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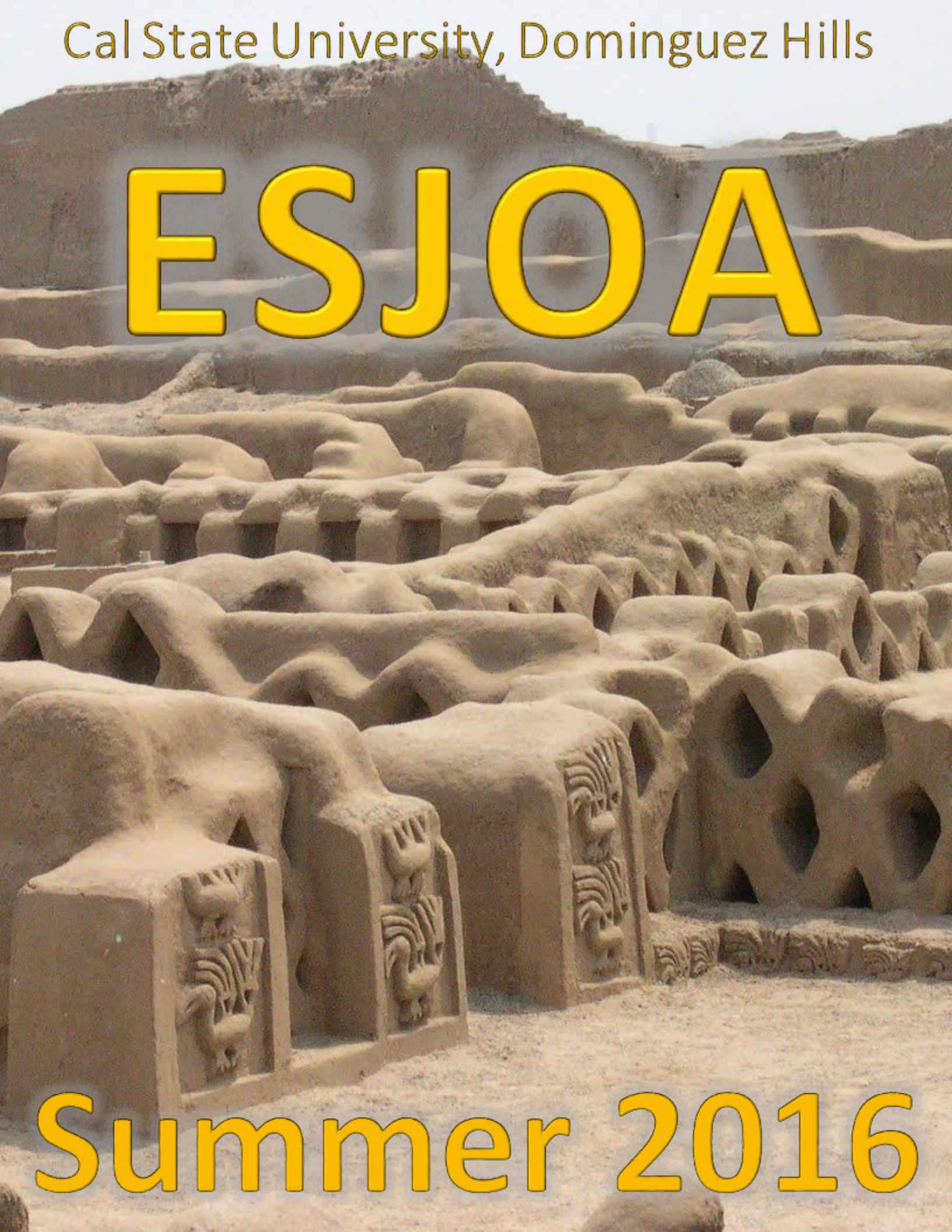

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Sambaquis: Just Piles of Shells, or Something More?

By: Christopher Brito

Introduction

Sambaquis are shell mounds of various sizes that dot the coast of Brazil. They can be 2 to 18 meters tall and even bigger. The word “sambaqui” comes from the Tupi language with “…tamba meaning shellfish and ki a pilling up.” (Gaspar 1998: 592). As the name indicates, the sambaquis are made of mostly mollusk shells. There is also fish bones, land mammal bones, lithic artifacts, sand, and soil. The larger sambaquis have more complex stratigraphy with multiple layers of sand and shells. The smaller sambaquis are usually layers of shells over a pile of sand and are not very complex (Gaspar et al. 2008).

The majority of sambaquis are dated between 4000 BP and 2000 BP, with the oldest sambaquis along the coast dating to 8000 BP (Gaspar et al. 2008). I say the oldest coastal sambaqui because the oldest sambaquis, which are dated to 9200 BP, are located inland along the Ribiera de Iguape (Gaspar et al. 2008: 320). These inland sambaquis, or riverine sambaquis, are quite different from their coastal counterparts. Instead of mollusk shells, the riverine sambaquis are made up of edible land snail shells, and the shell mounds are quite small, only rising to 2 meters in height.

About 1000 of sambaquis have been officially recognized by the Instituto de Patrimônio Histórico Nacional. This number is considered low for a few reasons. One of these reasons is Brazil’s coast line. It is extraordinarily long and it is possible that there are some sambaquis that have not been discovered yet. The main reason for this low number is the destruction of the sambaquis by modern day humans. “Large coastal cities such as Rio de Janeiro and Salvador used lime burnt from the shells of the sambaquis for colonial buildings.” (Gaspar 1998: 593). The shells have also been used

for the construction of roads, instead of gravel (Moore 2014). Many sambaquis have been partially or totally destroyed for this construction purpose.

There is a debate amongst anthropologists and others whether the sambaquis were just piles of shellfish or something more. Paulo de Blasis and others have argued that the sambaquis were not by-products of shellfish collection but features in an anthropogenic landscape. If what Paulo de Blasis argues is true, what type of evidence should we see? What are the various sets of evidence to determine whether the sambaquis were not by-products of shellfish collection? This paper will examine the funeral/burial evidence, habitation evidence, and spatial evidence that have been obtained and determine if there is enough evidence to prove that the sambaquis are more than just piles of shells.

Background

As previously stated, there has been some debate concerning the origins of the sambaquis. In Brazil, during the late 1800s, this was a major debate and it was central to the Archaeological studies happening in the country (Wagner 2014). There were three different opinions on the possible origins of the sambaquis. They were natural, artificial, and mixed. The naturalist explanation says, plainly, that the sambaquis were made from natural forces. They were created by sea fluctuations and through tectonic upheavals or depressions of the land along the coast of Brazil (Wagner 2014). The second opinion is the artificial explanation, that the sambaquis were created by prehistoric people, the opinion that Paulo de Blasis and others have been arguing for. The last opinion, mixed, is exactly what is says. It is a mixing of the two previous opinions. In the mixed opinion it is believed that there are large shell mounds originally, with some sambaquis made by humans, and some of the artificial sambaquis are overlapping the natural sambaquis (Wagner 2014).

Continuing on this past uncertainty of the origins of the sambaquis, there are two hypotheses on the origins of the people who built the sambaquis. One of the hypotheses states the sambaqui builders came from the interior of the continent (Wagner 2014: 213). This would seem to be true with the riverine sambaquis being the

older sambaquis in the interior of Brazil. The second hypothesis is that the sambaqui builders originated from the coast of Brazil (Wagner 2014: 215). This hypothesis may also be true, as there maybe sambaquis under the water close to Brazil's coast which may have been destroyed or just submerged (Figuti et al. 2013). Further evidence is required to determine the correct origins of the sambaqui people.

Sambaquis have been studied for quite some time. Excavations and visits to the various sambaquis resulted in much evidence being discovered: burials and hearths have been found, various artifacts in different stages of construction have been found, and also bone tool and small sculptures. Even with this evidence some believed there was nothing special about the sambaquis, that they were merely piles of shellfish along Brazil's coast. But sambaquis are something more. They were central to the people who built them and they served various functions for them. The funerary/burial evidence, habitation evidence and the spatial evidence will show that the sambaquis were features in the landscape.

Analysis/Discussion

In the following sections, the various evidences of the sambaquis will be presented. Each will separated into different sections to make the information clear. The riverine sambaquis will also be analyzed under the same evidence provided by the coastal sambaquis.

Funerary/Burial Evidence

There have been many burials found in many of the sambaquis. The ones containing the burials are usually the medium to large size sambaquis. "The site records pertaining to the sambaquis refer to the presence of human bones in 18.7% of them." (Gaspar 1998: 597). Gaspar (1998) believes this number to be high because most of the sambaquis with burials said to be in them, are based on visits to the site, nothing more. But one sambaqui in particular deserves a special mention. The sambaqui Jaboticabeira II is located in the Santa Catarina State and it is about 8 m in height, 400 m by 150 m, and the total volume of the sambaqui is around 320,000 m^3. Jaboticabeira II is estimated to have around 43,000 people buried within it. The massive size of the

sambaqui certainly makes this estimation seem possible. Another reason for this massive number is the fact that Jaboticabeira II was built continuously for around 800 years (Gaspar et al. 2008).

Bodies in the sambaquis are located in the "funerary" layers which are dark thin layers with charcoal and faunal remains. The norm for the burials in the sambaquis are multiple burials, usually an adult and child, and secondary burials, bodies that were prepared at another location and then brought to the site (Gaspar et al. 2008). The bodies themselves were usually placed in shallow pits and in tightly flexed positions, with a few bodies placed in an extended position (Gaspar et al. 2008).

Some of the bodies and burials have some sort of "special" treatment. One of the more simple "special" treatment are the artifact offerings with the bodies. The artifact offerings are usually "…items of shell, bone, and stone; shell and bone jewelry, small sets of rounded pebbles; and sometimes, large stone objects placed near the head." (Gaspar et al. 2008: 326). A rare artifact offering found with a few of the burials are the carved stone objects called zooliths. They are considered to be "hyper-realistic" carvings of various animal or geometric shape. They can be in the shape of dolphins, sharks, armadillos, bats, fish, birds, and very rarely humans (Gaspar et al. 2008). This type of artifact offering maybe some evidence of some type of elite status of certain individuals, although more evidence is required to give a definitive answer.

Another "special" treatment concerns a skeleton found in the Jaboticabeira II sambaqui. One skeleton was found with red ochre and limewash on the bones. This implies that the body was applied with limewash and then red ochre as some sort of special burial ritual for certain individuals (Edwards et al. 2001). This special ritual does not seem to be only in the Jaboticabeira II sambaqui. The Moa Sambaqui located in the Rio de Janeiro state has some evidence of this red ochre as well. In stratum 3, the deepest stratum of the Moa Sambaqui, there is "Sand with patches of red clay and red dye most of them associated to burials, and some patches of coal." (Machado et al. 2011: 59). The states of Santa Catarina and Rio de Janeiro are about 1200 km apart, which implies that this special ritual is somewhat widespread among the sambaqui builders.

In Sambaqui da Tarioba there is evidence of the layers of shells and sand being randomly deposited, suggesting that the stratum of the sambaqui were reworked over time (Macario et al. 2014). The reworking of the shell fish and sand could be the result of burial activities in the sambaquis or the rebuilding of them due to erosion (Macario et al. 2014).

Another line of evidence are the funerary feasts and related activities on the sambaquis. Hearths were built around and on top the burial pits and large quantities of food were eaten during the feasts, with most of the food being fish (Gaspar et al. 2008). A ritual feast seemed to have gone on for quite some time or was an intensive feast, "The quantity of charcoal remains is significantly higher in funerary layers, as well as the taxonomic diversity, indicating the high intensity and the 'long durée' of heaths in mortuary rituals." (Bianchini and Scheel-Ybert 2011: 120). The duration and intensity of the funerary feasts show the attachment the living had with the dead and how important the feasts were to the sambaqui people.

Besides the hearths, there have been some postholes discovered in the vicinity of the burials. Some of the postholes are circling the burial pits (Gaspar et al. 2008: 325). The posts themselves could have been part of a structure over the burial pits, or posts to hang food offerings, or a type of grave marker, or could have served another purpose (Gaspar et al. 2008: 325). The posts may have marked the locations of elite graves. This could have been as simple as a single post or a structure used to mark the elite grave.

Habitation/Dwelling Evidence

One line of evidence for the sambaquis as habitation sites comes from the materials and artifacts the builders left behind. These artifacts include some arrow heads form long mammal bones, polished stone axe blades, grinders, hammers, and many quartz flakes (Gaspar 1998). In addition to these artifacts, many incomplete artifacts in various stages of construction have been found. The incomplete artifacts imply that the sambaqui people were making their tools on the sambaquis and that the sambaquis were centers for tool manufacture (Gaspar 1998).

Hearths, for habitation and food processing, have also been found in the sambaquis. The difference between the food processing hearths and the funerary hearths is the food that was cooked in them. In the sambaqui Ilha da Boa Vista I, in the São João grouping in the Rio de Janeiro state, some hearths contained the burnt remains of nuts and shells, which were not considered to be part of the ritual feasting (Gaspar 1998).

