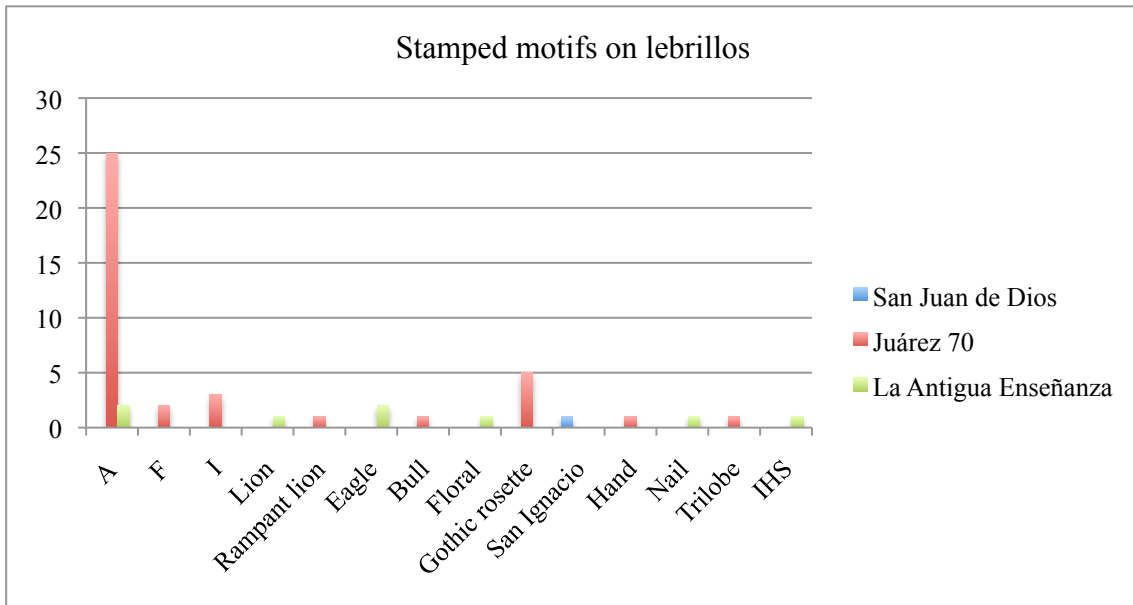


Table 4.1.1.23 Proportion of stamped motifs on *lebrillos*

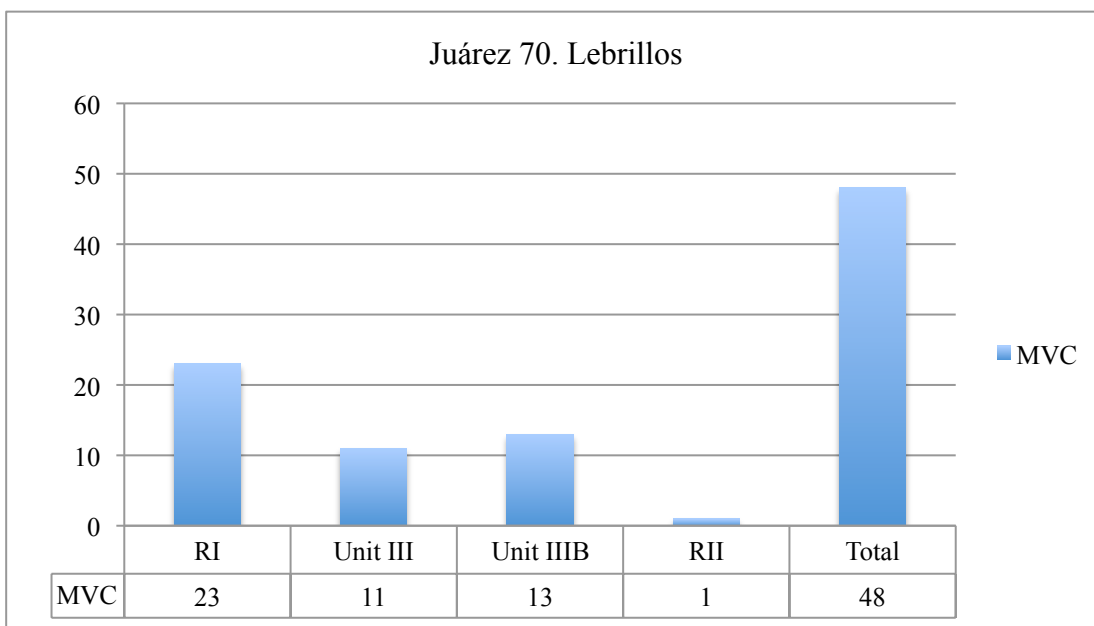


Table 4.1.1.24 *Lebrillos* from Juárez 70

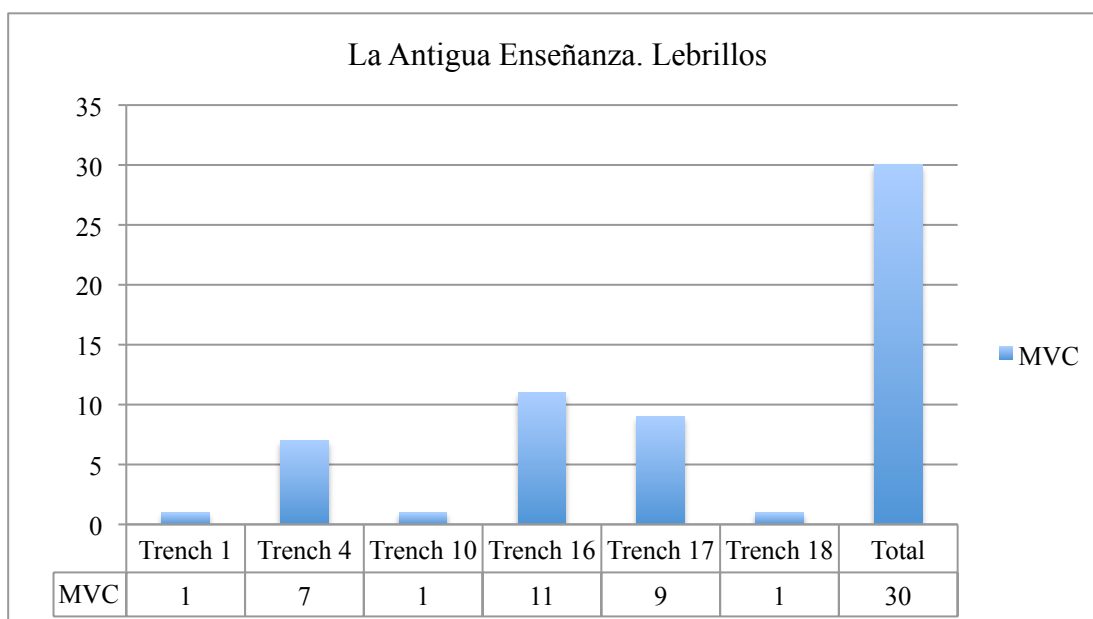


Table 4.1.1.25 *Lebrillos* from La Antigua Enseñanza

#### 4.2 Patterns of consumption of vessel forms

Analysis of patterns of consumption of ceramic wares can be taken further by undertaking an inter-comparison of the vessel forms and not just the fabrics that had been identified within each sample. The degree of variation or differentiation in vessel forms from each site was also useful for addressing questions concerning the socio economic status of the occupants. An initial premise of this thesis was that wealthier sites would display a far more diverse range of forms, with the suggestion that objects might belong to complete dining sets, whilst assemblages deriving from sites of a lower social status would contain more restricted range of types and scattered pieces. The wider differentiation in vessel forms potentially pertaining to complete table sets may be related with a larger variety of dishes served at the table. This would have satisfied the needs for public display of wealth and cultural identities of elite groups.

#### *Mexican maiolica*

The analysis of vessel forms of Mexican maiolica provides interesting insights into changing patterns of dining throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The ceramics dating to the sixteenth and mid- seventeenth centuries suggest a low differentiation in vessel forms, characterized by a relative high proportion of plates

and bowls, which are more or less common across the samples, whilst those coming from the eighteenth century correspond mainly to flatware and drinking vessels.

Other differences were identified within each grade of local maiolica from the sixteenth to the first half of the seventeenth century and this is shown in Tables 4.2.2.1-4.2.1.3. For example, in fine grade Fig Springs Polychrome and La Traza Polychrome, the brimmed plates with everted rims and tapered lips, and the bowls are the predominant forms present, while pitchers and large plates are also present. In common grade maiolica Mexico City Green on Cream and Mexico City Blue on Cream, deep brimmed plates and bowls and large bowls with straight walls and direct rims, and candleholders are the most frequent (Tables 4.2.2.1- 4.2.1.3). This suggests that common grade maiolica is generally less differentiated than fine grade varieties, and the differences encountered from one maiolica grade to another may be related to differences in wealth, taste and dining. The potters' guild ordinances from the seventeenth century suggest that the manufacture of plates and bowls of common grade maiolica was standardized, while other specialized vessel forms were manufactured upon special request (Cervantes 1939, 24). The vessel forms of local common grade maiolica from the sixteenth and seventeenth century suggest that these are closely paralleled those found in Spanish maiolicas, namely the *escudillas*, brimmed plates and large bowls.

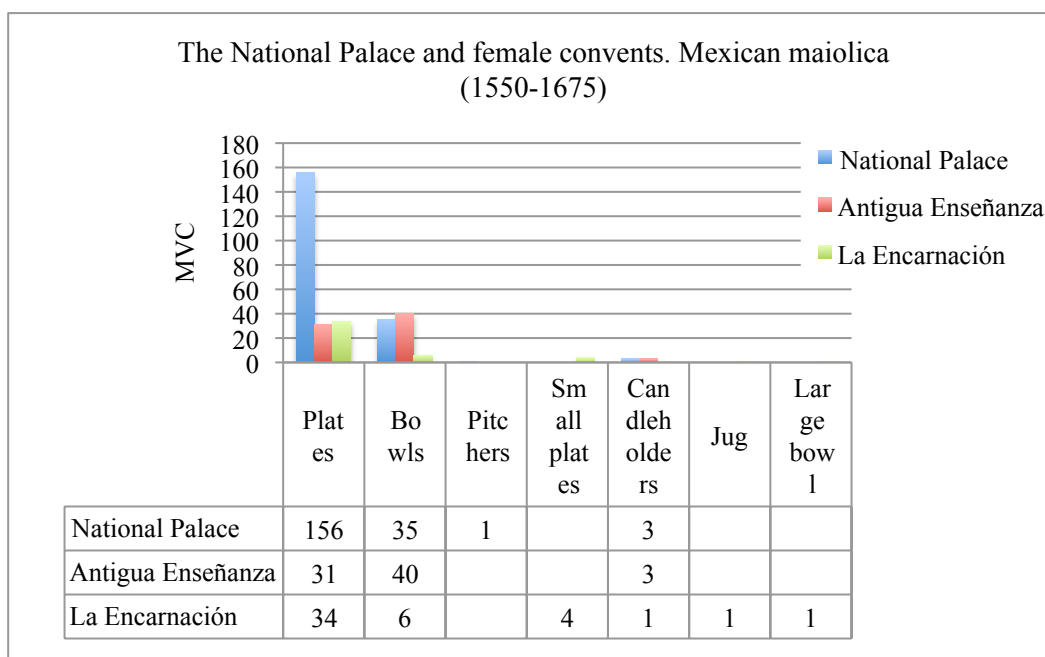


Table 4.2.2.1 Comparative proportions of vessel forms from the National Palace and female convents

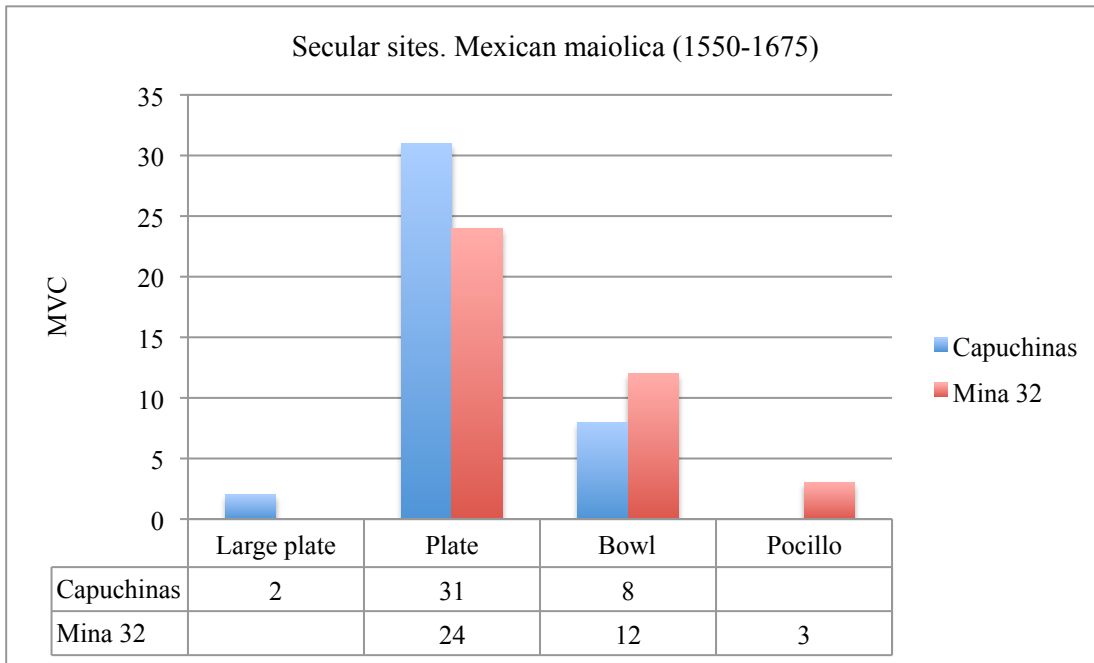


Table 4.2.2.2 Comparative proportions of vessel forms from secular sites

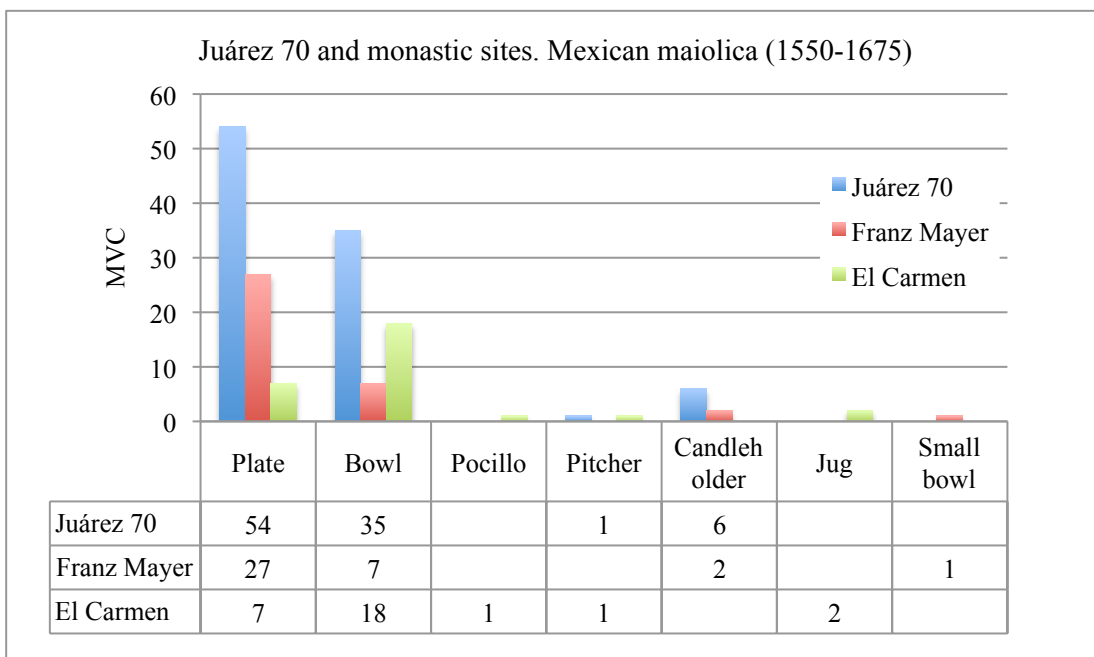


Table 4.2.2.3 Comparative proportions of vessel forms from Juárez 70 and monastic sites

The local maiolica dating to the mid-seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries shows the introduction of new vessel forms. While flatware and bowls remain a constant across the sites, there are a wider variety of shapes and sizes particularly in fine grade maiolica like Puebla Blue on White, Puebla Polychrome and Abo



Polychrome. These vessel forms were encountered in relatively high proportions in the samples from the National Palace, the female convents and Juárez 70. Other new forms of tableware include large and small plates, drinking vessels like cups and *pocillos*. These occur in higher proportions in the vice royal palace and the female religious houses (Tables 4.2.2.4- 4.2.2.6).

The other specialized vessels that were identified as relatively common in eighteenth century maiolica are tibors and miniatures (Tables 4.2.2.4- 4.2.2.6). The miniature vessels constitute interesting objects in that these could be interpreted as toys, being small-scale representations of pitchers, plates and bowls. The miniatures were executed in the same quality and decoration as regular size vessels of Puebla Blue on White and Puebla White, and are encountered at all the sites except for Capuchinas and the vice royal palace, with the highest proportion coming from Mina 32 (Table 4.2.2.4- 4.2.2.6). These eighteenth-century objects had not been identified in the maiolica from previous centuries. This suggests possible changes in the attitudes towards childhood, the construction of gender roles and ideology that occurred approximately from the eighteenth century onwards. This discussion will be further addressed in Chapter six.

Flatware appears to be most common shape within the later ceramic samples, compared with other forms such as the bowls. This suggests changes in dining that favoured the use of plates. This is further evidenced in the 18th century samples where Spanish-style *escudillas* are not longer common, and whilst the bowls remain they appear in lower proportions than the plates. The use of baroque and Eastern-style decoration that incorporated a central medallion on the bottom of plates suggests a different use of flatware for display of wealth and decoration than simple eating. A discussion on the interrelationship between the decoration, ceramic vessels and dining will be undertaken in Chapter six. Furthermore, the appearance of a variety of vessel forms in fine grade maiolica of Puebla Blue on White, for example, suggests that these were manufactured by special request, as attested to in the guild ordinances of 1653. This contrasts to common grade maiolica in which only plates and the ordinary *escudillas* of one *ochava* of diameter were manufactured (Cervantes 1939, 24). This standardization in the range of vessel forms was also observed in common grade San Luis Polychrome and Santa María Polychrome, where plates of a standard diameter (20-22 cm) were commonly identified.

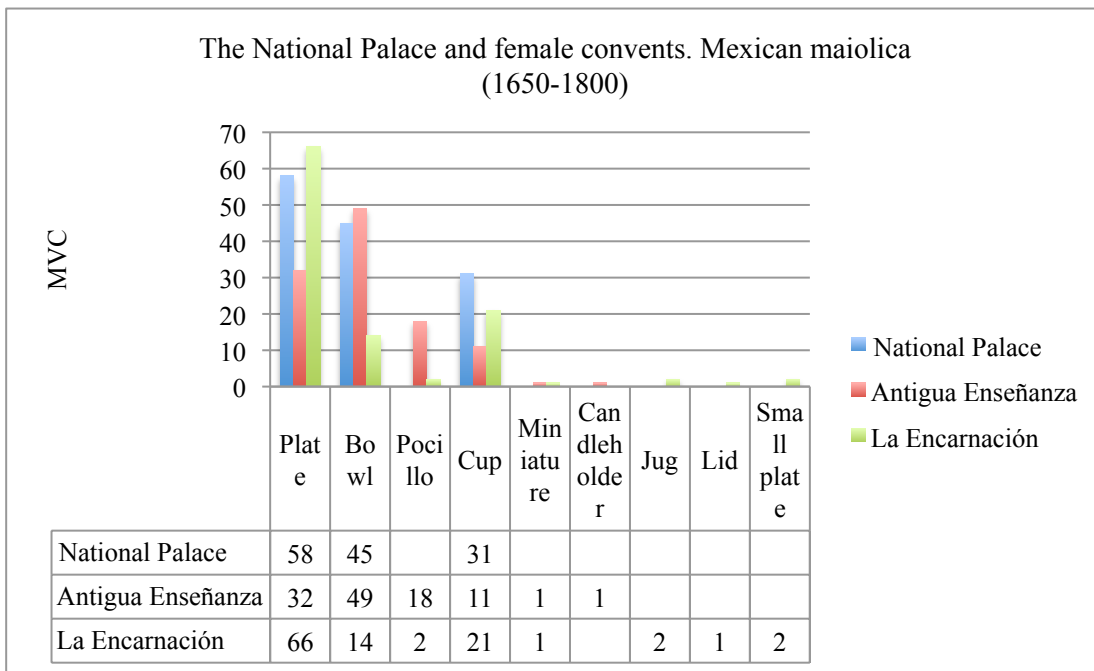


Table 4.2.2.4 Comparative proportions of vessel forms from the National Palace and female convents

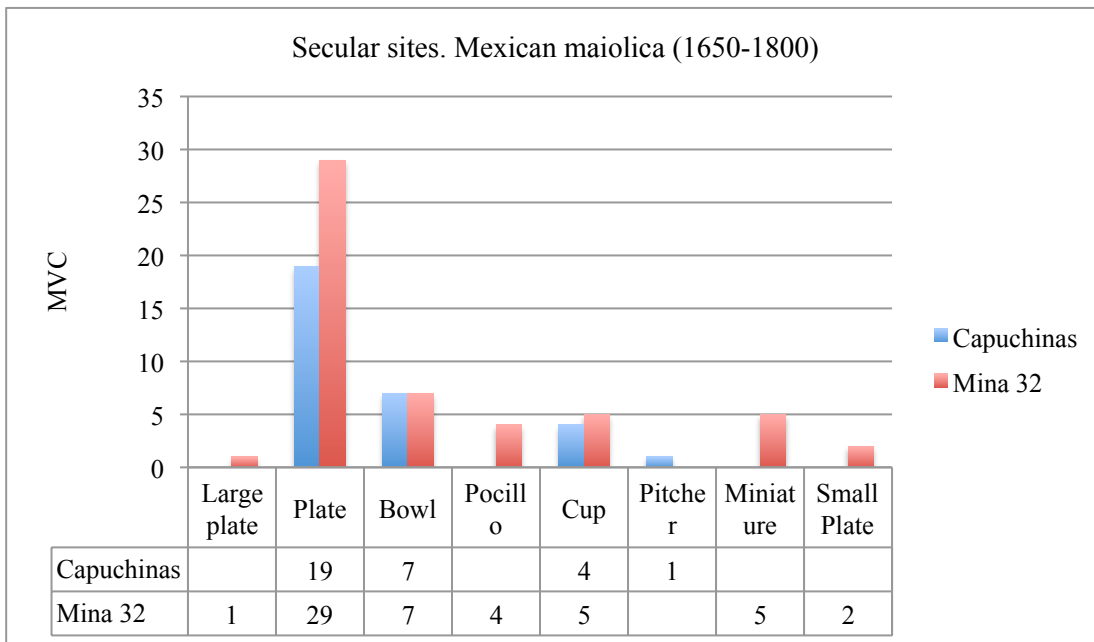


Table 4.2.2.5 Comparative proportions of vessel forms from secular sites

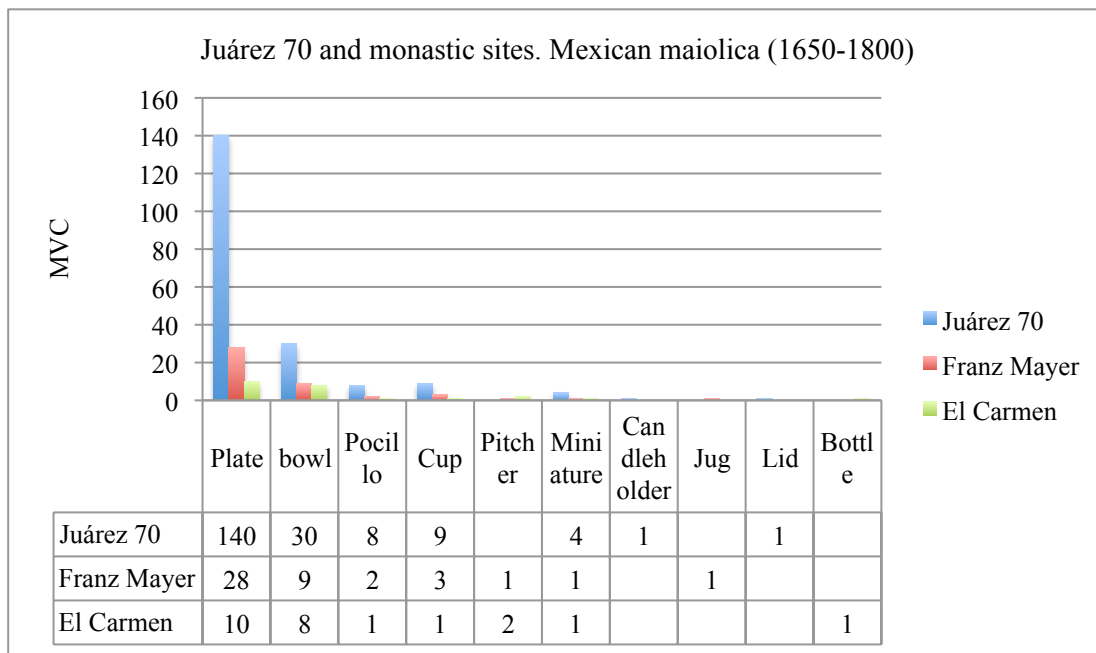


Table 4.2.2.6 Comparative proportions of vessel forms from Juárez 70 and monastic sites

Analysis of the range of the vessel forms recovered from refuse deposits at the sites of the National Palace, Capuchinas, La Encarnación and Mina 32 provided further insights into patterns of discard. These deposits suggest that all the sites have a significantly higher discard pattern of sixteenth- to eighteenth-century flatware than other assemblages within this study. Additionally, drinking vessels are the least discarded objects in comparison to flatware and to bowls in all the sites, except at the convent of La Encarnación. At this site, the discarded cups and bowls constitute similar proportions but are lower to those of plates. In Mina 32, miniatures comprise a high percentage of discarded items (Tables 4.2.2.7- 4.2.2.11). This could suggest that the drinking vessels and the bowls were held to be more valuable items than the plates. And, the decisions undertaken to discard these items could express the attitudes held by the consumers towards objects that were symbolic of a high social status as these were used for the consumption of a luxurious beverage like chocolate.

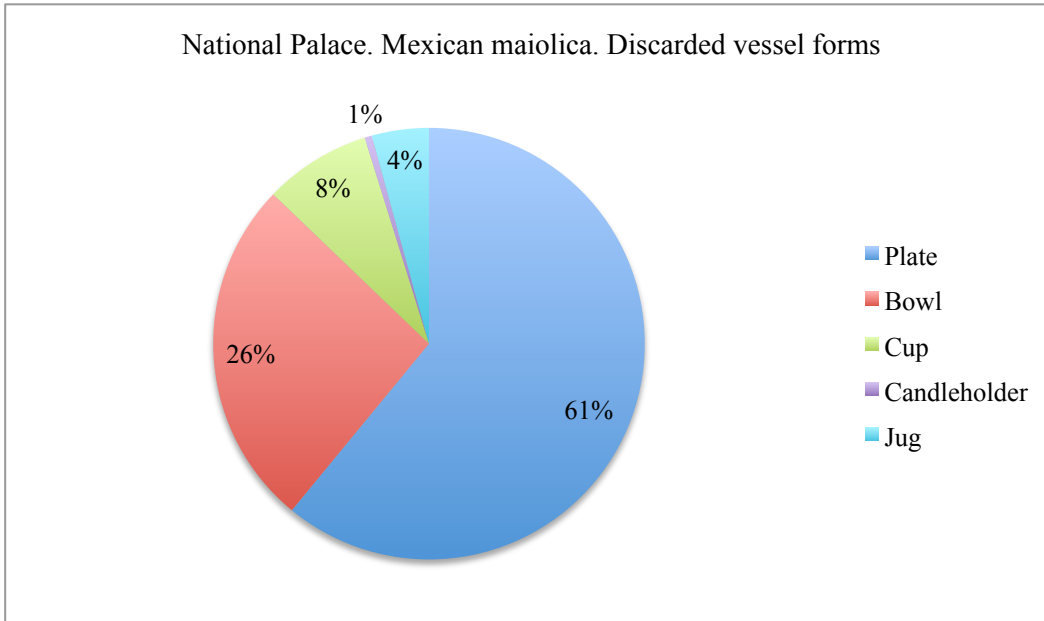


Table 4.2.2.7 Percentages of discarded vessel forms from the National Palace

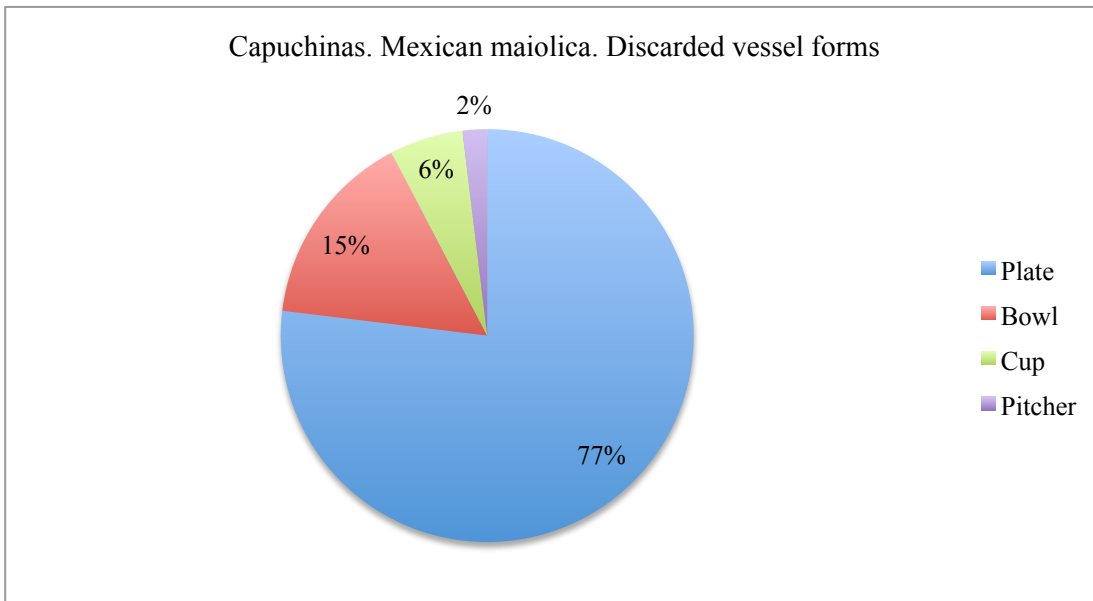


Table 4.2.2.8 Percentages of discarded vessel forms from Capuchinas

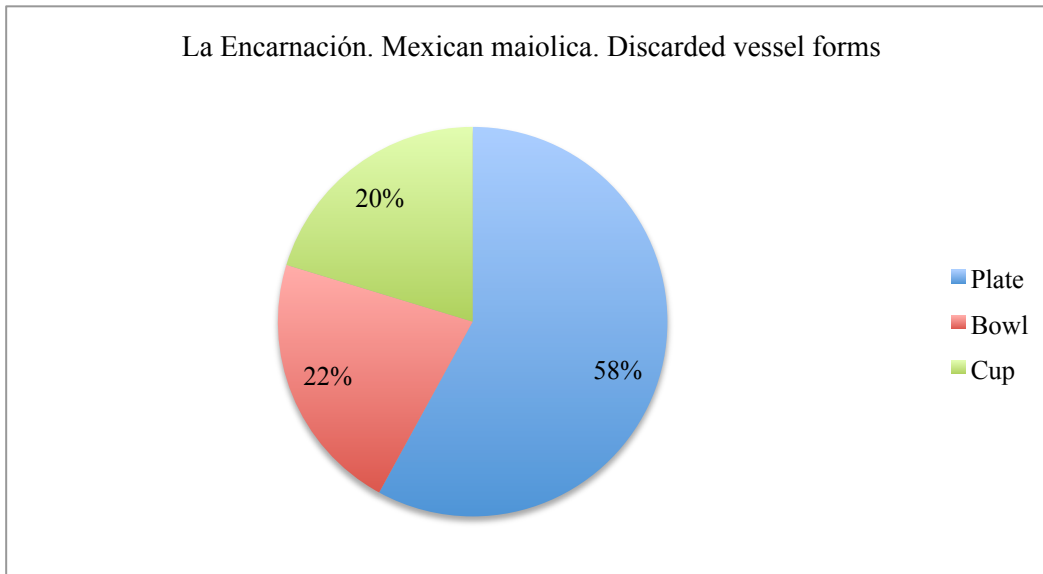


Table 4.2.2.9 Percentages of discarded vessel forms from La Encarnación

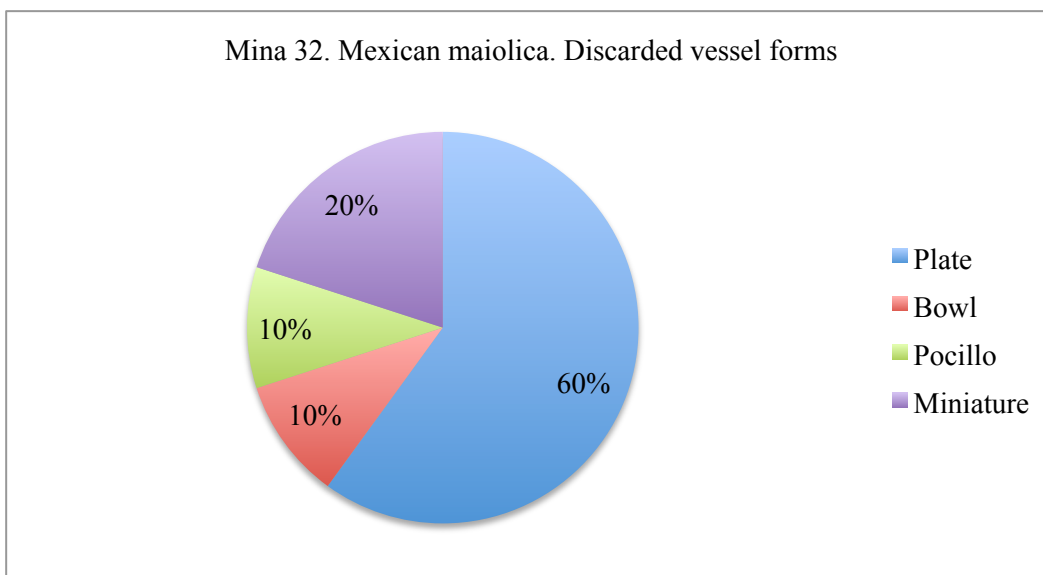


Table 4.2.2.10 Percentages of discarded vessel forms from Mina 32

### ***Imported maiolica***

The analyzed sample of sixteenth-century Spanish maiolica comprises vessel forms such as *escudillas*, bowls, plates and pitchers. The vessel forms of Italian maiolica are largely undifferentiated and mainly comprise brimmed plates (diameter 20-22 cm) and one lid (Figure 4.2.2.11). These were found in the samples from Capuchinas, the National Palace and La Antigua Enseñanza. The plates and *escudillas* are common to Columbia Plain and Columbia Plain Gunmetal, and to a lesser extent bowls and

pitchers. Large plates and bowls, and pitchers are commonly found in Santo Domingo Blue on White. Plates and porringers are common to Yayal Blue on White and Sevilla White, and the most common vessel form of Santa Elena Mottled is the bowl. The relative highest proportions and differentiated vessel forms were identified in the sites of National Palace and Capuchinas (Tables 4.2.2.11- 4.2.2.12).

The plates and *escudillas* of Columbia Plain and Columbia Plain Gunmetal are the most common vessel forms encountered in the National Palace and Capuchinas, the sites that also displayed the highest proportions of imported maiolica. There is a similar proportion of plates and *escudillas* in the vice royal palace but the plates seem to be more common in Capuchinas than other vessel forms such as bowls and pitchers. In Capuchinas and the National Palace, the vessels of Columbia Plain Gunmetal and Santo Domingo Blue on White seem to correspond to complete dining sets as bowls, plates, *escudillas* and pitchers from the same ceramic type have been identified. Other specialized vessels correspond to large and small plates that were found in the sample from Capuchinas, which suggests that this site has a more diverse range of vessel forms than other sites. The site of La Antigua Enseñanza displays a relatively higher proportion of plates than bowls and *escudillas*, and these objects are related to the first occupation of the site and thus, comparable to the sample from the secular site of Capuchinas. The convent of La Encarnación displays a narrower range of forms with a low proportion of plates and bowls (Table 4.2.2.11- 4.2.2.13).

Other interesting examples were found in the samples from sites outside the *traza*. At Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer there are a variety of vessel forms of imported maiolica, namely plates, but also *escudillas*, bowls and pitchers. In Mina 32, a few plates and bowls of Columbia Plain were identified and none were identified in the sample from the monastery of El Carmen, also located outside Mexico City, in the neighbouring village of San Angel (Table 4.2.2.12- 4.2.2.13).

The information obtained from the analysis of refuse deposits from the sites of the vice royal palace and Capuchians provided further insights to the kind of vessel that was commonly discarded. Only the samples from these two sites were utilized in the analysis because the deposits from such sites were the only ones that contained imported ceramics. The samples suggest that while flatware comprises the highest

proportion of discarded vessels that from Capuchinas is more differentiated than the one from the vice royal palace, and includes semi-complete bowls, *escudillas*, pitchers and a lid of Faenza Polychrome Compendiario (Figure 4.2.2.1). This may reflect, to a certain extent, the attitudes exercised by courtiers and wealthy Spaniards towards imported items, and may provide insights to the display of wealth.

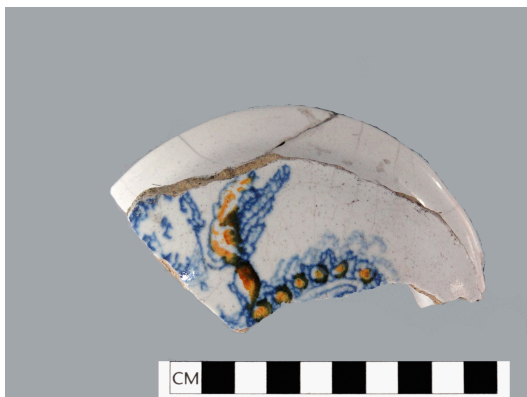


Figure 4.2.2.1 Lid. Faenza Polychrome Compendiario

The above information suggests that different sites consumed different vessel forms depending on their needs to display social status in the table through the consumption of particular meals. The vessel forms of Italian maiolica from all the sites is less differentiated than the Spanish examples, and characterized by a variety of brimmed plates with everted rims. This low differentiation and the shape of the Italian brimmed plates contrasts with the Spanish ones that generally present straight walls and direct rims. This suggests that each type of maiolica was intended for different functions. Moreover, the analyzed vessel forms differ from one ceramic type to another. For example, in fine grade Sevilla White the forms mainly correspond to plates, bowls and porringers with handles, whilst in Columbia Plain these mainly correspond to plates, carinated bowls, bowls with ring base and pitchers, and the large bowls are more characteristic of Santo Domingo Blue on White. This might suggest that different ceramic types could have served different or specialized functions in the table.

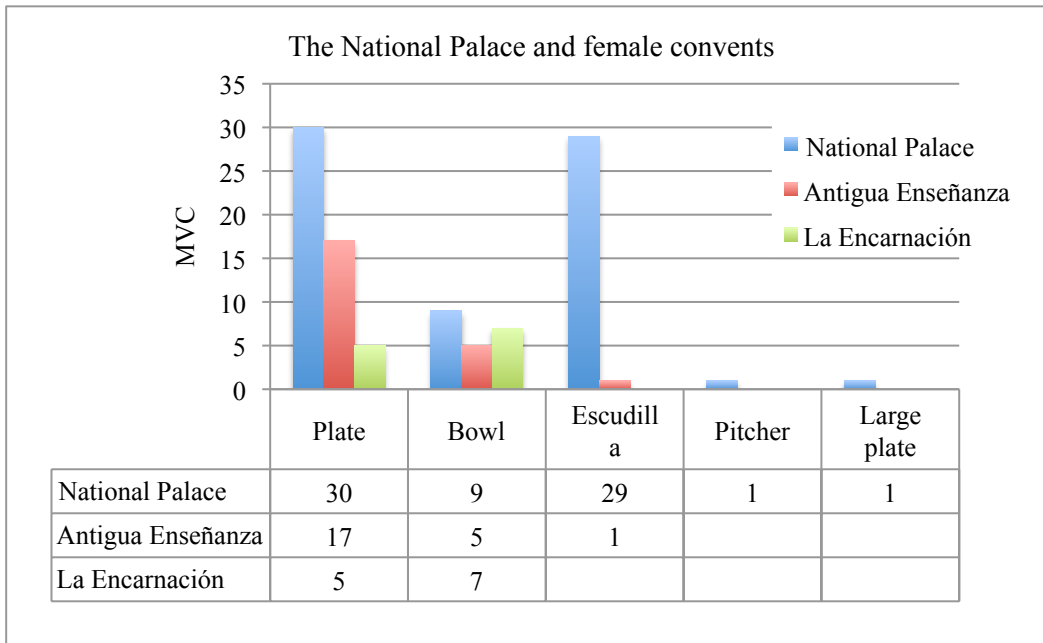


Table 4.2.2.11 Vessel forms of imported maiolica from the National Palace and female convents

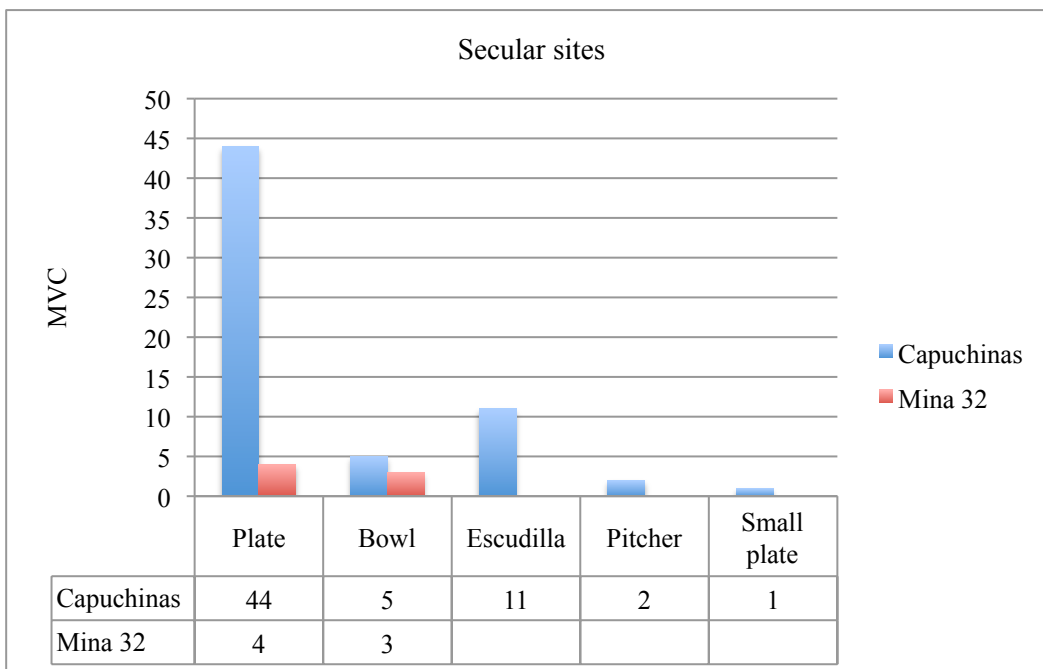


Table 4.2.2.12 Vessel forms of imported maiolica from secular sites



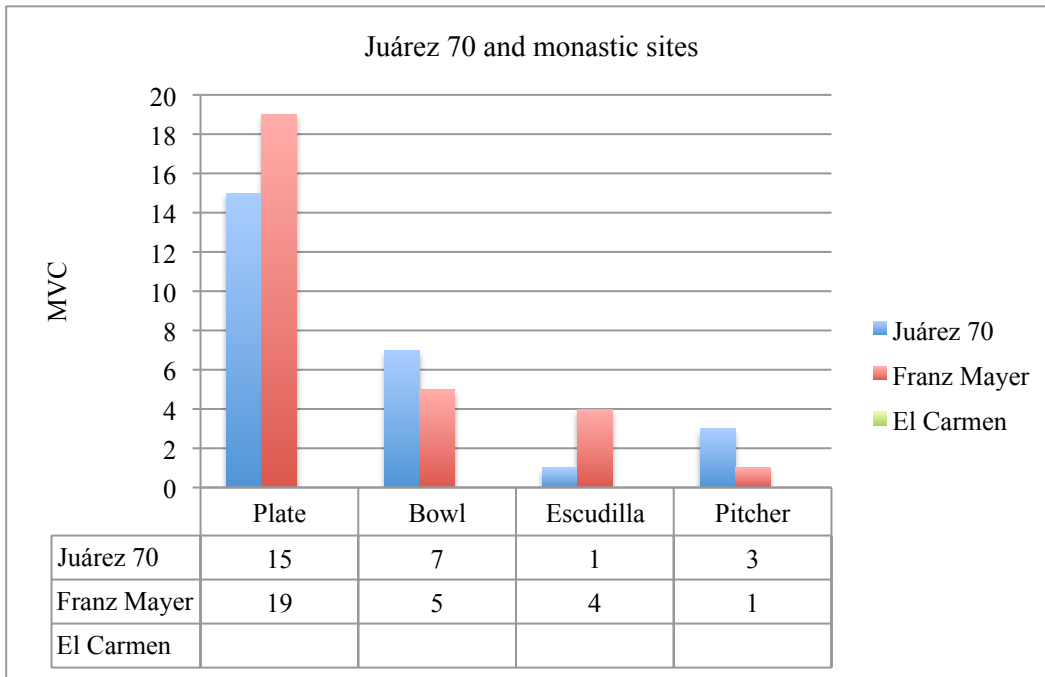


Table 4.2.2.13 Vessel forms of imported maiolica from Juárez 70 and monastic sites

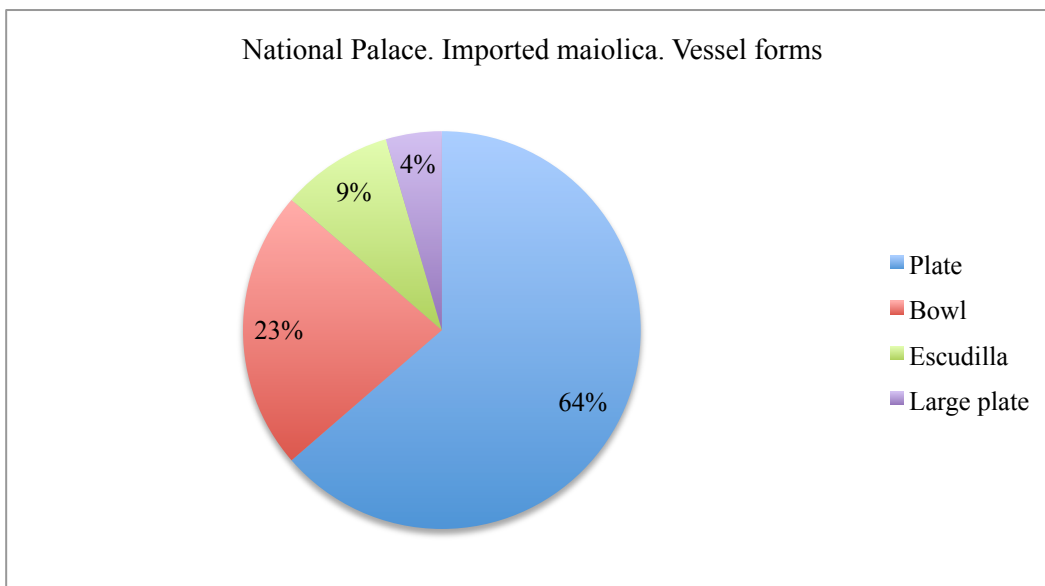


Table 4.2.2.14 Percentages of vessel forms of imported maiolica in refuse pits from the National Palace

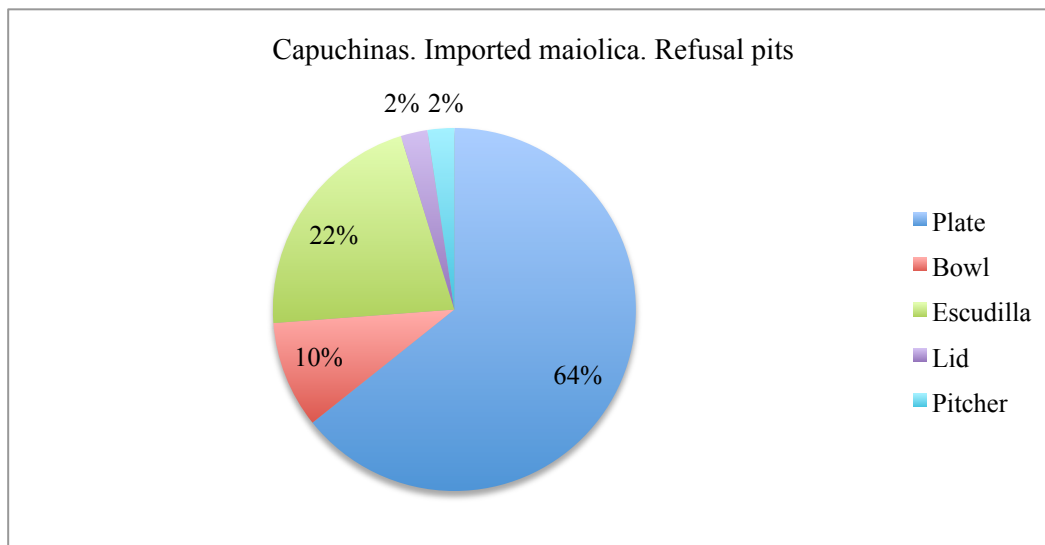


Table 4.2.2.15 Percentage of vessel forms of imported maiolica in refuse pits from Capuchinas

### ***Chinese porcelain***

Oriental ceramics are fairly common across the sites. However, there are differences in the consumption of vessel forms; plates, bowls, cups and small cups characterize the analyzed sample of Ming porcelain. The sites of Capuchinas and the National Palace display the relative highest proportion of plates, bowls and cups and of other specialized vessel forms such as large plates, small cups and bowls. These were also identified in the sample from Juárez 70 and could correspond to rubbish from the inhabitants of the city as these ceramics pertain to an earlier period to that of the foundation of the hospice for the poor (Table 4.2.2.16).

The plates and bowls were relatively cheap and thus common amongst the consumers in New Spain and larger vessels, which are generally less common within the samples, were considered as expensive items and thus could be used as indicators of wealth. For example, a large plate of Chinese porcelain during the eighteenth century could cost from 3 *reales* to 6 *pesos* in comparison to the plates that cost from 2.5 to 10 *reales* and the bowls that could cost from 0.75 to 7.5 *reales*. A tabor could cost 5-25 *pesos* and the cups 2-8 *reales* (Castillo Cárdenas 2005).

Other specialized vessel forms correspond to small cups and bowls, teacups and tabor lids. These specialized vessel shapes were found in Capuchinas in higher proportions

than in Mina 32, the convent of Antigua Enseñanza and Juárez 70. The widest differentiation in vessel forms was encountered in the sites of National Palace, Capuchinas, Antigua Enseñanza, Mina 32 and Juárez, in comparison to the monastery of El Carmen and the site of Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer. These distinctive vessel forms namely correspond to large plates, small cups and bowls, teapots and decorative objects such as tibors (Table 4.2.2.16).

The sample of Ch'Ing porcelain is generally less differentiated in terms of tableware in comparison to Ming ceramics, and is generally characterized by an increase in the quantity of drinking vessels and decorative items such as tibors, jars and miniatures, as well as washbasins and flowerpots in the case of the Hospital of San Juan de Dios. This suggests changes in the consumption and preference for certain items during the eighteenth century. The most common vessel forms encountered across the samples correspond to relatively inexpensive vessels such as plates, bowls and cups, with few examples of teapots, tibors and jars that were identified in the samples from Juárez 70, Franz Mayer and the convent of La Antigua Enseñanza. Contrary to what might be expected, the National Palace and Capuchinas, which had displayed specialized and expensive vessel forms of Ming porcelain, had few cheaper vessels such plates, bowls and cups the same as Mina 32 (4.2.2.17).

The information obtained from the refuse deposits from the National Palace, Capuchinas and Mina 32 provide insights to differences in the patterns of discard of Oriental ceramic vessel forms. While the deposits from the vice royal palace suggest that the highest proportion of discarded materials correspond to flatware and drinking ware, there was a lower proportion of bowls and other specialized vessel forms. In Capuchinas, for example, the highest proportion of discarded vessels corresponds to bowls, whilst at Mina 32, the relative highest proportion is comprised by flatware and drinking vessels. The absence of bowls within the deposits contrasts with the high proportion of these discarded items from Capuchinas (Tables 4.2.2.18- 4.2.2.20).

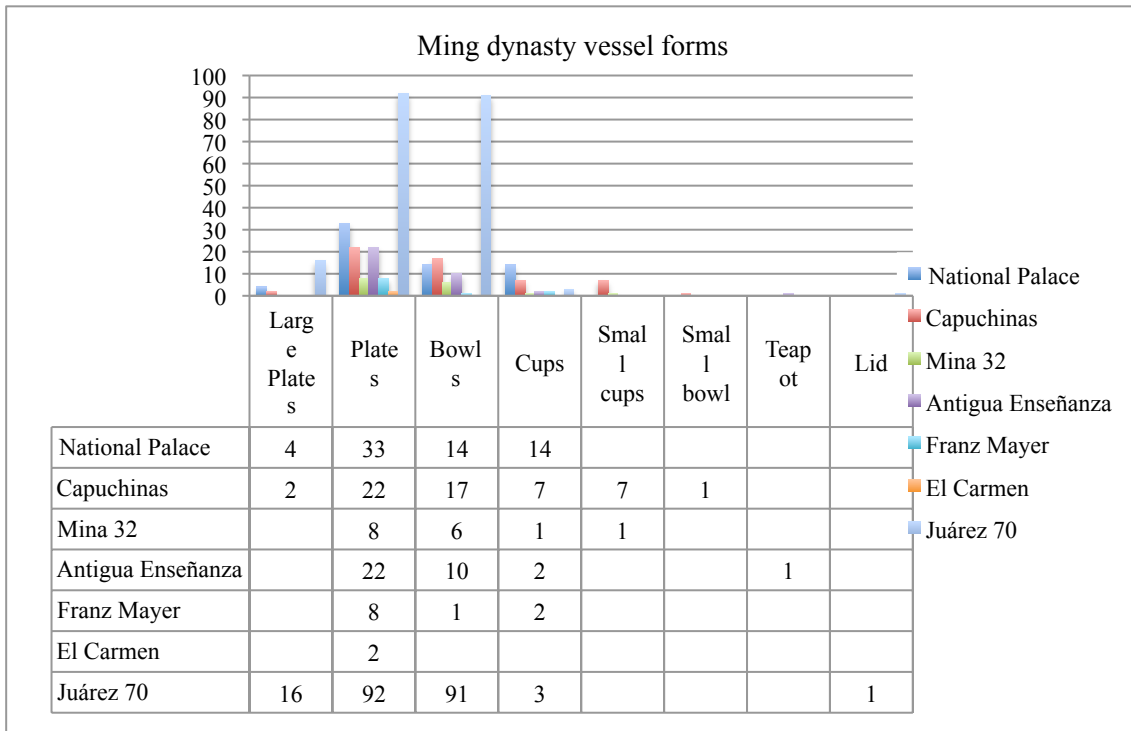


Table 4.2.2.16 Ming porcelain vessel forms

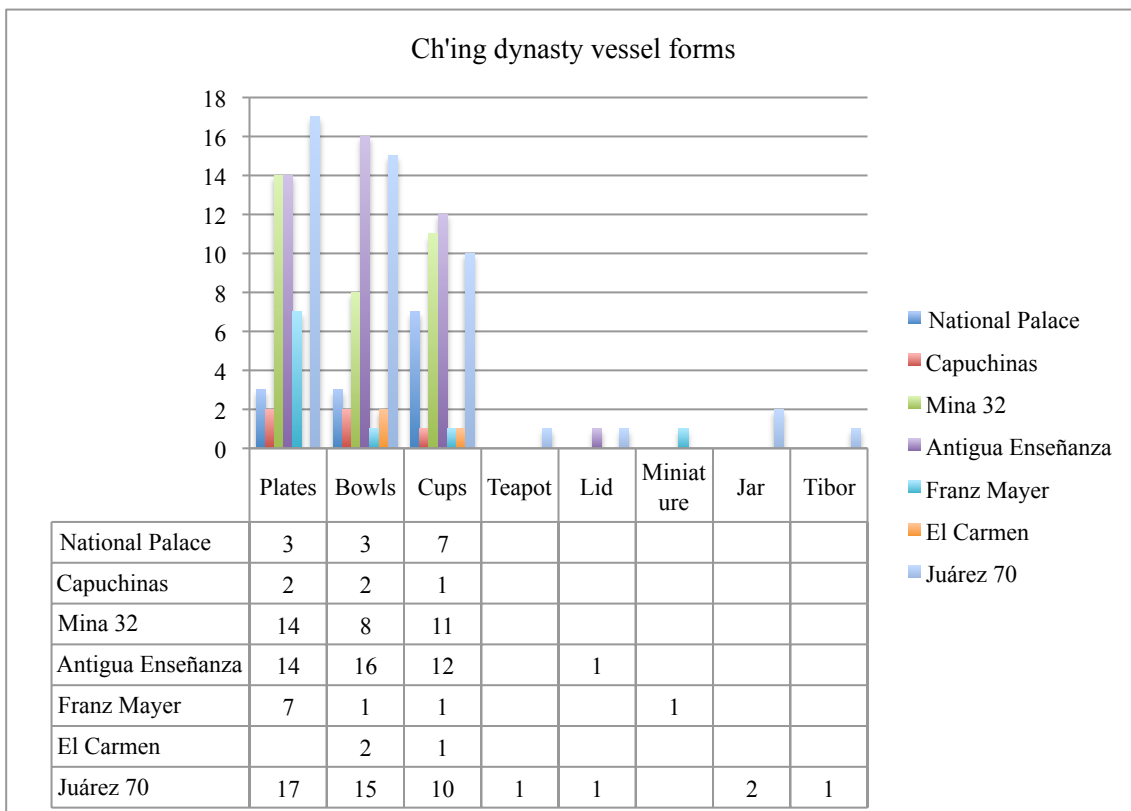


Table 4.2.2.17 Ch'ing porcelain vessel forms

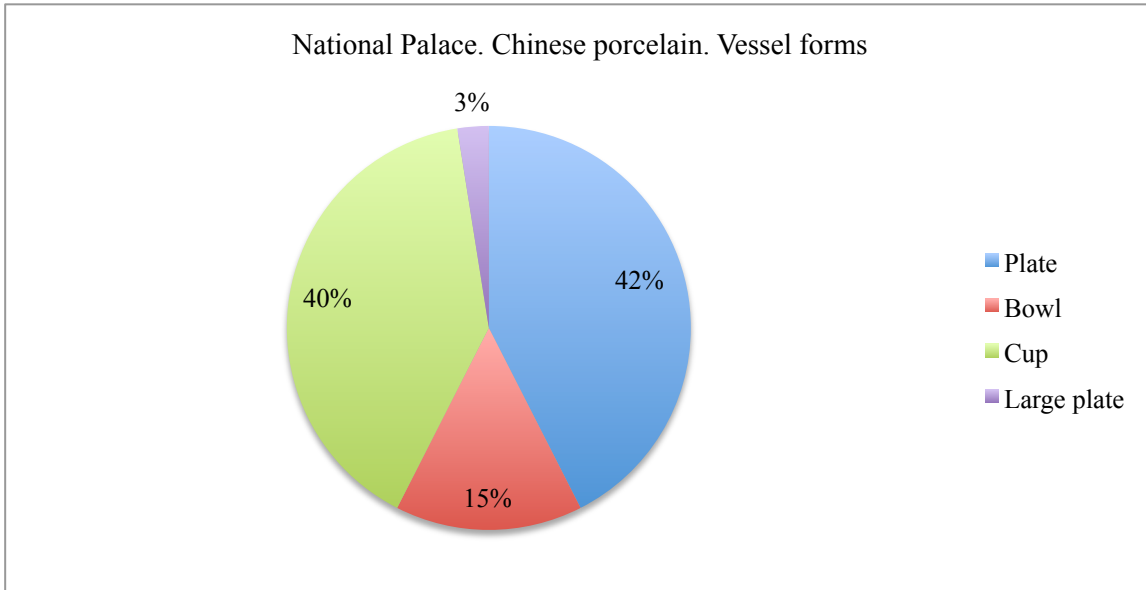


Table 4.2.2.18 Percentages of discarded vessel forms of Chinese porcelain from the National Palace

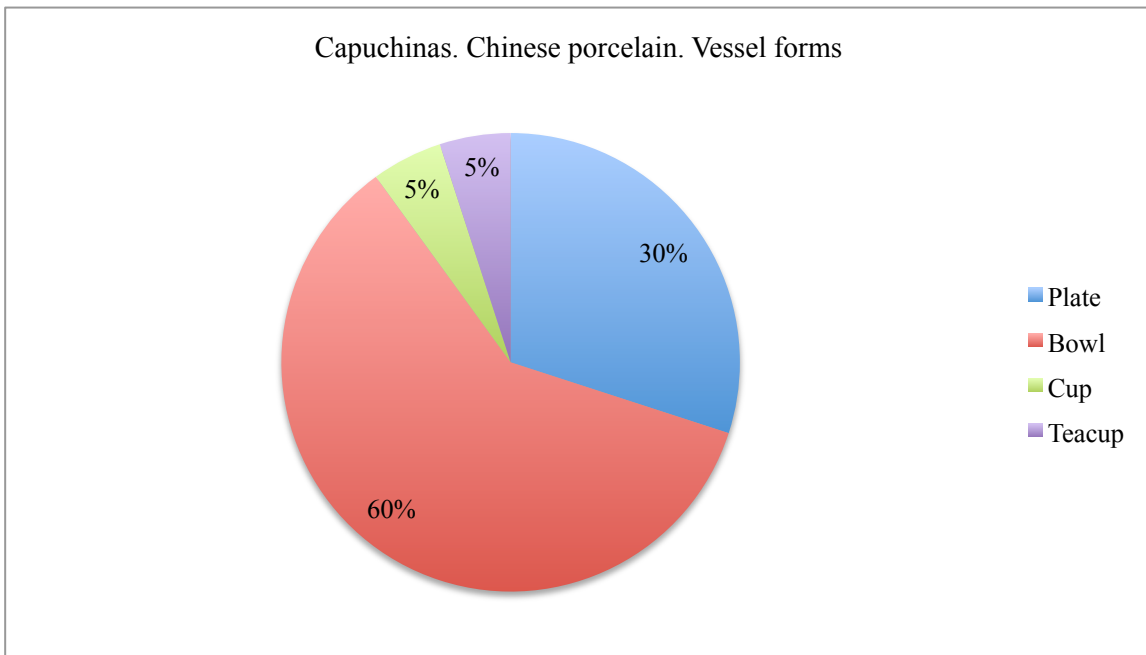


Table 4.2.2.19 Percentage of discarded vessel forms of Chinese porcelain from Capuchinas

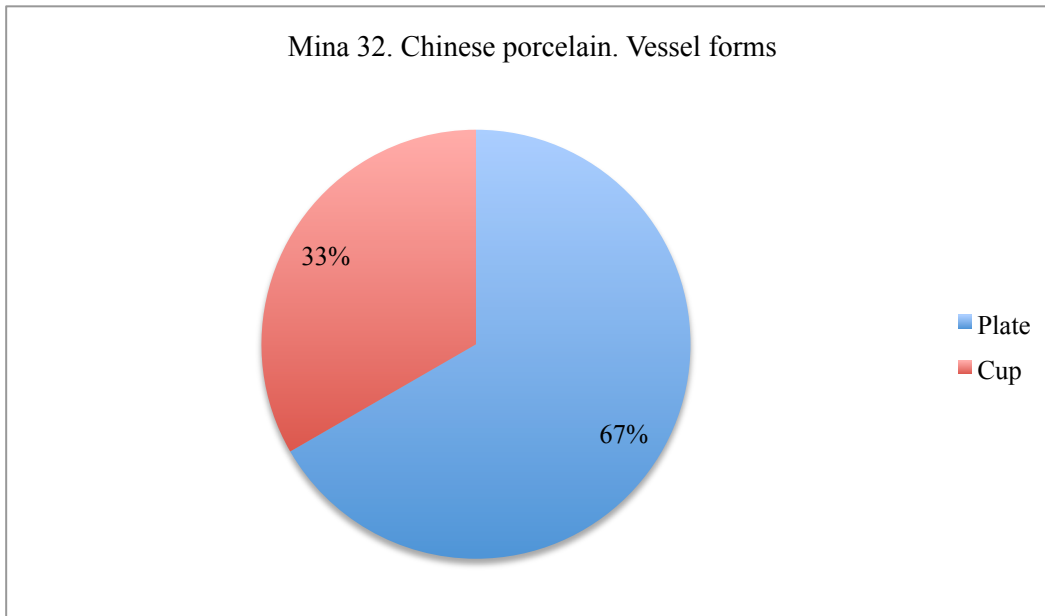


Table 4.2.2.20 Percentage of discarded vessel forms of Chinese porcelain from Mina 32

### *Drinking vessels*

The maiolica and Chinese porcelain from the mid-seventeenth century and onwards could be characterized by the

introduction of new vessel forms that were used for drinking. These correspond to cups and handless cups

known as *pocillos*, which were

presumably used for drinking chocolate. This premise is based on

the depictions of *pocillos* in eighteenth-century *casta* paintings

(Katzew 2003) and contemporary inventories that relate these vessels

with chocolate (Curiel 2000, 85)

(Figure 4.2.2.2). These maiolica drinking vessels are scarce during the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, with finds occurring on sites such as Mina 32 and El Carmen in relatively low proportions. This proportion contrasts with the absence of these vessels in the vice royal palace, the convents of La Encarnación and La Antigua Enseñanza,



Figure 4.2.2.2 Drinking vessels of maiolica and Chinese porcelain

Capuchinas and Juárez 70 during that same period (Table 4.2.2.21). Conversely, assemblages from the vice royal palace, secular and religious sites inside the *traza* that include few, or no, maiolica vessels during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, do contain cups and small cups of Ming porcelain. Furthermore, these are absent in those sites where these maiolica vessels are present. Whilst the drinking vessels of Ming porcelain occur in relative high proportions at the sites of the National Palace and Capuchinas, by the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this proportion changes, with the sites of Antigua Enseñanza and Mina 32 displaying the highest proportions of Ch'Ing porcelain cups (Table 4.2.2.22).

By the second half of the seventeenth century, maiolica cups are mostly encountered in the National Palace and the convent of La Encarnación, one of the wealthiest convents in Mexico City, especially in comparison to other sites. A higher proportion of *pocillos* than cups were identified in the sample from La Antigua Enseñanza, and most of these correspond to *entrefino* grade Puebla Blue on White maiolica. In contrast to this, the sites of Mina 32, Franz Mayer, El Carmen and Juárez 70 display a lesser proportion of drinking vessels. In Mina 32, there is an equal proportion of *pocillos* of common grade maiolica and cups of fine grade maiolica. This contrasts with the sites of Franz Mayer, San Juan de Dios and El Carmen where few drinking vessels of maiolica and Chinese porcelain were identified (Table 4.2.2.21).

There seems to exist a correlation between specific vessel forms and the quality of the maiolica. The cups were identified as having been manufactured in fine grade maiolica, namely Puebla White, Abo Polychrome, Huejotzingo Blue on White, Castillo Polychrome, Puebla Polychrome and Puaray Polychrome (Table 4.2.2.23). These cups were mostly identified in the samples from the vice royal palace, Capuchinas and the convents of La Encarnación and Antigua Enseñanza. On the other hand, the highest proportion of *pocillos* were more frequently found in *entrefino* grade or medium quality maiolica and common grade one as in the types of Puebla Blue on White, Mexico City White Variety 2 and Tlalpan White, and to a lesser extent in fine grade Puebla White and Puebla Polychrome (Table 4.2.2.23). These were identified in the samples from Mina 32, Franz Mayer, El Carmen and the two convents. This data might indicate that during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, elite members inhabited the Spanish city, whereas by the eighteenth century these groups who used these objects

more commonly were more evenly distributed across the settlement and had even spread to outside the city.

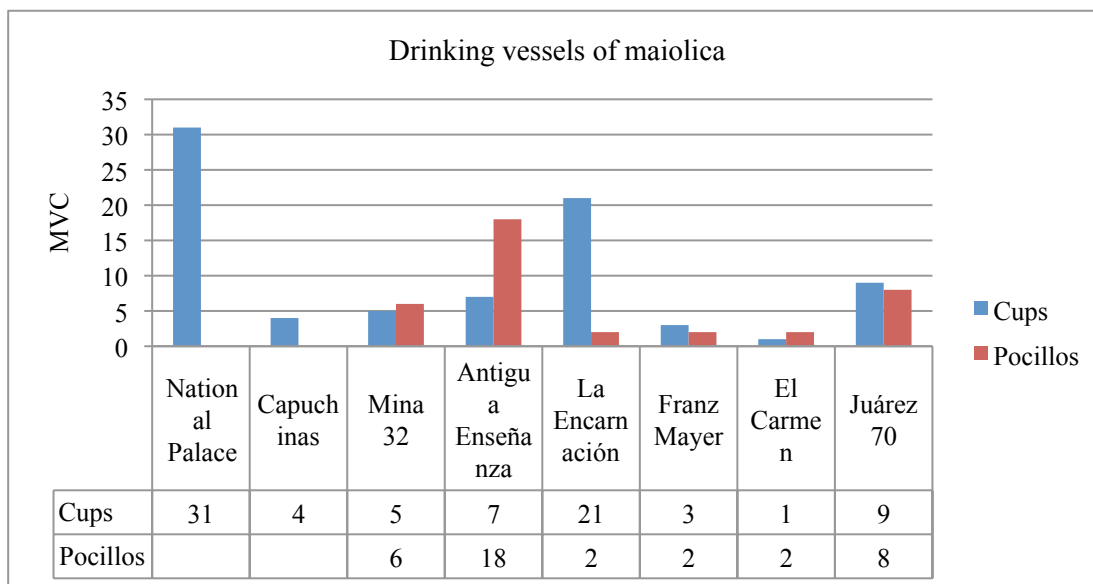


Table 4.2.2.21 Maiolica drinking vessels

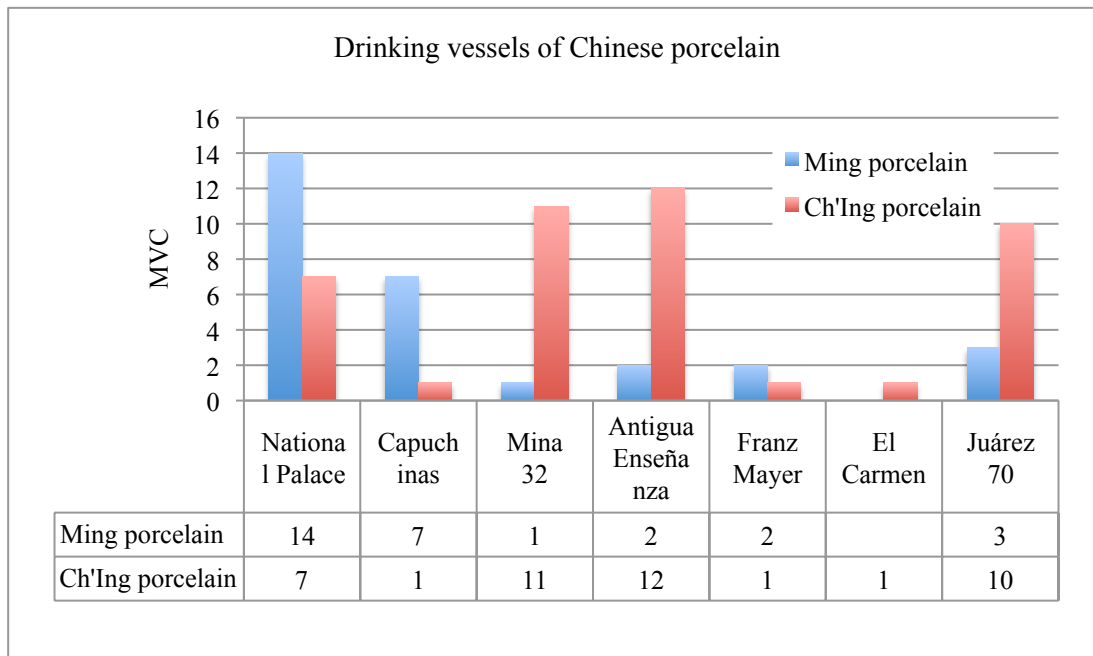


Table 4.2.2.22 Drinking vessels of Chinese porcelain



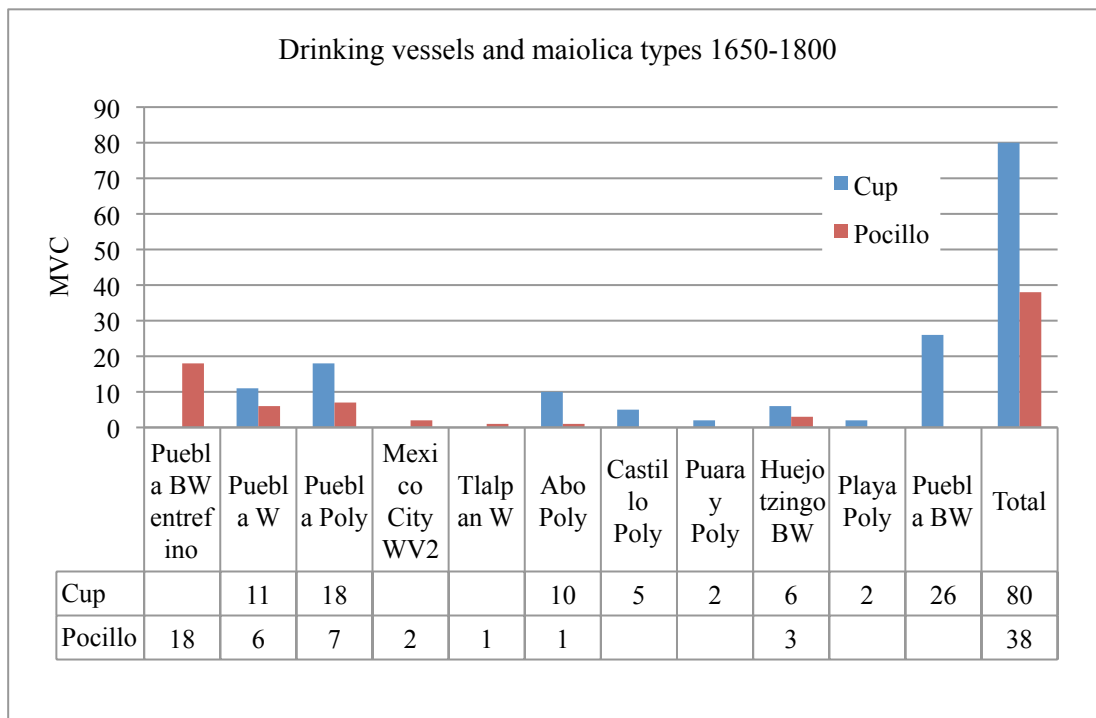


Table 4.2.2.23 Drinking vessels and maiolica types

### 4.3 The social distribution of maiolica as seen through *Casta* paintings

The interrelationship between the patterns of consumption of maiolica and blood purity can be further explored through the analysis of eighteenth-century *casta* paintings. The maiolica that was portrayed in the paintings can be argued were used as a symbol of blood purity. These visual representations enabled the correlation between the identifiable ethnic groups of Mexico City and material culture that to be observed. This allowed the identification of the different uses given to the ceramics to express their cultural identities, for display or dining. This thesis has considered twenty-two images in depth that depicted maiolica tableware and that range in date from 1750-1780. The paintings were chosen from the works of Katzew (2007) and García Sáiz (1989), which stand for the most complete on this pictorial genre. The interrelation between cultural groups and material culture allowed an overview of the association between maiolica and ethnic group and explore the possible meanings behind such representations.

The maiolica depicted in the *casta* paintings often corresponds well with eighteenth-century plates, bowls and *pocillos* of San Elizario Polychrome and Puebla Blue on White. The scenes generally occur in the domestic space, with the exception of images

17-19 (Figure 4.3.1) that might correspond to a dinner setting. In these spaces, the maiolica plates and *pocillos* are placed in the cupboards, and were used for serving meals where *casta* members are represented. Within the selected images, twelve of these depict Spaniards with other *casta* members and their offspring. With the exception of images 20 and 21 (Figure 1), all the others display interior spaces where the maiolica is exhibited either on the kitchen cupboards or used for dining, particularly image 1.

The images 11 to 19 depict *casta* members that include Lobo, Chino, Albarazado, Genízaro, Zambaigo, Morisco, Mulato and Tente en el Aire. The maiolica in these images is generally displayed in the cupboards of the domestic spaces with the exception of images 12, 13, 14 and 16, where the maiolica is used for serving food. Finally, the intriguing images 20-22 depict Spaniard men and women interacting with other *casta* members, blacks and mulatos in violent scenarios. Image 20 depicts a drunken black male and a Spanish female with their mulato child. The maiolica plates appear in the right lower corner broken, and with blood.

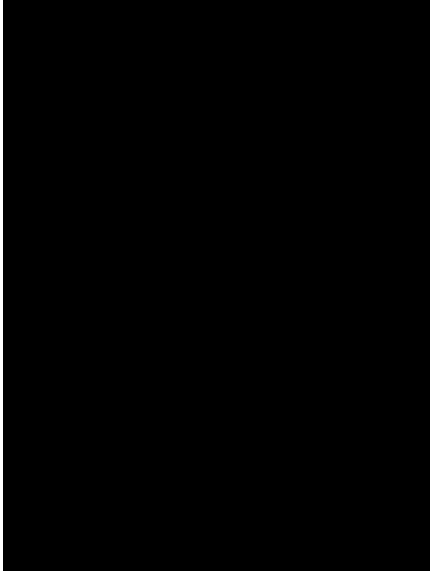
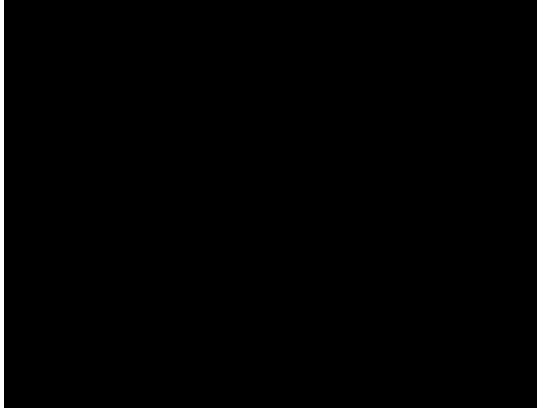
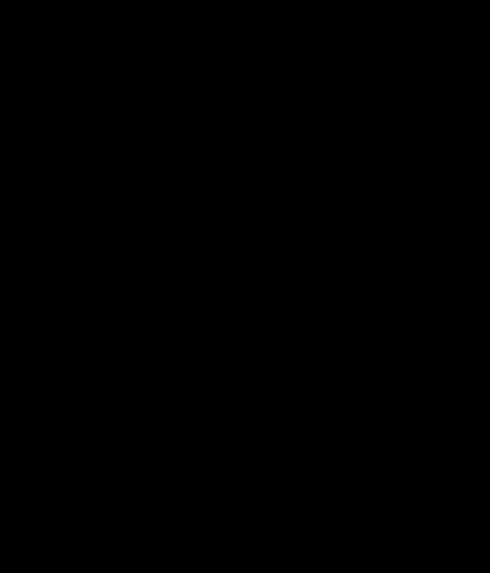
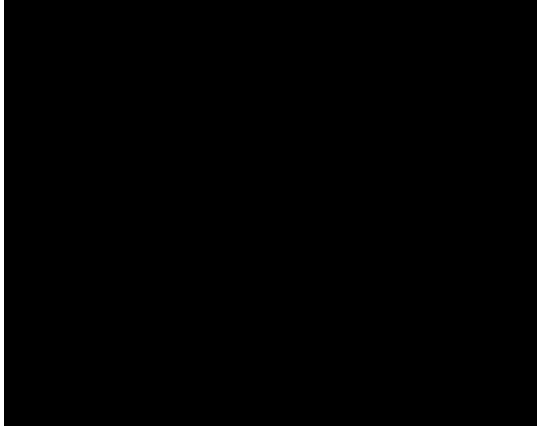
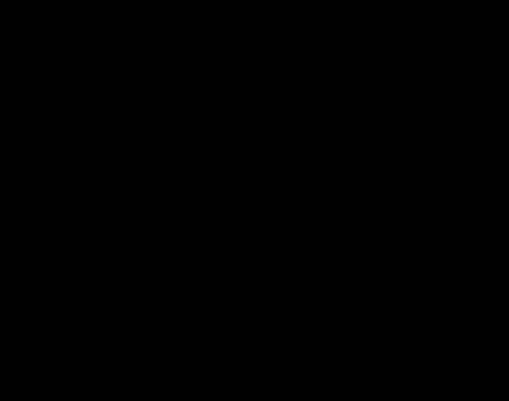
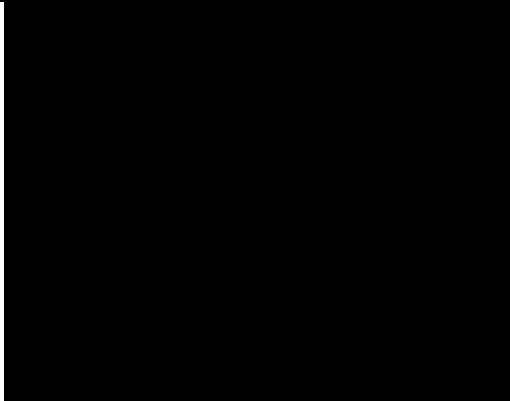
Images 21-22 portray Spaniards as well as other *casta* members in fighting scenes and also with broken maiolica. These images contrast with others in the sample, where Spanish men are depicted. This might relate to the association between blood purity and the male seed, which was believed to be stronger than the female one and thus, enabled to purify the blood and preserve an immaculate lineage (see Chapter one). However, this might not have been always the case and the images serve as an advertisement against miscegenation. This is further emphasized by image 20 where a female Spaniard is represented with a black man. In this context, the broken maiolica plates might symbolize the risk of transgression, the literal breakage or corruption of a pure blood lineage.

<i>1) Mestizo and Spaniard= Castiza</i>	<i>2) Spaniard and Black= Mulato</i>
<i>3) Spaniard and Black= Mulato. José de Alzibar (1750-1770)</i>	<i>4) Spaniard and Black= Mulato</i>
<i>5) Spaniard and Black= Mulato</i>	<i>6) Mestizo and Spaniard= Castiza</i>

<i>7) Spaniard and Castiza = Spaniard</i>	<i>8) Spaniard and Black = Mulata</i>
<i>9) Mulattoe and Spaniard = Morisco</i>	<i>10) Spaniard and Mulata = Morisco</i>

11)

12) Native person and Cambujo = Tente en el Aire

	
<i>13) Cambujo and Native Mexican= Tente en el Aire</i>	<i>14) Cambujo and Mulata= Albarazado</i>
	
<i>15) Chino and Native Mexican= Genizara</i>	<i>16) Chino and Mulata= Cambuja Ramón Torres (1770-1780)</i>
	
<i>17) Lobo and Native Mexican= Chino Cambujo</i>	<i>18) Calpamulato and Coyote=Barcina</i>

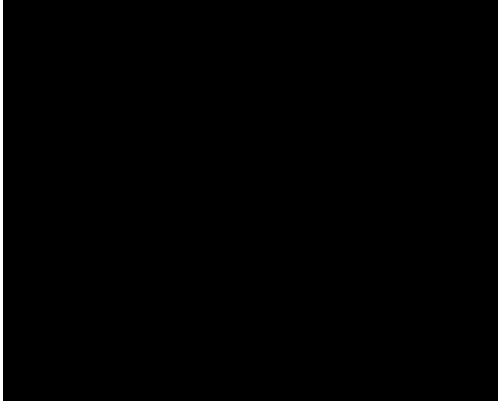
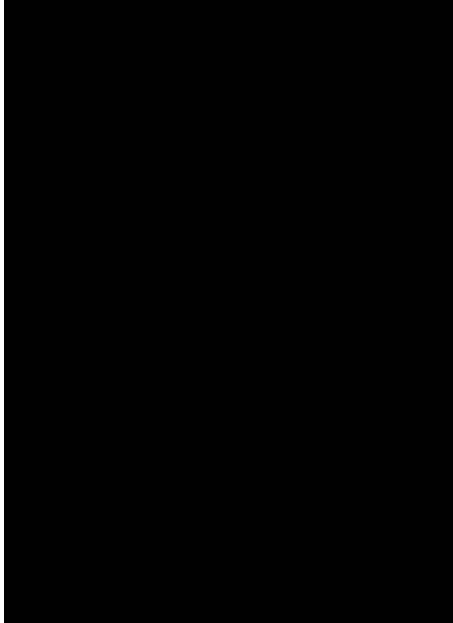
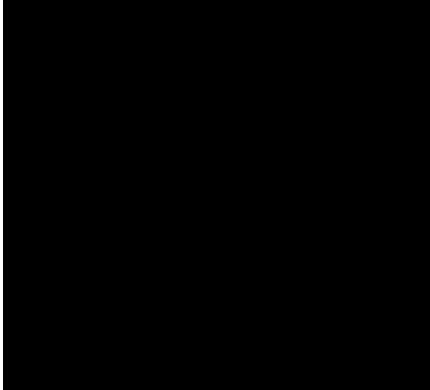
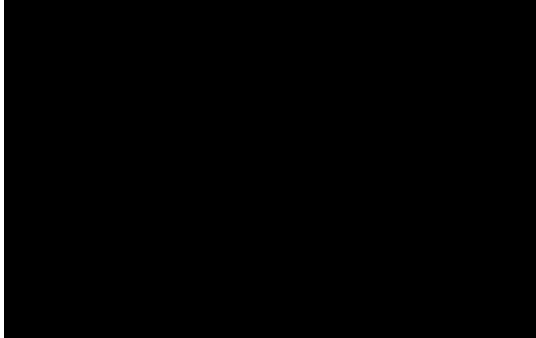
	
<i>19) Albarazado and Torna Atrás= Tente en el Aire</i>	<i>20) Mulato and Spaniard=Morisco</i>
	
<i>21) Spaniard and Black= Mulato</i>	<i>22) Lobo and Native Mexican= Zambaigo</i>

Figure 4.3.1 Examples of *Casta* paintings

<i>No. Image</i>	<i>Domestic (1) Public (2)</i>	<i>Cultural group</i>	<i>Maiolica for display</i>	<i>Maiolica for dining</i>	<i>Broken</i>
1	1	Mestizo and Spaniard= Castiza		X	
2	1	Spaniard and Black=Mulato	X		
3	1	Spaniard and Black= Mulato	X		
4	1	Spaniard and Black= Mulato	X		
5	1	Spaniard and Black= Mulato		X	
6	1	Mestizo and Spaniard= Castiza		X	

7	1	Spaniard and Castiza= Spaniard/ Spaniard and Black= Mulato		X	
8	1	Spaniard and...		X	
9	1	Mulato and Spaniard= Morsico		X	
10	1	Spaniard and mulata= Morisco		X	
11	1		X		
12	1	Native and Cambujo= Tente en el Aire		X	
13	1	Cambujo and Native= Tente en el aire		X	
14	1	Cambujo and Mulata= Albarazado		X	
15	2	Chino and Native= Genízaro	X		
16	1	Chino and Mulata= Cambuja		X	
17	1	Lobo and Native= Chino Cambujo	X		
18	2	Calpamlato and Coyote= Barcina		X	
19	2	Albarazado and Torna Atrás= Tente en el Aire		X	
20	1	Mulato and Spaniard= Morisco			X
21	1	Spaniard and Black=Mulato			X
22	1	Lobo and Native= Zambaigo			X

Table 4.3.1 Relationship between maiolica and ethnic groups in *Casta* paintings

### Summary

This chapter has explored the differential patterns of consumption of maiolica, Chinese porcelain, *botijas* and *lebrillos* across the chosen study sites. The analysis of the patterns of consumption considered the minimum number of vessels of each ceramic ware, type and vessel form. It was assumed that the wealthiest sites would display a higher proportion of ceramics, and also a higher degree of differentiation in ceramic types and vessel forms that could be related with differences in dining as ways of expressing notions on wealth and cultural identities. In general terms, the highest

relative proportions of ceramics, particularly imported ones, were identified in the samples from the excavated sites inside the Spanish *traza*. However, it was possible to observe that this tendency in the patterns of consumption changes towards the eighteenth century. The spatial distribution of ceramic wares, types and vessel forms across the sites in Mexico City provided insights to the consumption on behalf of cultural groups. This was further explored through the consideration of eighteenth century *casta* paintings that depict individuals of different cultural groups with associated maiolica vessels. This information provides insights to the ways in which different cultural groups in Mexico City utilized particular material culture as a way to express their identities. The next chapter of this thesis will discuss the results derived from the analysis of expenditure patterns of ceramics, and the interrelationship between these, dining and the doctrine of blood purity.