Evidence of actual habitation structures have been found in some of the sambaquis. Although this evidence, postholes and compacted clay floors, is very limited. Gaspar (1998) believes the limited evidence comes from the methods used in excavations of the sambaquis. Excavations made quickly might overlook postholes, the test pits made could possibly not come into contact to postholes and clay floors (as they are not spread out to the entire sambaqui). Only thirteen sambaquis have been listed by Gaspar (1998) have some evidence of habitation structures.

One of these sites is Ilha da Boa Vista I. This sambaqui contains both post holes and compacted clay floors. A total of 86 postholes were found, with 10 cm diameters and 5 cm in depth, and they were located in the clay floor (Gaspar 1998: 605). The clay floors were prepared by mixing the clay with shell fragments, so they were different from the surrounding environment (Gaspar 1998). The habitation structures were possibly elliptical in shape, as indicated by the arrangement of the postholes (Gaspar 1998).

Spatial Evidence

Were the sambaquis placed randomly or was there some sort of planning or intention to the locations of the sambaquis? The later seems to be true considering the spatial evidence the sambaquis give. Some of the larger sambaquis are may have served as a type of landmark or monument, to designate a territory, so that the sambaqui can be seen from a distance (DeBlasis et al. 1998). The larger sambaquis were also surrounded by smaller sambaquis, as is the case with sambaqui Figueirinha I, surrounded by Figueirinha II and III, and the sambaquis in the Santa Marta paleolagoon (now the Camacho lagoon) in the state of Santa Catarina (DeBlasis et al. 2007).

DeBlasis et al. (2007) also mention another type of spatial arrangement of the sambaquis. This is a linear pattern and equal spacing that some sambaquis have along the coast. As seen in Figure 1, the four sambaquis along the bottom, which are the larger sambaquis, display a linear pattern and they do display even spacing. The circles in Figure 1 show the possible territorial extent of the larger sambaquis with extents at 5 km (left) and 3 km (right) (DeBlasis et al. 2007).

This linear pattern in not limited to the sambaquis of the Santa Catarina state. The sambaquis of the São João grouping also display this linear pattern. Sambaquis Ilha da Boa Vista I, II, III, and IV are very lined up with each other and are pretty evenly spaced from each other. As seen in Figure 2, with the sambaquis Ilha da Boa Vista I, II, III, and IV being labeled 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively, the sambaquis are not along the coast but they still do have a linear arrangement. Also in Figure 2, we see the sambaquis Batelão (8) and Entulho (9) are closer to the shore and they do seem to show a liner arrangement, but this is only two sambaquis. Any two points can make a line. A third sambaqui would provide much better evidence of a liner arrangement.

Another type of spatial evidence is the *circum-lagunar* arrangement of the sambaquis in the Santa Marta paleolagoon (DeBlasis et al. 2007). Going back to Figure 1, we can see that the sambaquis are placed in a circular patter around the lagoon. The lagoon was central to the sambaqui people (DeBlasis et al. 2007). It was the location where they got their food and their material to build the sambaquis and where they got the materials to bury their dead. In Figure 3, we can see the viewscapes of the sambaquis in the Santa Marta paleolagoon. The darker areas being the areas where the viewscapes overlap. We can see the viewscapes overlap over the lagoon, with help from the *circum-lagunar* arrangement, and some overlapping on the various sambaquis.

The Case for the Riverine Sambaquis

The riverine sambaquis of Brazil's interior share some of the characteristics and evidence of the coastal sambaquis. The major similarity between the two are the funerary feasting and burials. Large quantities of faunal remains have been found at the sambaquis, with bones of small mammals, amphibians, and fish (Figuti et al. 2013:

1217). Most of the archaeological features in the riverine sambaquis are the burials and hearths (Figuti et al. 2013). Some lithic tools are present, along with teeth beads and polished artifacts, but no evidence for habitation has been found in the riverine sambaquis (Figuti et al. 2013: 1217).

The riverine sambaquis do not display the same spatial patterns as the coastal sambaquis, but this should be expected. The riverine sambaquis are not next to the coast and are not next to lagoons. Some of the riverine sambaquis are placed along the rivers in the Ribeira Valley, as seen in Figure 4. Perhaps these rivers were important to the riverine sambaqui builders, as the lagoons were important to the coastal sambaqui builders.

Summary

We can find three kinds of evidence that the sambaquis were more than just piles of shells. The first is the funerary/burial evidence. A good number of sambaquis have burials in them. The sambaqui Jaboticabeira II has an estimated 43,000 burials in it. The majority of the burials were multiple and secondary burials. Some burials had "special" treatment such as artifact offerings of bone tools, zooliths, and jewelry. Other "special" treatment includes the preparing of the body with limewash and red ochre. Funerary feasting is evident among the burial pits with hearths and large amounts of fish bones found in association with the burials. Some postholes have been found in association with the burials pits, possibly as grave markers or small structures. The riverine sambaquis also have burials and funerary feasting evidence similar to the coastal sambaquis.

Evidence of habitation has also been found, with compacted clay floors and postholes being found in Ilha da Boa Vista I. Artifacts in various stages of construction have been found in many sambaquis as well.

The sambaquis display some types of spatial arrangements, such as linear, found in the Santa Marta paleolagoon and São João grouping, and *circum-lagunar* arrangements, found in the Santa Marta paleolagoon. The riverine sambaquis do not

display this type of spatial arrangement, though most are placed near rivers, possibly showing the rivers importance to the people who built the riverine sambaquis.

Conclusion

Were the sambaquis merely by-products of shellfish collection, or were they features in an anthropogenic landscape? With all of this evidence it is clear that the sambaquis are not merely piles of shellfish. They were locations where people were buried and where people built their homes. People would not have put their dead in the sambaquis if they thought the sambaquis were not important or just piles of trash. This is especially true for the burials with the "special" treatment. If they are evidence for elites, the elites would not be buried in piles of trash or something not important.

The sambaquis were built with intent. The builders knew what they were building and where they wanted to place them. This is evident in the various spatial arrangements of the sambaquis (linear, *circum-lagunar*, and the use of the sambaquis as monuments). It is especially clear in the *circum-lagunar* arrangement, where the sambaquis were placed around the lagoon, with the lagoon being central to the sambaqui people. It is not a coincidence the people would build their structures around an important place in their society.

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Figure 1. Sambaquis in the Santa Marta paleolagoon. 5 km (left) and 3 km (right) territorial extents shown.

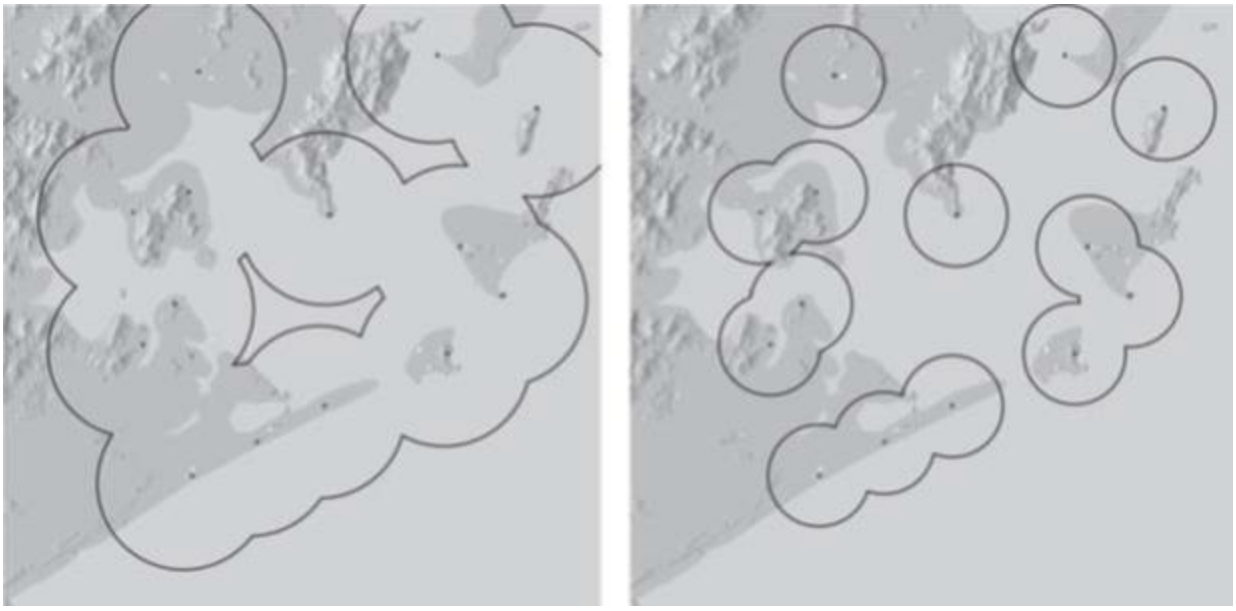


Figure 2. Sambaquis of the São João grouping.

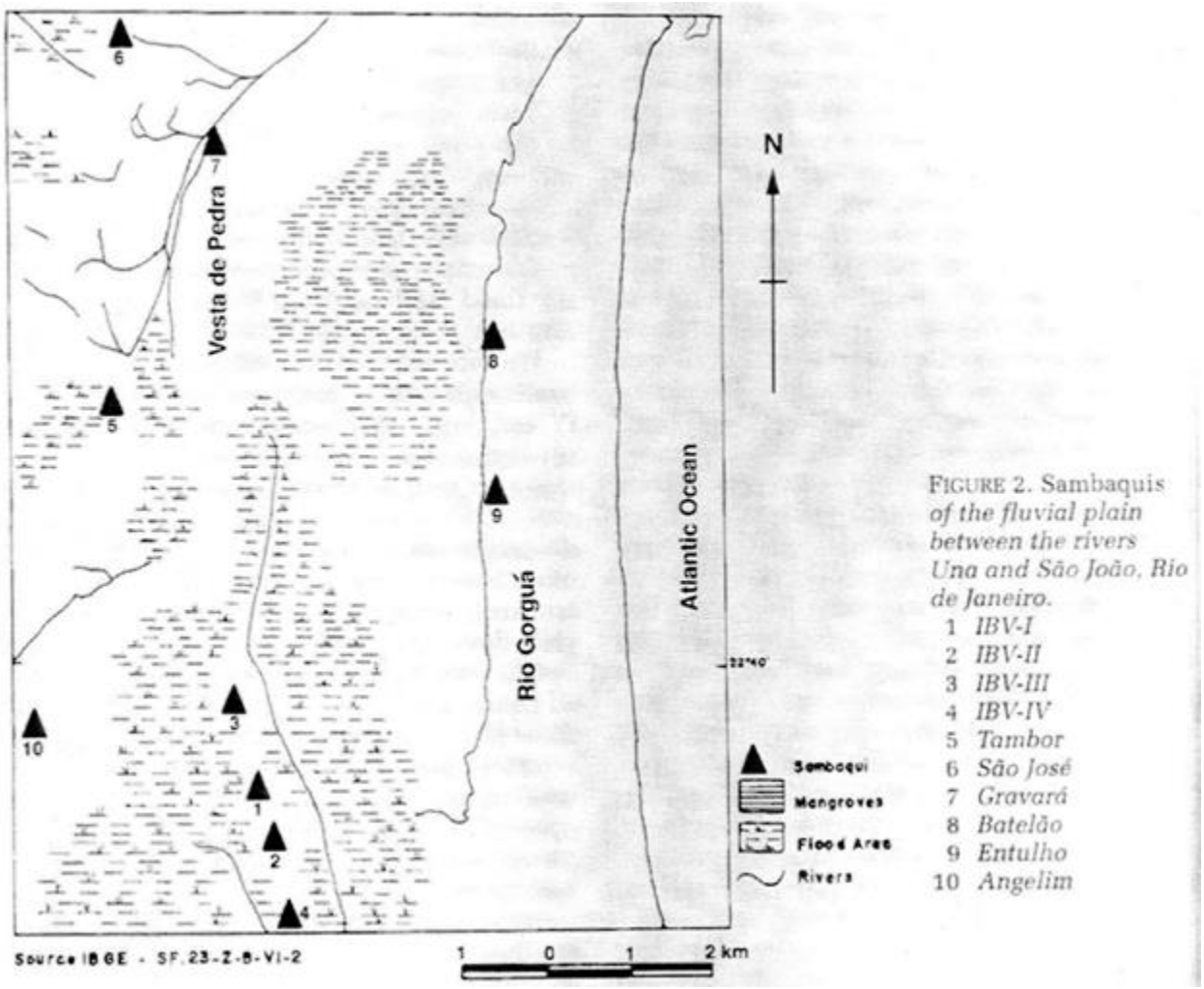


FIGURE 2. Sambaquis *of the fluvial plain between the rivers Una and São João, Rio de Janeiro.*

1 *IBV-I*
2 *IBV-II*
3 *IBV-III*
4 *IBV-IV*
5 *Tambor*
6 *São José*
7 *Gravará*
8 *Batelão*
9 *Entulho*
10 *Angelim*

Figure 3. Viewscapes of the sambaquis in the Santa Marta paleolagoon.

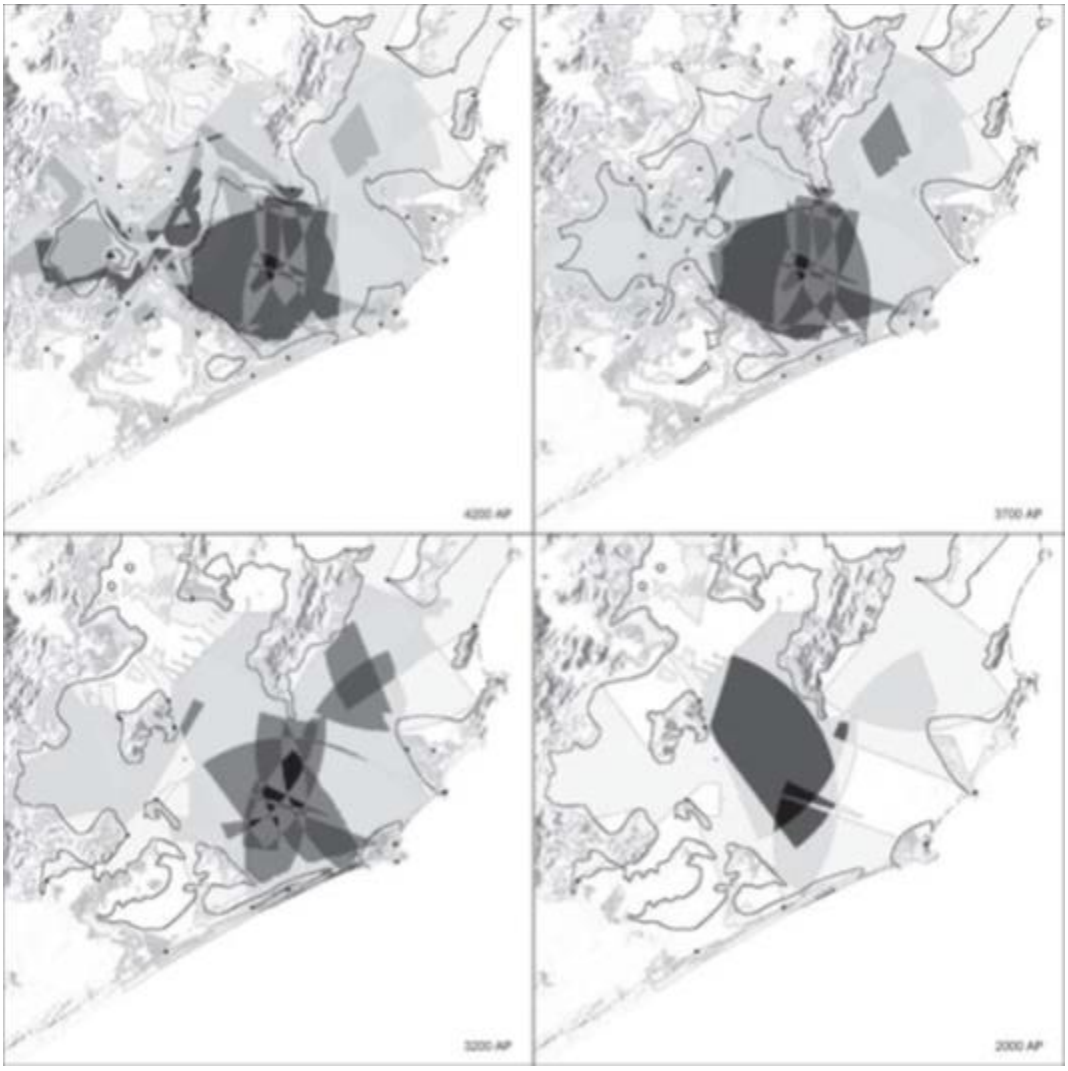
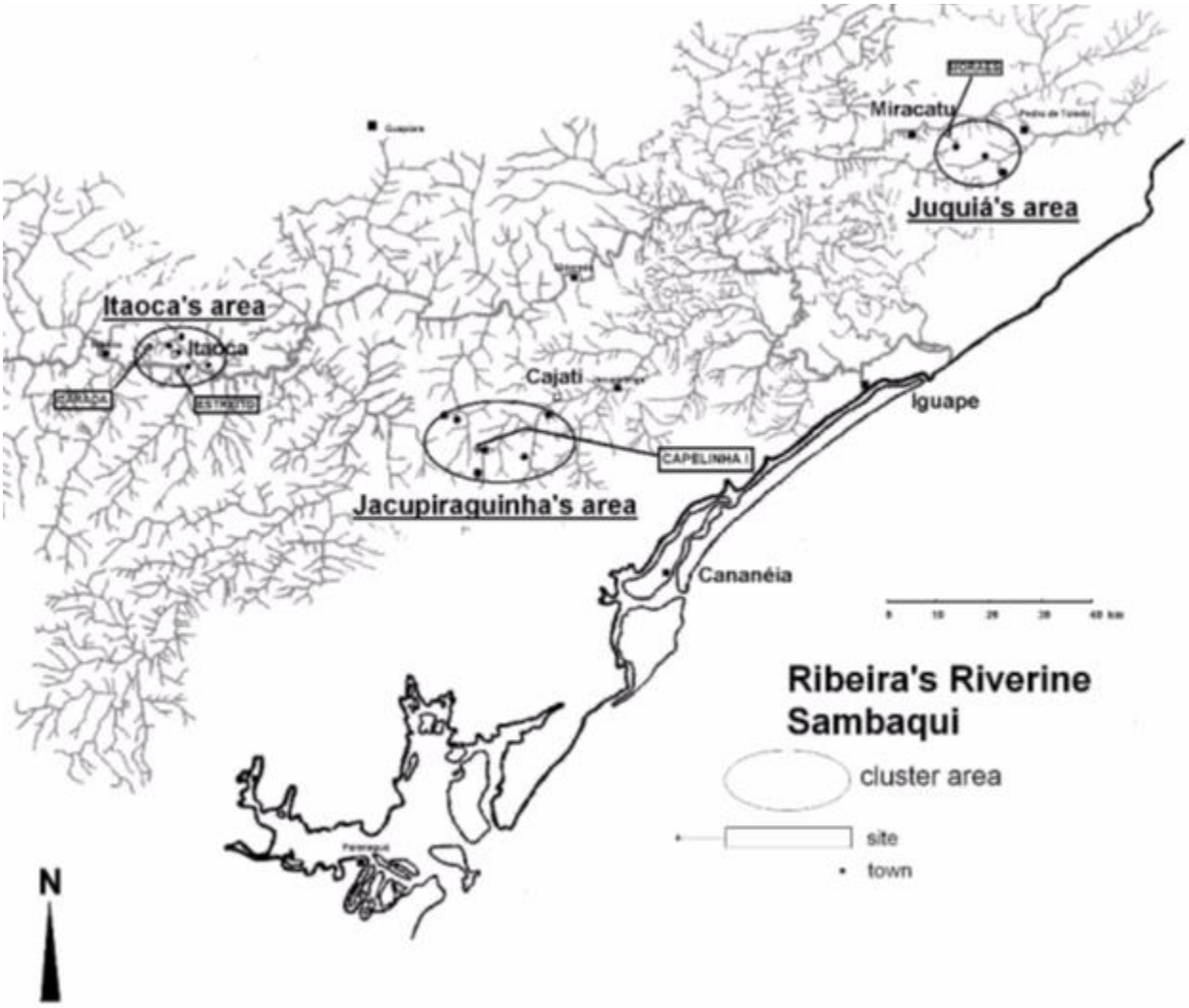


Figure 4. Riverine sambaquis in the Ribeira Valley.



Construction of Cultural Space: Ciudadela Rivero

By: Brandon Gay

Introduction:

This paper uses the theoretical framework of Amos Rapoport's decision domains to assess the cultural meanings represented in the structure of Ciudadela Rivero, found at the archeological site of Chan Chan. Further, this paper argues that the identification of structural decision domains provides a necessary foundation to understand the society that built the architecture. Through the assessment of decision domains, this paper seeks to gain a better understanding of the Chimu who occupied Chan Chan from 900-1470 AD.

A brief context of Chan Chan to Ciudadela Rivero:

The site of Chan Chan, capital of the Chimu Empire (900-1470AD) is located in the arid desert of the Moche River Valley found in modern day northern Peru (Keatinge 1974). Chan Chan had an urban area that spanned 20 square kilometers of ridged coastline that overlooked the ocean (Andrews 1974). The capital maintained a large population with an estimated 20,000 to 40,000 inhabitants at its peak occupation. As the population grew and became more complex, Chan Chan developed a sophisticated urban environment that had a division between commoners and elite inhabitants (Moore 996, Smailes 2011). This division is easily seen in the urban environments dichotomy between the chaotic periphery which housed the commoners and the organized structures in the center that houses the elites. The structures that emerged from urbanization are categorized based on general size, organization, and location into

three classifications: non-elite or commoner structures, intermediate compounds, and monumental structures (Keatinge 1974, Mackey 1981, Moore 1996).

The non-elite structures are the most common, and encompassed the outskirts of Chan Chan. The structures are placed seemingly at random causing them to have a haphazard appearance, and contain the highest concentration of occupational refuse such as food and lithic waste, leading some archaeologists to compare them to slums (Keatinge 1974, Mackey 1981). These non-elite structures are generally agreed to be homes, dwellings, and workshops of the lowest classes of Chan Chan (Andrews 1974).

Closer to the urban center there is a decline of non-elite structures, which are replaced with larger intermediate structures. The intermediate structures depart from the unplanned periphery, and instead follow a pattern that has large exterior walls and organized interiors. Further, a population decrease is seen with a comparable reduction of occupational refuse. This shows that Chan Chan's interior, beginning with the intermediate structures, are signs of an elite class and these structures are often referred to as non-royal elite housing (Moore 1996).

Chan Chan's urban center consists of monumental structures known as Ciudadelas (Mackey 1981). The ten Ciudadelas are the biggest structures of Chan Chan and follow a set construction plan, signifying that these constructions were places of great importance (Andrews 1974). Each Ciudadela is surrounded by a large wall and smaller walls divides the interior into three sectors denoted as: North, Central, and Southern (Topic 1983). Each sector of the Ciudadela varies in the types of rooms they contain. For example, the majority of areas with a characteristic "u-shape" are located within the North and Central sections. Notably, the Southern sector lacks the u-shaped rooms then the other sections, but instead has a large burial mound (Andrews 1974, Smailes 2011, Topic 1983). The entrance to these complex structures is a large gap in the northern wall that provides access to the structure. This entrance leads into walled passageways that interconnect the varying rooms, wells, and sunken plazas that compose these sections of the Ciudadelas (Moore 1996).

This paper focuses on Ciudadela Rivero, which is the southernmost, smallest in size, and the most recently constructed of the Ciudadelas (Moore 1992, Smailes 2011). Peculiarly, Ciudadela Rivero has two separate construction periods. The first period replicated the classic Ciudadela pattern with the North, Central, and Southern sectors. This period was subsequently followed by a second period of construction that added two wings to the structure (Moore 1996). One wing expanded the north creating a large plaza area beyond the entrance, and the other wing added a wide area to the East of the Ciudadela (Moore 1996). The oddity of five sections makes Ciudadela Rivero a unique Ciudadela that despite its small size still has one of the most complex system of interior spaces at Chan Chan.

The reason behind these Ciudadelas is under debate within the archaeological community. Some hypotheses propose that the Ciudadelas were: a place for a military garrisons (Kimmich 1917), a sign of stratified society (Vienna 1851), an administrative center for the ruling elite (Andrews 1974), housing for the royal elite (Smailes 2011), or a ritual/spiritual center (West 1970).

Methodology

To better assess these widely differing hypotheses, this paper implements the concepts put forward by Amos Rapoport in his book, *Human Aspects of Urban Form* (1977). Rapoport's fundamental argument is that the environment, natural or built, is simultaneously affecting the society and affected by the society (Rapoport 1977). He continues that constructed spaces are given meaning by the society as they enact upon what he terms "decision domains" (Rapoport 1977). Decision domains are design choices in which the society attempts to portray an ideal space through the constructed environment. For example, the construction of a sports stadium is conducive for large public events, and the same time not ideal for small private events. As the society designs a structure through decision domains, the completed structure becomes an unwritten source of cultural meaning (Rapoport 1977). This leads Rapoport to conclude that identification of decision domains within architecture can provide a means to understand the society that built it (Rapoport 1977). This paper identifies the environmental limitations and amount of labor used in order to better interpret the

decision domains of the organized space of Ciudadela Rivero and to better understand the Chimu culture that built it.

Ciudadela Rivero: Environment and Labor

The environmental restraints of the Moche River Valley shaped some of the construction techniques implemented at Chan Chan. First, Chan Chan's development along the coast was a common adaptation for many local populations (Keatinge 1974). Further, the only water supply was from rivers that brought runoff from the local mountains to the east (Keatinge 1974). The erosion from the nearby mountains created large sediment deposit. The arid nature and high sediment content of the Moche River Valley limited the cultivation of construction materials such as lumber and stone (Smailes 2011, Moore 1996, Mackey 1981, Andrews 1974, Keatinge 1974).

The environmental constraints forced Ciudadela Rivero, as with the rest of Chan Chan, to be constructed from adobe brick. Since the Moche River Valley was sparsely vegetated, the adobe could not use common vegetation, such as grasses, to stabilize itself. Additionally, the lack of vegetation meant that the Chimu could not kiln dry the adobe and had to rely on sunbaking the materials. Since the adobe was sunbaked and un-stabilized the completed bricks were only marginally stronger than the original soil (Smailes 2011). To reinforce and repair the weak adobe of the Ciudadela Rivero, the Chimu used mud to plaster and repair its structures.