## ***Chapter five. Expenditure patterns and wealth; decoration, potters' marks and communitarian inscriptions on maiolica***

### **Introduction**

This chapter presents an interpretation of the material culture that has been analyzed in this thesis. The first section explores the results derived from the patterns of consumption that included the relative proportions of ceramic materials presented in Chapter four and the expenditure patterns of Spanish and Mexican maiolica, Chinese porcelain and on vessel forms. These are presented in Tables 5.1.4-5.1.7, Tables 5.1.1.1-5.1.1.3 and in Tables 5.1.2.1-5.1.2.5 that highlight spatial and diachronic differences. These results allowed for a discussion over the extent to which ceramics from colonial Mexico City can inform on differences on wealth and cultural identities across the sites. Section 5.2 considered the decorative schemes found on ceramic vessel forms of maiolica and Chinese porcelain that had been identified in the samples. Section 5.3 considered the potters' signatures on local maiolica as well as inscriptions of religious orders. These also allowed for an exploration of their meaning within the context of blood purity and the display of cultural identities.

### **5.1 Prices and quality of maiolica and Chinese porcelain as possible indicators of wealth**

The differences encountered in the patterns of consumption of ceramic wares and their possible relationship with variations in wealth amongst each site was further explored by assessing the approximate amount of *reales* and *maravadies*<sup>16</sup> spent by each site on contemporary ceramics. This allowed an examination to be made to see if the relative proportions of particular ceramics actually reflected differences in patterns of consumption, and if these stood as reliable indicators of wealth. These measurements were drawn from the list of prices from the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries for plates and *escudillas* of Spanish maiolica, and for plates, large plates, bowls, cups and *pocillos* of Chinese porcelain and Mexican maiolica (Castillo 2007). In 1569/70, the price of

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<sup>16</sup> 1 *real* = 34 *maravadies*

each plate and *escudilla* in New Spain was 85 *maravadies* and in 1580 a *botija* could cost 28 *maravadies* (Blackman *et al.* 2006, 208). On the other hand, the prices of eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain and local maiolica varied, depending on the different vessel forms that ranged from the most expensive items such as large plates to relatively non-expensive ones like *pocillos*. These prices are contrasted with the cost of silver and glass items (Castillo 2007, 129). The lists are provided in Tables 5.1.1 and 5.1.2. An assessment of the prices and quality of Mexican maiolica considered two different lines of evidence. The first was based on the information drawn from the potters' guild ordinances from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that were obtained from the work by Cervantes (1939). The second was based on the list of prices of eighteenth-century maiolica presented in the work by Castillo Cárdenas (2007, 129).

<i>Vessel form</i>	<i>Price per vessel. Chinese porcelain</i>	<i>Price per vessel. Fine grade maiolica</i>	<i>Price per vessel. Common grade maiolica</i>
Large plate	3-6 pesos		
Plate	2.5-10 reales	3 reales	0.12 reales
Small plate	2-8 reales	0.2 reales	0.16 reales
Bowl	0.75-7.5 reales	1.6 pesos	0.3 reales
Cup	2-8 reales	0.74 reales	0.08 reales
Pocillo	1.5-3 reales	1 reales	0.08 reales
Pitcher	2.5-4 reales	8 reales	
Tibor	5-25 pesos	15 pesos	

Table 5.1.1 Eighteenth century prices of vessel forms. Taken and modified from Castillo Cárdenas 2007, 129

<i>Vessel form</i>	<i>Price per vessel in silver</i>	<i>Price per vessel in crystal</i>	<i>Price per vessel in Maiolica</i>	<i>Price per vessel in Chinese porcelain</i>
Large plate	45.6- 66.6 pesos		4- 8 reales	3 reales- 6 pesos
Plate		4 reales	0.16-3 reales	2.5-10 reales
Small plate	5.5- 14.3 pesos		0.16- 0.2 reales	2-8 reales
Cup		6 reales	0.08- 0.74 reales	2-8 reales
Bowl	7 pesos	1.25 pesos	0.3- 1.6 pesos	0.75-7.5 reales
Pocillo or glass	4.1 pesos	1 real- 2 pesos	0.08- 1 real	1.5- 3 reales
Pitcher	15.4 -22 pesos	2.5 reales-1 peso	4- 8 reales	2.5- 4 reales







Table 5.1.2 Eighteenth century prices of vessel forms. Taken and modified from Castillo Cárdenas 2007, 129

The potters' guild ordinances of 1653, 1666, 1682, 1721 and 1751 established three different grades of maiolica that corresponded to fine, common and yellow (Cervantes 1939, 22-23). The latter comprised red glazed utilitarian coarsewares such as utilitarian vessels and jars, and thus was not included in this analysis. The ordinances of 1666 stipulated that the finest maiolica should be painted in bright and deep blue, in the same fashion as the ceramics from China, and also black dots and colourful palettes. Blue was the colour that distinguished fine grade ceramics from common grade ones that were exclusively painted in green. Moreover, it was stipulated that fine grade maiolica should not be fired utilizing cockspurs. In 1682, additions to the ordinances mention that the plates and *escudillas*, that is bowls, were to be painted in the same fashion as Chinese porcelain and that large plates should be painted in *azul aborronado*, that is incorporating two different tones of blue (Cervantes 1939, 22-23).

In 1721, further amendments to the ordinances referred to the placement of potters' marks in the maiolica that had been manufactured in the city of Puebla. The ordinances specifically state that: "all vessels should bear the mark of the potter to avoid forgeries..." Also, Emphasis on the two colours that were used to distinguish fine from common grade ceramics is made again, with the addition that fine grade maiolica must be manufactured in the same fashion as that from Talavera, with figures and colourful stems, using a palette of five colours. Its manufacture should incorporate the highest cleanness, firing each vessel on its own base to avoid cockspur marks, typical of common grade maiolica. Finally, according to the ordinances of 1751, fine and *entrefino* grade maiolica was to be decorated in black, with laces and eight spheres also in black and blue. The plates were to be decorated in five colours with figures and stems using also blue paint (Cervantes 1939, 31-37).

These descriptions enabled a correlation to be made between particular maiolica types with different grades or qualities. Common grade maiolica painted in green could correspond to Mexico City Green on Cream and San Luis Polychrome. Fine and *entrefino* grade maiolica from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries decorated in blue and black could include Puebla Blue on White, Castillo Polychrome, Puebla Polychrome and Puaray Polychrome. The maiolica decorated with a five-colour palette and figures could correspond to the archaeological types Abo Polychrome and Aranama Polychrome. White maiolica could correspond to Puebla White and Mexico City White

Variety 1. These types were then considered as indicators of fine and common grade maiolica in each site (Table 5.1.3).

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Example of maiolica</i>
Common	Mexico City Green on Cream 
	Mexico City White Variety 2 
Fine and <i>entrefino</i> grade maiolica	Castillo Polychrome 
	Puebla Blue on White fine grade 
	Puebla Blue on White <i>entrefino</i> grade 
	Puaray Polychrome 
	Puebla Polychrome






	
Five-coloured-palette	Abo Polychrome 
	Aranama Polychrome 
White	Mexico City White Variety 1 
	Puebla White 

Table 5.1.3 Examples of maiolica grades

This information allowed for the identification of three main categories of ceramics that include white maiolica, Chinese-style maiolica and common grade maiolica. Following this three major groups were selected from the samples that correspond to: 1) mid-seventeenth and eighteenth century Puebla White, 2) fine grade Puebla Blue on White, Puaray Polychrome, Castillo Polychrome and Puebla Polychrome, and 3) common grade Mexico City Green on Cream and San Luis Polychrome. Within each ceramic type, the minimum vessel count was considered and included vessel forms such as large plates, plates, bowls, cups and *pocillos* as these appear in the list of prices. Each minimum vessel count was then multiplied by the prices presented on each list. In the

particular case of fine grade ceramics these were multiplied times the highest price and the lowest price was considered when considering common grade maiolica.

The highest expenditure on plates and *escudillas* of Spanish maiolica during the sixteenth century was identified in the National Palace and Capuchinas, and lesser values were identified in Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer and the convent of Antigua Enseñanza (Table 5.1.4). These quantities coincide with the minimum number of vessels that had been identified for each site finding the highest proportion of imported maiolica in the vice royal palace and Capuchinas (see Tables Chapter four Tables 4.1.1.1- 4.1.1.3). Relative low values were identified in other sites such as the convent of La Encarnación and Mina 32.

The level of expenditure of fine grade Mexican maiolica from the eighteenth century is highest in the site of Juárez 70, followed by the convent of La Encarnación, the National Palace and the convent of La Antigua Enseñanza (Table 5.1.5). The highest expenditure across the sites and particularly in Juárez 70, the National Palace and the convent of La Encarnación was in flatware and to a lesser extent to bowls and cups and *pocillos*. These values contrast to those from the sites of Mina 32, Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer and El Carmen where the expenditure in flatware and bowls is relatively low in comparison to that from other sites. Also, the site of Juárez 70 exerts a low value on drinking vessels but a relatively higher one in flatware and on decorative items such as tibors. Moreover, the amount spent on common grade maiolica tableware is relatively low across the sites, with the highest expenditure at the National Palace (Table 5.1.6).

The expenditure on Ch'Ing porcelain from each site in the eighteenth century can be contrasted against that on maiolica (Table 5.1.7). For example, the sites of Mina 32, La Antigua Enseñanza and Juárez 70 display the highest expenditure in flatware and cups, in comparison to the National Palace and Capuchinas that display relatively low values spent in tableware. Moreover, while for this same period the National Palace, and the convent of La Encarnación display the highest expenditure in maiolica cups, these conversely display the lowest one in drinking vessels of Chinese porcelain (see Chapter four Tables 4.2.4- 4.2.6).

The above data suggests that by the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, all the sites were consuming both Oriental and fine and common grade Mexican ceramics. However, the amount spent in these varies from one site to another. Royal institutions like the vice royal palace exerted a high expenditure on imported maiolica, local maiolica tableware but a relatively low one on Ch'ing porcelain. In contrast, the hospice for the poor displayed a relative high expenditure on both local and Chinese tableware, and particularly on flatware. The site of La Antigua Enseñanza displays high values on Spanish plates and this approximate quantity contrasts to those found in the National Palace that was mainly spent on *escudillas*. The convent of La Encarnación, the vice royal palace and Juárez 70 show high values spent on Mexican maiolica flatware. The highest values in Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer are related to plates. This contrasts with the values from other sites and to that of La Antigua Enseñanza in particular, where the highest expenditure is on bowls.

The highest expenditure on drinking vessels of maiolica during the eighteenth century were identified in the two convents and in the vice royal palace. This contrasts with the site of Mina 32 for example, which displays a low expenditure on maiolica cups and *pocillos* and a relatively higher one in Ch'ing porcelain ones. Sites of Capuchinas, Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer and El Carmen display some of the relatively lowest values spent on maiolica and Chinese porcelain drinking vessels. These values might be significant in terms of differences in social status and dining through the consumption of particular objects.

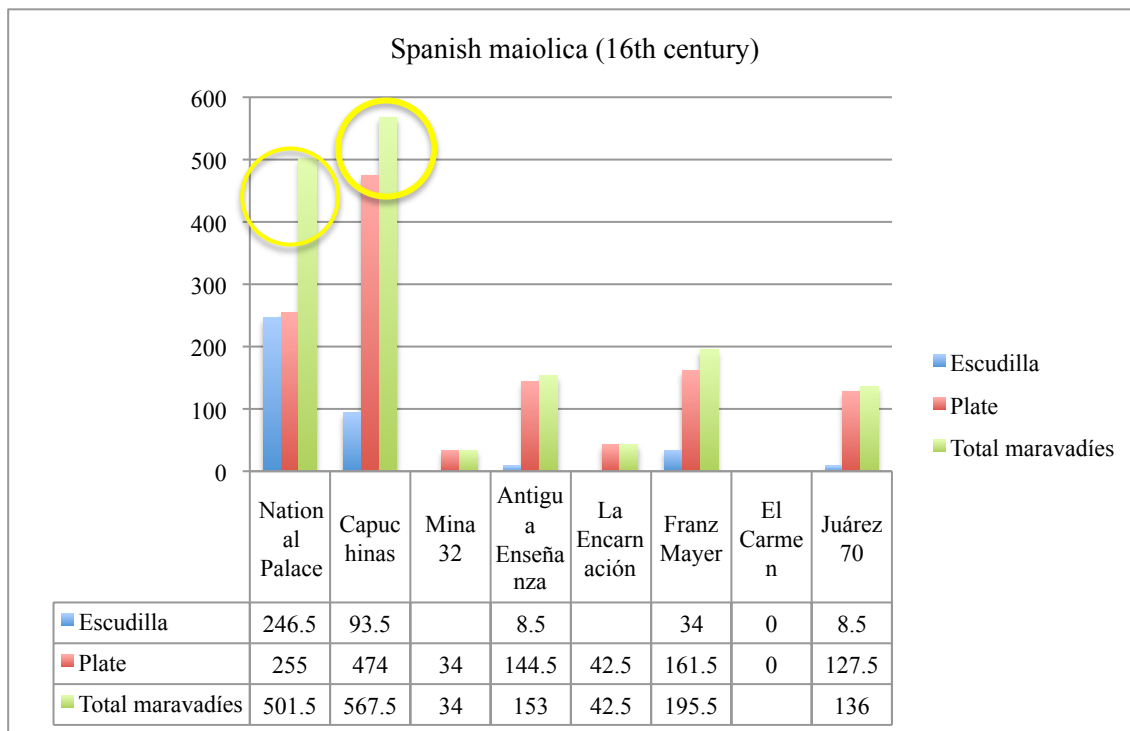


Table 5.1.4 Expenditure on Spanish maiolica

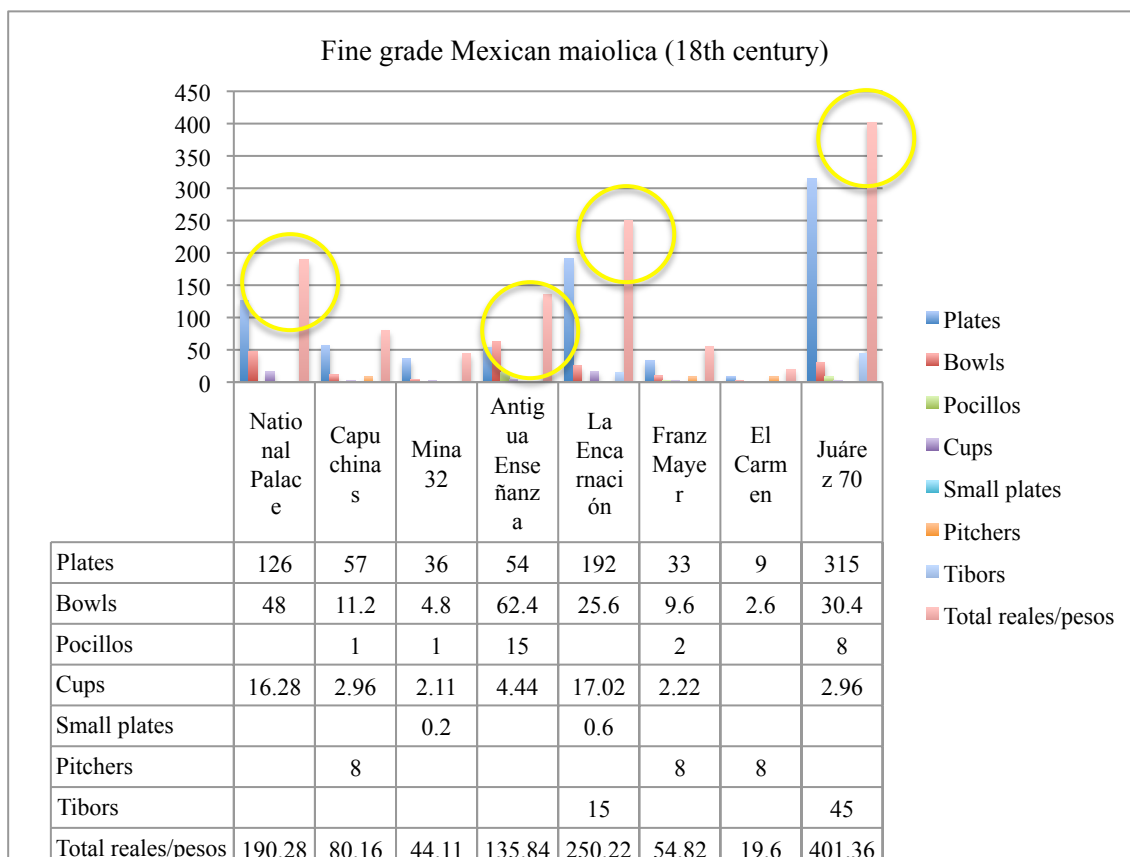


Table 5.1.5 Expenditure in Mexican maiolica



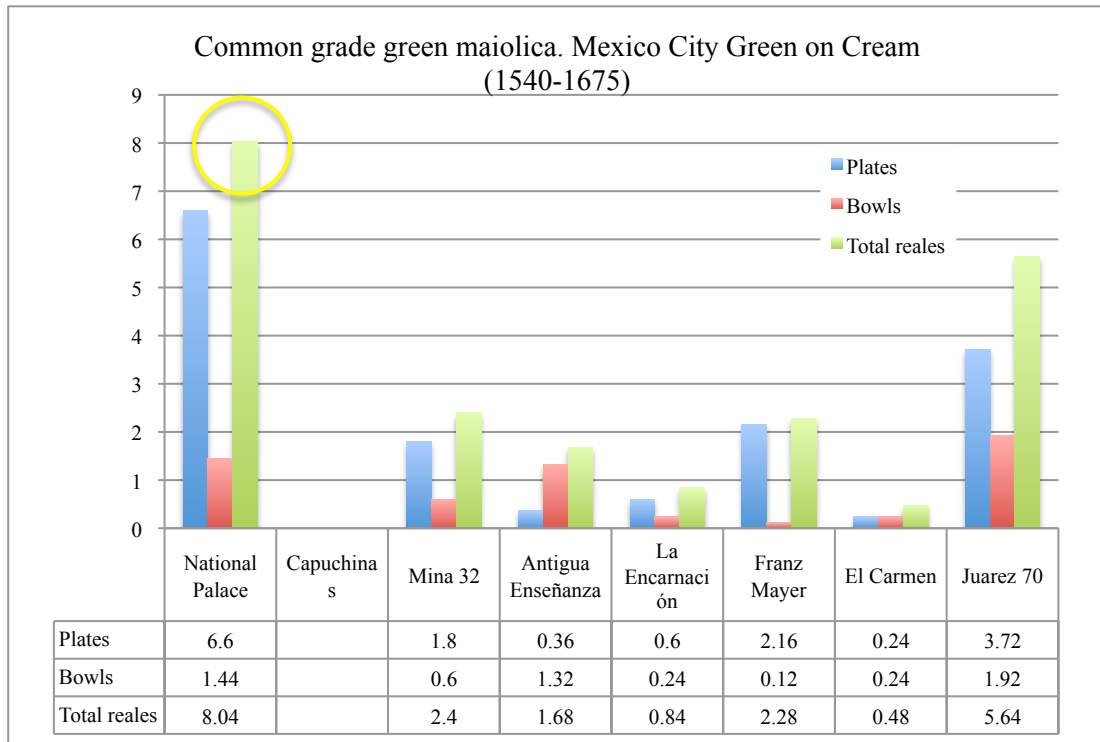


Table 5.1.6 Expenditure on common grade maiolica

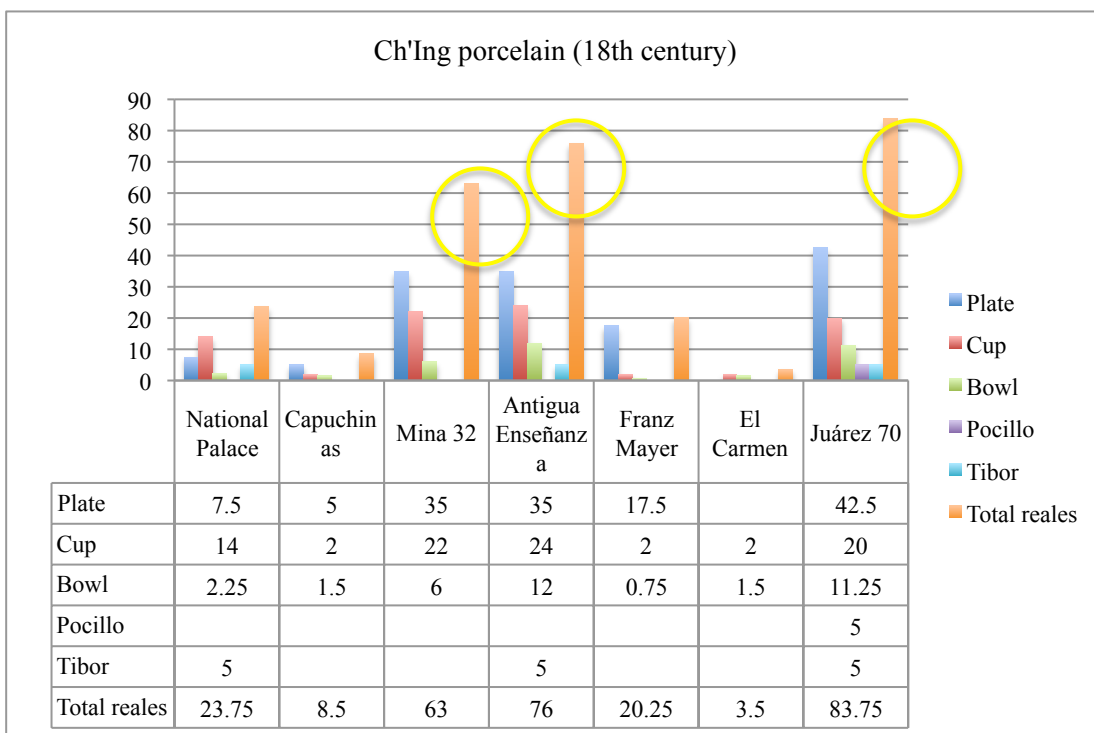


Table 5.1.7 Expenditure on Ch'Ing porcelain

### *5.1.1 Patterns of consumption as possible indicators of differences in wealth and cultural identities*

The ceramics pertaining to the sixteenth and early seventeenth century suggest that there were spatial and temporal variations in the patterns of consumption from one site to another. These are particularly observable in the consumption of Oriental porcelains and imported maiolica. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the highest proportions of Spanish and Italian ceramics were found in the sites located inside the Spanish *traza*, at the sites of Capuchinas and in the vice royal palace, where Lusterware and Sevilla White were also identified. The occurrence of Lusterware may be significant in terms of the consumers, because by the second half of the sixteenth century this tableware was no longer fashionable amongst the elites. However, its decoration and technique of manufacture still embodied the Hispano-Moresque pottery traditions and style (Casanovas 2003, 58). Thus, its consumption may have been related to a sense of nostalgia and reinvention of their identities based on blood purity. Lesser proportions of Spanish maiolica were identified in the nunneries, and the lowest proportions were identified in the sites outside the city, namely in Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer, adjacent to the Hospital of San Juan de Dios, and in Mina 32 (Table 5.1.1.1). The occurrence of sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries imported maiolica in the site of Mina 32, in secondary refuse contexts, suggests an early occupation of the outskirt area of the city and the consumption of these ceramics on behalf of Native or possibly non-elite population during that period.

Italian maiolica from the sixteenth century was found at almost all of the sites, except in Juárez 70 and El Carmen, finding the highest proportions at the National Palace, Capuchinas and La Antigua Enseñanza, all located inside the Spanish *traza*. This may suggest that Italian table sets might have been expensive items and thus confined to the wealthiest groups in Mexico City. Moreover, the analysis of the secondary refuse deposits of these sites suggests that Italian maiolica was the least discarded type in comparison to local and Spanish ceramics. The decrease in the consumption of Italian and Spanish tableware after the seventeenth century, suggest that they were no longer imported to Mexico City or that changes in the preference for local ceramics replaced that for European ones.

The analysis of the fragments of Spanish maiolica from secondary refuse deposits suggests that this was less discarded than Mexican types, except for the site of Capuchinas. Also, that this was consumed even with manufacturing defects, as seen on examples of Columbia Plain and Santo Domingo Blue on White, which are also the most frequently discarded ceramic types. In contrast, Sevilla White and Lusterware from Manises are scarce within the archaeological record and this suggests that the cultural groups in New Spain consumed imported ceramics even when these possibly corresponded to low quality examples. Furthermore it indicates that maiolica types such as Columbia Plain and Santo Domingo Blue on White were probably less expensive and more accessible than Sevilla White and Lusterware. Moreover, the highly fragmented sample of plates, for example, suggests that these were seldom discarded until they became functionless. Therefore, these objects may have stood as signifiers of wealth and nostalgia on behalf of the consumers and thus granted with a long biography.

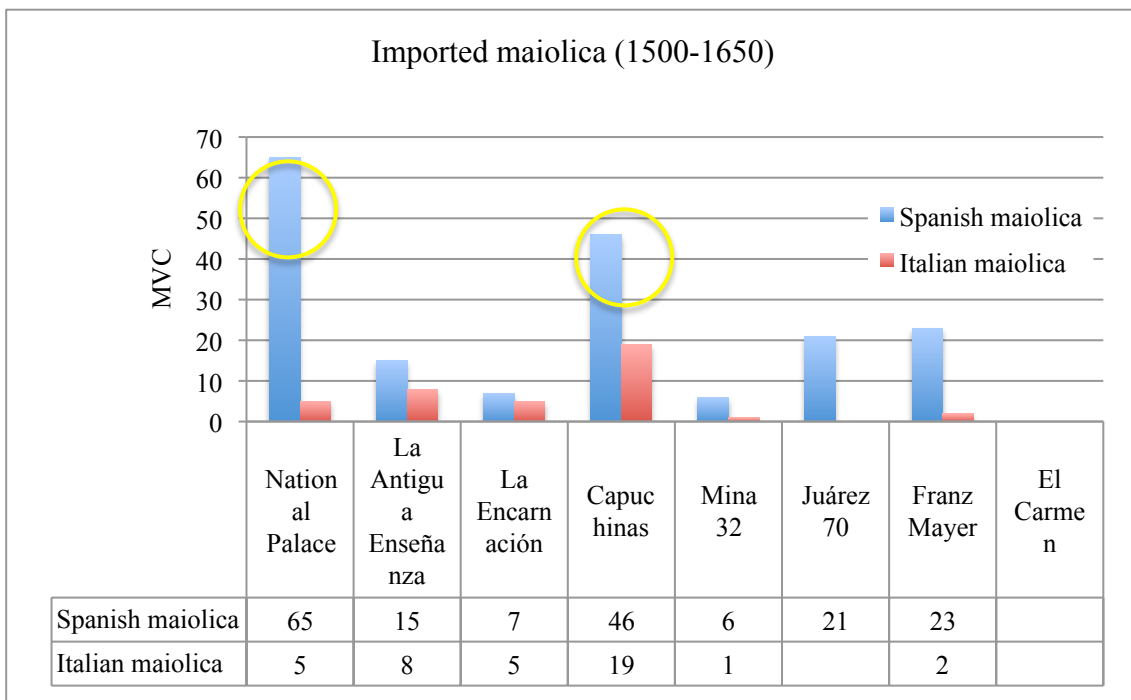


Table 5.1.1.1 Patterns of consumption of imported maiolica

The samples of Mexican maiolica constitute the highest proportion of ceramic wares across all the sites analyzed in this thesis. However, the comparative proportions based on the minimum vessel count suggest that the royal sites of National Palace and Juárez 70, the former Hospice of the Poor, along with the sites located inside the *traza*, except

for Capuchinas, display the highest proportions in comparison to those sites located outside it (Table 5.1.1.2). This could be explained in terms of the availability of Mexican ceramics on behalf of wealthier groups, which made them more easily discarded than imported ones. The site of Capuchinas constitutes a separate case since the proportions of local maiolica are the smallest ones in comparison to Oriental and European ones that were recovered in relative high proportions in secondary refuse deposits. These results could suggest differences in the taste and wealth of the consumers. Moreover, the differential patterns of consumption may indicate to a certain extent that different cultural groups used particular objects to display notions of blood purity and wealth.

The variations in the patterns of consumption were further examined by classifying the ceramic materials into two groups. The first, constituted by sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century ceramics, and the second by ceramics pertaining to the second half of the seventeenth century, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This allowed observations of temporal and spatial changes in the consumption to be made, as well as exploring their possible significance in terms of wealth and cultural identities.

The analysis of local maiolica from the sixteenth to the first half of the seventeenth century suggest that the National Palace and Capuchinas consumed the highest proportions, whilst changes in the consumption of local ceramics were observed during the second half of the seventeenth century and onwards. While the proportions remain almost constant in the vice royal palace, there is a significant decrease in Capuchinas. The relative proportions at Mina 32 also remain equal the same as in Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer during this period, but an increase is observed in the female religious houses and in Juárez 70 (Table 5.1.1.2). These values can be further compared with those of Chinese porcelain.

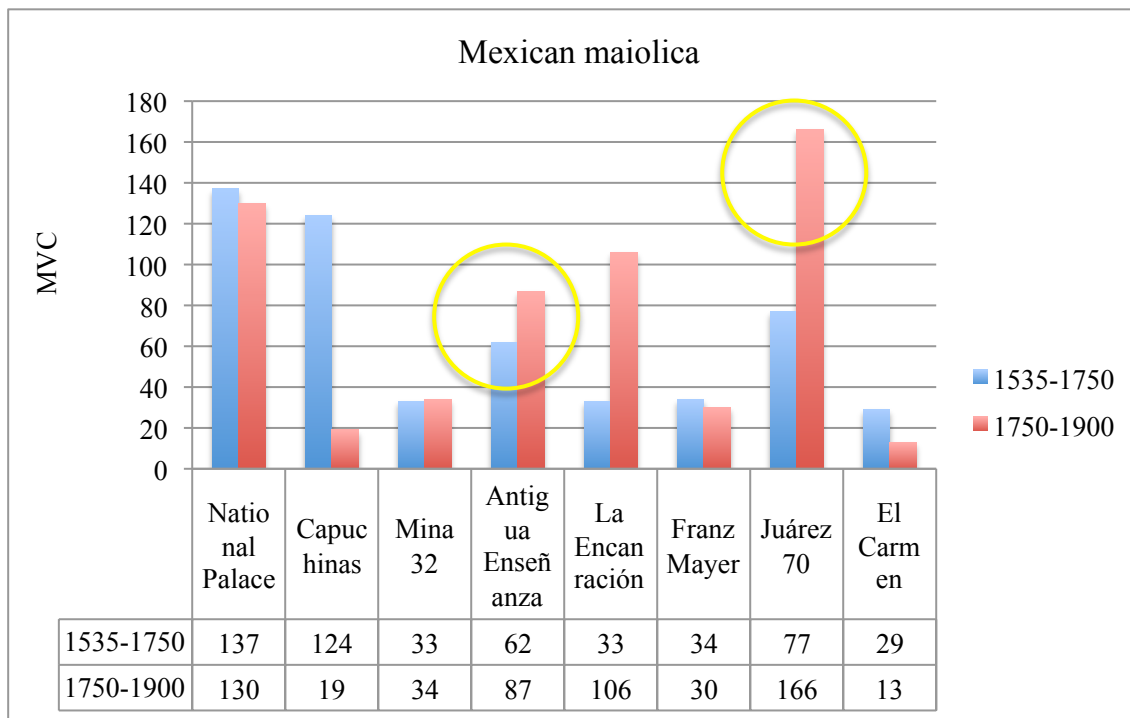


Table 5.1.1.2 Patterns of consumption of Mexican maiolica

The relative highest proportions of Ming porcelain from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were identified in the vice royal palace and in Capuchinas. These proportions are interesting when compared to other sites like Mina 32, which displays higher values of local maiolica than of Oriental ceramics during this period. The relative high proportions of Ming porcelain observed in Juárez 70 might correspond to refuse material from the inhabitants of the city. These differential patterns of consumption could also respond to differences in socio-economic status rather than to different ideologies between the cultural groups inhabiting Mexico City and those in peripheral areas, such as at Mina 32, since all the groups were consuming Oriental ceramics. From the mid-seventeenth century onwards this proportion changes, finding a decrease in the consumption of Ch'Ing porcelain in the vice royal palace and Capuchinas, and an increase of the same in the site of Mina 32 and the nunnery of Antigua Enseñanza. The Hospice of the Poor represented by the site of Juárez 70 displays the relatively highest proportion of Ch'Ing porcelain. This contrasts with the proportions found in the two male religious institutions represented by the sites of Franz Mayer and El Carmen that display low proportions of porcelain throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Table 5.1.1.3).

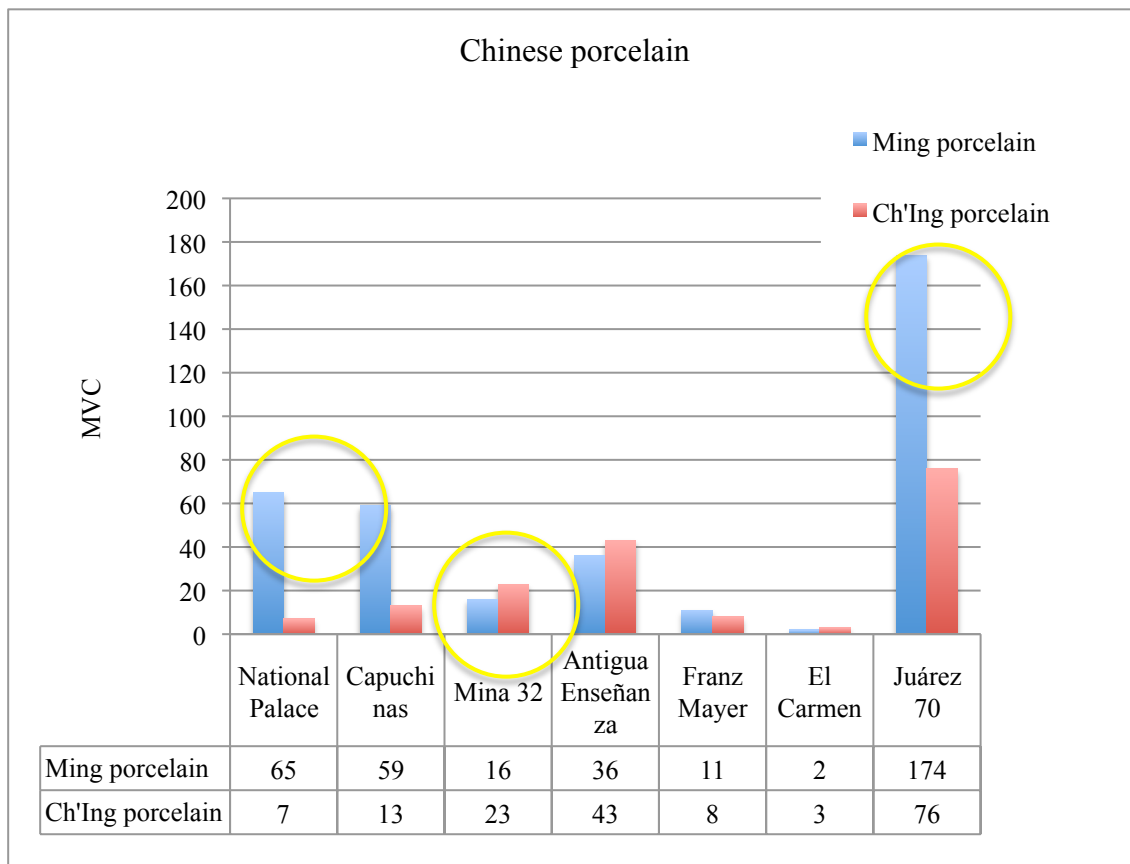


Table 5.1.1.3 Patterns of consumption of Chinese porcelain

The changes observed in the consumption of porcelain might be the result of an increase in the importation of these objects during the Bourbon regime (Bonta de la Plezuela 2008, 90-93). As porcelain became more accessible to broader sectors of society, the perception that the elites had of porcelain as a symbol of status may have changed in favour of maiolica, as a symbol that reaffirmed notions on ‘Spanishness’ and blood purity. This parallels the anxiety that was caused by increasing miscegenation as observed in eighteenth century *casta* paintings. This might explain the decrease in the proportions of Oriental porcelain at the National Palace and Capuchinas, which had displayed the highest proportions during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the relatively unchanging proportions of local maiolica in the vice royal palace.

The relative high proportions of Chinese porcelain in the Hospice for the Poor during the eighteenth century may be explained by it being a royal institution, the second most important in Mexico City, and reflected the power and wealth of the monarchy through the display of objects like Chinese porcelain. Moreover, a comparison between the

religious institutions provided interesting data. While the convent of La Antigua Enseñanza displayed an increase in the consumption of Oriental ceramics during the eighteenth century, the monastery of El Carmen and Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer display low proportions of this ware after the sixteenth century. This may suggest differences in the ways in which the religious groups displayed their cultural identities and the different perceptions and values that were given to particular objects as symbols of wealth.

The consumption of sumptuous ceramics in La Antigua Enseñanza may have been related with the foundation of this important religious house in Mexico City. The acquisition of these items served the purpose of ostentation and display of cultural identities and social status on behalf of the religious women that inhabited the newly founded institution. Hence, these objects may have been used to reaffirm their status in the newly attained position of the convent in the colonial scenario. By comparing these patterns with that of the vice royal palace, it may be possible to suggest changes in the perceptions towards sumptuous objects, where different cultural groups utilized them depending on their needs of ostentation and display of cultural identities.

The samples that were recovered from refuse deposits offer alternative interpretations to consumption. For example, Ming porcelain from Capuchinas was recovered in the form of semi-complete objects, for example plates, bowls and cups. This may suggest a rapid use and discard of these objects that may have responded to changes in fashion and wealth, as the consumers might not have retained these ceramics for a long time if broken or even if these were complete. This contrasts with the sample from Mina 32 where the proportion of Ming and Ch'Ing porcelain is relatively low and highly fragmented. This may suggest that the consumers kept the objects for a longer period of time and before these became completely useless and thus could be discarded.

The relatively unchanging consumption patterns of local maiolica that had been observed in the vice royal contrasts with the significant decrease in Chinese porcelain after the mid-seventeenth century, especially in comparison to that one displayed by the consumption of Ming porcelain. This information acquires further significance when considering the nunnery of la Antigua Enseñanza where there is an increase in the relative proportions of local ceramics and Chinese porcelain during the mid-seventeenth

century. The sites that displayed a relative high proportion of Oriental porcelain during the sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries decrease its proportions during later periods and this contrasts with the proportions of porcelain from Mina 32 and La Antigua Enseñanza that increased the proportions of Ch'Ing porcelain. The relatively unchanging values in the consumption of Mexican ceramics in the vice royal palace and the decrease in the proportions of Chinese porcelain towards the eighteenth century might be attributed to a change in fashions and taste of the courtiers who sought new ways to express their cultural identities and notions on social status and wealth. In this context local maiolica might have acquired a new significance amongst these cultural groups, possibly as a cultural revival or even about conservatism regarding their cultural identities.

The occurrence of *botijas* is also interesting regarding their spatial distribution. These were identified in the National Palace, Capuchinas and the nunnery of La Encarnación, and with the finding of few fragments of these at Juárez 70 and the monastery of El Carmen (Table 5.1.1.4). These variations suggest that Spanish comestibles, which were imported in *botijas* from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, were unequally distributed amongst the inhabitants of Mexico City and its surrounding areas. Most of the *botijas* found correspond to middle style shape b vessels, suggesting that the highest importation of products contained in the jars occurred during the second half of the sixteenth century to the eighteenth centuries. Moreover, the most commonly consumed measurement of comestibles, were the *botijas de una arroba* (13 litres) and *arroba y cuarto* (15 litres) for wine and olive oil. Individual shipments may be represented by the more uncommon shapes a and c middle style *botijas* of 43 and 2 litres respectively, and the flat based *botijuelas* for olive oil. The identification of different surface treatments on the *botijas* allowed for the identification of possible variations in the consumption of particular comestibles. For example, those from the National Palace correspond mostly to vessels for wine, those from Capuchinas correspond to containers for olive oil, and the ones from La Encarnación include both types. Individual innovation was observed as variations in the manufacturing process that include different glazing colours, quality of their application and manufacturing defects could be seen. These may suggest the existence of different workshops and potters, which while trying to comply with a conservative production scheme nevertheless left their personal imprint on the vessels.



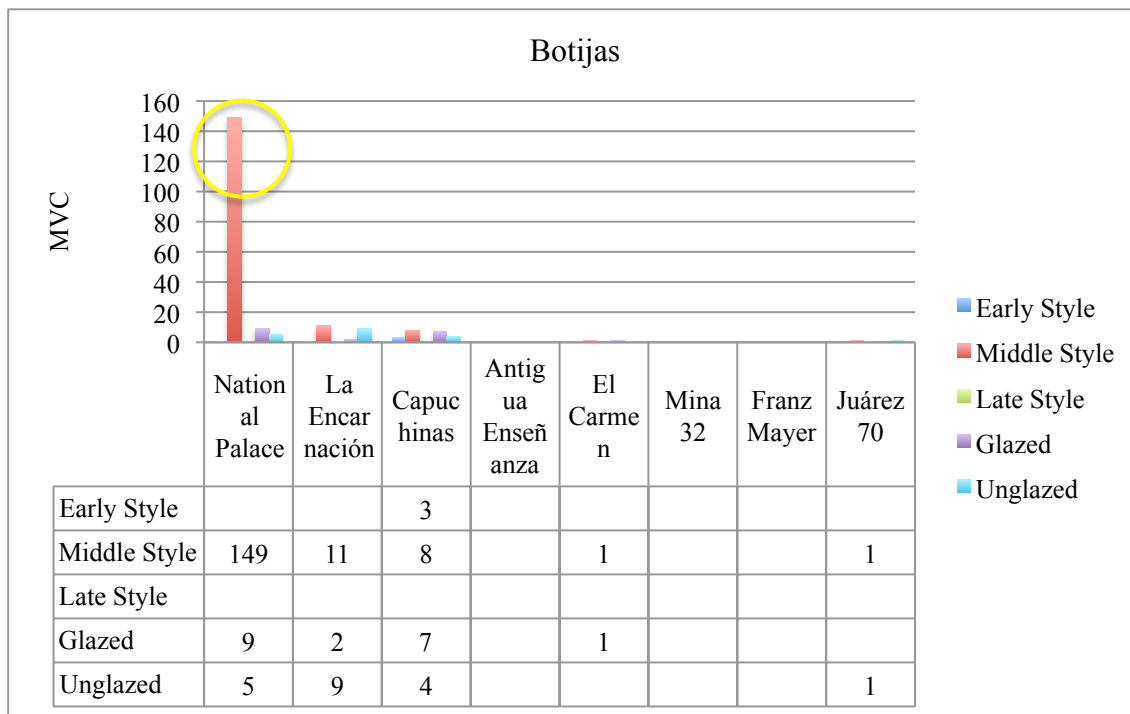


Table 5.1.1.4 Patterns of consumption of *botijas*

### 5.1.2 Expenditure in tableware

The expenditure values enabled insights into differential consumption of particular ceramics that may be significant in terms of the cultural groups and the spatial location of the sites. In general terms, the sites located inside the *traza* display the highest expenditure values for particular ceramics and vessel forms in comparison to others, and this may provide insights to differences in wealth and strategies to display cultural identities. It was possible to observe that the general proportions of ceramic wares not always parallel the expenditure values spent on these in each site. Therefore, it is necessary to include the data drawn from the expenditure values spent on particular ceramics in order to assess aspects related to wealth and social status.

The relative proportions of imported maiolica from each site parallel, in most cases the amount of *maravedíes* that were spent on these. The sites located inside the Spanish city, particularly the vice royal palace and Capuchinas, displayed the highest proportions and expenditure values of these sixteenth to early seventeenth century ceramics in comparison to other sites, and especially those located outside the city. Mina 32 displayed a relative low proportion of this tableware and a low expenditure

(Table 5.1.2.1). In the particular case of eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain, the National Palace and Capuchinas displayed some of the highest proportions of ceramics but the lowest expenditure values, even lower than in Mina 32 and La Antigua Enseñanza. In contrast, Juárez 70 displayed the highest proportion and expenditure value on Oriental ceramics (Table 5.1.2.1). On the other hand, the highest proportions and expenditure values on common grade maiolica like Mexico City Green on Cream were found in the vice royal palace. This contrasts with the values from Mina 32 because this site was regarded in this thesis as a low status site, and thus expected to have a relative high proportion and expenditure value on common grade ceramics. Other interesting data were obtained from the sample of the convent of La Encarnación. This site displayed a relative lower proportion of eighteenth century fine grade Mexican maiolica in comparison to the National Palace. However, the expenditure values were higher than in the palace suggesting the consumption of more luxurious ceramics on behalf of the religious women.

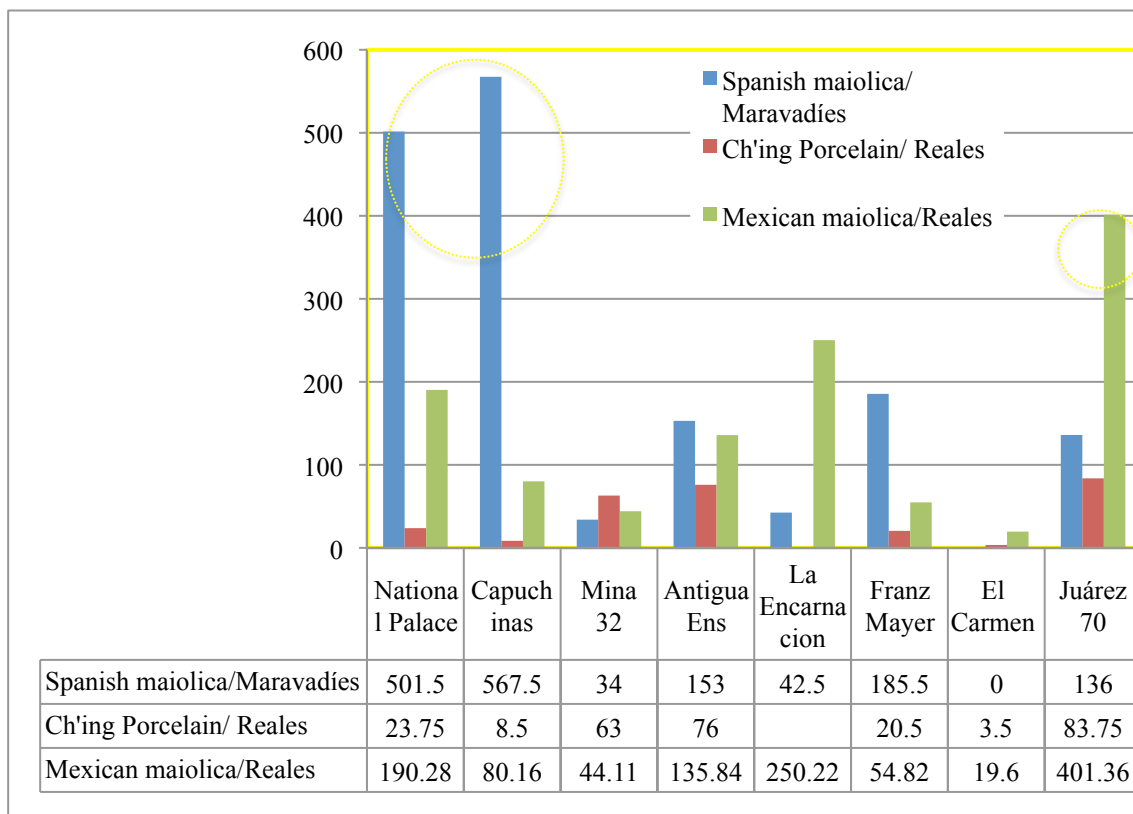


Table 5.1.2.1 Expenditure values

A second assessment of the expenditure values for particular vessel forms enabled insights into differential consumption of particular ceramics that may be significant in terms of the cultural groups and the spatial location of the sites. In general terms, the sites located inside the *traza* display the highest expenditure values for particular ceramics and vessel forms in comparison to others, and this may provide insights to differences in wealth and strategies to display cultural identities.

Further insights into the consumption of particular vessel forms and the relation to wealth and strategies of display of cultural identities were suggested by the relative amount of expensive items found in each sample, and the differential patterns of discard. In general terms, the vessel forms of Mexican maiolica pertaining to the mid-seventeenth to the nineteenth century and that were analyzed in this thesis suggest that the vice royal palace and the convent of La Encarnación display the highest expenditure values on flatware and drinking ware (Table 5.1.1.2). On the other hand, the relative proportions of discarded local maiolica suggest that, in general terms, the flatware was the most common vessel form found in secondary refuse deposits, and interestingly the drinking vessels that constituted relatively non-expensive items were the least discarded ones (see Chapter four, Tables 4.1.2.7- 4.1.2.10).

Other differences were identified in the amount of *reales* that were spent on flatware and drinking vessels of Ch'Ing porcelain finding the highest expenditure values on these in the sites of Mina 32, La Antigua Enseñanza and Juárez 70 (Table 5.1.2.3). On the other hand, cups and handless cups of Ch'Ing porcelain and seventeenth to early nineteenth century maiolica were commonly found across the sites, both inside and outside the Spanish city (Tables 5.1.2.2-5.2.1.3). This suggests that drinking vessels may have become popular amongst most consumer groups. This was probably due to their relative low cost in comparison to flatware and the put into practice of rituals that involved drinking chocolate. Despite their occurrence across the sites in Mexico City, there were differences observed in the amount spent on these items. For example, the sites of La Antigua Enseñanza, Mina 32 and Juárez 70 displayed the highest values spent on cups of Ch'Ing porcelain. These values contrast with the relatively low values that were spent on drinking vessels of maiolica. In contrast, the vice royal palace displayed a low value for those of Oriental ceramics (Table 5.1.2.3).

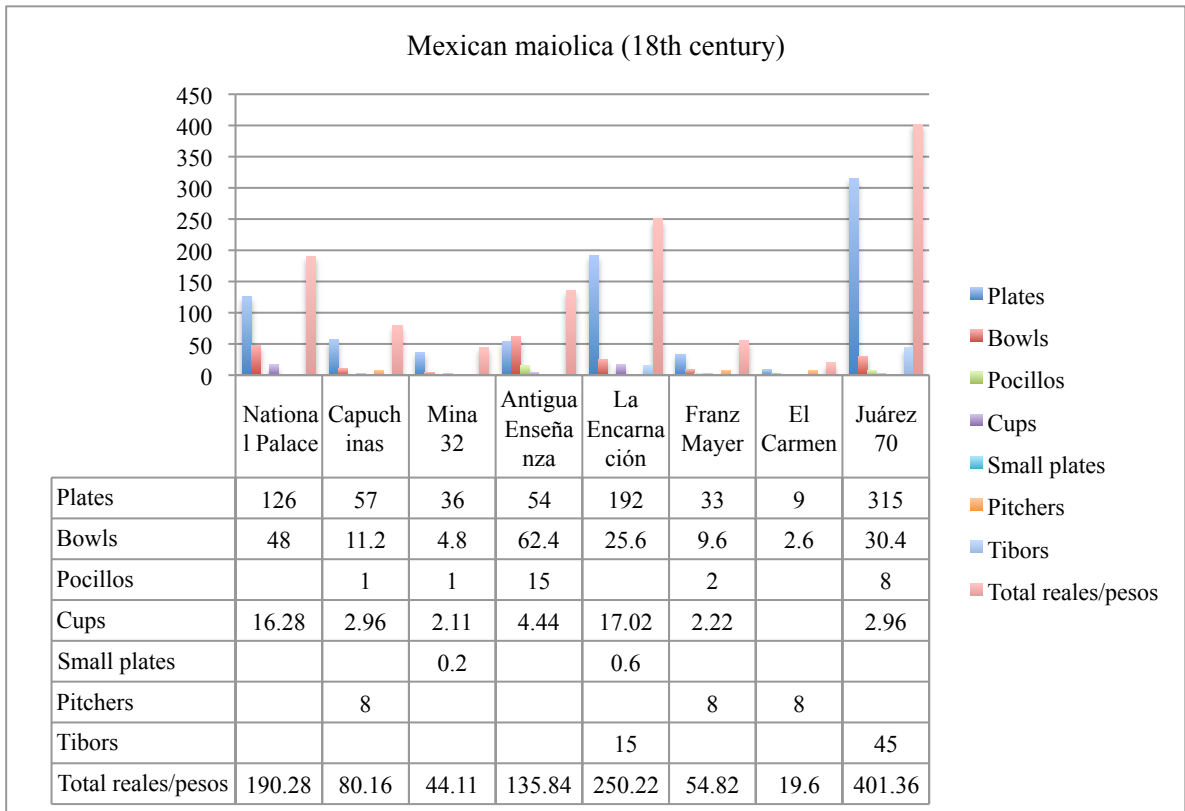


Table 5.1.2.2 Expenditure in vessel forms of Mexican maiolica

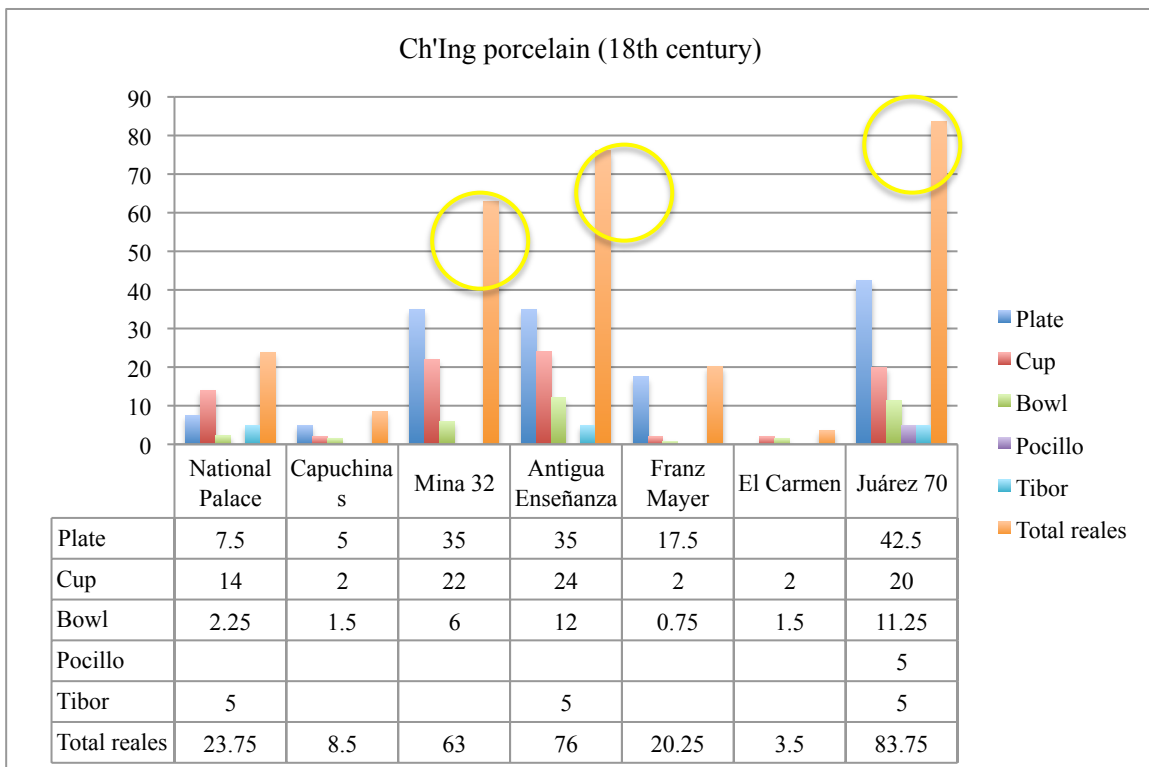


Table 5.2.1.3 Expenditure values of vessel forms of Chinese porcelain

This information acquires significance when considering the relative proportions of drinking vessels of Ming porcelain across the sites during the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The cups were more commonly identified in the vice royal palace and in Capuchinas, where a variety of sizes of these vessels were also recovered. This contrasts with the relatively low proportion of cups recovered in other sites (Table 5.2.1.4). Towards the second half of the seventeenth century, the pattern of consumption of drinking vessels changes across the sites. For example, there is an increase in the consumption of cups of Ch'Ing porcelain in Mina 32, the convent of La Antigua Enseñanza and Juárez 70 in comparison to other sites like Capuchinas (Table 5.1.2.5).

This may indicate that before the eighteenth century, ritual objects for chocolate were associated with the elites. Other interesting patterns relate to the relative proportions of discarded cups and *pocillos* in secondary refuse deposits, which suggest that in comparison with flatware, drinking ware of maiolica was less frequently discarded. This is worth considering, for drinking ware was relatively inexpensive in comparison to bowls and their low rate of discard suggests that these items were highly valued for reasons other than economic ones. This may be further explored by considering the potters' signatures on *entrefino* grade *pocillos*, and also by the find of one personal initial on a cup that was found in the convent of la Encarnación. Could this suggest that drinking vessels for chocolate were highly appreciated amongst the consumers, and that these were considered as personal effects and thus seldom disposed of? This however, requires further investigation.

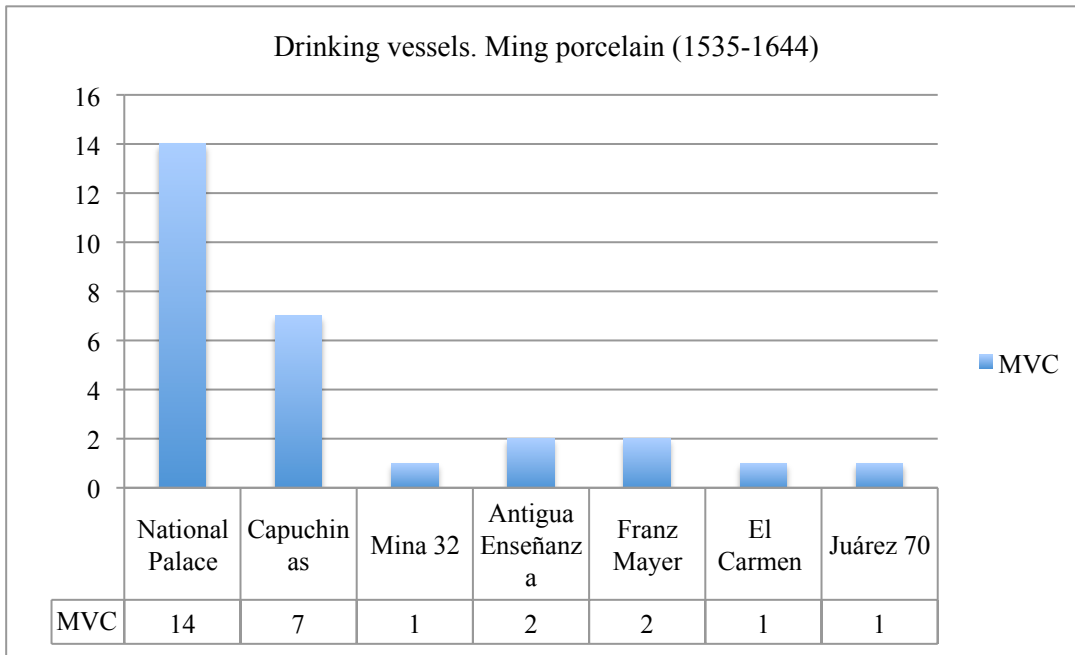


Table 5.1.2.4 Proportion of drinking vessels

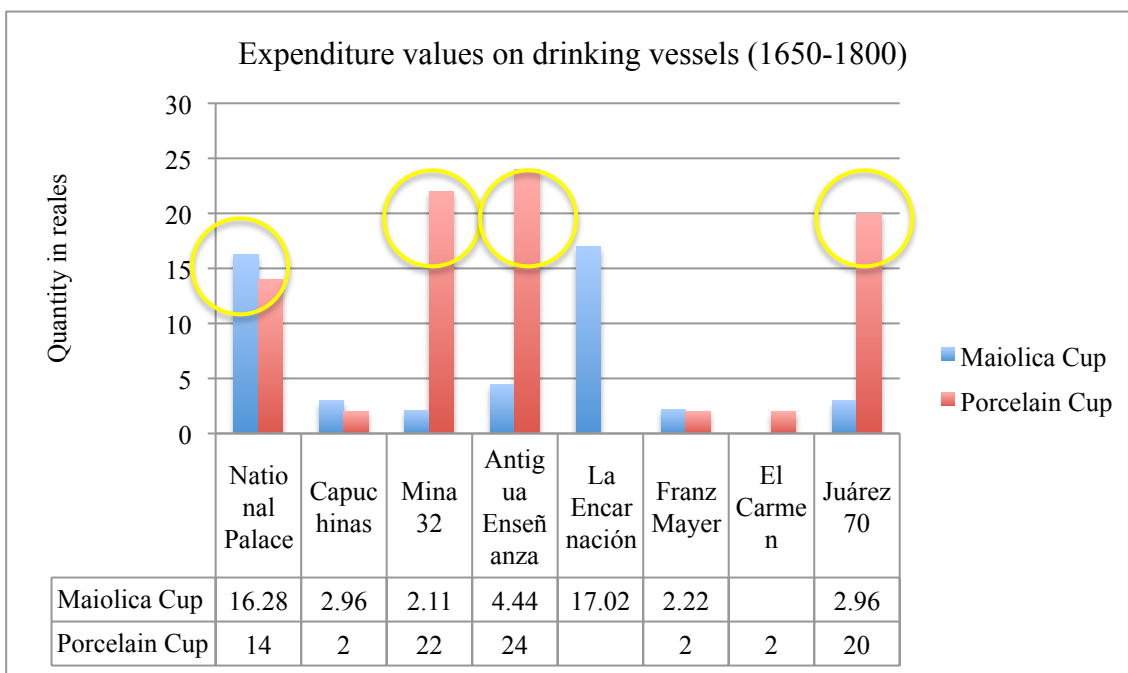


Table 5.1.2.5 Expenditure in drinking vessels of Chinese porcelain

This information may indicate changes in the attitudes exercised by the consumers to display notions on wealth, social status and notions on blood purity through the consumption of particular objects for dining that occurred from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the most expensive ceramics, as represented by imported maiolica and Ming porcelain, were found in the

sites located inside the *traza*, in the vice royal palace, Capuchinas and the convent of La Encarnación. The local maiolica pertaining to the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth century suggest that during this period, the religious houses and the Hospice for the Poor and sites outside la *traza* like Mina 32, were consuming relatively expensive ceramics. An exception to this is the monastery of El Carmen, whose expenditure values in local and imported ceramics remain low throughout the colonial period.

The appearance of drinking vessels from the second half of the seventeenth century and onwards, in the form of cups and handless cups, is particularly interesting because these suggest changes in dining and socializing rituals of the elites that involved drinking chocolate. In Mexico, until the eighteenth century chocolate was considered a luxurious product, associated with the wealthiest sectors of colonial society. It became a symbol of wealth and power (Curiel 2005; Quiróz 2005). Chocolate was accompanied with sweet bread that delighted the senses, and consumed in a hall in the viceregal house like the *estrado*. These halls were furnished with oriental tapestries, wooden and ivory mirrors, exotic ornaments, where the participants of this ritual smoked, played cards and engaged in “encrypted” conversations only known to the elites (Curiel 2005, 86-87). The sophistication found in the decoration of the cups intended for drinking chocolate suggest that these were not mere functional objects but ones that were intended for the display of social status and cultural identities. In comparison to the ceramics from previous centuries, these vessels occur in relatively higher proportions and have a wider spatial distribution, being found both inside and outside the Spanish city. This suggests that by 1750, the drinking vessels had become popular amongst the consumers in Mexico City. The popularity that these objects acquired is further suggested by the different qualities of maiolica in which they were manufactured; there are finds of both expensive and cheaper versions of these, such as in Puebla Blue on White fine and *entrefino* grade *pocillos*, and in relatively inexpensive versions of Chinese porcelain. This may have made these ritual objects more accessible to broader sectors of society. The increase in the consumption of these objects could be related with the put into practice of rituals that had once been enacted by elite members and functioned as codes of refinement and of blood purity that involved drinking chocolate. Elite members chose to consume cups of fine grade maiolica and Ming porcelain, as well as other luxury

objects such as the ‘chocolate coconuts’<sup>17</sup>, that were embellished with silver and shell mounts, as symbols of outward display (Bonta de la Plezuela 2008, 143) (Figure 5.1.2.1). These coconut cups were decorated with incised motifs of lions, flowers and hearts, similar to those identified in seventeenth and eighteenth century maiolica vessels of Abo Polychrome *e.g.* the sample from the convent of La Encarnación.



Figure 5.1.2.1. Coconut for chocolate. Image taken from Rivero Borrell *et al.* 2002

The coconut cups were apparently common amongst the elites, and dozens of these were recorded inside the cupboards of their kitchens (Curiel 2005, 102). However, these have only been reported in historical accounts (Curiel 2005) and from museum collections as those from the Franz Mayer Museum in Mexico City (Rivero Borrell *et al.* 2002, 256; 260-262). In contrast, other cultural groups may have consumed relatively inexpensive ceramic versions that allowed them perform the ritual of drinking chocolate enacted by elite members. Moreover, the proliferation of such specialized items across the sites suggests that different cultural groups in Mexico City acquired the taste for drinking chocolate. Possibly, the consumption of chocolate in these specialized objects was a strategy exercised by aspiring groups to emulate the elites and their rituals. In consequence, this would have allowed them ascribe themselves to the reduced circles of pure blood. The relatively common find of such vessels may suggest that by the eighteenth century the social boundaries between individuals with a ‘pure lineage’ and the rest of the population were not straightforward anymore.

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<sup>17</sup> Chocolate coconuts are carved coconut shells mounted in silver and were popular towards the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Rivero Borrell *et al.* 2002).



## 5.2 Decorative schemes

The identification of decorative motifs in maiolica enabled the grouping of them into different categories: 1) naturalistic which comprises two different groups, fitomorphic and zoomorphic, 2) anthropomorphic, that is female and male depictions, 3) geometrical, that includes linear and lace-like motifs commonly found in eighteenth century Puebla Polychrome, 4) religious representations, and finally 5) plain maiolica. These decorative schemes enabled the construction of a table and the correlation of each category with the ceramic complexes, traditions and styles proposed by Goggin (1968) and Lister and Lister (1978) that are based on decoration.

The decorative motifs found in Chinese porcelain were classified into four different categories that correspond to 1) fitomorphic/landscape, 2) zoomorphic, finding mammals like deer and rabbit and a variety of birds, 3) geometrical, 4) religious/mythical, and 5) anthropomorphic. These motifs will be discussed as a decorative programme in the wider context of the Chinese folding screens<sup>18</sup> that were in fashion in New Spain and used to decorate the interior spaces of affluent houses in Mexico City.

### 1) Naturalistic

#### a) *Fitomorphic*

This is the most common decorative scheme encountered in the ceramic samples across the sites during the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century in local and imported maiolica. This mode of decoration comprises motifs such as stems and leaves, palmetto, *fleur de lis* and other floral elements (Figure 5.2.1) (Tables 5.2.1-5.2.3). The decoration found in Santo Domingo Blue on White of blue



Figure 5.2.1 Fitomorphic decorative schemes on imported maiolica

<sup>18</sup> Piece of furniture consisting of decorated panels of wood that are connected with hinges

Painted motifs over a white background on large bowls and plates with thick walls falls into Goggin's Complex A and Medieval Tradition (Table 5.2.4).

A decoration of stems and leaves, lobes and flowers in blue, yellow and/or green over a white background also occurs in Mexican fine and common grade maiolica e.g. San Luis Blue on White, La Traza Polychrome, Tacuba Polychrome and Fig Springs Polychrome, Mexico City Blue on Cream and Mexico City Green on Cream (Figure 5.2.1). These sixteenth- to seventeenth-century ceramics could be classified as pertaining to the Complex D and E, and the Chinese popular tradition (Goggin 1968 see chapter 2) (Tables 5.2.3- 5.2.4).

A second group of maiolica with fitomorphic decoration comprises mid-seventeenth century and eighteenth century types such as Puebla Blue on White. This latter one could be classified under the Complex J, Eastern style/ Puebla tradition as having been largely inspired by Oriental porcelain.



Figure 5.2.2 Fitomorphic decorative motifs on Mexican maiolica

### b) Zoomorphic

The second group that was classified under the naturalistic category comprises zoomorphic representations. These were rarely identified in sixteenth-century imported maiolica, with only the finding one representation of a rabbit in a Moresque style, on a plate of Santo Domingo Blue on White from the site of Capuchinas (Figure 5.2.3). Zoomorphic motifs were more commonly identified in the maiolica from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards. Within this group of ceramics, there are two genres of zoomorphic motifs that correspond to mammals, namely rabbits as in Spanish Santo Domingo Blue on White, lions and birds such as turkeys and cranes in local maiolica from the seventeenth

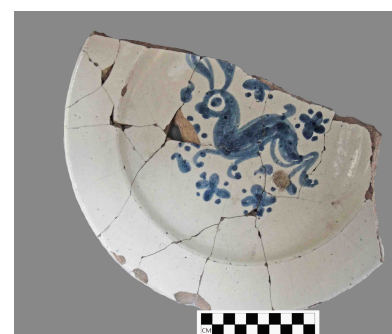


Figure 5.2.3 Plate with rabbit. Santo Domingo Blue on White

to nineteenth centuries (Figure 5.2.4). These are commonly found in fine grade ceramic types Abo Polychrome, Castillo Polychrome and San Elizario Polychrome. The highest relative proportion of zoomorphic motifs was found in the sample from the convent of La Encarnación, and having identified lesser proportions in those from Capuchinas, the National Palace, Mina 32, the convent of La Antigua Enseñanza and Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer (Table 5.2.1). These decorative motifs could be classified under Complex I, Eastern style and Complex F, Italianate style (Goggin 1968) (Table 5.2.4). These decorative motifs parallel the Complex I, and Eastern style (Goggin 1968) (Table 5.2.4). The use of birds as a decorative motif is common in local maiolica since the sixteenth century. However, it is more common in maiolica pertaining to the seventeenth century and onwards. In the type Abo Polychrome, the depictions of turkeys are very common. The use of an Italianate style or palette, incorporates decorative motifs inspired by local fauna. Goggin (1968) and Lister and Lister (1974) suggest that this style was adopted by Spanish and Mexican potters from Genoese artists and merchants. According to Lister and Lister (1974), Mexican potters adapted these European influences but seldom innovated. This could be considered accurate to a certain extent, as it is suggested by the representation of courtiers, lions and cranes, the latter ones inspired in Chinese porcelain. However, the incorporation of motifs inspired in local fauna like the turkey suggests a degree of innovation on behalf of the potters in Mexico.

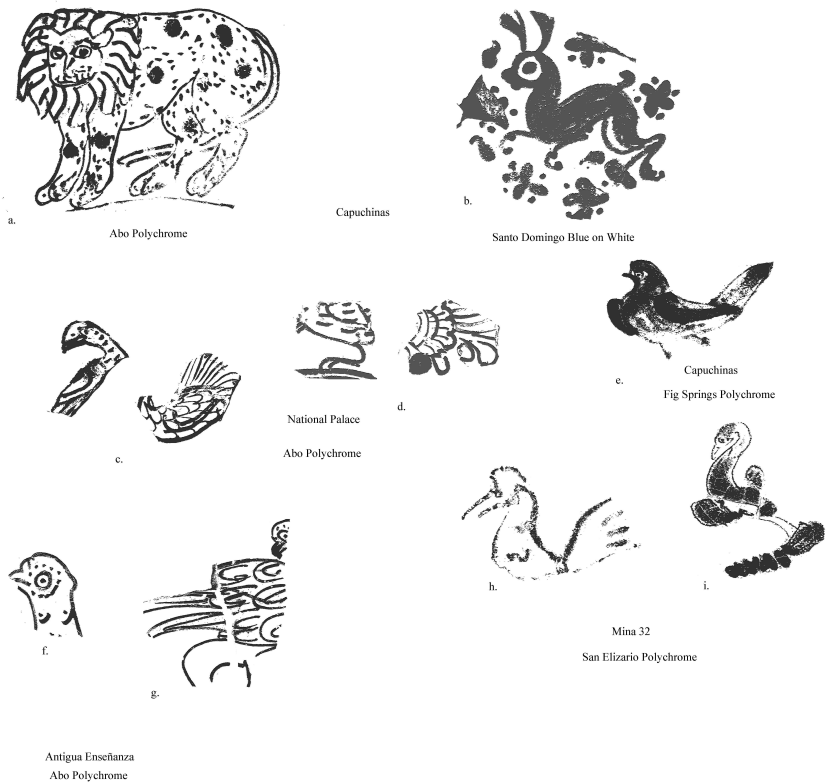


Figure 5.2.4. Zoomorphic motifs on Mexican maiolica



Figure 5.2.5. Bird. Fig Springs Polychrome



Figure 5.2.6. Birds. Abo Polychrome



Figure 5.2.7. Lion. Abo Polychrome

## 2) Anthropomorphic

The decorative scheme that incorporates anthropomorphic representations is less common than the fitomorphic one. These correspond to male and female figures that occur in ceramics belonging to the mid-seventeenth century and onwards, and are commonly found upon plates, bowls and cups of Abo Polychrome and Aranama Polychrome, and to a lesser in Puebla Polychrome (Figures 5.2.8-5.2.9). The highest relative proportions of anthropomorphic motifs were identified in the samples from La Encarnación and La Antigua Enseñanza, and Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer, and to a lesser extent in the National Palace and Capuchinas (Tables 5.2.1-5.2.2). While the depictions of male characters such as courtiers were found in the vice royal palace and in domestic sites, a depiction of a monk was identified in the sample from Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer, the Hospital of San Juan de Dios. However, it was curious to note that those of female characters were exclusively found on the sample from the convent

of La Encarnación. These correspond to depictions of maidens and undressed female figures but not of religious women (Figures 5.2.10-5-2-11) (Tables 5.2.3- 5.2.4).

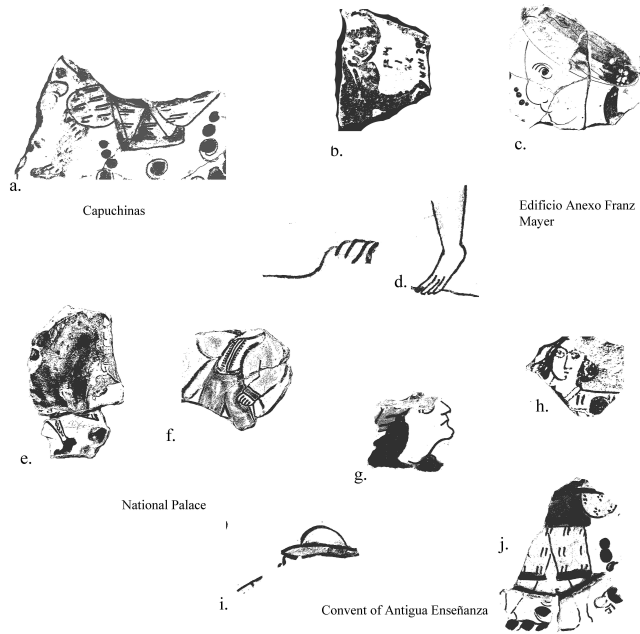


Figure 5.2.8 Anthropomorphic motifs on maiolica



Figure 5.2.9. Anthropomorphic motifs on maiolica



Figure 5.2.10. Depictions of maidens on tableware of Abo Polychrome



Figure 5.2.11. Female representation on plate of Puebla Polychrome

### 3) Geometrical

#### a) Linear

The first sub-group of the geometrical decorative scheme corresponds to those that incorporate lines, grids, star-like motifs, dashes, geometrical patterns and whirlgigs (Figure 5.2.12). These motifs mostly occur on sixteenth-century Spanish and Italian maiolica (Tables 5.2.3- 5.2.4). These motifs could be classified under the Complex A and a Medieval tradition (Goggin 1968). Linear decoration on local maiolica belonging to the mid-seventeenth century and onwards was identified in

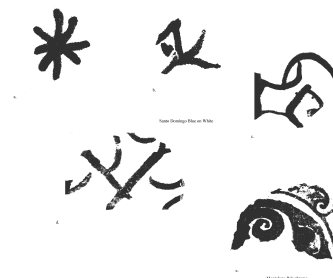


Figure 5.2.12 Geometrical motifs on imported maiolica

Huejotzingo Blue on White, Complex J (Goggin 1968), San Luis Polychrome and Santa María Polychrome.

*b) Lace-like/ Cobweb designs*

This second sub-group comprises lace-like and cobweb motifs that may incorporate spirals and scrolls, stars and other abstract designs as part of the overall pattern. The use of lace is typical of Baroque decorative arts, was highly fashionable and associated with the nobility (Appleton Stanten 1958). This will be discussed further in Chapter six. This motif was found on the exterior surface of cups and bowls and the interior surface of plates of mid-seventeenth and eighteenth century Puebla Polychrome and *Série Puntos Croixí*. While there is a basic pattern of decoration of lace-like and of cobweb designs in black and blue and sometimes purple, there are variations that suggest individualization in their manufacture. Some of the examples from the assemblage from Juárez 70 have a yellowish background which suggests the utilization of a glaze that was low in tin. In contrast, those from La Encarnación, for example, suggest a better quality and more diversification to the basic pattern of decoration (Figure 5.2.13). These employ scrolls and stars and anthropomorphic figures as central motifs and incorporate different tones of blue. This may suggest that different tablesets were manufactured upon request or by different workshops. Goggin considered this ceramic type and mode of decoration within Complex G and H, and reminiscent of an earlier Moorish decorative tradition (Goggin 1968) (Table 5.2.3- 5.2.4).





Figure 5.2.13 Laces and cobweb designs

#### 4) Religious, spiritual and mythical

The decorative schemes that incorporate imagery derived from Christianity and Western mythology are less frequent than the naturalistic depictions (Table 5.2.1). These were more commonly identified in Italian Faenza Polychrome Compendario, and in local Abo Polychrome, Castillo Polychrome and Puebla Polychrome in the samples from Capuchinas and La Encarnación. The religious motifs correspond to a *putto* on a lid of Italian maiolica, cherubs and winged hearts on the exterior surface of cups and bowls, and a representation of Cupid with a bow and arrow on a plate from La Encarnación, and that of an archangel on the interior surface of a plate from Capuchinas (Figure 5.2.14; Table 5.2.2). The variation of the motifs encountered across the samples is high and this suggests a high degree of individualization and that these items could have been manufactured under special request and to satisfy the needs of particular consumers. The possible uses given to such imagery will be discussed in Chapter six, in relation with devotional practices of religious women.



Figure 5.2.14 Religious and mythical motifs

### 5) Plain maiolica

Undecorated maiolica comprises sixteenth-century fine grade Spanish maiolica and Mexican fine and common grade one from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century. The taste for white maiolica can be traced back to the fifteenth century and according to Goggin (1968, 207-8), it is part of a Spanish-Medieval



Figure 5.2.15. Plain Spanish maiolica

tradition that continued until the early nineteenth century in New Spain. Undecorated examples of Spanish ceramics include Columbia Plain and Columbia Plain Gunmetal, and fine grade Sevilla White (Figure 5.2.15). These could be classified under the Medieval ceramic tradition (Goggin 1968) (Tables 5.2.3- 5.2.4). Plain white Mexican ceramics comprise Mexico City White Variety 1 and 2, Tlalpan White, and Puebla White and are common in the analyzed samples of this thesis (Figure 5.2.16). The differences encountered between the different types of plain maiolica relate to their surface treatment, the glazing colour and quality.

Spanish Columbia Plain Gunmetal is an interesting example. Its surface treatment provides the vessel with a metallic appearance. However, it is unclear if this could be the result of post-depositional processes or an intentional treatment that allowed these

ceramics to immitate the appearance of pewter (Figure 5.2.15). In Mexican maiolica, fine grade types have a glossier and whiter surface appearance that differs from the yellowish and low tin glazing of common grade ones (Figure 5.2.16). The highest proportion of undecorated ceramics were identified in the sample from the National Palace, with finds in lesser proportions in all the other samples. Finally, it seems as if there was a preference for undecorated clean maiolica vessels for they were manufactured since the sixteenth century in Mexico.



Figure 5.2.16 Plain white Mexican maiolica

The decoration found in maiolica can be classified in four major groups. The first one is characterized by the use of large white surfaces and naturalistic motifs painted in blue. These include leaves, acanthus and floral motifs and to a lesser extent, zoomorphic ones such as rabbits and birds. It is constituted by Spanish, Italian and local ceramics that range from the sixteenth to the early seventeenth century and can be part of a Medieval tradition. Also, white undecorated surfaces are commonly found in maiolica tableware from those centuries. This may suggest sobriety in the decoration that privileged medieval traditions, and that lasted until the nineteenth century. Montelupo ceramics differ from this trend in that they incorporate a more colourful palette and geometrical designs. A second group is also derived from a Medieval-Islamic tradition and incorporates a green decoration in common grade maiolica. The use of green but in a different fashion is observed also in maiolica from the late eighteenth and nineteenth century as in San Luis Polychrome and Santa María Polychrome.

The third group is comprised by maiolica from the mid-seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries and it is characterized by the use of a colourful palette, black and a lace-like decoration that incorporates zoomorphic, anthropomorphic and religious motifs. The decoration found in this group of ceramics can be considered a Baroque expression and includes ceramic types Abo Polychrome, Aranama Polychrome, Puebla Polychrome and Castillo Polychrome. The fourth group is comprised by decoration inspired by Chinese porcelain and Baroque aesthetical ideals such as San Luis Blue on White and eighteenth to nineteenth century Puebla Blue on White and San Elizario Polychrome.

The decorative schemes found on maiolica from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries expresses a sense of decorum that were inspired by a Medieval-Spanish tradition. These could speak about a cultural identity of the potters and the consumers that was deeply imbued by Spain. By the second half of the seventeenth century, novel fashions were introduced and an explosion of colour and laces replaced the medieval-style one. These decorative schemes incorporate a range of elements that are not commonly found in ceramics from previous centuries, particularly anthropomorphic representations. The utilization of these novel decorative schemes may have been inspired by Spanish-Baroque and Italian visual arts. However, their appearance during the seventeenth century is significant if considered within the context of the creation of guild ordinances for potters of maiolica of Mexico City and Puebla. The creation of guild ordinances may have been significant in terms of the construction of a regional identity that was expressed through the placement of signatures in uniquely decorated vessels. This will be further discussed in section 5.3 in this same chapter. And, while the use of decorative programmes and imagery from the Old World was widely utilized, the incorporation of local elements, like the turkey, resulted in a unique regional and artistic expression.