These structural limitations in the adobe brick took a unique form in Chan Chan, which built out instead of building up like in the site of nearby Moche. Further, these limitations required the Ciudadela Rivero to have a unique set of characteristics. The large wall system at the Ciudadela Rivero required a wide base for its foundations to support the heavy weight of the stacked adobe. The weight prevented the wide expanses of the Ciudadela from being roofed, and structures that were roofed are small and cramped to support the roofs (Smailes 2011). These structures combine to create a complex system of the Ciudadela Rivero.

Due to the difficulty with the brick, it is probable that the Chimu had to invest large amounts of human labor in order to complete the monumental structure of

Ciudadela Rivero. A study by Richard Smailes estimated that 2,000,000 man-hours were used to complete Ciudadela Rivero. Smailes reinforces his argument by deducing that the 2,000,000 man-hours it would take to create Ciudadela Rivero can be attributed to 250 laborers working for about 7 years (2011).

Ciudadela Rivero: Decision Domains

With the environmental constraints identified, the cultural decision domains can be explored in greater interest. The change from an unorganized exterior to an organized interior supports Ciudadela Rivero's importance to the society. The large walls of Ciudadela Rivero dually prevent access into the Ciudadela and define a change in construction styles. Rapoport posits that a modification in construction style depicts a shift in decision domains and thus shows a change in cultural meaning. To explore this, Rapoport defines two terms, barriers and locks, to describe the areas of these cultural shifts. Barriers are features that define a shift and limit access to the area, whereas locks are areas that allow access through the barriers (Rapoport 1977). Locks or barriers are not always physical features, but they are always culturally recognized.

In the case of Ciudadela Rivero both the barrier and lock are seen clearly in its construction. The surrounding wall of Ciudadela Rivero is the barrier that prevents the Chimu of Chan Chan from gaining access to the structure. Additionally, the wall provides a physical symbol that surrounds the different social space. The access point or lock of Ciudadela Rivero is found within the large opening in the northern wall of the Ciudadela. This combination of locks and barriers found at Ciudadela Rivero could symbolize a change from the unorganized chaotic public world into the tightly controlled and regimented interior of the Ciudadela.

The interior of Ciudadela Rivero is a complex system of winding passageways that interconnect the different areas of the Ciudadela's interior. These passageways are best described as labyrinthine as they wind in illogical ways with some that terminate into dead ends within the structure (Moore 1996). These passageways make the relatively small Ciudadela Rivero interior incredibly complex or deep (Moore 1996). Depth regards the amount of physical spaces; such as rooms, passageways, and entryways, that were

passed through to gain access to a room. Therefore, the more rooms passed through, the greater the depth. Often the depth of a room is correlated to a form of social control due to the room's remoteness (Moore 1996). Despite the decrease in size, Ciudadela Rivero's interior structure was deep and had increased limitation of access to areas of the structure (Moore 1996).

Through the analysis of the environmental limitations and the analysis on the design choices of Ciudadela Rivero, initial conclusions could be drawn. The sites organizational shift in structures from the periphery to the center marks a separate social structure practiced in the Ciudadela Rivero that is not shared by the non-elite, and is more developed than the non-royal elite structures elsewhere in the site. The interior of Ciudadela Rivero is a well-planned interior that has incredible depth that regiments the access to the society. This control provides a clear importance for the Ciudadelas in the construction of the society at Chan Chan. However, even though the limitation of space is easily identified there are many reasons why a society would limit access within a structure (Moore 1996). The presence of large amounts of labor time, and a shift in construction style are indicative of a stratified society (Smailes 2011, Rapoport 1997). In many cases of monumental structures an elite group is required to focus and organize large labor groups during intensive construction periods (Smailes 2011).

After applying the decision domains, it is apparent that the Ciudadela Rivero is a monumental construction that is indicative of a stratified society. Further, the regimented and controlled interior signifies that the actions inside the structure were ritualistic and followed a set social pattern. The archaeological evidence depicting a low amount of occupational refuse shows that the Ciudadelas were unlikely to hold a significant percentage of Chan Chan's population. This limited population easily removes the hypothesis of a military garrison, which would have a large amount of occupational refuse, and depended on the concept of the large walls as a defensive structure. Further, the lack of occupational refuse and the overall control of access diminishes the argument that the Ciudadelas were a marketplace; because a market would produce

large quantities of refuse and require large areas to trade. The two hypotheses that remain are either it is an elite administrative center or a spiritual ritual center.

Applying Decision Domains to Limitation of Access: Audiencias

The interpretation of the Ciudadelas as administrative centers has been prevalent throughout the archaeological literature (Smailes 2011, Keatinge 1975, Andrews 1974). The administrative centers argument is easily summarized in Anthony Andrews's paper "The U-shaped Structures of Chan Chan Peru", in which he argues that the u-shaped rooms are physical representations of administrative control, which he called "audiencias" (Andrews 1974). To Andrews, the audiencias were centers of power strategically placed to prevent access to storage rooms, which he assumes held food for the population. Further, Andrews posited that the audiencias were likely places where government officials would receive tribute from the population who then could gain access to food in the storage rooms (Andrews 1974).

Andrews references several lines of archaeological evidence to support his concept of the audiencia. There is some local artistic support found from the nearby archaeological site of Moche. The Moche artwork depicts two characters one on a raised platform receiving tribute from the second character who is at a lower level (Moore 1992). This artwork depicts a type of social interaction that supports the tribute system of an audiencia. Further, Andrews excavated the audiencias and uncovered several bodies of young females and llama bones. He continued that these were sacrifices that would sanctify the spaces of the audiencias for the royal elites receive tribute (Andrews 1974).

A large problem with the administrative center hypothesis is the number of Ciudadelas present at Chan Chan. Smailes, recognizing the amount of Ciudadelas, argues that the number of Ciudadelas was a byproduct of a system of dual kingship. Dual kingship involves two sets of heirs: a primary and a secondary heir group. The secondary heir group receives the Ciudadela and the primary heir group receives the kingdom and creates another Ciudadela from which to rule (Conrad 1981, Smailes 2011). Since a feasible labor force would take 7 years to construct the Ciudadela

Rivero, it is well within the life expectancy of the inhabitants, and therefore reinforces the concept of an administrative setting.

Applying Decision Domains: The problem with the U-Shaped Room:

The administrative hypothesis is dependent on the u-shaped room being associated with the storage room. If the u-shaped rooms are limiting access it must require an individual to pass by a u-shaped room to gain access to the storage rooms. A study by Dr. Jerry Moore brought into question the association of the u-shaped rooms. Moore found that rarely were these u-shaped rooms directly associated with a storage room. In fact, access to most of the storage rooms was not limited by the u-shaped rooms at all. This association presents a problem for the audiencias interpretation of the u-shaped rooms of the Ciudadelas (Moore 1996). This does not completely dismiss the interpretation of the Ciudadelas as administrative centers; however, it weakens the entire argument.

Due to the problems with the aduiencia interpretation other interpretations for limited access can be explored such as the argument of the Ciudadelas as a ritual center (West 1970). Many of the details utilized by Andrews could be converted to support the ritual center hypotheses due to the structural similarity between ritual space and a governmental administrative center. The large wall acting as a "lock" to the Ciudadela Rivero could denote a difference between outside and spiritual space. The organization of the interior could control people through tightly wound structures and could denote a highly ritual space where, instead of government officials, individuals are communing with deities. The sacrificed individuals within the u-shaped structures, rather than being a cleansing of spaces for administrative leaders, could be interpreted as sacrifices to individual deities that would keep the balance of the universe in check. Further, the large plazas of the Ciudadela could be for the purpose of displaying a spiritual performance for a crowd of onlookers. These interpretations show the lack of concrete evidence to determine the Ciudadelas' roll in the society.

Ciudadela Rivero - Summary

Through the identification of the Ciudadela Rivero's decision domains, initial conclusions can be formed about Chan Chan as a whole. First, it is apparent that the repetitive construction pattern and the amount of labor put into the monumental structures compared to other buildings reveals the importance of the Ciudadelas to the people at Chan Chan. Further, the change in building organization from the periphery to the center depicts a hierarchical social structure with lower class inhabitants occupying the periphery, and the urban center being the place of upper class elite. Moreover, the Ciudadela Rivero, with the surrounding wall and corridors that limit access to and within the structure, is the structural intent of the strict ritual practice within the Ciudadelas. These ritual practices could be explained as a place of worshiping spiritual deities and/or areas for administrative elites to enact power.

These preliminary conclusions can be a basis for future questions to explore the purpose of the Ciudadelas for the Chimu of Chan Chan. The fact that there are ten Ciudadelas constructed throughout the time of Chan Chan's occupation leads to the question of why the society would put forth effort to construct such large and well planned structures. Moreover, even though it is plain that the society contains a hierarchical structure it is difficult to assess what was the basis of that structure; such as was Chan Chan ruled by Kings or Spiritual Elites? To explore these questions, additional archaeological research needs to explore other characteristics of the Chimu culture in order to reveal more about the many complex cultures found in South America.

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Cerro Sechín Iconography

By: Jessica Dittmar

Introduction

Cerro Sechín is a site located in the Casma Valley region of Peru. The culture of Cerro Sechín existed during the early Initial Period to the Early Horizon. The site is small in relation to other early ceramic sites in the Casma area of the Sechín Complex and is made up of two basic temple structures. The inner structure shows at least two phases of construction, where the outer structure features the famed stone carving icons that Cerro Sechín is most known for. In this instance, the term "icon" is being used to describe 'a sign whose form suggests its meaning' None of the construction phases at Cerro Sechín have specific artifactual or ceramic associations, which makes dating the site difficult. The carvings themselves may belong to a pottery period as evidenced by few potsherds that were found. These potsherds were located on the area of the floor that is associated with the monolith carvings but not with the other areas of the site. Some of these potsherds bear resemblance to artifacts found at Pampa de las Llamas-Moxeke, located in the Casma Valley region as well. The imagery at Pampa de las Llamas-Moxeke is said to be more closely connected to the Cerro Sechín stylized carvings rather than to other Chavín art styles, making an association between the two sites likely (Kubler, 1984). The monolith carvings are roughly dated to 1290 BP with a variance of approximately 20 years (Pozorski & Pozorski, 1987).

The stone carvings are unusual in style and depiction and show curiously attired individuals amongst gruesome imagery. This imagery shows strings of eyeballs, stacks of decapitated heads, lone decapitated heads, bleeding bodies, dismembered various body parts, disemboweled bodies, and standing figures holding staffs or other questionable weaponry. Standing figures bear intense facial expressions, with teeth visible. Heads have eyes open and closed, some with lines coming out of the mouth or eyes. The iconography poses questions regarding an unknown history of brutality within the Cerro Sechín culture. It is important to note that the order of the images as currently

seen at the Cerro Sechín site is not the original placement of all of the carved monoliths. Archaeological excavations have reorganized the stones that show the carvings, so order of images is not taken into account when hypothesizing their meaning. This fact does not detract from the impact of the imagery, however, as the images are bold enough to stand to individual analysis.

Background to Problem

Although the Cerro Sechín site is most renowned for its iconography, little is known about the actual meanings of the strange, stylized carvings. The supposed warrior and battle victim images are only part of the collection of drawings. There is question as to whether or not the images stand alone, or if the Cerro Sechín site as a whole is part of a ceremonial or memorial center. The iconography raises three main hypotheses surrounding their creation. The first and most evidenced hypothesis is that the carvings represent a sort of battle commemoration that occurred at or near the site. Although plausible, this hypothesis seems to fall short in archaeological evidence behind the war hypothesis. The second hypothesis is that the carvings show a mythical epic or encounter, and further implies that Cerro Sechín is a site of human sacrifice with religious purpose. The final hypothesis is that Cerro Sechín acted as an early anatomical study site. This hypothesis, while intriguing, is the least likely of the three.

The war hypothesis surrounding Cerro Sechín is the most considered answer for analysis of the graphic carvings. The images at Cerro Sechín show figures clad in what seems to be warrior attire. Some of these figures are seen holding instruments of war, such as decorated staffs or throwing darts. Much of the suffering seen in the other images may be interpreted as the punishments of prisoners of war, or the atrocities that occur during the action of war. Some of the decapitated head figures bear resemblance to trophy heads that are from war prisoners. These heads show shut eyes and some of the heads show what looks to be stylized material made of string, cloth, or reeds used to thread the trophy head for easy carrying. The stylized unknown material has two distinct looks, one described as hair that ends in a point and one that is possibly spurting blood and shows a capped off end (Hayley & Grollig, 1967). The similar thread, hair, and blood motifs follow the theme of battle and battle captives. Further, there is a

recurring etching that shows rows of eyeballs across some of the monoliths. These eye-chains are possibly representative of the practice of blinding war captives (Hill, 2004).

The second hypothesis regarding religious representation seems likely due to the prevalence of human sacrifice for religious means. Religious representation can be most clearly evidenced in the garb of the full-standing figures. The standing figures bear resemblance to priests, and the victims surrounding them may be interpreted as sacrificial victims or as individuals awaiting sacrifice. To act as a ceremonial or pilgrimage center, the Cerro Sechín site must have been in close contact with the other sites in the Sechín Complex including Sechín Alto, Taukachi Konkán, and Sechín Bajo (Pozorski & Pozorski, 2002). The Cerro Sechín iconography should also match images found at other sites. The most similar artistic match comes from the friezes found at the Pampas de las Llamas Moxeke site (Haas, Pozorski, & Pozorski, 1987). The Moxeke friezes are large pieces that are centered around anthropomorphic figures, not unlike the ones seen at Cerro Sechín, and are hypothesized to represent deities (Pozorski & Pozorski, 1986). While both the Cerro Sechín and Moxeke images were made for public viewing, the Moxeke friezes are obviously religious in purpose and the Cerro Sechín images are still up for interpretation.

The final hypothesis for the purpose of the images is the possibility of the Cerro Sechín site acting as a place of anatomical study. While relatively unstable, this hypothesis holds ground in the nature of some of the images. The images in question include the carvings of severed limbs, spinal cord representations, and the carvings of organs without a corresponding body. Some of the images that are considered strong points for the battle commemoration hypothesis are able to cross over into strengthening the anatomical hypothesis. Specifically, the eye chain motif and numerous decapitation representations can be viewed as points of consideration for anatomical study within Cerro Sechín. It is possible that the entire site was some sort of medical or surgical center and the iconography represents the practices that took place within the walls of the site. These studies would then be recorded as carvings, because these anatomical studies were meant for public education (Heck, 2011).

Analysis and Discussion

The idea of Cerro Sechín's iconography acting as a battle or war commemoration is the most likely hypothesis, even though there is little evidence of major warfare in or around the area. There are no mass graves, no uncovered human remains, and no artifactual remnants. The only evidence exists in the interpretation of some of the carvings. While large-scale warfare is unlikely, small-scale conflict is a possibility. Small-scale battles would leave minimal evidence in the area and would make sense of the carvings. A particularly interesting idea regarding small-scale battle comes from Erica Hill, a research associate at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks. Her theory that explains the lack of archaeological evidence involves a ritual known as the "tinku" ritual. This ritual is an event where members of different familial moieties come together in ceremonial battle. These battles are meant to maintain order in the cosmos through the act of ritualistic bloodshed. This theory is supported because bloodshed is plentiful judging by the stylized blood that pours out of the carved figures. Other strengtheners to the battle hypothesis include the rope imagery that appears to be wound through the orifices of some of the decapitated heads. These supposed trophy heads from war victims represents a practice that is seen in several Andean cultures. Other images at the site show standing figures that appear to be dressed in warrior-style clothing. Some of these figures are shown holding short staffs or possibly clubs, and others are holding weapons like sharpened darts. However, the victim images do not seem to be attacked using the blunt force of a club. Rather, they seem to have been attacked using objects sharp enough to sever limbs or heads from a body, and in some cases cut an individual in half transversely. Visible agony is seen on the carved faces of those attacked. There are no representations of sword-like objects in the imagery, meaning that the wounds pictured may have been caused by some other means not shown in the carvings.

The possibility of Cerro Sechín being a ritualistic center is a common consideration, especially when viewing Cerro Sechín as a ceremonial center for the rest of the Sechín Complex sites. Religious ritual violence has been considered as a cultural practice that may help balance political and cosmological happenings (Swenson, 2003),

as recalled from Hill's theory. Maintaining order in the heavens is often sought through the suffering of the mortal realm, and the ritualistic brutality seen in the Cerro Sechín images may be representative as a sort of sacrificial mayhem instead of as organized conflict (Benson & Cook, 2013). What is often thought of as war attire on some of the images may also be interpreted as the clothing of priests and other religious officials. The style of the carvings is often compared to religious carvings that are Chavín in style. The Chavín art style is recognized by certain elements and motifs, the most obvious of them being the anthropomorphized jaguar theme. Jaguars are transformed into god-like figures with human features. These deities have distinct features, including large canine teeth in an otherwise human mouth, a feline tail, claw and hand manipulation, and jaguar body patterns. The Chavín-style jaguar is often mixed with serpent detailing within the figure or around the figure (Kan, 1972). An important note about the Chavín art style is that it is largely religious in purpose. These specific religious motifs are absent from the Cerro Sechín icons. The human figure carvings do not show any jaguar features. Because full figures are shown, it is possible to consider each of the anthropomorphized jaguar traits. There is an absence of exaggerated canine teeth, no extra appendages like a tail or claws on the hands, and the bodies lack any sort of spotting or unusual markings. Serpent imagery is also absent from the human figures and from the figures' attire.

The final consideration for the purpose of the Cerro Sechín imagery is derived from a medical anthropological perspective. The most pressing evidence for the anatomical study site hypothesis is the images that show dismembered hands and arms, organs separated from full bodies, and vertical images of spinal cords. Dismembered arms are shown crossed over each other with the hands open. There is no representation of limb bones outside of the fleshed outlined arm and hand. Organs include a stomach with a connected intestine, with the intestine coiled around itself. The top opening of the stomach is possibly connected to another organ. The bottom opening of the intestine is not connected to anything. The spinal cord carving shows stacked vertebrae, albeit crudely stylized into compressed square shapes with four markings in each vertebra. These icons are shown as being separated from full bodies and are carved on individual monoliths. The representation of such objects is unusual for war

commemoration and religious purposes. The main issue with the anatomical site hypothesis is that there is little evidence of surgical precision in the icons. The decapitated heads show no spinal cord protruding from the neck, which implies little purpose in the decapitation. Similarly, the dismembered arms seem to be cut at a place where the radius and ulna bones are severed before they connect to the humerus bone. The lack of surgical consideration for the placement of cuts does not support an anatomical study site.

Summary

The three hypotheses discussed here are not the only hypotheses that have been considered for the Cerro Sechín site, but they are the three that can best be argued for using the limited evidence that the site provides. Because both construction periods of Cerro Sechín are difficult to date, the culture that created the iconography remains anonymous. Cerro Sechín's association with other sites in the Sechín Complex has not been determined. The mysteries of the site are explained only in the graphic imagery found on the monoliths of the outer construction period.

The least likely hypothesis is that Cerro Sechín is a site whose purpose was for anatomical study and surgical experimentation. Although a fascinating consideration, the plausibility of this hypothesis is low due to insubstantial evidence and far-reaching scrutinizing of the iconography. There are no traces of surgical instruments found at the site, and no human remains that bear the markings of controlled cutting. The images that show dismembered limbs and internal biological objects are more likely the result of gory battle torture.

The mid-point between likely and unlikely is the hypothesis that calls Cerro Sechín a religious ceremonial site. The iconography does not match to other ceremonial sites in the Andes, like the site of Pampas de las Llamas Moxeke. The Moxeke site's motifs represent deities, specifically related to jaguars. Cerro Sechín iconography does not share any of these religious features and the full figures are more likely to be in warrior dress than priest dress. Cerro Sechín's iconography bears resemblance to

sacrificial rituals, but when each image is considered in context with other images, sacrifice is better described as war events.

The final, and most likely, hypothesis is that Cerro Sechín commemorates some sort of conflict. The human figure images are probably warriors, evidenced by the instruments of war that some of them carry. Some of the decapitated heads seem to be trophy heads from prisoners of war. The disemboweled and hacked individuals are shown to be the victims of brutal warfare. The main issue with this hypothesis is the lack of archaeological evidence that insinuates warfare. Although small-scale conflict is possible, there is still nothing but the carvings themselves that suggest any sort of battle, and there is no indication of where this possible conflict was held.

Conclusion

There is no absolute conclusion for the function of Cerro Sechín, and there is no final answer as to which hypothesis is the true reason behind the imagery that surrounds the site. Speculation about the iconography relies solely on the artist's rendition of the drawings, and the stylized gore has many questionable theories that follow. Further archaeological research is required in order to uncover evidence that definitively points towards Cerro Sechín's purpose. The most helpful objects would be human remains that could be analyzed for the butchery of war or sacrifice, or any of the amenities (weapons, clothing) that are seen in the carvings. These sorts of artifacts would provide a connection from the images to the site itself, which at this time is limited to a small number of inconclusive potsherds. It is safe to say that the most probable reason for the carvings is that they memorialize some sort of battle. Because there is no evidence for battle at the site itself, it is possible that the images were created from memory of a conflict fought in a separate location. It may be helpful to further investigate the other sites within the Sechín Complex in order to seek out any similarities between those sites and Cerro Sechín.

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Conquerors or Conquered: Native Allies during the Spanish Conquest of Mesoamerica

By: Connor McGarry

The Conquest of Mesoamerica is often seen as a purely Spanish conquest, done primarily by the Spanish without much help. This is a myth however, as recent scholarship and research has shown that the Spanish were helped by native allies throughout the conquests and were actually the main fighting force. The Tlaxcalans and other Indigenous allies provided significant contributions to the Spanish victory in the Mexican Conquests by providing military and other vital support. The Tlaxcalans and other native allies were with the Spanish before, during and after the capture of Tenochititlan, in which the natives provided the majority of military support during the conquest. This paper will help to illustrate the historical timeline, from the early conflicts and eventual alliance with Tlaxcala to the conquest of Guatemala, which will help to break the myth there were only white conquistadors.

The Native groups who allied themselves with the Spanish are often seen as native traitors but that lacks the context of the historical period. The Conquest can be seen as a native civil war, which offers a different perspective than Spanish one and is seen in the native sources. This begins to show that the Spanish were going into a Native civil war and that the Spanish took the native allies everywhere that they went. As the Aztec Empire expanded across Central Mexico in the 14th and 15th centuries, the city-state of Tlaxcala managed to stay independent, even after it had become surrounded by areas under the control of the Mexica.[1] The city-state of Tlaxcalapresented both a problem and opportunity for Cortez, as at first Tlaxcala was hostile to the Spanish, in which there were a series of violent confrontations between the two sides. The first encounters between the two seemed hostile at first, but ended up securing a strong Tlaxcalan support on which the Spanish could fall back on and also round up all the Tlaxcalans for a strong, united assault. The number of native allies that Hernan Cortez had is not completely known, but it is agreed upon that they outnumbered the Spanish

overwhelmingly. According to the prominent Conquest historian Ross Hassig, the final siege on the Mexica capital was carried out with 200,000 native allies, “even though they went virtually unacknowledged and certainly unrewarded.” [1]

The context of the alliances of the Spanish and their native allies must be taken into account. The Tlaxcalans and other native groups used Cortez as Cortez used them in order to further expand their political aims, in which they were not passive tools of the Spanish, but used the Spanish to promote their interests and pursue rivalries. The other context is that Spanish used native allies as another tactic wherever they conquered. One example is a conflict in Guatemala in 1523, in which the Spanish Conquistador Pedro de Alvarado exploited the Cakchiquel and Quiche rivalry, which ended up in a brutal civil war as these two groups fought each other and smaller Maya groups, while the Spanish periodically committed violence against these “native allies”. The Spanish were able to use rivalries that were already in place, but the native’s themselves sought to use the Spanish to also further their own agendas.

The native allies to the Spanish were aiming to gain recognition and also some physical rewards, as they were the primary fighting force during the Conquest. One of the Native sources helps to tell this perspective and this is the Lienzo de Tlaxcala. The Lienzo de Tlaxcala was a codex, which was most likely created around 1552 and was a painted cotton sheet approximately 2 meters wide and 5 meters long.[2] It had a depiction at the top of the political structure of Tlaxcala and below that were seven by thirteen grids of cells which contained small scenes that depicted the different acts of conquest by the Tlaxcalans and the Spanish. The Lienzo is also a mixture of European and Mesoamerican art styles, like for example the Tlaxcalan warriors were always shown with their faces in profile, which is Mesoamerican and Malinche, who was Cortez’s translator, is depicted with a three-quarter view, which was European.

The Lienzo de Tlaxcala was used to highlight the valuable role that the Tlaxcalans played in the Spanish Conquest. The Lienzo focuses on the battles fought alongside the Spanish going back to initial meeting with Cortez to the battles fought after the fall of the Mexica capital. The Lienzo does have some limitations, as its primary function was to show the Spanish how the Tlaxcalans helped them to victory. There is no mention of the

earlier conflicts with the Spanish or the conflicts within Tlaxcala over whether they should ally themselves with the Spanish. However, Bernal Diaz in his account of "The True History of the Conquest of New Spain" explains that there were initial violent encounters between Tlaxcala and the Spanish. Bernal Diaz mentions that "As our Lord God, through his great loving kindness, was pleased to give us victory in those battles in Tlaxcala, our fame spread throughout the surrounding country", which mentions the battles between the two sides which did end up in an alliance between the two. [3]

The Lienzo de Tlaxcala also fails to point out the debate within Tlaxcala over whether to ally themselves with Cortez. Under the Leadership of a young Tlaxcalan captain Xicotencatl the Younger, some of the Tlaxcalans and Otomi allies carried out a resistance effort against the Spanish. Tlaxcala itself was divided among four major political divisions and the leadership of the city was not united on a set action against the invaders, which helped the Spanish defeat the Tlaxcalans in a series of battles. Over a period of time, the faction supporting an alliance with the Spanish won out and Cortez and his men were welcomed into the city with the usual presentations of offering, with some Tlaxcalans viewing the Spanish as potential allies. Tlaxclalan leaders like Mase Escasi and Xicotencatl the Elder gave Cortez a large amount of information about Tenochtitlan and Montezuma, which gave Cortez a solid base in Tlaxcala from which to operate. The Liezno de Tlaxcala also makes the message that their alliance with the Spanish was perceived as equal and not compelled by the Spanish domination.[4]

The alliances with the Spanish were perceived to be a gathering of forces and as the establishment of a new power, and the native allies sought to show the connections between themselves and the world of the Spanish. They came up with different pictographic conventions that enabled them to make connections with the Spanish without giving up their own identities, like the allied soldiers being depicted with Spanish swords but also wearing their own indigenous costumes and emblems. These indicators helped to show that these communities had now become Spanish allies by adapting to the situation without giving up their own identity and heroic past. This helped these communities to assert their claims to status and privileges, by reaffirming their independence, identity and equality.