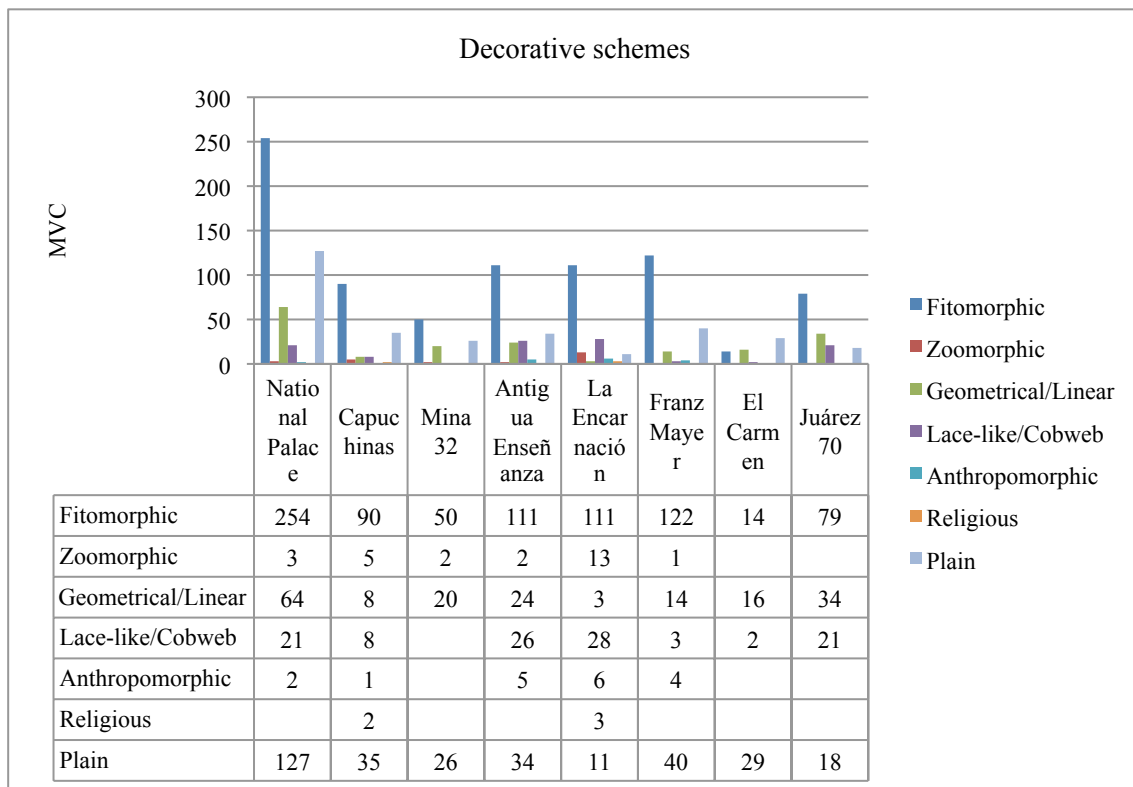


Table 5.2.1 Decorative schemes

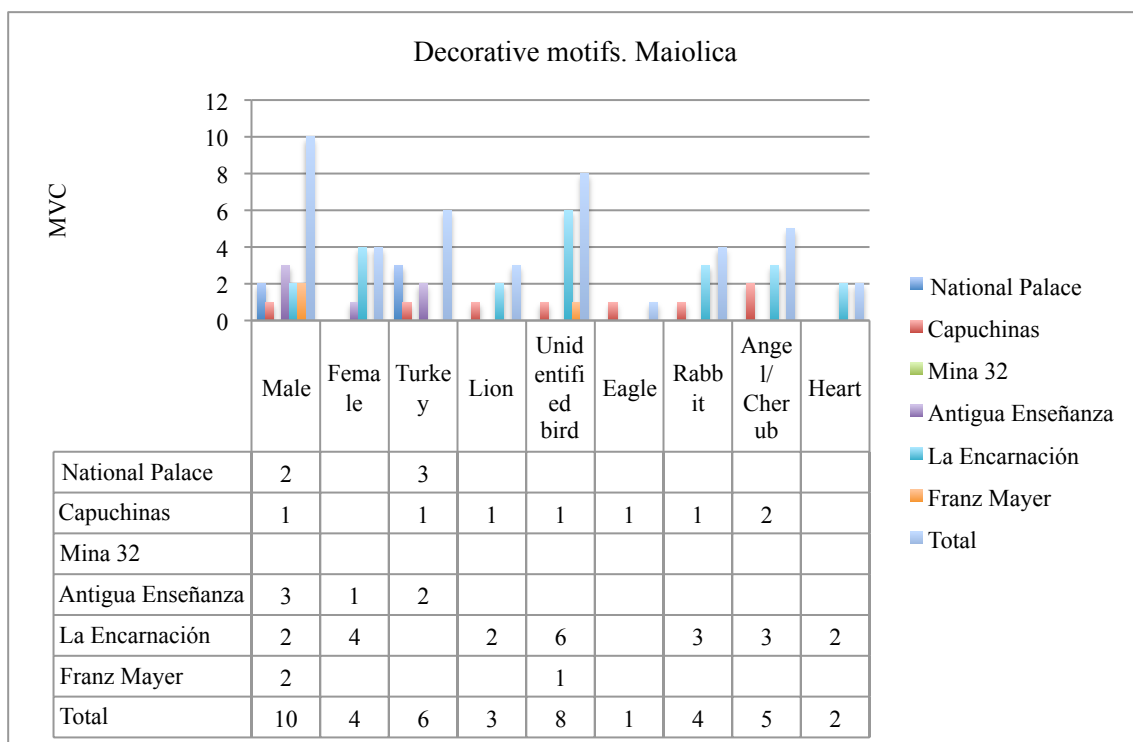


Table 5.2.2 Decorative schemes on maiolica

Decorative scheme/ Period	Maiolica types
<i>a) Fitomorphic</i>	
1500-1550	<i>Santo Domingo Blue on White</i>
	<i>Fig Springs Polychrome, La Traza Polychrome, Tacuba Polychrome, Mexico City Blue on Cream, Mexico City Green on Cream, San Luis Blue on White</i>
1650-1800	<i>Abo Polychrome, Puebla Polychrome, Puebla Blue on White</i>
<i>b) Zoomorphic</i>	
1500-1550	<i>Santo Domingo Blue on White</i>
1650-1800	<i>Abo Polychrome, Castillo Polychrome, Puebla Polychrome, Série Puntos Croixí</i>
<i>c) Anthropomorphic</i>	
1650-1800	<i>Abo Polychrome, Aranama Polychrome, Puebla Polychrome</i>
<i>d) Geometrical</i>	
<i>Linear</i>	
1500-1550	<i>Yayal Blue on White, Santo Domingo Blue on White, Montelupo Polychrome, San Luis Polychrome, Santa María Polychrome</i>
<i>Lace-like/ Cob-web</i>	
1700-1800	<i>Puebla Polychrome, Série Puntos Croixí</i>
<i>e) Religious</i>	
1500-1550	<i>Faenza Polychrome Compendario</i>
1650	<i>Abo Polychrome</i>
1700-1800	<i>Puebla Polychrome</i>
<i>f) Plain</i>	
1500-1600	<i>Columbia Plain, Columbia Plain Gunmetal, Sevilla White</i>
1550-1650	<i>Mexico City White Variety 1, Mexico City White Variety 2, Tlalpan White</i>
1700-1800	<i>Puebla White</i>

Table 5.2.3 Decorative schemes and maiolica types

Decorative scheme				
<b>Naturalistic</b>				
	<i>Complex A/ Medieval tradition</i>	<i>Complex D</i>	<i>Complex E/ Chinese- popular tradition</i>	<i>Complex J/ Eastern style/ Puebla tradition</i>
Fitomorphic	Santo Domingo Blue on White	Fig Springs Polychrome	San Luis Blue on White, San Luis Polychrome,	Puebla Blue on White  Huejotzingo

			Tacuba Polychrome*	Blue on White
Zoomorphic	<i>Complex I/ Eastern style/</i>	<i>Complex F/ Italianate style/ Italian Talaveran tradition</i>	<i>Eastern style</i>	
	Puaray Polychrome, Castillo Polychrome, San Agustín Polychrome	Abo Polychrome, Aranama Polychrome	San Elizario Polychrome	
<b>Anthropomorphic</b>	<i>Complex F/ Italianate style/ Italian Talaveran tradition</i>	<i>Complex H/Spanish Portuguese style</i>		
Female/ Male	Abo Polychrome	Puebla Polychrome		
Male	Aranama Polychrome			
<b>Geometric/ Linear</b>				
<b>Lace-like/ Cobweb</b>				
	<i>Complex H/Spanish Portuguese style</i>	<i>Complex J</i>	<i>Complex A/ Medieval tradition</i>	
	Puebla Polychrome	Huejotzingo Blue on White	Yayal Blue on White	
<b>Plain white</b>	<i>Medieval tradition</i>			
	Columbia Plain, Columbia Plain Gunmetal, Santo Domingo Blue on White	Mexico City White V1 and 2, Puebla White		

Table 5.2.4 Decorative schemes and maiolica types

*Chinese porcelain*

1) Fitomorphic/ Landscape

This decorative scheme comprises floral representations of lotus and cherry flowers or peonies. These were commonly identified in under glazed blue paint over white, and over glazed red and gold, green and pink of Wanli, Ming Polychrome Overglaze, Imari and Dehua porcelain, Famille Rose and Famille Verte (Figures 5.2.17-5.2.18). Alongside the fitomorphic representations, the landscape scenes are relatively common particularly in Kraak porcelain from the Ming dynasty, appearing as central medallions and rims on plates and the exterior surface of bowls. These were also identified on bowls of Ch'Ing Blue on White. These compositions generally incorporate deer surrounded by pine trees and bamboo, and stones, clouds and pagodas (Figures 5.2.17-5.2.18). Fitomorphic and landscape depictions are the most common decorative schemes encountered across the sites, with finds in relatively high proportions in the vice royal palace, Capuchinas, La Antigua Enseñanza and Mina 32 (Tables 4.4.5-4.4.6).

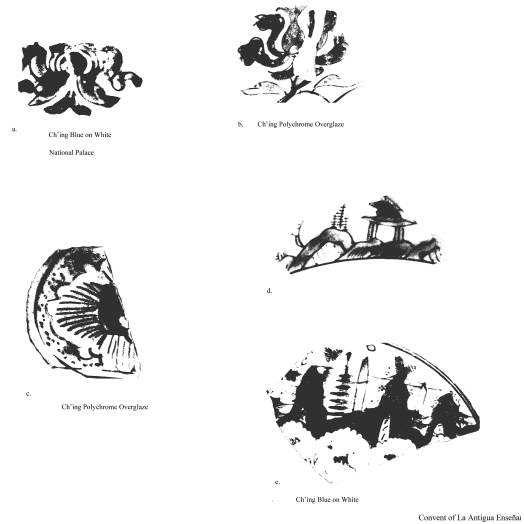


Figure 5.2.17 Landscape and fitomorphic motifs on Chinese porcelain



Figure 5.2.18 Fitomorphic motifs on Chinese porcelain



## 2) Zoomorphic

The representations of animals are the second most common decorative motifs that were identified in Ming and Ch'Ing porcelain samples across the sites (Table 5.2.6).

Zoomorphic representations comprise deer, birds, ducks and cranes (Figure 5.2.19).

These motifs were commonly encountered on the exterior and interior surface of cups and small cups, and bowls of Kraak and Ming Blue on White porcelain mainly from the site of Capuchinas. Other motifs include horses, rabbits, rats and fish (Figure 5.2.18).

The highest proportion of zoomorphic motifs was identified in the sample from Capuchinas, finding a variety of birds and deer (Tables 5.2.5-5.2.6).



Figure 5.2.19 Zoomorphic motifs on Chinese porcelain

## 3) Geometric

Geometric motifs are less common than zoomorphic and zoomorphic ones (Table 5.2.5). These generally comprise 'diaper' and crosshatch designs on Ch'Ing Blue on White porcelain. Other abstract motifs such as scrolls and lines are commonly found as



Figure 5.2.20 Geometrical motifs on Chinese porcelain

central medallions of plates and bowls and on the exterior surfaces of bowls in Ch'Ing Blue on White and Kang'Xi porcelain types (Figure 5.2.20). The highest proportion of Oriental ceramics decorated with geometrical/abstract motif was identified in La Antigua Enseñanza and the National Palace (Tables 5.2.5-5.2.6).

#### 4) Religious/mythical

The decorative scheme that incorporates religious/mythical motifs is scarce in comparison to floral and faunal representations and was identified in the sites of Capuchinas, Antigua Enseñanza, the National Palace and Mina 32 (Tables 5.2.5-5.2.6). These motifs correspond to the representation of winged dragons in Ming-Ch'Ing Blue on White and Ch'Ing Blue on White porcelain, and found on the exterior surfaces of a bowl and a tibur lid from the National Palace (Figure 5.2.21). The dragon is generally associated with imperial authority (Bjaaland 2010). Other motifs comprise the eternal-knot or kite-like symbols, and are commonly found over the rims of plates of Ming Blue on White and Ch'Ing Blue on White porcelain.

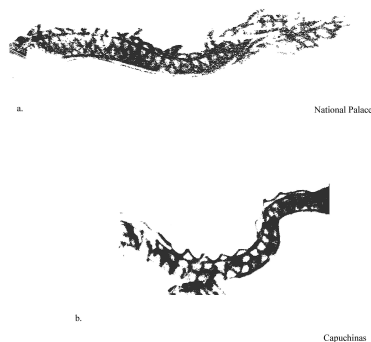


Figure 5.2.21 Dragon motifs

#### 5) Anthropomorphic

This decorative scheme was identified in two vessels of Ch'Ing porcelain. The first motif corresponds to a hand on the exterior surface of a fragmented bowl from the National Palace. The second anthropomorphic motif was identified on the interior surface of a plate from the convent of La Antigua Enseñanza (Tables 5.2.4-5.2.5). This is the representation of a seated figure in a landscape scene (Figure 5.2.22).

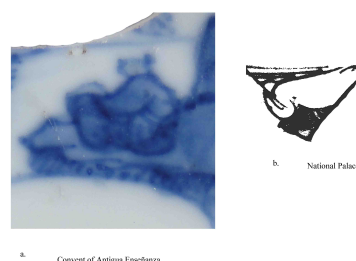


Figure 5.2.22 Anthropomorphic motifs on Chinese porcelain

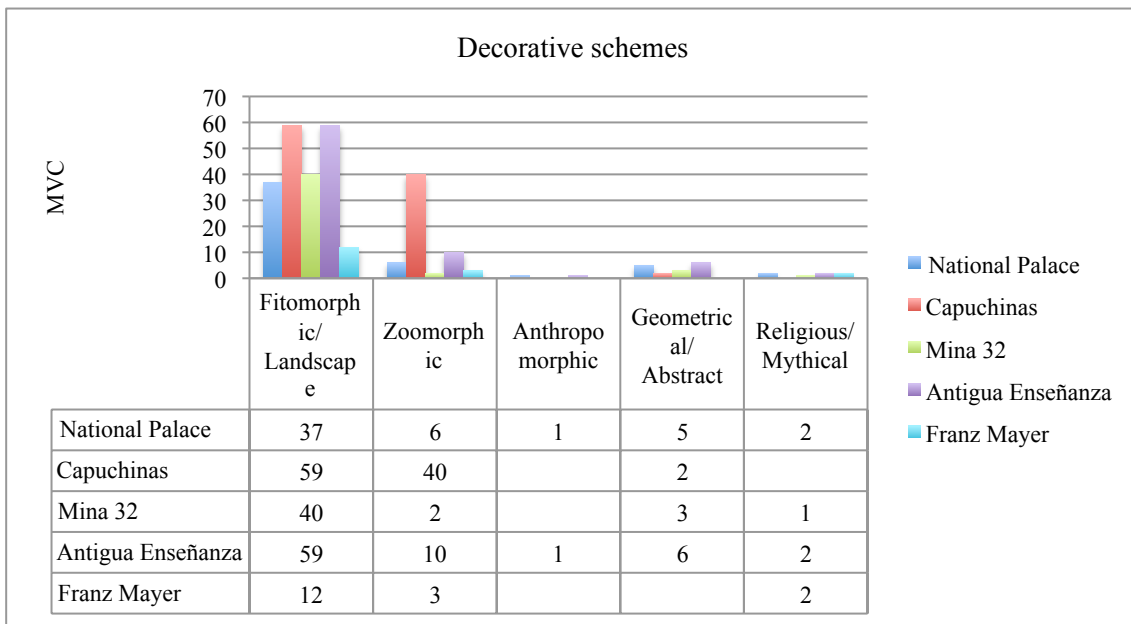


Table 5.2.5 Decorative schemes on Chinese porcelain

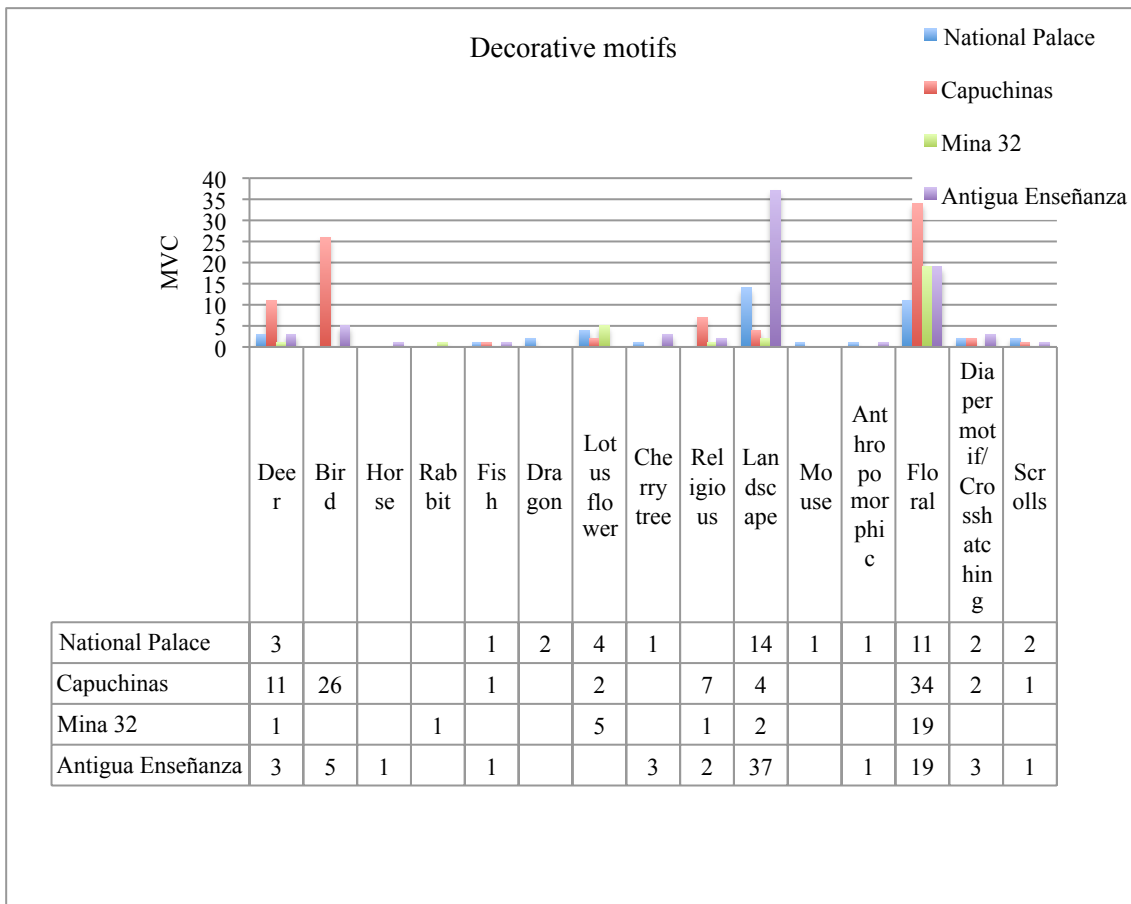


Table 5.2.6 Decorative schemes on Chinese porcelain

### 5.3 Potters' signatures, personal and communitarian inscriptions in maiolica as expressions of blood purity and cultural identities

#### 5.3.1 Potters' signatures

An interesting aspect of mid-seventeenth to eighteenth century maiolica is the presence of potters' marks. These intriguing features correspond to the signature of potters or workshops. These are more commonly found on the bases, walls and bottom surfaces of a range of vessel shapes of fine grade maiolica types. Nevertheless, also *entrefino* or medium quality vessels sometimes bear such an



Figure 5.3.1.1 Potters' signatures

insignia. The marks were generally identified on the base and sometimes on the inner surface of plates, bowls and *pocillos* of maiolica that was presumably manufactured in the city of Puebla (Figures 5.3.1.1-5.3.1.3). The identification of such signatures enabled an overview of their variety and their correspondence with the different ceramic types. This allowed for the exploration of their potential as indicators of quality, both of wealth and of blood purity. Moreover, these marks enabled the identification of different workshops and the possible meanings for their appearance during this period. Additional information, that aided in the construction of a wider narrative of the production of such marks, was obtained from the guild ordinances of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries regarding potters' marks (Castillo 2007; Cervantes 1939) and from the work by Lister and Lister (1984) on the colonial potters' quarter of the city of Puebla. Other inscriptions that were identified within the maiolica samples relate to the inscriptions of religious orders. These were also considered as potential sources that would enable insights to aspects related with the construction and display of cultural identities to be obtained.



Figure 5.3.1.2 Potters' signatures

The highest proportion of potters' marks were identified in the samples from the convents of La Encarnación and La Antigua Enseñanza, with lesser numbers from the vice royal palace, Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer, the monastery of El Carmen and Juárez 70 (Table 5.3.1.1). There were a total of 46 identifiable marks, 41 of which were found in fine grade types, one *entrefino* and one in common grade maiolica (Table 5.3.1.2, Figures 5.3.1.2- 5.3.1.3). These generally occur on the base of plates but sometimes were identified on the interior and visible surface of plates,



Figure 5.3.1.3 Potter's signature

bowls and drinking vessels. This suggests that in some cases the marks were meant to be noticed in accordance to the Ordinances. The marks suggest the existence of at least 17 different workshops that manufactured the ceramic types Abo Polychrome, Puebla Polychrome, San Luis Polychrome, Huejotzingo Blue on White, Aranama Polychrome and Puebla Blue on White fine and *entrefino* grades, and Mexico City White Variety 1. Some workshops were clearly manufacturing several different ceramic types, such as Aranama Polychrome and Puebla Blue on White. One workshop was related to the manufacture of Huejotzingo Blue on White, at least thirteen different signatures were identified with Puebla

Polychrome, three with Abo Polychrome of which all the examples were decorated with an anthropomorphic motif, one with San Luis Polychrome and one with Puebla Blue on White, the same mark was also identified with Aranama Polychrome. The information in Tables 5.3.1.1, 5.3.1.2 and 5.3.1.3 show the spatial distribution of the marks of the potters and their occurrence in particular maiolica types. It seems as if these workshops distributed maiolica vessels that had been presumably manufactured in Puebla to different sites in Mexico City.

It appears that the maiolica industry was established in Mexico City around 1540 (Gámez Martínez 2003, 231), and after 1589 in the city of Puebla (Lister and Lister 1984). During the seventeenth century the industry grew as a response to an increase in the population and economic revenues. The potteries were located outside the cities and near a water supply as in the city of Puebla (Lister and Lister 1984). In Mexico City, archaeological findings uncovered the remains of a kiln, sinks, tiles, bisqueware and cockspurs in the barrio of Santa María Cuepopan, outside the *traza*. This barrio is in the same area where the former Hospital of San Juan de Dios was located (see Figure 3.1.1.1). It is curious to note that some of the maiolica vessels that were recovered at the kiln site had the painted initials H.d.S.J.d.D. as in *Hospital de San Juan de Dios*. As it will be observed in the next section of this chapter, some of the bowls in the sample from Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer had the same inscriptions. Alongside these vessels, others with “marks” were also recovered at the pottery site in Cuepopan (Gámez Martínez 2003, 237). However, the author does not specify if these were hospital inscriptions or potters’ signatures, an information that will require further examination. Other material remains of possible potteries were uncovered in the convent of Churubusco, to the south of Mexico City and in the street of República del Salvador and Calle de Talavera in the historical centre (Gámez Martínez 2003, 237). However, an examination of the field reports and material culture recovered at these sites is required in order to corroborate this information.

The location of the potteries on the outskirts of the cities can be explained in terms of the risk imposed by the furnaces and the proximity to water supplies, essential for the production of ceramics. However, the allocation of workshops outside the cities also attended to darker motifs that influenced the way in which potters were perceived by Hispanic society. As it was observed in Chapter one, during the fifteenth and sixteenth

centuries, Spaniards considered potters as with a tainted lineage because they engaged in a “vile” and mechanical occupation like the pottery craft (Martínez 2008, 244). Potteries were located in lands that were only suitable for burial. Potters were unclean from handling moist clay, and inhabited in damp places that made them melancholic, pale, ill and cacectic, and trembled as a result of lead poisoning (Lister and Lister 1987, 275-279).

The social position of the potters changed towards the seventeenth century through the establishment of guild ordinances. In Spain, the ordinances for many trades implied the probation of blood purity on behalf of guild members and by the sixteenth century, the potters’ guild of maiolica was established in the Peninsula. Deagan (1987) has reported the occurrence of incised letters on Spanish vessels that were recovered at colonial sites in the Caribbean. This could indicate that the marking of vessels in Spain was a response to the creation of guild ordinances, a practice that was adopted by potters in the New World. In New Spain, the guild ordinances forbade non-Christians, native individuals and especially persons of African descent from attaining the rank of potter master. The guild ordinances of 1652 and 1721 from the city of Puebla, and those of 1681 and 1777 from Mexico City for the potters of maiolica, forbade blacks, mulattoes and persons of “disturbed colour” to be ordained in the industry (Castillo 2007; Lister and Lister 1987, 291). In 1681, revisions made to earlier guild ordinances allowed ‘racial mixtures’ or *casta* members to participate at almost all levels of the industry except the position of Master or Inspector that remained in the hands of Old Christians with an untainted blood (Lister and Lister 1987 269-272). This is how the doctrine of blood purity permeated the maiolica industry in Spain and New Spain. Moreover, the above-mentioned ordinances from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries specifically stated that *the vessels were to be marked* as an expression of an approved and ordained master and to avoid “forgeries” (Lister and Lister 1987, 291).

The guild ordinances of 1653 state that vessels and tiles had to be marked with signs, letters, initials or names that were generally painted on the posterior part of these, or over the decorated surface of the tiles (Cervantes 1939, 71). This was specifically stipulated in the ordinances of 1659. In the seventh and eight clauses marks were used as mechanisms to demonstrate that the potters had been ordained and thus prevented frauds (Castro 1989, 105). New chapters that were added to these ordinances in 1721

mention that all the ceramic items manufactured in the city of Puebla ought to be marked with the 'known sign' of each master potter (Cervantes 1939, 71). However, during certain periods, the vessels were not marked and this has been suggested by Cervantes (1939, 72) to be the result of differences amongst the guild members, competence or other 'unknown factors'. This could also be due to the fact that by the early seventeenth century, many potters produced their own earthenware in small workshops where the artisans were mainly natives and people of African descent, mostly slaves. Despite this, since the sixteenth century, there were Spanish potters from Talavera de la Reina, Seville, Cadiz, Barcelona, and Portugal working in the maiolica industry in Puebla but by the eighteenth century, no Spanish potters were registered assuming that most of them were creoles (Castro 1989, 104). Therefore, the placement of marks or signatures on the pottery may have stood as a mechanism of reaffirming the cultural identities of Spanish descendants in order to prevent other non-ordained masters that incorporated non-Spaniards in the production. Some of the potters' names from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from the city of Puebla are known, and include the following: Diego Salvador Carreto, Nicolás de Zayas, Roque de Talavera, Juan Rodríguez de Talavera, Juan Barranco, Alonso Sevillano, Ildefonso Alfaro, Juan Cabezas, Antonio de Espejo, Diego de Santa Cruz de Oyanguren y Espíndola and the Buitargo family (Lister and Lister 1984, 88-92). Could the marks found on maiolica be the initials of their names?

The marks that had been identified in the analyzed ceramic samples of this thesis, are comparable to those reported by Gómez Serafín and Fernández Dávila (2007, 231-235), that have been recovered from the excavations at the monastery of Santo Domingo in Oaxaca, former Antequera. They report a total of 25 different identifiable marks on local maiolica types, both fine and *entrefino* grade from the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These appear on plates, cups and bowls of Puebla Blue on White, Aranama Polychrome, of Abo Polychrome, Puebla Polychrome and Elizario Polychrome. Some of these marks correspond to the letters A and F. Others correspond to the letters T, R, B, G, N and M, La and P (Gómez Serafín and Fernández Dávila 2007, 231-235).

The comparison between the marks from Mexico City and Oaxaca, enabled identify similarities in the letters F and A and non-identified symbols on the type Puebla



Polychrome and Puebla Blue on White (Gómez Serafin and Fernández Dávila 2007, 232-234). This suggests that the same master potters or workshops manufactured different types of tableware. Other marks however were not identified in the samples from Mexico City. This could mean that there were different channels of maiolica distribution. Moreover, that the variations in the marks encountered across the sites and geographical regions attended to special requests that were petitioned to the different workshops that depended on taste and the need express cultural identities.

The data obtained from the comparative analysis of the signatures suggest that from the mid-seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century, there were at least 70 different maiolica workshops functioning in colonial Mexico from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries (Figure 5.3.1.4). Secondly, that the workshops that manufactured maiolica during that period were distributing it to Mexico City and other areas of the viceroyalty like Oaxaca. Moreover, that the relative high degree of variation encountered in the marks and the appearance of the same signature on different maiolica types that share decorative traits and that can be identified as pertaining to the same ceramic type, may suggest the following: that the distribution of maiolica constituted a complex system where various workshops supplied different geographical regions and sites. Second, maiolica production was held under a strict control that promoted the standardization of vessel forms and modes of decoration. The homogenization in the taste and mentalities of the consumers was expressed through the consumption of similar maiolica table sets that translate in the existing similar ceramic types that are encountered across the sites and geographical regions. However, there were exceptions to this that may be observed in the existence of 'unique' designs and vessel forms that were observed in the sample from Capuchinas and the convent of La Encarnación. These may correspond to individual requests that respond to differences in wealth, the need express distinctive cultural identities and may also stand as symbols of distinction.

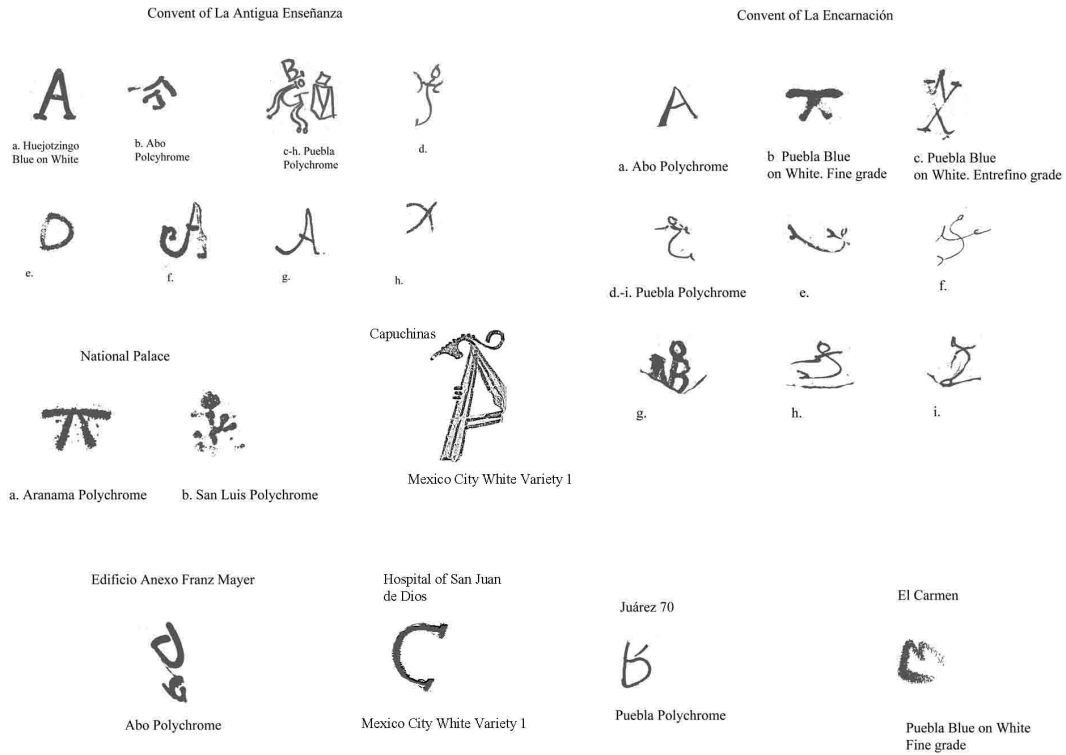


Figure 5.3.1.4 Potters' signatures from the ceramic samples

The presence of marks may relate to a high degree of competence amongst the potters who sought to compel to the guild ordinances and express their artistry and prestige to the manufacture of special requests. However, the relative low proportion of signatures within the samples may reflect the value given to 'marked' objects that were seldom disposed of for these embodied notions on wealth and blood purity. Moreover, the high proportion of unmarked objects opens the possibility of the existence of non-ordained potters whom nevertheless supplied the consumers with imitations of the maiolica that was produced by ordained masters. Finally, the marks appear in the context of the re-establishment of the strictures that prohibited non-white Christians from becoming maiolica masters and therefore, these marks may have embodied notions on blood purity.

The continuous amendments to the ordinances suggest on the one hand that these were frequently broken. On the other hand, that there was an anxiety exercised by the potters and the consumers, to emphasize the boundaries between individuals with an untainted lineage from those who had 'tainted blood', through the use of material culture. This

further suggests a 'revival' or possibly a need to reshape the cultural identities of elite groups in New Spain during the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which might have resulted from the breakage or transgression of the former order of society by aspiring groups. The marks may have served the purpose of distinguishing the maiolica produced by ordained potter masters, and thus with a pure lineage, from forgeries. The result of this might have impacted both the producers and consumers, as objects of desire that embodied notions on blood purity. The relationship between the appearance of potters' marks and the transgression of cultural and social boundaries by non-elite groups through the consumption of maiolica is best exemplified by the following event: A protest on behalf of ordained potters against another who had not been examined according to the ordinances and who nevertheless produced and sold maiolica (Cervantes 1939, 51-52).

In general terms, the decoration in maiolica follow a common pattern with subtle variations. The apparent homogenization of the mode of decoration could have been due on the one hand, because of the regulations imposed by the guild ordinances. These were strict about the designs, patterns and colours that ought to be used in different qualities or grades of maiolica *e.g.* blue for fine and green for common grade one (see Chapter five, section 5.1). The manufacture of similar designs by different workshops attended to a homogeneous sense of taste on behalf of the consumers for orientalisated, Moresque or Italianate designs as in Puebla Blue on White, Puebla Polychrome and Abo Polychrome respectively. Conversely, the variability observed within each tableset might be the expression of having been produced by different workshops. Within this context, the marks acquire further significance if these can be related with different modes of decoration it may allow identify or distinguish the production from each workshop.

It could be argued that the potters' signatures are more commonly found on maiolica from Mexico dating to the mid-seventeenth century and onwards suggesting that these elements could be considered diagnostic for dating pottery from those periods. Also that there were a total of 20 different marks that may stand as the *isnignia* or name of the potters and workshops that were active during the mid- seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The marks were more commonly found on fine grade maiolica, which suggests that these objects were privileged over others of lesser quality to bear the

insignia of master potters. As the signatures were correlated with different ceramic types, it became apparent that some workshops were manufacturing more than one type at the same time that one type could have been produced by several workshops. The placement of marks on maiolica parallels the proliferation of workshops in the city of Puebla during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Lister and Lsiter (1984), suggest that in 1590, there were at least 6 registered potters, a number that increased to 9 by 1650. By the eighteenth century, at least 25 to 46 potteries were active in Puebla. These relative high numbers contrast with those reported for Mexico City a century earlier, where 12 ordained potters were registered in the guild ordinances of 1681 (Castillo 2007). The proliferation of potteries during the seventeenth century may have been related to a novel popularity acquired by the craftsmen that paralleled the promulgation of guild ordinances.

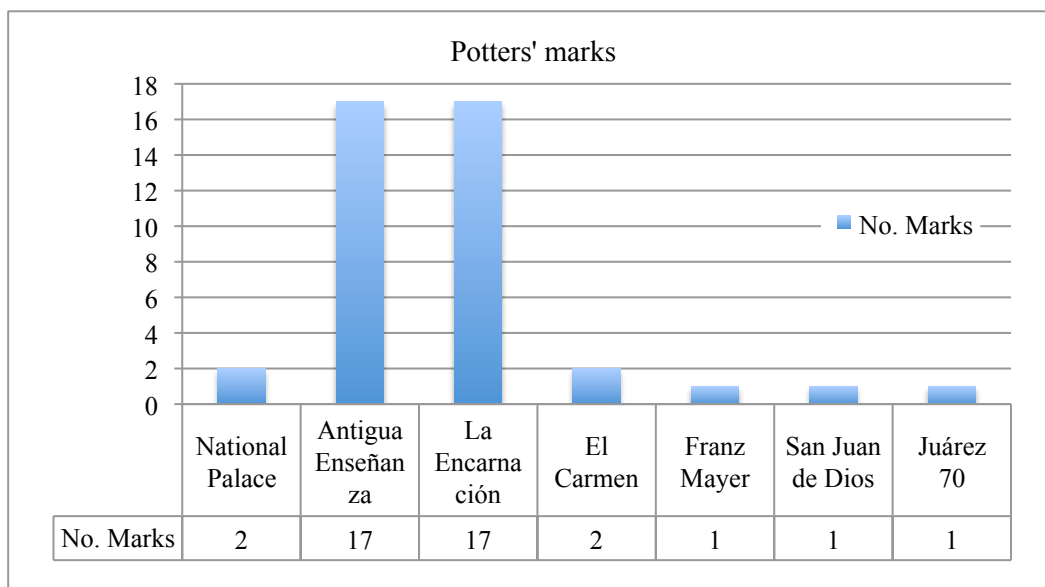


Table 5.3.1.1 Potters' marks

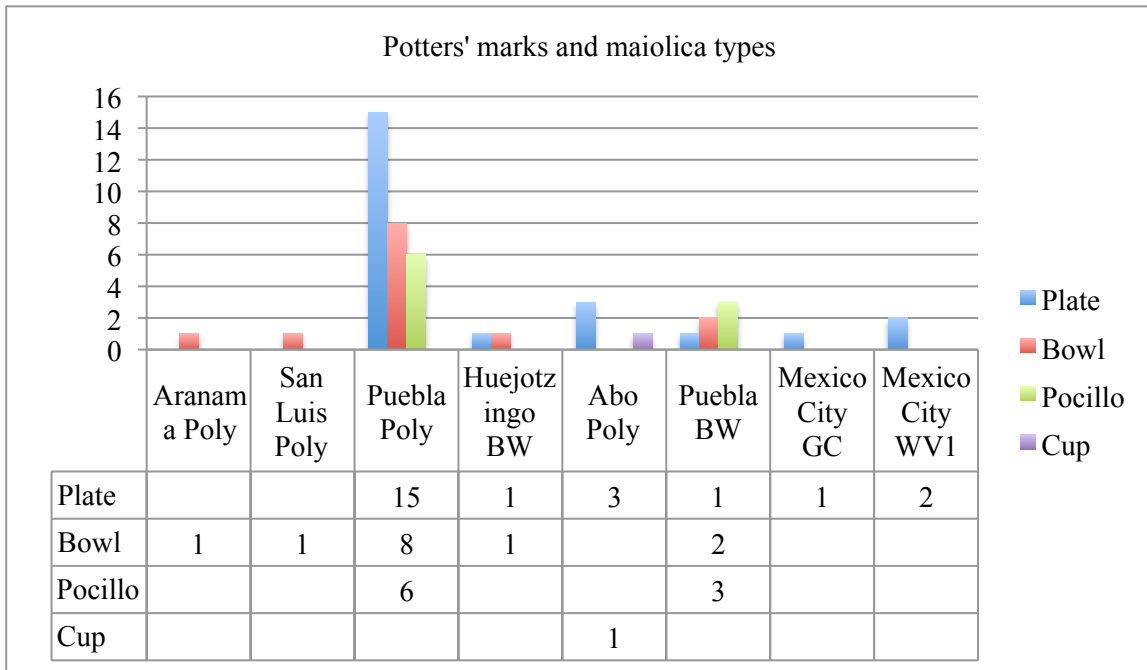


Table 5.3.1.2 Potters' marks and maiolica types

Mark	Ceramic type
	<p>Possible Mexico City White Variety 1.</p> <p>'C' is Similar to a mark reported by Cervantes (1939, 74) for the second half of the seventeenth century</p>
	<p>Huejotzingo Blue on White, Abo Polychrome</p>
	<p>Puebla Polychrome</p> <p>Might correspond to a mark reported by Cervantes (1939, 80) as pertaining to the second half of the eighteenth century</p>



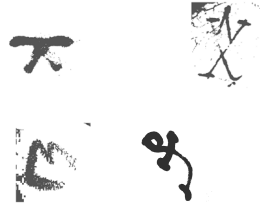


	
	<i>Puebla Blue on White, Aranama Polychrome</i>
	<i>Puebla Blue on White</i>
	<i>Abo Polychrome</i>
	<i>San Luis Polychrome</i>

Table 5.3.1.3 Potters' marks

### 5.3.2 Personal and communitarian inscriptions

Communitarian and personal inscriptions constitute the second group of inscriptions that were identified in the analyzed maiolica samples from the sites in Mexico City. Most of these correspond to the name of religious orders and others stand for initials, maybe personal insignia. The ones related to the religious orders were identified in the samples from the convent of La Antigua Enseñanza, the Hospital of San Juan de Dios, and the monastery of El Carmen. Other inscriptions were identified in Capuchinas and La Antigua Enseñanza (Figure 5.3.2.1). Communitarian inscriptions correspond to the names of the religious orders, and were generally found on the bottom of plates and bowls of plain white maiolica and blue on white one. Some of these were found in the samples from the monastery of El Carmen where the inscriptions on the interior surface of bowls were executed in different caligraphies. These fascinating elements provide glimpses to the life inside the workshop, where various painters participated in the decoration of tablesets. Other inscriptions are those of the Hospital of San Juan de Dios and the convent of La Antigua Enseñanza. These read *H. de San Juan de dios* and *Conv. de Sn Juan de Dios de Mejico*, and *En* and *nsa* as in Enseñanza.



Figure 5.3.2.1 Communitarian inscriptions from religious institutions

The use of communitarian inscriptions in dining vessels suggests that there was a sense of sharing the material possessions and shared dining rituals. Moreover, that these objects emblazoned with the names of the religious orders, was used by individuals to actively construct a shared cultural identity and values concomitant to those that inhabited the religious house. This contrasts with a more individualized or personal inscriptions. This opens further questions to the relationship between objects and people, about the attitudes exercised by the individuals towards communitarian goods and personal items related with dining. Moreover, the sumptuary legislation of 1600 prohibited the use of gold and silver tableware that was replaced by maiolica one often with the inscriptions of religious orders and coats of arms (Casanovas 2003, 61). Therefore, could these inscriptions be thought of as indicators of wealth and nobility?

The private or non-communitarian inscriptions were identified in a plate from Capuchinas and one from the convent of La Encarnación that read *Sorela*, meaning sister on the bottom of a plate of Puebla Blue on White fine grade, (Figure 5.3.2.2). This further suggests an expression of individual identities. According to Pierce (2003, 258-259), in colonial Mexico, maiolica objects were communally and individually owned and a high proportion of these had the names of the religious house. Moreover, the inventories of nuns mention the ownership of maiolica and Chinese porcelain vessels.

The inventory of Sister Mariana de la Santísima Trinidad, who died in the late seventeenth century in the convent of La Encarnación in Mexico City, record the possession of two plates of Puebla maiolica and one of Chinese porcelain (Pierce 2003, 259-260).

### *Summary*

The presence of marks on maiolica from the centre of Mexico and the creation of guild ordinances speak about the construction of a regional identity, of an anxiety to protect the craft from social “transgressors”, to elevate its status and that of the potters. Whilst in the fiteenth and sixteenth century the potters were regarded as vile, by the seventeenth century their status changed through the creation of ordinances that emphasized their quality. Whilst it is difficult to assert the degree to which the ordinances were followed, it is possible to suggest that the organization of the craft changed the way in which maiolica was perceived by consumers and producers. The ordinances and organizacion of the guild raised the ceramic objects from a functional realm to a symbol of status that allowed conspicuous consumption. Within this mindset, maiolica could have allowed aspiring members of society to express their cultural identities based on the doctrine through the consumption of maiolica tableware manufactured by prestigious craftsmen.



Figure 5.3.2.2 Inscription on maiolica plate



## ***Chapter six. Discussion. Dining, maiolica and the doctrine of blood purity; the identities of women and children***

### **Introduction**

The analysis of maiolica and Chinese porcelain tablewares enabled the identification of the range of vessel forms that were in use from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. The changes observed in the vessel forms and decorative schemes enabled the classification of maiolica into two chronological groups that are period 1 and 2. This allowed insights to the relationship between maiolica, dining and the doctrine of blood purity, by considering the decorative schemes of maiolica and contemporary beliefs on food and the human body. This discussion is provided in section 6.1. The possible relationship between maiolica, women and children is explored in section 6.2 by examining the drinking cups for chocolate, Chinese porcelain tableware and miniature vessels. The last section of this chapter, section 6.3, considered the relationship between *lebrillos* and popular religious piety as expressions of blood purity on behalf of secular groups.

### **6.1 Dining and blood purity**

The vessel forms that were identified in Spanish maiolica correspond to: individual plates (diameter 20-22 cm), serving ware in the form of large plates (diameter 26-32 cm), bowls and carinated *escudillas* (diameter 8-14 cm), porringers with handles (diameter 12 cm) and pitchers (Figures 6.1.1a-6.1.3). The *escudillas* and bowls were widely used during the fifteenth century for stews and soups (Casanovas 2003, 54). On the contrary, only brimmed plates of Italian maiolica were identified and in relative low proportions in the samples. An illustration from an urbanity manual written by Geigher in 1639 depicts the ways in which maiolica plates were exhibited in a dining hall and in the table, suggesting that some of these may have been used as decorative objects for public display (Figure 6.1.1).

By the early seventeenth century, these undecorated large vessels with thick walls could have been considered ‘old fashioned’ and their consumption may stand as an expression on nostalgia on behalf of Hispanic elites whom preferred typical Spanish vessels that reinforced their cultural identities. In some cases, small plates and *escudillas* of Columbia Plain were also identified; however these are not common and occur only at the sites of the vice royal palace and Capuchinas. The *escudillas* that are found in Spanish maiolica some of which have a pedestal base are not common in Mexican examples.