The Indigenous served as soldiers in the wars of conquest in Mesoamerica, but they also played other valuable roles to the Spanish. Besides warriors, they also served as porters, cooks, spies and interpreters who were just as important to the Spanish victory as the armed allies. Porters were very important, because there were no beasts of burden in Mesoamerica and the Spanish brought very few horses during the early years of the conquest and so they had to carry everything themselves.[5] The Spanish demand for porters was often unnecessary as it was a pre-conquest obligation for a ruler to provide allied lords with carriers, as even a low level Spanish conquistador who did not have a horse, had two native porters. The importance of porters was so great that one of the main complaints of the native conquistadors in the sixteenth century was that their communities had provided large numbers of porters carrying supplies, arms and food for the Spanish but did not receive adequate reward.

The native role in the food supply is also ignored, as since the onset of the Spanish conquest of Mesoamerica, they needed to gather or acquire food. The problem in the early stages of the Conquest was that so many of the villages that the Spanish

encountered were either abandoned or hostile. Local rulers provided food from their own territories and their allies when they had moved outside them, with the situation getting worse when the opposing side would hide their food and other resources before they would hide themselves in the mountains, which would leave the villages empty.

The role of native guides, spies and messengers is important because the Spanish were almost completely reliant on them whenever the Spanish went into new territory that was unexplored or unknown to them. Native guides en route to Tenochtitlan warned the Spanish on various occasions that they were large armies waiting for them on the road and again in the subsequent campaign in Guatemala and Honduras in which the guides saved the Spanish from destruction by the natives they encountered. The path ahead often needed to be cleared and the guides had to double up as laborers, which was not without its risks as any Mesoamerican who was allied with the Spanish and captured was likely to be executed or sacrificed.

The use of messengers by the Spanish was adopted from the system in place that the Mexica used, in which the Spanish would use to communicate both with enemy groups and among the conquistadors and allies themselves. This flow of information was crucial during the conquest period, as messages were constantly sent. One Spanish conquistador, Gonzalo de Caravajal, mentioned that the system of native messengers covered much of Mesoamerica and he specifically mentions that every month messengers came from Mexico City to the province of the Yucatan. Due to their significance as a group messengers feared for their lives, as mentioned by Diaz del Castillo.

The interpreters are another noncombat role that were crucial to the Spanish victory and were symbolized by Dona Marina or Malinche. There were many native interpreters during the sixteenth century and in the early decades many of them were

reluctant to take on the role. There would later be a generation of bilingual and even bicultural Mesoamerican elites who would act as formal interpreters and cultural brokers, but this was considered risky business. There were different requirements, which enabled them to survive which included a combination of flexibility, youth, intelligence and good luck, when they were pressed into service. The different roles of the Indigenous Conquistadors helped to show that this was primarily a Mesoamerican effort to take care of the Spanish even if the Spanish saw themselves as suffering hardships.

The alliance between Native groups and the Spanish is well known but the motivation for why some Native groups would ally themselves is not as well known. The

most common explanation is that these groups wanted to be independent from the control of the Mexica, but this can only serve as part of the story, because as the conquest continued after the fall of the Mexica Empire, the motives for native participation must have changed. [6] The motives for native participation in the conquest is seen as short-term and opportunistic, but this is a difficult question to answer as we lack native sources from the 1520's to answer these questions. We can determine preconquest practice in relation to the conquest and its aftermath alongside analyzing the letters of the indigenous rulers as they make claims and vent out frustrations

which they may consider as unfulfilled expectations. A typical preconquest pattern was the division of land by a warlord, religious leader or supreme ruler among his captains, in which these captains were probably leaders of united groups based on some kind of relationship like ethnicity or geography.

There are other examples of this happening around Mesoamerica. In the mid-fifteenth century the trade routes to Xoconoso were invaded militarily by Cocijopii forces in which new towns were established and the warlords who aided were given the title of Pichana. From then on these Pichanas had to pledge loyalty to their lord, who in return would give them recognition, and the division of land in return for military support was a well-known theme, which is also seen in the Tolteca-Chichimeca contract, in which the Tolteca gave the Chichimeace the title of teuhctli, as well as land and people to work it.

These pre-conquest patterns play out when the Spanish came. One example was in 1571 when various indigenous groups living in Guatemala but originally from central Mexico, Puebla, and Oaxaca claimed that the Spanish Crown owed them the right to land and tribute based on the participation of their ancestors in the conquest of the region. The Tlaxcalans made similar claims, as they made clear that Cortez had made a verbal promise to reward the city with a land grant in return for their help in the conquest, whether true or not was used as a way to claim certain rights and privileges, which fits with the Mesoamerican context of conquest and alliance. Indigenous troops took part in the Spanish conquest because they took for granted that they would receive what was usually granted after such campaigns, but when the Spanish did not acknowledge these claims, the native allies began to use judicial means to get what they wanted. Eventually these claims by the indigenous nobles and their descendants began to go away as they became aware that the system before did not apply now, as it shifted from a preconquest society to a colonial one.

The Maya Conquistadors and the Spanish after the conquest of the Mayan territories fought each over the land titles and the right to own. This is seen in the Title of Yaxkukul, which is a document, which makes the claim to a piece of land which was owned by the Mayans who fought for the Spanish and were given it.[7] The claim to the land was overturned by the Spanish because the Title of Yaxkikul was not a sixteenth

century document, because of the weird chronology and compilation structure and the emphasis on the symbolic meaning of dates, which had a different value for the Mayan nobles who wrote it The primary component of the document is the depiction of a sixteenth century land survey of the lands claimed by the indigenous municipality, with the mention of a journey on foot along the boundary o the Yaxkukul lands, with the

introduction of witnesses top the account. [8]The context of the documents is that the survey of a land claim was done under official Spanish auspices which usually resulted in an implied or explicit confirmation of local indigenous territorial holdings, with prominent Spanish officials who would accompany the Maya officials on these border walks to prevent territorial disputes.

Within the Title, the actual Conquest is referenced but in neutral terms, as simply an event that had some factual bearings on the history of the town and its surrounding holdings. The accounts concerned with the arrival and impact of the Spanish on the Pech status and region, with the Title being anchored in its alleged timeframe and display the legitimacy of the Pech and their document via the mention of the reception of Spanish officials and their institutions. The mention of the Spanish are given their respectful titles and the conquerors are seen as benign with even a peace accord between Yaxkukul and those areas surrounding it, such as “Before our lord encomendero, our lord Father Francisco Hernandez, cleric over all the men of this here town, gave his blessing”. [9]This methology is similar to that of the Tlaxcalan actions during the Central Mexican invasion, as it was a cooperative relationship that was not only friendly to the Spanish but also invaluable This goes to show that the Mayan cooperation with the Spanish invasion, was very similar to the Tlaxcalan and other native allies to Cortez in which the Indigenous allies fought to gain the rights they felt were entitled to.

The success of the Spanish conquest of Guatemala can be attributed primarily to the participation of indigenous conquistadors from Central Mexico, with large armies of native captains and soldiers fighting alongside the Spanish. [10] The Spanish were very descriptive of the Spanish part of the army that set out for Guatemala in 1523-1524, but were less willing to mention indigenous soldiers with Diaz de Castillo reported that only

over 200 Tlaxcalteca and Chololteca participated in the conquest. In a letter to the Spanish king dated 1547, the Mexica and Tlaxcalteca claimed that more than a 1,000 of their men went with Alvarado, while in 1563 Xochimilca wrote that 2,500 of their men had gone Alvarado and also the lords of Tehuantepec sent 2,000 men. The conquistadors from Central Mexico were well aware of their important role in the conquest of southern Mesoamerica, with one of the witnesses at the time declaring that it was common knowledge at the time that the Spaniards would have never achieved their success without their Central Mexican allies. [11]

The native allies brought their own weaponry and equipment, had their own camp followers, and for the most part indigenous conquistadors were under the command of their own captains, which helped to create a more efficient army due to the confidence and trust with their own officers. The indigenous conquistadors sometime fought battles without any Spanish present which happened when horses could not reach the enemy and foot soldiers could but on occasion when the native allies fought to keep the Spanish safe. Only the Spanish captains were known to ride horses while Spanish soldiers and the native units were infantry based, while the Spanish used European weapons and their native allies used their own gear, but some native captains were allowed to ride horses or use European swords. Such privileges were normally granted with special permission and were limited to the period of the conquest, but these were not only practical but served as a way to identify with their new lords and solidify their position in the colonial order.

The Conquest of Mesoamerica could not have been done without the help of the native allies to the Spanish. This myth of the Spanish Conquistadors going alone against the odds amounts to hero worship, but not real history. This image has been seen in entertainment and common history, which ignores the true history in which it was more of an indigenous civil war instead of a European one. The conquest methods have been similarly applied both within Mesoamerican and European warfare, and these are no different than before. In order to understand the true conquest history, we must begin to understand the role and motivation of everyone who participated.

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Wat Khemara Buddhikaram:

Forming a Strong Social Network and Reconstructing Khmer Culture

By: Ronald Bermudez Perea, Andrea Esparza, & Amy Ovando

Introduction

Long Beach, California is known for its downtown dining and landmark "The Queen Mary," but inadvertently it is also known as the "Cambodian Capital of America" (Chan 2004). This resulted from the Khmer Rouge genocide in 1975 that forced many Cambodians to seek refuge in other countries such as the United States. This paper reports on an ethnographic study conducted at Wat Khemara Buddhikaram, a Cambodian Buddhist temple in Long Beach. Conducted over 16 weeks, this research shows how the temple is not just a center where people interact solely for religious and ceremonial purposes, but also a network of social support and an environment that fosters the reconstruction of Khmer culture. Of particular interest in this research is the participant's attempts to reconstruct the lifestyle they once knew by attending Buddhist temples and maintaining ties with other members of their community[1]. Furthermore, the reconstruction of Khmer culture[2] as seen in Wat Khemara Buddhikaram is also subject to a variety of adaptations as a result of the new environment.

FRONT ENTRANCE TO WAT KHEMARA BUDDHIKARAM

This research contributes to the study of immigrant and refugee groups, or more specifically, to the discussions of the role of religion in ethnic identity, and the function of

religious institutions as means for ethnic social interaction and ethnic cultural retention. To better understand how these topics are interconnected, we look at Pyong Gap Min's statement in *Second Generation: Ethnic Identity Among Asian American,* which relates "premigrant, primordial ties associated with physical affinity, a common language, a common religion, and other cultural and historical commonalities" as forming the basis of ethnicity. People who share these characteristics (the same ethnicity), have a natural tendency to seek each other out and often times "use their religion to preserve their ethnicity." This is possible because a religious space "facilitates both ethnic social interaction and ethnic cultural retention" (Min 2002). With this understanding, we now present three main themes that have surfaced in research relevant to this topic. First, research suggests that religious organizations serve as centers for the retention of ethnic culture (Cornwall 1987; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000; Bankston III and Zhou 2002); second, religious organizations serve as centers that facilitate social interactions amongst people that share similar social values, and religious world-views (Ellison and George 1994; Hirschman 2004; Bankston III and Zhou 2002) and lastly, that religious spaces provide social support[2] for members of the ethnic community (Min 1992; Hirschman 2004; Ysseldyk, Matheson, and Anisman 2010; Bankston III and Zhou 2002). These three themes parallel our observations regarding Wat Khemara Buddhikaram serving as a center for the retaining of Khmer identity amongst its participants.

In this report, we will first provide a brief background on the Long Beach Cambodian community and of Wat Khemara Buddhikaram, followed by a discussion of the various ethnographic methods we used to gather the data for this analysis. We will then provide a summary of our data, along with an analysis of our findings. Background

In April 17, 1975, the Khmer Rouge regime took over Cambodia with the goal of returning the nation to its' former "glory" by removing those that had been influenced by Western ways of thinking. As a result, two million Cambodians were killed during the genocide. Amongst those who perished, were religious leaders, educated and professional members of society, government officials, and artists (McLellan 2009; Needham and Quintiliani 2008). Soon after the Khmer Rouge rose to power, a wave of

Cambodians fled to the safety of the United States, many settling in Long Beach. Years later when the Khmer Rouge was overthrown by the Vietnamese in 1979, another wave of Cambodian refugees arrived, further increasing the number of Cambodians in Long Beach. Many Cambodians from this second wave of refugees were attracted to Long Beach because there was already a significant presence of Khmer speakers, and Buddhist temples (Bunte and Joseph 1992; Needham and Quintiliani 2008). Today, Long Beach has the largest population of Cambodians outside of Southeast Asia (Needham and Quintiliani 2008).