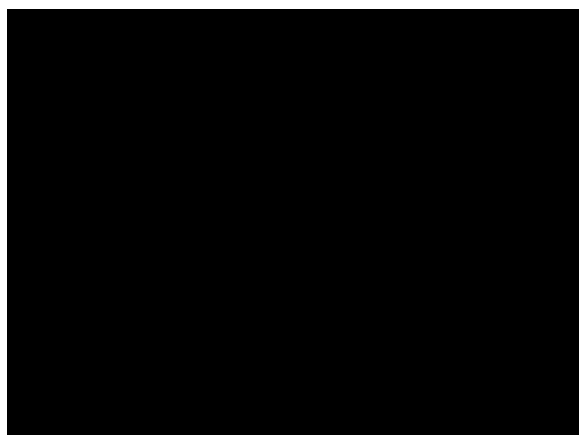


Figure 6.1.1 Dining hall. Taken from Geigher 1639

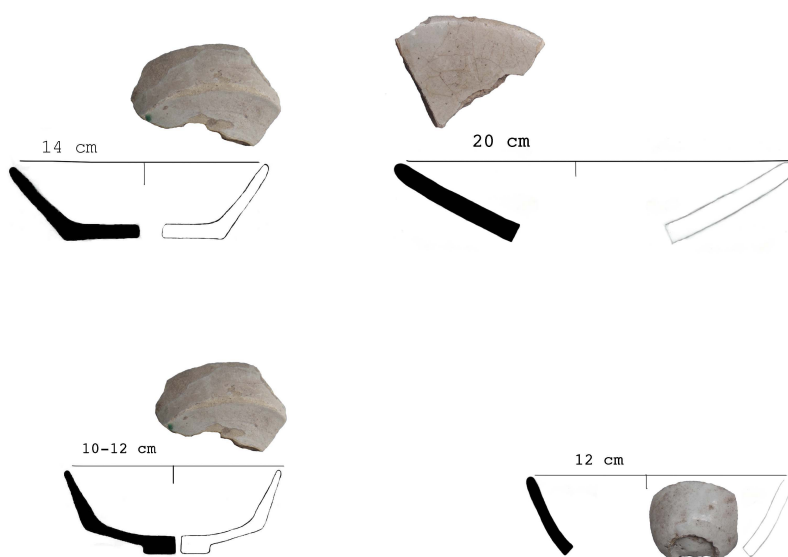


Figure 6.1.1a Vessel forms of Spanish maiolica



Figure 6.1.2 Vessel forms of Spanish maiolica

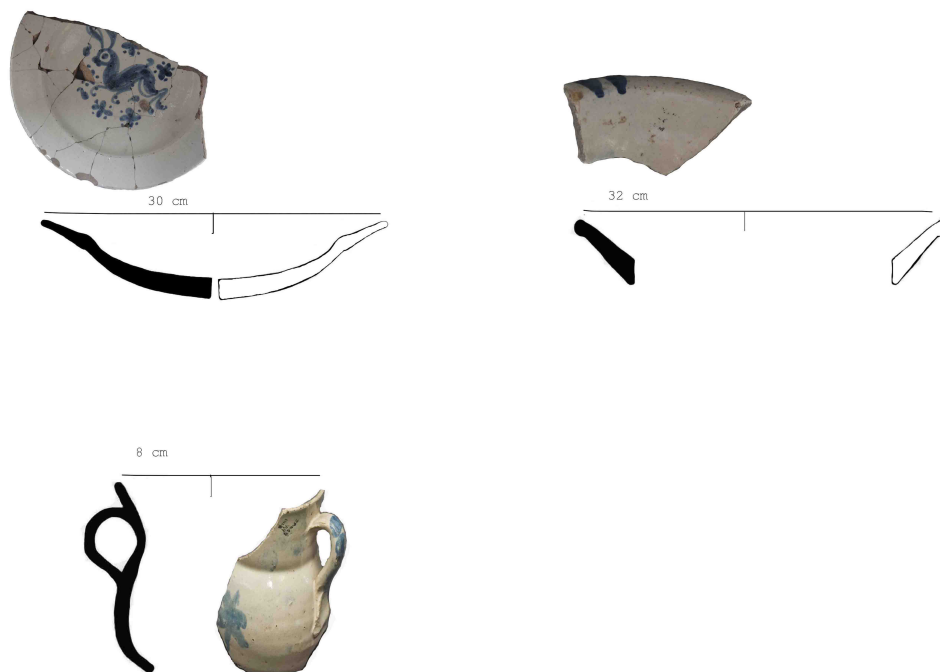


Figure 6.1.3 Vessel forms of Spanish maiolica

The vessel forms of local maiolica belonging to the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are comparable to those produced in Spanish examples. These mainly to: 1) Large plates, 2) individual plates, 4) bowls, 5) small plates, 6) small bowls, 7) cups and

8) *pocillos* (Figure 6.1.4). This suggests that during this period dining practices in New Spain were closely related to those on the Peninsular.

In contrast, common grade maiolica consists of bowls and plates with straight walls, and candleholders. The vessel forms are generally less differentiated than in fine grade maiolica (Tables 6.1.1- 6.1.2, Figures 6.1.5- 6.1.6). This might suggest that fine grade ceramics were related with a wider sophistication in dining and stood as signifiers of social distinction. This is further indicated by the guild ordinances of the seventeenth century that suggest that fine grade maiolica was manufactured by request. Therefore, the vessel forms would depend on the customers needs. However, this was not applied to common grade ceramics where fairly standard sizes of plates and bowls were manufactured (Cervantes 1939, 39). The differences encountered between the vessel forms of fine grade maiolica and those of common grade one are further reinforced by the strictures imposed by the seventeenth ordinances regarding the decoration where green was considered appropriate for common grade tableware. This colour derived from the Islamic pottery tradition. In contrast, fine grade maiolica was to be decorated in blue, in a similar fashion as the one found in Chinese porcelain (Cervantes 1939, 24; 30-31). The taste for polychrome ceramics on behalf of elite members in Europe during the fifteenth century for example, replaced the old-fashioned Lusterware and green maiolica of Moresque or Islamic tradition (Casanovas 2003, 59). The green decoration and the manufacture of large bowls and plates of Islamic tradition may imply a more Medieval fashion and intended for communal dining, and thus less refined as opposed to the fine grade maiolica with individualized dishes.

The maiolica tableware dating to the second half of the seventeenth century and after is more diverse, particularly in fine grade maiolica like Puebla Blue on White, Puebla White and Abo Polychrome, where a variety of sizes of plates are found. Flatware is the most common vessel form encountered across the samples, followed by bowls and small plates, jugs and drinking vessels (Tables 6.1.1- 6.1.3, Figures 6.1.6-6.1.7). These are frequently encountered in Puebla Polychrome, Abo Polychrome, Castillo Polychrome and Puaray Polychrome, decorated in Italianate and Oriental styles. In common grade San Luis Polychrome, the plates seem to be the most common. Finally, The vessel forms of Chinese porcelain correspond to: 1) Large plates, 2) individual

plates, 3) bowls, 4) cups, 5) small cups, 5) small plates and 6) teapots (Table 5.4.1.1, Figures 6.1.8-6.1.9).

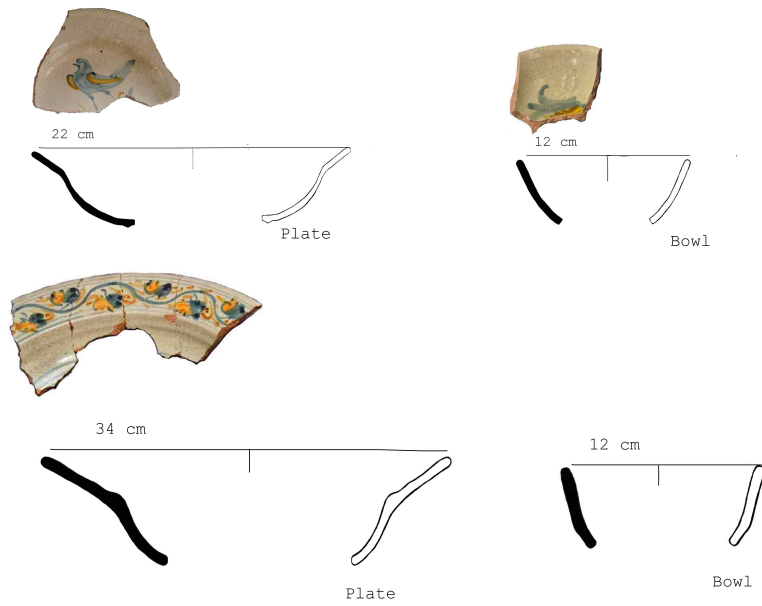


Figure 6.1.4 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica

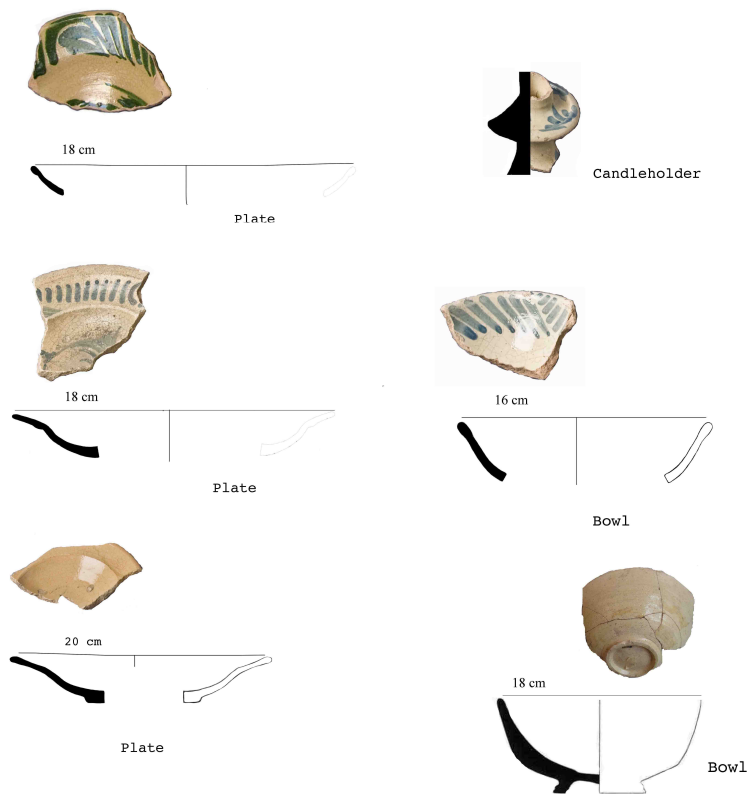


Figure 6.1.5 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica

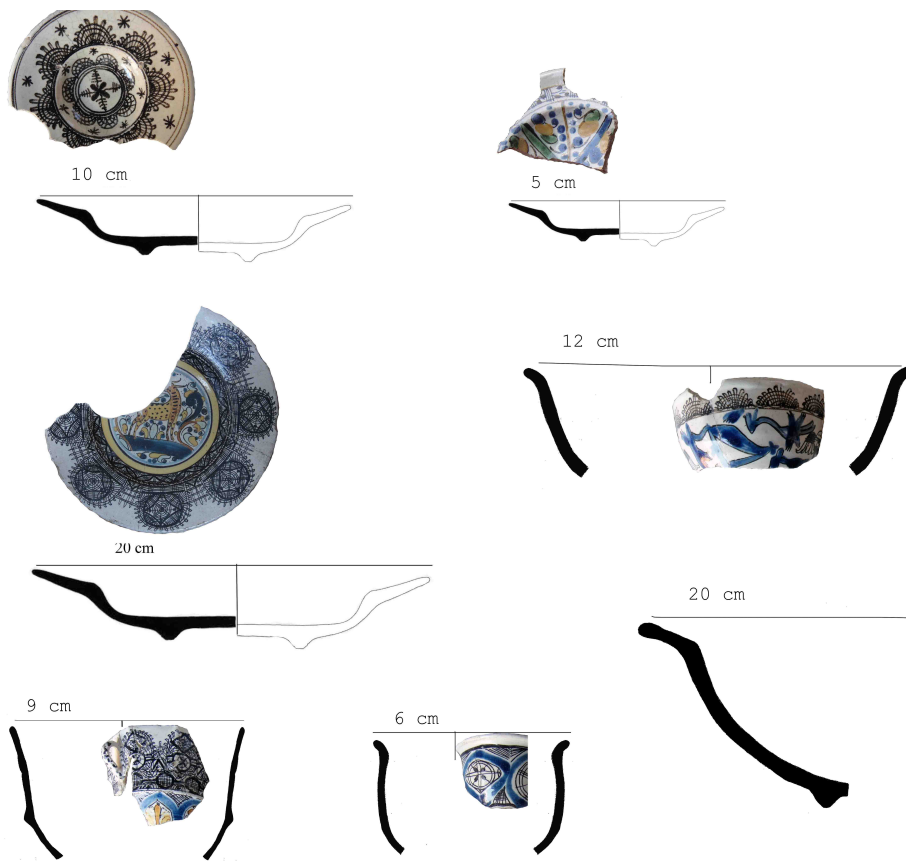


Figure 6.1.6 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica

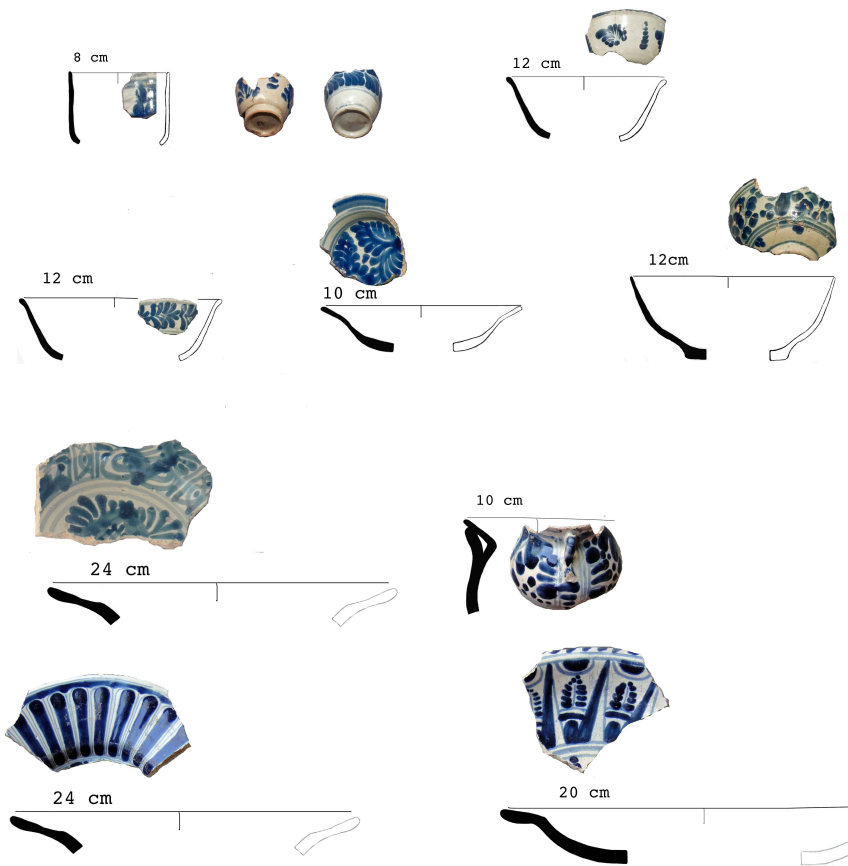


Figure 6.1.7 Vessel forms of Mexican maiolica



Kraak Porcelain  
Bowl  
Capuchinas

Figure 6.1.8 Bowl Ming Porcelain

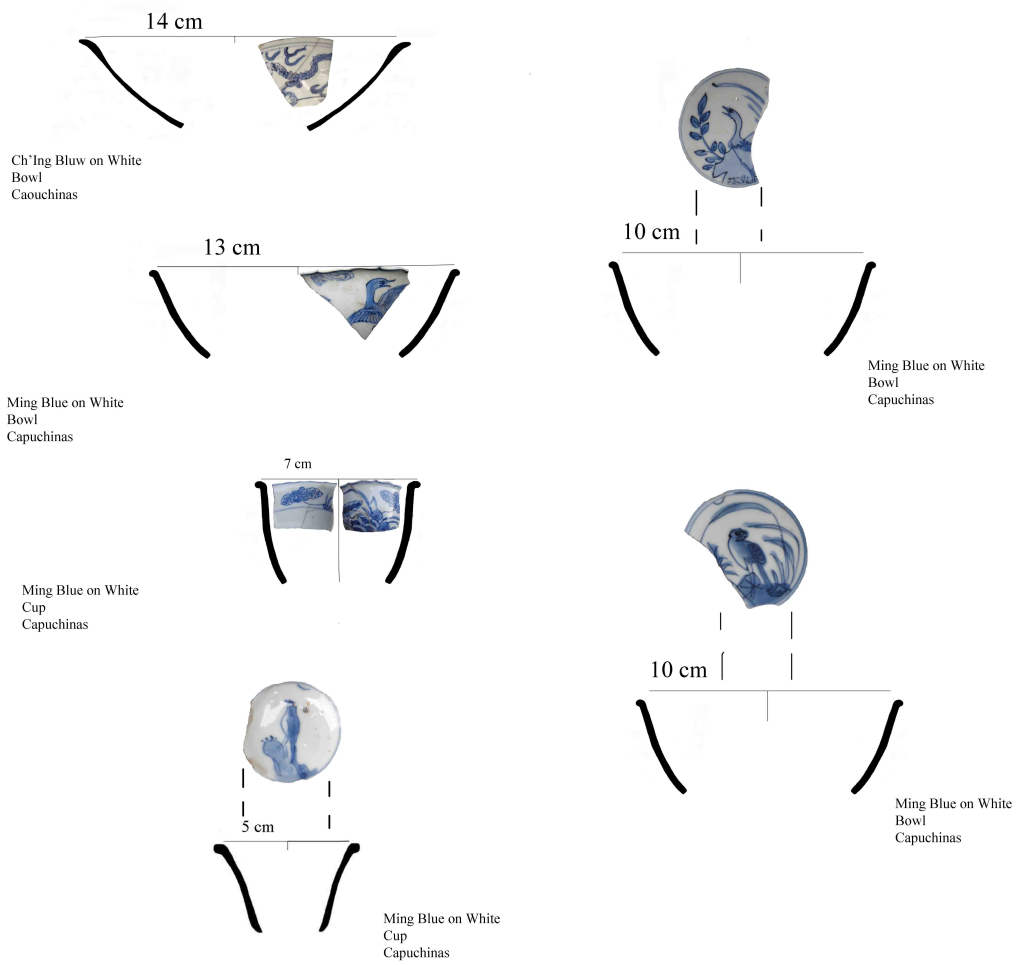
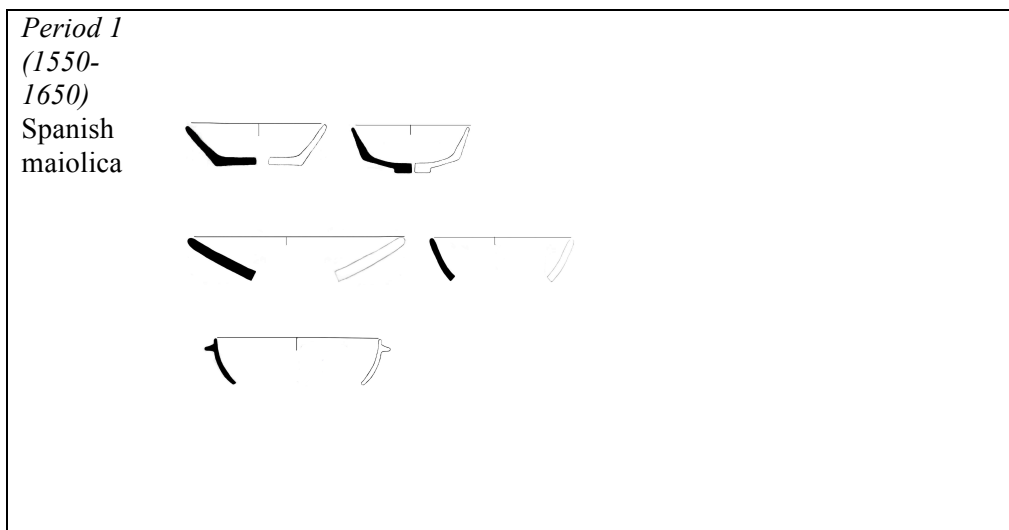


Figure 6.1.9 Vessel forms of Chinese porcelain





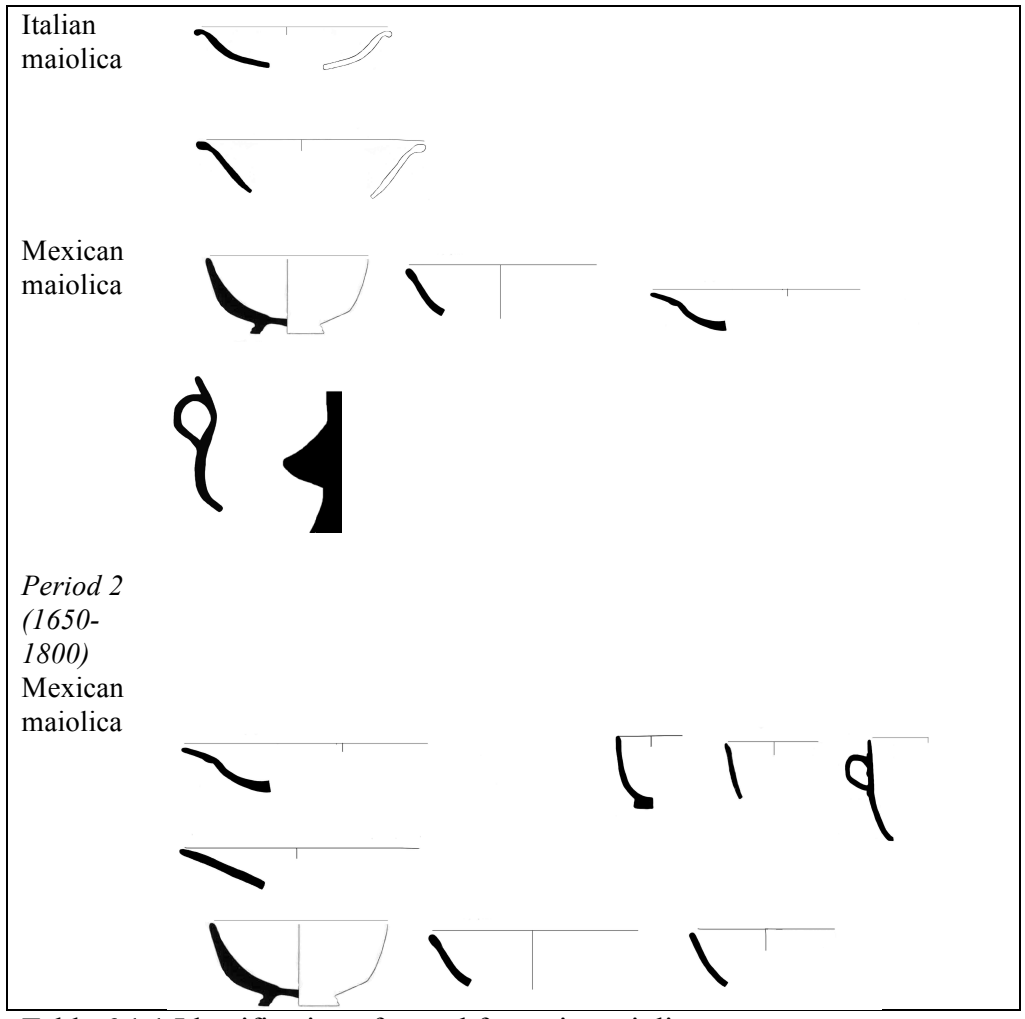


Table 6.1.1 Identification of vessel forms in maiolica

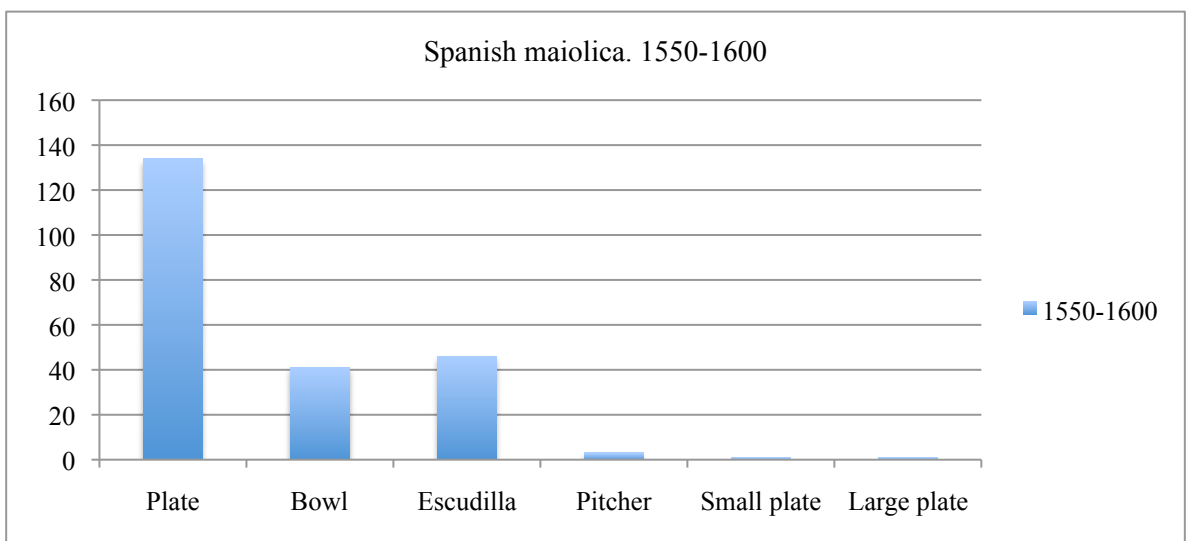


Table 6.1.2 Vessel forms of Spanish maiolica

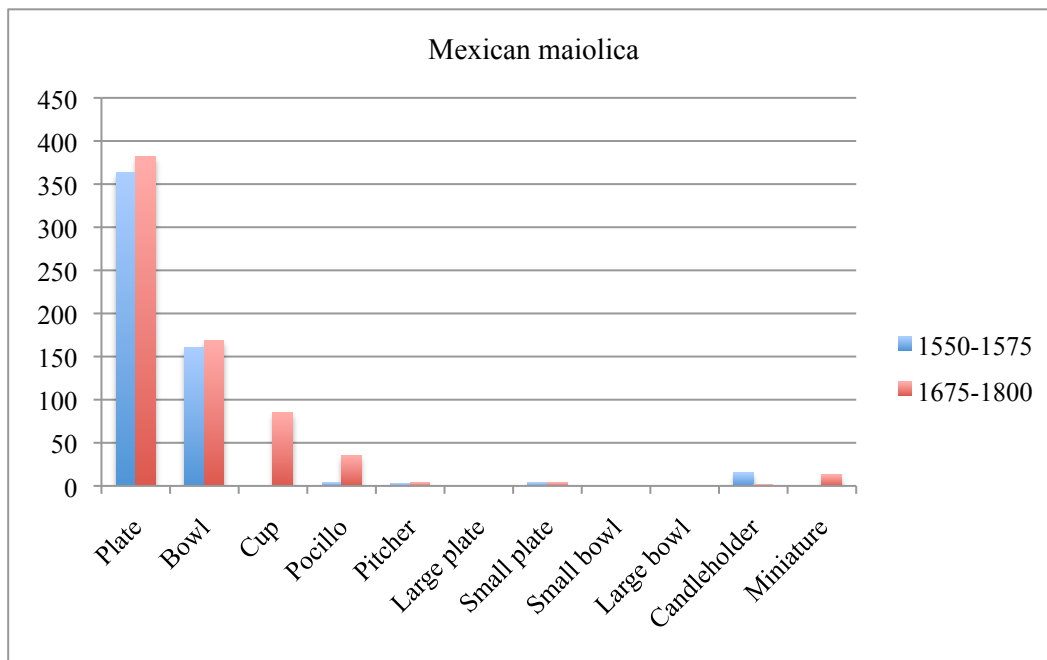


Table 6.1.3 Chronology of vessel forms of Mexican maiolica

### 6.1.1 Period 1 (1500-1650)

“...Gluttony in men is an incurable leprosy...” (De Nola 1529, fo.xii)

“...Thou will make sure to know thy *complexio*, if phlegmatic, sanguine or melancholic and conduct yourself according to what is best for your temperament...” (Palmireno 1573, 128)

The Spanish, Italian and Mexican ceramics that were positively identified as having been manufactured during the period that ranges from 1500 to 1650 suggest that there was an increasing discourse of dining as an individual action. The relatively high proportion of individual vessels for broths and stews further suggested this (Casanovas 2003, 54) (see Tables 6.1.2-6.1.3). Literary examples from the seventeenth century reveal how the governor’s table was set with a variety of plates with fruits and meals and how a doctor would give advice on what the diner should eat according to his individual *complexio* (De Cervantes Saavedra 1802, 407-409). The individualization of dining may have been informed by the discourse on the human body that prescribed a personal regime based on the individual *complexio* (see Chapter one). Moreover, from the sixteenth century and onwards, there was a “codified system of dining etiquette” that implied that diners ate from their own plates. Maiolica made food more appetizing for unlike tin, it was considered a clean and safe surface from where to eat. Dining emerged as a moral discourse on the food and the human body that linked rational

behaviour, morality and an individual sense of elegance or refinement. New table manners and utensils were introduced along with sophistication in cooking and in ceramic table sets (Goldthwaite 1989, 20-25).

The differentiation in tableware from this period is probably related with the variety of meals that were served at the table where by the early sixteenth century, dining and cooking became increasingly complex rituals that changed constantly as novelties were introduced. Contemporary cooking manuals like that by De Nola (1529) (see below), and that was well known in colonial Mexico further suggest this (Muriel 1994, 476).

The variability of vessel forms during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that was observed in the analysed samples in this thesis had been also identified by Lister and Lister (1982, 15; 26; 47), Deagan (1987, 55; 72) and McEwan (1992, 92) in the ceramic samples of European and Mexican maiolica from Sevilla, Mexico City, Florida and the Caribbean. These included plates for sharing, brimmed plates and bowls. Lister and Lister (1982, 51; 54) also identified the bowls of Spanish Yayal Blue on White and Columbia Plain as utilitarian and drinking vessels, and those with a pedestal base, as cups. However, it seems likely that their use was much more diverse for they have also been depicted in seventeenth century painting tradition for serving bread in the table. Other uses given to ceramic *escudillas* included measuring, cooking and serving (De Nola 1529). Also, to be containing the blood from bloodletting, preferably in clean ones that were brought from Manises. These were to be kept away from the smoke, wind and sun so that the physician could examine it and in order to know the individual *complexio* and quality of the blood (Palmireno 1573, 133). This however would require a different line of research.

There were but few culinary innovations in Renaissance dining during the sixteenth century, where the tradition remained almost untouched from that of the medieval period. Innovations rather implied a new taste on behalf of the diners whom preferred a varied table with a diversity of dishes, the precise measurement of cooking ingredients, the introduction of cinnamon and rose water and sugar and elements from the New World (Albala 2007, 9; 19-20), and the use of maiolica tableware. These ingredients were widely used in Spanish cuisine throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although they might have been few culinary innovations during the sixteenth century,

the recipes found in the contemporary cooking manuals by De Nola (1529) and Hernández de Maceras (1607) and in physiognomic texts that were written for the nobility and the emerging bourgeoisie (De Sorapán 1616; Lobera de Avila 1542; Savonarola 1515) suggest that this area was a rich one, as the preparation and presentation of dishes at the table involved a certain complexity.

The setting of the table followed a particular order where the salt was to be placed first and at the centre. To this followed the napkins and knives, one per diner. The dishes were then brought to the table covered. The fruit came first followed by the potages of onion, aubergines, semolina with almonds and sugar, noodles that are known as *fideos*, hare, or pumpkin, and then the roasted food such as veal and rice, mutton with saffron, kid, hen with rose water, goat milk and almonds, and also a large dish or *escudilla* known as *aljafana* or *aljofaina* filled with figs in honey and rose petals, amongst many others. A second potage was then served and “cooked fruits” were given as dessert. These included cheese, all sorts of pastries that included those filled with meat or fish, and also with sugar and almonds, with grapefruit and cheese and marzipans. Most dishes were prepared with sugar and cinnamon, vinegar and wine. Some dishes were prepared for twelve *escudillas* while others for half a dozen or five of these (De Nola 1529, fo. vi-ix; xxv-xxvii; xxxix; xliiii-xlvi).

The paraphernalia of dining during this period involved also a ritual of washing hands with *ceramic* fountains or large plates and pitchers (De Nola 1529, vii-viii). Other examples are provided by seventeenth century literature where pages at the palace would wash their master’s hands while seating at a royal and clean table (De Cervantes Saavedra 1802, 407). Physicians recommended washing hands before and after eating as an element of hygiene but this principle was gradually transformed by the nobility into elements of ritual character and understood as urbanity codes. Washing hands were assumed as elements of social etiquette (Ruiz Somavilla 2002, 235-240). The contrary was understood as bad courtesy and a precarious health because sweat was considered a lethal poison (Palmireno 1573, 68; 144).

The physiological treatises by Savonarola (1515), Lobera de Avila (1542) and De Sorapán (1616) were largely based in the works of Aristotle, Avicenna and Galen. They include an extensive list of the various kinds of meals that were recommended for the

individual diner. A common element observed in the physical treatises of that period is the concern for moderation in food and drink. Moderation, chastity, sobriety, austerity and humility were considered as virtues of noble people and saints in Spain. If the humours became unbalanced due to an indulgence on food and drink, the souls of noble people were at risk and they could of becoming a layperson. Therefore, temperance was good for the state and the King, princes and nobles (De Santa María 1615, 192-195). Popes like Pius V were renown for their meagre meals and thus, related with virtue (Albala 2007, 21).

The meat of young animals and liver promoted a good digestion, dignity and a good quality of the blood. The meat of adult animals engendered a melancholic humour and leprosy therefore individuals pertaining to a high social status should avoid it (Lobera de Avila 1542, 92-123; Savonarola 1515, 3-37). The meat of a castrated mutton was believed to transmute into good blood because of its similarities with human flesh (De Sorapán 1616, 115-162). Offal and the extremities of poultry were considered delicious, especially those from young and well bred birds. The snails that had a white shell were eaten by men that had a “pure and courageous blood” whilst venison heart was particularly recommended for it was believed to possess apotropaic virtues and an effective remedy against poisoning. Other recommendations for noble people were: Salted fish, veal and lamb, the exterior members of animals, particularly the frontal extremities for these were believed to be cleaner. Fish from rivers engendered good blood because they were easy to digest. Bread should not be eaten warm or dry, but from one day to the next or otherwise it could engender a melancholic humour and burnt cholera. Saffron for example, was considered as warm and digestive and believed to promote happiness (Lobera de Avila 1541, i-xxviii; 92-95; 123). The meat from a castrated mutton transmuted into good blood because this animal was the symbol of Christ and appeared as a constellation in the sky. This gave sustenance to *hidalgos* that is Spanish noble men and thus was highly recommended. Also, the meat of eight months old capon and grouper cooked with rice, almonds and wheat that were commonly served at weddings and banquets (De Sorapán 1616, 45-162).

The information presented above and the diversification in table sets that were analyzed in this thesis suggest that the food that was served at the table was varied and rich and implied a complex knowledge on the bodily humours and the meals that were

considered as appropriate for a noble table. The individualization of sixteenth century Spanish tableware found in Sevilla and in the Spanish colonies that reflect the “Renaissance ideals of individualism” (McEwan 1992, 99) and could be added, of moderation, chastity and sobriety.

The consumption of specialized vessels would have satisfied the need of elite members for display of cultural identities and as symbols of etiquette and taste through dining that involved knowledge on the individual *complexio*. Therefore, the variability encountered in the vessel forms within different samples may be a reflection of differences in socio economic status and cultural identities. Based on this, it could be argued that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the sites inside the *traza* were consuming a wider variety of vessel forms than those outside it and that these suggest the put into practice of rituals and strategies that enabled the elites to display through dining, food and material culture, notions on blood purity. This ideology shaped their cultural identities and allowed them to express refinement and their social position through the careful or conscious selection of food. Whether common grade maiolica was used in the same ways as fine grade ones or if these are representative of the different cultural groups and dining within each remains to be explored. This could be a valid comparison to assess socio economic status and observe cultural identities because the vessel forms may actually inform on differences in dining and the incorporation of a wider variety of meals in comparison to others.

The maiolica characteristic of period 1 is defined by the use of white surfaces with representations of acanthus, and other naturalistic and geometric motifs that are reminiscent of a medieval tradition (Goggin 1968). Animal and plant motifs in maiolica from the sixteenth century may be reminiscent of *Al Andalus*, when Islamic potters introduced this mode of decoration to the Iberian Peninsula. In some cases, during the Renaissance, objects that came from the natural world were considered sacred and believed to possess magical properties (Kemp 1995). It is worth mentioning the absence of anthropomorphic depictions in the maiolica from that period. During the sixteenth century, tableware expressed a taste for “decorum” where nude representations were considered grotesque or even perverse and this could derive from Christian and Islamic beliefs. Thus, decoration aimed to appease the emotions of the viewer, in this case of the diner. The sobriety that characterizes sixteenth century maiolica may have intended

to highlight that in dining (Albala 2007, 21). Moreover, it could have been related with the contemporary ideas that prescribed moderation in food where the diners may have interpreted the decoration as a constant reminder of this. The apparent simplicity of the decoration may have contrasted with the new gastronomic tradition that implied the serving a variety of colourful meals at the table.

The sobriety of the maiolica from this period may have also be due to the sumptuary legislation of 1600, during the reign of Philip III, that prohibited noble families from utilizing tableware manufactured in gold and silver and hence, tin-glazed ceramic tableware found their way to the aristocratic tables. Maiolica in opposition to tin ware was considered decorative, appealing to the eye as well as a clean and hygienic surface ideal for eating (Casanovas 2003, 61). The preference for maiolica was informed by cultural perceptions that considered that this tableware made food more appetizing and tastier than when served on silverware (Goldthwaite 1989, 20-25). The white decorated surfaces of tableware may have expressed notions on blood purity and prevented the diner from falling in indulgence and the sin of gluttony.

### *6.1.2 Period 2 (1700-1800)*

“...During the Spanish Golden Age, there was a relationship between the pleasure of eating, sensuality and sexuality where the abundant consumption of meat fed the sins of the flesh...” (Amado Doblaz 2005, 271)

“...Chocolate must be drank without any species added in order to prevent it from becoming an aphrodisiac, a Luciferian beverage that incites lust...” (Trueba Lara 2011, 18)

Dining during this period cannot be understood without considering it a spectacle to the eyes and taste. Flavours and textures of food conflated with flamboyant tableware that emphasized the quality of the meals. The ceramics from this period differ from those of period 1 in their mode of decoration that incorporates polychrome and vivid imagery, and vessel forms finding a larger variety and a more individualized taste that in the previous centuries. The cooking and dining traditions that commenced in the sixteenth century endured well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, it could be argued that dining in period 2 was characterized mainly by colourful palette that

were used to decorate the surfaces of vessels, by gluttony and indulgence in food and visual representations.

Throughout the eighteenth century, cooking and the properties of food received much attention. Cooking and dining linked taste and visual pleasure accompanied by highly decorated table sets. This century could be considered as that of “gastronomy” and as such, all the areas related with dining acquired much importance, including the dining halls. A variety of highly decorated vessel forms were introduced that could perform a spectacle in the dinner table including washing basins for the hands, saucers, tablecloths and trays for condiments amongst others (Casanovas 2003, 64-67). These objects and food may have enabled the different social groups in Mexico City display wealth, refinement, and intellectual and lineage supremacy that were based on the “science” behind food preparation and dining that partly constituted their cultural identities.

As it has been observed in section 6.1, the most common vessel form that occurs during this period is flatware, nevertheless finding a variety of sizes and shapes of plates, semi-spherical bowls and drinking vessels like cups and handless cups or *pocillos*. The relatively high variation encountered in the ceramic samples pertaining to this period and particularly in fine grade maiolica, suggests an increase in the individual taste on behalf of the consumers whom requested specialized table sets (Cervantes 1939, 24). Even though Lister and Lister (1974, 33-35) have suggested that Bourbon courtiers favoured the use of maiolica flatware that had been decorated in a baroque style, preferably in blue and white, the analyzed samples do not suggest this. The relative proportions of flatware from this period do not seem to increase significantly with respect to previous centuries finding a similar proportion of plates and bowls (see Tables 6.1.2-6.1.3). Regarding the decorative schemes, there does seem to exist a preference in blue on white decoration, but this diverges from that found in the previous period in that it incorporates a baroque scheme and polychrome imagery with zoomorphic and anthropomorphic representations, lace-like and cobweb decoration. Moreover, the variation encountered in the analyzed ceramic vessel forms pertaining to the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries suggests a higher sophistication in dining in comparison to that from the previous century. This is further suggested by the mention made to different vessel forms in cooking manuals and contemporary inventories that held specialized functions. These include fountains, plates and



*escudillas*, bowls and cups for broths and for chocolate of maiolica (Curiel 2000, 85; Hernández de Maceras 1607, 60-82).

The table manners that were spread amongst the European groups from the seventeenth century and onwards implied dining as an individual act that distinguished nobles from peasants. This was a response to the fear of pollution that was reinterpreted as a norm of morality and refinement. As it was observed in period 1, the fear of contaminating agents was a real one and thus, individual dining was a way to prevent the exchange of bodily fluids and polluting agents that were contained in the sweat (Pilcher 2006, 36).

The cooking manuals from the seventeenth century (Hernández de Maceras 1607; Martínez Montañó 1617; 1763) suggest the introduction of a wider variety of vessels, courses, dishes, flavours, multicoloured surfaces, the use of cinnamon and sugar, saffron and pepper, and vast quantities of food. An example of this can be observed in Figure 6.1.2.1. This complexity in dining as a theatrical act that was ‘put into scene’ is further suggested by the ornaments carved in fruit and made in sugar, and napkins in the shape of birds, hares, pyramids, winged lions and boats decorated the tables (Geigher 1639, diagrams 1-6; diagrams 1-6). Cooking incorporated an assortment of ingredients and flavours from the Indies, namely the American turkey and chocolate to those from the Old World. Also, a variety of meats, salads, potages, pastries, cakes, dessert and fruit that were served in the table and that combined an array of tastes and textures. Dining during this period was complex and involved at least three courses and a fourth one of dessert that were served by pages to individual diners (Hernández de Maceras 1607, 29; 60-82; 103-104; 312-313; Martínez Montañó 1617, 6-14; 40; 74-99; 209-224; 227-228; 310-311).



Figure 6.1.2.1. Dining table. Taken from *Li Tre Trattati*, Geigher 1639

During the seventeenth century, the good Spanish table was expected to serve partridge, ham and turkey, and *olla podrida* literally meaning putrid pot (Amado Doblás 2005, 284) (Figure 6.1.2.2). *Olla podrida* refers to a dish that was prepared as a stew that was placed in a pot at the centre of octagonal table. Liver and ham, sausage, offal and boiled meats were served in different sizes of plates and arranged around the pot (Geigher 1639, 58). According to Hernández de Maceras (1607, 55), the pot included mutton, beef, bacon, pork hands, sausages, tongues, pigeon, hare, garlic and turnip. These ingredients had to be cooked with species and then served in plates with grape mustard and parsley. The absence of cooking manuals written in vice royal Mexico until the nineteenth century, partly explains why the population relied on those that were imported from the Peninsula, and the importance that the food derived from that geographical region continued to have in vice royal cooking tradition (Muriel 1994, 478, 480).



Figure 6.1.2.2. Spanish dining table. Taken from *Li Tre Trattati*, Geigher 1639

The colourful dining table interacted with highly decorated maiolica table sets that emphasized the quality of food and the plethora of scents, flavour and textures that were appealing to the human senses. The analyzed samples suggest that during the seventeenth century and onwards, a new mode of polychrome decoration were introduced to the blue on white one. This incorporated zoomorphic, anthropomorphic and religious motifs that became recurrent themes in the maiolica and that contrast with the sobriety and modes of decoration employed in previous centuries. These occur within fine grade examples, namely on flatware but also on the exterior surfaces of bowls and cups, on the visible areas of the vessel. This may suggest that the visual imagery in tableware interrelated with the beholder and dining but in what ways? There were also variations observed in the occurrence of particular motifs from one site to another. This suggests that the variations might reflect differences in socio economic status and cultural identities of the consumers.