Most Cambodians are Theravada Buddhist. Like other types of Buddhists, Cambodians believe in the teachings of Buddha which are centered around the dogma of ending the cycle of suffering by renouncing all attachment and desires. To completely escape the circle of suffering, one can reach what is called nirvana through successfully giving up all temptations and achieving enlightenment. Theravada Buddhists also believe in the building of merit or karma by doing good deeds in order to reincarnate into a better realm with more prestige (Tsering and McDougall 2005) For this reason, the support of

Inside Wat Khemara Buddhikaram

monks and temples is a means of earning merit and building good karma[4]. It is important to note that Khmer Theravada Buddhism is a syncretism of Hinduism, Buddhism, and folk religions(Ebihara 1968). As such, elements of folk religion are evident within religious practice. An example of this are ceremonies that are centered around ancestral veneration in which the monks serve as mediums between the human realm and the spirit world[5].

Since the majority of Cambodians are Theravada Buddhist, one of the first things they did upon arriving to the United States was to establish Buddhist temples (Needham and Quintiliani 2008). Today, the city of Long Beach alone has more than a dozen Cambodian temples within its city limits, including many built after 1975 (Mortland 1994). Wat Khemara Buddhikaram or Wat Willow, as it is commonly known, is the largest of these temples in Long Beach. This temple is registered as a 501(c)(3) Religious Organization. Located on 2100 W Willow St, the land for this temple was purchased in 1988 under the leadership of Reverend Kong Chean. Among those who helped Reverend Kong Chean achieve his goal of assembling a temple was our main informant and current Vice-Chair of the Wat Willow Board of Directors, Mr. Hou[6].

Participants of Wat Khemara Buddhikaram can be divided into three main groups: monks, laity[7], and *achaa*[8]. Monks are the religious leaders who impart Cambodian Buddhist knowledge to laity. They also "channel and transfer merit to those, both living and dead, who need more merit in order to improve their karma" (McLellan 2009).Currently, there are four monks that reside at Wat Khemara Buddhikaram. These monks are sponsored by the Board of Directors and were brought to the U.S. from Cambodia[9]. Laity attend the temple for ceremonial purposes as well to increase their merit in order to reincarnate into a better realm once they pass away (Douglas, 2005)This is accomplished through offerings in the form of food, robes, and toiletries for the monks, as well as financial contributions to cover temple expenses. Within the laity, there is a ritual specialist called the *achaa*, who hold a higher status than other lay people and "take ceremonial roles alongside the monks" (Douglas, 2005). Other traditional responsibilities of the *achaa* include the management and maintenance of the

temple and to serve as a negotiators between the monks and the outside world (Harris 2005).

Interactions amongst these three groups appear to be a simplified system of social interactions, but in reality, social interactions occur in a complex arrangement of relationships. These interactions can be divided into two domains for a better understanding. One is the organizational structure which operates in a system of checks and balances amongst the Temple's Board of Directors and the temple followers. The other is the religious-social structure in which monks and laity are linked through a system of hierarchy.

The activities participants engage in differ depending on the domain that they are occurring in. Within the organizational structure domain, participants interact in an environment that incorporates a system of checks and balances in which social interactions occur with the purpose of managing the daily logistics pertaining to Wat Khemara Buddhikaram and other secular matters. Within the religious-social structure domain interactions are less concerned with legalities. Instead, social interactions occur within the context of religion, emphasizing the instruction of Buddhist values, ceremonies, and the earning of merit through reciprocity.

For our research, one of the events we observed was the ceremony of *P'chum Ben*, one of the most attended events at Wat Khemara Buddhikaram. This is a time in which people of all ages come together with their families to commemorate their deceased relatives by bringing offerings in the form of food, flowers, and money[10]. We also attended two memorial ceremonies which take place 100 days after a person has passed away. These memorial ceremonies are times when friends and relatives of the deceased gather together at the temple and bring offerings. Offerings are given to the deceased to provide them merit for their next reincarnation[11]. Lastly, we attended a Wat Khemara Buddhikaram Board of Director's meeting. The Board meets once a month to discuss temple matters such as upcoming ceremonial events, new board member elections, and the temple's finances. finances. P'chum Ben, the memorial ceremonies, and the Wat Khemara Buddhikaram Board of Director's meeting were the events that served as the focal points for our data collection.

The P'chum Ben Ceremony at Wat Willow

Methodology

Our research was conducted over a period of 16 weeks with the use of qualitative methods. Our approach included a historical analysis of Cambodians in the United States and the Long Beach Cambodian community, as well as participant observation at Wat Khemara Buddhikaram. Our role in participant observation was limited to that of a "moderate participant" (Spradley 1980). As such, we did more observation and taking notes, and only participated on few occasions that involved receiving of blessings and sermons, giving of offerings, and partaking of food. We also attended "key or focal events," as suggested by Fetterman in *Ethnography: Step-by-Step* (1998), that revealed an abundance of information about the culture. Furthermore, we also attended frequent recurrent activities "in order to discover the cultural rules for behavior" (Spradley 1980)

As one of our methods we created a map of the temple to analyze the use of space and objects by the participants. We also completed an organizational chart to

analyze hierarchies and the categories assigned to various participants. We also conducted, recorded, and transcribed an interview with our informant Mr. Hou, that provided us with valuable information about the history and significance of Wat Khemara Buddhikaram to the temple attendants. Furthermore, we also recorded and transcribed a social interaction that revealed forms of socialization as well as temple behavior norms. Lastly, as part of our research approach, we conducted a content analysis of our fieldnotes and the data we gathered. This was accomplished through the coding of our fieldnotes and transcriptions, followed by the search of patterns of ideas and behaviors as expressed by the participants (Fetterman 1998).

Analysis

As a result of the content analysis of our data, we observed that Wat Khemara Buddhikaram is not just a religious institution where people interact solely for ceremonial purposes, it is also an environment that fosters the reconstruction of Khmer culture and serves as a network of social support. We approach the subject of the reconstruction of Khmer culture with the idea that various aspects of it are highly influenced by a Buddhist worldview. This was best conveyed by Nancy Smith-Hefner in her work *Khmer American: Identity and Moral Education in a Diasporic Community*, when she stated that Cambodians who convert into a religion outside of Theravada Buddhism are viewed as having abandoned their ethnic identity, because “To be Khmer is to be Buddhist”(Smith-Hefner 1999). Susan Needham also addressed this point in *Literacy, Learning and Language Ideology: Intracommunity Variation in Khmer Literacy Instruction,* by quoting her friend Damrien who said that "if you want to know the Cambodian people you should study the Buddhist religion because that is the core of Cambodian soci-ety"(Needham 1996). These examples provided by Smith-Hefner and by Needham portray how Theravada Buddhism permeates the various aspects of life and identity among the Cambodian community.

Our analysis is also approached with the idea that the subject of the role of the temple as a network of social support, such as the availability of informational and or tangible resources, as well as resources that fulfill emotional and psychological needs, can be acquired through participation in temple affairs. This point is addressed by

Sucheng Chan in *Cambodians in the United States: Refugees, Immigrants, and the American Ethnic Minority*, when she argues that although "To be Khmer is to be Buddhist," in the United States it can be said that "To be Buddhist is to find social support"(Chan 2015). This statement by Chan touches on the idea that as a result of Khmer ethnic identity being closely affiliated with religious identity, religion and religious spaces serve as a network of social support.

Reconstruction of Khmer Culture

Much research has been conducted in the area of immigrant and refugee studies which have found that religious affiliation and religious institutions play an assisting role in the retention of ethnic culture[13]. Although our research agrees with these findings, in the specific case of the Wat Khemara Buddhikaram and its members, we would like to replace the term "retention" and with the term "reconstruction." A couple of factors have led us to conclude that the word "reconstruction" better describes the dynamics that take place at Wat Khemara Buddhikaram. First, during the Khmer Rouge genocide, many of the people who played a role in the passing down cultural knowledge were killed, and many artifacts that portrayed and represented the Khmer culture were also destroyed (McLellan 2009; Needham and Quintiliani 2008). As a result, upon arriving to the United States, Khmer refugees had to piece back their cultural traditions from memory. Secondly, in efforts to piece together their homeland traditions, the community had to adapt to a new cultural context presented by life in the United States (Chan 2015). Therefore, replicating Khmer culture is subject to various adaptations as a result of the new environment. The word "reconstruction" encompasses both the act of piecing together cultural traditions, as well as the adaptation involved in the process. We observed evidence of the reconstruction of Khmer culture in three contexts: in the establishment of the temple itself, in the various ceremonies that take place in the temple, and through the socialization that takes place there[1].

Establishment of Temple

One of the predominant themes that surfaced in our research was the reconstruction of Khmer culture through the performance of tasks in the same manner

as they were carried out “back home,” as several participants would often say. In order to accomplish this, one of the first steps taken was the establishment of Buddhist temples (Needham and Quintiliani 2008). The reason for this is that since Buddhism is a core component to Khmer culture, temples in Cambodia serve as a “welfare center, spiritual center, moral center, and symbol for society” (Needham 1996). As such, having a temple as they did “back home” is vital to the reconstruction of Khmer culture. This is seen at Wat Khemara Buddhikaram, first through the purchase of the property for the temple and second through the efforts to construct the “new” temple.

In the 1980s, “Cambodian Buddhists in southern California unanimously elected to purchase property” for the purpose of building the Wat Khemara Buddhikaram (Bankston III and Zhou 2002). To accomplish this, a fundraiser was conducted. A fundraiser publication titled “Appeal for Fund for the Cambodian Buddhist Monastery” stated that a local temple is viewed by the Cambodian community as “a Treasure-House” in which “the Cambodians hope to preserve their cultural heritage and to revive a sense of community spirit.” The publication further states that the temple would allow them to “hold on to their new society as they attempt to preserve the past… For the Cambodians, it is their Buddhist heritage, and all-encompassing lifestyles, that gives them their identity and culture” (Appeal for Fund, n.d.).

As a result of the fundraising efforts, the property was purchased in 1988 and it constituted of a building with a large dining hall and several multipurpose rooms, and a parking lot[14]. In contrast, temple properties in Cambodia typically consist of a main hall with a “sacred area;” a dining hall for the monks “where lay people gather on precept days and for various other ceremonies;” and the monks’ dormitories (Satoru 2005)This arrangement is not the same in exactitude at Wat Khemara Buddhikaram. As a result of the lack of property space, members of Wat Khemara Buddhikaram had to designate areas within the same building to serve as a main hall, a dining hall, and as monks’ dormitories.

Although an adaptation has been made to preserve the traditional, homeland use of space within temples, this reconstruction has been described by Mr. Hou as detracting from the image of the current building as a “real” temple. For this reason, the

Board of Directors is currently in the process of attaining a construction permit from the City of Long Beach to build a new temple in the Wat Khemara Buddhikaram property. As explained in "The Role of Religion in the Origins and Adaptation of Immigrants in the United States", Charles Hirschman stated, "Many immigrants historical and contemporary joined or founded religious organizations as an expression of their historical identity as well as their commitment to building a local community in their new country" (Hirschman 2004). This process can be seen at the temple in the way that it emphasizes the community's ability to transfer their homeland knowledge and "commit" to the "reconstruction" of their Khmer culture by producing a familiar environment. In particular, the community feels that it is important to construct a temple that more closely resembles not only the use and adornment of space as it is done in Cambodia but also one with architectural resemblance, or as Mr. Hou described it, a "real" or "true" temple, seemingly implying that there is a set standard of temple architecture. The ability to have an accessible temple that closely resembles the temples of Cambodia has been noted as something very important to this community, particularly because the temple provides them the means to "keep up [their] tradition which [they] think is good for [their] community," (Hou 2015). which is an argument echoed in other parts of our analysis.

Ceremonies

The conduction of ceremonies as seen at Wat Khemara Buddhikaram has an important role in promoting the retention of culture. This is seen during ceremonies such as P'chum Ben and memorial ceremonies. For example, in Cambodia, it is a cultural tradition for the monks to walk to the streets and collect food offerings from laity[15]. However, Mr. Hou explained that here in America, monks cannot walk around and collect offerings in the same manner, therefore, they receive their offerings from people who come to the temple. During our attending of the memorial ceremony and P'chum Ben at Wat Willow, we witnessed a few versions of ritual proceedings of offering rice to the monks. One way it is done is by having the laypeople form a circle and having the monks walk around collecting rice and money from them.

Monks collecting rice from the lay people forming a circle

A second way we witnessed was when it was too busy for the monks to walk around, the laity placed a Baat[16] on a table where the laity can leave some rice for the monks to consume after the ceremony has concluded. Therefore, the members of Wat Willow effectively modify rituals in order to reconstruct the merit-building aspect of Khmer culture. In this example we see how ceremonial events have served as opportunities to reconstruct homeland traditions. Furthermore, these proceedings have been adapted to account for the cultural differences expressed by those living in the United States.