The plates, cups and bowls of Abo Polychrome were commonly found decorated with anthropomorphic depictions of friars, buffoons, courtiers and maidens, and Cupid. The flatware decorated with male images was mainly found in the samples from secular sites and religious institutions such as the National Palace, Capuchinas, the convents of La Antigua Enseñanza and La Encarnación, and in Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer. Female representations were found in drinking ware from La Encarnación. The examples of plates of Abo Polychrome reported by Gómez Serafín and Fernández Dávila (2007,

198), from the monastery of Santo Domingo in Oaxaca, provide further insights to this distinctive type of tableware with dancers, women and courtiers and *putti* (Farwell Gavin 2003, 9-10). Those found on flatware from the collections from the Caribbean and of the Florida Museum of Natural History bear buffoons and gluttons (Deagan 1987, 80; Farewell Gavin 2003, 9; [www.FLMNH.ufl.edu](http://www.FLMNH.ufl.edu)). Others were decorated with lions, exotic birds and animals. This imagery was derived from the Renaissance, where animals were used as cultural symbols of the opposition between nature and civilization. Visual representations of 'exotic' or non-European fauna were popular amongst European aristocracy since the sixteenth century. These animals were considered symbols of power and the colonization of 'exotic' territories (Lazarro 1995, 197). Hence, it could be argued that the depiction of these animals on maiolica was an expression of such power, the appropriation of the exotic. It may be thought of as a way in which aspiring groups expressed their social position through the consumption of objects that held such symbolism and that linked them to colonizing groups, to aristocratic circles.

The most common motif is the turkey. The turkey from Mexico known as *guajolote* is a recurrent motif found in seventeenth century Mexican maiolica Abo Polychrome. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe and Spanish America, turkey was considered as gorgeous, light, fresh and succulent meat. It held close associations with elite dining and represented the opulence of the Indies. However, it was also associated with the sins of gluttony and lust when consumed excessively (Albala 2003, 29; 37; Amado Doblaz 2005, 268-270; 285). Its finding on maiolica dining sets could have been interpreted by different viewers as a warning against gluttony, the exuberance of dining and the expression of a new local identity through the consumption of objects that were decorated with the native fauna of Mexico.

The images that were in use during this period might have stood as a symbolic vocabulary in the form of amusing representations of the individuals that constituted the colonial society, of the colours and ornamentation in food and dining from that period. While images are ambiguous and could be interpreted differently by different people, finding them in objects used in dining suggest that they may have been interpreted as warnings against gluttony, avarice and lust and in order to promote virtue and moderation, or may have equally taken the diners into a spectacle of the senses.

Ceramics decorated with lace-like motifs are typical to Period 2. Lace was associated with the nobility, and fashionably worn in clothing, as mantelpieces, curtains and to decorate every other surface. As Appleton Stanten (1958, 156-157) described it, “lace has always been an article of luxury” and can only be ascribed to the taste of baroque society for grandeur. Moreover, the use of lace defied the “naturalistic and aerial simplicity” observed in previous centuries. Lace was in itself a decorative programme that impregnated all of the other decorative arts of the baroque, including maiolica. Lace was highly fashionable, a decoration inspired by the baroque ideals of grandiosity.

The element that probably best exemplifies the ceramics from Period 2 is the ‘craze’ for chocolate and the use of specialized vessels that were not common in the maiolica from previous centuries. Pierce (2003, 253) has suggested that the seventeenth century bowls of Mexican maiolica and that were used to drink chocolate derived from pre-Hispanic vessel forms known as *xicalli* or *jicaras* that held this function. While this assertion can be accurate to a certain extent, it was not until the mid-seventeenth century that specialized cups for this purpose were introduced. These were manufactured both in maiolica and in eighteenth century Chinese porcelain. These specialized objects became increasingly associated with wealthy members of society (Norton 2006, 686). These vessels were also fashionable amongst Spaniards in the Peninsula as it can be observed in an eighteenth century maiolica tile work from Valencia (Farwell Gavin 2003, 17) that depicts these specialized handless cups for chocolate. Also in Catalonia, a tile work that belonged to the marquise of Castelbell known as *La Xocolatada*, that is a feast to drink chocolate depicts these objects. This work was displayed in a castle and shows a festivity held in a garden with members of the nobility (Flama 1927, 2-5), which suggests a relationship between chocolate and members of the elites. Moreover, the information presented by Pierce (2003, 264-265) on household inventories, wills and estate inventories from New Mexico from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, mention the possession of maiolica cups from Puebla. In 1662, at least one of the cups that pertained to the wife of the governor of New Mexico is specifically linked with chocolate. The mentioning of these objects in personal and household inventories suggests the importance that maiolica, and drinking vessels for chocolate in particular had for colonial society.

Chocolate is a native product from Mexico. However, the manner in which the Spaniards prepared it was different to the way it was done during pre-Hispanic times. Although chocolate is an adoption of native products in the European culture of food, it was transformed into a product that met Hispanic taste, different from its pre-Hispanic predecessor. The consumption of chocolate by the elites in colonial Mexico City was linked to the ideas that they held on refinement. The fascination for chocolate that was considered an outlandish drink during this period by European groups parallels that of dining as a locus for innovation in cooking and table manners. Chocolate was a Baroque food and in itself a *bricolage* of flavours, scents and textures, and the corporeal senses. Spaniards in the Peninsula and in America created new flavours and recipes (Norton 2006, 681-684). Viceroy in Peru, Italians, the English and the French sought to ‘improve’ the beverage by adding spices and enhance the experience of drinking it. Also, specialized objects for its consumption were created *e.g.* a mill to make the chocolate foamy, chocolate jars, *mancerinas*, maiolica *pocillos* and cups of Chinese porcelain; jasmine chocolate with musk, vanilla and cinnamon amongst others (Coe and Coe 2011, 57-59; 2013, 133; 139; 143-147).

There were many medicinal benefits attributed to this beverage. These included a good digestion and it was believed to inhibit the appetite. However, the particular effects that it had on the human body depended on the individual *complexio*. For example, phlegmatic individuals could find stimulus and strength from drinking chocolate and it was also capable of providing a man with strength for many years without eating anything else. In vice royal Mexico chocolate was commonly consumed during Easter. Members of the elites would drink it up to eight times on a daily basis, prepared with vanilla, sugar and cinnamon. In contrast, poor sectors of society consumed lesser quantities and a lower quality of chocolate (Lavedán 2007 [1796], 215; 221-237). By the eighteenth century drinking chocolate became a symbol of refinement, social status and power. It enabled elite members to display their cultural identities based on blood purity and allowed aspiring members of society to emulate these practices. Also, it was a controversial beverage that allowed women to socialize in the domestic sphere (Curiel 2005, 86-87), but also used for “love magic” (see below).

## 6.2 Women and children

The material culture related with women and children that was analyzed in this thesis comprises drinking vessels for chocolate and maiolica miniatures. The spatial distribution of cups for chocolate suggest that these may have been used by women as these were commonly identified in the samples from the convents, the vice royal palace and domestic sites. Also, the dowries from the convents in New Spain suggest that amongst the luxuries that the nuns were allowed to consume was chocolate (Socolow 2000, 97) and they owned objects for this purpose *e.g.* gourds, chocolate coconuts embellished with silver and porcelain cups. Chocolate was an integral component of conventual life and was almost considered a “divine” drink (Pierce 2003, 259). It was a beverage that allowed women to socialize in the domestic sphere as it was observed previously in this chapter (Curiel 2005, 86-87; Earle 2012, 133).

### 6.2.1 *Maiolica and chocolate*

The association between chocolate and female groups is suggested by the relative high proportion of drinking vessels that were identified in the ceramic samples from sites that were inhabited by women *e.g.* the convent of La Encarnación. This association is further suggested by the magical properties attached to chocolate during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and to which women were ‘prone’ to engage with. Chocolate was considered a demonic beverage that incited lust and was used to incite sexual passions, create talismans and love filters with bodily fluids (Earle 2012, 133; Trueba Lara 2011, 18-19). In the seventeenth century, Hispanic women were fond of drinking this beverage. In baroque Spain, chocolate provided nourishment and pleasure. However, it was also believed that one lady of quality used chocolate to poison her lover. In 1670, it was said that the marquise of Cœtlong drank so much chocolate during her pregnancy that she gave birth to a child that was “as black as the Devil himself” and died soon after (Coe and Coe 2011, 56; 58; 2013, 136-137).

Chocolate and bodily parts were intimately related with each other in the performance of magical rituals, and this granted the female body with a mystifying power. Depending on the way in which cacao was prepared it could stop menstruation; provoke

suffocation and even hysteria in women (Ruz 2011, 81). In New Spain women were considered 'prone' to the Devil's powers. That they easily engaged in witchcraft because the Devil knew of their desire to know secret things easily, and not acquire their education gradually through books; they were gossipers, easily dominated by anger, jealousy and envy. Because they were believed to be weaker than men and incapable of directly murdering their enemies, the Devil granted them with powers to damage them. This was particularly believed when women were young and virgin and prone to the pleasures of the flesh. Sometimes the Devil would take the shape of an attractive woman, a succubus, to seduce honourable men and conceive devilish children (Andrés de Olmos [1553] 1990, 31; 47-49). Moreover, it was believed that women were disposed to engage in magical rituals that often had sexual connotations. Within this context, chocolate was considered a demonic brew because it was used as a vehicle to incite sexual passions, create talismans and love filters (Trueba Lara 2011, 18-19).

When magical powders were added to chocolate, the drink became powerful and was fed to lovers to 'control' them (Lewis 2003, 119). Some women in colonial Guatemala utilized smoke and chocolate to hide ritual elements for seducing and 'enslaving' men, provoke confusion, insanity, physical afflictions and even death. In some cases, it was believed that bodily parts and fluids were added to the 'magical potion' to make it more powerful (Few 2002, 53-55; 63-64). The chocolate and the bodily parts were intimately related with each other and with the performance of magical rituals, and this granted the female body with a mystifying power.

It was believed that chocolate incited greed and made the imagination of Spaniards "run wild". Moreover, it affected the body depending on the individual *complexio* e.g. a phlegmatic person could become lustful (Corcuera Mancera 2011, 75-76). The deadly sins that "poisoned" the souls of men such as lust, greed and gluttony in New Spain and regarded as the work of the Devil were related to chocolate. The beverage was subject to debates on whether it was a food or drink, and thus if its consumption should be allowed during Lent. During the late sixteenth century, it was believed that when Native spices and vanilla were added to chocolate, it became an aphrodisiac, the "Devil's brew", particularly 'dangerous' for women (Trueba Lara 2011, 77-79). Within this context chocolate acquired a new meaning and considered a dangerous beverage especially for women and at the same time became central to the rituals of elite



members, whom utilized it to express notions on refinement and social status (Curiel 2005, 86-87). This was because during this period, there was a relationship between the pleasure of eating, and the sensual realm, where the excessive consumption of food was believed to feed the sins of the flesh (Amado Doblás 2005, 271). Also because baroque society understood food as a spectacle for the eyes and taste and therefore, a variety of flavours and textures of food were incorporated in baroque dining. These conformed with the flamboyant maiolica tableware and specialized objects like drinking vessels for chocolate that emphasized the visual spectacle of the meals.

The maiolica cups from the convent of La Encarnación are exemplary in their decoration. Therefore a closer examination to these vessels may provide insights to how cultural identities of religious women were expressed through the use of objects and food. On the one hand, the decorative schemes and variety of vessel forms suggest an individualized sense of taste. These were placed on the exterior surface of the vessels, which suggest that these were used in a public arena for display. These objects are likely to have been used in dining and drinking chocolate that involved interaction with outsiders or as part of a social competition amongst other religious women.

Turkeys and birds, lions, cherubs and rabbits, with flowers and landscapes, and maidens depicted in polychrome constructed a vivid imagery, possibly inspired by ecstatic visions and raptures that enticed the viewer (Figures 6.2.1.1-6.2.1.5). In Christian iconography, lions were often used to symbolize the Resurrection (Lazarro 1995,197). Also, the hearts reminded of the devotion towards Christ (Speake 1994). These may have held moral and religious connotations, and constituted a shared vocabulary that was imbued with 'mystique'. Other images correspond to maidens and still others, to cherubs. Other images, such as the turkey, could have been linked with wealth and nobility, but also as a warning against gluttony (Amado Doblás 2005, 268-270; 285). It is acknowledged that symbols are always ambiguous, and that they can hold different meanings for different people. However, the finding of these images in objects that were used for



Figure 6.2.1.1 Tableset of Abo Polychrome

drinking chocolate, suggests that they could have been linked with notions related with wealth, nobility and as warnings against gluttony and sensorial raptures.



Figure 6.2.1.2 Cup with lion motif



Figure 6.2.1.3 Cup with maiden



Figure 6.2.1.4 Cup with a winged heart motif



Figure 6.2.1.5 Cup with cherub

During the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, religious and secular women were active participants of religious mysticism, and writers of their spiritual experiences. They actively engaged in spiritual exercises that allowed them combat the Devil, a reference that is found along most of the sixteenth to eighteenth century writings that are provided by Muriel (1993). The ideal woman was devout, humble, obedient, virtuous and chaste. Visual representations that were drawn in books included vivid imagery of flowers and birds and smells from Paradise. Women in vice royal Mexico and particularly religious ones, reach perfection and obtained sacred visions through spiritual eyes through meditation (Muriel 1993, 313-471).

As such, the imagery might have interacted with the owner and the viewer and utilized to express notions on a personal relation with God and both spiritual and mundane ideals that involved wealth and social standing. It is curious to note that such religious imagery derived imagery was placed on cups used for drinking chocolate. These images could have been interpreted by the users as constant reminders that prevented them from indulging in pleasures of the flesh such as gluttony and lust.

### *6.2.2 Chinese porcelain and the cultural identities of women*

Chinese porcelain has a potential to explore the construction of female identities in colonial Mexico. This is suggested by their relatively high occurrence in sites inhabited by women such as the nunnery La Antigua Enseñanza, the National Palace, Capuchinas and Mina 32, in comparison to that in male religious institutions (Tables 6.2.2.1-6.2.2.2). Moreover, personal letters and inventories belonging to elite women from

Mexico City from the seventeenth and eighteenth century, also mention the possession of expensive items that were sometimes gifts amongst women and include cups from China for broths and chocolate (Ballesteros 2008, 75; 86-87; Bonta de la Plezuela 2008, 289-323; Socolow 2000, 195). While women may not have been the only consumers of Chinese tableware in colonial Mexico City, the spatial distribution of material culture and particularly the drinking (Figure 6.2.2.1) vessels may stand as indicative of female cultural groups and rituals in the archaeological sites.

The consumption of Eastern products satisfied the needs of the elite women of lavish display in the 'elite theatre' where outward appearances were important. According to Porter (2002, 396-408), Chinese objects offered Western consumers and particularly women with a "novelty with a four thousand year-old lineage" that satisfied their pleasure of gazing at its polychrome surfaces with "impenetrable meanings". These were imprinted with a "pedigree" that spoke about fashion but also about family lineage and wealth. *Chinoiserie* contested the Western canons of taste and therefore, its "anti-aesthetic" qualities and culturally impenetrable meanings fascinated the viewers. In New Spain and particularly in Mexico City, women gathered in a female space within their households known as *estrado* hall, often decorated with Eastern objects, to drink chocolate in porcelain cups (Couturier 2005, 167; Curiel 2000, 86-87; Slack 2012, 109-110). Chinese objects and their decoration were considered amongst Spanish American elites as expressions of taste, prestige and social standing, in a similar fashion as the royal palace in Madrid (Baena Zapatero 2012, 38; 41-50). These were an important part of female consumption in everyday life. The decorative schemes found in the objects encompassed a female visual language that was 'secret' and 'encoded' (Slack 2012, 109). The use of Chinese porcelain in the *estrado* area enabled women to engage with the world through rituals that involved drinking chocolate.

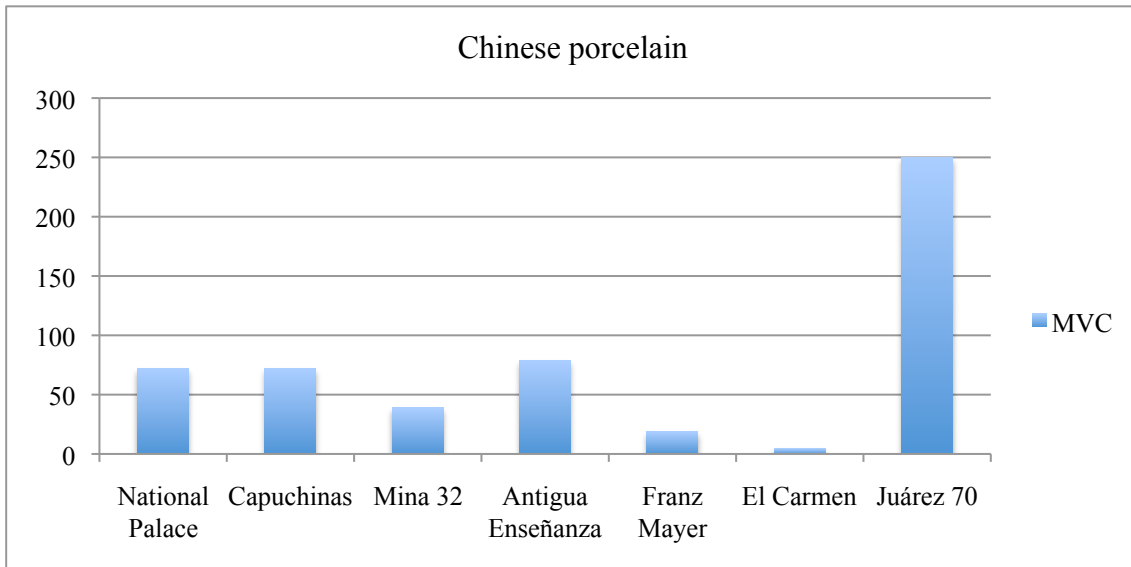


Table 6.2.2.1 Spatial distribution of Chinese porcelain

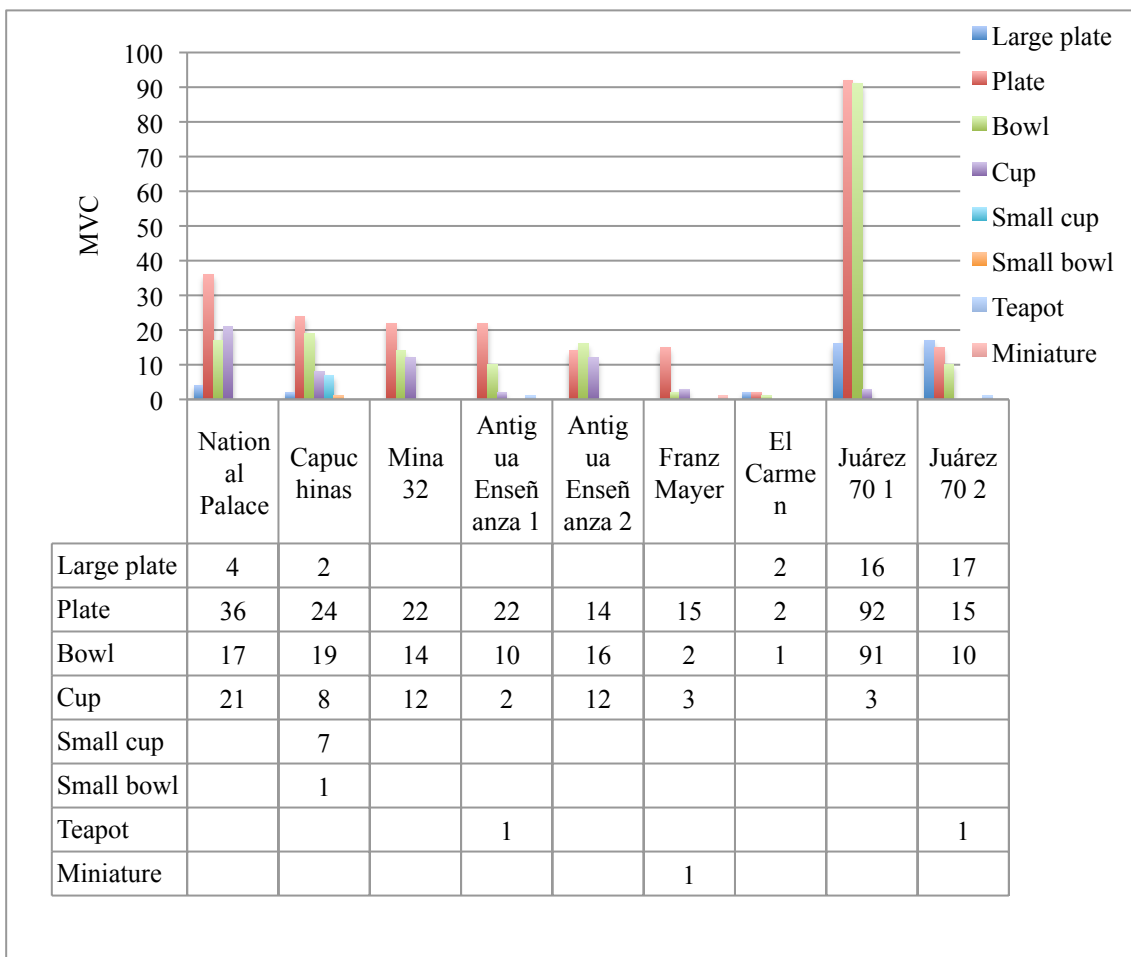


Table 6.2.2.2 Spatial distribution of vessel forms of Chinese porcelain



Figure 6.2.2.1 Cups of Chinese porcelain and maiolica

### 6.2.3 Toys

The toys that had been analyzed in this thesis correspond to eighteenth century small-scale representations of maiolica tableware: Bowls, plates and pitchers that were decorated in the same fashion as regular size fine grade maiolica vessels of Puebla White and Puebla Blue on White (Figure 6.2.3.1). This suggests that skilled craftsmen manufactured them. These objects were found in the samples from of La Antigua Enseñanza and La Encarnación, Mina 32 and the monastery of El Carmen (Table 6.2.3.1). It is interesting to note that in the present study, there were no miniatures that had been identified as belonging to earlier centuries. Their occurrence during the eighteenth century might indicate changes in the way cultural identities of women and possibly children took expression. The research on the world of toys and their possible relationship with adults and children has been overlooked in the archaeology from colonial Mexico. This might be due to the relative scarcity of this type of material culture and information regarding it, but also because of the various interpretations given to these objects, and to the ephemeral quality of longing and of children's play.

In this thesis the term 'toy' refers to objects used by adult and children to play with, but also the miniatures and trifles used in every day life, ornaments and small-scale representation of objects and people. Whilst these can be used as a pastime but do not necessarily imply a function related with infants. Toys can be defined as souvenirs, as

objects for longing and remembrance. As small-scale representations of the physical world executed by artistic craftsmen, miniatures manipulate reality and at the same time, embody the world of fiction, the “daydream”. Toys mediate between the everyday life and the idealized and internal one. They are linked to imaginary places and as such, are devices for nostalgia (Stewart 1993, 55-57).

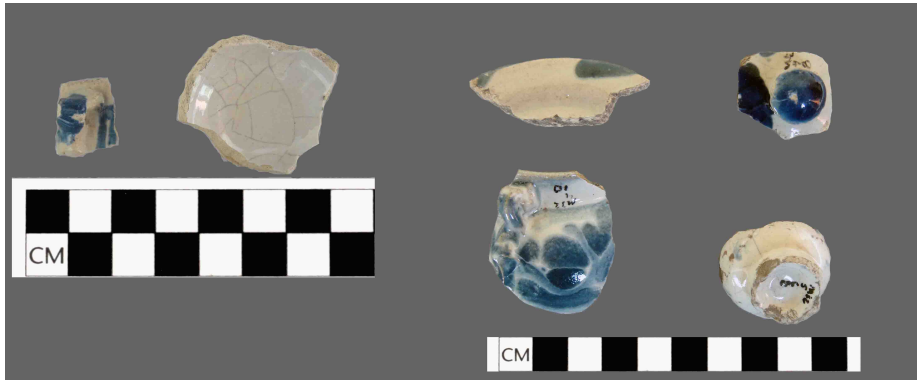


Figure 6.2.3.1 Miniature vessels

Personal and commercial inventories belonging to the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries mention ceramic toys, also labelled as “miniatures” amongst other types of material culture belonging to adult individuals, men and women (Table 6.2.3.2). The information drawn from these documents might shed light to the uses given to this particular kind of material culture by different gender groups in colonial Mexico. For example, the personal inventories of the marquise of San Jorge y Lope de Osorio, and that of the marquise Retes Paz Vera from Mexico City mention small tibors, cups and pitchers of Chinese porcelain and maiolica that were displayed in their cabinets of marvels in the *estrado* hall (Ballesteros 2008, 74; Curiel 2000, 81-83).

It is worth noticing that whilst in the eighteenth century one large plate of Chinese porcelain could cost 6 *pesos* (see Table 5.1.2) a complete miniature table set could cost 300 *pesos* (Table 6.2.3.3), and thus constituted expensive items. Small-scale representations of actual furnishings that were displayed in the cabinets of marvels and doll- houses during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were intended of adult amusement in European cultures. These constituted devices to amuse the eye and were the materialization of an ideal world and society (Stewart 1993, 61-62). Moreover, it

was not until the eighteenth century that small-scale representations of daily life objects were actually intended for children's play (Hume 1969, 313). This is curious to note because during the seventeenth century in Spanish society, children were not entitled to have toys, except those that pertained to the nobility (Moreno Villa n/d).

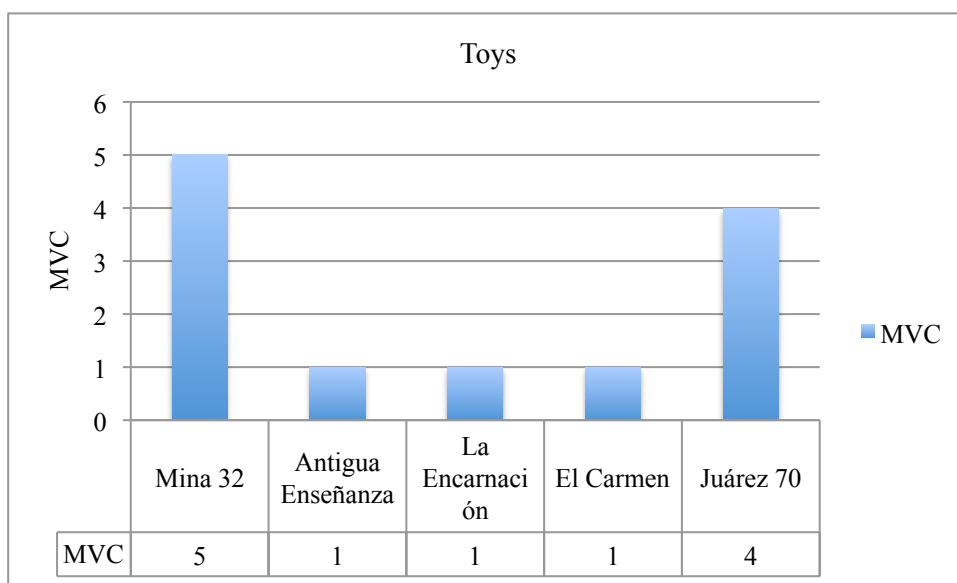


Table 6.2.3.1 Spatial distribution of miniature vessels

Year	Owner	Quantity/ Kind of object
1695	<i>Doña Teresa María Guadalupe Retes*</i>	<i>50 small pieces of Chinese porcelain</i>
1715	<i>Doña Juana de Luna Arellano*</i>	<i>Unknown</i>
1739	<i>Doña María Graciana de Velasco Pere*</i>	<i>30 Toys</i> <i>30 Small toy cups</i>
1747	<i>Don Francisco Mathías de Bustos Moy**</i>	<i>Dozen Toys</i>
1756	<i>Don Agustín Moreno y Castro**</i>	<i>Dozen Toys</i>
1756	<i>Don Francisco José de Ovando y Solís</i>	<i>Complete miniature table set</i>

Table 6.2.3.2. Personal inventories and toys. Taken from Bonta de la Plezuela (2008, 307-326)

Year	Object	Quantity	Price
1695	<i>Miniatures</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>16 pesos</i>
--	<i>Miniatures</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>14 pesos</i>
--	<i>Cups for chocolate</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>8 pesos</i>
--	<i>Cups for chocolate</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2- 4 reales</i>
1793-1794	<i>Tibor for chocolate</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>6 reales</i>
1739	<i>Small toy cups</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>1 peso</i>



--	<i>Toy</i>	30	7 pesos
1784	<i>Fo dog</i>	1	1 peso
1756	<i>Miniature table set</i>	<i>Complete set</i>	300 pesos
1711, 1747	<i>Large plate</i>	1	8-20 reales
1747	<i>Toys</i>	12	1 peso
1748	<i>Tibor ½ vara height</i>	1	3 pesos
--	<i>Tibor 2/3 vara height</i>	1	25 pesos
1784	<i>Pitcher</i>	1	10 pesos

Table 6.2.3.3. Comparative prices of miniatures and toys and other objects of Chinese porcelain. Taken and modified from Bonta de la Plezuela (2008)

The relationship between miniature vessels, children and games can be further suggested by the representations of such in eighteenth century *casta* paintings. The first group of paintings that was considered for this analysis depicts female individuals playing with dolls and miniature objects. Others are working and interacting in the adult world through the care of children, possibly as a way of emphasizing the importance of maternity. Their importance in the adult world is further suggested by their participation in card games and sometimes even depicted in violent scenes. This was particularly observed in the painting depicting non-Spanish descendants, possibly as a warning against the perils of miscegenation (Figures 6.2.3.2-6.2.3.6).



Figure 6.2.3.2 *Casta* painting with child and dolls. Taken from García Sáiz 1989

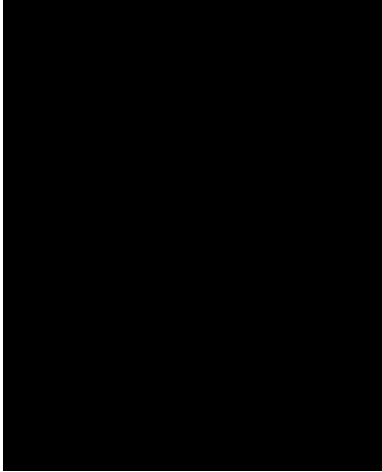


Figure 6.2.3.3 Casta painting with child and toy. Taken from Katzew 2004



Figure 6.2.3.4 Casta painting with children. Taken from Katzew 2004

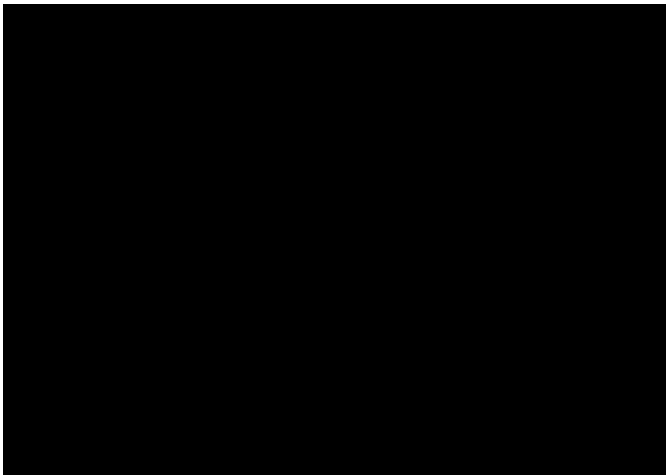


Figure 6.2.3.5 Casta painting of child playing cards. Taken from Katzew 2004

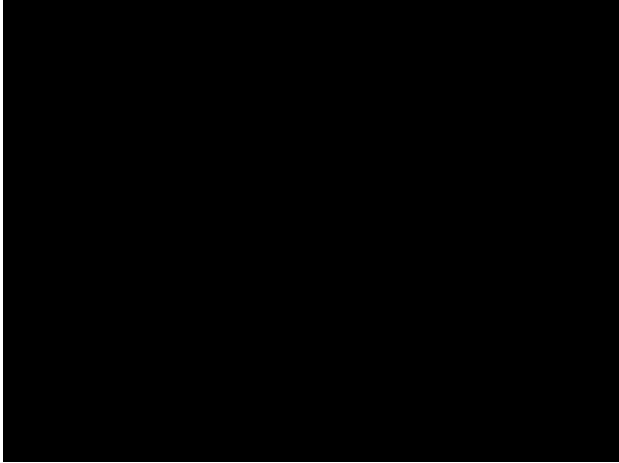


Figure 6.2.3.6 Violent scene. Taken from García Sáiz 1989

The second group of images comprised those of male individuals engaging in games, with dogs, flying kites and dancing. These are more explicit than the ones that depict material culture particularly horses, swords, peashooters, bayonets, cup and ball, whistles, running, flying kites and working (Figure 6.2.3.7- 6.2.3.16). These latter activities are often depicted with the descendants of Spaniards and might therefore be considered as activities that convey labels of social status and that constructed masculinity and the identities of elite members. Moreover, the material culture depicted in the images suggests that children engaged in the world of adults through small-scale representations of real life objects and their participation in economic and social activities that were informed by the cultural groups to which they belonged *e.g.* barber, writing, hunting and horse riding for example. Also, these paintings highlight the social differences that existed in colonial society and that were established since childhood. This is interesting in terms of how the cultural identities of adults based on the doctrine of blood purity were constructed since and early age through the use of specific material culture and games.

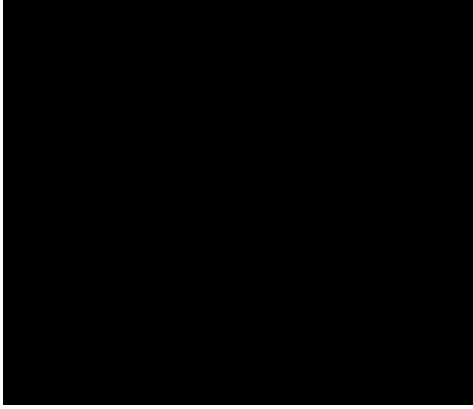


Figure 6.2.3.7 Casta painting of child with toys. Taken from García Sáiz 1989

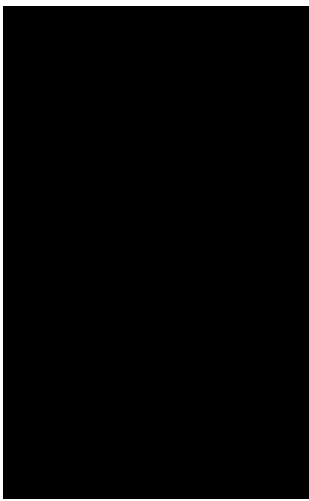


Figure 6.2.3.8 Casta painting of a child with a toy. Taken from García Sáiz 1989

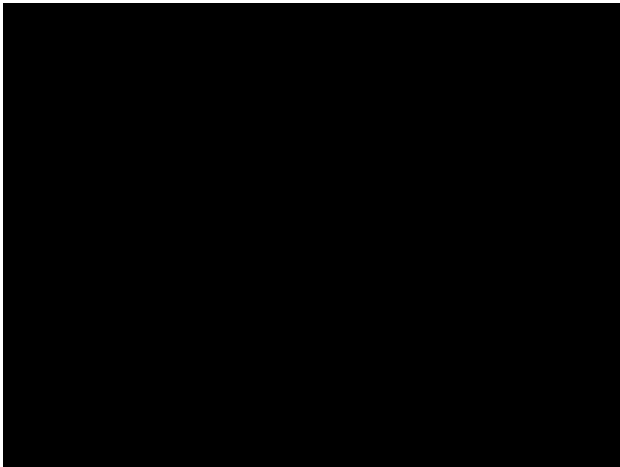


Figure 6.2.3.9 Casta painting with child and horse. Taken from García Sáiz 1989

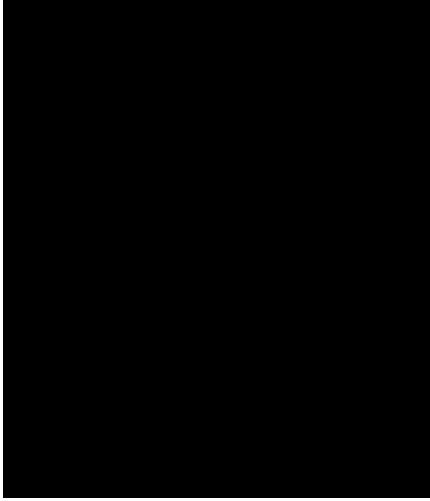


Figure 6.2.3.10 Casta painting of a child with a peashooter. Taken from Katzew 2004

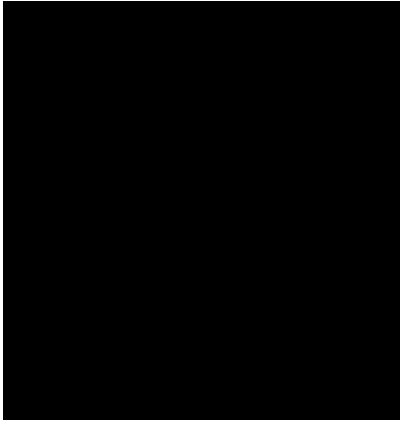


Figure 6.2.3.11 Casta painting of child with horse. Taken from García Sáiz 1989

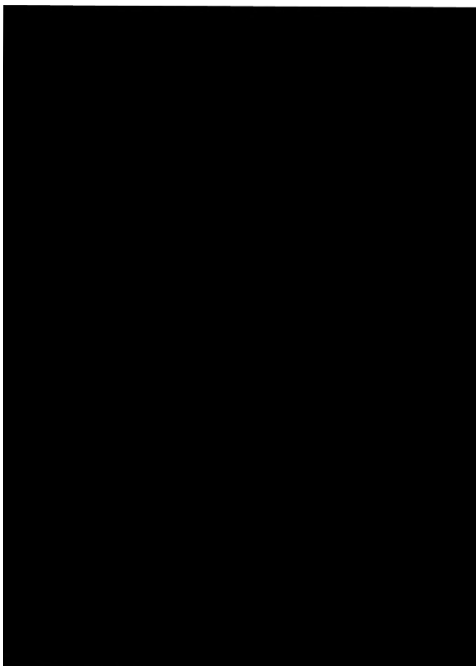


Figure 6.2.3.12 Casta painting of child with horse and sword. Taken from García Sáiz 1989



Figure 6.2.3.13 Casta painting of child with a firearm. Taken from Katzew 2004

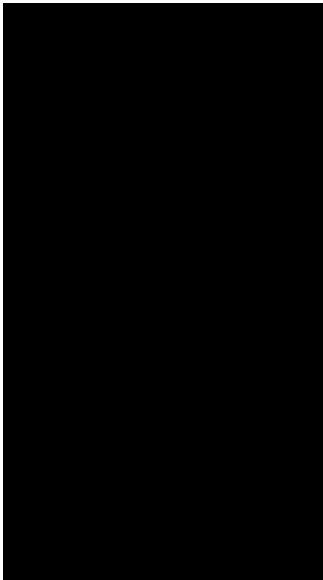


Figure 6.2.3.14 Casta painting of child with a whistle. Taken from Katzew 2004. Child with whistle

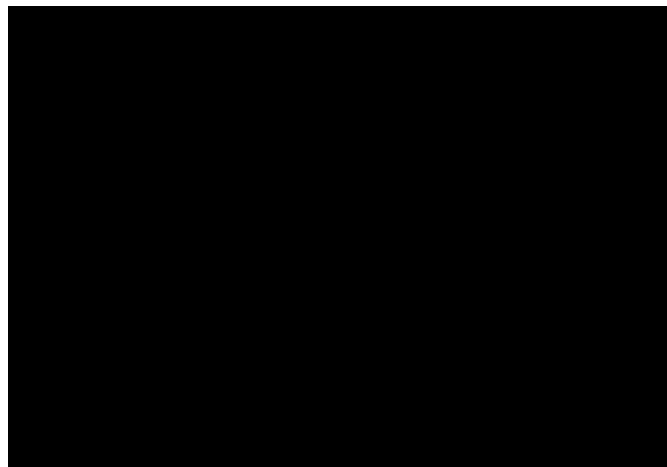


Figure 6.2.3.15 Casta painting of children playing. Taken from Katzew 2004.



Figure 6.2.3.16 Children working in a barbershop. Taken from Katzew 2003

### 6.3 *Lebrillos* and piety

The *lebrillos*, that is unglazed carinated ceramic bowls with a sealed bottom, were found in association with religious and royal institutions that had infirmaries, a relationship that had already been proposed by González Rul (1988, 397; 401). This hypothesis was based on the high proportion of fragments of *lebrillos* that had been recovered in the archaeological contexts from hospital sites throughout Mexico City and particularly, near the former hospital of San Lázaro. It has also been argued that these vessels were used for containing soft tissues and bodily fluids from the inmates of the hospitals, based on the large proportions of vessels recovered at these sites (Lugo Ramírez 2006). A third hypothesis has related these objects with drinking *pulque*, an alcoholic beverage derived from a cactus (Temple 1996, 222-227). However, while the data obtained from the analysis of these ceramic vessels in this thesis does seem to corroborate the hypothesis of González Rul, the formal characteristics of these do not suggest their use neither for containing bodily fluids nor for drinking alcohol but for baking bread of the confraternities. The fragments of *lebrillos* that were analyzed in this thesis, were found in sites that held infirmaries as in the hospital of San Juan de Dios, Juárez 70, and in the crypt of the convent of La Encarnación (see Chapter four Tables 4.1.1.23-4.1.1.24). Therefore, it is possible to suggest a relationship between this type of material culture and activities related with the ill and the dead.

It will be argued that *lebrillos* were moulds for baking bread, based on the similarities encountered between these and those known as *tābaq* (Gutiérrez Lloret 1990-91, 171-173). The *tābaq* are *lebrillos* with thick walls between 30-40 cm of diameter and 6-7 cm of height that were used to cook bread since Caliph period until the medieval in the Iberian Peninsula. This type of plate is also similar to those from the Italian peninsula known as *testi da fuoco* widely used throughout the medieval period and also utilized for baking bread. The dough was placed inside these plates that were cooked over the fire and resulted in rustic bread that could be consumed with olive oil, sauces or milk (Gutiérrez Lloret 1990-91, 171-173). There are examples of breads with stamps imprinted with clay seals on the superior surface that were used for Eucharistic bread since Early Christianity to the modern period (Breckenridge 1971, 152-154).

The analyzed ceramic samples from La Antigua Enseñanza, La Encarnación, San Juan de Dios and Juárez 70, indicated the existence of at least three different shapes and sizes of plates (18-32 cm), with thick walls (0.6-1.0 cm). The fabric utilized in their manufacture is red to buff in colour with mica, sand and calcite inclusions (0.15-0.3 cm), and present a nucleus. In many examples, it was possible to observe the traces of a red slip on the interior surface, which was generally highly worn, and a burnt exterior surface in the form of black stains produced by the direct exposure to fire. Moreover, there seem to be intentionally broken. The vessels were produced utilizing a mould and finished by hand as indicated by the presence of finger marks on the surfaces. Whilst these vessels are generally unglazed, one example from La Antigua Enseñanza was found with traces of green glazing on its interior surface.

The possibility that *lebrillos* correspond to moulds for baking bread that were used by the confraternities in colonial Mexico City, is suggested by the seals that are found on the bottom part of the vessels. These had been identified as belonging to the insignias of the religious orders from colonial Mexico (Noguera 1934, 277-278). Moreover, the *lebrillos* were also identified as similar to other vessels known as confraternity plates from Guatemala, in the southern region of New Spain (Hernández Pons *et al.* 1988, 441; 443-451). In the analyzed sample a total of 45 different imprinted motifs were identified and these could correspond to the insignia of the confraternities that were generally constituted by members of guilds (Figures 6.3.1-6.3.2). This is further suggested by the identification of letters, nails, IHS (monogram for Christ), rosette,



bulls and royal insignia such as the Hapsburg lion and the eagle. In San Juan de Dios a circle crossed by a line may correspond to the insignia of Saint Ignacio de Loyola (Figure 6.3.1). The spatial distribution of such seals may be meaningful in terms of the confraternities that were displaying charitable acts in various sites across the city. For example, different shapes of the letter 'A', bulls and lion were commonly identified in the sample from Juárez 70. The sample from La Antigua Enseñanza could be rather characterized by floral motifs, eagles, nails and the motif IHS (see Chapter four, Table 4.1.1.24).

According to Lugo Ramírez (2006, 42-44), floral and faunal representations bear some relation with particular saints such as Saint Anthony from Padua and Saint Augustine of Hipona, and with particular guilds *e.g.* the birds were possibly associated with the stonemasons while the donkey may have been related to the potters' guild. These saints were also the patrons of printers, theologians, paupers, young women looking for marriage, and sterile couples. This is used to suggest that the stamps were related with mendicant orders from the early colonial period, and also with particular saints and the guilds that held them as patrons.