Socialization

Evidently, Khmer culture continues to be reconstructed through the process of socialization. As stated by (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000), religion itself provides cultural capital for the reproduction and passing on of ethnic identity through its use of language, cultural symbols, and practices. Therefore, the temple becomes a location for socialization. Evidence of this was noticed during P'chum Ben when a young girl interacts with her family. The young girl resists when being taught to sampeah as the family receives blessings from the monk. The family persists in teaching this Khmer behavior norm to the young girl, by repeatedly placing her hands together. In this

situation, the family makes an effort to pass down a fundamental Khmer gesture of respect.

This was further conveyed by Mr. Hou when he responded to the question about the role of the temple in the retention of Cambodian values: “We try ...to keep up our tradition which we think is good for our community... You know, one of the monks staying at this temple... he give his teaching in English. Taught the young, … generation...because he knows that they don’t speak…or understand much of Cambodian” (Houd 2015). Here we see the passing down of Buddhistic values to the younger generation. Furthermore, the English language is a salient skill for the monk as he adapts his lectures from his native language to English in order to teach Buddhism to young Khmer Americans. This continues the process of the reconstruction of Khmer culture in the Long Beach community

Network of Social Support

In the book, “The Changing Religious Beliefs and Ritual Practices among Cambodians in Diaspora,” Chean Rithy Men describes how the Khmer community is weakened in the United States “because there is no social interaction between neighbors. People have neither the time to meet frequently nor a place where they can come together for social activities. People only associate within their own small circle of family and friends” (Men 2002)However, the temple in Long Beach has circumvented this problem. As Susan Needham describes in *Literacy, Learning and Language Ideology: Intracommunity Variation in Khmer Literacy Instruction,* “people gather [at Wat Khemara Buddhikaram] daily to share news and informa-tion about the community and family and friends in Cambodia .(Needham 1996) Mr. Hou elaborates on this idea by stating that the temple serves as a place “to keep the community united…We see each other at some event at the temple and so we just, we just keep in touch.” This ability to “keep in touch” allows the members of Wat Khemara Buddhikaram to strengthen their social support within the community.

The statement that "to be Buddhist is to have social support" is conveyed at Wat Khemara Buddhikaram in two ways. The first is exemplified in the following statement by Mr. Hou:

> "Well you know most people that I've met at the temple ...uhh not ...they are not new people..they...are people whom I knew before because like I said uh I was in the refugee camp for six months. 140,000 Cambodian there. But not all of them came here ..so there are people who come... and say "I know you" and then I sometimes I don't know who that person is ...but because, you know, I was in the camp they know me" (Chan 2015).

At Wat Khemara Buddhikaram members meet people who have shared similar realities such as the experience of being Khmer, the experience of being allocated to a refugee camp, and the experience of being Buddhist. Having these common experiences allows for emotional support and companionship, thereby reinforcing the aspects of a network of social support. These aspects of social support are best summed up by another member of Wat Khemara Buddhikaram, who stated that "the building of the temple was symbolic of rebuilding of Cambodians' mental and spiritual well-being" (Bankston III and Zhou 2002).

The second way in which Chan's statement is verified is evidenced in the way that Wat Khemara Buddhikaram serves as a network of social support beyond the domains of emotional companionship. Other research conducted at Wat Khemara Buddhikaram suggested that the temple serves as a place where members can collaborate and "extend friendships to other religious and nonreligious organizations to help support the Cambodians in the Long Beach Community" .(Bankston III and Zhou 2002)(This collaboration with other nonreligious organizations was observed at the Board of Director's meeting. Members of the board are people who work in other local Cambodian based organizations, as well as people who are well connected with other organizations within the Long Beach area. For example, two of the Board members are also members of Cambodian Association of America, and Mr. Hou himself has worked many years in social service agencies, particularly those that offer refugee assistance. Mr. Hou also mentioned that he had connections with the Cambodian Veteran

Association and the Cambodian Health Professionals Association of America. Such connections with other organizations enable members to be resourceful for one another, allows for the temple to be a physical networking site for the facilitation of mutual interests, and addresses the concerns of the temple members. An example of this was seen through the ability of the board members, with the help of the other temple members, to carry out the project of building a new temple within the Wat Khemara Buddhikaram property. The process of this project has required networking with other organizations and reaching out to entities such as the City of Long Beach for construction permits. Overall, the goal of those who are involved in Wat Khemara Buddhikaram is to have the participants help the temple to grow in its ability to unify their community through the ongoing maintenance of social ties.

Lay people listening to the monks'

Notes

1. The term "community" in this paper will refer to a group people who identity with the same ethnic background (for example: those who identify as being Cambodian or Cambodian American). This means that "community" is not limited to those who live in close physical proximity but it includes all that live within the range of the Long Beach City boundaries and in some cases those who live outside the city boundaries but are active participants of activities that occur within this group.
2. Culture refers to: "the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group

of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving" (Samovar and Porter 1994).

3. Social support refers to the availability of informational and or tangible resources as well as resources that fulfill emotional and psychological needs of a person.
4. P. Hou, personal communication, September 26, 2015.
5. P. Hou, personal communication, September 26, 2015.
6. Our key informant Mr. Hou was a former international student who attended the University Michigan in Ann Arbor from 1961 to 1962. Unfortunately, a few years after he returned to Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge took over the country. Mr. Hou remained in Cambodian with his family until 1979 at the point which he escaped Cambodia with his family. Mr. Hou resided in Thailand in a refugee Camp for six months and in 1980 he was able to relocate with his family to in California. Mr. Hou is a respected member of Wat Khemara Buddhikaram who is presently the Vice Chair of the temple's board of directors. His service to Cambodian refugees started in Thailand and has continued to this very day through the participation in refugee assistance agencies and Cambodian based organizations. Although Mr. Hou is now retired, he desires to continue helping the Long Beach Cambodian community in any way possible and as long as he is able.
7. The general population outside the monk-hood domain are called laity.
8. Ritual specialist.
9. Wat Willow Board of Directors, personal communication, October 18, 2015.
10. P. Hou, personal communication, September 26, 2015.
11. Venerable Sophea Kai, personal communication, 2015.
12. For example: Cornwall 1987; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000; Min 2002; Zhou, Min, and Bankston III 2002.
13. Socialization here refers to the instruction or passing down of behavioral norm.
14. See appendix B for map of Wat Khemara Buddhikaram
15. P. Hou, personal communication, October 3, 2015
16. A Baat is a monk's begging bowl

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The Long Beach Community Garden Association: A Photo Essay

By: Jose Morales, Evelyn Murillo-Soria, and Luis Villanueva

Introduction

> Gardens, scholars say, are the first sign of commitment to a community. When people plant corn they are saying, 'let's stay here'. And by their connection to the land they are connected to one another.
>
> – *Anne Raver*

Communities building a garden together symbolically states that this is their land and home. The Long Beach Community garden lives up to that description, and with strong community involvement and support from the local government, it has not only survived but thrived. It is run solely by volunteers whose main goal is to educate the public on eating healthy food and the benefits of gardening. The Long Beach Community garden also supports a strong food bank program in the city of Long Beach. The purpose of the project is to document the strong community involvement through photos.

Organization

The Long Beach Community Gardens (LBCG) is accessible and serviced only by its members and only veterans, young adults and senior citizens are eligible to apply for membership. Being a part of this community garden requires a membership fee in order to support the many service projects, which include materials for clean up, maintenance, and the collection of food to be sent to local food banks. Each individual can take what they have grown at home and/or donate them to the food banks around the area. The food banks themselves feed up to 200 people in need per night. The community uses the resources in the gardens and this has a large impact for both the volunteers and the recipients. Being in a rich and resourceful area, the LBCG provides

bountiful year-round yields.. Over time the community garden has grown to be one of the largest successful gardens in Los Angeles County.

The president of the organization, Carol Meyer, provided insight for the LBCG's success. Meyer stated that garden members are required to participate in one of the various community service projects. These projects include days when the entire community comes out to clean up and maintain all the various plots. The members are also asked to give any extra produce they grow personally to the food bank and help maintain the garden plots that grow produce on behalf of the food banks. For many of the members it is also a great way to reduce the waste from overproduction in their home gardens. Meyer also prefers the LBCG to be organic while using water efficient practices. The utilization of horse manure keeps the soil light and rich in order for plants to grow .

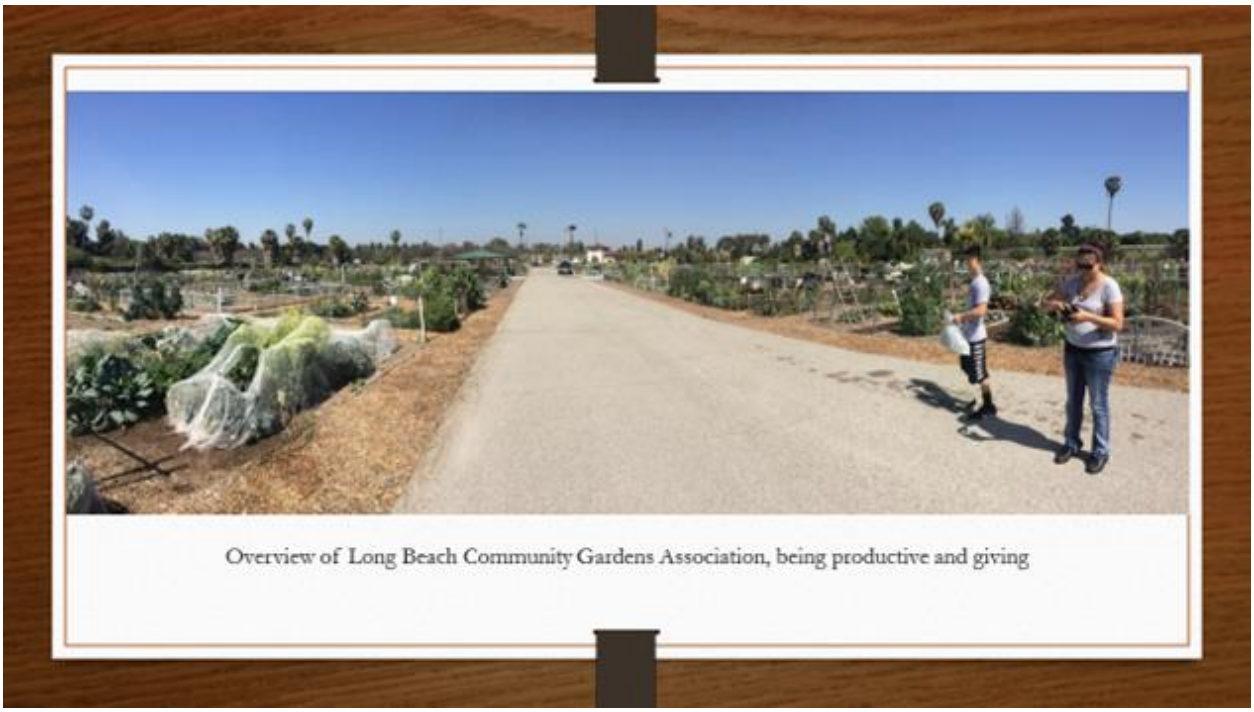
Photos

The main focus is to show how community gardens are beneficial to both the individual and the community. It is also about enjoying and sharing the products of hard work. The photo essay is a story of how much time and effort people put in every day to grow their produce. The first couple slides show empty plots that each member must build and then the next few slides show the progression of the plots as they grow into lush gardens. The last two slides show how members donate their extra produce to organizations that feed those in need. During our visit at the Long Beach community garden, members were willing to share some of their produce with us because they wanted to show off their hard work and because they had grown more than what they needed. We also wanted to show how much food is donated every day to charitable organizations and how many people they can feed with the excess food.

Conclusion

Community gardens are there for people to be able to grow fresh, organic, and affordable fruits and vegetables. These gardens are run by a group of people who want to educate others about healthy foods and to donate excess produce to the community food bank. As a result of this community sharing of goods, organizations are able to

feed groups of people in need every night. These community gardens have positive impacts for both the members and the community.



Overview of Long Beach Community Gardens Association, being productive and giving

Community garden members building plots and working together. Building a friendly community to locals in the area.

There are 303 plots in the Long Beach Community Garden. Which gives enough sources to give back to the community.

This woman adding horse manure to her plot. This helps her produce to become good to eat and to share.

This is a very green community, everyone keep their plots clean. Every plot is taken care of, and there are no rotten vegetables and/or fruit.

This woman enjoys watering the plants from her plot and every ones else's. This shows that everyone takes care and helps each other within the community.

While watering her plants, she also enjoys having a conversation with the president of the community garden. They speak about how marvelous her plants have grown.

On the left, the entrance to this garden, give energy and wealth to the garden.

On the right the man and woman enjoy keeping their plants healthy.

The man loves to see his garden grow, so he picked some strawberries for us to eat. They were sweet, delicious, and very fresh.

On the right, from growing and being organic, you will get very good produce. From citrus to vegetables. On the left, Jose enjoyed the strawberry the man gave him.

As every one shares what they grow, they give to local food banks as well. Here they are transitioning from winter crops to summer ones.

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