The spatial distribution of the *lebrillos* shed light to this as the data suggest that these are commonly found in association with religious houses and royal institutions that had parishes with confraternities, and infirmaries that mainly focused on attending the paupers of the city. These results contrast with the ceramic samples from other sites in Mexico City that were also considered in the broader research project, namely the National Palace that was the former vice royal house, and domestic sites such as Capuchinas and Mina 32 where the *lebrillos* are absent. Further comparisons were drawn from the results presented by González Rul (1988, 397; 401) where a high proportion of *lebrillos* were found in association to hospitals sites, namely in the adjacent area to the hospital of San Lázaro in Mexico City. This hospital attended those afflicted with leprosy during the colonial period (Rodríguez 2003, 109), was under the patronage of the confraternity of Our Lady of the Bullet, and was also the location of the confraternity of the Very Precious Blood of Christ, conformed by *Morenos and Pardos*, that were descendants of African slaves (Pescador 1990, 768-769). Thus, with the data gathered at the moment, it is possible to suggest an association between *lebrillos* and

particular religious locations, infirmaries and confraternities, and this may be significant in terms of the uses given to these objects.

The use of bread for healing purposes has been documented for sixteenth century Spain where these were offered in the shrines to those afflicted with maladies, and also was offered as part of charitable acts along with wine and oil to the parishioners, and during confraternity feasts, religious and charity festivities, and also at funerals (Christian 1981, 57-62; 101; 118; 257). Bread was an essential component in charitable acts during sixteenth century Spain, as it followed the example of the life of Christ where feeding the poor and disposing of the dead were considered as supreme acts of charity. This is further attested by the wills of individuals whom stipulated that these should be fed to the poor during the feasts of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. Bread, wine and candles were commonly requested as part of the offerings served by the mourners during a funeral or the anniversary of the deceased (Eire 1995, 149; 241). The confraternities were an essential component of the religious and social life in New Spain. These religious groups engaged in a variety of rites to display charity and piety since the medieval period to the early modern one in Spain. During these rites, the distribution of loaves of bread to paupers during religious festivities was particularly important. The breads were also offered to the sick in the hospitals that were sometimes patronized by the confraternity, or even placed inside baskets with wine and candles and offered to the deceased members of the confraternities (Flynn 1985, 335- 338; 348).

It is curious to note that bread held such an important role in the offerings to the poor, the ill, in religious celebrations and particularly in those involving the dead. These charitable acts were imbued with a sense of re-enacting the life of Christ, and were considered amongst the “seven corporal acts of mercy” that including feeding the poor, taking care of the sick and burying the dead. These actions could also be considered as a public display of piety through which cultural identities were constructed, as the distribution of loaves of bread would be frequently announced publicly. In addition to the public display of piety and charity, these actions satisfied the needs of elite groups to engage in a type of spirituality that adapted to their urban modern life style and who could not pursue an enclosed or ascetic life (Flynn 1985, 335-336).



Figure 6.3.1 Examples of imprinted motifs on *lebrillos*

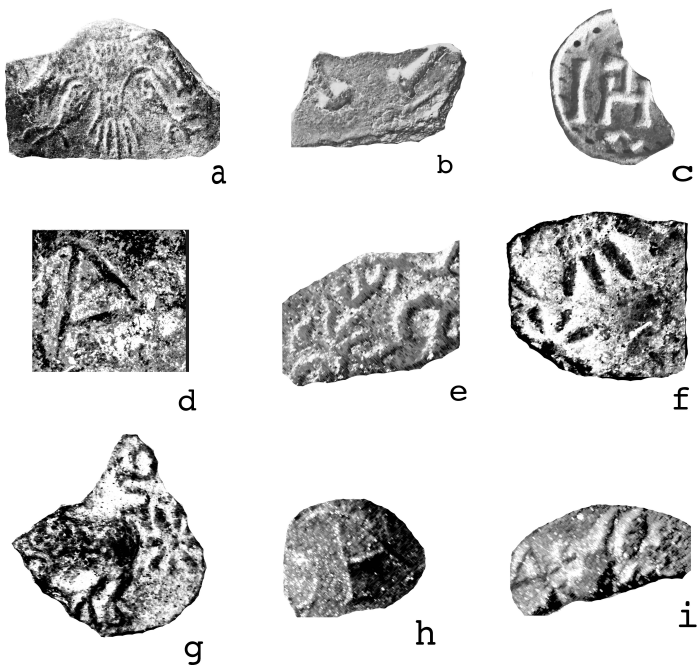


Figure 6.3.2 Examples of imprinted motifs on *lebrillos*

### *Summary*

This chapter explored the interrelationship between tableware and blood purity through the analysis of expenditure patterns and dining, and the diverse uses given to maiolica and Chinese porcelain by women and children. Ceramic objects were used to express notions on blood purity and wealth, cultural identities and as devices for nostalgia. It was interesting to note that the expenditure patterns of the sites inside the *traza* display the highest values of imported wares and expensive vessel forms such as large plates and bowls. Other differences in the patterns of consumption of ceramics were observed in the amount spent on drinking vessels of Chinese porcelain and maiolica from the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This information may suggest that by this period, different cultural groups exercised various attitudes towards material culture to display wealth and cultural identities.

The analysis of *botijas* suggested that the cultural groups inhabiting the Spanish *traza* consumed a higher proportion of these vessels and the comestibles that they contained as opposed to the groups inhabiting outside the *traza*. These data might be significant in terms of how different cultural groups chose particular material culture and food as a medium to express their cultural identities based on a sense of ‘Spanishness’. By considering the ceramic vessels and modes of decoration within the context of dining it was possible to identify two major groups. The first one comprises the ceramics pertaining to the sixteenth and mid- seventeenth century and the second one those belonging to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These ceramic groups express to a certain extent the changing attitudes on the human body and dining and were used by different cultural groups to express notions on identities and blood purity throughout the colonial period. It was interesting to note the introduction of ceramic drinking vessels during the mid-seventeenth century and this suggested the introduction of new strategies of display of wealth and cultural identities through the consumption of chocolate. Other interesting data regarding women and children was constructed through the analysis of drinking vessels, Chinese porcelain, miniature vessels and *casta* paintings. Finally, insights to the ways in which secular communities engaged in pious acts that expressed notions on blood purity and virtue was explored through the analysis of *lebrillos*.

## Conclusions

This thesis has focused on the relationship between colonial ceramics, particularly maiolica, and the doctrine of blood purity that prevailed in colonial Mexico from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century. It contributed to the understanding of how did social groups in colonial Mexico City utilized material culture in the form of tin-glazed tableware, food and dining to express their cultural identities that were shaped by the doctrine of blood purity. The results obtained from the analysis of ceramics, mainly maiolica, suggest that there existed a unified cultural identity that was based on the doctrine as reflected by the patterns of consumption of ceramics. Moreover, that the variations encountered across the ceramic samples rather express differences in wealth, notions on gender, and religious identities.

Blood purity had become a central concern of the Spanish since the fifteenth century, after the re-Conquest of the Peninsula and the ‘expulsion’ of Muslim and Jewish population. Within this context Christian Spaniards became ‘obsessed’ with the purity of the blood that was synonymous of purity of faith, virtue, honour, wealth and nobility. Because blood purity was granted at birth, along with wealth, it granted individuals with social status. After the conquest of the Aztec capital Mexico Tenochtitlan in 1521, the Spanish colonizers transferred and adapted their cultural schemes to the new colonial environment, including the doctrine of blood purity. The doctrine served as basis for the construction of a new social order known as *casta* system where wealthy Peninsular Spaniards and their descendants with a pure blood lineage, stood at the highest level over non-European groups mainly conformed by the descendants of Africans and natives. However, this ideal order of society was often broken by social transgression and miscegenation. This caused anxiety amongst members of the Hispanic elites and who put forward new strategies that allowed legitimize their social position by demonstrating a pure lineage. Because documents that demonstrated a pure blood lineage could be easily forged, elite members needed to display their cultural identities through the consumption of material culture that allowed them express notions on Spanishness, wealth, honour and virtue, and that were inherent qualities to *hidalgos* or

noble men. One of the preferred material means that elite members and aspiration groups utilized to express these notions was maiolica tableware.

This was so because maiolica related with the doctrine of blood purity at two different levels: in its fabric and the symbolic dimension that embodied notions informed by blood purity, social status, taste and morality. At the first level, its fabric and manufacture was related directly to the doctrine because from the fifteenth century and onwards, Old and 'clean' Christian Spaniards had appropriated the once Muslim industry. Furthermore, as it had been shown in the guild ordinances from the city of Puebla, one of the centres of Mexican maiolica production, from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries only individuals with an untainted lineage could become maiolica masters, and thus *casta* members were excluded. On the symbolic level, maiolica was an ideal medium to express notions on refinement, taste, morality and social status through its use in dining. This was because the contemporary ideas held on the physical and symbolic properties maiolica, dining and food intertwined with those held on the human body and the quality of the blood. Thus, dining stood as a moral discourse that was used by different cultural groups to express notions on virtue, social standing and blood purity.

The changing attitudes towards tableware that occurred in Europe during the sixteenth century privileged the use of maiolica dining sets over metal ones. In Spain, for example, this was also due to the sumptuary legislations that forbade the use of silver and gold utensils. Maiolica with its clean and white surfaces from which to eat, and a decoration that was adapted to meet the changes in fashion and Spanish taste, soon found its way to adorn the dining table of the wealthiest members of society across Europe and Spanish America. It also became an item that complemented the newly developed culinary fashion. This occurred in a context where dining was considered a medium to express refinement, morality and social standing, where food held powerful links to the quality of the blood, nobility and virtue of the diners. As it was suggested by the results obtained from the analysis of maiolica tableware in this thesis, at least in Mexico City tin-glazed tableware was one of the preferred means of self-representation used by social groups. Other ceramics were Chinese porcelain and *botijas*, along with the comestibles that these vessels contained. This was because Chinese porcelain was more expensive than maiolica and allowed the privileged social groups exhibit their

status through conspicuous consumption. In the case of the *botijas*, elite members used the ceramic vessels and the edibles they contained as signifiers of social distinction.

For the purpose of this research, the identification of the ceramic materials was done on a site- by- site basis. The analyzed ceramic samples were recovered from nine sites in Mexico City that allowed inter-site comparisons of the patterns of consumption. These correspond to the National Palace, that was the former vice royal palace, Juárez 70 located in the site of the former Hospice for the Poor, Mina 32 and Capuchinas, the convents of La Antigua Enseñanza and La Encarnación, the former hospital of San Juan de Dios, and the Edificio Anexo Franz Mayer located in an area that belonged to the hospital and finally, the monastery of El Carmen. The analysis of the ceramic materials considered the context, fabric, vessel form and modes of decoration. The presence of manufacturing defects and potters' signatures were also taken into consideration. In the particular case of *botijas*, glazing, colour and the presence of seals alongside manufacturing defects were also considered. This allowed insight to the formal variability of the samples. Also, glimpses to the production of particular ceramics were attained that include the possible existence of different workshops manufacturing *botijas* and the consumption of imported maiolica of a low quality.

The relationship between maiolica and blood purity was further explored through the analysis of potters' signatures. These were found in Mexican ceramics from the late seventeenth century and onwards and are direct expressions of the doctrine. The signatures were produced within the context where amendments were made to the guild ordinances from the city of Puebla. These aimed to differentiate the production of ordained and old Christian potter masters from forgeries. Within the analyzed ceramic samples, the signatures were mostly identified on the base of plates and bowls and others, on the interior and exterior surfaces, particularly on drinking vessels. This suggests that the marks were meant to be visible and possibly for public display as signifiers of distinction. Moreover, the relatively high variability encountered in the signatures suggests that there were a variety of "ordained" workshops producing them. Some of these signatures were compared to those reported by Cervantes (1939) and by Gómez Serafín and Fernández Dávila (2003) and allowed identify similarities.

This information suggests that some of the same workshops were distributing maiolica to different regions within the vice royalty, to Antequera, Oaxaca and to Mexico City. Furthermore, although the vessels with signatures occur in significant lesser proportions than the unmarked ones, their finding suggests that either the signed ones were less discarded because of the notions they embodied or that the vast majority of the maiolica that was being consumed by the inhabitants of Mexico City was forged or of a low quality. Fournier and Blackman (2008) and Fournier, Castillo, Bishop and Blackman (2007) had already highlighted the consumption of inexpensive versions of local maiolica by bourgeoisie groups as symbols that enabled them emulate the elites and display of wealth. The spatial distribution of the vessels that had been analyzed in this thesis suggests that both bourgeoisie and aristocratic groups consumed ‘signed’ and ‘unmarked’ maiolica. Therefore, while the unmarked vessels could correspond to forgeries or inexpensive items in comparison to those that bear a signature, at this point of the research it is hard to assert.

A major topic to consider in the future is the relationship between potters’ signatures, workshops and technology. Whilst the identification of these marks on maiolica has suggested the existence of at least 70 workshops, an analysis of the fabrics and a relationship between the marks and decoration could provide further insights to the work of different workshops, enrich the existing typologies and reconstruct the technological choices undertaken by the different potters. This could help understand to a certain extent the degree of control that the Spanish Crown exerted over the maiolica industry, as suggested by the Royal Ordinances and the individual choices undertaken by each workshop as signifier of cultural identities. This could be a similar scenario to that of the maiolica potters in Italy, where each geographical region produced its own tin-glazed ceramics. The regionalization of the production led to degree of technological innovation and craft specialization. This led to a higher competition amongst the different workshops and thus, maiolica became a regional symbol of prestige (Goldthwaite 1989).

Amongst the distinctive material culture from religious institutions are the plates that had the inscriptions of religious orders. These were found in both female and male religious institutions, and neither in secular nor royal sites. Thus, this could be considered a significant feature that distinguished the religious sites from the others and



as an expression of the cultural identities shared by the members of the religious orders, and as possible expressions of a communal way of life. Whilst the placement of inscriptions seem more common to the ceramic tableware from religious institutions, there exist a couple of examples of eighteenth century maiolica that bear the name of their owner (Pérez de Salazar Vereá 2007; 70; 85). However, their occurrence is minimal in comparison to the maiolica that bears no inscriptions and thus, these elements of decoration could stand as symbols of social status and expressions of religious identities.

In general terms, the evidence suggests that at all of the sites there was the consumption of maiolica and this can be considered as a cultural trait that was shared amongst all the cultural groups that inhabited the sites that have been considered in this thesis. Thus, it could be argued that although there were changes in the consumption patterns that were more related with differences in wealth and changes in dining, from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century, the groups that inhabited Mexico City shared a common cultural identity. And that this was so regardless of their social position, or if they belonged to religious, secular or royal sectors of society and that was expressed through the consumption of tin-glazed ceramics and to a lesser extent Chinese porcelain. This would contest the assumption made by Rodríguez Alegría (2003) that there did not exist a monolithic ideology of domination in colonial Mexico. The variations encountered across the ceramic samples do not necessarily reflect different ideologies but rather express differences in wealth. This is further suggested by variations in the relative proportions of imported and expensive ceramics that were identified from one site to another. In general terms, expensive maiolica tableware and that of Chinese porcelain along with *botijas* were more commonly found and in larger proportions in the sites inside the *traza* regardless if these were royal, religious or secular than outside the city.

The study by Rodríguez Alegría (2003) considered Red Ware that had been recovered in sites inside the city, and this led to the conclusions that Spaniards incorporated Native culture to their daily lives. Even though Red Ware was not considered in this thesis, as it has been shown in Chapter two this ceramic ware was modified to meet the Spanish taste and used as a medium for display of wealth and cultural identities. Thus, it cannot be considered as an indicator of the direct adoption of a Native culture as this acculturation process is far more complex than what has been assumed. This because

Red Ware may symbolize the recreation or enactment of the colonial drama through the use of tableware that had been shaped as Africans and Europeans. Moreover, the fact that maiolica was found in relatively high proportions in all the sites studied by Rodríguez Alegría (2003) and in the samples of this thesis, suggests that tin-glazed tableware was an important item in the lives of cultural groups that inhabited colonial Mexico City. Thus, that there was a unified cultural identity based on the doctrine of blood purity that guided the consumption of objects. Moreover, these were used as signifiers of blood purity and used as signs of distinction between European population and non-white groups.

This thesis suggests that variations encountered in the patterns of consumption of colonial ceramics were instead related to differences in the relative proportions of imported maiolica and Chinese porcelain, which were higher in the samples from the sites located inside the *traza*. However, these proportions change throughout the colonial period. For example, during the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the National Palace, Capuchinas and the secular occupation of La Antigua Enseñanza display a higher consumption of imported maiolica in comparison to other sites such as Mina 32 located outside the *traza*. This site displayed relatively low proportions of imported maiolica and a consumption of low quality local ones. This could suggest that during this period, wealth was concentrated amongst the inhabitants of Mexico City living in the *traza*. Wealthy families and courtiers might have utilized imported wares in dining and public display that emulated European fashion and as symbols that reinforced their elite position and used for constructing their cultural identities. This is further reinforced by the spatial distribution of *botijas* that were found concentrated in the sites inside the *traza*. In contrast, the monasteries display a higher proportion of local ceramics than of imported ones and Chinese porcelain. This could also speak about the varying attitudes that different cultural groups exercised towards the display of wealth through specific objects and cultural practices.

These patterns of consumption of maiolica and Oriental ceramics changed throughout the colonial period. For example, the proportions of Ch'Ing porcelain from the National Palace and Capuchinas are significantly lower in comparison to those from the Ming dynasty and in comparison to those found in the convent of La Antigua Enseñanza, Mina 32 and Juárez 70 where these proportions increased up to the eighteenth century.

In contrast, the proportions of local maiolica from the National Palace remain almost static throughout the colonial period. The changes observed in the patterns of consumption could suggest that during the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, Ming porcelain was considered an expensive item affordable only by elite members. However, as it became imported in larger quantities to Mexico during the Bourbon regime, and thus more accessible to broader sectors of society, porcelain may have lost its quality as a symbol of status amongst the 'old aristocratic circles' such as the courtiers in the palace. In contrast, it could have maintained its quality as a symbol of status and distinction amongst emerging social groups. Ch'Ing porcelain could have been utilized by these groups that needed to legitimize their social position through the conspicuous consumption of Oriental ceramics that had nevertheless fallen out of fashion for other groups. In the particular case of the convent of La Antigua Enseñanza, the foundation of this new religious house during the eighteenth century may have required the display of wealth and reaffirmation of the social status of the religious women through the consumption of these ceramics. However, considering larger samples from other sites in the city could confirm these preliminary results.

The relatively unchanging patterns of consumption of maiolica throughout the colonial period, and in the National Palace in particular, may suggest that tin-glazed ceramics of local manufacture may have acquired a new significance for colonial society. This may relate to the ideas that Hispanic groups held on tin-glazed ceramics that embodied notions on blood purity. The consumption of these during the eighteenth century may have been part of a cultural revival that reaffirmed the social identities of cultural groups in the colonial scenario. This is further suggested by the placing of potters' signatures on maiolica and the amendments made to the ordinances from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Also, eighteenth century *casta* paintings that depict Spaniards and their descendants and *casta* members with maiolica suggest miscegenation and social transgression. These may have caused anxiety amongst the members of the elites who sought new mechanisms of self-representation in a context where the imaginary boundaries between those with a 'pure' lineage and a 'tainted' one may not have been straightforward anymore. Therefore, certain cultural groups may have considered maiolica as a material culture that embodied ideas on ancestry, Spanishness and tradition, and thus this tableware could have stood as a device for nostalgia.

It was also interesting to note that the proportions of discarded maiolica found in secondary refuse deposits from the National Palace, Capuchinas, Mina 32 and La Encarnación varied from one site to another. Spanish and Italian maiolica was generally less discarded than local ceramics, except at the site of Capuchinas, which displayed the highest proportions of discard of these ceramics. While the low rate of discard of imported maiolica from some sites could reflect, to a certain extent, the value ascribed to such objects, the high rate of discard may also be indicative of wealth and related to changes in fashion. Moreover, the fragments of Chinese porcelain in this site were found semi-complete in comparison to those from Mina 32, where the vessels were found highly fragmented. The overall data suggests that maiolica flatware and bowls, which were relatively expensive, were commonly discarded. In contrast, drinking vessels that constituted relatively inexpensive items were the least discarded ones. While the consumption and discard of these items can reflect to a certain extent differences in wealth, their high or low rate of discard and state of conservation may also speak about the symbolic value that individuals attached to particular items. In the particular case of drinking vessels for chocolate, an expensive product, their participation in rituals performed by cultural groups to display social status and identities may have raised their value from the monetary one to the symbolic realm and considered as symbols of taste and refinement. These may have been also considered personal objects that embodied the identities of the owners and thus cherished and seldom disposed of. However, the analysis of larger samples from secondary refuse deposits would be required to obtain richer insights to this.

The comparative analysis of consumption of vessel forms also provided interesting results. At a site-by-site level, the data suggested that flatware, in the form of individual plates, was the most common vessel form that was consumed throughout the colonial period. And this suggests the relevance that individual dining acquired. But, there were variations observed in the consumption of particular vessels across the sites. It was observed that during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the sites inside the *traza*, such as the National Palace and Capuchinas, displayed a wider differentiation of vessel forms than other sites outside it. This was particularly observed in the consumption of large serving plates, small plates and pitchers of maiolica and Chinese porcelain. These variations could express the cultural differences in wealth between the

inhabitants of the city and those outside it, that were expressed through dining that incorporated a wider variety of meals and sophistication in table settings.

This led to the identification of two major groups of tableware. The first one belonging to the period from 1550 to 1650 and mainly characterized by flatware, bowls and *escudillas*, and the second one comprised a wider variety and sizes of plates and bowls and drinking vessels that correspond to the period from 1650 to 1800. The vessel forms that were encountered in the ceramic samples pertaining to the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are less differentiated than those from later periods. Even though the individual plates and bowls continue to be common in the samples throughout the colonial period, there is a wider repertoire in the shapes and sizes of those dating to the late seventeenth century and later, which suggests a greater sophistication in dining.

A major trait that distinguishes the tableware from the colonial period is the relative high proportion of individual plates that were possibly intended for individual diners. The preference for dining, as an individual action, was further informed by the dietary regimes prescribed by contemporary physicians and that were designed for an individual *complexio*. Thus the individualization of flatware, bowls and drinking vessels may be both an expression of refinement and taste that distinguished dining from the sixteenth century and onwards from that of the medieval period. Also an expression of humoral theory that fostered individual dining and that became a moral discourse and an expression of refinement and etiquette in the table.

The inter-relationship between tableware and modes of decoration in maiolica provided further insights to the changing attitudes of the consumers towards dining and that were related to the doctrine of blood purity. The changes in the vessel forms and decorative schemes that were identified in the samples parallel those in dining as gastronomy became more sophisticated throughout the Renaissance and Baroque periods.

Contemporary cooking books and urbanity manuals allowed reconstruct aspects related with dining and the functions of the ceramic vessels. Following this, the decorative schemes found in the maiolica from the sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries could be characterized as sober, utilizing blue and yellow over white surfaces. This was interpreted as an expression on moderation in food and against the sins of gluttony, avarice and lust that were contrary to honour and virtue. In contrast, the tableware from

later periods was characterized as an expression of the Baroque that incorporated a polychrome palette and that included zoomorphic and anthropomorphic motifs. These highly decorated surfaces in polychrome and in blue on white parallel the lavishness in dining from that period. In this context, the exotic flavours and textures of the food that was served at the table merged in a spectacle for the eye and the body that enticed the diner and aroused the senses. The high degree of individualization of these designs suggests that they may correspond to individual or special requests on behalf of the consumers and thus, the emergence of a more individualized identity.

In addition to this, the popularization of drinking rituals from the mid-seventeenth century and onwards is evidenced by the introduction of specialized vessels for chocolate manufactured in maiolica and in Chinese porcelain. The generally colourful surfaces that decorated the exterior surface of the cups paralleled the craze for chocolate, and thus these devices may have aroused the bodily senses and the spirit. The relative proportions of drinking vessels in sites inhabited by women, and those from La Encarnación in particular, which were especially common and with a lavish decoration, suggest that these objects may have belonged to female owners.

Chocolate was not exclusive to female groups, as most members of colonial society that included the clergy drank it regularly since the seventeenth century. However, it is the spatial distribution of these vessels across the sites in Mexico City and the relationship between food and the human body that was meaningful. It was believed that chocolate and food had a direct impact in the female body particularly during pregnancy, as it has been shown in Chapter one. Within this context, the female body had the capacity of transmitting beneficial and malignant traits to the unborn child and thus female sexuality ought to be controlled through the consumption of food. Women who overindulged in drinking chocolate were often held responsible of having black children and thus impure and heretic, engaging in lust and magical spells (Coe and Coe 2011, 56; 58; 2013, 136-137; Earle 2012, 133; Trueba Lara 2011, 18-19).

As it was shown in Chapter five, chocolate was also used for disguising magical powders that were used in sexual spells. In this context, chocolate was associated with elite women, and also with sensuality and witchcraft. During the colonial period, testimonies from Guatemala often involve Spaniards and mulato women with love

magic and chocolate. Special powders, derived from Native knowledge alongside with nails, hair and saliva, were mixed with the beverage. These ‘magic’ beverages could cause insanity and confusion over men. The involvement of female body parts in witchcraft allegedly practiced over men, suggests the anxiety exercised by men towards the sexual freedom of women, as these were often under the control of parents and spouses (Few 2002, 29; 53-112). It is interesting to note that the accusations against women ‘practicing love magic’ in New Spain coincide with the popularization of chocolate, as evidenced by the finding of relative high proportions of cups throughout the sites in Mexico City that had female presence. These objects could be interpreted as symbols that were utilized women to express their affiliation to elite circles, but also as ‘dangerous’ objects that conveyed ‘impurity’.

The finding of these drinking vessels across the sites of Mexico City also suggest that the elite rituals of drinking chocolate from the early colonial period and that were evidenced by the presence of vessel of Ming porcelain in the sites inside the *traza*, were adopted by various cultural groups in later periods. This was particularly observed in the consumption of less-expensive cups of maiolica and Ch’Ing porcelain. This diversity may indicate that these items were produced for the various tastes and social position of the consumers. This again suggests that by the eighteenth century the boundaries that had been set during the early colonial period between groups that ascribed themselves to blood purity circles were not straightforward anymore.

The patterns of consumption of maiolica and Chinese porcelain were further explored by constructing a scale of value that was based on the prices of imported and local ceramics. This considered the minimum vessel count that was multiplied times the price of each vessel and ceramic ware or type and enabled to obtain a wider perspective on the different amounts spent on particular ceramics in each site. It was interesting to note that while in most cases the relative proportions of ceramics equated to the amount spent on such and thus these values could be used for interpreting wealth, in others cases there were discrepancies. For example, a relative high proportion of Mexican maiolica was found in the site Mina 32. However, the expenditure in these was relatively low which suggests that the ceramics that were consumed by the inhabitants of this site were relatively inexpensive. In contrast, the convent of La Encarnación, one of the wealthiest ones in Mexico City, presented relative low proportions of maiolica

drinking vessels but the expenditure value in these was higher than in the vice royal palace.

These results suggest that it is necessary to incorporate as many analyses as possible to the quantification techniques because the relative proportions on their own can be misleading when assessing wealth. Moreover, the expenditure values allowed for the inference of the attitudes expressed by cultural groups towards particular items, which in the case of La Encarnación, the vessels for drinking chocolate seem to have been relatively significant. Consequently, this suggests that drinking chocolate was a relatively important activity that deserved the consumption of valuable objects that were possible utilized for public display and this is meaningful in terms of the ways in which religious women shaped their cultural identities.

Another interesting point is that concerning the consumption of *botijas*. The data obtained from the analysis suggested that the majority of these items correspond to middle style *botijas* that were mostly imported to New Spain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These vessels were used to contain mostly wine and olive oil as suggested by the surface treatment observed in the examples, and the measurement that was most commonly consumed was the *botija de una arroba* that is approximately 13 litres. In the specific case of the convent of La Encarnación, a variety of specimens were identified, in comparison to other sites, and they corresponded to various sizes and functions.

Two different types of fabrics were identified macroscopically, one red, and another one grey to cream, both with calcite, sand and mica inclusions. Other interesting aspects concerned the formal variability that was encountered in the samples of *botijas* in the form of seals, glazing, colour and manufacturing defects. On the one hand, these variations may stand as the result of different workshops and on the other, of an individualized expression on behalf of the potters despite the conservatism reflected in the strictures that were imposed by the Spanish Crown concerning the manufacturing of these vessels. However, a chemical study of the fabrics is necessary in the future as this would allow obtain insights to the provenance of the clays and the technological decisions undertaken by the potters as well as the existence of different workshops that



were supplying the inhabitants of Mexico City and other regions of the vice royalty with these vessels.

Another interesting element identified on the *botijas* were the seals, with findings of incised and others produced by fire and that correspond to incised letters and one circular motif produced with fire. However, the incorporation of a wider sample of these intriguing seals would have enriched this study by obtaining a wider repertoire that would allow explore their possible meanings of functions. The spatial distribution of the *botijas* shows that these were confined to the sites inside the *traza* and this suggests that until the eighteenth century, the inhabitants of the city were the principal consumers of these Spanish comestibles. These vessels, and food they contained, may have stood as an important landmark of their cultural identities that distinguished them from other social groups inhabiting outside the city. The *botijas* stand as a landmark of the colonization of the space and the mentalities of the period through the implantation of a common measuring system and perceptions of taste from Spain to the Indies that constructed a common cultural identity through the consumption of objects and food.

Other variations were related to the proportions of Chinese porcelain that was consumed across the sites, finding that, in general terms, the monastic sites inhabited by male individuals displayed the lesser proportions of this type of tableware in comparison to other sites, particularly Capuchinas and the convent of La Antigua Enseñanza. Also, the drinking vessels, such as cups and handless cups, seemed to be more common or in higher proportions in the royal palace and the female convents in comparison to the monastic sites.

The spatial distribution of drinking vessels and particularly of tablesets of Chinese porcelain contributed to the broader study of women. The relative proportions and of tableware of Chinese porcelain suggested a higher consumption in the sites inhabited by women than in male religious institutions. Chinese porcelain tablewares may also have stood as an indicator of wealth and as belonging to women from a high social status, given its relative high price in the market in comparison to maiolica. The value ascribed by the consumers to display wealth and social status may have changed throughout the colonial period, finding that by the eighteenth century, there was not a uniform consumption of Eastern ceramics. Despite this, its relationship with female groups is

still suggested by the contemporary inventories and commercial registers that mention porcelain as part of the possessions of women and that were displayed and used in dining as well as in female spaces like the *estrado* hall within the household.

The identification of eighteenth century toys in the form of miniature maiolica vessels, enabled insights into the construction of the identities of women and children to be gained. These were encountered in the samples across the sites, and particularly in that of Mina 32 where the highest proportion was identified. The difficulty encountered in establishing a possible relationship between these objects and either female groups or children was exemplified by the fact that these were identified also on monastic sites. The mention made to toys and miniatures in commercial registers from the eighteenth century, and that relate to male owners, also added to the complexity of their identification. Despite this, the seventeenth-century inventories that pertained to elite women from Mexico City, also list these items, and these could have also belonged to doll houses that were already popular in the eighteenth century. Thus, it is possible that the toys were related with the ideas held on femininity by colonial society and can inform about the inner world of women, as these objects may have stood as an idealized domestic realm, as souvenirs and even as devices of nostalgia.

Other sources of information that could explore the possible relationship between toys and children were found in the contemporary *casta* paintings. These depict infants with toys that include miniature vessels and dolls, amongst others, and engaging in a variety of games. Thus, these could also be indicators of the presence of children at the archaeological sites in this study. If so, the toys may have been used to actively construct the ideological realm that was based on blood purity from an early age. However, a larger sample would allow identify these items with specific cultural groups, as the uses given to these could vary from one context to another. Also, attention to other objects that could be identified as toys such as miniature horses and house furnishings, swords and clay figurines would be required in order to obtain a wider overview on the construction of femininity and childhood. The ephemeral quality of children's play, and the fact that almost any item has the potential to be used as a toy, adds complexity to the identification of such material culture in the archaeological samples. Having said that, the acknowledgement of childhood in the eighteenth century as suggested by the visual representation of infants in the *casta* paintings, that depict

them as a distinctive cultural group to that of adults, could add awareness on the identification of such items on behalf of contemporary researchers working at eighteenth century sites.

Other material culture that could possibly be considered as characteristic of the sites that had hospitals corresponds to *lebrillos*. The identification of the vessel form, size, a characterization of the fabric, seals and surface treatment, allowed attain an alternative interpretation of the functions that these vessels had in colonial Mexico (see Chapters four and five). The analyzed samples of *lebrillos* suggest that a relationship found by González Rul (1988, 397; 401) between these vessels and religious institutions is accurate. The data obtained from the analysis of the formal characteristics of the *lebrillos* do not suggest their use neither for containing bodily fluids nor for drinking alcohol but for baking bread of the confraternities. These vessels allowed the interaction between members of the elite and *castas*, the poor, the ill and the dead. And thus, these items may be an expression of the religious piety of different cultural groups in Mexico City.

There exists a body of historical studies on the confraternities in colonial Mexico. However, this research field has not been fully explored through a material culture perspective. Therefore, the study of colonial ceramics like the *lebrillos* has the potential to inform on the rituality in which the inhabitants of Mexico City engaged, as well as the conformation of religious groups conformed by elite and *casta* members. These objects may have the potential to inform on the relationship between piety and blood purity, and on social relations and religious praxis. Further questions arise concerning the seals and their positive identification with particular confraternities and guilds, and the chronology of manufacture of these vessels.

The study of a wider sample of *lebrillos* could enable identify their spatial distribution throughout the city. This would enable the reconstruction of the religious landscape and the possible relationship between ‘sacred’ locations and particular cultural groups, and may inform on the different ways in which people utilized the spaces and engaged with the spiritual realm. Such a study might also reveal the ways in which cultural groups in Mexico City expressed their spirituality and identities through the use of specialized ceramic vessels that stand as the material remains of forgotten practices. Whilst this

analysis provided with an alternative interpretation to the uses given to the *lebrillos*, it would be necessary to conduct a chemical analysis of organic remains in order to further support this hypothesis. Other interesting data could be obtained from the identification of the imprinted motifs with particular guilds and/or confraternities. Also, a chemical analysis of the fabrics would allow insights to the manufacturing techniques and the positive relationship between the imprinted motifs and the existence of different workshops.

In conclusion, the results presented in this thesis have contributed to the overall studies of colonial ceramics and maiolica in particular, in that it explored the interrelationship between tin-glazed ceramics and the doctrine of blood purity. It undertook a comparative approach of the patterns of consumption in the samples from nine sites in Mexico City. This allowed observe how members of colonial society shared a cultural identity that was based on the doctrine of blood purity and was expressed through the consumption of maiolica and other ceramics that were used as signs of distinction. The variations in the patterns of consumption of ceramics were interpreted as expressions of differences in wealth and taste on behalf of the consumers that was guided by the need to express notions on femininity or religious piety for example.

The research undertaken in this thesis also contributed to the broader field of studies on material culture and dining from the Renaissance and Baroque periods by considering ceramic tableware that had been recovered from excavations in archaeological sites in Mexico City. By examining the interrelationship between vessel forms and modes of decoration, it was possible to understand how the perceptions that contemporary society held on the human body, and guided the consumption of objects and food. The analysis of the samples enabled the characterization of those that were in use from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century, and identified their specific function for containing food. This allowed identify the chronological change in the vessel forms and modes of decoration throughout the colonial period and relate these with changes in dining and perceptions on the doctrine of blood purity. The information withdrawn from the modes of decoration and vessel forms suggest a degree of conservatism on behalf of the consumers in New Spain reticent to changes as these prevail throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century, when the Baroque came into fashion. The ceramics from the late seventeenth and eighteenth century suggest a wider degree of individualization on

behalf of the consumers as more differentiated table sets, vessel forms and modes of decoration were identified in the samples. This could imply changes in the identities of the consumers towards a discovery of the self during the eighteenth century, and a need to display a more personalized or individual identity.

It was possible also to address how the consumption of objects and dining were informed by the physiognomic understanding of the human body and how this was translated into a discourse on morality, virtue and nobility by the elites and emulating social groups. The identification of flatware in the form of individual plates in the excavated samples as the most common vessel form, suggest that individual dining was preferred over communal one from the sixteenth century and onwards. The notions that contemporary society held on the individual *complexio* and food informed the preferences for individual dining. These were raised from the physical to the moral realm and reinterpreted as signifier of etiquette and social standing that paralleled those in the Old World.

It is acknowledged that the samples that were available for analysis were not extensive, however these were representative of the ceramics that were recovered from each site. Nevertheless, larger samples, and also the inclusion of those from other sites across Mexico could provide further comparisons that would allow understand the meaning of the similarities and differences between different assemblages and identities of the consumers. The sample of Chinese porcelain from La Encarnación could not be included in the ceramic analysis and thus, this remains to be explored as it would allow further comparisons with those from the convent of La Antigua Enseñanza and others located in Mexico City. This also applies to the *botijas* and *lebrillos* where larger samples could provide richer insights to their spatial distribution, consumption patterns and manufacturing defects in relation to the cultural identities of the potters and consumers.

A larger sample from secondary refuse deposits would enable a future study to undertake a richer biographical approach of the excavated ceramic samples. While it was possible to identify differences in the patterns of discard within the analyzed samples that considered the state of preservation of the ceramics when discarded, and that allowed insights to differences in wealth, a larger sample of these would allow

richer insights to the use, reuse, recycling processes and final disposal. This would allow an understanding of the changes in the meanings attached to particular ceramics that could range from items used for dining and the display of wealth to decorative ones and representatives of a family lineage, as devices for nostalgia. Thus, a biographical approach of the ceramics found in refuse deposits may allow explore the ways in which objects are raised from the economic or monetary realm to the symbolic one.

However, this thesis has made significant insights into the ways in which cultural groups utilized ceramic tableware to express notions on blood purity that shaped their cultural identities. By undertaking a comparative approach of the patterns of consumption of maiolica and other ceramics that were in use during the colonial period, it has been possible to contribute with a wider perspective to this area of research. There are still many avenues of enquiry in the study of the material culture that was used in dining, and the ways in which it was related to the perceptions that cultural groups held on the human body and informed the ideological realm. Hopefully, the results derived from this investigation will shed light to the field of study of colonial ceramics and dining from Mexico and elsewhere. It may arouse the interest of both scholars and students working in the field of material culture, cultural identities and food in European societies from the early modern period, and who can contest the results presented in this thesis and that would encourage them to conduct further research that would provide alternative interpretations.

## ***Glossary***

*Arroba*.- Measure unit that corresponds to approximately 13 litres.

*Arrope*.- A syrup or jelly made of sweet grape concentrate.

*Blood purity*.- A religious, social and moral doctrine that originated in 15<sup>th</sup> century Spain during the Counter Reformation. It can be roughly defined as the absence of Jewish and Muslim blood or ancestors. The doctrine distinguished between Old Christians, also known as clean or beautiful Christians, and the new converted ones with a Muslim and Jewish background. The doctrine was transferred to New Spain in the sixteenth century and prescribed social separatism between Spaniards and Africans and the “mixed” offspring of these two ethnic groups.

*Antigua Enseñanza*.- The Ancient Teaching was a convent founded in the mid-eighteenth century inhabited by religious women pertaining to the Company of Mary. It was dedicated to Our Lady of the Pillar and its main activity focused on the teaching of women that pertained to elite families in Mexico.

*Botija*.- An earthenware container that derived from the Mediterranean amphorae and was presumably manufactured in Spain. It is also known in archaeological literature as “olive jar”. Botijas were used for transporting water and comestibles like wine and olive oil to Spanish America.

*Carmelites*.- Religious order that originated as a hermit settlement in Mount Carmel, Palestine. It received its first rule in 1210. The Carmelite Order arrived to New Spain in 1585, during the reign of Philip II. The Carmelites founded the monastery of Desierto de los Leones and that of San Angel in the seventeenth century, with its prestigious college where Theology was taught.

*Casa de Contratación*.- House of trade allocated in Seville and then in Cadiz that regulated the commerce to the Spanish colonies.

*Casta.*- Word of Portuguese and Spanish origin and that derives from Latin *castus* meaning pure, virtuous, pious and sacred. The Spaniards employed this term in the Americas from the sixteenth century to refer to the impurity of faith and blood of African and Native groups, and to describe race and lineage e.g. *Albarrazado*, *Coyote*, *No te entiendo*, *Zambo*, *Zambaigo*.

*Casta painting.*- A pictorial genre from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries consisting of a series of consecutive images that depict a contemporary ‘typology’ of the three major ethnic groups inhabiting New Spain – Spaniards, Natives and Africans – as well as the complex miscegenation amongst these. Some of these paintings are attributed to artists like Miguel Cabrera.

*Casta system.*- A social and hierarchical order that was based on blood purity, skin colour, racial and cultural characteristics where Peninsular Spaniards and their descendants stood at the highest level over non-European groups, mainly conformed by the descendants of Africans and Natives.

*La Encarnación.*- Convent that founded in March 30 1594 by five nuns from the Convent of La Concepción. It was situated in Mexico City and inhabited by women pertaining to the *Concepcionista* religious order. It was one of the largest and wealthiest convents in the city. One of the most fascinating archaeological finds from this religious building are the skeletal remains of the nuns attired with crowns and personal belongings that were excavated by Carlos Salas Contreras (INAH) in 1991-1992 (see Salas Contreras 2006).

*Encomienda.*- Feudal system based on vassalage. The encomienda was a reward given to conquistadors and their descendants for serving the Spanish Crown. Along with the lands, this award included a certain number of native people that inhabited and worked in these. While the encomienda system disappeared during the early eighteenth century in most of the regions within New Spain, in the Yucatan Peninsula it prevailed until the end of that same century.



*Escudilla*.- Term utilized in sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish cooking manuals to designate a measurement for sugar, for example. Also, it is the name of certain dishes that were served at the table. In Archaeology it is also used to designate a carinated bowl of maiolica in Islamic and Medieval style.

*Estrado*.- Elevated space located in the hall of wealthy residences in Mexico City. It was designated for female interaction and socialization, where music was played, books were read and chocolate was drunk.

*Hacendado*.- Holder of a hacienda that is an extensive land tenure mainly dedicated to agricultural activities, the exploitation of the natural resources found within those lands, and typically characterized by the use of enslaved labour force.

*Hidalgo*.- Term used to refer to a person of noble origin.

*Juanino*.- Monk member of a religious order of the same name. The Juaninos were under the patronage of Saint Juan de Dios (John of God) and took care of the mentally ill. This religious order arrived to Mexico in 1604 by a petition made by viceroy Juan de Mendoza to Philip III, king of Spain and were granted with the administration of the Hospital of San Juan de Dios.

*Lebrillo*.- Earthenware vessel with a sealed bottom. These are typically not decorated except for the seal, have a carinated shape with low walls and are commonly associated with hospitals from the Colonial period in Mexico City. The term *lebrillo* is also used to designate any earthenware recipient that can be used for multiple purposes *e.g.* washing.

*Maiolica*.- Spanish tin-glazed ceramics of an Islamic tradition. Also known as Majolica, Mayólica, Faenza and Delftware.

*Molcaxete*.- Tripod ceramic or stone vessel that derives from an Aztec tradition and typically used for grinding food.

*Nahua*.- Ancient Mexican. Native group from central Mexico and speaker of Náhuatl.

*Pocillo*.- Handless cup made of maiolica or porcelain and used during the colonial period in Mexico City for drinking chocolate.

*Pulque*.- A native alcoholic beverage from central Mexico. A fermented juice with a milk colour derived from a cactus known as maguey.

*Sanbenito*.- *San Benito*. Dress used by those accused by the Holy Office. It consisted of a robe or garment with a painted cross over the chest area. The colour of the cross could vary depending on the type of sin, and if he or she was repentant or not for example. Additionally to the robe, a conical shape hat was also worn and this would also denote the type of sinner. Sambenito is also the name of some curious anthropomorphic clay figurines attired in a similar fashion and that have been found in some excavations in Mexico City.

*San Juan de Dios*.- Hospital founded *ca.* 1604 by Juanino monks for orphans, *castas* and the mentally ill.



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